As a minister and allegorist, John Bunyan could make powerful use of the rhetorical and logical conventions of the seventeenth century. At the same time, he employs the principles of grammar-school education to establish some of his most fascinating ideas about the relationship between human language and spiritual growth. For Bunyan, the study of language—even at the most elementary levels—carries spiritual consequences. Like the grammarians of the seventeenth century, Bunyan uses many of his writings to provide a necessary foundation for more advanced pursuits. Grammars such as John Brinsley’s Ludus Literarius (1612) and Lily’s Royal Grammar (1653) aim to ground their young pupils in the basic operations of words-as-signifiers, which create meaning through their own declensions and through their relations with other words. Similarly, in A Book for Boys and Girls (1686), Bunyan identifies his readers as grown men and women who are spiritual children, unable to comprehend the sermons ministers deliver. For these worldly children, Bunyan offers basic instruction in spiritual matters through a series of “divine emblems” that show how to derive spiritual meaning from everyday experience. For the actual children who read his book, meanwhile, Bunyan hopes his work will supplement their grammar education by helping them to “improve their A, B, C.”
Brian Cummings has shown how grammatical theory and practice, from Erasmus to Milton, embody the most urgent questions of the Reformation. In A Book for Boys and Girls, Bunyan anticipates Cummings’ thesis by suggesting that the grammar of ABC and the grammar of redemption depend upon one another. A second aspect of Bunyan’s grammar of redemption appears in his narratives, which explore the redeemed language that marks a converted soul. Seventeenth-century pupils would soon turn from the ABC and English prayers of their hornbooks to the study of Latin, the primary subject of grammar-school instruction. Likewise, Bunyan demonstrates that the converted soul grows in the knowledge of a new language. For example, in The Pilgrim’s Progress, the townsfolk of Vanity cannot understand Christian and Faithful because the pilgrims “spoke the language of Canaan.” A generation earlier, the Puritan Brinsley had compared the lessons of grammar schools to the miracle of Pentecost, writing that the gift of language which the apostles “were suddainly taught of God, [...] we with much leasure and industry learne of men.” Bunyan carries this analogy forward with characteristic wit and vigor in his own spiritual “grammars.”

‘The Pilgrim’s Art of Failure and Belonging—Dialogues between Bunyan and Queer Studies.’

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In my paper I first consider how two gay writers, publishing at either ends of the twentieth century, make use of Bunyanesque tropes in order to argue for gay inclusion into mainstream society. I will briefly consider how the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German sexological language of homosexuality, once translated into English, cooperated w/the Bunyanesque language of progress of Anglo-American and English literature. The case in point I will be discussing is minor US expatriate writer Edward Prime-Stevenson, who wrote a general history of homosexuality, The Intersexes: A History of Similisexualism as a Problem of Social Life (1908). Next, I will consider how US poet Mark Doty in his 1995 AIDS memoir Heaven’s Coast deploys Bunyanesque allegory in order to critique a homophobic society that remains at best indifferent and often hostile to gay people and in particular gay people with AIDS.

Second, I examine how contemporary issues in queer studies (eg, Lee Edelman’s disparagement of reproductive futurity, together with Jasbir Puar’s of homonormativity, as well as Judith Halberstam’s discussion of “the queer art of failure,” find an important reference point in The Pilgrim’s Progress. Bunyan’s allegory, I argue, not only cautions against a life centered on reproductive futurity but also (in Part 2 especially) celebrates a variety of people who are social failures and whose own experience of pilgrimage complicates conventional notions of linear progress and telos. The Pilgrim’s Progress in other words is itself a queer text and feminist and queer textual analysis, particularly of Part 2 and the interrelationships between Parts 1 and 2, offers those engaged in queer studies insight into how to respond to current divisive gestures that mark much of the work in the field. Meditating on The Pilgrim’s Progress proves useful, especially given queer studies’ commonplace condemnation of linear and teleological narratives. Reading Puar’s work on sexual exceptionalism (in which she discusses how the inclusion of some queers in the US cultural imaginary depends on the erasure of others) alongside Bunyan’s text allows one to contemplate whether inveighing against certain so-called normative queers as
necessarily enfolded within imperialist, white-dominated cultural and political projects serves less to foreground the political and cultural conditions as well as the temporal and spatial commitments to narrative of many marginalized queers (particularly poor queers and queers of color) and instead functions more immediately to alienate obvious and likely queer allies from one another. What can one learn from valuing a queer belonging and reading it as analogous to the communal belonging celebrated in Part 2 of Bunyan’s text? Can’t social justice be served by narratives of progress or is ideological and literary commitment to narratives of progress necessarily always already fraught with racial, class, and cultural injustice?

‘Bunyan in the German Pietist diaspora: Radical religious print culture and The Pilgrim’s Progress in pre-revolutionary Pennsylvania.’

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The Pilgrim’s Progress was from the beginning a text of the world, not only remaining constantly in print in multiple editions and adaptations, but travelling across linguistic, cultural, and national boundaries. By the eighteenth century, Bunyan’s allegory was already a mobile and adaptable container for cultural freight, moving nimbly between multiple centres of textual production and between, on the one hand, emerging categories of the ‘universal’ (particularly Christian universalism as propagated by evangelical Protestant mission movements and diaspora) and, on the other, the needs, resources, and exigencies of local communities.

This paper will examine a cluster of 18th-century German editions of The Pilgrim’s Progress which connected England, Germany, and America, but which also contributed to local cultures of print and of radical religion in pre-revolutionary Pennsylvania. The first American printing of The Pilgrim’s Progress was at Boston in 1681. The next three, however, were all produced in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in German, in 1754, 1755, and 1796, by printers from three different radical Protestant orientations – seventh-day Baptist, separatist, and Anabaptist (or Mennonite) respectively.

Two issues of Eines Christen Reise nach der seeligen Ewigkeit were produced in 1754 by the Ephrata Commune, founded in 1732 by Johann Conrad Beissel, a mystic who had emigrated from Germany more than a decade earlier to pursue a hermit’s life in America. The Commune’s members were celibates (‘Householders’ with families lived offsite), vegetarians, and Saturday sabbatarians – and also accomplished printers with their own press and facilities for making ink. Including Bunyan, the Ephrata printers were responsible for 68 German-language titles printed at Ephrata between 1745 and 1792, including the largest book produced in pre-revolutionary America, the Martyrer Spiegel, which they produced for their Mennonite neighbours. The Ephrata editions may have provoked the separatist printer Christoph Saur to produce a German version of the spurious third part in 1755 at his Germantown press. Post-revolution, another edition of Eines Christen Reise was printed in Germantown, by Peter Leibert, in 1796. Like the Ephrata volumes, it was based on the well-travelled translation of the German Pietist Christoph Matthaeus Seidel.

These radical, diasporic, decidedly non-English texts complicate received Anglo-centric accounts of transatlantic exchange between Europe and America in the eighteenth century. As
printed artefacts, they also bear material traces of the interdependent and competitive relationship between German-speaking radical religious groups jostling for space to flourish and proselytize in a small corner of Pennsylvania. My paper will examine these German Bunyans as both local and global productions, travelling cultural, linguistic, and religious channels made possible by the mobility of print technology and also by the particularly adaptable form of *The Pilgrim’s Progress* itself.

‘“The Boy and the Watch-Maker”: John Bunyan’s *Book for Boys and Girls* and Natural Theology.’

**Katherine Calloway,**  
**Valparaiso University.**

Peter Harrison and Shannon Murray have both recently noted that Bunyan’s *Book for Boys and Girls* stands as an example of a late seventeenth-century appeal to the Book of Nature as a source of theological truth. Bunyan spends roughly half of the 74 poems in the book meditating on features of the English natural landscape, sometimes taking his cue directly from Proverbs, often simply following the general biblical pattern of drawing lessons from nature.

I aim to put Bunyan’s text in conversation with contemporary works by natural philosophers such as Robert Boyle’s *Some Considerations Touching the Usefulness of Natural Philosophy* (1663) and John Ray’s *The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of Creation* (1691). All three men saw prolonged consideration of nature as a means toward theological understanding, but they differed in their understanding of nature’s ideal audience and assigned different levels of importance to the interpreter’s fidelity to empirical fact. Bunyan’s treatment of nature differs, on the one hand, from earlier emblem texts in which images were printed in the book—devaluing sensory experience of the natural world—and on the other from works of natural theology, which increasingly required an expert’s understanding of that world. Boyle urged readers of nature to “prye into” God’s works in order to understand Scripture (30), further opining that only with scientific learning can one hope to understand “those abstruse and vailed Truths dexterously hinted” in creation (4). Ray would agree, arguing that “it is part of the business of a Sabbath-day” to contemplate God’s works, an undertaking that takes “pains and patience.” Considering many of the same creatures as contemporary natural theologians, Bunyan nonetheless deploys them differently, casting Nature not as an abstruse code but as a scolding teacher. In Bunyan’s text, the ideal reader of the Book of Nature is not a scientific virtuoso but a child-like observer, poised to receive instruction rather than skilled to extract an interpretation.

‘“Bunyan in Prison”: A Cure through Creativity.’

**Vera J. Camden,**  
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In a letter to *The British Medical Journal* (1945), D.W. Winnicott protests against research into procedures such as ECT and leucotomy in which surgeons are “cutting brains about” without recognizing the “shot-in-the-dark” science behind such methods. He remarks:

> I realize that the correct procedure is for us to speed up research into the psychology of insanity and so to provide a scientific basis for mental hospital work, but in the meantime
are we to see our countryside littered with 'cured' mental hospital patients with permanently deformed brains? And what happens if these physical therapy methods spread to the treatment of criminals? What guarantee have we that a Bunyan in prison will be allowed to keep his brain intact and his imagination free . . . ?

“A new habeas corpus is needed now, a “habeus cerebrum,” and very quickly.” Winnicott, points to unethical imposition of social and political conformity upon mental patients, and by implication, upon prisoners. He invokes the revered figure of John Bunyan, who was emblazoned in the literate imagination of the English people, as an example of non-conformity under religious and political persecution, as well as an example of an untutored genius whose imagination, precisely, flourished in prison. John Bunyan was, according to William James’ The Varieties of Religious Experience, “a sick soul,” tormented by doubt, despair, and damnation. He may be said to have been not just a political prisoner, but mentally ill as well. Yet, as Winnicott’s caveat allows, Bunyan keeps his brain in tact, his imagination free. In a kind of homage to Freud’s claim that psychoanalysis is a cure through love, I want to offer the case of John Bunyan in prison as a “cure through creativity.”

Freud chose the image of a prisoner for the frontispiece to his Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis to illustrate the dynamics of wish fulfillment in dreams. Moritz von Schwind’s “The Prisoner’s Dream,” made famous by Freud, depicts a man languishing in a medieval dungeon, gazing at gnomes who saw at the bars of his cell’s sun-drenched windows, Such an image is not fortuitous, says Lionel Trilling; “Freud’s general conception of the mind does indeed make prison the image particularly appropriate” to capture the “organization of the internal life, . . . in the form, often fantastically parodic, of a criminal process in which the mind is at once the criminal, the victim, the police, the judge, and the executioner”(74). Yet, says Trilling, the prison is “an actuality before it is ever a symbol; its connection with the will is real, it is the practical instrument for the negation of man’s will which the will of society has contrived.” Following this line of thought, Winnicott describes circumstances that are “the negative of civilization.” “But when one reads of individuals dominated at home, spending their lives in concentration camps, or under lifelong persecution because of a cruel political regime, one first of all feels that it is only a few of the victims that remain creative. These, of course, are the ones that suffer.” Bunyan in prison is such a one who thus impressed Winnicott early in his career. He suffered unjustly for his belief, yet during his long confinement, the containment of the prison walls became the scene of his famous dream of The Pilgrim’s Progress, as well as many other works of artistic and theological brilliance. In this paper I will address what happened to Bunyan in prison, suggesting that his long and lonely time in confinement served to consolidate his identity as pastor, poet, and pilgrim.

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‘Using Bunyan for 'Holy War' in the 1850s in The Crimea and China.’

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There is a curious confluence from the seventeenth English Bunyan with events in the middle of the nineteenth century in The Crimea and China.

The Crimean War involved as allies England and France (plus Sardinia) on the side of Turkey against Russia in 1854-56. The war was notable for the combatants--England and France, traditional enemies, both Christian nations, supporting Moslem Turkey; Russia, claiming to protect Christian sacred places against the Turks.

In the first three months of 1855 in a British weekly magazine, Sunday at Home: A Family Magazine for Sabbath Reading, which had begun in 1854, appeared a series of readings from Bunyan's The Holy War proposing that British soldiers in The Crimea read about the siege of Mansoul while they were engaged in the siege of Sevastopol. In nine installments this Low Church publication adopted Bunyan's religious stature for political justification for this war.

About this time The Pilgrim's Progress and the story of the life of Bunyan himself through the efforts of mainly English-speaking missionaries emerged in China connected with the Taiping Rebellion of 1851-64. The actions of a shoemaker from England, William Carey, usually named the "father of modern Protestant missions," who went to India at the age of 32 in 1793, drew the attention of a financially weak American, Issachar J. Roberts (born in 1802), who chose to go to China in 1837 as a missionary. From conducting evangelization in Hong Kong but desiring to enter mainland China, he had to wait until the conclusion of the first Opium War in 1842 to go to Canton. There he employed a language teacher-assistant by the name of Hong Xiuquan, who would become the future Taiping king and turn into what Yale historian Jonathan D. Spence called "God's Chinese Son." The military and society violence during the Taiping Rebellion would ultimately cost between twenty and thirty million lives and has been a favorite topic for numerous historians and political thinkers, particularly for the late Christopher Hill and his adherents.

Hill claimed that Hong's favorite books were "the Bible and The Pilgrim's Progress. If the Taiping had won, Bunyan's allegory might have become China's earlier little red book. Hong's teaching opened the way for an utterly modern programme" (Tinker, p. 375). In 1851 translations were published in Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Fuzhou. Nine illustrations are worth examining (copies will be available for this presentation).

The life and activities of missionary Roberts were known to Spence, but the detailed research by Margaret M. Coughlin in a dissertation at the University of Virginia in 1972 has not been sufficiently recognized, particularly for events in Roberts' life and in China when in 1860 he was invited to become Hong's "minister of foreign policy and of justice in all cases involving foreigners." He was offered three wives; Roberts declined the female arrangement. He stayed, however, for two years in Hong's government.
What can be called the politicizing of Bunyan and his writings in the 1850s by coincidences in The Crimea and in China attests to the malleability of the life and works of the tinker of Bedford.

‘When Was Bunyan Elected Pastor? Fixing Dates in the Bedford Church Book.’

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When was John Bunyan elected pastor to the Bedford congregation? The answer to this question ought to be straightforward. The fact that it isn’t, and indeed that scholarly opinion is significantly divided on the matter, bears witness to a problem that has plagued Bunyan studies for well over a century: how to read or translate the dates found in the Bedford Church Book, or A Record of the Acts of a Church of Christ, Gathered in and around Bedford – one of the most important documents extant for the study Bunyan’s life and that of his church.

The aim of this paper is to shed some much needed light on the ‘Puritan’ style of dating adopted by the Bedford Church Book throughout Bunyan’s lifetime (addressing, for example, its religious and political significance, and putting it into context with reference to other church books and nonconformist documents). It will also explain why this use of a ‘Puritan’ calendar has posed such a troublesome conundrum to Bunyan scholars for so long. The purpose, then, is to solve any doubts about how to decode the Bedford Church Book’s dates, and to do so using evidence otherwise unseen from the Church Book’s manuscript (currently held at the Bunyan Museum, Bedford). In this way, I aim to clarify, once and for all, how to understand the Church Book’s dates and to be able to answer definitively a crucial question of historical fact and biographical record otherwise beset by uncertainty: when was Bunyan elected pastor?

‘John Bunyan’s Influence on Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon.’

William L. Davis.
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The Book of Mormon is the central text of the LDS faith (the Mormons) and one of the most frequently published religious works in the world. With more than 150 million copies printed in 107 languages (in full or in part), the Book of Mormon has reached global audiences through the proselytizing efforts of LDS members and missionaries. According to the introduction, “the book was written by many ancient prophets by the spirit of prophecy and revelation. Their words, written on gold plates, were quoted and abridged by a prophet-historian named Mormon.” Mormon’s son, named Moroni, later buried the plates in what is now upstate New York. Approximately 1,500 years later, in 1823, Moroni – now an angel sent from God – appeared to Joseph Smith and informed him of the location of the buried plates. In time, Joseph retrieved the plates and “translated them by the gift and power of God.”

Smith never revealed precisely how he performed the translation, though several eyewitnesses observed the process. By adapting a practice from folk magic, Smith placed a seer stone in the bottom of an upturned hat, held his face to the hat to block out light, and then
proceeded to dictate the *Book of Mormon* to a scribe, without reference to texts or notes. The resulting work – more than 500 pages in length – contained a series of narrative episodes strung together into a grand epic of “God’s dealings with the ancient inhabitants of the Americas.” Yet, while Smith’s particular narrative of ancient Israelites in America was somewhat unique, the individual episodes comprising the work mirrored familiar religious narratives available in early 19th-century America. Chief among these narratives were the stories contained in the works of John Bunyan, and a review of parallel linguistic and narrative structures reveals Smith’s ubiquitous and systematic dependence on Bunyan. In my paper, I will explore how Joseph Smith, in the course of producing the *Book of Mormon*, turned to John Bunyan as a primary source of narrative patterns in the construction of the *Book of Mormon*.

‘The Trials of Toleration and the Restoration Quaker Dorcas Dole.’

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As members of a secular and democratic society, we view religious toleration as an absolute good. For the Restoration Quaker Dorcas Dole, however, religious toleration is an idea that emerges almost unwittingly from her writings on the experience of religious persecution and that instantiates a world at odds with her desire to persuade the people of England to turn to the inner light. This paper will examine both the life and writings of Dorcas Dole to suggest that she at once underscores the relationship of the emerging rationalist discourse of religious toleration to earlier sufferings literature and embodies the difficult theological passage of the sect’s move to quietism.

Details about the life of Dorcas Dole are sketchy, but the information we do have suggests that she certainly suffered for her religious beliefs. Evidence from both her published tracts and Besse indicates that she spent significant amounts of time in prison between 1682 and 1686. She recounts her ill treatment at the hands of jailors who at one point put her into a “dark hole” and at another imprisoned her with “Felons and Debtors.” Her sufferings notwithstanding, Dole produced all four of her extant tracts from prison between 1683 and 1685. In addition, she wrote a fifth tract, a letter to the king, that the Quaker ministry rejected for publication in 1682/3.

In her *Once More a Warning to Thee O England* (1683), she suggests a resistance to quietism that may have been behind the failure of her letter to the king to be approved for publication. Among her extant works, this tract is unique for presenting a message of warning to non-Quakers. (The others largely seek to offer solace to Friends facing religious persecution.) Though lacking the energized tone of Hester Biddle’s tracts of warning, Dole’s *Warning* contains plenty of fire and brimstone. Nevertheless, she begins to fashion out of her stridently sectarian discourse an argument for religious toleration based on a distinction between public and private realms that is at odds with her forceful effort to persuade all people to become Friends and seek the inner light. While Dole might not agree with her fellow Quaker Anne Docwra’s claim that “the several forms and orders of Religious people breaks not the community of a Nation or People in public concerns,” her *Warning* begins to imagine that very place.
'The Second Part of the Pilgrim’s Progress (1682): A Meditational Pilgrimage by T. S., Imitative Sequel Writer.'

Christopher E. Garrett,  
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John Bunyan’s notoriety and the immediate, sensational success of his allegory enticed authors and would-be writers to attempt to imitate the method and style of Pilgrim’s Progress. One of the first to do so is T. S., author of the imitative sequel, Second Part of the Pilgrim’s Progress (1682). While T. S.’s significance in the field of Bunyan studies is typically that of a literary critic, minimal scholarly attention has been given to the creative way that he presents his sequel as “Meditations” (xii). Instead of focusing on his work as meditative, scholars tend to harshly criticize T. S. for his “audacity” to offer a “corrective sequel,” label his work “a piece of piracy,” or refer to his venture as “spurious” (Lynch 83; Harris 350; Wharey cv; Johnson 247; Greaves 620). In this paper I will attempt to counter those arguments by showing that T. S.’s significance is not only as the earliest critic of Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress but also as an author who establishes an identity as an imitative sequel writer who emphasizes and promotes the practice of meditation. Two years prior to offering Second Part of the Pilgrim’s Progress, T. S. authored an imitative sequel, the meditative work titled Divine Breathings or a Manual of Practical Contemplations…The Second Part (1680).

In order to more adequately comprehend T. S.’s significance as the first critic of Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress, we will draw upon U. Milo’s Kaufmann’s scholarship on the Puritan meditative tradition, wherein Kaufmann employs two key terms: mythos (action; also homologous with image, imagination) and logos (thought; synonymous with idea, reason, and the Word). Kaufmann argues that the popular works of seventeenth-century authors like Baxter, Sibbes, and Bunyan begin to diffuse the Puritan mistrust of allegory and imagination, and there is a movement among Puritan authors toward mythos. This was part of “a massive program,” Kaufmann asserts, to legitimate “the imagination [i.e., mythos] as a faculty for glimpsing spiritual realities” (156). Hence, by choosing his method of allegory for Pilgrim’s Progress, Bunyan endorses the imagination as a vehicle for edification.

Through that lens, we can read T. S.’s Second Part of the Pilgrim’s Progress as a public statement against that “massive program.” T. S. resists the trend that he perceives in Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress, namely the movement away from logos toward mythos, and he wishes to correct that imaginative emphasis in Bunyan’s allegory and bring readers back to the Word. In order to do that he focuses on presenting a pilgrimage in a style more meditational and homiletic than imaginary and romantic.

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Prayer, Petition and Representation in *The Holy War*.  

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Lori Branch’s *Rituals of Spontaneity: Sentiment and Secularism from Free Prayer to Wordsworth*, begins with the 1662 Act of Uniformity that “fanned the free-prayer controversy into a firestorm.” Examining Bunyan and others who defended extemporaneous prayer against the “stinted” forms of the Book of Common Prayer, Branch traces the process “by which modernity shifted from a pre- and early-modern belief in ritual to an ultimately moral and aesthetic valuing of spontaneity” (*Rituals of Spontaneity* 2). Bunyan’s rejection of the Book of Common Prayer finds polemical expression in *I Will Pray with the Spirit* (1662), which insists on the formation of authentic prayer in the negation of language. Thus, Bunyan establishes empathy with his reader as a shared emptiness or lack: having the “sense of nothing” is a positive motivation to prayer: “if thou art sensible of thy senselessness, pray to the Lord to make the sensible of what-ever thou findest thine heart senseless of” (*MW* 2: 276).

Bunyan’s negation of language and his resistance to the incursions of human verbal invention (or “stinted prayers”) in the conscious formation of authentic prayer creates paradoxical challenges for the representation of prayer in his allegories. In this paper, I will examine these challenges in *The Holy War*, a narrative that “hinges on prayer” (Runyon 152). As I will argue, Bunyan maintains a covert representation in the trope of prayer as spiritual weaponry: he educates his reader in the a concept of right prayer consistent with *I Will Prayer with the Spirit* by representing it in a sequence of material petitions; he echoes both scriptural texts and the Book of Common Prayer in order to engage his representation in the Restoration polemics of prayer and liturgy that are a context this aspect of his narrative.

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‘”Translated and improved” - Translations of English devotional literature into Danish in the age of Lutheran Orthodoxy.’

Susanne Gregersen.

Translations of English devotional literature into Danish were frequent, but of varying quality depending on the translators. Of even greater importance for the final result than the translators' literary abilities was however the ways to avoid the suspicion within the Danish Church of anything resembling Calvinism. Crypto-Calvinism was in the time of Lutheran Orthodoxy almost regarded as a worse fallibility than Roman Catholicism. ”Improvements” were therefore ways of making the translated works edible, and they usually consisted of passages or whole chapters on the Word and other Lutheran catchwords. However these ”improvements”, the interest in and the influence of the English devotional literature points away from orthodoxy to modern phenomena as pietism!

‘William Hale White and Literary Interpretation.’

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Although William Hale White would not have considered himself a literary scholar or critic, he undertook, especially in the latter years of his life, various literary projects including a biography of Bunyan (1905) and various critical editions of works by Samuel Johnson, Thomas Carlyle, Coleridge and Wordsworth. He also wrote reviews, letters to friends, and notebook entries which contain various judgments of literary works. One letter contains the telling remark that Tennyson’s ‘Lucretius’ is valuable because ‘as a close transcription of an experience there is nothing outside the Pilgrim’s Progress to be compared with it’. White’s attitude to literature is characteristic of his approach to other areas of life and intellectual endeavor. He demands of a work, ‘wherein can it help me?’ He responds particularly to those works which represent what he feels is ‘real’ or ‘genuine’ and whose imaginative power simultaneously realizes the most terrible and isolating aspects of human experience and enables the participating reader’s self-transcendence and emotional liberation. Interestingly, although in his *John Bunyan White* castigates his contemporary Matthew Arnold for his assessment of Nonconformity, in many ways White shares Arnold’s view of the value of literature. Arnold argues in ‘The Study of
Poetry’ that in a time of dissolving creeds, people will turn to literature ‘to interpret life for us, to console us, to sustain us’. An examination of some of White’s literary interpretations shows that whether the subject is *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, Wordsworth’s or Tennyson’s poetry, or Carlyle’s or Johnson’s prose, White continually sought to revitalize and illuminate those works which had helped him to discover authenticity, meaning, and even a kind of spiritual community.

“Do Thou the Substance of My Matter See”– Four Vignettes from The Pilgrim’s Progress

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I. Christian’s Conversion Hiatus – Distinctively Bunyan.

Christian’s conversion, upon entrance at the Wicket-gate, is confronted with the continuance of his burden until the Place of Deliverance. The solution to this seeming problem is that Christian presents a distinctive portrayal of Bunyan’s less conventional conversion, as represented in Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners. This is in contrast with the later, more conventional conversion testimonies of Faithful and Hopeful. The interposing instruction at the House of Interpreter also adds further credence to this explanation.

II. Christian’s Nonconformist Palace, exclusive of Faithful.

The Palace Beautiful represents Bunyan’s ideal nonconformist congregation. Here is care for a regenerate membership, heartfelt interest in cases of conscience, banqueting refreshment in the atonement of Jesus Christ, and the equipping of the saints. Yet it being noon, why does Faithful pass by and have no interest in such fellowship? Most likely because he is an evangelical Church of England vicar with whom Bunyan is nevertheless willing to enjoy pastoral company. Yet, more specifically, who does he represent?

III. The Objective Gospel of Christian confronts the Subjective Gospel of Ignorance.

Following Hopeful’s orthodox testimony of his conversion, given on the Enchanted Ground, the encounter of Christian with Ignorance brings forth a conflicting false gospel. Christian contrasts an objective gospel hope, rooted in Luther’s doctrine of faith alone in a justifying and imputed righteousness, with the subjective gospel hope of Ignorance, it being that of an infused, meritorious righteousness. The gospel debate here indicates Bunyan’s exact commitment to the Reformation doctrine of justification through faith alone.

IV. The Light of Truth extinguishes Dark Depression at Doubting Castle.

Again, like Luther with his experience of Anfechtung, Bunyan similarly experienced those periods of doubt, depression and hopelessness that invade the spirit of a Christian man, as related in Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners. Consequently the encounter of Christian and Hopeful with Giant Despair at Doubting Castle reflects a very adult situation with introspective nuances. Hence the primary lesson is that the neglect of God’s promises engenders dark spiritual
captivity while the light of truth brings emancipation and the paralysis of despair.


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This paper is concerned with early modern religious biography and the usefulness of such texts in the polemical debates over religious dissent in the 1660s and 1670s. While Restoration satire dominated the vitriolic pamphlet wars of the period, the developing genre of biography presented more subtle means of instruction. Often memorialized in such biographies by post-Restoration nonconformists, St. Bartholomew’s Day, 1662--the day when nonconforming ministers were ejected from their pulpits and livings by the Act of Uniformity--became a moment of existential crisis for ministers who dissented from the orthodox views of the Anglican church. For those who chose not to conform, this day became a traumatic and life changing moment. Part of the existential crisis facing nonconformists--especially those whose vocations were invested in their religious beliefs--was the choice to go on without a voice or to elect to speak in an unauthorized voice. The focus of this paper is how Richard Baxter and Theodosia Alleine memorialized these events in their Protestant hagiography The Life and Death of Mr. Joseph Alleine (1672). This posthumous nonconformist biography reveals the ways one nonconformist chose to reconstruct and re-authorize his voice from “from his Silencing till his Death.” Alleine’s biographers describe how this nonconformist everyman found alternative ministerial outlets, evolving from pulpit minister to catechizer, letter writer, polemicist, and stoic imprisoned martyr. Comparing Alleine’s biography to works by other nonconformist authors such as Baxter and John Norton, this paper analyzes how the process of finding and defending new pathways to authorized and authoritative voices was a major preoccupation for nonconformists. The post-Restoration polemical debates over religious authority were just as much a battle over definition as theology, and defending the nonconformist’s voice started with re-defining it as spiritually authorized rather than temporally illegal as well as socially beneficent rather than seditious and misanthropic.

“The Limits of Romance: Allegorical Time, Space, and Genre in Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress, Part II”

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Although John Bunyan acknowledged that he based the structure and style of The Pilgrim’s Progress partly on the chapbook romances he read as a boy, he wrote his book in an historical moment when once-unified generic categories were beginning to diversify, and its complicated relationship to romance has become the subject of literary scholarship. In this paper, I explore how Bunyan wrestles with the tension between romantic narrative and alternative ways of thinking about genre and temporality. In Part 1 of The Pilgrim’s Progress, Bunyan’s temporal
and spatial allegory is relatively straightforward: Christian is traveling through the sins and perils of life to the Celestial City (Heaven). His romantic narrative ends when he enters the City after crossing the River, an act that stands for the death of his mortal body. While the precise moment of the end of his quest cannot quite be defined—Christian is, “as ’twere, in Heaven, before [he] came at it; being swallowed up with the sight of angels, and with hearing of their melodious notes”—the conclusion of his story aligns fairly neatly with his attainment of his goal. The less-often read Part 2, in which Christian’s wife and children retrace his journey, complicates the questions of what constitutes spiritual romance and where its “end” lies. This difficulty with fitting temporal and spatial allegory into a romantic plot structure plays out largely through the concerns of Bunyan's female characters, none of whom appear as pilgrims in Part 1. Significant elements of romance in Part 2 lie not only in travel or combat, but in courtship, marriage, and the promise of reproduction, particularly between Mercy and Christiana's eldest son, both of whom are also on their way to the Celestial City. Their arrival there within an uncertain span of time, though, signals both the end and the erasure of their romance, since marital love, reproduction, and intergenerational inheritance are staples of romantic temporality that are rendered meaningless in heaven or at the end of time. The feminine and familial concerns that are unique to Part 2 force us to consider the discontinuities between earthly and apocalyptic romance. In a sense, the romance genre itself is an allegory in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, possessed of the usual limitations that attend the relationship between the allegorical and the “real.”

‘POEM, PILGRIMAGE OR HOLY WAR: MILTON AND BUNYAN ON THE MODELING OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE.’

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While Milton is not known for any novelistic narratives he demonstrated a keen interest in the beginnings of careers or vocations wherein human action is collaborative with the divine. The life as poem is understood not so much in Platonic categories as in New Testament terms of the life as joint product. Bunyan is more interested in the models of pilgrimage and holy war though neither model is adequate to the specificities of the Christian life. The pilgrimage-model tends to slight the realities of work, nature, culture, hospitality, personal growth, the sacramental and redemptive service. The model of spiritual warfare underplays the importance of community and collective redemption.

The age of Milton and Bunyan was of course nursing those novelistic tendencies which would be notably expressed in the following century. Among those tendencies was the entertainment of the idea of life as artifact (EG, the courtier), the surging of assurance about human freedom and so of life as a sequence of meaningful choices, and the emerging Christian awareness that many models of the devoted life are available as patterns.

A principal conundrum posed by Bunyan's model of pilgrimage is: What, in fact, is the Way? On the face of the matter, it is the conventional and normative course of the Christian life, a kind of least common denominator of how true believers actually live the life of the redeemed. Yet
one can, like Ignorance, live out the pattern and still be damned. Further, how can such an understanding of Way accommodate the believer's own unavoidable improvisations? In the fullest expression of such life-making one has Emerson's insistence that one not follow a path, but make one (thereby in a sentence controverting traditional claims for divine election and prescription and substituting a radical individualism).

‘THE SHARED MOTIF: JOURNEY AND ESCAPE IN WORKS OF J. BUNYAN AND L. TOLSTOY.’

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The present paper, in broader sense, continues the investigation of cross-cultural reception of “The Pilgrim’s Progress” and its “life” in Russian literature.

It is an open secret that Tolstoy knew John Bunyan’s novel “The Pilgrim’s Progress”. According to the bibliographic data, there were even two English editions of it in Tolstoy’s own library. Nevertheless, the question of Bunyan’s influence on the literary work of Tolstoy is much more complicated than, for example, the issue of literary dialogue between Bunyan and Pushkin. However, at the same time we have to admit that the Bunyan’s novel and much of Tolstoy’s works share the same theme – journey and escape from the carnal-minded world for the sake of supreme, divine truth. Quoting the authorities, we may say that many of Tolstoy’s works are united by the following plot-formula: “the way” – “enlightenment” – “the way”.

It seems that, when it comes to Tolstoy and Bunyan, we deal here with the similarity on the level of ideas, motifs and allusions. Life reassessment, repenting, escape from the spiritless world are the basic motifs of Tolstoy’s works of different years. “A Confession” [published in 1883 – 1884], “What is to be done?” [published in 1889], “The memoirs of a madman” [published in 1912] and other stories and novels are filled with the confessional and didactic tone, which also brings them closer to Bunyan’s novel.

Through lack of the data, it is impossible to prove and speak of some of Tolstoy’s works as direct reception of Bunyan’s well-known allegory, but we may accept the view that probably the “Pilgrim’s Progress” appeared to be one of the sources for realization of Tolstoy’s creative ideas. Both authors are very similar in their approach to solving the eternal spiritual problems of life meaning and man’s place in the world. Their characters are depicted as the life-wanderers, who search for the spiritual salvation.

‘“Hell bred Logick”?: Syllogisms Satanic and Salvific in the Works of Bunyan.’

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When John Bunyan preached in a barn in the village of Toft near Cambridge in 1659, he was confronted by Thomas Smith, Professor of Arabic and university librarian, who queried Bunyan’s credentials. According to Smith, Bunyan retorted, “Away [...] to Oxford with your hell bred Logick.” Bunyan’s early editor and biographer Charles Doe remembers Bunyan’s reply a
little more piously: “Horrid Blasphemy, away with your hellish Logick, and speak Scripture.”
Either way, it seems that Bunyan is opposing the technicalities of university logic to the plain truths of Scripture.
In A Case of Conscience Resolved (1683), Bunyan disclaims knowledge of the art of logic: “for my part, I am not ashamed to Confess, that I neither know the Mode nor Figure of a Sylogism, nor scarce which is Major or Minor.” However, Bunyan here demonstrates that he knows at least some of the formal vocabulary of early modern logic. Despite his protestations, some of Bunyan’s works use syllogistic reasoning, though not identified as such. For instance, Bunyan’s earliest publication, the anti-Quaker tract Some Gospel-Truths Opened (1656), borrows an argument that Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ that is laid out as a syllogism in William Perkins’s The Arte of Prophecying (1592; English 1607). Perkins, like Smith, was a fellow of Christ’s College, Cambridge, a key location for the introduction of Ramist logic to England.
As well as using Ramist method to structure his theology, Perkins popularized the “practical syllogism”:
He that beleeues the gospel, shall haue all the benefits and blessing of God promised therein;
But I beleeue the Gospell, and I beleeue in Christ:
Therefore the benefits promised therein, are mine. (How to Live, and that Well, 1601)
Many of the struggles Bunyan recalls in Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners are attempts to establish that the minor premise of the practical syllogism is true of him.
Bunyan resolves these struggles by applying to himself Luther’s dialectical distinction between the Law which condemns sin and the Gospel which promises salvation. This transition from Law to Gospel is enacted in The Pilgrim’s Progress. Although the pilgrims must refute the specious logic of various deceivers, a reformed logic aligned with Scripture plays a part in their redemption—thus Hopeful is prompted by biblical texts “to reason with my self thus,” a logical wrestling with his own experience which leads from sinful ignorance through judgment to salvation.

Whatever happened to Dinah the Black? And other questions about race and the visibility of Protestant Saints

Kathleen Lynch
Folger Shakespeare Library

Who was Dinah the Black? Might she be the first black female in seventeenth-century London with a recoverable trajectory of experience? Is she thereby another cultural “other”—this one female—to add to our stock of adult trophy converts to Christianity in the English capital? Or is she an otherwise indistinguishable serving maid? With her name carrying echoes of the Genesis daughter of Jacob (and therefore of a possibly culpable curiosity, resulting in rape), does she serve as a cautionary tale about feminine cross-cultural initiatives? Or should we think of her as one among many thousands who are summoned into the historical record by an opportunity to join the self-described visible saints, a completely ordinary convert to the experiential religion then developing among English Protestants?

These are all plausible positions to take on an unusual mention of “Dinah the Black” as one of the persons of “esteeme amongst many that fear the Lord in London” (The Exceeding Riches of Grace Advanced, 1647, a1v). Such brief and indirect appearances of Dinah the Black in the
textual record highlight a combustible moment in English religious history when two conversionary movements came into uneasy contact. The first sense of conversion was the emergence of experiential religion within English culture, with the growth of gathered churches issuing a strong challenge to the established church. Simultaneously, there was another experience of conversion, a reported experience, for most, with multiple western European missions to far flung parts of the world. The coming together of these two movements infused at least some parts of English society with a sense of millenarianism, which also raised the hope of the conversion of the Jews.

These are the circumstances under which Dinah the Black was rendered not so much visible as visualizable as a convert. This essay is not designed to settle the indeterminacies of Dinah the Black’s case, but rather to underscore how open a question it was—and how consequential a question it was—that Dinah be understood as either an extraordinary and singular convert or a perfectly ordinary model, an every(wo)man of the English gathered churches.

‘The Use of The Pilgrim’s Progress as a Tool in Teaching Spiritual Formation’

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With spiritual formation defined as the transforming work of the Holy Spirit in a Christian’s life “until Christ is formed” (Galatians 4:19) in him, for the past decade I taught undergraduate, graduate, and post-graduate level courses concerning the same. This formation is a life long journey for each believer that includes common experiences and challenges. Because of this I found Bunyan’s The Pilgrim Progress to be a useful tool and have used it as a required textbook in the courses.

J.I. Packer believes that The Pilgrim’s Progress “stands as a full-scale index in picture form to the entire range of the Puritan understanding of Christian existence. The themes and image in both parts are biblical, and all ups and downs of real and phony Christianity are presented for the reader’s instruction and self-assessment.”

With the overarching themes of Christian sanctification and perseverance, The Pilgrim’s Progress becomes an ideal tool to teach spiritual formation, even in today’s society. Bunyan’s portrait of following “real-life individuals bearing character-label names through the ups and downs of their travels along it, seeing sights, visiting places, overcoming obstacles, resolving obstacles.”

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problems, and relating to friends, foes, fools and failures whom they meet en route" are instructive for today’s Christian.

This proposed paper will explore the use of Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress* as a tool to teach spiritual formation. Themes of the bible, prayer, perseverance, sanctification, etc. will be considered as well as my decadal experience in using the book. The thesis of this paper is that *The Pilgrim’s Progress* is an excellent tool to teach spiritual formation.

‘Nonconformity in the Novels of William Hale White (“Mark Rutherford”)

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William Hale White is generally regarded as the most important novelist of the nineteenth century to have emerged from a Nonconformist background and to have taken Nonconformist life and experience as his main subject. He published his first novel, *The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford, Dissenting Minister* in 1881. It was followed in 1885 by *Mark Rutherford’s Deliverance, Being the Second Part of his Autobiography*. These purported to be reproducing manuscripts written by ‘Mark Rutherford’ and edited for publication by ‘his friend Reuben Shapcott’. Four more ‘Mark Rutherford’ novels appeared, all as edited by Shapcott: *The Revolution in Tanner’s Lane* (1887), *Miriam’s Schooling* (1890), *Catharine Furze* (1893) and *Clara Hopgood* (1896). That White was the author of these novels was not generally known for many years, even by members of his own family. All six novels, but particularly the first two, drew upon White’s personal experiences, though including also much fictional material. The picture of Nonconformity that they present is in some respects a bleak one. From its heroic, radical beginnings in the seventeenth century Nonconformity had, apparently, descended into narrow parochialism, reeking with hypocrisy and mean-mindedness. Some scholars have taken this to be a largely reliable account, praising the ‘honesty’ of White’s representation of Nonconformist life and experience. Others have argued that it is very far from being reliable, and that White’s hostility to modern-day Nonconformity sprang as much as anything from personal resentments. Neither approach seems adequate as a response to White’s peculiarly complex blend of fiction and ‘life-writing’, or as ways of understanding how the values of ‘nonconformity’ are expressed in his novels.

‘“My business is to perswade sinners”: Bunyan as Rhetorician’

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University of Cambridge.

Mark Allen Steiner has argued that all rhetoric is “evangelism in essence,” seeking to reorient those in its audience by persuading them to adopt a different view of reality. Given the intensely conversionist focus of John Bunyan’s preaching and writing, his work is inescapably rhetorical. This is so despite the fact that the word “rhetoric” is used negatively by Bunyan – for instance, a marginal gloss in *The Holy War* designates the deceptions of Diabolus as “Satanical Rhetorick.”

Ibid. 185.
Diabolic rhetoric is opposed in Bunyan’s works by the divine rhetoric of the evangelist. Hence, in *The Second Part of the Pilgrim’s Progress*, Giant Maul, who “did use to spoyl young Pilgrims with Sophistry” is confronted by Great-heart, who announces, “[M]y business is to perswade sinners to Repentance.” Great-heart’s conversionist agenda echoes Bunyan’s own – Bunyan’s work, he tells us, is “even to carry an awakening Word.” However, Bunyan’s awakening words are configured differently across his corpus, reflecting different rhetorical strategies.

Studies of Bunyan’s style have rightly focused on his commitment to “plain style,” seeking to communicate the truth transparently. However, Bunyan’s professions of plainness contain rhetorical ornament – Bunyan uses tricolon in his assertion that “God did not play in convincing of me; the Devil did not play in tempting of me; neither did I play when I sunk as into a bottomless pit [...] wherefore I may not play [...] but be plain and simple, and lay down the thing as it was.” Even the opposition between “play” and “plain” plays on the similarity between the words.

Bunyan’s works are shaped by the classical rhetorical tradition of Aristotle and Cicero, and by the reorganization of rhetoric by Petrus Ramus. These influences are mediated through university-educated Puritan preachers and writers whom Bunyan encountered in person or in print, notably William Perkins. Perkins’s *The Arte of Prophecying* influentially advocated plain preaching over ostentatious learning, and is notably Ramist in method, but yet is demonstrably an adaptation of Cicero’s rhetorical system to the concerns of godly preaching. Bunyan’s didactic treatises, which mostly retain their sermonic form, are thus vernacular grandchildren of the Ciceronian oration.

Bunyan’s adoption of allegory might seem at odds with his commitment to the transparent transmission of truth, as he acknowledges in the “Apology” to *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. However, Bunyan’s allegorical method functions as an alternate mode of rhetoric, seeking to persuade the reader to conversion through reinscribing the reader’s perception of reality.

‘*The Revolution in Tanner’s Lane*: The Honesty of Dissent in Politics, Theology and the Family.’

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*The Revolution in Tanner’s Lane* is the most successful of Mark Rutherford’s novels as a novel; and in the sweep of its concerns mounts his most successful defence of Nonconformity. There is a sardonic satire of monarchical and religious conformity. Rutherford’s account of the emotional and intellectual life of Nonconformity, its strengths and its limits, is particularly telling in his portrait of Zachariah Coleman. He shows what it’s like to listen to a powerful and challenging sermon; but also what it’s like for a jealous man, unused to the theatre, to witness a performance of *Othello*. The novel splits between London and Cowfold (a fictional country town about to be transformed by the railway). Like *The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford* and *Mark Rutherford’s Deliverance*, it is a story of disappointment, and even defeat; but in its honest and penetrating account it does much to rescue Puritanism and Nonconformity from what (in a parallel context) E. P. Thompson called ‘the enormous condescension of posterity’. Or as Rutherford puts it, ‘this at least must be said for Puritanism, that of all the theologies and philosophies it is the most honest in its recognition of the facts; the most real, if we penetrate to the heart of it, in the remedy which it offers’.
“Not to be reckoned among their Neighbours”: Church, Neighborhood, and Conscience in Bunyan’s Satiric Imagination.’

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Bunyan’s writing on “conscience” is perhaps most widely remarked on (and notorious) for its agonized and unrelenting introspectiveness. In her wide-ranging recent book, Putting on Virtue: The Legacy of the Splendid Vices (Chicago, 2008), for example, Jennifer Herdt discerns in Bunyan’s grappling with conscience in Grace Abounding both “performative contradiction” and “paralysis.” In his search for signs of election, Herdt argues, Bunyan inherits and intensifies a Lutheran and Reformed preoccupation with the subjective self-consciousness, the “testimony of a good conscience.” Driven by worries about hypocrisy, pride, and self-deception, Bunyan affirms the necessity of ceding all agency before God in conversion even as he vigorously asserts agency in his endless self-scrutinizing by way of the very act of writing itself. Likewise, while Bunyan disclaims the exempla tradition in which a life is presented as the exemplification of virtue, his narrative itself fosters just such a social formation, albeit ironically in “a life of intense introspection and isolation.” Herdt accordingly locates Bunyan in an “exodus from virtue” in Christian ethics, a trajectory that she argues would have far-reaching consequences for modern moral philosophy as well.

Somewhat unhappily for a study so invested in the power of narrative in ethical inquiry and moral formation, Herdt’s account of Bunyan focuses on Grace Abounding to the exclusion of, for example, The Pilgrim’s Progress and The Life and Death of Mr. Badman, to cite two works I take up in this paper. In Grace Abounding itself, moreover, introspection seems to emerge not simply as an isolating turn inward, but as a gesture of self-satire prompted by Bunyan’s reflections on the character of visible Christian community. In Grace Abounding we encounter a first-person narrative mode that frequently tilts into the kind of socially-conscious imaginative vision Bunyan would display more fully in his fictional work. In this paper I treat church and neighborhood as the visible social bodies behind Bunyan’s satiric imagination. Setting out from Grace Abounding, I look especially to the narrative of Mercy in Pilgrim’s Progress part two and to that of Badman and his wife in The Life and Death of Mr. Badman. The kind of satiric attention Bunyan first directs at himself in Grace Abounding is prompted by the company of poor but joyous women he encounters at Bedford, a company “not to be reckoned among their Neighbors.” Yet among other things, it is precisely a revaluation of the true worth of “neighborly” virtue that this company helps Bunyan imagine. In Bunyan’s account of these women and his lasting concern to imagine and promote a neighborly ethic of virtue across his work, we can specify more clearly continuities in Bunyan with a late medieval inheritance, and the tensions he faced as he attempted to embrace this inheritance in his own congregationalist idiom and practice.

‘Millenarianism and the Politics of Active Waiting in Bunyan and Milton.’

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University of Miami.
The millenarian fervor of the 1640s and 50s and its relationship to emergent radical religion and politics has been well-established in scholarship. When Christ did not return and perhaps more importantly, the English revolution dissolved into a Restoration of monarchy, many dissenters were left demoralized. For some, a revision of millenarianism was not only in order, but formed part of the grieving and healing process of the Restoration. The question of Milton’s (possibly evolving) millennialism is a matter of some complexity and no little controversy and has been directed toward all of Milton’s late masterpieces toward various ends and with understanding of the consequences for Milton’s late politics. Milton’s fascinating and somewhat peculiar epic, *Paradise Regained*, presents a politics of active millennial waiting as Jesus engages in a battle of hermeneutics to defeat Satan. Milton seems to suggest a type of productive passivity, seemingly passive, but not apolitical, and certainly not powerless, but a reevaluation of millennial politics for Restoration England.

While *The Holy War* is obviously an allegory describing the need for salvation through Jesus Christ, figured as Emanuel, and clearly teaches of the necessity of salvation by grace, as Mansoul’s leaders remain powerless to save their own city, the text doubles as an allegory for salvation in a larger sense, that of England and humanity at large, which most dissenters anticipated in the 1640s and 50s. *The Holy War* teaches its readers that the soul must be saved by Jesus, but also teaches that the same holds true for England. The salvation of Jesus Christ should be no less anticipated than before, despite defeat, and should be expected no less than the salvation of the soul.

It can be said that these texts suggest Dissenter passivity, but the politics of such a millennial waiting should not be dismissed as defeatist. As Sharon Achinstein has shown, Restoration Dissenters may only seem disinterested in violence and upheaval. It is true that the Jesus of *Paradise Regained* never fights physically with Satan, as in the glorious battle of *Paradise Lost*, but his resistance lacks nothing in its strength. Milton’s Jesus never relinquishes his understanding of the right to his throne and expresses unwavering confidence in the understanding of his power and his destiny. Similarly, the ultimate salvation of Mansoul is not in question, only in temporary disappointment, a pause in time. The reader learns through both texts how to actively await the coming of the Lord.


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This study will consider the spatial metaphors of Bunyan’s work in light of contemporary theological and philosophical arguments in order to explain how his representations of the material world contribute to an increasingly private and bounded understanding of religion in English life by the long eighteenth century. In both parts of *Pilgrim’s Progress* and in *Grace Abounding*, Bunyan metaphorically links the internal space of the self and its associated labor of psychomachia with the external spaces of the church and its status as a necessarily incomplete approximation of the redeemed future church. Representations of continuously cultivated subjective and material spaces are not merely narrative devices or anxious glosses over the internal contradictions of a belief system that anticipates an ideal future, but are instead
interventions in an ongoing conversation about religion’s role in English society and the spaces associated with religious belief and practices. My study will contend that Bunyan characterizes both the redeemed subject and the spaces reserved for the life and practice of other redeemed persons as cultivated ‘spaces’ that stand consciously at odds with the perceived corruption and failures of the present, visible world but remain nevertheless entrenched in that world. At the core of these discussions are changing beliefs about the meaning of the material world and its relationship to the inner life and activity of the human subject.

John Bunyan’s work reconsiders the nature of religious spaces by representing material spaces dedicated to religious practice as fundamentally incomplete and unfulfilled in contrast with the approaching eschatological future. His work associates both material spaces and ‘internal,’ subjective spaces dedicated to right religious practice with an active form of labor that continually seeks to better approximate the spiritual realities of the redeemed future but cannot finally achieve that end. Bunyan rejects the idea that material spaces can and should irresistibly shape the religious subject. Instead, the significance and meaning of material spaces associated with religious practice derive from the labor of human subjects—a position that overlaps with the arguments of other late seventeenth-century thinkers like John Locke. By using metaphors of enclosure as analogies to the redeemed internal self, Bunyan contributes to a developing association of religious belief and practice with physically enclosed, private spaces in English religious culture and ultimately invites his readers to reconsider the bases on which the significance of these spaces are founded.

‘Holy Cities and Holy War in Bunyan, 1665-1682.’

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This paper proposes an analysis of two texts written by Bunyan at acute moments of political and religious tension in the mid and later seventeenth century. The Holy City (1665) and The Holy War (1682) are read here against the stresses and strains of the Restoration Settlement and the developing history of religious nonconformity: in the first instance, the mid-1660s, with its persecutory context and growing disaffection with the government; and in the second instance, the aftermath of the Exclusion Crisis. Both of these instances are marked by the heightened religious persecution of nonconformists. Bunyan met the vicissitudes of the Restoration and its religious settlement in a trenchant manner and along with many other nonconformists of varied stripe, he went to prison rather than give up his faith, his pastoral and his preaching responsibilities. Other nonconformist luminaries like Richard Baxter in the early 1660s, were along with nearly 2000 fellow sufferers, deprived of their living by the strictures of the 1662 Act of Uniformity and suffered considerable financial hardship. Many too shared Bunyan’s unjust fate as prisoners of conscience in Restoration prisons.

The Holy City was first of all conceived as a sermon. Bunyan writes a millennial work that envisages a New Jerusalem, where we will ‘the time of the return of the Saints to build the ruinous City’, in a time that is ‘near, yea very near’ (MW 3, p. 92; cf. p. 165). Taking as his text Revelation xxi and xxii, Bunyan’s language is apocalyptic and millennial. Similarly, in The Holy War, Bunyan offers an allegory that sees the second coming of Emmanuel to herald a righteous future for the elect.
Both of these works through their view of a Christian commonwealth address issues of spiritual and political governance in the context of savage persecution from the state and the restored Anglican Church. By drawing on other texts written by Bunyan this paper seeks to test the strength and consistency of his views on the millennialism under the Restoration and argues that his view of millennialism in the Restoration period is a crucial way of judging his engagement with contemporary political events as they touch upon toleration for nonconformists and their persecution at times of acute political strain.

‘A Landscape Transformed: The Pilgrim’s Progress and the Gentleman’s Prospect.’

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When Thomas Sherman writes The Second Part of the Pilgrim’s Progress in 1682, his preface makes clear that the work is intended less as a tribute than a revision polishing away the coarse defects found in the original. The same is true of a dream vision published anonymously in The Spectator (No. 524) three decades later. In the Spectator’s opening remarks, the dream vision is described as possessing something of the “spirit of John Bunyan...; but at the same time, a certain sublime, which that author was never master of.” In both critical revisions of Bunyan’s allegory, one central feature is tellingly reworked: the landscape, so prominent a site of spiritual struggle for Bunyan’s Christian, begins to open up, offering expansive panoramic views. The prospect in the eighteenth century, as John Barrell has argued, becomes a powerful image that serves, in part, to figure forth the lofty vantage point from which the gentlemen of a society understand and order its various factions into a harmonious whole. This paper argues, then, that the distinct encounters with the landscape that appear in The Pilgrim’s Progress and these later versions illuminate two opposed notions of epistemological privilege: for Bunyan, it is the wayfaring laborer with his close-grained, gritty view of the pathway who comes closest to true knowledge. The gentlemen poets bent on refining Bunyan’s vision underscore instead the authority of the disinterested spectator.

The representational shifts reflect a broader redrawing of the cultural map as well. For to achieve his magnificent, far-flung prospects, the traveler in the revised versions must be lifted onto a higher perspectival plane. In the process, however, the pilgrim is also shown to be lifted above the lower sphere in which other travelers pass; the distance interposed between observer and observed, in other words, effectively erects a barrier between what becomes the private sphere of the pilgrim and the social world at large. Ultimately, this separation yields a vision wherein the spectator’s spiritual state is withdrawn from public scrutiny. With memories of the Civil War still fresh, I suggest that the gentlemen poets saw the need to neutralize disruptive religious discourse by removing it from Bunyan’s social space into a more private realm. In the new social space forged by, among others, the writers of The Spectator, works as these supplied the written rules of polite conversation whereby religious debate and discussion would be increasingly cast as ill-suited to the public sphere.

‘Bunyan, Casuistry and the US War on Terror: The Connection between Personal Reform and an end to “The Inherent Insanity of War”.’
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In his prose tract *A Seasonable Counsel* Bunyan famously counsels personal reform as a solution to the threats and terrors that face non-conformist believers in the anxiety-ridden period of the early 1680’s. Just how did Bunyan imagine that the call to personal reform might serve as an antidote, an answer, to terrorism and state acts of violence? How did he connect the ethical imperatives of a deeply personal casuistry with the cessation of violence and injustice at the level of the state? Examples from *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman* and *The Holy War* will demonstrate the manner in which the vast perplexities of state conflict and the abstractions of both theological and state law are resituated in the hearts and minds of individual characters in Bunyan’s fictions. As the political becomes personal, the abstractions of state that threaten violence are diffused by a concrete application of personal ethics.

Distanced by several hundred years of history, the reasoning that allows the physical violence of the British Civil War to be interiorized in Bunyan’s imagination as a Holy War of the spirit seems a quaint indulgence. Terrorism is a concern for Bunyan’s generation and our own, but the possibility that a redirect from the theoretical application of law to a personal exploration of applied conscience might serve as a means of unveiling injustice and deterring people from it seems unlikely. A recent BBC interview with the Chief Counsel for the US Department of Defense, however, suggests how Bunyan’s approach may work. In a recent interview with the British current affairs program, *Hard Talk*, Chief Defense Counsel Jeh Johnson provides a contemporary example of the way in which a challenge to personal conscience may produce meaningful leverage to provoke ethical reconsideration. In a rigorous interview in which Johnson is challenged by interviewer Zeinab Badawi to justify drone strikes and the killing of innocent civilians deemed “collateral damage” in what many have called the immoral extrajudicial killings carried out by the Obama government, Johnson deflects criticism through a carefully parsed theoretical reading of US domestic and international law. In her final question, however, the interviewer changes tact: she engages Johnson with a personal question about his admiration for Martin Luther King, Jr. and King’s famous statement about “the inherent insanity of all wars.” In response, Johnson pauses, reflects and admits to being a “imperfect disciple” of Mr. King. Two weeks later, Mr. Johnson resigned his position as the Pentagon’s top lawyer. Although the date of this departure was no doubt decided long before the *Hard Talk* interview, this encounter indicates that Johnson’s smooth legal justifications of US defense actions in the war on terror may not sit as comfortably within the private sphere of his conscience.

This paper will read the Johnson interview within the context of Bunyan’s imaginative casuistry. It will explore the possibility that the act of making the political personal may indeed create sites of resistance powerful enough to challenge the seemingly impenetrable rationalizations of war.