BUNYAN STUDIES

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EDITORIAL

We are pleased to welcome two Associate Editors to the *Bunyan Studies* team. Rachel Adcock (Keele University) has published on the life-writings and prophecies of Baptist women. She is interested in early-modern women writers, especially Aphra Behn, and in the wider role of women in seventeenth-century Dissenting communities. Robert W. Daniel (University of Warwick) has worked on the manuscript poetry of the Puritan lawyer Thomas St Nicholas, and has interests in Dissenting studies, prison literature, spiritual manuals and diaries, psalmody and hymnology, preaching and prophecy. We look forward to working with Rachel and Rob.

In the first of our four main articles, David Gay draws on the work of theorists Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau to consider the significance of streets and urban spaces in Bunyan's writings. Johanna Harris focusses on letters written by the ejected Presbyterian minister Joseph Alleine from prison in the 1660s, situating them in a tradition of letter-writing by Protestant martyrs of the Reformation period. Robert W. Daniel explores how prison writings by Nonconformists re-appropriated expressions and idioms from John Foxe's famous 'Book of Martyrs' in accounts of their own imprisonment. Finally, Kenneth P. Minkema traces evidence of the influence of *The Pilgrim's Progress* on the writings of the great American theologian, Jonathan Edwards.

Our 'News and Reports' section includes reports on the Ninth Triennial Conference of the IJBS, held in Canada in August 2019 and a fourth IJBS regional day conference held at Loughborough University in April 2019, together with a note on the reception of *The Pilgrim's Progress, Part II*.

We thank the Research Committee of the Department of Humanities, Faculty of Arts, Design, and Social Sciences at Northumbria University for their continuing support of *Bunyan Studies*.

W. R. (Bob) Owens *The Open University and University of Bedfordshire*
Stuart Sim *formerly of Northumbria University*
David Walker *Northumbria University*

Walking the Streets with Bunyan from *Grace Abounding* to *The Holy War*

In 'John Bunyan and the Spaces of Religious Writing', Cynthia Wall examines spaces of despair, persecution and fiction in successive decades of Bunyan's career. Remarking on Christian's decision to abandon his family and journey to the Celestial City, Wall interprets the moment as a radical remapping of space that elevates Christian community over the set arrangements of family and neighbourhood: 'the streets and stones and tiles of Bedford, of the City of Destruction, that push him out will be neatly, completely replaced by the gold-paved streets and golden harps of the Celestial City'. The 'total substitution of this world by the next will be prefigured by an inversion *in* this world: the "open" world of streets and fields that the Puritan sinner traverses "freely" but in moral darkness will open into light within the prison walls of persecution'.[1] Wall's overview astutely contrasts an open but morally dark world with a dark and enclosed space that can admit and transmit a spiritual light. Using insights from Wall and other critics, and applying the analogy of reading texts to walking the streets of a city offered by Michel de Certeau, I will show that the street is a specific and revealing feature of urban space that both illuminates and complicates the processes Wall describes. I will read some street scenes found in *Grace Abounding*, *The Holy City*, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and *The Holy War.* I argue that complex, non-linear urban spaces in these texts are integral to Bunyan's depiction of the mobile and manifold pressures that define the Dissenting experience. Most of these pressures coalesce around the imperative to read and discern in defence of the Nonconforming Christian conscience.

I begin with some theoretical premises.[2] Henri Lefebvre, who is credited with initiating the 'spatial turn' in the Humanities, encourages us to see space less as a thing than as a conduit of human energies: 'Social space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products; rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their

interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity – their (relative) order and / or (relative) disorder'. Thus, space has agency conferred by human activity: its nature is dynamic and not static to the point that physical space 'has no reality without the energy that is deployed within it'. Rather than imagining space as literary setting or backdrop containing characters, as we might do in reading *Grace Abounding* or *The Pilgrim's Progress*, we can equate 'the content of space' with the social practices inherent in their production.[3] This approach is especially important to the production of urban spaces. Many maps have been made of the pilgrims' journey in *The Pilgrim's Progress*: a straight road representing the King's Highway can bisect any number of rural, urban or domestic spaces along with the divergent by-paths of temptation and distraction that veer away from the right path. It would be hard to draw an objective map of Vanity Fair or Bedford from Bunyan's texts. In each case, 'coexistence and simultaneity' are subsumed by conflicting commercial, social and religious energies manifest in dissonant sounds and transient sights. Bunyan's main literary premise is to choose which voices and images need to be read on behalf of his Dissenting reader.

Michel de Certeau is among the most influential theorists of space and place in literary studies. His precepts are consistent with Lefebvre's and relevant to my argument in their attention to urban space. As de Certeau observes, place is more static than space: indeed, place implies stability. Its elements are arranged beside each other, 'each situated in its own "proper" and distinct location, a location it defines'. Space means movement: it 'exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements.' He reduces Lefebvre's distinction to a pithy axiom: 'space is a practiced place'. His memorable account of urban space occurs in his chapter called 'Walking in the City'. Urban space is an array of fixed objects and directional streets. Natural spaces have fixed objects some of which can be barriers, to be sure, but urban spaces fix objects for human reasons. To walk in a city is to encounter restrictions and actualize possibilities. Spatial order organizes a set of 'possibilities' that allow movement and 'interdictions' that prevent or restrict movement.[4]

The mobile subject encounters restrictions, but also moves at liberty

not only with footsteps but also with the five senses that can process perceptions across boundaries and barriers. William Blake's 'London', from his *Songs of Experience*, is an apt illustration: the speaker wanders 'thro' each charter'd street', with chartered signifying both repressive laws (charters) and his own imaginative mapping (cartograph) of the city as social text.[5] The walker is thus a reader. As Robert Darnton suggests, reading 'and living run parallel'.[6] Bunyan is alert to these dimensions of living and reading because allegory is a uniquely reader-focused mode. Indeed, he connects them through the central Puritan life-metaphors of wayfaring and war-faring, which make *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *The Holy War* complementary narratives. Like Blake, Bunyan initiates his readers into walking or journeying in both texts and in their precursor, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*. In *Grace Abounding*, the prefatory letter to the Bedford Meeting sends a '*drop of that honey, that I have taken out of the Carcase of a Lyon*'.[7] Here, the biblical Samson is, for once, more traveller than warrior as he returns to collect honey from the lion he slew on a journey. Bunyan's prefatory 'Apology' to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, promises the reader, '*This Book will make a Travailer of thee*'.[8] This familiar visual pun combines reading as walking and reading as labouring to discover edifying meanings in the text. In *The Holy War*, Bunyan establishes his narrator as a walker: 'In my Travels, as I walked through many Regions and Countries, it was my chance to happen into that famous *Continent* of *Universe*; a very large and spacious Countrey it is'.[9] The initiations into walking in *Grace Abounding* and *The Pilgrim's Progress* are relatively straightforward since they consider simple circular (the departure and return of Samson) or linear (pilgrimage) journeys. In *The Holy War*, in contrast, the complexity of the fixed urban space is previewed in the multiplicity and complexity of the cosmos. For this reason, Bunyan emphasizes the meaningful serendipity of finding the 'Continent of Universe' by chance.

The analogy functions clearly in *Grace Abounding*, where our experience of space is focalized by the thoughts, senses and emotions of Bunyan's narrative voice. We can also recognize *The Holy War* as a modification of this model. As readers, we take in a myriad of allegorical characters and human groups, experiencing a level of distance in our perception of the town comparable to what we see in the famous *Holy*

War frontispiece (found on the cover of this journal). And yet we are mindful that Mansoul is figuratively a single person subsuming the extended metaphor of urban space into his (or her) consciousness. Thus, the eye at Eyegate in the frontispiece seems to stare towards us, raising our awareness of our roles as readers by constructing a reciprocity of reader and urban text as mediated by the author positioned between us and the town. In both *Grace Abounding* and *The Holy War*, the individual soul is paramount in value despite any restrictions, including confinement in the prison where Bunyan penned his spiritual autobiography. Bunyan's writings make the mobile, ubiquitous, and often serendipitous process of salvation the defining energy of urban space.

Two memorable scenes early in the spiritual autobiography contrast a single, fixed destination with random walking. The first fixed point is an Anglican church: 'because I knew no better, I fell in very eagerly with the Religion of the times, to wit, to go to Church twice a day, and that too with the foremost, and there should very devoutly both say and sing as others did; yet retaining my wicked life'.[10] The church in this passage is a site for the production of conformity in three aspects. The first is the regularity of time as 'twice a day'. Even in a small detail, this regularity evokes controversies over set hours for prayer in the period, and with that the broader rejection of liturgical seasons, fast days and feast days. Puritans came to champion the sanctity of the Sabbath by resisting the edicts of the Book of Sports, published by Charles I to promote fitness. Bunyan later writes of returning to his sports as a sinful distraction from holiness.

The second regularity is the image of the congregation: Bunyan attends church with 'the foremost'. Again, the term is small and subtle; it evokes the class system not only of privilege but also of spirituality. The foremost may mean important citizens; it could also imply those foremost in outward reformation rather than inward regeneration. Here, the problem for the Nonconformist lies in the submerging of election or reprobation under the guise of common worship.

The third regularity is speech, whether as speaking or singing: to 'say and sing as others did'. This goes to Bunyan's very reason for being in prison: his resistance to the Book of Common Prayer. *I Will Pray with the Spirit*, written from prison in 1662, goes to great lengths to scorn the practice of praying in other men's words (a point of contention at

Bunyan's trial as well), and to excoriate the emotionally tepid quality of common prayer Bunyan saw in the Church of England. Remarkably, given the proximity in time of these two texts, Bunyan restrains his scornful view, no doubt because it represents honestly his earlier pre-conversion disposition; moreover, he writes *Grace Abounding* with awareness of new members of his gathered church who need careful treatment and an empathetic tone. Instead, he recounts the deep impression he experienced from the beauty of holiness in ceremonies and vestments, and that he sees as superstition with hindsight. At no time does he select a particular priest by name or a particular voice other than common prayer. He recalls a powerful sermon that seemed made 'on purpose to shew me my evil-doing', and returns home with a 'great burden on his spirit'. The church is therefore a regularity of place as well as time. His journeys to and from the point of attraction are routine and cyclical (forth and back). His burden is heavier going home, conveying a sense of sin without spiritual relief. He questions his other habits of time and place, such as his games of tip-cat on the village green, but soon finds those attractions too strong to resist. Thus, the public places of worship and sport construct an unresolved personal and cultural conflict.

The second episode extends this bi-level reality of the Bedford streets. It is the especially memorable and oft-cited moment when he chances, as it were, upon the poor women of Bedford and overhears their godly conversation:

> upon a day, the good Providence of God did cast me to *Bedford*, to work on my calling; and in one of the streets of that town, I came where there was three or four poor women sitting at a door in the Sun, and talking about the things of God; and being now willing to hear them discourse, I drew near to hear what they said.[11]

Importantly, Bunyan is moving through the streets when this happens, and his motivation for movement is neither the obligations of the church nor the attractions of games. His 'calling' is the tinker's trade, and yet the word ambiguously suggests the values of the congregation: the call of God. Again, where the 'foremost' constructed a social hierarchy, the 'calling' constructs the vertical spiritual and physical interface of the horizontal street.

Bunyan's mobility and his solitude make him receptive to the voices of the women. He recalls their conversation: 'they spake as if joy did make them speak: they spake with such pleasantness of Scripture language, and with such appearance of grace in all they said, that they were to me as if they had found a new world'.[12] In contrast to his depiction of the Church of England, their voices are spontaneous, not scripted, their timing serendipitous, not set, and their station poor, not 'foremost'. Vera Camden sees the doorway as inner domestic space, as in a painting by Vermeer, and the episode as a maternal spiritual rebirth: 'Vermeer's depictions of windows and doors do not draw the viewer to the exterior world but illuminate instead the enclosed interior, suggesting a metaphor for the woman's inner life: her soul within'.[13] Spiritual rebirth requires passing through the doorway, which is transformed into a narrow passage Bunyan struggles through in his subsequent image of the event. This symbolism is persuasive, but we need also to account for his approach to these women. The event happens in a street and therefore requires the street. The street is a public extension of the liminal space of the doorstep. Liminality reinforces the ambiguity of his 'calling', which traverses the private space of conscience and the public space of the street. He is called, out of many people who may use the street; in other words, he is of the elect. Conversely, the pews of the Church of England, where no call came to him, are entirely public to Bunyan. By comparison, Augustine's most profound conversion moment in his *Confessions* (which Bunyan likely had not read) depends on a divinely serendipitous voice calling 'pick up and read, pick up and read' from a neighbouring house.[14] He opened his Bible and experienced his most profound conversion moment. The travelling of sound through and across houses also breaks down the private and public binary (indeed, Augustine was uncertain if the voice came from a boy or a girl). Bunyan clearly imagined streets as both ordinary and as potential sites of elective transformation.

Bunyan surely drew from his encounter with these poor women when, in prison, he came to write *The Holy City*, a discourse on the Book of Revelation. The book's occasion was a request from his fellow prisoners to comfort and instruct them with a sermon. He demurred at first, but then produced a remarkably visionary exposition of the Heavenly Jerusalem in Revelation. So now the roles are reversed:

Bunyan takes the place of the poor women by bringing the prisoners into a luminous urban space. While the sermon develops into an exposition of Christian history, it begins with a lengthy analysis of the city as a physical, typological and symbolic space. This approach would open the imaginations of other prisoners in narrow confinement through spiritual freedom and mobility. The city is presented as a Church and as a figurative bride of Christ. Bunyan notes the precise measurements of the walls and the significance of the twelve gates, which 'signify Christ, both as he is the way to communion with the God of this City, and with the inhabitants thereof'. He then turns to the single 'Street of the City' which was of 'pure Gold, as it were transparent glass', beginning with his basic definition of a street:

> A Street ordinarily is the place of common concourse, and the place of continual open salutation, and taking acquaintance one of another; and as touching this *Street*, we are also to understand it of the open and common place, or way of Gods Worship in which Saints salute each other, and acquaint themselves together; also here the World are converted, Saints built up and edified.[15]

He applies the word 'place' as any early modern writer would. The place, however, becomes a space of spiritual practices and conversions.

Bunyan then explains why there is but one street in the city: 'this Street or way of Holiness, it is on purpose called, not *many*, but *one*, to shew us the perfection of Light, Grace, Faith and spiritual Comfort that the Inhabitants of this City shall then enjoy'. The inhabitants cry up the 'good and wholesome merchandize of Heaven, as the men of this world do for the things thereof, in the Streets […] of their Cities'. The street is the 'way in which they learn to know God and themselves, and the way of newness of life, in which every one walks that entereth in by the Gates of New *Jerusalem*'. It is 'usual in the holy *Scripture* to call the transformation of the sinner from Satan to God, *a holy way*, and also to admonish him that is so transformed *to walk* in that way, saying, Walk in the Faith, Love, Spirit, and newness of Life, and walk in the Truth, Wayes, Statutes, and Judgments of God'. The single, invariable street is not a source of external restriction or coercion; instead, Bunyan asserts

the utter impossibility of internal deviation from truth in the hearts of the redeemed. His prison writings continued to establish his soteriological vision in contrast to the 'errors' (literally wanderings) of other groups, notably Quakers. Particular and common variations of the 'street' are therefore not seen in the New Jerusalem:

> It is Antichrist that hath brought in all those Crossings, By-Lanes, and odd Nooks that to this day many an honest heart doth greatly lose itself in; but at this day they shall be otherwise minded, that is, made all to savour *one* thing, and to walk *one* way, not biting and devouring each other as now.[16]

This distinction of the many and the one, anticipates both *The Pilgrim's Progress*, where bypaths diverge from the one true way, and notably *The Holy War*, where varieties of small, misleading streets such as lanes and rows are present.

The holy street is not a container but a product of the energies it contains. It is the 'way in which they learn to know God and themselves'.[17] Importantly, Bunyan continues to imagine human spiritual growth and development in an eternal space. In this one respect, the space is similar to the prison since the sermon could transport the desire of the prisoners for spiritual growth. As is also clear from *Prison Meditations*, this piece of prison writing may have impressed upon Bunyan the production of psychic space through language. This shift from place to space anticipates the extended space of The King's Highway in *The Pilgrim's Progress* as a road traversing the inward psychic space of an imprisoned dreaming narrator.

Vanity Fair in the first part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, more even than the Celestial City, which readers glimpse only from a distance, is a significant counterpart to the Holy City. The Fair is the place where pilgrims stand trial and face imprisonment or death; thus, underlying the vanity of carnal commerce is the threat of law for those who disrupt it. Vanity Fair is a parody of the Celestial City even in its indiscriminate application of the four last things: death, judgment, heaven, and hell. It is prefigured by the biblical Egypt or Babylon, but its streets are named for European nations, including England. As Kirsty Milne observes in

her landmark study of the trope of Vanity Fair in literature, these streets evoke Christ's temptation in the wilderness: Beelzebub led Christ 'from *Street* to *Street*, and shewed him all of the Kingdoms of the World in a little time, that he might, if possible alure that Blessed One, to *cheapen* and *buy* some of his *Vanities*'.[18] Milne argues persuasively that the ordeal of the pilgrims has more to do with 'resisting political authority' than with resisting 'allurement'.[19]

The Fair is a compression of 'Places, Rows, Streets' signifying different nations and versions of Christianity. This disunity makes the soundscape of the Fair a 'Hubbub' of confused voices hawking and haggling over 'Wares' in a parody of the spiritual 'merchandize' of the Holy City. This verbal 'white noise' was an important factor in the Dissenting experience in Bunyan's time. Its chaos contrasts with the episode of the women of Bedford, where no other voices are present at all. Dissenters needed to identify and select the voice of truth from a broader din of social, moral and legal slander. The pilgrims distinguish themselves by speaking the 'language of *Canaan*', which makes certain their arrest and imprisonment. Faithful's sentence echoes the actual sentences of the time by emphasizing place and motion: 'he was presently Condemned, To be had from the place where he was, to the place from whence he came, and there to be put to the most cruel death that could be invented'. In short, he returns to the street. The glorification of Faithful, who ascends to the 'Cœlestial Gate' following his public martyrdom, constructs a double vision within the narrative frame, and the higher reality of his deliverance escapes the view of the people at street level.[20] Bunyan dramatically visualizes the bi-level structure of the street found in *Grace Abounding.*

Not surprisingly, *The Holy War* abounds with street scenes; as in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, these scenes transpire in a fallen world where polarities of darkness and light, fidelity and apostasy illustrate the pressures and pitfalls of Dissent in historical time. We tend to view *The Holy War* as a unity of place with intersecting streets, and *The Pilgrim's Progress* as a unity of time etched in a single road. *Grace Abounding* and *The Holy City*, however, reveal how time and space interact in Bunyan's streets. Susan Zemka applies Bakhtin's idea of the chronotope, or the connection of time and space in texts, to streets in Victorian novels, and

her ideas are instructive for Bunyan: 'the chronotope of traveling along a path aims at a collective vision of society, but one that is tethered to a single everyman, whose allotted time in this life, along with world he traverses, is condensed to a road trip'. Zemka asks how 'novels incorporate into their form the randomness and brevity of street encounters – both the space of the urban chronotope (its human crowdedness) and its time as well (rapid, fast-paced, infinitesimally divided)?'[21] We could ask the same of *The Holy War*, which tethers the collective vision to the town of Mansoul rather than the travelling pilgrim.

In fact, Bunyan frames *The Holy War* as a 'chronotope' or time-space complex in the epic of salvation. The narrator of *The Pilgrim's Progress* is a stationary dreamer watching a traveller, but, as already noted, the narrator of *The Holy War* is a traveller who happens upon 'the famous *Continent* of *Universe*'. The travelling frame may seem slight in relation to the action of the story; however, we can see how *The Holy War* complements *The Holy City*: both present a detailed urban space as a medium for an extensive construction of biblical and Reformation history. These interconnected histories – from Genesis to Revelation to the English Reformation and more immediate Restoration history – frame Mansoul as a place and animate it as space. Moreover, the local street activities in Mansoul are walking and reading, the same practices of everyday life that make fixed streets or material places into spiritualized spaces in *Grace Abounding* and *The Holy City.*

Mansoul is of the elect, but there is no final glorification for this city. Cycles of siege and occupation, resistance and apostasy define its history. Its streets witness spectacle, deception and surveillance as well as acts of faith and conviction. While Dissent requires courage and persistence, it is vulnerable to the cognitive dissonance of sight and sound. Mixtures of people move through streets, and mixtures of voices and sounds assault Dissenting readers. The transformation sparked by the godly women of Bedford in *Grace Abounding*, and the glorification of the New Jerusalem in *The Holy City* are replaced by variability and volatility in *The Holy War.* The main site of volatility is the street. I see three related aspects of streets in this allegory: the first is naming, or the meaning of street names; the second is thinking, or streets as channels of thoughts; the third is reading, or streets as texts.

I begin with naming. A wall surrounds Mansoul with five gates representing the five senses. The wall is impregnable except by the consent of Mansoul, indicating the crucial role of the will in this battle allegory. A street leads directly from Eargate to Heart Castle and to the Recorder's House.

> Now from *Eargate* the street was streight even to the house of Mr. *Recorder* that so was before *Diabolus* took the Town, and hard by his house stood the *Castle*, which *Diabolus* for a long time had made his irksome den. The Captains therefore did quickly clear that street by the use of their slings, so that way was made up to the heart of the Town.[22]

Faith comes by hearing, and faith helps to expel Diabolonians from the heart and the ear.

There is a high street and a town market, but the majority of streets are nameless. Sinful streets are the exception. These include Villains Lane, Filth Lane, Nauseous Street, Descent into the Pit, Drunkards Row, Raskal Lanes End, Blackmouth Lane and Blasphemers Row. These names appear at the trials of Mr. Incredulity, Mr. Lustings and Mr. Forget-good which allegorize the conviction and mortification of sin after Emanuel occupies the town, since sins subject to mortification must be named. The locations of sinful streets are significant. Mr. Forget-good disparages goodness in '*All-base*-Lane, at a house next door to the Sign of *Conscience seared with an hot iron*'.[23] The seared conscience alludes to 1 Timothy 4: 2: 'in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron'. This is a reference to apostasy.

Witnesses report that Mr. Forget-good had spoken ill of goodness 'In *Flesh*-lane right opposite to the Church'.[24] This is the only occurrence of the word church in *The Holy War*, compared to scores of occurrences in *Grace Abounding* and *The Holy City.* There is also only one use of the word in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, when we read that Mr. Worldly-Wiseman 'always goes to the town of *Morality* to Church'.[25] In these other texts, however, the 'Church' is mainly a figurative term meaning the gathered community and ultimately the true Church signified by a

mountain, a city, or a bride. In this instance, the church is a physical building, like the Church of England that Bunyan attended in Elstow. This small church in Mansoul restricts the Church to one building, connects it to carnal worship in Flesh-Lane, and diminishes it by mentioning it only once.

Streets could acquire reputations for radical religion. As Adrian Johns has shown, Coleman Street 'was London's most notorious – and therefore, for some, attractive – hive of religious radicalism'. [26] In our modern idiom, we would say that streets are 'synonymous' with certain activities (such as Wall Street or Fleet Street). In Mansoul, Drunkard's Row is fixed and defined. To make a street synonymous with a virtue, or even Dissent, would render spiritual growth static. Nameless streets are spaces of potential change because sanctification is a process. And since apostasy is always a possibility, the nameless street can also be a site of conflict and compromise.

I now turn to the process of thinking. I have argued that the sign of the hot iron in All-base Lane signifies apostasy. The iron also evokes the devices of public punishment in Bunyan's England, notably branding irons used to mutilate people of conscience or conviction. In one episode, for example, Diabolus threatens Mansoul with a 'red-hot Summons' to force conformity through fear. The threat causes 'changing and interchanging thoughts' among the townspeople. Streets are spaces of 'changing and interchanging thoughts'. Bunyan establishes this allegory of thought early in the *The Holy War*. For example, when Diabolus first occupies Mansoul, he commands 'that there be spies continually walking up and down the Town of *Mansoul*, and let them have power to suppress, and destroy, any that they shall perceive to be plotting against us'. The marginal gloss reads: 'All good thoughts and words in the Town are to be suppressed'. Conflicted thinking is a motif throughout the allegory. Resistance to Diabolus also begins when 'new thoughts, and thoughts that began to run counter to one another, began to possess the minds of the men of the Town of *Mansoul*'. A conflicted mind is indeed like a busy and crowded street. Conversely, devotion to Emanuel abates when Mr. Carnal Security, or religious conformity, walks 'from street to street, house to house, and man to man' until 'he at last brought *Mansoul* to dance after his pipe, and to grow almost as *carnally secure* as himself'.

Mr. Carnal Security parodies the activity of Emanuel, who 'would often visit the streets, houses, and people of *Mansoul*'.[27] Changing and interchanging thoughts indicate Bunyan's sympathy for the pressures placed on Dissenters. Temporal and cognitive fluctuations parody the clear transformations seen in *Grace Abounding* and *The Holy City.*

Lastly, we can reiterate the activity of reading as it is compared to walking the streets of a town or city. Summarizing de Certeau's concepts of place and space, Adrian Johns, in his compelling historical study of Coleman Street, observes that while 'a place was formed by the mere ordering of elements – the layout of buildings along a street, say – a *space* came into being when a place was supplemented with change occurring over time or across distance. So, a street was a place, in [de Certeau's] view, but a street full of people was a space'.[28] De Certeau compares urban space to the printed page: the 'street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers. In the same way, an act of reading is the space produced by the practice of a particular place: the written text.'[29] Commenting on de Certeau, Johns observes: 'Streets and pages were both places transformed into spaces by human use – by sociability, interaction, and flow. And mediating between places and spaces were stories – histories told by people, which constantly resituated the two with respect to each other and to new elements.' [30]

In *The Holy War*, combat is a metaphor for reading space. Fighting in the streets separates truth and error, as when Emanuel's soldiers clear the street from Eargate to Heart Castle with their slings. The metaphor takes a different turn, however, when Diabolus occupies Mansoul. At one point, a terrible sickness takes hold of Mansoul, as 'many *pale* faces, *weak* hands, *feeble* knees, and staggering men were now seen to walk the streets'. Movement, let alone combat, becomes impossible. A major symptom is the mixing of godly people with Diabolonians: 'there seemed now to be a mixture in *Mansoul*; the *Diabolonians* and the *Mansoulians* would walk the streets together. Yea, they began to seek their peace, for they thought that since the sickness had been so mortal in *Mansoul*, 'twas in vain to go to handigripes with them'. The sickness represents conformity as gradual assimilation to the Diabolonian side. The cause of the sickness is the failure of reading. The result is the loss of difference

'betwixt *Mansoulians* and *Diabolonians*, both seemed to be Masters of *Mansoul*. Yea, the *Diabolonians* increased and grew, but the town of *Mansoul* diminished greatly.'[31]

The weakening of the town leads the Diabolonians to act boldly. Death fills the streets: 'Many in *Mansoul* that were *women*, both young and old, they forced, ravished, and beastlike abused, so that they swooned, miscarried, and many of them died, and so lay at the top of every street, and in all by-places of the Town'. The Diabolonians gradually take possession of the streets, where their spies mix with the people. As well, 'Red-coats, and Black-coats, walked the Town by clusters, and filled up all the houses with hideous noises, vain Songs, lying stories and blasphemous language against *Shaddai* and his Son'.[32] The Red-coats are soldiers, and the Black-coats are priests, walking in a symbolic partnership of church and state.

In battle, opposing armies are distinct; however, Bunyan's street scenes give us a realistic assessment of war. War is occasional battle and prolonged occupation. Occupied populations live more with sickness, scarcity, retribution and oppression than combat. Occupation makes it harder to distinguish friend from foe. The erosion of Dissent, or what Bunyan calls the 'mixture in *Mansoul*', is an allegory of gradual, even passive conformity, in contrast to coerced conformity under threat of violence. Open warfare reasserts distinctions quickly. Noise signals both confusion and distinction. In the time of occupation, for example, the sounds and voices of Mansoul are overwhelmed. Diabolonians shout '*Hell-fire*, *Hell-fire*, *Hell-fire*, so that nothing for a while throughout the Town of *Mansoul* could be heard but the direful noise of *Hell fire*; together with the roaring of *Diabolus*'s drum'. In a time of battle, in contrast, the sounds are distinguished: 'And now there was nothing heard in the Camp of *Diabolus* but horrible rage and blasphemy; but in the Town good words, Prayer and singing of Psalms: the enemy replied with horrible objections, and the terribleness of their *Drum*; but the Town made answer with the slapping of their slings, and the melodious noise of their Trumpets'.[33] The separation of godly voices from Diabolonian noise signifies the hermeneutic outcome Bunyan conceives in this allegory. If reading is like walking in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, where doubts and errors are debated one at a time, then reading in *The Holy*

War involves masses of noise that require separation and discernment. Reading as warfare becomes an allegory of Dissent.

To conclude, attention to street scenes shows how *The Holy War* is more than a complement to the life metaphor of wayfaring in *The Pilgrim's Progress. Grace Abounding* and *The Holy City* illustrate Bunyan's view of the street as both ordinary and transformative. The street in *The Holy War*, in contrast, is an interchange of unresolved voices and noises demanding discernment. Street naming attaches vices to certain streets while leaving unnamed streets open to possibility. Street thinking reveals the pressures Dissenters faced inwardly and outwardly. Street reading motivates resistance through the separation of truth and error. Thus, the allegory exercises Dissenting readers in the discernment and selection of authentic voices. Without exercise, Mansoul falls into a sickness of undifferentiated identities symptomatic of assimilation. The most distinguished voice is Emanuel's, whose voice occupies the reader's mind in the final pages. Emanuel exhorts Mansoul to the continuing trial of reading and resisting. The exercise keeps Mansoul spiritually 'wakening' inwardly, and highly conspicuous outwardly. It makes '*the goings to and fro*' of Mansoul '*like a flash of lightning, that those that are present must take notice of*'.[34]

The 'spatial turn' is in part a turn from the grand temporal narratives expressed in the life metaphors of journey and combat. As we consider theories of space and place of these narratives, we see how they support a close reading of Bunyan's experience in a pluralistic sectarian culture where movement and action entail minority resistance to dominant narratives that subsume religious differences in veneers of national identity. The street, for Bunyan, is a place transformed into space by the practices of sin and sanctity. Visually and aurally, the space of the street is, as de Certeau reminds us, a social text requiring the Dissenting reader to discern which scenes and words are significant. Bunyan's characteristic attention to the corresponding activities of walking and reading the streets adds to our spatial understanding of his texts.

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Notes

1 Cynthia Wall, 'John Bunyan and the Spaces of Religious Writing', in *A Companion to British Literature: Volume II: Early Modern Literature 1450–1660*, edited by Robert DeMaria, Jr., Heesok Chang, and Samantha Zacher (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), pp. 342–358 (p. 345).

2 We should keep in mind that 'place' is the dominant term in Bunyan's time. Our theories of 'space' would be uncertain to him. 'Space' is very infrequent compared to 'place' in early modern writings. Space often denotes a period of time, not an area. One scholar who has examined the issue, notes that a tension arises 'from the fact that historians want, on the one hand, to discuss, or at least to be able to use, the concept of space (spatial turn); but that on the other hand, they also want to give language its due, and be faithful to the actual vocabulary' of the 'period they discuss (linguistic turn)'. Historians and literary critics of the early modern period need to acknowledge that 'space' is 'often alien to their subject matter'. See Yair Mintzker, 'Between the Linguistic and the Spatial Turns: A Reconsideration of the Concept of Space and Its Role in the Early Modern Period', *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques*, 35 (2009), 48. Urban geographers who helped to initiate new interest in space and place privilege place. See Yi-Fu Tan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001) and Tim Cresswell, *Place: An Introduction* (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014).

3 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith (London: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), p. 73.

4 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2011), p. 117.

5 William Blake, 'London', *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, edited by David V. Erdman, (New York: Anchor Press, 1988), p. 26.

6 Robert Darnton, 'First Steps Towards a History of Reading', in *The History of Reading: A Reader*, edited by Shafquat Towheed, Rosalind Crone, and Katie Halsey (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 23.

7 *Grace Abounding with Other Spiritual Autobiographies*, edited by John Stachniewski with Anita Pacheco (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 3. Hereafter cited as *GA*.

8 *The Pilgrim's Progress*, edited by W. R. Owens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 8. Hereafter cited as *PP*.

9 *The Holy War*, edited by James F. Forrest and Roger Sharrock (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 7. Hereafter cited as *HW*.

10 *GA*, p. 9.

11 *GA*, p. 14.

12 *GA*, p. 14.

13 Vera J. Camden, 'John Bunyan and the Goodwives of Bedford: A Psychoanalytic Approach', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bunyan*, edited by Anne Dunan-Page (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 54.

14 Augustine, *Confessions*, translated by Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 152.

15 *The Holy City* (1665), in *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, general editor, Roger Sharrock, 13 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976–94), volume 3, edited by J. Sears McGee (1987), p. 148.

16 Ibid., p. 151.
17 Ibid.
18 *PP*, p. 86.
19 Kirsty Milne, *At Vanity Fair: From Bunyan to Thackeray* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 22.
20 *PP*, pp. 86, 87, 95.
21 Sue Zemka, 'Brief Encounters: Street Scenes in Gaskell's Manchester', *English Literary History*, 76 (2009), 793.
22 *HW*, p. 87.
23 *HW*, p. 124.
24 *HW*, p. 124.
25 *PP*, p. 23.
26 Adrian Johns, 'Coleman Street', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71 (2008), 33.
27 *HW*, pp. 231, 31, 53, 151, 115.
28 Johns, 'Coleman Street', p. 52.
29 De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 117.
30 Johns, 'Coleman Street', pp. 52–53.
31 *HW*, pp. 158, 180.
32 *HW*, pp. 204, 205.
33 *HW*, pp. 204, 197–98.
34 *HW*, p. 248.

‘Heroick vertue’: Joseph Alleine’s Letters and Protestant Martyrology

In April 1801, a subscriber to the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, calling himself ‘W. B.’, wrote a letter to the editor, Sylvanus Urban, to describe a manuscript he owned:

> *April 2.*
> Mr. Urban,
> I have so frequently observed the attention with which you notice the enquiries of your numerous correspondents, that I feel encouraged to indulge the pleasing hope of experiencing a similar kindness. A very neat quarto MS. lately came into my possession. It is intituled, “Diverse Christian letters, written by that worthy divine Mr. Joseph Alleine, minister of the Gospel at Taunton in Somersetshire, assistant to Mr. Newton, Prov. x. 7. The memory of the just is blessed: but the name of the wicked shall rot.” The MS. is subscribed *James White*, *Anno* 1718; the name, probably, of the transcriber. It consists of forty-six pages, well filled.
>
> The language and sentiments of this little work are truly excellent; and I confess, Mr. Urban, my curiosity has been strongly excited to know the character and life of the venerable writer. He appears to have been a non-juring Protestant clergyman, who was confined in the common gaol at Ilchester, in September, 1668. He resided at Bath in October 1668. This is all the intelligence I can deduce from the MS.[1]

‘W. B.’ then proceeded to quote a lengthy passage from one of Alleine’s letters transcribed in James White’s manuscript, which he describes as an ‘admirable prayer’:

> O Father of Spirits, that hast set me over thy flock to watch for their souls, as one that must give an account! I have long studied thy will,

and taught in thy name; and do unfeignedly bless thee that any have believed my report. I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me, and they have received them. I have manifested thy name unto them, and they have kept thy word. And now I am no more with them, but I come unto thee: holy Father, keep them through thine own name, for they are thine. As they have kept the word of thy patience, so keep thou them in the hour of temptation. They are but a flock, a little and a helpless flock; but thou art their shepherd. Suffer them not to want. Do thou feed them and fold them. Let thy rod and thy staff comfort them; and let not the beast of prey fall upon them to the spoiling of their souls.

But what shall I do for them that will not be gathered? I have called after them, but they would not answer; I have charged them in thy name, but they would not hear; I have studied to speak persuasively to them, but I cannot prevail. Then I said, 'I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought, yet I cannot give them over!' Much less may I give thee over.

Lord, persuade *Japhet* to dwell in the tents of Shem. Lord, compel them to come in, and lay the hands of mercy upon them as thou didst upon lingering Lot; and bring them forth, that they escape for their lives and be not consumed. Lord, I pray thee, open their eyes that they may see; and lay hold upon their hearts by omnipotent grace. Do thou turn them, and they shall be turned. Oh! bring back the miserable captives; and suffer not the enemy of mankind to drive away the most of the flock before mine eyes! Oh! Let him not deride the fruitless endeavours of thy labourers, and boast over them, that he can do more with them, though he seek to ruin them, than all the beseechings, counsels, and charges of thy servants who seek to save them! Lord, if I could find out any thing that would pierce them, that would make its way into their hearts, thou knowest I would use it. But, I have been many years pleading thy cause in vain. Oh! let not these endeavours all be lost. O God, find out every ignorant, every prophane sinner, every prayerless soul, and every prayerless family: convince them of their miserable condition, whilst without thee in the world. Set thine image upon their souls. Set up thy worship in their families. Let not pride, ignorance, or slothfulness, keep them in neglect of the means of knowledge. Let thine

> eyes be over the place of my desire for good; from one end of the year to the other end thereof. Let every house therein be a seminary of religion; and let those who cast their eyes upon these lines, find thee entering by the secret influence of thy grace into their hearts, and irresistibly engaging them to do thy pleasure. Amen! Amen!
>
> Joseph Alleine.[2]

The letter from which this prayer derives was first published in *The Life and Death of Mr. Joseph Alleine* (1671), and it was also included in the subsequent collection of Alleine's letters, *Christian Letters full of Spiritual Instructions* (1673).[3] The biography was organised by Alleine's wife, Theodosia, with contributions from Richard Baxter, Richard Alleine (Alleine's father-in-law), and several others. This particular letter is also the only one chosen for inclusion by Alleine himself in a work for which he was known during his lifetime but which appears to have survived only in posthumously dated publications, his explanation of the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism, where it is described (on the title page) as 'a letter of Christian counsel, to a destitute flock'.[4]

Even though 'W. B.' has no apparent knowledge of Joseph Alleine himself, he has a sense that there was something special about these letters, and it is curious to see such a lengthy passage from a fervently evangelistic letter reprinted in the context of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. It suits well Edmund Calamy's description of Alleine as 'a man of extraordinary evangelistic zeal'.[5] The letter is a good example of the kind of tenor with which Alleine wrote all his letters, acknowledging the apostolic heritage of his epistolary practices, which is the primary interest of this essay.

Alleine and his letters

Joseph Alleine (1634–1668) was a well-known Presbyterian minister, best known for his book *An Alarme to Unconverted Sinners* which was published posthumously in 1672 and frequently reprinted. His letters were primarily written to his congregation at St Mary Magdalene, Taunton, in Somerset. He was assistant to the famous rector there, George Newton, from the time he was invited by Newton and the congregation in 1655 (as a fellow and chaplain at Corpus Christi College,

Oxford), until he was ejected, along with Newton, in 1662. Both of them remained in the vicinity of Taunton after 1662, and they kept their Taunton congregation together by holding conventicles (meeting together for services and worship in private houses). Even in this period of persecution, Alleine was known to preach in the area up to fourteen times a week. He experienced two periods of imprisonment for his preaching activities, for a year from May 1663 until May 1664 and then again for sixty days starting in July 1665, when he was arrested for holding a service in the home of John Mallack, a wealthy wool merchant. Alleine had been living at Mallack's house, and was arrested with his wife Theodosia, his father, and seven other ministers. Those refusing to pay the fine of £3 were imprisoned in Ilchester Gaol. Alleine's health was badly affected by his periods of imprisonment, and he died at Bath in November 1668.

In style and substance, Alleine's letters indicate that he anticipated a readership broader than his congregation at St Mary Magdalene. They reflect a Puritan spirituality deliberately echoing that of the earliest radical Protestants, and the letters of the Protestant martyrs in particular, written more than a century before but printed and reprinted in numerous editions, abridgements, and anthologies. Alleine's letters likewise have an extensive publication history. In 1767, John Wesley produced what was their fourth edition as part of his *Christian Library* series, which was designed to guide 'serious readers' within Methodism towards the best of English practical divinity.[6] In his preface Wesley compared Alleine to the famous Scottish Presbyterian letter-writer, Samuel Rutherford:

> To the Reader.
> The letters of Mr. Samuel Rutherford have been generally admired by all the children of God, into whose hands they have fallen, for the vein of piety, trust in God, and holy zeal, which run through them. The same piety, zeal and confidence in God, shine through all the letters of Mr. Alleine; so that in this respect he may well be styled the English Rutherford. But yet there is a very discernible difference between them: in piety and fervour of spirit they are the same; but the fervour of the one more resembles that of St. Paul; of the other, that of St. John. They were both men of the most intrepid courage; but in love Mr. Alleine

> has the pre-eminence. He seems to excel in bowels of mercy, meekness, gentleness, in tenderness, mildness and sweetness of spirit, even to his bitterest enemies. I do not therefore scruple to give these letters the preference even to Mr. Rutherford's; as expressing, in a still higher degree, the love that is long-suffering and kind, which is not provoked, which thinketh no evil, and which hopeth, believeth, and endureth all things.
>
> John Wesley. London, March 7, 1767.

Wesley, himself a prodigious letter-writer, articulates here with some subtlety an enduring legacy of 'Christian letters' within a reformed Protestant tradition. Alleine and Rutherford are two archetypes of Protestant Nonconformity: their letters reveal evidences of piety, zeal, and assurance, but they are also explicitly apostolic in character and style. Wesley may have had a personal reason for preferring Alleine's letters over Rutherford's. His grandfather, who appears in Calamy as John Westley (1636–1678), ejected from Winterborne Whitchurch in North Dorset, conducted a Dissenting ministry around Ilminster, Bridgwater and Taunton, and was supported by Joseph Alleine, who gave him preaching opportunities in the parish.[7]

Letters played an important role in the expression of a literary culture that could be described as 'Puritan' – apostolic in model, and part of a reformed Protestant tradition, including Protestantism's martyrological tradition. The Reformation origins of the Puritan movement meant that later Puritans were continually gesturing towards the immense debt they owed to the literature of the Reformation. This is commonplace, but what is often not acknowledged is that this fundamentally included the example and legacy of the *letters* of the Reformation, beginning with the letters of the martyrs as they were printed and voraciously consumed through the many editions of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* and in Miles Coverdale and Henry Bull's *Letters of the Martyrs*, and various anthologies and compendiums which presented such examples across the seventeenth century. Joseph Alleine is one excellent example of a Nonconformist who saw the apostolic epistolary tradition as something he ought to uphold, and who referred explicitly to the letters of the Protestant martyrs to demonstrate his spiritual allegiances.

Alleine's letters are documents of this radical Protestant spirituality which placed the Protestant Reformation tradition at its heart. They record for a wide readership (those named, and other anticipated readers more widely) the writer's experiences of communion with God, encouraging readers to share in these experiences – learning from them, and delighting in them. One of the anonymous friends who contributed to his biography, writing on Alleine's view of 'Forms' – that is, of the public use of forms of prayer in worship – noted that Alleine was in fact not opposed to reciting the *Te Deum*, emphasising that he

> abandoned not all Forms, but their Formal use; neither those in particular, publickly Established, (through a fond Prejudice, or Partiality, as may be affirmed of too many) but hath been heard much to commend that Form of Thanksgiving, both Excellent and Antient, *viz.* the *Te Deum*, and particularly that Sentence in it, *The noble Army of Martyrs praise thee*; which he was wont to mention with a certain Exultation.

This same friend, reporting on '*the Portraiture of a compleat gospel minister*', tells us that Alleine saw a fundamental importance in acknowledging the historical martyrs as part of an ongoing – and living – communion of saints.[8]

In a letter first printed in the *Remaines of that Excellent Minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. Joseph Alleine* (1674) Alleine concludes with a direct invocation of the martyr Lawrence Saunders's characteristic tripartite exhortation to the recipients of his letters:

> Well, I conclude with the Martyr, pray, pray, pray; I know you do, but be importunate; I know you are, but continue to be, and the Lord fill you with himself, and cherish you in the secrets of his presence; Farewel,
>
> *Christs and Yours*
> Joseph Alleine.[9]

Lawrence Saunders was the Protestant prisoner and martyr burnt in 1555, whose letters written from the Marshalsea are known particularly through

Coverdale and Bull's collection, *Certain Most Godly, Fruitful, and Comfortable Letters of True Saintes and Holy Martyrs of God* (1564), often commonly referred to as the 'Letters of the Martyrs'. The recipient of Alleine's letter, an unnamed 'intimate friend', is expected to recognise this martyr's classic epistolary repetition of 'pray, pray, pray'. Saunders's letters are full of repetitive exhortations like this. But Alleine's recipient is, and all the wider community of godly readers are, of course, being exhorted to pray in precisely this fashion: incessantly, and with the familiar lingua of the martyrs of their shared godly heritage in the forefront of their minds. There is a sense here that these words are re-appropriated, in an idiom that survives and is being continually exercised. This is not just about appealing back to a kind of shared knowledge, but also about the fact that the precise identity of the martyr is not as important as the legacy that his letters helped to institute: to a shared and lasting exhortation to, together, pray. Alleine's father-in-law, Richard Alleine (also a likely kinsman), directly linked Alleine's prayerfulness with expressions in his letters, picking up on the regularity with which these occurred:

> In some of his Letters to me, when he had been speaking of the grace and goodness of God to him, of the sense whereof he would seem to be even quite swallowed up, he would break off with some such Expressions as these, *I am full of the Mercies of the Lord*; *O Love the Lord for me*; *O praise the Lord for my sake*; *O help me, help me to praise the Lord.*[10]

The Life and Death of Mr. Joseph Alleine

Alleine's letters were first made available to a wider readership through the posthumous biography of him, orchestrated by his widow, the wonderfully named Theodosia, who printed forty of them (nearly all of those extant) over 167 pages at the back of the volume.[11] This *Life* of Alleine was widely celebrated. Anthony Wood, always cynical about the Nonconformist cause, wrote about the publication in the following terms:

> Not long after [Alleine's death in 1668] was published his life written by Mr. *Rich. Baxter* (who wrot also the introduction) *Rich. Alleine,*

> *Rich. Faireclough, George Newton*, his Widow *Theodosia Alleine*, and two conforming Ministers, who conceal their names. From which Sermon and canting farce or life, especially that ridiculous discourse of *Theodosia*, the reader may easily understand what a grand zealot for the cause this our author *Jos. Alleine* was, and how his life was spent in actions busie, forward, (if not pragmatical) and medling without intermission.[12]

The wide recognition the biography received doesn't need much reinforcement. In his autobiography, Richard Baxter named Alleine's *Life* as an influence upon the life and work of the London minister, Thomas Gouge, ejected from the parish of St Sepulchre's: 'The reading of Mr *Jos. Allens* Life hath raised his resolution & activity to such a course of life, which was farre higher than other mens before.'[13] Again, in his 1672 preface to James Janeway's biography of John Janeway, Baxter writes that it is the eminent success of Alleine's *Life* that has inspired his decision to support the publication: 'The good acceptance and success of the late published Life and Death of Mr. *Joseph Alleine*, the more encourageth me to serve thee in this.'[14] Baxter wrote this in the same year the *Life* appeared, so its impact, for a man who had little published output before his death, was fairly immediate. However, Baxter's remark was perhaps also (or instead?) a subtle promotion for the biography. He himself was a contributing author, and Alleine was not particularly well-known by the time he died, so the circle of Puritans involved in bringing his writings to publication and gaining notoriety (such as Baxter, and Alleine's father-in-law, Richard Alleine), perhaps knew the value of recognition in print elsewhere. Dewey D. Wallace makes the important point that there is a noticeable circularity to the promotion of Alleine in a so-called Baxterian circle. Baxter wrote the introduction to the *Life and Death* (of Joseph Alleine), in which he referred to the 'not yet printed' *Alarme to the Unconverted*, in which he (Baxter) would contribute the introductory 'epistle to the unconverted reader' (presumably this is how he knew it was to be printed, in time), and Baxter's own books were advertised at length in a number of Alleine's posthumous works published by Nevil Simmons, the printer of many Dissenting works.[15] Certainly, by 1683 on the basis of Theodosia's

Life, Alleine was sufficiently a Puritan luminae to be accorded a 'Life' in Samuel Clarke's *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in the Later Age*.[16]

In Richard Mayo's biography of the Presbyterian Edmund Staunton he quotes from one 'J. M.', another contemporary and a fellow of Corpus Christi who rated Alleine's *Life* extremely highly. Staunton was the President of Corpus Christi (from 1649–60) throughout the Protectorate, when Alleine was at Corpus first for his BA, from 1651 (when he transferred from Lincoln College), and then as chaplain from 1653. It seems likely that 'J. M.' is John Milward (or Millward), the Vice-President of Corpus during Alleine's time there. He was a native of Somerset, born at Shepton Mallet, and at the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 he is found being licensed as a Presbyterian at the home of a George Milward (possibly his father?) back in Somerset, in the village of Farncombe. (He died between 1680 and 1683.) He evidently kept his Somerset connections alive. Farncombe is a tiny hamlet southeast of Shepton Mallet, and just a few miles from Batcombe, the long-term home of Richard Alleine, Joseph's father-in-law who, though ejected from the church there in 1662, continued to preach and attend conventicles in the same area (around Batcombe and Frome). These close Somerset proximities (and there are several more) suggest that John Milward very likely knew of Joseph Alleine's post-Oxford reputation first-hand. According to 'J. M.', Staunton:

> lived to see some fruit of his Labours, to his great joy and contentment; for a competent number of them, who were educated, *ab origine* [from the beginning], under his care, became Learned, well-disposed, and pious men. I cannot refrain, but must mention one of them, *viz.* Mr. *Joseph Alleine,* late Minister of the Gospel at *Taunton* in *Somersetshire*; for as he was a great comfort to this holy man, while he continued in the *College*; so it did revive him to hear (for he was often enquiring after such as had been of his House, *as a father after his children*) that he proved so eminently pious, and useful a man in the Church of God.
>
> But, had he lived to see the Relation of his [ie. Alleine's] Life, now published since his Death, he would have fallen into an *extasie* of joy: And I have so much charity for some, that were instrumental about his great Sufferings, and often Imprisonments, as to believe, that if they

> would please to read the Relation aforesaid, wherein both *Conformists* and *Nonconformists* agree to give him an high testimony for his great parts, Learning, peaceable spirit, quiet deportment, zeal of the right kind, with ardent love to God, and man, extending to the worst of his enemies, their hearts would smite them for giving so good a man so much trouble: however, he is, now, *where the weary are at rest*, Job 3.17.[17]

These appraisals of the *Life and Death* are significant, for they confirm just how widely Alleine's letters were read by contemporary readers, and imply that the kind of 'extasie of joy' that Staunton would have felt upon reading it might have derived as much from the testimony of the man the letters provided as any other part of the biography.

The apostolic model

Richard Alleine wrote of Joseph's particular love and care for his congregation in Taunton, expressed through 'frequent and affectionate Letters to them when he was absent', but Theodosia also reflected upon the apostolic model underpinning her husband's wider epistolary ministry, noting that he had 'also Writ many Holy, and Gracious, and Affectionate Letters to all his Relations, and many other Friends, to many Churches of Christ in other parts and places, both far and near'.[18] Some letters are addressed to congregations far beyond Somerset – places where Alleine had, at one point, preached, or had been invited to preach. A good example is a letter dated 11 October 1665 written by Alleine to the congregation at Luppit, in east Devon. The ejected vicar of this church was Thomas Wellman, which may explain why Alleine was visiting Luppitt. Not only was Wellman from a Somerset family (Ilchester), but he was most likely a close associate of George Newton. During the civil war he had fled to Taunton, and was there when the royalist siege was famously ended by Fairfax, on 11 May 1645.[19] This was a day annually commemorated by Newton with a sermon.[20] According to Calamy, by 1672 Wellman's house was listed as a Nonconformist meeting place, and so it is quite possible that Alleine had been intending to travel there to preach before he was arrested in 1665. He writes to the Luppitt believers in an overtly apostolic manner; his

theme is the imminent coming of Christ, and maintaining steadfast hope in the meantime:

> *To my dear Friends the Servants of Christ in* Luppit, *Salvation.*
> *Beloved Christians,*
> Having taken up a Resolution to Write to, and to endeavour to confirm all the Places, where I have gone up and down Preaching the Kingdom of God, You were by no means to be omitted. You were the People that were last upon my Heart, before my taking up, and had I not been made a Prisoner, I think I had in a few hours after the time of my Apprehension been with you. Now I can no way but by Prayers, Letters, and Councels visit you; and so have sent these, to let you know, that you are upon my Heart, and that your Welfare is dear unto me. I bless the Lord to hear that his Work doth not cease among You. […] And how blessed will you be if you do but continue and hold fast till he come! […] He is able to bear you out, and bear you up: Faint not therefore, but be stedfast, unmoveable, abounding in the works of the Lord. Speak often one to another, provoke to Love, and to good Works. Let the Bay of Opposition against Godliness, make the Torrent of your Zeal break over with the more violence. But it's time to end, I have been bold to call upon you, you see; and to stir you up by way of Remembrance. May the Spirit of the most high God excite you, encourage you, enflame you: May these poor Lines be some quickening to you: may the Good-will of him that dwelt in the Bush dwell with you. My dear Loves to you all, Pray for the Prisoners. Farewel dear Brethren, farewell in the Lord, I am
> *Yours in the Bonds of the Lord Jesus,*
> JOS. ALLEINE.[21]

In another letter, this time from prison at Ilchester in October 1663, Alleine writes to '*the Servants of Christ in* Huntington' who have been practical supporters of his ministry:

> I have been willing to be much more serviceable to you: But now, Letters & Prayers are all that I have for you; of these I shall be ready to be prodigal. Your love to me hath been very bountiful: I may not

> forget the liberal Supplies that you have sent, many of you, even out of your poverty to me; and not to me only, but to the whole Familie of my Brethren, and Fellow-Prisoners, who do all bless you.[22]

There is a Huntington (as opposed to the Huntingdon of Cambridgeshire – which is always possible) in Cheshire and Staffordshire, but it is perhaps just as likely that Alleine meant the Huntington just over the border in Wales, not far from Kington in Herefordshire. Alleine was one of several Puritans keen to evangelise their Welsh neighbours and he had apparently been planning a mission trip to Wales. According to Richard Alleine, he

> went forth frequently into several places about the Country, amongst the poor Ignorant people that lived in dark Corners, and had none to take care of them, and both Preached to them himself, and stirred up many of his Brethren; whose forward minds readily joyned with him, to set up standing Lectures amongst them. He had an Eye to poor *Wales*, and had an Influence upon the sending over some Ministers to them: He resolved also to have gone and spent some time amongst them himself, and by all the disswasions of his Friends, from his great Weakness and Unfitness for Travail, he was hardly withheld from his Purpose. [23]

A Call to Archippus

My argument in this essay is in part that Joseph Alleine was more overt in his preference for epistolary writing than is usually acknowledged, not only because it was a convenient mode through which to continue his 'preaching' ministry during the absences enforced by imprisonment, but because this was an explicitly apostolic imperative. The only extant publication produced in his lifetime was his appeal to all ministers, after the Act of Uniformity, to continue in their calling in spite of persecution. In the *Life*, Theodosia explains that,

> My Husband having here [in prison] more Freedom, made a little Book, Entitled *A Call to Archippus*, to stir up his Non-conforming Brethren, to be diligent at their Work, whatsoever Dangers and Sufferings they might meet withal.[24]

A Call to Archippus (1664), takes as its titular biblical reference the apostle Paul's message for Archippus, an early Christian believer at Colossae, in his letter to the Colossians: 'And say to *Archippus*, Take heed to the Ministry, which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it' (Colossians 4:17). Archippus is also mentioned in the epistle to Philemon, where he is sent greetings and is called a 'fellow soldier' (Philemon 1:2). It is likely that he was a church leader – possibly even one who held gatherings in his own home. According to tradition Archippus was stoned to death near Laodicea.

In his *Call to Archippus*, styled in itself as an apostolic epistle, Alleine appeals explicitly to the effective medium of the Christian letter for the ejected clergy:

> If the Magistrate doth forbid Sermons to your People, he doth not forbid Letters. Why do you not call upon and quicken them frequently by these? If he forbid you the Pulpits, he doth not forbid you your neighbours houses. Why are they no more visited? may you not preach to a private Family, or single person? [The marginal note here adds, 'See Christ & his Apostles preaching in private houses (now called *Conventicling*).'] And such was our Saviours, and the Apostles preaching, oft-times. You might be the shorter and the oftner this way, and this would be a likely means of doing no little good, if painfully followed. Though you are forbidden to set open the Windows and keep Publick Trading, yet what hinders but that you may have a private Warehouse? Is it forbidden you to write out a Sermon once or twice a week and send it amongst your People, and let it be read in their Families, and Copies conveyed from hand to hand. This some have done, and this would be a Testimony to your People of your constant care for their souls, and that you are willing to do what you thought you *lawfully* might: whereas now they will say, they see the contrary.[25]

As in the letter discussed at the start of this essay, Alleine closes this letter to his fellow ministers with a prayer, which again appeals to his readers to join him in communal prayer to the '*Shepherd and Bishop of Souls*':

> *the great and good Shepherd of the Sheep, that gavest thy self for them, that gavest thy Ministry to them, for the perfecting of thy Saints, for the edifying of thy Body; Quicken thy forgetful Stewards, to look to the pinching wants of thy distressed Family.* […] *So we thy People, and Sheep of thy Pasture, will give thee thanks for ever, and praise thy Name to all Generations. O Lord, thy People say,* Amen. *Let all thy Ministers say,* Amen, *Lord Jesus, say thou,* Amen.[26]

Explanation of the Shorter Catechism

I want to turn now to the letter with which I began – the letter which so impressed James White, and the reader of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and which Alleine 'subjoyned' to his *Explanation of the Assemblies Shorter Catechism*. While the first edition is no longer extant, both Baxter and Theodosia Alleine refer to this work as having been printed during Alleine's lifetime, so it must have been circulating sometime before 1668. Baxter wrote, 'He Printed an Exposition of the Assemblies Catechism, with an Exhortation to use it. As also Prayers for his Peoples use.'[27]

Alleine was particularly passionate about catechising. One of his final projects before his death was to seek the promotion of catechizing in Somersetshire and Wiltshire by raising money, with another minister, Joseph Barnard, to have 6000 of the Westminster Assembly's *Shorter Catechism* printed for distribution to children, as Theodosia explains.

> At this time he had a great desire to go to Mr. *Joseph Barnards*, which was about five Miles from *Bath*, there to finish his last Work for God, that ever he did on Earth; which was to promote the Exercise of Catechising in *Sommersetshire* and *Wiltshire*: Mr. *Barnard* having had a great deliverance as well as himself, he proposed this to him as their Thank-Offering to God, which they would joyntly tender to him. They had ingaged one to another, to give so much for the Printing of Six Thousand of the *Assemblies Catechism*, and among other Friends, to raise *some Money, for to send to every Minister* that would Ingage in the *work,* and to *give to the Children for their Incouragement in Learning*: This Work was finished by Mr. *Barnard*, after my Husband was gone to his Rest.[28]

This interest in catechising is further illustrated by the inclusion in *Christian Letters* of Alleine's and Barnard's joint letter 'to the Ministers of *Somersetshire* and *Wiltshire*, for the instructing of Families by way of Catechising'.[29] Alleine also promoted catechising in a letter to his Taunton congregation, as Theodosia outlines:

> for the help of the Governours of Families, in their Weekly Catechizing those under their charge, he *explained all the Assemblies shorter Catechism*, to which he Annexed an affectionate Letter, with Rules for their daily Examination; which were Printed and Dispersed into all their Houses by his Order, while he was a Prisoner.[30]

The point of the letter in this context becomes about turning the chief points of Alleine's exposition of the Shorter Catechism into readable, conversational prose, and to reinforce the purpose of catechizing: the salvation of souls. But to include this epistolary summary at the end of the publication adds a layer of urgency and places the exposition in a certain time and place. It makes the recipients (his Taunton congregation) immediately accountable, and yet it also reads with an urgent tone – for any later reader, elsewhere.

The letter is addressed 'To the most endeared People, the Inhabitants of *Taunton*; Salvation. *Most dearly beloved and longed for, my Joy and Crown*.'[31] The wording of this opening salutation is taken directly from the apostle Paul's letter to the Philippians (4:1): 'Therefore, my brethren dearly beloved and longed for, my joy and crown, so stand fast in the Lord, my dearly beloved.' In imitating this archetype, Alleine's letter becomes applicable to any reader of any time. It outlines for his congregation the ways to salvation and sanctification – the two being essentially entwined, in Alleine's view:

> Beloved, I despair of ever bringing you to salvation, without sanctification: or possessing you of happiness, without perswading you to holiness. God knows I have not the least hope ever to see one of your faces in heaven, except you be converted and sanctified, and exercise your selves unto Godliness. This is that I drive at. I beseech you study to further personal godliness and family godliness.[32]

There are many biblical echoes in the letter. For example, it begins, 'My hearts desire and prayer for you is, that you may be saved', which half-echoes the Gospel of John (5:34), 'these things I say, that ye might be saved'. Returning to the letter to the Philippians again, Alleine offers what can only be described as another half-echo: 'this is the prize and the gain that I run for, that I might win souls. I seek not other gifts, give me your hearts.' For Paul, the metaphor of running for the prize speaks for attaining Christ – 'I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus' (Philippians 3:14) – but Alleine's implication is the same, for Paul later writes (in the same letter, which seems to be Alleine's primary model), 'Brethren, be followers together of me, and mark them which walk so as ye have us for an ensample' (Philippians 3:17). That is, Alleine intends for his personal example to be followed, and to be the prompt to repentance and salvation, the cost of his 'breath, or ink'. He follows the Pauline model to the extent of reiterating the price of running 'in vain'; like Paul in Philippians 2:16, he says 'Beloved, I am afraid of you lest (as to many of you) I have run in vain'.[33]

In essence, the theme of Alleine's letter is also the nub of Paul's letter to the Philippians: 'Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have always obeyed, not as in my presence only, but now much more in my absence, work out your own salvation with fear and trembling' (Philippians 2:12). That is, in his absence, Alleine's letter works as a substitute for his pastoral presence where, he admits, he would visit them often: 'Do not wonder why I follow you so pressingly, why I call upon you so frequently; let not my importunity be grievous to you, all this is but to save you.'[34] It is worth noting that as the apostolic letter was often explicitly to be circulated amongst households and amongst several congregations, so too Alleine is most likely anticipating a wide readership. In practical terms, we can imagine his letter being read aloud, to several dozen listeners, and also perhaps circulating from one private household gathering or conventicle to the next.

Through the letter, as much as in person, Alleine was, as his biographer described, 'infinitely and insatiably greedy of the conversion of souls.'[35] It is catechizing which especially energises him, and into which he binds his own reputation:

> What, to this day without solemn catechising in your houses? Ah, what a discouragement to your Teacher is this? Brethren, shall I yet prevail with you? Will you reject me now also? […] Surely I have done and suffered more for you then this comes to: will you deny me? I beseech you let me find, if ever God do bring me again to visit your houses, that the words of a suffering Minister have some power with you. I have sent you an help on purpose.[36]

In this work he claims a similar sense of achievement as the apostle John in his third epistle (3 John 1:4): 'Oh that your families might be a joy to me, as that twice noble Ladies to *John*; who professes he had no greater joy, then to find her children walking in the truth!'[37] Alleine's point is not just that these households of believers are prospering spiritually, but that it is by letter that he can maintain the same kind of apostolic position, as their teacher and encourager. He calls himself a 'travelling Minister' and uses the final part of his letter to build up, through a series of rhetorical questions, to the long prayer with which he concludes (the one quoted in the *Gentleman's Magazine*), in the same way as the martyrs, 'Amen. Amen' (and without any name or date).[38]

To conclude with a prayer allows Alleine's recipients both to observe first hand his outpouring to God on their behalf, and it invites them to participate in it, as a corporate appeal. This is, of course, the effect of concluding with the duplicate 'Amen. Amen.' In one sense, it makes it resounding, emphatic. But in another sense it acts antiphonally, 'Amen', followed by the corporate 'Amen', in unison. The prayer itself follows this form. Alleine opens with a paragraph giving an account of his own faithfulness to his calling; that he has kept his side of the covenant: '*I have long studied thy will, and taught in thy name, and do unfeignedly bless thee, that any have believed my report. I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me, and they have received them.*' This is followed with an appeal to God to keep his covenant: '*They are but a flock, a little and a helpless flock: but thou art their shepherd, suffer them not to want. Do thou feed them, and fold them.*' The letter builds continually in this ardent appeal to God – expressing desperation in his efforts to bring his congregation to salvation: '*Lord if I could find out any thing that would pierce them, that would make its way into their*

hearts, thou knowest I would use it' – and often paraphrasing Scripture. In these ways, we can see how Alleine's letter works not just to inform, but to unite, as well as to encourage his readers into a practical piety in the very moment of reading his letter.[39]

Alleine's letter throughout demonstrates an implicit awareness of a wider readership (an audience to his prayer), but at the very end he makes this quite explicit, turning the corporate observance into a practical involvement, with responsibility:

> *Let every house therein be a seminary of Religion, and let those that cast their eyes upon these lines, find thee sliding in by the secret influence of thy grace into their hearts, and irresistibly engaging them to do thy pleasure. Amen, Amen*.[40]

Alleine prioritises the reader – those viewing the 'lines' – but effectively recognises that there can be a work of grace enacted through the letter, as he knows all too well from the witness of the apostolic letter.

As I have argued, Alleine would have known of the witness of the letters of the martyrs, published and circulated widely through Foxe and Coverdale, and other anthologies, and he would have known that their letters almost uniformly close with appeals to corporate prayer. In this way, Alleine was remembering – perhaps even re-appropriating – a radical Protestant tradition that wielded the letter sometimes as an evangelistic tool, but most fully as a means to strengthening the corporate identity of the godly.

George Newton, in his hagiographical reflections, revealed just how central to Alleine's reputation and legacy were the letters he wrote:

> For his Heart was an Epistle, written not with Ink, but with the Spirit of the Living God: And out of this Epistle, he drew many excellent things. In the course of his Ministry, he was a good Man, and in his Heart, a good Treasure; whence he was wont continually to bring forth good things, both in Publique and Private. […] He was Infinitely, and Insatiably greedy of the Conversion of Souls, wherein he had no small success, in the time of his Ministry: And to this end, he poured out his very Heart in Prayer, and in Preaching; *He imparted not the Gospel*

> *only, but his own Soul*. His Supplications, and his Exhortations [i.e. his epistolary exhortations], many times were so Affectionate, so full of holy Zeal, Life, and Vigor, that they quite overcame his Hearers: He melted over them, so that he Thawed and Mollified, and sometimes dissolved the hardest Hearts. But while he Melted thus, he wasted, and at last Consumed himself.[41]

Newton depicts Alleine's deliberate Christian stance through an intrinsically apostolic metaphor, and one which demonstrates a shared testimony of the spiritual and pastoral efficacy of writing letters in the apostolic manner.

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Notes

I am grateful to Bob Owens for his detailed comments on an earlier draft of this essay, originally delivered as a paper at a 2018 IJBS Regional Day Conference held at Keele University.

1 *Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle*, vol. 71 (May, 1801), p. 400. 'Sylvanus Urban', the generic pseudonym of editors of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, was coined by the founding editor, Edward Cave.

2 Ibid., p. 401. White's transcription is a very accurate one, with variants primarily on the level of punctuation (he adds several exclamation marks and some commas and semi-colons here and there), but Alleine's original wording in the last line, 'sliding in by the secret influence of [God's] grace', is changed to the more purposeful agency of 'entering' ('by the secret influence of thy grace').

3 See Theodosia Alleine, *The Life and Death of Mr. Joseph Alleine, Late Teacher of the Church at Taunton, in Sommersetshire, Assistant to Mr. Newton. Whereunto are Annexed Diverse Christian Letters of his, full of Spiritual Instructions Tending to the Promoting of the Power of Godliness, both in Persons, and Families. And his Funeral Sermon, Preached by Mr. Newton* (Printed, *Anno. Dom*. 1671). This edition is cited hereafter as *Life and Death.* It should be noted that although this first edition states that it is printed in 1671, the actual date of publication is usually presumed to have been 1672, which is how the work is frequently cited. See also, [Joseph Alleine,] *Christian Letters full of Spiritual Instructions, Tending to the Promoting of the Power of Godliness, both in Person and Families* (London, 1673); cited hereafter as *Christian Letters*. I am grateful to Isabel Rivers for checking and clarifying that *Christian Letters* (1673) is clearly a separate publication (ESTC Citation no. R28090, BL 4906.b.59),

while *Christian Letters* as it appears in *Life and Death* (1672) has no separate title page or imprint, even though it is separately paginated (ESTC Citation no. R10598, BL 4906.aa.63). BL 4906.b.59 contains three items bound together: *Life and Death*, *Christian Letters*, and *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Mr. Joseph Alleine, by Mr. George Newton* (1673).

4 *A Most Familiar Explanation of the Assemblies Shorter Catechism* […]. *To which is Added, in the Close, a most Brief Help for the Necessary, but much Neglected Duty of Self-examination, to be Daily Perused. And to this is Subjoyned, a Letter of Christian Counsel, to a Destitute Flock. By Jos. Allaine, late Preacher of the Gospel at Taunton in Somerset-shire* (1672). This is the earliest edition cited in ESTC (Wing (2nd edn, 1994) A973A), but both Theodosia Alleine and Richard Baxter refer to it as being known during Alleine's lifetime; see *Life and Death*, pp. 17, 60.

5 *Calamy Revised: Being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced, 1660–2*, ed. A. G. Matthews (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 6.

6 See Joseph Alleine, *Christian Letters*, ed. John Wesley (London: n. p., 1767). See further Isabel Rivers, *Vanity Fair and the Celestial City: Dissenting, Methodist and Evangelical Literary Culture in England 1720–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p.123; Timothy W. Holgerson, 'To The "Serious Reader": The Influence Of John Wesley's *A Christian Library* On Methodism, 1752–1778' (unpublished MA thesis, Kansas State University, 2011); Robert C. Monk, *John Wesley: His Puritan Heritage* (London: Epworth Press, 1966); Isabel Rivers, 'John Wesley as Editor and Publisher', in *The Cambridge Companion to John Wesley*, ed. Randy L. Maddox and Jason E. Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 144–159.

7 See *Calamy Revised*, ed. Matthews, p. 521.

8 *Life and Death*, pp. 109, 102.

9 *Remaines of that Excellent Minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. Joseph Alleine. Being a Collection of Sundry Directions, Sermons, Sacrament-Speeches, and Letters, not heretofore Published* (London, 1674), p. 319.

10 *Life and Death*, p. 29.

11 See N. H. Keeble, 'Theodosia Alleine (*fl*. 1654–1677)', in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

12 Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 2 vols. (London: 1691–2), vol. 2, p. 301.

13 *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, ed. Matthew Sylvester (London, 1696), Part III, §{267}.

14 Richard Baxter, 28 August 1672, '[To the] Christian Reader', in James Janeway, *Invisibles, Realities, Demonstrated in the Holy Life and Triumphant Death of Mr. John Janeway* (London, 1674), sig. A3r.

15 On this, see Dewey D. Wallace, Jr., *Shapers of English Calvinism, 1640–1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 129–136.

16 Samuel Clarke, *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in the Later Age* (London, 1683), pp.138–160. This book was also prefaced by Baxter.

17 Richard Mayo, *The Life & Death of Edmund Staunton D.D.* (London, 1673), pp. 77–79.

18 *Life and Death*, pp. 30, 60.

19 *Calamy Revised*, ed. Matthews, p. 518.

20 George Newton, *Mans Wrath and Gods Praise, or, A Thanks-giving Sermon Preached at Taunton, in the County of Somerset, the 11th of May, (a Day to be had in Everlasting Remembrance) for the Deliverance of that Poore Towne from the Strait Siege* (1646).

21 *Life and Death*, pp. 126, 128.
22 *Life and Death*, p. 122.
23 *Life and Death*, p. 31.
24 *Life and Death*, p. 60.
25 Joseph Alleine, *A Call to Archippus* (n.p., 1664), pp. 21–22.
26 Ibid., pp. 30, 31.
27 *Life and Death*, p. 17.
28 *Life and Death*, p. 87.
29 *Christian Letters*, pp. 147–50.
30 *Life and Death*, p. 60
31 *A Most Familiar Explanation of the Assemblies Shorter Catechism* (1674), sig. M3r [p. 165].
32 Ibid., sig. M4r.
33 Ibid., sig. M3r.
34 Ibid.
35 *Life and Death*, p. 37.
36 *A Most Familiar Explanation of the Assemblies Shorter Catechism*, sig. M6v.
37 Ibid., sig. M7r.
38 Ibid., sigs. M7r, M8r.
39 Ibid., sigs M7v–M8r.
40 Ibid., sig. M8r.
41 *Life and Death*, pp. 36–37.

‘To make a second Book of Martyrs’: Re-Appropriating Foxe in Nonconformist Prison Writings in Seventeenth-Century Britain

Whilst in the Fleet in the summer of 1639 the Leveller John Lilburne made a dramatic claim: ‘I have read a great part of the Booke of *Martyrs*, with some Histories of the like kinde: and I will meantaine it, that such an unparaleld Act of crueltie and barborous tiranie, as have been exercised upon mee, is not to be found in them all’.[1] Lilburne was not alone in depicting his prison suffering as far exceeding those recorded in John Foxe’s sixteenth-century martyrology *Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perilous Dayes* (1563), or the ‘Book of Martyrs’ as it was more commonly known at the time. When imprisoned in Oxford Castle in 1643, the Parliamentarian soldier and later General Baptist leader, Edmund Chillenden, exclaimed that his prison ordeal would ‘fill divers hundred sheets of Paper to make a second Book of Martyrs’, one that would even surpass it ‘with more sadder Stories then are to be found in Queen *Maries* cruelties’.[2] Similarly, after some particularly rough handling from his jailors, the Fifth Monarchist John Rogers, imprisoned in Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight in the mid-1650s, stated in his prison treatise ‘that these cruell persecutors [were] so far exceeding them (in this matter) that we read of in the *Book of Martyrs*’.[3]

In this essay I wish to demonstrate how Nonconformist prison writers, contrary to the statements just mentioned, did inevitably and irresistibly re-do rather than out-do Foxe.[4] By examining the Foxean cues they re-used and recycled, we can begin to see how their accounts were a complex palimpsest of conceptual, mnemonic and journalistic representations of imprisonment in early modern Britain. I will explore three areas in which authors re-appropriated Foxe: in their prison

speeches, prison scriptures, and prison scenes. In doing so, I do not wish to imply that such allusions were more rhetorical than sincerely felt. Many Nonconformists did suffer, and suffered greatly, during their imprisonment.[5] Rather, I wish to explore how the imagistic language of the 'Book of Martyrs' provided a legitimate coda for expressing sufferings brought about by religious persecution.

The Historiography

This essay was inspired by Thomas S. Freeman's 1994 article in *Bunyan Studies* entitled 'Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" in the Writings of John Bunyan'.[6] Bunyan owned a copy of Foxe's text whilst immured in his Bedford gaol and Freeman expertly adduces the various references Bunyan makes to it in his writings. A lot has changed, however, since Freeman's essay. The University of Sheffield database *Acts and Monuments Online* has made Foxe's *magnum opus* more accessible to a much wider audience. By making Foxe's martyrology word searchable, with a user-friendly interface and more features than those currently available in *Early English Books Online* (EEBO), scholars can now conduct forensic investigations into its transmission by Nonconformist authors beyond Bunyan.[7] *Acts and Monuments Online* is also part of a reinvigorated interest amongst literary historians who have begun to chart anew the reception and readership of the 'Book of Martyrs'.[8] My work is part of that trend, but, like Freeman, I am also indebted to the pioneering work of John R. Knott.[9] Like Knott, I am interested in the influence of Foxe on later religious writers as a way of connecting their present persecutions with a Protestant (and distinctly British) past. I wish to explore the deliberate or unconscious stylistic borrowings of carceral suffering that Nonconformist authors employed in their own accounts that, until now, have been largely overlooked by scholars. This is not to argue that Foxe's martyrology was a text exclusively used by Nonconformist inmates – several notable conformists used it too – or that it was their only source of inspiration.[10] Rather, this essay draws attention to Foxe's use of language as an important vehicle which aided Nonconformists authors in their re-presentation and recognition of barbaric prison practices.

Prison Speeches

Referencing the prison speeches found in the 'Book of Martyrs' was a conspicuous but nonetheless effective way of linking the carceral sufferings of Nonconformists with their Marian (and distinctly Foxean) forebears. Sometimes references were openly acknowledged. During his imprisonment John Rogers, who almost certainly read and possibly possessed a copy of Foxe's martyrology whilst in prison (based on the specific incidents he cites from it) described the 'violence done to my flesh […] the danger of death in this Dungeon-like-hole, which I hope in Christ; we dare (sometimes) look ful-face upon and meet! though many times I must needs say with Bishop Ridley Martyr, I think I could creep into a mouse-hole' to hide the 'fits of sudden fear'.[11] This phrase was cribbed directly from Nicholas Ridley's letters printed in the 'Book of Martyrs'.[12] Similarly, imprisoned in Newgate, the General Baptist John Griffith compared his persecution to that of the 'blessed Martyrs' in a rousing prison poem printed as part of his *Prison-Meditations* (1663).

> The blessed Martyrs in the Marian dayes
> Did act against the Law; for Bonner says,
> You are not by the Law to preach or pray,
> Except you do conform, such prayers say
> As by the Queen and Church are now thought fit
> Should used be throughout the Land; but yet
> Those Martyrs then would not perswaded be,
> But stoutly stood to Non-conformity.[13]

This picks up on the mantra of Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London from 1540, when examining Protestant martyrs, that they should 'conforme' themselves 'to his Religion'.[14] Equally, as Freeman has pointed out, Bunyan's prison works are replete with references to the 'Book of Martyrs' that today's readers would easily miss. For example, Bunyan described the death of the Henrician martyr James Bainham (who defiantly compared the fire which consumed him to a 'bed of roses') in order to demonstrate God's ability to make torment endurable for his servants, including Bunyan himself.[15]

Some Nonconformist prison writers emphasised the differences

rather than the similarities in their sufferings compared with those of the Marian martyrs. A treatise printed in 1683 claimed that Quakers held in Bristol were unable 'to Pray to God and Exhort one another, and such that come to see them', unlike the 'Persecuted Protestant-Martyr […] Rowland Taylor' who had 'Liberty in Gaol, to Pray, Preach and Exhort his fellow Prisoners'.[16] Again, this was an almost direct citation taken from Foxe's description of Taylor's prison fellowship and communalism with other inmates whilst in the King's Bench.[17]

It was, however, common for authors to occlude proper citation to the prison speeches found in Foxe. Lilburne complained that whilst in the Tower in 1646 'about 3 weeks together, I was debarred [the use] of pen, inke, or paper'.[18] The phrase was hardly original – Foxe had recorded it being used by John Bradford during his examination at Oxford in 1555 – and Lilburne was not the first or the last to re-appropriate it.[19] This snappy *dictum* was frequently employed by a slew of Nonconformist prison writers including Quakers, Ranters, Baptists and Independents.[20] The triple deprivation of 'pen, inke, or paper' as a sign of prison suffering was more of a deliberate stylistic choice (that paid homage to Foxe's martyrs) than an observation of gruelling prison conditions (clearly, authors like Lilburne eventually gained access to writing materials).[21] Indeed, Nonconformists merely had to liken their prison plight to those of the Marian martyrs to produce dramatic reactions from readers and listeners. Alexander Leighton was imprisoned in Newgate in 1628 for seditious libel against episcopacy. His petition in 1641, later printed in 1646, described how the entrance to his prison cell 'had not been opened since Q. Maries dayes'.[22] Such provocative imagery ensured that when his petition was read before Parliament it produced 'tears of compassion' and secured Leighton's speedy release.[23] Whilst Freeman asserts (rightly) that Foxe's martyrs were 'especially apposite models' for encouraging and sustaining Nonconforming readers who had to endure the 'repressive religious policies of Restoration England', Leighton's example shows, however, how this equally applied to combating the repressive religious policies of Laudian England.[24]

Prison Scriptures

There were more nuanced ways in which Nonconformists embedded

Foxe in their prison accounts. One of these was by citing the same scriptures. Throughout his text, Foxe depicts the unpalatable prison diet of martyrs through biblical allusion. He repeatedly cites 1 Kings 22.27, 'Thus saith the king, Put this fellow in the prison house, and feed him with bread of affliction and with water of affliction' (Geneva Bible). This verse referred to how the prophet Micaiah was imprisoned by the irreligious King Ahab for denouncing his rule as wicked. Foxe takes this biblical passage to be both figurative and literal by insisting that one of the signs of prison persecution was if inmates like 'Micheas [Micaiah] was buffeted and fed with bread and water'.[25] Readers then encounter an array of martyrs citing this biblical verse directly or periphrastically in references to them being fed a diet of 'bread and water'.[26] Nonconformist prison inmates throughout the seventeenth century also employed this same scriptural cue. The Baptist Hercules Collins in his prison tract *Counsel for the Living* (1684) assured his fellow prisoners in Newgate that though they may think their provisions 'hard, unjust, yea, unmerciful' yet 'we are not alone', because 'saith *Ahab*, of the good Prophet *Micaiah*, *Put this Fellow in Prison, and feed him with the Bread of Affliction, and water of affliction*'.[27] Those like the radical religious poet and pamphleteer George Wither used 1 Kings 22 in *The Prisoners Plea* (1661) to turn his physical impoverishment whilst in prison into spiritual empowerment. He warned his enemies that '*Micah* though, feared, hated and persecuted by *Ahab*', as God's prophet 'he was more safe in Prison with bread and water of affliction' than Ahab whose 'fortified […] Armies' did not 'defend them' from the wrath of God.[28] Other Nonconformist authors used Foxe's terser collocation of 'bread and water' to indicate the actual or symbolic cruelty of their meagre prison portions. The Welsh Independent clergyman Vavasor Powell wrote from the Fleet prison in 1661 that he suffered gladly for 'doing the work to which I was called' even 'though I were to be fed with bread & water'.[29] Similar statements can be found in the prison writings of the Quaker Humphrey Smith and future Baptist leader Edmund Chillenden.[30]

Foxe employed other scriptural idioms of prison suffering that were frequently re-used. One of these was Matthew 7.15: 'Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves' (Geneva Bible). Committed to the bishop of

Winchester's gaol in Southwark, John Marbeck paraphrased this verse by exclaiming, 'ye are become rather bite-sheepes then true byshops, biting and devouring the poore sheepe of Christ like ravening wolves never satisfied with bloud'.[31] This biblical simile was reaffirmed by a striking woodcut illustration which depicted prisoners marching 'like a flock of Christen lambes […] ready to geve theyr skinnes to be pluckt of[f]' by their wolf-like captors (see Figure 1).[32] Though the top inset inscription is a paraphrase of Matthew 10.18 (Geneva Bible), 'ye shall be brought to the governors and kings for my sake', Foxe's readers would have known that two verses earlier in this biblical passage we read, 'Behold, I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves' (Matthew 10.16). Variants of this visceral biblical trope abound in Foxe's text.[33] Unsurprisingly, this imagery also reverberates in the prison writings of later Nonconformists. In the Fleet Lilburne blamed the bishops for his plight, framing himself 'as one of the Lambes of Christ' and them as 'these devouring wolves *Math.* 7.15' that 'have hunted and thirsted after my blood'.[34] Embellishing on Matthew 7.15, the Quaker Daniel Baker described himself 'as a Lamb' and his prison keepers as 'a company of Ravenous, Wilde-beasts […] and devouring Wolves' when immured in a Worcester prison in 1660.[35] Locked up in Newgate in 1646, the Leveller Richard Overton accused the Presbyterian House of Commons that had imprisoned him of being 'wolfish, cannibal' and like 'ravening wolves' searching for lambs 'they may devour'.[36] Although these authors may have been inspired to use these scriptures from other sources – sermons, devotional tracts, chapbooks, or the Bible itself – readers of their accounts may still have found such idioms reminiscent of the 'Book of Martyrs'. As one pamphlet put it during the 1640s, the influx of 'prisoners cryes' in the press was one of the primary 'reason[s] why people our Martyrs [that is Foxe's martyrs] adore'.[37] The inclusion of these scriptures within the prison works of Nonconformists reveals how the 'Book of Martyrs' was not just repeatable but could be made recognisable.[38]

Prison Scenes

Hidden in plain sight, the Nonconformists of Stuart Britain also wrote the conditions and descriptions of their imprisonment using the verbal

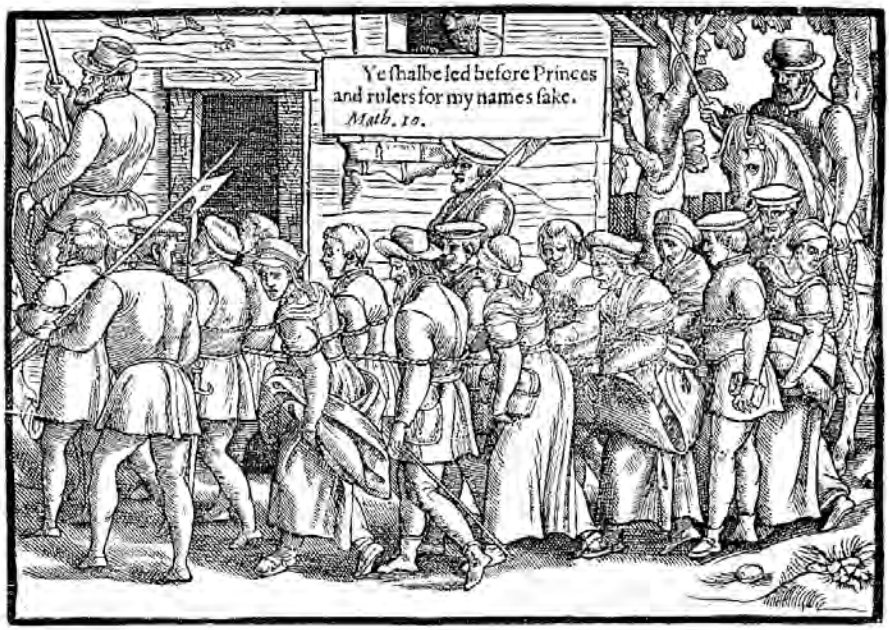

Figure 1. A 'Picture of xxii. godly and faythfull Christians, apprehended about Colchester, prisoned together in one band, and so with three leaders at the most, brought up to London' (*A&M*, p. 1973).

patter of the 'Book of Martyrs'. This appears in several evocative prison scenes that feature as either paraphrastic or figurative borrowings, providing parallel experiences of hardship that were close relations to, rather than carbon copies of, Foxe's martyrs.

Thomas St Nicholas, a Parliamentarian prisoner at Sheffield in 1643 and religious Independent, described in his manuscript prison poem being, 'Kept without beds and in cold irons laid'.[39] This resembled the cruel imprisonment of John Davis, a 'childe vnder the age of 12', who was cast into the Free Man's prison in 1558. Davis found himself in an inner dungeon called the 'Peephole' where he had 'layd vpon hym a paire of bolts […] the coldnesse of which irons, he feeleth' as 'his lying was vpon the cold ground, havyng not one locke of strawe' nor bed.[40] Further familiar prison scenes occurred when Nonconformist described their cells as dimly lit places. Twenty Quakers were imprisoned in Bristol in 1683 and kept in a 'dark Room, called the West-house'.[41] In a holding cell in

Hampshire the Quaker Humphrey Smith described his shared lodgings as 'so dark, and so close', for fourteen weeks.[42] John Rogers in *An Oyled Pillar* (1657) described his captivity at Carisbrooke Castle as a 'Goal being as black' and 'worse then Bonners cole house'.[43] As Rogers' vituperative comparison indicates, images of murky cells could be traced back to those within the 'Book of Martyrs'. John Philpot complained of his lodgings in Bonner's 'colehouse' as a 'darke closet' which continually experienced the 'want of light', a description aided by a vivid woodcut of this scene. As can be seen in Figure 2, darkness and squalor pervade this small and claustrophobic prison cell. Philpot (figured sitting on the left) repeatedly remarked upon the dingy and murky quality of the 'colehouse' prison. It was 'a blind Colehouse […] without fire & candle', 'a Colehouse of darkenesse', and 'a darke and a ugly prison as any is about London'.[44] The thinly laid straw on the floor at the bottom of the woodcut reveals the close-knit and poor sleeping conditions these inmates shared. Such prison surroundings are all tied to the suffering of

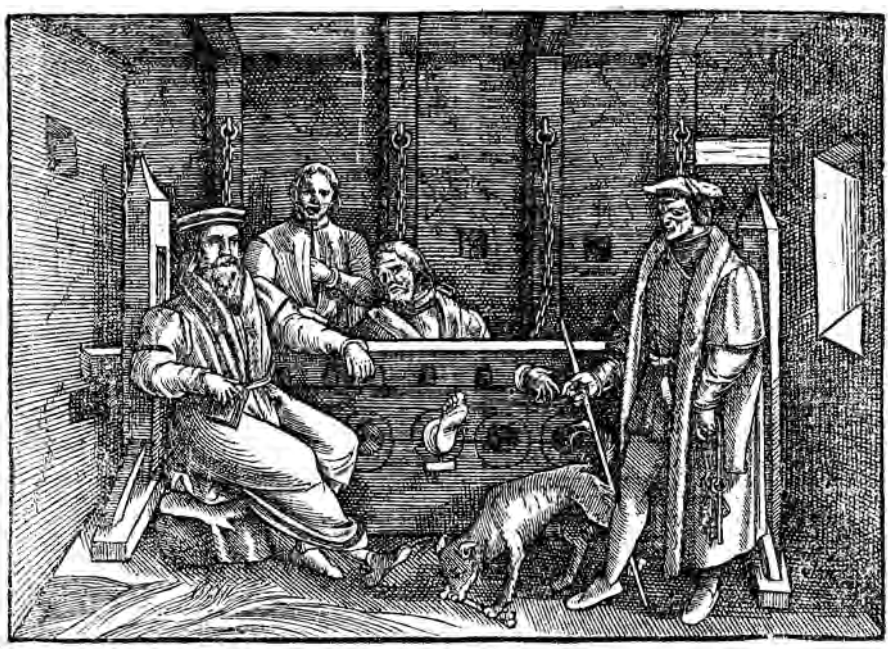

Figure 2. 'Maister Philpot beyng in the Colehouse, where he found Thomas Whittle Priest, sittyng in the Stockes' (*A&M*, p. 1797).

biblical martyrs, as Philpot is holding a book in his hand which symbolises the Bible.[45] Nonconformist prisoners also reiterated earlier martyrs' accounts of their cells being not just lightless but seemingly airless spaces. Lilburne complained of his imprisonment in the Fleet in 1639 that being in a 'close roome lockt up' ensured his 'health [was] being impaired for want of aire', so much so that it gave him a constant headache.[46] This echoed when the wives of a local shoemaker and brewer ('Joane Trunchfielde' and 'Anne Potten' respectively) were thrown into Ipswich prison in the autumn of 1555, where they so struggled to 'endure the straitnesse of the prisone' that the latter suffered from 'marveilous great agonies and troubles of minde'.[47]

Some Nonconformists more directly borrowed the lexis of Foxe's text. Rogers wrote that at Sandham Castle he was carried into a 'Dungeon lately made out of the Earth' which was 'so bad' he had 'neither beds nor straw'.[48] Similarly, the Independent minister Edward Bagshaw was thrown into the Tower in 1660 where he 'had lain there three or four Days and Nights, without Candle, Fire, Bed or Straw'.[49] It is perhaps no coincidence that the phrase 'Bed or Straw', inverted the word order in the description given by the Essex martyr Thomas Whittle who was thrust into a little salt-house in 1555 where he tells us 'I had no straw nor bed'.[50] The gaolers of the Quaker martyr James Parnell 'would not let him have a Trundle-Bed', but instead 'forced him to lie on the Stones'.[51] This was similar to the description of the Marian martyr Thomas Greene who was kept in the 'colehouse' prison for ten days 'having nothing to lye on, but bare stones'.[52] The rough sleeping described by Nonconformist prisoners also harked back to the bare boards and straw strewn floors of cells depicted in the 'Book of Martyrs' (see Figure 2).[53]

Nonconformist prisoners employed other noticeable Foxean epithets. Alexander Leighton called his London cell a ruinous 'dog-hole'.[54] This may have been inspired by Margerie Austoo who described her lodgings in the Bishop's Prison in the summer of 1557 as no better than a 'dogge kennel'.[55] Complaints about the vile stench of prison lodgings can also be traced back to the 'Book of Martyrs'. Whilst inured in Aberdeen in March 1676, the Scottish Quaker Robert Barclay described the 'malicious barbarity' of his prison environs as a collection of 'stinking

holes'; as did the English Quaker Daniel Baker who described his cell in the Poultry Counter as a 'stinking hole'.[56] These scenes evoked those of the 'Prison […] roomes' of the persecuted French Lutherans which Foxe depicted as 'holes and stinking caves'.[57] When compared, all these examples tend to look and sound familiar, but that, of course, was the point. Though it is hard to know for certain whether Foxe was the direct inspiration for these verbal flourishes, it is surely no coincidence that several of the above authors – Parnell, Leighton, Bagshaw, Smith, Lilburne and Rogers – also make explicit references to the 'Book of Martyrs' and/or the Marian martyrs in their prison accounts.[58]

Conclusion

This cursory overview shows us how Nonconformist prison writers re-appropriated Foxe's martyrology in both glaring and subtle ways. It allowed them to bring a poignant historicity to their present prison persecutions. For the use of Foxe's tropes and images implied a community, which though temporally dispersed, was one of solidarity amongst God's persecuted people.[59] In this way, Nonconformist prisoners and their prisons were linked not just textually but historically and providentially too. Enclosed in prison, their writings were a living embodiment of the 'Book of Martyrs', its continued import, legacy and potential radicalism. Foxe's sprawling narrative asserted, as Jason White has argued, that a 'small group, often in opposition to secular authority', had maintained the values of the 'true church' throughout the centuries.[60] This is not to argue that Nonconformists shared similarities in *why* they suffered in prison, but rather *how* they used Foxe to express that suffering, crafting a virtual community – a kind of carceral confraternity – which shared literary values.[61] Their re-appropriation of Foxe was tied to the early Reformation tradition already noted by Peter Lake and Michael Questier whereby 'accounts of stench and suffering [in prison] were clearly pictures that the early modern English reader were expected to recognise', a point that also bears out Lois Potter's argument for the 'centrality of prison in the lives of the reading public' during the later Civil Wars and Interregnum.[62]

It should also be noted that Nonconformist writings thrived not just despite, but because of, their imprisonment. Whilst penalising

Nonconformist crimes, incarceration also privileged them. Instead of isolation and segregation, Nonconformist prisoners often found prominence and popularity through their writings, a dynamic platform, from which to espouse their theologies.[63] As one London inmate, possibly a Quaker, observed,

> If [Scripture speaks of] the Mountains, Timber, Stones, [that] may speak, and cry […] why not our Prison-walls? They that think to destroy Religious Assemblies for Prayer and Prophesy, by shutting our Doors Seizures and Confinements, may consider whether they do not by violent practices rather propagate them: and tho' they should scatter us, they do but truly multiply us.[64]

Or as the Baptist Francis Bampfield noted more pithily from his Salisbury cell, 'my prison always speaks, even when the pulpit is silent'.[65] It was Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs', more than any other source, that provided suitable expressions and idioms that allowed Nonconformist prisoners and their texts to 'always speak' in a way that resonated with like-minded readers and listeners; and in ways that modern readers today are not always aware of.

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Notes

1 John Lilburne, *The Poore Mans Cry, Wherein is Shewed the Present Miserable Estate of Mee John Lilburne, Close Prisoner in the Fleete* (London, 1639), p. 5. Though Levellers like Lilburne were imprisoned for their political rather than their religious beliefs, his allusions to Foxe, as we shall see, are in keeping with those of other Nonconformist prison writers.

2 Edmund Chillenden, *The Inhumanity of the Kings Prison-keeper at Oxford* (London, 1643), p. 16.

3 John Rogers, *Jegar-Sahadvtha: An Oyled Pillar* (London, 1657), p. 46.

4 I use the term 'Nonconformist/s', instead of 'Dissenter/s', to encompass imprisoned religious radicals from both pre- and post-Restoration England. For the definition and usage of these terms, see N. H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), pp. 41ff.

5 For the prison sufferings of Nonconformists see Sharon Achinstein, *Literature and Dissent in Milton's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 59–83. See also Robert W. Daniel, '"[M]ore difficult for me to bear": Child Loss and the Persecution of Dissenting Women', *The Seventeenth Century* (2020) (in progress).

6 Thomas S. Freeman, 'A Library in Three Volumes: Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" in the Writings of John Bunyan', *Bunyan Studies*, 5 (1994), 47–57 (48).

7 All references to the 'Book of Martyrs' in this essay are taken from *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011), available from https://www.johnfoxe.org/ [accessed 12 March 2019]. This is cited hereafter as *A&M*. I have chosen to use the 1583 edition because it was the last to be published in Foxe's lifetime and remained largely free of posthumous editorial tampering; see William Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London: Cape, 1963), p. 223. Many of the authors examined here may very well have owned and read later editions, though it is worth noting, as Freeman does, that some editions – such as those printed in 1632 and 1641 – possessed virtually identical pagination and identical woodcuts ('A Library in Three Volumes', 55–6, note 3).

8 See *Acts of Reading: Interpretation, Reading Practices, and the Idea of the Book in John Foxe's Actes and Monuments*, ed. Thomas P. Anderson and Ryan Netzley (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2010); Andrew Hiscock, *Reading Memory in Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 90–112; Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of John Foxe's Book of Martyrs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

9 See John R. Knott, *Discourses of Martyrdom in English Literature, 1563–1694* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), esp. pp. 146–7, 160–5.

10 For the use of Foxe by Church of England writers see Andrew Lacey, '"Charles the First, and Christ the Second": The Creation of a Political Martyr', in *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, c. 1400–1700*, ed. Thomas S. Freeman and Thomas F. Mayer (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 203–20. For the influence of other texts on Nonconformist prison writings, see Kathleen Lynch, 'Into Jail and into Print: John Bunyan Writes the Godly Self', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 72 (2009), 273–90.

11 Rogers, *An Oyled Pillar*, p. 133. Elsewhere Rogers remarked, when complaining of his poor prison diet, how, 'Yea, Bonner, as bloody a Beast as he was, sent provision to Mr. Philpot and others into his Cole-house' (*An Oyled Pillar*, p. 23). Rogers was quoting a passage from the Marian martyr John Philpot who described how 'The Bishop [Bonner] sent unto me […] a messe of meate and a good pot of drinke, and breade' for which 'I thanked God for my Lordes charity that it pleased him to remember poore prisoners' (*A&M*, p. 1798).

12 The exact quote from Ridley reads, 'For I am some time so feareful, that I would creep unto a mouse hoale' (*A&M*, p. 1724).

13 John Griffith, *Some Prison-meditations and Experiences* (London, 1663), p. 5.

14 When examining the Marian martyr Thomas Whittle, 'The Bishop after this, according to his accustomed & formall procedinges, assayed him yet agayne with words, rather then with substantiall arguments, to conforme him to his Religion' (*A&M*, p. 1847, and also see pp. 1712, 1975).

15 Freeman, 'A Library in Three Volumes', 48. This particular idiom (which encapsulated the divine endurance granted to the faithful during times of persecution) had become somewhat proverbial amongst Nonconformists. The Presbyterian clergyman Edward

Reynolds, in a funeral elegy penned for his colleague Jeremiah Whitaker, stated that those who suffered for their faith 'judg'd their flames a bed of Roses'; see Samuel Clarke, *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines* (London, 1662), p. 187.

16 Anon, *A Narrative of the Cruelties & Abuses Acted by Isaac Dennis, his Wife and Servants, in the Prison of Newgate, in the City of Bristol, upon the People of the Lord in Scorn called Quakers* (London, 1683), p. 28.

17 Foxe describes how Taylor 'spent all hys tyme in prayer, reading the holy Scriptures, and writing, and preaching […] exhorting the prisoners and such as resorted to him' (*A&M*, p. 1521).

18 John Lilburne, *An Anatomy of the Lords Tyranny and Injustice Exercised upon Lieu. Col. John Lilburne, now a Prisoner in the Tower of London* (London, 1646), p. 6.

19 Bradford refused a public disputation in part because he and his fellow prisoners had access to 'no paper, no penne, no inke' (*A&M*, p. 1470). Variants of this phrase are reiterated throughout *A&M*; see pp. 1825, 1941, 1928, 2050, 2084.

20 For the use of this phrase by Quaker prison writers, see Edward Burrough, *A Declaration of the Present Sufferings of above 140 Persons of the People of God (who are now in Prison,) called Quakers* (London, 1659), p. 24; by Baptists, see Chillenden, *The Inhumanity*, p. 14; by Ranters, see Richard Coppin, *A Blow at the Serpent* […] *by Richard Coppin, now in Maidston Prison for the Witness of Jesus* (London, 1656), p. 85; by Independents, see Anon, 'A Narrative of the Imprisonment and Usage of Colonel John Hutchinson (1664)', in Edward Harley, *Miscellany* (London, 1745), III, pp. 31–6 (33). The detail of Colonel Hutchinson being denied 'Pen, Ink, or Paper' whilst imprisoned is repeated in Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. N. H. Keeble (London: Phoenix, 2000), p. 300.

21 Such prison privations were not always comparable. Whereas Lilburne had gone without writing materials for 'about 3 weeks', Marian martyrs like Bradford had gone without them for close to '9. monethes' (*A&M*, p. 1470).

22 National Archives of the United Kingdom, Public Record Office, London, petition to Charles I, SP 16/408/168; Alexander Leighton, *An Epitome, or, Briefe Discoverie* […] *of the* […] *Great Troubles that Dr Leighton Suffered in his Body, Estate and Family* (London, 1646), p. 88.

23 Leighton notes that his petition 'was twice read' in the Commons and 'my cause much regrated with tears of compassion' (ibid., p. 86).

24 Freeman, 'A Library in Three Volumes', 48.

25 *A&M*, p. 1278; also see pp. 1849, 1783, 1904.

26 Anne Askew quoted 1 Kings 22.27 in her letter to King Henry VIII as well as in her execution speech, both printed in the 'Book of Martyrs', where she states that 'God hath geven me the bread of adversitie, and the water of trouble' (*A&M*, pp. 1238–9). Other early English martyrs tended to use the scriptural shorthand of 'bread and water' more literally. In London Thomas Whittle was threatened that if he did not recant he would be 'fedde with bread and water' only (*A&M*, p. 1845). Alice Benden, kept in the Bishop's Prison, was fed for nine weeks on just 'bread and water' where she became 'a most pitious and lothsome creature to beholde' (*A&M*, p. 1981).

27 Hercules Collins, *Counsel for the Living, Occasioned from the Dead* (London, 1684), p. 24.

28 George Wither, *The Prisoners Plea* (London, 1661), p. 26.

29 Vavasor Powell, *The Bird in the Cage* (London, 1661), sig. A6v.

30 See Humphrey Smith, *A Collection of the Several Writings and Faithful Testimonies of that Suffering Servant of God, and Patient Follower of the Lamb, Humphry Smith who Dyed a Prisoner for the Testimony of Jesus, in Winchester Common-goal the 4th Day of the 3d Moneth in the Year 1663* (London, 1683), sig. B2v; Chillenden, *The Inhumanity*, p. 3. To feed prisoners only 'bread and water' was exceptionally cruel. It was never officially sanctioned in the seventeenth century unless as a punishment for acts of blasphemy, pillage or drunkenness committed by soldiers (for a maximum of three days). See Margaret Griffin, *Regulating Religion and Morality in the King's Armies, 1639–1646* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 25, 169, 173. Although early modern prisoners had to pay for their own food and drink, those who could not were to be provided for by money from the prison's 'Alms Box' (given by wealthy patrons and visitors), from the 'Common Stock or Bank' (given from the sale of charitable goods to the prison), and from the 'Table money' (given by prisoners themselves when they first arrived). See Marmaduke Johnson, *Ludgate, What It Is* (London, 1659), pp. 20–22. By depicting their scant prison diet, Nonconformists could highlight their prison treatment as no better than their Marian predecessors.

31 *A&M*, p. 1218.

32 *A&M*, p. 1971.

33 See *A&M*, pp. 1901, 1940, 1989, 1997.

34 John Lilburne, *Come Out of Her My People* […] *By Mee John Lilburne. Close prisoner in the Fleete* (London, 1639), p. 32.

35 D[aniel] B[aker], *The Guiltless Cries and Warnings of* […] *Daniel Baker, by Scorners, a Quaker* (London, 1660), p. 18. The biblical imagery of God's persecuted people as sacrificial 'sheep for the slaughter' (taken from Psalm 44.22, Geneva Bible) particularly reverberates in the prison writings of Quakers. See Edward Burrough, *A Declaration of the Present Sufferings of above 140 Persons of the People of God (who are now in Prison,) called Quakers* (London, 1659), p. 24; Smith, *A Collection of the Several Writings*, p. 7; John Whitehead, *For the Vineyard of the Lord of Hosts to be Read in their Meetings: the Breathings of a Prisoner for the Testimony of Jesus* (London, 1662), p. 5.

36 Richard Overton, *An Arrow Against All Tyrants* (London, 1646), p. 64.

37 Anon, *A New Diurnall of Passages more Exactly Drawne Up then Heretofore* (Oxford, 1643), sig. A4r.

38 The Presbyterian martyrologist Samuel Clarke wrote, 'I have spoken nothing of the Persecutions of the Church here in *England*' because he expected his readers to be all too familiar with those 'largely set down by M. *Fox*, in his Book of *Martyrs*'; Samuel Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie* (London, 1651), sig. A2r. As Laura Sangha points out, however, Clarke was more indebted to Foxe then he let on. In the preface to the third edition of the *Martyrologie* (1677), Clarke defended himself against the claim that his work was a 'superfluous repetition' of Foxe's monumental work – arguing instead that he had 'turned over many other Authors' to supply what was wanting in 'Master Fox' – although, as Sangha shows, a cursory perusal of the work suggests this claim is false. See Laura Sangha, 'Samuel Clarke's Martyrology: Images of Religious Violence', in *The Many Headed Monster*, Blog Post, 12 April 2014, available at: <https://manyheadedmonster.wordpress.com/2014/04/12/samuel-clarkes-martyrology-images-of-religious-violence/> [accessed 12 March 2019]. Martyrologies such as Clarke's were, thus, helping to either introduce or re-introduce a specific kind of

language of religious suffering – deployed earlier in the 'Book of Martyrs' – to the general public, including religious Nonconformists.

39 Thomas St Nicholas, 'For My Son', in *At Vacant Hours: Poems by Thomas St Nicholas and His Family*, ed. H. Neville Davies (Birmingham: Birmingham University Press, 2002), pp. 15–28 (19), line 222.

40 *A&M*, p. 2073. St Nicholas's prison poem contains further echoes to Foxe. His experience under guard at Tadcaster of having 'lay some eight nights more […] [on] the top of a clean parlour table' parallels Thomas Whittle's prison account of having in the salt-house 'lay two nightes on a table'. St Nicholas, 'For My Son', lines 303–5; *A&M*, p. 1845. Moreover, St Nicholas tells us that if others saw his prison conditions, 'eyes would wring out floods of brinish tears / From driest eyes, would melt an heart of marble'; 'For My Son', lines 538–9. These emphatic statements evoked those of the martyr Richard Woodman, an ironmonger from Sussex, who stated that his prison treatment was so severe that 'it made my heart melt, and mine eies gush oute with teares' (*A&M*, p. 2010). St Nicholas deliberately drew on the lexis of 'heart', 'melt', 'eyes', and 'tears', in order to conjure up the dramatic prison experience represented by Foxe through Woodman.

41 Anon, *A Narrative of the Cruelties & Abuses Acted by Isaac Dennis, Keeper*, p. 8.

42 Smith, *A Collection of the Several Writings*, sig. B2v.

43 Rogers, *An Oyled Pillar*, pp. 21, 24. Rogers was somewhat of an itinerant prisoner. He was first arrested in the summer of 1654 and kept in Lambeth Palace. Within the space of year, he was then transferred to Windsor Castle, then to Arten House via Sandham Castle on the Isle of Wight, until finally resting in Carisbrooke Castle. See Richard L. Greaves, 'Rogers, John (b. 1627)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23983> [accessed 12 March 2019].

44 *A&M*, pp. 1810, 1834, 1839. If Nonconformist prison writers were inspired by such scenes, it further proves how these woodcuts, which could be bought separately (a penny plain or twopence coloured) and stuck on walls, helped cement the popularity of Foxe's martyrology. See Patrick Collinson, Arnold Hunt, and Alexandra Walsham, 'Religious Publishing in England, 1557–1640', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, 1557–1695*, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie, 6 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), vol. 4, pp. 29–66 (33).

45 *A&M*, p. 1833. It should be noted that the 'colehouse' was a separate prison, part of the Bishop of London's town house in Paternoster Row. Wheatley says that Foxe conflates the Coal House with the Lollards' Tower, but they were in fact separate prison spaces; see Henry B. Wheatley, *London Past and Present: Its History, Associations and Traditions*, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1891), vol. 1, p. 430. For a further example of how the Marian martyr Julius Palmer was kept in a 'blynd dungeon' in Reading, see *A&M*, p. 1937.

46 Lilburne, *Come Out of Her My People*, pp. 31, 13. Such complaints were echoed in the prison writings of other Nonconformists. John Rogers described his prison lodgings as possessing 'very little air'. Humphrey Smith used the exact same phrase to describe his prison hovel, 'so many in so little room, and so little Air'. The Baptist Henry Adis described his London cell as one 'without either Light or Air'. See respectively, Rogers, *An Oyled Pillar*, p. 6; Smith, *A Collection of the Several Writings*, sig. B3r; Henry Adis, *A Fannaticks Letter Sent Out of the Dungeon of the Gate-house Prison of Westminster* (London, 1661?), p. 6.

47 *A&M*, p. 1704.

48 Rogers, *An Oyled Pillar*, p. 21, also see p. 41. Similarly, the Quaker John Roet was said to be 'sorely abused, and denied straw to lie on' in a prison in Devonshire; Burrough, *A Declaration of the Present Sufferings*, p. 2.

49 Quoted in Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae, or, Mr. Richard Baxters Narrative of the Most Memorable Passages of his Life*, ed. Matthew Sylvester (London, 1696), p. 379.

50 *A&M*, p. 1845. John Philpot was also detained in the 'colehouse' 'in the stockes, without eyther bed, or any other thing to lye upon' (*A&M*, p. 1829).

51 James Parnell, *A Collection of the Several Writings Given Forth from the Spirit of the Lord through that Meek, Patient, and Suffering Servant of God, James Parnel* (London, 1675), sig. A2r. Parnell later died in prison after having refused to eat.

52 *A&M*, p. 2061.

53 If Nonconformist prisoners were denied bed and bedding, this was in theory highly irregular and punitive. The contemporary prison chronicler Marmaduke Johnson observed that it was the duty of any prison's chamberlain to furnish new inmates with 'Bedding and linen' (for those who could afford it), and to regularly 'make the Beds for all the Charity men'; Johnson, *Ludgate*, pp. 36–7. By describing their poor sleeping conditions, Nonconformists attempted to suggest that their barbarous prison treatment was comparable to that meted out on Foxe's martyrs.

54 Leighton, *Briefe Discoverie*, p. 88.

55 *A&M*, p. 2019.

56 Quoted in Alexander Jaffray, *Diary of Alexander Jaffray* […] *To which are Added Particulars of his Subsequent Life*, ed. John Barclay (London, 1834), p. 388; D[aniel] B[aker], *A Single and General Voice Lifted Up* (London, 1659), p. 4.

57 *A&M*, p. 927. In another comparison, St Nicholas described the imprisonment of Nonconformists after the Restoration, 'To nasty, costly jails and dirty holes!', which was reminiscent of the conditions of the Bishop's Prison where the Marian martyr Alice Benden was kept, said to be a horrid 'filthy hole'. St Nicholas, 'The Voice of the Rod, 1666', in *Vacant Hours*, ed. Davies, pp. 130–4 (33), line 128; *A&M*, p. 1981.

58 See Parnell, *A Collection of the Several Writings*, p. 144; Alexander Leighton, *An Appeal to the Parliament* (Amsterdam, 1629), p. 13 and note 20; Edward Bagshaw, *The Life and Death of Mr. Vavasor Powell* (London, 1671), sig. A2v; Humphrey Smith, *The Fruits of Unrighteousnes and Injustice Brought Forth* (London, 1658), pp. 11, 29. For Rogers' and Lilburne's citations to Foxe see notes 1 and 3.

59 Ruth Ahnert asserts a similar argument for prison graffiti made during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary I in the Tower of London, where inmates frequently added their names to those already inscribed on their cell walls. See Ruth Ahnert, 'Writing in the Tower of London during the Reformation, ca. 1530–1558', *Huntington Literary Quarterly*, 72 (2009), 168–92 (178). For prison writings of Tudor and Stuart martyrs as contributing to a shared sense of '*communitas*' see Knott, *Discourses of Martyrdom*, pp. 84–9; Haller, *Elect Nation*, p. 149.

60 Jason White, *Militant Protestantism and British Identity, 1603–1642* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), p. 3.

61 Another way of seeing these shared literary values is through the work of Peter Colclough. He explains that the writing of religious martyrs in England, in order to function properly, needed to be 'recognised as such by a community that has criteria for its definition and use'. Colclough frames one criterion as *parrhesia*, that is the ability to 'proclaim boldness of speech against oppression'. Peter Colclough, *Freedom of*

Speech in Early Stuart England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 90–2. Nonconformist prison writings during early and late Stuart England, by quoting the prison epistles and speeches of Foxe's martyrs directly or indirectly, can be seen as attempts to re-deploy this rhetorical device.

62 Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 190; Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature, 1641–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 135.

63 Achinstein, *Literature and Dissent,*, pp. 59–83.

64 Anon, *Gemitus de carcere Nantes, or, Prison-sighs* (London, 1684), p. 10.

65 Francis Bampfield, *Open Confessor and the Free Prisoner* (London, 1675), p. 7.

The Pilgrim's Progress and Jonathan Edwards

The renown of Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and its impact on later authors, has been amply demonstrated. However, its influence on the early American theologian Jonathan Edwards (1703–58), who cited Bunyan's works and shared with him a post-Puritan, Dissenting worldview, including many assumptions about spiritual discipline, has not been considered in detail. Indeed, links between the two figures have been drawn in only the most general and sometimes unsatisfying ways.[1] Here, I attempt an assessment of Edwards's interaction with *The Pilgrim's Progress* within the context of colonial American Puritan religious culture and through an examination of his published and unpublished writings.

Within the first several years after its initial appearance, *The Pilgrim's Progress* went through repeated editions in England and through translations on the Continent. In the centuries following, Bunyan's classic has become one of the most beloved compositions in the history of English literature, read and interpreted the world over as both a religious and an artistic masterpiece. In the nineteenth century, in particular, it became hugely popular, illustrated by the likes of William Blake, parodied by Nathaniel Hawthorne in 'The Celestial Railroad', and refashioned by Louisa May Alcott and the Brontë sisters, among others.[2] Over time, the book has been a manual for the working classes, a children's guide, and a resource for soldiers in the trenches of World War I.[3]

Only three years after its first publication, *The Pilgrim's Progress* had made its way across the Atlantic. In his 'Apology' for Part Two, Bunyan, perhaps with a bit of pride, took particular notice of what Perry Miller called the 'ambiguous kind of popularity' his story of Christian had achieved, extending to pirated editions and emulations.[4] Of his original book, Bunyan wrote,

> *'Tis in* New-England *under such advance,*
> *Receives there so much loving Countenance,*

As to be Trim'd, new Cloth'd & Deckt with Gems,
That it might shew its Features, and its Limbs
Yet more.[5]

While the Boston edition of 1681 shows no signs of being '*Deckt with Gems*', it was doubtless produced as decorously as could be, under the auspices of no less than Judge Samuel Sewall (later of Salem witchcraft fame), who that very year took over responsibility for the management of the city's press. Bunyan's work was the first that Sewall commissioned – an indication, we can speculate, of at least Sewall's regard for it.[6]

Aside from this imprint, however, it is not yet known to what extent *The Pilgrim's Progress* and its author became staples in colonial New England. The work certainly had its imitators, such as *The History of the Kingdom of Basaruah* (1715), whose author, Joseph Morgan, served Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed churches in New Jersey during the early eighteenth century, and who was a correspondent of Boston's polymath divine, Cotton Mather.[7] Yet curiously, the original list of books collected and donated to Connecticut's fledgling, as-yet-unnamed college by its agent Jeremiah Dummer, as well as Yale College's first printed library inventory, lack references to *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The earliest copy that Harvard College owned was of the London edition of 1728. This edition was the first to have been produced in a more 'ambitious' format than earlier 'popular' editions, due to its gradual acceptance as a 'literary object' and not merely a devotional aid.[8] Furthermore, a search of colonial almanacs and library catalogues (including that of the Mathers), and a sampling of probated book inventories, has not revealed a single instance of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and only a couple of Bunyan's other works were to be found. Do these omissions testify to the work's ubiquity – that is, was it so widely owned or known that procuring a copy was not a priority – or had the work simply not yet achieved the status of a standard? These questions remain to be answered. However, references to works of Bunyan by Jonathan Edwards and his father, Timothy, minimal as they are, suggest that, given the paucity of ownership of Bunyan elsewhere, these two pastor-scholars were among a small but growing segment of like-minded readers of the time who valued Bunyan's writings.

Timothy Edwards, Congregational minister of East Windsor, Connecticut, from 1694 to 1758, had an impressive library for a provincial, totalling more than seven hundred titles. He was familiar with a work of, if not the name of the author of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, for he owned a copy of *The World to Come*, first published in London in 1699 with Bunyan's associate George Larkin given as the author, but, beginning in 1725, retitled as *The Visions of John Bunyan.*[9] By that time, Jonathan Edwards, a college tutor and preacher in his own right would have had easy access to this and other titles in his father's library.

That said, Jonathan does not refer explicitly to *The Pilgrim's Progress* anywhere in his corpus, so our search from here on must rely on similarities in their Reformed and Dissenting outlook and on textual echoes and resemblances. Perhaps his reticence to recommend Bunyan stemmed from Bunyan's lack of formal education and of ordination, both of which would have raised questions for Edwards, ever a defender of the ordained clergy and its prerogatives. It is uncertain if Edwards knew that Bunyan was a Baptist, but if he did, that would not have helped either. Even so, Edwards came of age when Bunyan's work was first being recognised by an elite readership as a work not only of popular devotion but of fine literature. And Edwards does cite other writings by Bunyan. For example, his 'Catalogue' of reading lists, early on, *The Acceptable Sacrifice; or, The Excellency of a Broken Heart: Shewing the Nature, Signs, and Proper Effects of a Contrite Spirit* (1689).[10] This work parallels, in a less allegorical and more autobiographical way, couched in sermonic form, Bunyan's portrait of the Valley of Humiliation in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, where those of a 'contrite spirit' love to be.[11] Humiliation was a chief theme in Edwards's conception of the spiritual stage before conversion, expounded in entries in the 'Miscellanies' (his main repository of theological and philosophical compositions), in sermons, and in printed treatises such as his famous *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (1746). Bunyan's chief proof-text for this spirit was Isaiah 66:2, which Edwards likewise used abundantly throughout his writings, equating it, for example, with the 'fear of God', as in his 'Signs of Godliness' notebook.[12]

As members of the same post-Puritan and 'precisianist' tradition, Bunyan and Edwards had certain shared views about the nature of the

Christian life and the way to salvation.[13] These included life as a pilgrimage or a journey towards heaven. Of course, we have to be careful about taking every mention of pilgrims and pilgrimage as proof of a reading of Bunyan, since the tropes are common biblical ones that resonated through late medieval and early modern English literature.[14] Nevertheless, careful sifting can illumine not merely family resemblances between Bunyan and Edwards, but plausible textual links.

Both authors portrayed the spiritual life as one of pilgrimage. This conception of spiritual life was certainly established early in the American Puritan identity; William Bradford in his *Of Plimoth Plantation* famously stated of the Scrooby Separatists, 'they knew they were pilgrims', and thus gave the company the name by which they are known. So a century later Edwards taught that 'This life ought so to be spent by us as to be only a journey towards heaven', in a sermon on Daniel 6:23, preached in September 1733.[15] Here, as in Bradford earlier, the allusion is to Hebrews 11:13, where the Old Testament saints are described as knowing they were 'pilgrims and strangers on the earth', a proof-text that could easily have served for Bunyan's work. Indeed, Edwards's choice of this text for his sermon may have been inspired by a re-reading of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, in which the Hebrews text is cited several times.[16]

In a later sermon on Hebrews 11, this time from verse 16, where the biblical author is declaiming further on the pilgrims of the previous verse, Edwards derives the doctrine, ''Tis the character of true believers while in this world to desire a better country, even an heavenly'. This sermon, preached at Northampton in October 1751, more than a year after he was dismissed from that pulpit following a bitter, protracted dispute, was apparently delivered at or following the funeral of someone in town, perhaps one who had been a supporter of Edwards. The text, though outlined, is loaded with parallels to *The Pilgrim's Progress* that described Edwards's semi-itinerant state at the time (he was ordained at his new post at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in August and moved his family there in October). But the text also suited the occasion of a believer's death. Edwards reviewed 'in what respects heaven is a better country than this world', what was implied in believers desiring that better country, and the reasons for their desiring it. Those destined for heaven

'know that their truest and best friends and nearest relations are there'. In the final 'Direction', Edwards instructed his hearers to spend their whole lives 'in the same manner that men [who] are removing and going a great and difficult journey to a new habitation seek their desired home'. After disposing 'all things in their former habitation', the pilgrim 'begins early', makes 'travelling towards {that country} his chief business, till his journey is ended'; he is 'careful not to lose time', is 'content to go through difficult places', having only 'mean fare'. Those on this path are 'ready to help one another', they are 'not disposed to be deterred and dwell by any pleasant objects'. They 'are careful to know the right way', choosing that way, 'though it be more difficult'. They 'look at things that are before' and 'will [not] stop short'.[17]

Those journeying towards heaven must keep their 'end' in mind, and while they may be comfortably entertained at an inn for a night, they do not desire to stay there, but to press on. Much like Christian and Hopeful, who are hosted along their way at various houses, departing such places 'is not at all grievous', but they go 'from thence cheerfully'. As if following Bunyan's blueprint, Edwards taught in sermons such as *The True Christian's Life a Journey Towards Heaven* (1733) that the pilgrim should stay in the one way that leads to heaven, do so in a 'laborious manner' over one's whole life, continually grow in holiness, and subordinate 'all other concerns of life' to the goal.[18] For example, in a sermon delivered in April 1737, Edwards portrayed humankind as poised between heaven and hell, with the 'far greater part' hastening to be 'swallowed up in hell'. Edwards paints a Bunyanesque scene reminiscent of the Hill Difficulty, asking his congregation to imagine 'the whole world of mankind, and see them as they are'. In that scene, they would see 'few persons indeed going up the hill in the way to heaven, comparatively very few, scattering here and there: here one alone, and there two together, helping one another along'. By contrast to the few travailing up the steep and strait way to heaven, most are 'driving in the broad way to destruction, flocking down into the pit of misery, constantly falling over the precipice, thousands upon thousands and millions upon millions'.[19]

This conception of the way to heaven, and its less-travelled nature, further prescribed that the pilgrim was to be humble yet by no means

passive, but rather active. It even allowed that heaven had to be taken by 'violence', as Scripture puts it (Matthew 11:12), and that God should be bombarded with prayers. This more militaristic description of the saint is reminiscent of the character Great-heart in Part Two of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, who leads the pilgrims with sword in hand and girded in righteous armour, defeating the giant Grim, demolishing Doubting Castle and slaying Giant Despair.[20] Likewise, Edwards claimed in a 1741 sermon that 'Persons seeking heaven should behave in like manner as valiant, resolute soldiers do in taking a country or kingdom in which they are strongly opposed'. Relatedly, in yet another sermon he asserted that 'When God truly delivers men from spiritual bondage, they go forth prepared both to travail and to fight as soldiers to war'.[21] Though the introspective nature of Bunyan's and Edwards's piety is vital, the martial element in their temperaments is also important to note, a trait that stems from Bunyan's experience in Cromwell's army and the struggles of Edwards and his fellow English colonists against the Catholic French and their Indian allies.

If the pilgrim life was not one of literal warfare, it was certainly one of struggle, of 'travailing' up and down the peaks and valleys of the soul with great labour. This was the tone Edwards took when advising not only his congregation but his own children. For example, writing to his oldest daughter Esther Edwards Burr in 1753, Edwards observed that she should '[l]ay your account to travel through' this life 'in weariness, painfulness and trouble, and wait for your rest and your prosperity till hereafter'. He pointedly told her not to rely on earthly parents, since they, like all things, 'return to our dust', and to seek instead 'the presence of an heavenly Father, and to make progress towards an heavenly home'.[22] There, they all would be together. Heaven was a topic to which Edwards devoted much thought. One of the more interesting aspects he taught regarding it was the reuniting and recognizing of family and friends in heaven, which, as Paul Ramsey notes, anticipated a feature of nineteenth-century romanticism. Jonathan devoted entries in his 'Miscellanies' to describing the felicity and joy of reunion with friends and family.[23] This concept had its literary analogue – and perhaps its origin – in Bunyan's depiction of the reuniting of Christian, Christiana, their children, and friends, who were 'gone over' to the Celestial City.

So, while the emphasis in both authors was on individual striving, the journey need not be an entirely solitary one. Just as Christian and Hopeful had each other as well as other godly characters along the way, so, Edwards states, Christians should 'go this journey, as it were, in company, conversing together about their journey's end and assisting one another' – precisely the dialogic device Bunyan uses for his characters following any interruption on their path.[24] In a discourse on Hebrews 12:22–24 preached in early 1740, Edwards explored the nature and meanings of the 'coming' or progressing of the collected saints to Mount Sion, the heavenly realm. At a time when he was extensively treating, both in sermons and in notebooks, the ascent or glorification of the church as a whole, this series provided the most detailed and extended depiction of the arrival of the company of believers in heaven, revealing some reliance on Bunyan's treatment, especially at the end of Part Two of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. In their 'present state in the world', Edwards remarks near the close of the discourse, the saints' 'new nature han't obtained its end. Its canton is as it were still at a distance. […] But in heaven, they have come to their rest, have obtained their end.' Still, like Christiana, Mr Feeble-mind, and Mr Stand-fast, who are called from the Land of Beulah to cross the river and sit at the Master's banquet table, clothed with white robes of immortality, the 'glory of departed souls […] is not in its highest and ultimate perfection. This is reserved for the resurrection, when their spirits shall be united with their bodies again, and shall be glorified together with ['em].'[25]

While considering general similarities between Bunyan and Edwards, we should also include their resort to narrative. Both wrote treatises and sermons but both also published, or experimented with, other means of doing theology. Bunyan renders his dream as a story, in what Roger Sharrock calls 'dramatised theology'. So, too, Edwards abandoned youthful plans to write systematically and instead to write theology as a historical narrative. His *History of the Work of Redemption* was to tell the story of God's covenants in a 'method entirely new', as he described it. We know that Continental Reformed theologians had previously framed covenantal history in very much the same manner in which Edwards envisioned, but we must also recognize that there were other, more literary sources that could have influenced him to think about

how best to present the truths of Christianity. Bunyan's allegorized self-history became, in Edwards's telling, the collective *History of the Work of Redemption*, and theology became chronology, as Edwards's efforts to read or collect the titles of sacred and secular chronologies illustrate. Milton's *Paradise Lost* is certainly one such source that encouraged Edwards to adopt such a 'method'; *The Pilgrim's Progress* provided another.[26]

Also, there are occasional hints – allusions and echoed phrasings – of Edwards's having read *The Pilgrim's Progress.* Wilson H. Kimnach observes that Edwards's earliest sermons, from the time when he was preaching in New York City during 1722–23, have intimations of Bunyan's dream. For example, *The Duty of Self-Examination* unapologetically defends selfishness in the interest of saving oneself, even if it means separating oneself from 'the world' and all one loves. This parallels the character Christian's heart-wrenching but necessary decision to leave his wife, children, and hometown to seek the wicket gate, despite however much those who met him saw him as cruel, if not mad. So, too, a sermon fragment from the end of that period, *Application on Love to Christ*, shines with scriptural figures to which Bunyan gave narrative form: enduring valleys of darkness and pits of misery, struggling over mountains and through sloughs, ending in crowns of glory, white robes of righteousness, and sumptuous feasting. For Bunyan, the Valley of the Shadow of Death was at first pitch dark, but as Christian emerged from it, 'the Sun was rising'. Later, once the Pilgrims 'were got over the Enchanted Ground' and were entering the Land of Beulah, they were 'within sight of the City they were going to'.[27] Edwards, too, depicted this process of approaching heaven as one of growing light. 'This valley,' he declared,

> is a dreadful, terribly dark valley for the wicked, and it lets them down to a darker pit of misery; but it is so near the hill of Zion, that bright place, that it is made light unto believers. They may pass through it with joy because as soon as ever they are got through it, they are got through all their miseries and immediately receive their crown, immediately are conducted to their throne.[28]

More than a decade later, in February 1736, Edwards preached a sermon on Ezekiel 33:4–5 with the doctrine, 'If men be but sensible of the need of it, they ordinarily have it in their power to take likely methods in order to their salvation'. Edwards explored the 'likely methods' believers may take for salvation to 'escape' the world, but not without 'hard labor', much as Bunyan's characters endured. 'The way is filled with giants for us to encounter', Edwards states, 'and not with pillows for us to take our ease and indulge our sloth upon.' While the giants could be the spiritual equivalent to the ones that the children of Israel fought when they entered Canaan, here the giants evoke either those that Christian, or later his wife Christiana and their children, meet: Pope, Pagan, and Despair, with his wife Diffidence, in Part One; and Grim, Maul, and Slaygood, in Part Two. The latter part of the phrase, about indulging 'ourselves with pillows for our sloth', seems to allude to the character of Sloth in Part One, and, in Part Two, to the deceitful arbor in the Enchanted Ground called '*The sloathfuls Friend*', which had 'a soft Couch, whereon the weary might lean'.[29]

Just as Edwards had his spiders, so too did Bunyan. When in Part Two the Interpreter is showing Christiana and Mercy through various rooms in his palace, he brings them to 'the very best Room', and bids them look around to see if they find anything 'profitable' there. All they see is 'an *ugly Spider*, who hangs by her Hands upon the Wall', and, having seen that one, they then see many. Quoting Proverbs 30:28, the Interpreter observes that 'how full of the Venome of Sin soever you be, yet you may by the hand of Faith lay hold of, and dwell in the best Room that belongs to the King's House above'. Christiana follows by saying that the spider 'has taken hold with her hands as I see, and dwells in the best Room in the House'.[30]

If there is any animal with which Edwards is associated, it is the spider, whether the 'flying' variety described in his 1723 letter to Massachusetts judge and Royal Society fellow Paul Dudley that 'recreates' itself by means of its long webs, or the unfortunate arachnid in *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God* (1741) held over the flaming pit of hell by the Deity, suspended on one thin, fraying strand.[31] But from December 1745 to January 1746, Edwards delivered a four-part discourse on Proverbs 30:25–28, considering the ant, the coney (or rabbit), the

locust, and finally, the spider, who all, by their behaviours, offer wisdom to any person who will take the time to observe their ways. For Edwards, they are both types as well as allegories, in the Bunyanesque mode. For Edwards as for Bunyan's Christiana, the spider's 'taking hold' with her hands points to her 'industry and art'. That she dwells in 'kings' palaces' means that she constructs an elaborate, elegant, and well-stocked nest.[32] Thus, a lowly insect, through industry, comes to live in what for it is a palatial setting: that is the divine lesson for sinful humankind as well, who, through labour, can come to dwell in heaven.

In *Some Thoughts Concerning the Revival* of 1743, Edwards famously adapted the narrative given by his wife, Sarah Pierpont Edwards, of her ecstatic religious experiences during the early months of the year previous, which he rendered as gender-neutral to disguise her identity. After describing at length her religious 'flights' and 'transports', and her communing with God in an 'heavenly elysium', Edwards enviously exclaims: 'Now if such things are enthusiasm, and the fruits of a distempered brain, let my brain be evermore possessed of that happy distemper!'[33] Edwards was anticipating ridicule of his wife's relation as enthusiasm, or an imbalanced mind. There are, to be sure, variations of that phrase, 'fruits of a distempered brain', to be found in the contemporary literature.[34] But I would submit that Edwards took this phrasing, with only slight alteration, from the scene in *The Pilgrim's Progress* in which Christian and Hopeful are debating with Ignorance about the nature of real, justifying faith, which Christian describes in part as '*the true effects of saving faith in the righteousness of Christ*'. When Hopeful bids Christian ask Ignorance 'if ever he had Christ revealed to him from Heaven', Ignorance jumps to a wrong conclusion and exclaims, '*What! you are a man for revelations! I believe that what both you, and all the rest of you say about that matter, is but the fruit of distracted braines*.'[35] Edwards's *Some Thoughts* was produced at a time of great awakenings when many were controversially claiming revelations and visions, and any reader of it who knew Bunyan – Part One was reprinted in Boston in 1740 – would pick up on the comparison of those who would confuse the meaning of 'revelation' with ignorance, and dismiss Sarah's experiences as distraction. In his *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections*, Edwards, like Bunyan before him, held that Christ 'cannot

by any man be savingly known, unless God the Father reveals him to them'.[36] For Edwards, this was a sort of knowledge beyond those who are not converted, manifested in a persevering trust in God.

Even this brief collation of *The Pilgrim's Progress* with Edwards's corpus, the first that has been attempted, has yielded some interesting and suggestive results. We have seen that Bunyan's most famous work, as well as some lesser ones, was available in colonial New England, and that by the time Edwards came of age *The Pilgrim's Progress* was, at least in some circles, achieving a reputation as an important literary work. We have also traced some general similarities in Bunyan's and Edwards's views on the nature of Christian life, with its striving and trials along the way towards a heavenly rest. And we have identified some literary echoes of Bunyan in Edwards's treatises, notebook entries, and especially sermons. Together, these topics provide further clues into Edwards's formation, his appropriation of works such as *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and the world he shared with his auditors and readers.

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Notes

1 For example, George Cheever's *Lectures on The Pilgrim's Progress* (New York: Edward Walker, 1846), possibly the first work to mention Bunyan and Edwards together, does not attempt to show the former's influences upon the latter but in a rather pietistic manner compares the characters of the two solely on the basis of *The Pilgrim's Progress* and of *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (pp. 204–05); and Paul E. Johnson, in *Psychology of Religion* (New York: Abindon-Cokesbury Press, 1945), throws together the conversionist works of Bunyan, Brainerd, and Edwards, reductionistically attributing their conversion 'preconditions' to 'depression and pensive sadness' (p. 99).

2 On the readership of Bunyan in the nineteenth century and following, see William R. Weeks, *The Pilgrim's Progress in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: M. W. Davis, 1849); David E. Smith, *John Bunyan in America* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1966); Gerda Norvig, *Dark Figures in the Desired Country: Blake's Illustrations to The Pilgrim's Progress* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Isabel Hofmeyr, *The Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of The Pilgrim's Progress* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); *Reception, Appropriation, Recollection: Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. W. R. Owens & Stuart Sim (New York: Peter Lang, 2007).

3 Barbara A. Johnson, *Reading Piers Plowman and The Pilgrim's Progress: Reception and the Protestant Reader* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), pp. 1-27.
4 Perry Miller, 'Pilgrim's Progress', in *The Responsibility of Mind in a Civilization of Machines* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1979), p. 63.
5 *The Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. James Blanton Wharey; 2nd edn, rev. Roger Sharrock (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960; corrected reprint, 1967), p. 167. All further references are to this edition, cited as *The Pilgrim's Progress*.
6 *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729*, ed. M. Halsey Thomas, 2 vols. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973), vol. 2, p. 1107. *The Pilgrim's Progress* was reprinted in Boston, the first part in 1740, the second in 1744, coincident with the Great Awakening.
7 Smith, *John Bunyan in America*, pp. 6-8. See *The History of the Kingdom of Basaruah. By Joseph Morgan*, ed. Richard Schlatter (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1946). The Mather Family Library did not include a copy of *The Pilgrim's Progress*; for a searchable database, see MatherFamilyLibrary at librarything.com.
8 *The Printed Catalogues of the Harvard College Library, 1723–1790,* ed. W. H. Bond and Hugh Amory (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1996), A119; on the J. Clarke edition, printed in London, 1728, which first presented Bunyan's work as a 'literary object', see Johnson, *Reading Piers Plowman and The Pilgrim's Progress*, pp. 164–65 (though note that Johnson misdates this edition as 1725).
9 *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, Volume 26, Catalogues of Books*, ed. Peter J. Thuesen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 372, no. [A39].
10 Ibid., p. 128, no. [46].
11 Since the focus of this essay is on Edwards's use of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, we must forego any detailed examination of the relation of *The Pilgrim's Progress* to *An Acceptable Sacrifice*, beyond observing that where, in *The Pilgrim's Progress* (pp. 56–60), Christian in the Valley of Humiliation is accosted and does battle with the demon Apollyon, in *An Acceptable Sacrifice* it is God who, like a 'Lyon, is breaking all his Bones'; see *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, gen. ed. Roger Sharrock, 13 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976–94), vol. XII, ed. W. R. Owens (1994), p. 35.
12 *Works of Jonathan Edwards, Volume 21, Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith*, ed. Sang Hyun Lee (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 469–510.
13 On Puritanism as a shared religious culture, see Kathleen M. Swaim, *Pilgrim's Progress, Puritan Progress: Discourses and Contexts* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), pp. 1–17.
14 See N. H. Keeble, 'To Be a Pilgrim: Constructing the Protestant Life in Early Modern England', in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 238–56.
15 Edwards, MS Sermon on Daniel 6:23, September 1733, no. 298. All MS sermons by Edwards cited here are in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, and the transcripts are at the Jonathan Edwards Centre, Yale University Divinity School.
16 See, for example, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, pp. 49, 90.
17 Edwards, MS Sermon on Hebrews 11:16, October 1751, no. 1009.
18 *Works of Jonathan Edwards, Volume 17, Sermons and Discourses, 1730–1733*, ed. Mark Valeri (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 432, 438.

19 Edwards, MS Sermon on Matthew 18:8-9, April 1737, no. 428.
20 *The Pilgrim's Progress*, pp. 219, 282.
21 Edwards, MS Sermons on Matthew 11:12(b), February 1741, no. 595; and on Exodus 13:18, April 1743, no. 700.
22 Edwards to Esther Edwards Burr, 28 March 1753, in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, Volume 16, Letters and Personal Writings*, ed. George S. Claghorn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 577.
23 *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, Volume 8, Ethical Writings*, ed. Paul Ramsey (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 372n; see, for example, 'Miscellanies' no. 639, 'Heaven,' in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, Volume 18, 'Miscellanies' 501–832*, ed. Ava Chamberlain (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 170-73.
24 *Works of Jonathan Edwards, Volume 17, Sermons and Discourses, 1730–1733*, pp. 432–35, 446.
25 Sermons on Hebrews 12:22–24, April 1740, nos. 544–550; published as *Sermons on the Church by Jonathan Edwards, Volume 1: How Christians Are Come to Mt. Sion*, ed. Kenneth P. Minkema, R. Craig Woods, and Thomas A. Koontz (Eugene, Ore.: Wipf & Stock, 2019). The quotation is from p. 98.
26 See Roger Sharrock, *The Pilgrim's Progress: A Casebook* (London: Macmillan, 1976), p. 16. For Edwards's plan for the Redemption Discourse, see his letter to the Trustees of the College of New Jersey, 19 October 1757, in *Works of Jonathan Edwards, Volume 16, Letters and Personal Writings*, pp. 728–29. On the influence of Milton on Edwards, see Kenneth P. Minkema, '"If thou reckon right": Angels from John Calvin to Jonathan Edwards (Via John Milton)', in *The Oxford Handbook of John Calvin*, ed. Carl Trueman and Bruce Gordon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).
27 *The Pilgrim's Progress*, pp. 65, 154.
28 *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, Volume 10, Sermons and Discourses, 1720–1723*, ed. Wilson H. Kimnach (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 481–92, 605–16 (quotation from p. 612).
29 See Edwards, MS Sermon on Ezekiel 33:4–5, February 1736, no. 379; on Sloth and on the Enchanted Ground, see *The Pilgrim's Progress*, pp. 39, 297.
30 *The Pilgrim's Progress*, pp. 200–01.
31 Edwards to Paul Dudley, 31 October 1723 [The 'Spider Letter'], *Works of Jonathan Edwards, Volume 16, Letters and Personal Writings*, pp. 41–47; *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*, in *Works of Jonathan Edwards, Volume 22, Sermons and Discourses, 1739–1742*, ed. Nathan O. Hatch and Harry S. Stout (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 400–35.
32 See also Bunyan, 'The Sinner and the Spider', in *A Book for Boys and Girls*, in *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, vol. 6, *The Poems*, ed. Graham Midgley (1980), pp. 214–21. Edwards, MS Sermons on Proverbs 30:24–28, December 1745–January 1746, nos. 798–799, 803–804.
33 *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, Volume 4, The Great Awakening*, ed. C. C. Goen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 341.
34 See, for example, English theologian John Edwards's definition of 'Inspiration' as 'the product of [. . .] a Distempered Brain, of a Diseased Spleen, of an Ill Habit of Body', in *A Free Discourse Concerning Truth and Error, Especially in Matters of Religion* (London, 1701), p. 272; and the 1733 English translation of Miquel Cervantes's *History of . . . Don Quixote* (2 vols., Dublin, 1733), vol. 2, p. 127, in which Sancho and Quixote's adventures seem to those that hear about them 'to be one of the most extravagant kinds

of Madness that ever befel a distracted Brain'. Jonathan Edwards cited neither of these works in his reading lists.

35 *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 148. See Benjamin Myers, 'Bunyan's Gospel: The Theological Role of Ignorance in *The Pilgrim's Progress*', *Reformed Theological Review*, 62 (2003), 29–38.

36 *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, Volume 2, Religious Affections*, ed. John E. Smith (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), p. 168.

NEWS AND REPORTS

‘Networks of Dissent’, the Ninth Triennial Conference of the International John Bunyan Society, Alberta, Canada, 14–17 August 2019

It had rained all summer long in Alberta, but when the International John Bunyan Society President David Gay welcomed delegates to the University of Alberta on 14 August, the Edmonton skies were clear. Scholars from across the United States and Europe and from as far as New Zealand and Israel had made the journey to western Canada for an invigorating discussion of *Networks of Dissent.* IJBS 9 was an intimate gathering of some thirty delegates. The programme included five plenary sessions and three concurrent panels spread over two and a half days. An exhibition of Bunyan editions, an evening town and gown event, an afternoon visit to the brand new Royal Alberta Museum, and a banquet rounded out conference events.

Helen Wilcox (Bangor University) Tim Cooper (University of Otago) and Robert W. Daniel (University of Warwick) set the proceedings off on a strong note in the opening Plenary Panel session. Helen Wilcox’s presentation on ‘The Dissenter’s Journal as a Textual Network: the Case of Oliver Heywood’ addressed the conference theme directly and defined the term ‘network’ as she showed how the concept applies to Heywood’s fascinating text. Her paper was followed by Tim Cooper’s erudite discussion of Richard Baxter’s correspondence, which provided an introduction to the surprisingly complex editorial considerations involved in setting appropriate boundaries for what will be the next part of the ongoing work on Baxter’s oeuvre. In the final lecture of the session, Robert W. Daniel explored another fascinating web of relationships. His paper discussed the networks of Dissenting English clergymen ejected from the Church of England in 1662, who read and made extensive use of Samuel Clarke’s collection of ministerial biographies, *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons* (1683).

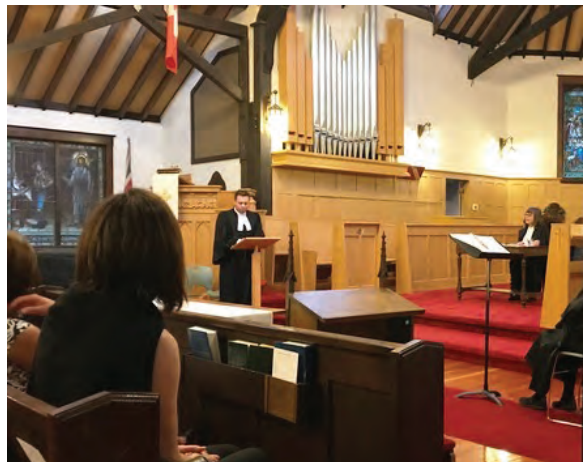
The Plenary Panel was followed by a beautifully curated exhibition of rare Bunyan editions at the University of Alberta’s Bruce Peel Special

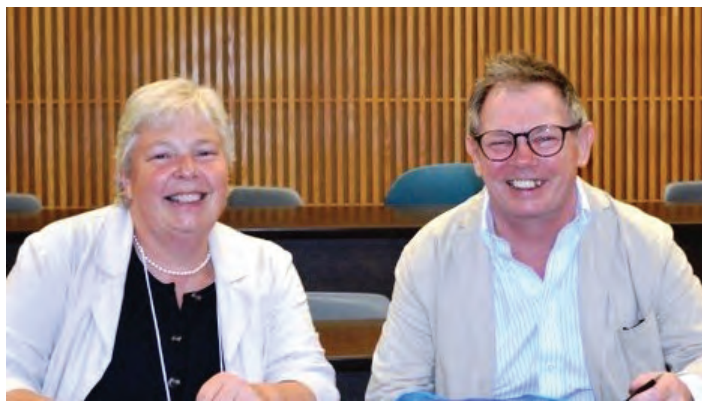
Collections Library. The collection is reputed to be the third strongest in the world, next to the British Library and the New York Public Library, for both number of editions, and variety and depth of the holdings. James F. Forrest, honorary President of IJBS from 1992 to 1995, a Professor of English at the University of Alberta, and an editor of several Bunyan texts in the Clarendon Press definitive collection, was instrumental in building the Peel Bunyan collection in the 1960s and 70s. Sylvia Brown, IJBS Secretary and co-organizer of the conference, curated the exhibition and introduced it to delegates. For the next hour or so, contented Bunyanists dined on a rich collection of hors d'oeuvres while they toured the exhibition and posed questions to Sylvia, to Robert Desmarais, Head Special Collections Librarian, and to exhibition designer, Kevin Zak, whose striking graphics and visually stunning displays made the texts themselves as enticing to the eye as they are fascinating in their content.

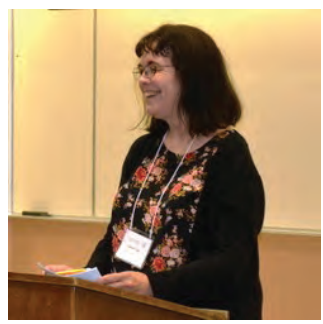
From the exhibition delegates returned to the lecture hall for the first Plenary Address, by Feisal Mohamed (Graduate Centre CUNY) who took us on a dazzling journey through 'Bunyan and the *Annus Mirabilis* of English Law'. His address connected Bunyan to a broad network of commonwealth inheritors of the legal tradition Bunyan and his contemporaries had influenced. In a talk that tied the legal to the literary, he explored the moment when broad cracks emerged in the consensus of the Cromwellian era on the eve of the Restoration.

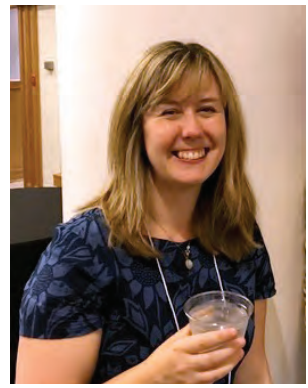
Early on Thursday morning the lecture hall was once again full for a second Plenary Address, where Ariel Hessayon (Goldsmiths, University of London) talked about 'Social Networks and the Publication of Continental European Writings during the English Revolution'. Ariel provided an expert tour of an extensive archive of European texts on alchemy, astrology and natural magic, and the writings of the Lutheran mystic Jacob Boehme, as he mapped the networks of relationship that connected one to the other.

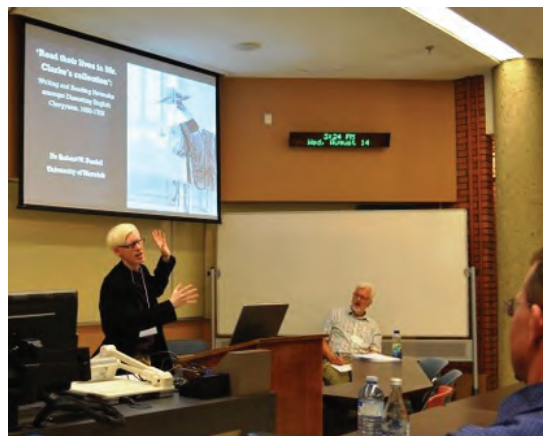
On the heels of this plenary presentation were four concurrent sessions focused on Bunyan's contemporaries, memory and mediation, travel and translation, and allegory and hermeneutics. Each of the twelve papers delivered in these sessions expanded and deepened the conference theme of networks as connections among people, traditions and practices were explored from a variety of angles. In the final Plenary Address of







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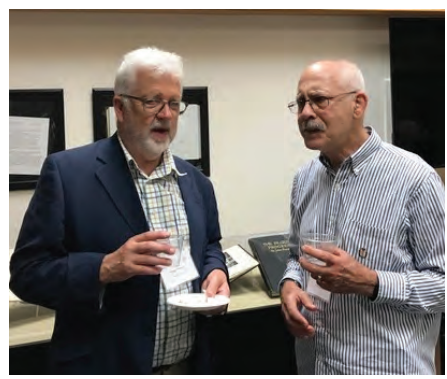

day two, Alison Chapman (University of Alabama) discussed 'The Tithes of War: the Early Modern Law of Tithing and Milton's War in Heaven'. Drawing on her expertise in early modern English law, Alison explored the contemporary idea of paying a tithe through an alternative currency, and demonstrated how Milton's Satan, humiliated by the debt of praise owed to God, turns ecclesiastical ordinances into ordnance, its canons into cannons.

After a full day of papers, the conference moved to downtown Edmonton. David Gay welcomed both conference delegates and members of the public to Christ Church, a historical Anglican parish church. Beneath the wooden beams of the Tudor-style sanctuary, a dramatic presentation of Bunyan's trial set the scene for an imaginative 'appeal' against his legal convictions. Kate Weiss, Professor of Drama at the University of Alberta, produced a dramatic account of Bunyan's day in court that drew upon *A Relation of My Imprisonment*. Actor Braydon Dower-Coltman took on the role of John Bunyan, Michael Bradley played Justice Francis Wingate, and Michael Anderson narrated the story of Bunyan's trial and conviction.

Following the brief drama, Madam Justice Myra Bielby, Alberta Court of Appeal, heard arguments both for and against Bunyan's appeal as they were articulately presented for the defence by Patrick Hart, JD, PhD, and for the prosecution by The Honourable Darlene Acton, who recently retired from the Alberta Court of Appeals bench. Following these arguments, Justice Bielby read her judgement: She provided historical context, and then explained why John Bunyan could not be convicted in Canada of the same crimes today. She explained to a crowd of 100 or so attendees that the Conventicle Act of 1593 was repealed in England before the Canadian judicial system was born in 1867, so the Act was never a part of Canadian law. She also provided a learned and thoughtful assessment of how similar issues might be dealt with today by evaluating the merits of arguments offered by defence and prosecution, and then surveying recent Canadian examples of laws for peace, order and good government that have generated debates of conscience. The town and gown affair engaged both scholars and members of the general public and turned a pleasing dramatic performance of Bunyan's trial into a meaningful conversation about

conference themes of faith and the state, imprisonment for questions of conscience, and the toleration of dissent whether religious or political as it created new networks, across time, and across contemporary communities. Tea and conversations followed in the Great Hall, and when the refreshments drew to a close, a soft rain fell on the small parade of umbrellas as delegates strolled through the beautiful gardens of Christ Church and boarded the bus for the trip back to campus.

Friday morning came early. At nine o'clock sharp delegates were back to work for the final two concurrent sessions, one on prison writing and a second on reading, publishing and networking. Six excellent papers explored a variety of issues. I particularly enjoyed the one by Donovan Tann (Hesston College) on 'Early Modern Brewing Discourse and Networks of Culpability in John Bunyan's *Life and Death of Mr. Badman*'.

Following the final session, lunch was served as the Business meeting for IJBS got underway. Tributes were paid especially to the outgoing President, David Gay, and the outgoing Secretary, Sylvia Brown, for their careful stewardship of IJBS over the past three years. Finances, website business and a little brainstorming about *Bunyan Studies* preceded Sylvia's report on executive offices filled. Robert W. Daniel was voted next Secretary of the IJBS, while Shannon Murray ascended to the role of Vice President. She will work alongside the new IJBS President, David Walker, and will then take over as President after the society's next conference at Northumbria University, Newcastle, in 2022.

Skies were overcast, but the weather held on Friday afternoon as David Gay shepherded a smaller group of delegates to the subway station for a brief underground trip across the city to the new Alberta Museum. By six o'clock, after an afternoon touring the sights, delegates gathered one last time at the University of Alberta Faculty Club for a banquet. Following a fine meal and much good conversation, Helen Wilcox announced the winner of the Richard Greaves award. Michael Davies and Bob Owens took top honours in a competitive field for their *Oxford Handbook to John Bunyan*. Several chapter contributors were in the audience to help celebrate the award as warm congratulations were extended to the two editors who, alas, were not able to be at the conference.

In his last official duty as President, David Gay thanked all for making the journey to western Canada. The incoming President, David Walker, urged all present to mark their calendars for three years hence when he will welcome delegates to the tenth triennial gathering in Northumbria University. As voices trailed off in the banquet room, a soft mist infused the dusk with the perfume of late summer as the party goers exchanged hugs and good wishes and stepped into the evening air. Rich in scholarly accomplishments and good fellowship, it was, yet again, a wonderful IJBS conference.

Arlette Zinck
The King's University, Edmonton, Canada

‘Honest Labour: Exploring the Interface between Work and Nonconformity’, an IJBS Regional Day Conference at Loughborough University, 5 April 2019

In *Grace Abounding*, John Bunyan likens the minster’s labour to the spiritual needs of his congregants – God’s children – to childbirth, remarking that ‘I have as it were travelled [i.e. travailed] to bring forth Children to God; neither could I be satisfied unless some fruits did appear in my work’. Taking its prompt from Bunyan’s words, used to describe his pastoral responsibilities, this fourth IJBS one-day colloquium sought to understand the significance of work and Nonconformity in order to examine the links between labour and faith. Whether looking through the minister’s or the congregants’ eyes, the papers spoke of the economic and social realities of employment, thereby distilling an aspect of religious identity that has important ramifications.

The day attracted speakers from across the UK, and an audience that included visitors from the Bedford Museum and the Newark Civil War Centre. The first of the two plenaries was given by Dr John Rees (Goldsmiths, University of London) on Leveller writings in the civil war period, and it focussed especially on the proposals about the franchise drafted for the *Agreement of the People* as a result of the Putney Debates. He spoke to the title ‘The Levellers, Wage Labourers, and the Poor’, in a discussion that culminated with the observation that Lilburne and others’ political activities in formulating the *Agreement* were ‘bound to enlarge’ the opportunities of the poor.

In the first panel, Dr Edward Legon (Queen Mary University of London) established the image of the ‘protean mechanic’, working in trade and worshipping in Nonconformist communities, as it relates to clothiers. His talk, ‘Godly Weavers – Cloth-work and Nonconformity in Seventeenth-Century Britain’, looked at the opportunities for these workers to circulate their ideas and their goods concurrently. In the next paper, ‘“Work enough to do”: The Labour of Nonconformist Ministers and the Cost of their Ministries’, Dr Robert W. Daniel (University of Warwick), highlighted the frustrations that beset the Nonconformist minister. Overworked ministers’ diaries record how far short they fall of the godly ideal, and so, disheartened, begin to question their vocation.

Daniel's paper told the story of Isaac Archer's divided loyalties and sense of being undervalued in his ministry, in order to highlight the strenuous requirements placed on the Nonconformist pastor.

The afternoon panel's first speaker, Ms Alison McNaught (Queen Mary University of London), introduced and analysed the activities of two women printers, Tace Sowle and Mary Fenner/Waugh, in a paper entitled 'Labour and Faith: The Work of Women Printers and Booksellers of Nonconformist Texts during the Long Eighteenth Century'. McNaught captured the inter-reliance of printer and Dissenting community by charting how these women developed successful businesses. Fenner/Waugh worked initially with Baptists before printing other Nonconformists' work, while Sowle served the Quakers. McNaught's approach therefore facilitated comparison not only of the work of two women, but also of distinctive Dissenting traditions. The second speaker's talk explored an aspect of Quakerism. Dr David Hitchcock (Canterbury Christ Church University) looked at the 'problem' of the itinerant preacher in his paper 'Spiritual Vagrants? – The Troubled Relationship between Work, Mobility, and Nonconformity in England, c. 1650–1700'. Hitchcock described the animosity Quakers faced; communities feared these ministers as they did vagrants, masterless men, and vagabonds. He noted that the very practice that was so successful in spreading the Quaker message – itinerant ministering – also brought opprobrium to the individuals and the sect.

The final plenary, entitled '"In the sweat of thy face": the Status of Work in the Writing of Bunyan, Milton, and Winstanley', was given by Professor Thomas N. Corns (Bangor University). With Genesis (chapters 2–3) as a point of reference, Corns placed their reflections on the Fall and its effect on the perception of labour in the context of the lives and works of these three thinkers. His paper discussed Bunyan's class consciousness and sympathy for the poor and his exploration of the world of work and business ethics, comparing these with Milton's high regard for the efforts of intellectual labour, and Winstanley's optimism for the Diggers' project (which turned fast to disillusionment). Labour had a spiritual dimension through the way that the prediction in Genesis, 'cursed is the ground for your sake' (3:17), played out in sometimes unexpected ways in the lives of these thinkers. Taken together, the papers

delivered at the day colloquium cumulatively offered a nuanced account of the relationship between labour and faith within Nonconformity.

Catie Gill
Loughborough University, UK

A Note on Reader Reception of *The Pilgrim's Progress, Part II* (1684)

In the final section of her chapter on *The Pilgrim's Progress, Part II* (1684), published in *The Oxford Handbook of John Bunyan* (edited by Michael Davies and W. R. Owens, 2018), Margaret Olofson Thickstun briefly surveys the reception and influence of the work. The fact that most editions of *The Pilgrim's Progress* have included *Part II* may not in itself, she suggests, 'be conclusive evidence of its influence'. As an example, she notes that there is little or no direct reference to *Part II* in Louis May Alcott's *Little Women*, by contrast with the frequent references to *Part I*, and suggests that Bunyan's female characters failed to inspire women readers. She quotes Isabel Hofmeyr, who has argued that comments by some unmarried women readers indicate that they took the male figure of Great-heart as a role model: in his 'singleness and celibacy' they could 'see themselves as heroic figures, aided rather than hampered by their singleness' (*The Portable Bunyan* (Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 163).

Quite recently, I came across a couple of comments by readers who remembered reading *Part II* in childhood. Their recollections seem to bear out the argument that Great-heart may indeed have been the most memorable and significant character in *Part II*, and they are sufficiently interesting, I think, to quote at some length. The first comes from an autobiographical account of the early years of her life by Lucy Larcom (1824–1893), a millworker, teacher, poet, and abolitionist who was born in Beverly, Massachusetts. In *A New England Girlhood, Outlined from Memory* (1889) she gives a lengthy account of her childhood reading, among which *The Pilgrim's Progress* was pre-eminent.

> The book that I loved first and best, and lived upon in my childhood, was 'Pilgrim's Progress'. It was as a story that I cared for it, although I knew that it meant something more – something that was already going on in my own heart and life. Oh, how I used to wish that I too could start off on a pilgrimage! It would be so much easier than the continual, discouraging struggle to be good!

> The lot I most envied was that of the contented Shepherd Boy in the Valley of Humiliation, singing his cheerful songs, and wearing 'the herb called *Heart's Ease* in his bosom'; but all the glorious ups and downs of the 'Progress' I would gladly have shared with Christiana and her children, never desiring to turn aside into any 'By-Path Meadow' while Mr. Great-Heart led the way, and the Shining Ones came down to meet us along the road. It was one of the necessities of my nature, as a child, to have some one being, real or ideal, man or woman, before whom I inwardly bowed down and worshipped. Mr. Great-Heart was the perfect hero of my imagination. Nobody, in books or out of them, compared with him. I wondered if there were really any Mr. Great-Hearts to be met with among living men.
>
> I remember reading this beloved book once in a snow-storm, and looking up from it out among the white, wandering flakes, with a feeling that they had come down from heaven as its interpreters; that they were trying to tell me, in their airy up-and-down-flight, the story of innumerable souls. I tried to fix my eye on one particular flake, and to follow its course until it touched the earth. But I found that I could not. A little breeze was stirring, and the flake seemed to go and return, to descend and then ascend again, as if hastening homeward to the sky, losing itself at last in the airy, infinite throng, and leaving me filled with thoughts of that 'great multitude, which no man could number, clothed with white robes', crowding so gloriously into the closing pages of the Bible.
>
> Oh, if I could only be sure that I should some time be one of that invisible company! But the heavens were already beginning to look a great way off. I hummed over one of my best loved hymns –
>
> 'Who are these in bright array?'
>
> and that seemed to bring them nearer again. (*A New England Childhood*, pp. 101–3)

It is clear from this that Bunyan's book made a big impression on the youthful Larcom. She loved it for its story, but it also stimulated her religious development and she links it with the Bible (quoting Revelation 7:9) and with favourite hymns (quoting the opening line of a hymn about heaven by James Montgomery, first published in 1819). Interestingly,

however, it is *Part II* that gets most mention. She is much taken with the 'contented Shepherd Boy', and although she does identify with Christiana and her children, it is the incomparable Mr. Great-heart who is 'the perfect hero' of her imagination.

The second comment on *Part II* comes in an article on 'John Bunyan' by H[erbert] B[rook] Workman (1862–1951), published in the journal *Theology* (vol. 17 (1928), pp. 123–29). Workman was a prominent Methodist, who served as principal of Westminster Training College from 1903 until 1930, and published many distinguished works of church history. His article was written to mark the tercentenary of Bunyan's birth, but although it is warmly celebratory in tone, Workman feels that 'there are, of course, defects in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, as indeed there are spots on the sun'. He goes on:

> As a child I remember I liked the second part better than the first. There was a sort of feeling of a conducted tour about it as well as of family life, and I remember how my brother and myself only wished that in some way or other we could be like Greatheart, helping others to bliss. And yet, viewed critically, the second part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, like most second parts, is poor when compared with the first. (p. 125)

Workman's specific criticisms of *Part II* need not concern us here, and it is true that his account of his memories of reading *The Pilgrim's Progress* is much less detailed than Larcom's. Nevertheless, like her, the young Workman brothers hero-worshipped Mr. Great-heart. But perhaps the differences in their responses are more significant. Whereas Larcom wishes that she could be among the group of pilgrims being 'led' by Mr. Great-heart, and feels like bowing down and worshipping him, the Workman boys wish that they themselves might become Mr. Great-hearts: leaders 'helping others to bliss'.

W. R. Owens
The Open University and *University of Bedfordshire, UK*

REVIEW ARTICLE

A Monument for Wayfarers: *The Oxford Handbook of John Bunyan*

The Oxford Handbook of John Bunyan (edited by Michael Davies and W. R. Owens, Oxford University Press, 2018, £110) could scarcely fail to be a landmark of scholarship on Bunyan, and it admirably achieves this aim. Following on the heels of the 2010 *Cambridge Companion to Bunyan* edited by Anne Dunan-Page, it is arguably a manifestation of Bunyan studies come of age. The scope of its interests is impressive, discussing to some degree all of Bunyan's roughly sixty works and tracing their history from the contexts that gave rise to their writing to their dissemination, reception and interpretation up to the present.

The 38 chapters of the volume are divided into four sections, namely 'Contexts', 'Texts', 'Directions in Criticism' and 'Journeys'. The first focuses on Bunyan's more immediate biographical contexts as well as wider early modern cultural contexts that inform his work. The second part provides a chronological survey of all Bunyan's works, with survey chapters for each decade of Bunyan's writing from the 1650s to his death in 1688, as well as his verse and his posthumously published writing, and dedicated chapters given to each of Bunyan's narrative works. The third contains a series of chapters that report on and exemplify a diversity of critical approaches to Bunyan, traditional and contemporary. Part IV concludes the volume with case studies of the reception and appropriation of Bunyan in a variety of cultural contexts from the early novels of the Restoration period to a twenty-first century puppet show.

The general teleological flow of the sections provides a sound structure for the volume as a whole, though there is inevitable overlap between their approaches. For instance, Tamsin Spargo's Part III chapter on 'Bunyan and the Historians' is largely a meta-level historiographical survey of the history of historical approaches to Bunyan, whereas actual historicist work on Bunyan is more to the fore in Parts I and II. Conversely, Jonathon Shears's Part IV chapter on 'Bunyan and the Romantics' does not just report on Coleridge's famous critique of

Bunyan's allegory but critiques it on the basis of Shears's own critical reading of Bunyan.

Although not many readers will read the handbook from cover to cover, the chapters in Part II, especially the survey chapters on each decade of Bunyan's writings by David Walker, David Gay, Ken Simpson, and Arlette Zinck (plus Elizabeth Clarke on Bunyan's verse and W. R. Owens on his posthumously published work), succeed in building a sequential narrative that has enhanced my own grasp of where particular works by Bunyan fit into the progress of his life and ministry. The format of these chapters commendably ensures at least passing discussion for each of the non-narrative didactic works (found in the thirteen volumes of the Oxford *Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*) that make up the greater bulk of Bunyan's writing but are often neglected by both general and scholarly readers.

However, the works given their own chapters are understandably the usual suspects of Bunyan's narrative works, also the works most commented on throughout the handbook. It strikes me as a wise editorial decision to give the two parts of *The Pilgrim's Progress* separate chapters. While the first part of *The Pilgrim's Progress* in particular unsurprisingly attracts attention throughout the handbook, Michael Davies's specific chapter on this text foregrounds the meta-questions of Bunyan's allegorical method as training the reader to perceive with the eyes of faith, while Margaret Olof Thickstun revisits the debate over the gender politics of *The Second Part*, pointing out that Christian's heroic role is split between Christiana's motherly virtue and the more military heroism of the male minister Great-heart. Nancy Rosenfeld provides an intertextual literary reading of *The Holy War* (though I find her parallels with *Paradise Lost* a little too general given their shared biblical background to persuade me of direct influence), while Katsuhiro Engetsu reads *The Life and Death of Mr Badman* in relation to the social history of alehouse culture contrasted with the godly culture of providence narratives. While not an allegorical fiction, Bunyan's spiritual autobiography *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* still possesses a vivid narrative form, expounded by Nigel Smith as a written elaboration of an orally delivered testimony. Smith suggests that in successive editions Bunyan revised his account in the direction of literary polish

and polite respectability somewhat to the detriment of its original raw immediacy.

Competing perceptions of Bunyan are highlighted by Michael Davies's introduction on 'Bunyan's Presence'. As Davies traces, Bunyan has been celebrated as a prisoner of conscience for the cause of religious toleration, but his conscience bound him to a Calvinist theology that many view as oppressive. He has been hailed as a quintessentially English figure in the literary canon, but also as a writer with universal global appeal. Perhaps most famously, Samuel Taylor Coleridge's distinction between the 'Bunyan of Parnassus', the inspired literary artist, and the 'Bunyan of the conventicle', the Dissenting minister, continues to bifurcate the reception of Bunyan. These paradoxes in the perception and interpretation of Bunyan, as well as others not specifically highlighted by Davies's introduction, surface throughout this volume, though often in more nuanced or qualified versions than the sharp dichotomies might suggest.

Bunyan can plausibly be read both as a narrow sectarian and as a spiritual guide with extensive Christian sympathies and a writer with broad appeal even to those who claim no religious faith. Historical study provides a range of answers to the questions of how separate Nonconformists were from the established Church, how much they stood apart from their neighbours and from civic society, and how distinct various Nonconformist groupings (proto-denominations) were from one another. John Coffey's survey of 'The Trials and Triumphs of Restoration Dissent' provides a masterful synthesis of the Dissenting landscape, suggesting that Dissenters were, to varying degrees at different times, both a persecuted minority with an oppositional self-consciousness, and a highly visible group with friends in high places whose social and theological boundaries with the established Church were 'highly porous' (p. 44). Coffey concludes that Bunyan's self-presentation as a prophetic martyr for gospel truth led him to exaggerate his distance from the surrounding culture: 'Bunyan's England was more receptive to his message than he himself admitted. Indeed, he was the product of a deeply Protestant nation, a nation in which Calvinist divinity and Puritan piety had sunk deep roots' (p. 51).

N. H. Keeble, by contrast, sees 'Bunyan's works, like those of other Nonconformists' as 'fiercely oppositional texts, maintaining in the hostile

Restoration world their commitment to outlawed Puritan perspectives and aspirations' (p. 143). In a chapter that recapitulates his well-earned position as an authority on Dissenting literary culture, Keeble stresses the affinities among Dissenters, but perhaps tends to erase the sometimes sharp oppositions between Dissenting groups. Among the sharpest of these was the fierce combat between Quakers and Calvinist Dissenters including Bunyan, highlighted in David Walker's account of Bunyan's earliest writings. Walker, however, also skates over some important distinctions by characterising Bunyan straightforwardly as a 'Baptist', glossing over the longstanding debate over whether Bunyan is more accurately characterised as an Independent/Congregationalist, albeit one of baptistic convictions. Anne Dunan-Page's account of the Bedford Independent congregation of which Bunyan was a member and then pastor tellingly observes that the Bedford church refused to give letters of commendation to former members seeking to join closed communion Baptist churches in London. Ironically, Bunyan here appears to have acted in a sectarian manner regarding his anti-sectarian commitment to open communion among the godly.

While some contributors are concerned to demonstrate the ongoing value of Bunyan for non-religious readers, others are concerned to rescue Bunyan from overly secular readings. These concerns contrast but need not contradict each other. One aspect of Bunyan's thought that has proven unattractive to many readers, both religious and secular, is his 'Calvinist' belief in predestination, and several contributors to this volume seek to soften the hard edges of Bunyan's Calvinism. For instance, Michael Mullett's opening biographical chapter states that 'the content of Bunyan's preaching was finding a place for a voluntarism that may seem at odds with the absolute decree of predestination' and that Bunyan's writing 'muted the principles of predestinarian Calvinism to which he subscribed in order to find a place for human initiative' (p. 31). Arlette Zinck, seeking to defend Bunyan as a tender-hearted pastor offering God's grace to all rather than a harsh dogmatician, quotes approvingly Richard Greaves's characterisation of Bunyan's approach as 'pastoral Arminianism', a phrase to which Dewey Wallace objects in his admirably concise synthesis of Bunyan's theology from sources across his extensive corpus:

> apart from a few rigid supralapsarians and some hyper-Calvinists, works of Calvinist piety are filled with pleading requests for sinners to come to Christ. There is nothing un-Calvinist in this insofar as Reformed theologians thought that God worked through the 'means' of secondary causality, including the operation of the human will, as Bunyan noted when he stated that election does not pre-empt 'the means which are of God appointed to bring us to Christ' (*MW*, 4:147). (p. 78)

On the level of theological system, I think Wallace is correct (against Greaves and Zinck) to object to labelling Bunyan an Arminian, but, at the level of pastoral emphasis, a trajectory towards an increased emphasis on human response rather than divine election may well be discernible in Bunyan's work.

Stuart Sim's 'post-structuralist' reading and Lori Branch's 'post-secular' reading of Bunyan have more in common than might initially appear. While Sim writes from a secular standpoint and Branch from a Christian one, both find elements in Bunyan's writing undesirably 'fundamentalist' to their taste while seeking to retrieve redeeming qualities in his work more congenial to them. Sim is sceptical of Bunyan's Christian and Nonconformist 'grand narrative' but enthused by how it inspires political resistance to the grand narrative of the Restoration establishment. Branch considers Bunyan's apparently biblicist and 'modernist' quest for certain knowledge through mastery of the scriptural text misguided, but finds in Bunyan's imaginative engagement with the text a more open-ended and open-hearted approach to faith. Branch's historical grand narrative is a polemical one, but it is not immune from critique. To characterise Reformed Protestantism as a coldly rational system from which Bunyan's participatory language of union with Christ is a welcome escape is to miss the fact that such participatory language is present in Calvin's *Institutes* (as explored, for instance, in Julie Canlis's book *Calvin's Ladder*) as well as in the 'experimental' piety of many English Puritans.

A further crux in the interpretation of Bunyan is posed well by the opening question of Arlette Zinck's chapter: 'Spiritual saint or political radical: who was John Bunyan?' (p. 290). In other words, how political

was Bunyan? In so far as an established Church is an inherently political entity, the refusal to conform to it is an unavoidably political act. Nevertheless, while some Dissenters engaged in more directly political activity, whether through participation in local government or violent revolutionary plotting, others adopted a quietist stance, limiting their defiance of the authorities to the narrowly spiritual concerns of worshipping according to conscience while professing loyalty to the powers that be in temporal affairs.

Bunyan clearly identified himself with the latter, especially in later life: 'I do confess my self one of the old-fashion Professors, that *covet to fear God, and honour the King*' (*MW*, 13:488–89, cited p. 356), but he had friends and associates of the militant tendency. Owens's account of Bunyan's posthumously published work takes Bunyan at his word, pointing out that Bunyan expected Antichrist to be defeated by the kings of the earth rather than by the 'saints'. Kathleen Lynch's account of Bunyan's associates in the print trade draws attention to the more explicit political activism of Bunyan's printer Francis 'Elephant' Smith, who was allied with the Earl of Shaftesbury in defence of a broader range of civil liberties.

Zinck finds a more subtle form of politics in Bunyan, a non-violent activism of peaceable protest that seeks to change social structures one soul at a time. Zinck's Christian pacifist Bunyan bears striking affinities to the kind of 'post-Christendom' politics advocated by contemporary theologians such as Stanley Hauerwas. While I am personally attracted to the kind of theologically informed socio-political engagement for which Zinck finds resources in Bunyan, I am less convinced that it is present in Bunyan's writings to quite the degree that she asserts. Bunyan clearly has a social conscience that denounces the oppression by the rich of the poor, but there is a gap between denouncing the unjust structures of a sinful age and believing them to be remediable this side of the millennium.

Bunyan's 'self-fashioning as a writer whose authority lies not in academic distinction but in experiential authenticity and divine inspiration' (Keeble, p. 139), who claimed that 'my Bible and Concordance are my only Library in my writings' (*MW*, 7:9; cited in chapters by Keeble, Pooley and Wallace), is called into question by

Roger Pooley's chapter on 'Bunyan's Reading'. Much of this is well-trodden territory, engaging the 'fair-sized reading list' accessible 'simply from the open acknowledgements in [Bunyan's] writing' (p. 191), and focusing especially on Bunyan's debts to Luther, Foxe, and Arthur Dent. However, Pooley makes an original contribution to the discussion in the tantalising suggestion that Bunyan may have read a treatise by the minister Isaac Ambrose, and that we might have surviving annotations in Bunyan's own hand.

More literary tensions in the reading of Bunyan pertain to the nature of allegory in general. Coleridge's famous dichotomy between the Bunyan of Parnassus and the Bunyan of the Conventicle expresses a preference for the aesthetic experience of reading Bunyan's allegory over its didactic content that has a tendency to suffocate its aesthetic pleasure. While Coleridge's binary is much cited in this volume, a more interesting related question, perhaps, is whether allegory tends to conceal or reveal. Does it make things easier or more difficult to understand? Maxine Hancock acknowledges the aversion of many readers today to the didactic fixing of meaning exemplified by Bunyan's marginalia. Jeremy Tambling's chapter on allegory and emblem, conversely, stresses the opacity of Bunyan's allegories, placing Bunyan into conversation with theories of allegory from Quintilian to Paul de Man to show that his multiple meanings are more slippery than might first appear. The slippery distinction between allegory and typology is emphasised by W. R. Owens in his account of Bunyan's posthumously published biblical exegesis, but elided together in Davies's chapter on *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

Bunyan's gender politics is subject to mixed reviews. Though enlivened by some provocative contrasts with Restoration libertines and by some more original discussion of the eschatological gender of resurrected bodies, Margaret Ezell gives a fairly typical summary of Bunyan on gender – that while Bunyan's spiritual awakening owed much to the 'poor women' of the Bedford congregation, he is disappointingly restrictive regarding women's roles in a way that displays a fear of the feminine. Alison Searle offers more nuance. As part of a wider-ranging chapter on Bunyan's engagement with Scripture, Searle reads Bunyan's thinking on marriage in light of his exegesis of the eschatological marriage of Christ and the Church. Making a distinction that will be a

hard sell to feminist readers, Searle argues that Bunyan's view of marriage was hierarchical but not misogynistic.

Parts III and IV have a particular focus on the reception and interpretation of Bunyan since his time, whether through varied critical approaches or through the reworking of Bunyan in later writing and other cultural artifacts. Tambling's chapter, with its focus on the visual emblem, is paired well with the late Nick Davis's discussion of Bunyan's allegorical reworking of popular prose romance narratives. Another natural pairing is found in two chapters on Bunyan's language, Mary Ann Lund providing a more traditionally literary close reading of Bunyan's prose, and Julie Coleman a historical linguist's statistical analysis of his vocabulary and syntax in relation to shifts in the English language. Vera Camden's chapter exemplifies a psychological approach to Bunyan, but rather than revisiting the pathological readings of Bunyan found in twentieth-century psychology of religion, she provides a more original reading of Bunyan's 'carceral imagination' that found freedom through imprisonment.

The chapters of Part IV also often fall into pairings or trios with parallel but instructively different emphases. Cynthia Wall draws out affinities between Bunyan's narratives and the early novels of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but she is wisely wary of claims to direct influence, whereas Isabel Rivers traces how the religious ferment of the eighteenth-century Evangelical Revival gives rise to contentious re-readings and rewritings of Bunyan's text. Jonathon Shears traces how Romantic writers praise Bunyan in the more secular terms of literary genius but are nonetheless shaped by his prophetic religious imagination, while Vincent Newey continues this trajectory into the Victorian period, arguing that, in an era characterised by both faith and doubt, prominent novelists such as Dickens, Eliot, and Hardy (plus the apostate son of Bunyan Meeting William Hale White) carry both inspirational and ironic echoes of Bunyan.

Part IV also shows how the reading and reworking of Bunyan paradoxically shaped English (Gary Day) and American (Joel Rasmussen) cultural identities, while Bunyan at the same time acquired a transnational and global identity through the translation efforts of missionaries (Sylvia Brown). Brown ably argues that, just as the interests

of missionaries variously worked for, alongside, and against the interests of colonial administrators, so Bunyan's texts could be used both to reinforce colonial power and to resist it, as when the revolutionary passions of seventeenth-century England inspired the Malawian Baptist pastor John Chilembwe to decapitate a white settler.

Shannon Murray and Nathalie Collé offer wide-ranging thematic surveys of Bunyan's reception from his lifetime to the present. Murray surveys the reading of Bunyan's work as children's literature, pointing out the irony that while Bunyan's book specifically for children, the verse collection *A Book for Boys and Girls*, was quickly neglected, *The Pilgrim's Progress* became a staple of children's reading for centuries despite being written primarily for adult readers. Murray also treats allusions to Bunyan in classics of children's literature and how adaptations of Bunyan for children, from J. M. Neale's sacramentalised Anglo-Catholic version to the 1996 pop-up book *Go With Christian!*, are shaped by competing educational and theological agendas.

Collé's account of visual representations of *The Pilgrim's Progress* provides a refreshing break from the text-heavy character of most of the chapters. Collé traces visual depictions of Bunyan and his text from early woodcuts, through watercolours and magic lantern slides, through to board games and pop-up 'book sculptures' in the present. The presence of reproduced images (albeit black and white ones) is welcome.

Collé briefly discusses David Simpich's puppet performance of *The Pilgrim's Progress* – with its handmade marionettes, this falls within her focus on visual culture, but is also 'only one step away from the stage performances of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and only a few more from film adaptations, professional as well as amateur, all too numerous and varied to be treated here' (p. 642). While stage and screen adaptations of Bunyan's works are indeed beyond the scope of Collé's chapter, they could have furnished a fascinating chapter or two to this handbook in their own right, a reminder that, despite its impressively broad coverage, this volume does not include everything that it could have done.

There are critical approaches to Bunyan emerging in published scholarship that are not represented here, as Davies acknowledges near the end of his Introduction, where he mentions Margaret Sönser Breen's queer readings of Bunyan, found, for instance, in articles published in

Bunyan Studies 18 and 21. Davies might also have noted the beginnings of an ecocritical approach to Bunyan that can be seen in Steve Mentz's contribution to the essay collection *Prismatic Ecology: Ecotheory Beyond Green* (ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, University of Minnesota Press, 2013), and in Rod Giblett's chapter on Bunyan's Slough of Despond and the Valley of the Shadow of Death in his *Environmental Humanities and Theologies: Ecoculture, Literature and the Bible* (Routledge, 2018). Musical adaptations of Bunyan and the uses of Bunyan in political discourse could also have furnished compelling chapters.

In a somewhat self-referential moment, Tamsin Spargo's chapter notes that 'the steady growth in the number of scholars working on Bunyan may be attributed to the impact of, among other things the International John Bunyan Society, formed in 1992, whose members connect the working lives of the modern founding figures of Bunyan studies including Roger Sharrock, Christopher Hill, and James Forrest, with those of the new generation of postgraduates' (p. 464). The foundation of the IJBS, in turn, was a consolidation of scholarly activity prompted by Bunyan's tercentenary in 1988, the year that saw the first publication of *Bunyan Studies*. This volume, published 30 years on from the tercentenary, and including many of the stalwarts of that generation as well as some newer voices, may mark a similar generational transition. It is not the final word on Bunyan, but rather a landmark synthesis of work so far that provides plenty of leads for future research to follow up. In The Second Part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Christiana and her companions encounter 'monuments' that memorialise Christian's earlier journey while giving direction for the road ahead. *The Oxford Handbook of John Bunyan* is a substantial monument giving guidance to wayfarers, but the pilgrimage continues.

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REVIEWS

Nancy Rosenfeld, *John Bunyan's Imaginary Writings in Context*. New York/Abingdon: Routledge, 2018. $140/£110 hbk.; $54.95/£39.99 ebook.

In the early nineteenth century Samuel Taylor Coleridge famously remarked of *The Pilgrim's Progress* that Bunyan's 'piety was baffled by his genius', and that, despite its 'allegoric purpose' and 'strange names', it read as if it were a novel: 'with the same illusion as we read any tale known to be fictitious, as a novel, we go on with the characters as real persons, who had been nicknamed by their neighbours'. Critics over the succeeding two centuries have often recognized Bunyan's masterpiece as being, in Cynthia Wall's words in the Introduction to her 2009 Norton Critical Edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 'something like an early novel'. As Wall notes, N. H. Keeble has even claimed it as 'our first novel'. Nancy Rosenfeld's *John Bunyan's Imaginary Writing in Context* contributes to this consensus by investigating Bunyan's other 'imaginary' writings for signs of his 'paternal literary role' (p. 233) as one of the 'fathers' (p. 31) of the English novel and for sources and influences within his culture that further fostered this paternity.

By 'imaginary', Rosenfeld means those works which, while fictional, nevertheless reveal 'Bunyan's own sense that the life of his mind, his imagination, was an important part of the reality of his life and work' (p. 2). Her monograph maintains as its 'central idea' (p. 10) that we can gain greater understanding and appreciation of the paternal place Bunyan holds in literary history if we investigate all of his writings with an eye toward their contribution to the developing genre of the novel, viewing the vast range of his writings in their wider religious, social, and cultural context. Rosenfeld thus selects those aspects of Bunyan's *oeuvre* that seem to reflect his development as a father of the novel, while drawing into her consideration a variety of printed works of other writers to provide a literary historical context for Bunyan's writings. Thus, she configures a variety of contemporary works that might have been read –

or might have been heard of – by Bunyan, because 'in order to view Bunyan's writings as predictive of the future fictional genre (the novel), it is useful to draw connections between his writings […] and elements of the wider culture in which he functions' (p. 8). The project of her monograph as a whole is to contribute to our understanding of Bunyan's 'fathering' of that genre which is the 'pride of the English-reading world' (p. 233).

As adumbrated in Rosenfeld's Introduction, the chapters are balanced between discussions of the novelistic features of Bunyan's imaginary progeny (whether fiction or non-fiction), and discussion of other seventeenth-century texts that are also predictive offshoots of the nascent genre. She takes up pieces of Bunyan's own writing – ranging from his *Book for Boys and Girls* to his *Prison Meditations* to *An Exposition on the First Ten Chapters of Genesis* – to discover aspects of the novel. To this end, she frequently draws upon E. M. Forster's definition of 'round' and 'flat' characters to describe the ways that the 'blood-red colour' of Bunyan's characterization (p. 212, a phrase cited from Bunyan's description of Vanity Fair) draws from his experience of English village and small-town life, and rings true in dialogue and depiction, only to blur the lines between allegory and realism under the incipient demands of an emerging genre.

The opening chapters thus start with discussions of Bunyan's use of the Bible, since it contains a multitude of literary types and figures while conferring spiritual legitimacy upon all of his authorial endeavours, as Bunyan himself explains in his 'Apology' to *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Later chapters identify the individualized, flesh and blood realism found in such works as *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman* and *The Holy War*, inspired, again, by village personages. The final chapters explore direct contact or indirect absorption from within a broader cultural context through, for instance, Bunyan's theological, psychological and political affinities with canonical poets like John Milton and John Donne. Lesser-known ballads, poems, sermons, and the Bedford-based church testimony of *The Narrative of the Persecutions of Agnes Beaumont* are in their turn investigated for signs of novelistic impulses that compare to Bunyan.

Rosenfeld's book is filled with suggestive and illuminating readings of Bunyan's genius for capturing life as he felt it within his often-tortured

mind, and as he experienced it in his embattled existence as a Nonconformist preacher. She is attuned sympathetically to the Bedford church community that fostered the town rake in his troubled youth, only to exalt him as their spiritual leader and father as he matured – so remarkable and inspiring was his ministry. This sympathy engenders, to give just one example, valuable and original insights into Bunyan's identification with a biblical patriarch such as Joseph whose sacrifice of family for service to God resonates throughout Bunyan's career as preacher and writer.

In my view, though, however commendable and fruitful Rosenfeld's book may be in its intertextual focus, there is a problem with its central premise. Literary critics and historians who seek to place Bunyan in a grand narrative of the 'rise of the novel' would do well to heed Margaret Ezell's caution regarding our dependence on 'the appeal of the metaphorical construction of literature as a "system" which behaves according to "organic" laws'. It is worth quoting a passage from Ezell here.

> We like thinking in terms of literary forms being 'born', of novels having 'fathers and mothers' while 'rising' […] we are comfortable with these metaphors to the point that they seem 'natural', if not inevitable. However, in continuing to use unselfconsciously such metaphorical constructs, many based on the human life cycle and family relationships, we also continue many of the problems which have left us unsatisfied with the monumental, authoritative [literary] histories of our predecessors. We seem caught between our desire for a comfortable and comforting family metaphorical system and our frustration at what it limits us in doing.
> ('Family Histories, Literary Time', *SPELL: Swiss Papers in English Language and Literature* (1996), 17–40)

Treating the radical Puritan – 'a tinker and a poor man' – as if his goal as a writer were to father and foster the great English novel through texts that behave, as Ezell puts it, 'like children in model families' runs the risk of justifying the study of Bunyan predominantly in terms of the literature that came after him. Such constructs measure time in terms of

patriarchal objects, and, when applied to Bunyan, are predicated on the novel as a literary triumph. However true that may be for generations of proud 'English readers', this perspective distances itself from reading Bunyan 'in his own terms' (a point made by Donald F. Bond, cited in Ezell). The investigation into Bunyan's 'seminal' writings and those of his fellow early modern writers locks these 'bodies' of work into a metaphoric structure that finds what it is looking for but often misses what else is there to be found.

My questioning of the premise of Rosenfeld's book should not detract from its many virtues. It is not often that one sees a monograph on John Bunyan and so one welcomes the interest and the investment in a complex and highly influential author who has suffered some neglect over the last half century, however triumphant – and beloved – he has been in perhaps more pious times. As Cynthia Wall has noted, many of today's common readers do not like Bunyan, and most have not even heard of him, and will confuse him with Paul Bunyan and his blue ox. Indeed, some years ago at my university during a job interview a candidate from an 'Ivy League' university, having done due diligence in website searches of faculty, politely inquired how I became interested in the American folk hero.

'We seem to have lost something once very much loved', Wall reflects. One can hope that a volume such as Rosenfeld's might augment our shared quixotic ambition to bring Bunyan back into 'ordinary reading life'. It is worth pointing out that, for better or worse, Bunyan's major allegories and his autobiography are still selling, sometimes in updated modern English, sometimes still in Bunyan's vernacular, on the top of Amazon's lists. He still has a readership among religious seekers. And this is suitable. For the stated aim of the John Bunyan of Parnassus as well as of the Conventicle was to be a father to his flock, more than to be the father of the novel. Doubtless John Bunyan portrayed himself as he felt himself to be, as a father to his congregation: but he also portrayed himself as a nursing mother and a helpless child. We overlook such gender and developmental play and such creative access to mental states if we remain devoted to our own literary historical narrative of progression, linear destiny and triumphant, heroic arrivals.

The English novel *is* great but to insist upon its rising as inevitably

as the 'son' forces the form itself into a trajectory that seems doomed to announce the novel's descent and even death. Ezell makes the point that once one is locked into an organic model of growth it must be followed by decay: 'literary historians implicitly offer a deterministic structure for their histories around a pattern of birth or origins, growth or development, and […] decay or decline'. In other words, once one is locked into a 'rising' there must be a fall; once one is locked into a patriarchal ascent there must be a ruin. Such models finalize an author's place in posterity, but may obscure something once loved and now lost to the ordinary English reader. That something is well worth finding again, perhaps in another place.

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Stuart Sim, *Twenty-First Century Puritanism: Why We Need It and How It Can Help Us*. Champaign, IL: Common Ground, 2018. $40 hbk.; $15 ebook.

The term Puritan, true to its origin, is often a term of abuse. In *Twenty-First Century Puritanism*, Stuart Sim aims to 're-appropriate' it 'for our contemporary cultural situation' (p. xi). He emphasises the 'serious' over the 'severe' and the 'anti-authoritarian' over the 'intolerant'. Their positive traits can 'reset our moral compass' (p. xii). This Neo-Puritanism, crucially, is secular. It is 'designed to incorporate all the best features of the Puritan belief system' (p. 9).

Chapter 1, 'Puritanism in the Popular Mind', describes and challenges stereotypes. Sim examines Puritanism, warts and all, including discussions of political infighting and fragmentation, witch hunts and suicide, intolerance and morbid introspection. He also, helpfully, deconstructs some stereotypes or argues that they are imbalanced. Our society needs a revamped understanding of their movement. Into a world of capitalist greed, fake news and post-truth epistemology (subjects Sim has written at length about) the secular

Puritan injects moral seriousness into public discussions. Similarly to the Puritans calling Cavaliers 'Papists', Sim says that 'the libertarian ethos' betrays a 'depressingly cavalier attitude towards social responsibility and morality' (p. 5). In contrast, for Sim, the Puritan exhibits 'moral steadfastness, standing up for your beliefs, refusal to give in to political repression, respect for individual conscience and for learning, and dislike of hierarchy' (p. 5). Coupled with this is a preference for 'a more democratic system of government' (p. 6), a valuing of happiness, a penchant for self-reflection and (sometimes) a promotion of pluralism. He also emphasises the need for a Puritan 'plain style' communication in law and politics. This discussion, although helpful, tends to simplify Puritan beliefs and practices. For example, he downplays the extent to which Puritans could be masters of obfuscation (think, for instance, of Parliament's vague assent to the Solemn League and Covenant).

Chapter 2, 'Puritanism in its Time', contextualises Puritans before making them timeless. The negatives mainly stem 'from the events of that time' (p. 25) (or, Sim frequently asserts, from Calvinism), and they should not overshadow the positive aspects. Sim argues that 'Puritanism is a state of mind, and it can range across time and context' (p. 14). Chapter 3, 'The English Revolution?' examines the political ideas swirling during the 1640s and 1650s. Radical groups like the Levellers, Diggers and Ranters dominate this account, and Sim emphasises their anti-elitism and opposition to authority. Taken together with more mainstream Puritanism, these groups had 'a profound effect on the development of individuals' political consciousness' (p. 36).

The fourth chapter, 'Puritanism's Worldwide Impact', explores influence (for good or ill). The focus is on the Salem witch trials (negative) and Anne Bradstreet (positive), only briefly touching on other places like South Africa. Sim's Neo-Puritanism is 'open and outward looking'. It is 'ready and willing to respond to cultural changes', in marked contrast to many 'self-absorbed and narrow' New Englanders (p. 38). These claims are more of an assertion of Sim's preference than a serious argument for globally-minded pluralistic Neo-Puritanism based on the Puritan legacy.

Chapter five, 'Famous, and Infamous, Puritans: What Can We Learn from Their Exploits?' takes a more biographical turn. He admires Oliver

Cromwell's thorough application of beliefs to actions, John Bunyan's resolve to endure difficulty on the pilgrimage through life, and John Milton's firm convictions amidst political turmoil and his willingness to innovate politically. These qualities had downsides: self-righteous killing for Cromwell; morbid introspection for Bunyan; foolhardy unwillingness to compromise for Milton. This discussion is uneven and felt like three separate vignettes. His short treatment of Cromwell centres on the regicide and the Wexford massacre. Bunyan's fiction dominates. Curiously, Sim devotes more space to the fictional *Milton in America* by Peter Ackroyd than to Milton's own works.

Chapter 6, 'Representations of Puritanism', explores how Puritanism 'could divide the creative community' (p. 82). Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* casts a long shadow over this, and the next, chapter. Sim provides an overview of the works of Daniel Defoe, Samuel Richardson and William Godwin, attuned to their moralising. He then lingers on Puritanism's (and Calvinism's) latent dangers. This section seems scattered, jumping from James Hogg's *The Confessions of a Justified Sinner* to James Ellroy's novels about the LAPD to Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* to Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* and Arthur Miller's *The Crucible.* Sim wants to avoid the type of Puritanism displayed in these novels. It might have been fruitful at this point to compare the fiction of Atwood with that of Marilynne Robinson – not least because they are both set in Gilead. The chapter then discusses a literary circle called the 'New Puritans' whose writings emphasised 'clarity' and 'moralistic activity' (p. 80). Discussion of two visual representations, one by Ford Madox Brown (which emphasises positives) and other by W. F. Yeames (which highlights the 'uncompromising and unforgiving side' of Puritanism (p. 81)), seems tacked onto the end of the chapter. Chapter 7 considers the novels of William Hale White (the subject of a special issue of *Bunyan Studies* in 2013), who wrestled with the tensions of Puritanism (and the 'schizophrenic character of Calvinism') throughout his writings: 'It could be said that he humanises Puritanism for a world turning increasingly secular' (p. 90). As the subtitle indicates, White is important because he represents 'A Neo-Puritan in the Making'.

The final chapter, 'Neo-Puritanism: A Puritanism for Our Time'

returns to Sim's opening arguments. 'It is surely time for "the legend of the philistine Puritan" to be laid to rest', he argues. In our 'post-truth age', society needs to mine the Puritan tradition for 'seriousness of intent in all one's dealings and actions, backed up by a firm commitment to moral integrity' (p. 93). He thinks that 'A "warts and all" Roundhead approach to truth would be only too welcome in the public affairs area at present' (p. 94). I agree, and Sim's argument is strong at this point.

I depart from Sim when he tries to predict what Neo-Puritanism will look like. His Neo-Puritanism is fundamentally political. But will Neo-Puritanism find common cause with his politics? I am sceptical for two reasons. First, since Paleo-Puritanism was inextricably religious, Sim should not be surprised if revivified Neo-Puritans resurrect morally serious politics and the theological foundation that originally supported political engagement. Second, and more problematically for his political aims, virtues can be enlisted in the service of competing causes. Moral seriousness, we agree, is desperately needed in politics. However, there is no predicting what direction the morally serious individual will run in. Increased moral seriousness could lead one in a populist direction, not just towards the liberal democracy Sim values. His call for responsible Roundhead economics could easily be harnessed for capitalism (Austrian economists were sometimes called Puritans). In other words, Neo-Puritanism is susceptible to the same weakness as Paleo-Puritanism – fragmentation of authority. A Neo-Puritan, even a secularised one, could vote Conservative or Labour, Republican or Democrat. Steering Neo-Puritanism might be as productive as a royalist telling a parliamentarian that they were the true defenders of ancient liberties.

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David H. J. Gay, *John Bunyan: Antinomian, New-Covenant Theologian, or…?* Brachus, 2017. £5.70 pbk available from Amazon; free ebook online at davidhjgay.com.

Was Bunyan an antinomian? In the seventeenth century the term was often used as an accusation of loose living, and Gay defends Bunyan from this. However, he argues that Bunyan was not antinomian enough, in another sense, because he still regarded the Old Testament Law as useful in the process of sanctification.

David H. J. Gay (not to be confused with David Gay, University of Alberta, familiar to many readers of *Bunyan Studies* as President of the International John Bunyan Society) has published extensively in print and audio on biblical and theological matters from a Reformed, New Covenant perspective (twenty-three texts are listed on the inside cover pages of the book under review). He has a website – davidhjgay.com – where you can freely download a pdf of this and many other books by him.

Gay was stimulated to write *John Bunyan: Antinomian, New-Covenant Theologian, or ...?* by reading Christopher Caughey's article in *Bunyan Studies* number 19 (2015), 'John Bunyan and Variegated Antinomianism'. However, unlike Caughey, Gay is 'not writing to or from academe' but 'to do good to saints and sinners by the clearest possible exaltation of Christ and his gospel' (p. 12). One might imagine the historic John Bunyan finding that ambition more admirable, or at least more recognizable than most of what we do in this journal. But the by-passing of the usual conventions of scholarship (including Christian scholarship) does result in some irritating features, such as not specifying which edition of the works Gay is using, not giving page references, occasionally paraphrasing (though mostly acknowledging where he has paraphrased; usually very slightly, and mostly to very little effect). He thus makes it difficult to check how faithful his clarifications or transcriptions are. *The Doctrine of the Law and Grace Unfolded*, one of his principal texts, is long, and it takes a great deal of searching to track down the context of his sometimes immense quotations, many of which he simply puts onto the page with hardly a comment. Occasionally he will congratulate Bunyan for his theology, somewhat patronizingly – 'Excellent!', 'Spot on!'

Nevertheless Gay has read and thought deeply about Bunyan's position over a wide range of his writing, and provides some helpful insights, particularly when it comes to the development of Bunyan's theological thinking in some of the later works. The book is divided into five main chapters, treating in turn 'Bunyan and Antinomianism', 'Bunyan and the Covenants', 'Bunyan and Preparationism', 'Bunyan and Progressive Sanctification', and 'Bunyan and the Sabbath'. There are also four Appendices: 'Bunyan and Reisinger', 'Luther on Galatians', 'Reformed Teaching on the Law', and 'The 1644 Particular Baptist Confession'. Gay's quarrel with Bunyan is, in essence, that he is a Covenant theologian and not a New Covenant theologian, and that this is a bad thing because it is unscriptural, based on certain Reformed systems like the Westminster Confession instead of the New Testament (mainly Paul's letters and Jesus's commands in John's gospel).

The book is clearly self-published, and, although Gay is an experienced author, and has proofread carefully, he has let himself get away with things any regular publisher or editor would have spotted. For example, he quotes the Bible in a number of translations, none of them specified at any stage. He quotes extensively from some texts precisely identified in footnotes, and others merely by title. He frequently refers in footnotes to his own works simply by title and without indicating the relevance of the reference. The old-style sexist language – the Bible and other published works are always written to 'men' – is lamentably unselfconscious, and belies Gay's claim to be addressing a wide, non-specialist readership.

More generally, readers of this book are assumed to have an awareness of, and an interest in, controversies within the seventeenth-century Reformed movements as issues for contemporary believers. They are also assumed to recognize the importance of figures such as John G. Reisinger, well-known among 'New Covenant' theologians (this being a counter-weight to Dispensationalism and Covenant Theology). Works by Reisinger are extensively quoted, especially his book *In Defense of Jesus, the New Lawgiver* (Frederick, MD: New Covenant Media, 2008), and an earlier article 'My Great Debt to John Bunyan', *Sound of Grace*, 124 (February 2006). It would be an injustice to suggest that Gay is writing in a twenty-first century Reformed echo-chamber, but there are times when it seems like it.

Bunyan completists will want this book, particularly those interested in the intricacies of his theology. I'm not sure that it advances our understanding of Bunyan's approach to the Law significantly, but it does remind us why this raised such passion and arguments, not because of any particularly historical perspective, but because there are still corners of Protestant Reformed Christianity where it remains a live issue.

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***The Refiner's Fire: The Collected Works of Theaurau John Tany*, ed. Ariel Hessayon. London: Breviary Stuff, 2018. £25.**

This edition of the works of the prophet and visionary Theaurau John Tany (1608–1659) is an impressive piece of historical and textual scholarship. Hessayon provides a short introduction outlining what is known of Tany's life with a summary of each of the sixteen published works. These are then presented with meticulous annotations that reflect deep research. For example, Hessayon recognizes that a short phrase such as 'the single eye' (p. 193) suggests Tany's contact with a Ranter work. At the end of the volume there is a series of detailed descriptions of the documents on which the edition is based. There is a 'Census of Extant Copies', which lists each of the available copies of the sixteen items, relevant documents 'intended as a supplement to Tany's writings' (p. 365), and a biographical appendix with additional information on some contemporaries relevant to Tany's work. Hessayon points out that some of these contemporaries have no entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, and so the edition extends our understanding of the period.

Tany's earliest work is a short broadside, *I Proclaime* […] *the Returne of the Jewes from their Captivity* (25 April 1650). His view of the Jews differs from the many others who simply ignore biblical references to Jewish nationalism. A second piece, *Whereas Theauraujohn Taiiiijour my Servant* (also 1650) treats his plans for

'carrying back the *Jewes*' (p. 16). A third piece for 1650, *The Nations Right in Magna Charta Discussed* sets out Tany's 'claim to the crown of *England*' (p. 21) but concludes that he is 'a mad man' (p. 28). In the intervening pages he declares himself a brother of Cromwell but asks that Parliament be dissolved (p. 27).

Tany's next work (1651), *Aurora in Tranlagorum in Salem Gloria* is considerably longer and attempts to work out a reconciliation between the Law and the Gospel: 'Ye *Gentiles* love the *Jewes*: my *Brethren*, ye *Jewes*, love the *Gentiles* […] both one in the *Unity* of *Love*' (p. 55). Also published in 1651 is *Theous-ori apokolipikal*, consisting of two parts, of which the first has ten epistles and the second two separate sections. The epistles deal with the spirituality of the fall, with language, with truth and light in terms of the Trinity and Satan, with God as all including Man, with 'Addam' and 'Hevah', and with knowledge and truth as aspects of God. Tany goes on to point to 'Lyes' in Scripture (pp. 94–6), biblical passages spiritualized, free will, and 'lying learning' (p. 107). After presenting his theological positions, supported by references to Hebrew that betray no knowledge of the language, he goes on to justify his ideas.

In 1652 Tany published *High Priest to the Jewes*, in which he renews his promise to defend his 'Brethren the Jewes' (p. 142) and challenges state and clergy to dispute his claims (p. 143). He identifies God with light and the Devil with darkness and identifies the authorities who would persecute him with evil. Later that year *Theavrau John His Epitah* [*sic*] appeared, in which Tany continues to claim that he will bring about a return of the Jews and he attacks the English authorities for distorting the spirit of the Gospel.

In 1653 Theauraujohn had the *Second Part of his Theous-ori apokolipikal* printed. Like part one, this is a meandering collection of eight epistles attacking the clergy and repetitions of his promise to end Jewish exile. There are more references to Hebrew even though Tany claims to '*have no learned tongues*, yet […] *I know all Tongues*' (p. 170). Despite the repetitions, there are occasional clear discussions of religious doctrine. His main point about God as love recurs but he does insist that while there is a Heaven and a Hell, God 'will not punish a *Finite* thing *Infinitely*' (p. 173). He admits that this is somewhat similar to 'that

Popish Tenent […] *Purgatory*', but then returns to his attacks on all 'Priests', Catholic and Protestant. In Epistle 12 he claims to understand 'the Hebrew radically, not literally' (p. 188), by which he apparently means that he is concerned with the symbolic significance of the Hebrew alphabet and not with the actual language. Epistle 13 enlarges upon his view that Scripture and the Bible are 'lyes' since 'Gods writing is not upon paper, but in the heart and spirit of his chosen ones' (p. 204). In Epistle 14 he repeats his distinction between mere hearing and doing and condemns the absence of social justice. He then recounts his fit when he was '*smote dumb, blind, and dead*' (p. 210). The epistle ends with his claim to act as a Moses striving 'with God for you' (p. 217) and his promise of 'the gathering of the Church of the *Jewes*' (p. 218). In Epistle 15 he claims that God is in Man and thus John's '*The Word was made flesh*' really means '*the word dwelt in flesh*' (p. 226). Epistle 16 is concerned with interpreting a few biblical passages that Tany regards as misunderstood but he likewise insists that 'I *understand not what I write*' (p. 229). Epistle 17 begins with love and light and then proceeds to interpret various biblical passages. In the process of his 'Cabbalestical' (p. 236) and later allegorical (p. 238) discourse he clarifies that he can '*make one word take fourty*' significations (p. 237). Epistle 18 moves from comments on God as love and light, to Christ, to the Gospel as 'round', to comments on Moses and the '*back-parts*' of God (p. 245), and reference again to himself as 'the unlearned mad man' (p. 246).

Also in 1653 Tany published his *High News for Hierusalem*. He addresses the Jews and announces that he will lead them out of captivity and return with them 'into our owne Land' (p. 250). He claims to be the descendant of Saul, David and Aaron and issues 'The Edictory' that stipulates that all Jews must join him 'in this great Iourney unto *Hierusalem*' or 'be put to death' (p. 254). He likewise issues an 'Epistle Edictory' stipulating the nature of 'meetings or Salutations' (p. 256) and forbidding kissing. Married people are to have sexual relations 'onely for generation' (p. 257).

Hessayon estimates that it was in April 1654 that Tany published his *Tharam Taniah, Leader of the Lords Hosts, unto his Brethren the Quakers* in which he greets them as 'the SEAL upon my soul' (p. 262). He also issued around this time an edict about 'the Creation vivicated'

(p. 263) and his claim to the thrones of various European countries (p. 265). In *My Edict Royal* (1655), Tany prophesies the vengeance of God against England for persecuting the poor and dispossessed. He then explains that he destroyed his coat of arms and burned his Bible because he had made an 'Idol' (p. 270) of it, and describes his arrest for attacking 'the doorkeeper of the Loby' (of Parliament) and swinging his 'sword round about to have killed all that was nigh' (p. 272), supposedly at the command of God. Tany's description of this and subsequent events is somewhat more coherent than his language in the earlier documents. As opposed to his statements about love and peace, here he is violent and claims that God would have '*covenant-breakers executed*' (p. 278) just as he earlier called for death to Jews who would not join him.

Again in 1655, Tany published *His Royal Memento's*, in which he addresses 'Anabaptists, Papists, Cavaliers, Independents, Arminians, Ranters, Seekers, Quakers' (p. 284). He begins each 'Memento' by giving the group addressed some credit but then goes on to critique them. After his address to the Quakers, while noting 'I am fully perswaded that I am mad still' (p. 292), he treats his own claims to have been wrongfully imprisoned for 'drawing my sword against the Parliament' (p. 296). He concludes by repeating his demands for justice. Tany's final publication, *The Law Read* (1656) begins with 'sound[s]' of the angels from Revelation, moves on to the 'wars' (305), and then presents a series of metaphors of herbs, milk and cheese. He concludes with 'A Law for Silence' (309).

Hessayon's thoughtful erudition puts the works of TheaurauJohn Tany within reach of all scholars interested in exploring the intellectual and spiritual world of this strange man who saw himself as a prophet not unlike his biblical counterparts. In addition, the publisher, Breviary Stuff Publications, has made Hessayon's introduction available as a PDF to be found on the following link: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323225222_The_Refiner's_Fire_The_Collected_Works_of_TheaurauJohn_Tany>. Readers of *Bunyan Studies* are sure to find this introductory essay of great interest.

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The Neal Morse Band, *The Similitude of a Dream* (CD). Radiant Records, 2016. $19.99 regular edition; $29.99 special edition with DVD.

The Neal Morse Band is a supergroup founded by the eponymous Neal Morse, and comprised of some of the most influential and longest-performing musicians in the progressive rock and metal scene (such as Mike Portnoy and Randy George). Morse has had a long and highly prolific career, composing over two dozen albums with acclaimed rock groups, including Spock's Beard and Transatlantic. In 2002, he had a deep religious conversion, and began to craft concept albums on spiritual themes, including an album on the Exodus tabernacle (2005), two albums expressing his *Testimony* (2003 and 2011), and an album on Martin Luther posting the ninety-five theses, entitled *Sola Scriptura* (2007).

The Similitude of a Dream (2016) is another such work, this time a two-part release inspired by John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The CD print uses illustrations from early editions of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and the facade of the case mimics the typography of Nathaniel Ponder's early edition. Morse follows Christian's journey in the sequence of themes and events of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, but is intentionally not comprehensive: he freely draws on a subset of episodes from the earlier portion of the first part of Bunyan's tale, but gets no further than the battle with Apollyon after 106 minutes of music. His direct verbal quotation from Bunyan is limited to a few key phrases, such as 'then in my dream, I saw'. The lyrics have a contemporary, and an often grittier, diction than Bunyan uses, as in: 'Got this rack on my back / Satan's talkin' such smack / All I know is I've got to get out'.

Nevertheless, this carefully crafted album is worthy of note in an academic journal devoted to Bunyan studies, because although it is a work of art in its own right, this album functions as an interpretation or commentary on Bunyan's work in a creative medium. Progressive rock has a conspicuous fitness for expressing a pilgrim's *progress* on a musical road. The genre is so named because of its striving to progress from the more predictable structures of rock music, courting a multiplicity of different instruments and styles. Historically, progressive rock has attracted concept albums and 'prog rock' artists have long

manifested a penchant for literary tributes and narratives. The diverse dynamics in *Similitude of a Dream* are part of the expression of the extended metaphor that the framing story propounds. Hills and valleys are emotionally and spatially instantiated in the many changes of timbre, pace, time signature, lyrics, and musical mode, soaring to the heights of the treble and lows of the bass clef. The percussive strumming at the start of the second CD certainly seems to mimic an ambulatory rhythm.

The album allows for a number of musical modes under its progressive rock template. 'Freedom Song' has bluegrass-gospel influence, which conveys Christian's sense of security and cheerfulness; 'Sloth' reminds one of psychedelic rock; 'Shortcut to Salvation' has hints of muzac and smooth jazz, its simple catchiness expressing the deceptively easy path to salvation. The more intense track 'Confrontation' clearly uses progressive metal's aggression and seriousness, while 'The Man in the Iron Cage' sounds more like a classic rock piece, drawing on that genre's nostalgia and angst. There is a good deal of choral layering of multiple voice parts (in the style of Kansas) throughout the album, all five instrumentalists providing vocals (with, moreover, a choir for 'Breath of Angels'). The different aesthetics of the vocalists are analogous to the different categories of pilgrims and their affective dispositions. Mike Portnoy's caustic and heavily aspirated baritone conveys Obstinate's character well when he sings, '[y]ou're the one who's deaf and dumb and blind / For whack jobs like you I got no time'. Personifications, with their connotations and associations, make themselves heard in the style of several songs, such as 'Sloth' with its molasses pace.

Some of the key toponyms of Bunyan's story are similarly interpreted by instrumental passages. For instance, 'The Slough' has a series of tense and rapidly shifting dynamics and rhythms followed by a mellower, but still minor and 'despondent', guitar solo. While changing pace and dynamic constantly, the album reprises a number of musical and lyrical motifs. I especially appreciated the way that it represents Christian's burden with the frequent reprise of the song, 'Long Day', and the slow, languishing tones of the vocalists:

It's been a long day
But I feel I must travel
'cause I've seen some hard times
And they're haunting my soul

My life is a shadow
And at home I'm a stranger
And it's been a long day now
But I feel I must go
I've got to go

The drum, guitar, and keyboard solos and the interludes display superlative musicianship, demanding and technical. The fine music produced by these artists might one day be considered alongside Ralph Vaughan Williams's operatic version of *The Pilgrim's Progress* as a great artistic complement to Bunyan's original tale.

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