The President’s Column

To Shannon, Ken, Chris, Nathalie and the contributors to The Recorder

Dear Members,

This year is a landmark in the history of The Recorder. The business meeting held in Princeton last August approved that our newsletter should be electronic from now on, thereby implementing an idea first suggested in 1995 (!) and liberating much-needed resources for the Society. We now have a dedicated page on our website where the current issue is protected by a password for six months, before becoming public. In the autumn, Nathalie Collé-Bak (University of Lorraine, France) took over as editor from Chris Garrett (University of Southern Indiana, USA), to whom we are all very much indebted, not least for his two terms on our Executive Committee. Thanks to the dedication and hard work of our consecutive editors Shannon Murray (editor, 1993-1998), Ken Simpson (1999-2007), and again Chris Garrett (2008-2013), a complete electronic collection is now available. Volumes for the years 1993 to 1995, and 2007 to 2013, are already on the site and the rest will be digitalized soon. A collection of critical essays edited by Ken Simpson in 2010 is also available to download from Open Latch Publications. Finally, we are celebrating Number 20 of our newsletter, whose first issue appeared in June 1993. It is a great privilege, in my first year as IJBS President, to be able to introduce such a special issue.

An anniversary is the occasion to celebrate those who have made a well-beloved publication what it is. This
issue is dedicated to Shannon, Ken, Chris, and Nathalie, but also to all of you who have contributed to The Recorder over the years (and not least to James Forrest who named it), ensuring that the IJBS has had a newsletter continuously for two decades since that very first issue, introduced by Professor Richard Greaves, that I reproduce below. Our deepest thanks to you all.

Since you are reading this issue online, you will know that the last few months have witnessed changes in IJBS communication: we have a Facebook page, a new website, and a new listserv. These changes have necessarily affected the form and content of The Recorder. Previously, we would receive our copy each spring (in the early days, even twice a year), and I can still remember the sense of excitement I felt as a young graduate when it came through the post.

I will therefore miss receiving the envelope with The Recorder—we all will—but the change has allowed us to restructure and enhance our methods of communicating with each other and with the wider world. As little as a year ago, we were expecting our copy each spring (in the early days, even twice a year), and I can still remember the sense of excitement I felt as a young graduate when it came through the post.

That he/she has contributed to shape? Do we need reports on exhibitions and cultural events? Would it be wise to seek more contributions from writers, artists, art historians, publishers, librarians and archivists?

Another aspect of our response, I believe, will be to experiment with new formats, introducing interviews, videos, images and sound, and making better use of hyperlinks. Shifting publication to an electronic format does not mean, after all, simply uploading a pdf on a website rather than printing it; it means exploring the full potential of new media and digital content. For that reason, our new visual mascot, the beautiful book sculpture by Justin Rowe connects past and present in the most striking way. It is also no coincidence that Nathalie, a long-time member of the IJBS, is also a historian of the book known for her work on Bunyan illustrations.

All this has not been done overnight and we will rely on you to guide us in this transitional phase. Please let Nathalie (IJBSrecordereditor@yahoo.com) know in what direction you would like The Recorder to evolve in the next few years. She will relay your ideas to the Executive Committee. We are eager to hear about fresh concepts, and about what members are now expecting from an annual newsletter, when there is a surfeit, rather than a shortage, of information elsewhere.

For all these reasons, I will not repeat what you can already find on the site, and especially leave others below to tell you all about the marvelous Princeton conference, for those of you who could not attend.

I will mention only one point here. On 23 May 2014, the IJBS held a regional meeting of
European members at Harlington Manor, in Bedfordshire, where we had been kindly invited by the owner of the house where Bunyan once stood a prisoner. At Princeton, some of you voiced natural concerns that meeting once every three years was not quite enough to nurture and sustain a feeling of belonging. In fact, this is a return to our origins, and Professor Greaves, in his first presidential address shown above, reminded IJBS members that ‘the Society intends to foster scholarship about Bunyan, his contemporaries and his historical influence, primarily through annual meetings’. We have decided to rekindle the idea. One way of doing this is simply to meet more often as a group. The programme of our meeting in Harlington Stroke a balance between the presentation of short papers and work-in-progress, debate over the future of the Society, and informal chats over a pub lunch. We very much hope members in other parts of the world will be inspired to set up such meetings and find other, different formulae. What Professor Greaves had in mind, however, were more formal solutions such as the setting up of IJBS panels at major international conferences. As with The Recorder, the Executive Committee has a better chance to meet your needs if you tell us what you think is best.

Today, the IJBS has to face the same challenges as any other society in the Humanities: how to attract more members, and young members in particular; how to encourage innovative research and innovative teaching in the field; how to collaborate more efficiently with other institutions and societies around the world; how to take advantage of the digital solutions without embracing false idols. More generally, we must face the challenge of adapting the old organisational model of the learned society to the 2010s, when the communities, including the academic ones, are often virtual rather than material, when many undergraduates have never seen a paper copy of a journal, when anybody can register to follow a MOOC with an electronic address, and when the sales of academic monographs are at an all-time low (and their prices at an all-time high). Is the gathering of savans (and the issuing of their proceedings) a model of the past? It will not surprise you that there were more IJBS members in 1994 than in 2014. Can we still contribute to steering research in our discipline? Does it still make sense to subscribe to a society when so much information can be found online, and what can we offer paying members that Facebook friends cannot have? How do we reach out better to teachers, writers, and scholars outside what the French call the ‘Anglo-Saxon world’, an issue to which I am naturally sensitive?

For myself, I strongly believe that learned societies will continue to play a vital role in academic life, but also that small ones, such as ours, cannot afford to be complacent. On the one hand, rereading 20 years of The Recorder, I was struck by how faithful we have remained to our original remit. I have already mentioned that an electronic Recorder, annual meetings and panels within international gatherings, were all suggested at the beginning. And problems have remained much the same as well: collecting late dues, funding the conferences, finding volunteers to serve on the Executive Committee and contributors for the newsletter, encouraging more historians to join. Bunyan studies have always been deeply historical in outlook, and the IJBS was never meant to be solely about Bunyan and his work but to embrace the whole of Dissenting culture and heritage. This, however, has never truly materialised into a healthy influx of colleagues and students from history departments. On the other hand, there is a feeling that we, like others, are at a crossroad as the digital age is impelling us to reconsider our
very raison d’être, and the business and publishing models of our publications. I invite a frank debate about our future development, our strategic planning, our priorities and the means to sustain a vision worthy of our founders. Contact the Executive Committee if you would like to contribute in any way. We are here to listen to your suggestions and ideas and, hopefully, help to see them realised. Write to us to tell us what the IJBS means to you and we will report in the next Recorder.

In the meantime, I leave you to discover your very first electronic newsletter and its new layout. We hope that you will enjoy it, and find it a fair sibling to its nineteen paper predecessors. The Recorder inspired by ‘a man of courage and faithfulness to speak truth at every occasion’ has indeed never ceased to record faithfully the history of the IJBS. It is our heritage, and our future.

Justin Rowe is an artist and paper sculptor from Cambridge. After graduating from Norwich School of Art in 1998, he began working for Cambridge University Press as an academic bookseller. In 2010, tasked with creating a unique and eyecatching Christmas window display, Justin began a series of book sculptures inspired by folk and fairytale imagery. The sculptures were auctioned for charity. In autumn 2011, Justin created twelve new sculptures for the bookshop window based on the English song, The Twelve Days of Christmas. The sculptures were donated as raffle prizes on behalf of local charity Romsey Mill.

Justin Rowe, Book Sculpture and the New Recorder

Nathalie Collé-Bak
Université de Lorraine

https://www.britac.ac.uk/literatureweek/

He is currently exhibiting new sculptures and making commissioned works for numerous clients.

On 5–6 April 2014 Justin had an exhibition of six sculptures on display in the foyer of the Divinity School, St John’s Street, Cambridge, during the Cambridge Literary Festival.

http://www.cambridgeliteraryfestival.com/events/festival-exhibitions

When I asked Justin if he would let me use his book sculpture ‘Hopeful had much ado to keep his brother’s head above water’ for the new, digital Recorder, he kindly agreed (as he had done a couple of years ago when I had asked him for permission to reproduce an image of that same sculpture in an article on visual adaptations of The Pilgrim’s Progress). I thank

http://www.daysfalllikel-leaves.com/about.html

Justin had a solo exhibition at the British Academy as part of their literature week in 2013.
I stumbled across a 1950s Nelson Classic Library edition of Bunyan’s Pilgrims Progress about 20 years ago at a book fair in Cambridge. It felt neat in my hand and inside there were numerous striking illustrations. I fancied I might like to read it sometime and it found its way on to my bookshelves.

In 2010, whilst working as an academic bookseller for Cambridge University Press, I started making intricate book sculptures for a Christmas display in the large bookshop window. The sculptures proved popular, and invitations to exhibit more sculptures followed. I rummaged through my books looking for something suitable to reinvent as a sculpture and was once again drawn to the powerful imagery in the Bunyan volume.

I chose the illustration captioned ‘Hopeful had much ado to keep his brother’s head above water’. Using a scalpel I carefully cut the illustrated figures of Hopeful and Christian from their background around the top edge, and with one fold at the bottom stood them up. Again using the scalpel I cut horizontally through the spaces between the lines of the text on the facing page, stopping at the margins. I used a very sharp blade and a reasonable amount of pressure which cut to the depth of about five pages. Through twisting and folding and a lot of trial and error I managed to position these pages to give the impression that waves of Bunyan’s words were crashing around the figures, representing Hopeful’s struggle to save Christian from drowning.

The idea and execution seemed too simplistic but I had a very positive response to it, especially to my photographs of the sculpture. I have continued with this theme in much of my work and it has resulted in an ongoing ‘wave’ series of sculptures. The image has been successfully reproduced as a greetings card and was chosen as a promotional image for this year’s Cambridge Literary Festival. It was also one of the main images, blown up to two metres wide, for my ‘Turning the Page’ exhibition for Literature Week at the British Academy for the Humanities and Social Sciences in 2013.

The original sculpture was sold as a birthday present for a Cambridge Classics scholar, but the image grows in popularity, spreading across the Internet via Tumblr, Facebook, Twitter and Google images, though I have to admit I still haven’t read the book!

My name is Justin Rowe. I work in a bookshop. I collect art and books – and occasionally make them. Email me or visit my website.

http://www.daysfalllikeleaves.com/

Justin Rowe, Book Sculptor
Cambridge, UK

If you are interested in learning more about Justin’s work, look at the following video. It is a short documentary by Graham CopeKoga: http://vimeo.com/92147390
The Recorder is 20 years old!
Happy anniversary to our newsletter and its team of editors!

This 20th issue is dedicated to them and their work.

Shannon Murray, editor 1994-1998

Nathalie Collé-Bak
Université de Lorraine

I feel very honoured to have been asked by the President and the Executive Committee of the IJBS to take over the responsibility of editor of The Recorder as of November 2013. I am very grateful to them, as well as to the three former editors of our newsletter for their work and dedication. It seemed important to me, at the dawn of this new, electronic era, to thank them on behalf of our Society and all of its members, and to recall briefly their contributions as scholars and individuals.

The following columns and pages, and perhaps especially the selection of previous covers reproduced below, will take you back in time to The Recorder’s early days and issues, through to more recent ones, after having now discovered its new face and design in the opening columns and pages of this 20th, anniversary issue.

I thank warmly and heartily again all the people who have kindly answered my queries and solicitations by e-mail, and who have contributed all the pieces, long or brief, scholarly or otherwise, to the present issue. I hope you will enjoy reading them.

Shannon Murray is a professor of English Literature at the University of Prince Edward Island and a 3M National Teaching Fellow. She has published and presented on Bunyan and early children’s literature as well as on pedagogy, and she is a former Director of UPEI’s Teaching Centre. She is married to a fellow Bunyanist, Gerald Wandio, whom she met in Jim Forrest’s Bunyan and Milton Graduate seminar in Alberta.

Shannon on her role as editor

‘It was with Jim Forrest that I first read Bunyan, and so when at his suggestion Greg Randall got the Bunyan Society going, I was so pleased to be asked to edit the newsletter. Looking back at those early issues, I am shocked at how amateur they look. I so clearly remember struggling with formatting booklets in those early days — I think I was still using an ancient “K-Pro” computer! It was an honour to be involved in those early days with a group that has given me so much pleasure and support over the past decades.’
Ken Simpson continues to work on a project called ‘Bunyan and the Aesthetics of Appropriation’, the latest instalment of which considers the use of Bunyan in the construction of space in the Pacific Northwest.

Ken on his role as editor

‘When I took over from Shannon Murray as editor of The Recorder in 1998 at the Stirling conference I had no idea what I was getting myself into. All I knew was that the people associated with the Bunyan Society at the time were friendly and scholarly, so why not? As time went by I was pleased to work with many of them as I put The Recorder together: David Gay, Vera Camden, Tom Luxon, Neil Keeble, Richard Greaves, and Bob Owens among others. I especially enjoyed corresponding with Bunyan enthusiasts from the wider public who contacted me with questions about family heirlooms, bibliographical enquiries, Bunyan-related experiences from all over the globe, and notices about adaptations of The Pilgrim’s Progress, especially the murals by Hans Feibusch. Strange journey, indeed, since the appropriation of Bunyan is now a scholarly interest of mine.’

Christopher E. Garrett is an associate professor of English and director of faculty development at the University of Southern Indiana. Formerly the director of the Centre for Excellence in Teaching and Learning at Oklahoma City University, he has published and presented on Bunyan, Dostoevsky, C. S. Lewis, and also various topics related to the scholarship of teaching and learning. He earned his PhD from Texas A&M University and wrote a dissertation on imitative sequels, the meditational writings of T. S., author of The Second Part of The Pilgrim’s Progress, and the anonymously written Divine Breatheings.

Chris on his role as editor

‘During my tenure as editor of The Recorder, I frequently called upon members to write book reviews and offer notes and articles for the newsletter. I am grateful for those who so willingly stepped up and provided assistance. The newsletter is a combination of efforts—the editor coordinates and reports. But it truly was a collaborative enterprise. Thank you to all the IJBS members for your support.’
The Recorder Through Time: a selection of previous front covers

Please visit http://johnbunyansociety.org/the-newsletter/past-issues/ for more
The Seventh Triennial Conference of the International John Bunyan Society, Princeton University, 12-16 August 2013

‘John Bunyan: Conscience, History and Justice’, Report 1

The seventh triennial conference convened at Princeton under the direction of Nigel Smith, President of the IJBS (2010-2013). The program consisted of twenty-eight papers organized into eleven panels, and four plenary addresses. Delegates included both seasoned and younger scholars and teachers, and an outstanding contingent of graduate students. Speakers came from the United States, Canada, England, Scotland, France, Russia, and Denmark, giving the conference rich international perspectives. Nigel chose to present the panels in sequence, making each panel a plenary session. This choice allowed all delegates to experience the full intellectual range and depth of the program.

Several panels examined Bunyan and his seventeenth-century context. These included Bunyan, Dissent and Toleration, Imprisonment and Meditation, The Holy War, Aesthetics and Theology and Bunyan and Milton. Other panels brought Bunyan into different literary, historical, social and geo-political contexts. These included Bunyan and the Ministry, Bunyan in Scandinavia, Russia and the German-Speaking World, Bunyan and the Triumvir, Nineteenth-Century Bunyan, and a special panel on the Victorian writer William Hale White (Mark Rutherford) co-organized by Bob Owens, Roger Pooley and Catherine Harland of Queen’s University, a distinguished Canadian Victorian scholar. Bunyan and Today’s Causes included papers on contemporary issues from the war on terror (Arlette Zinck) to a dialogue between Bunyan and Queer Studies (Margaret Sönder Breen). The exploration of Bunyan’s canon ranged from the Book for Boys and Girls (Katie Calloway) to The Holy War (Dan Runyon, David Walker). Papers representing Bunyan in translation included Sylvia Brown’s study of Bunyan in pre-revolutionary Pennsylvania, Susanne Gregersen’s exploration of Danish devotional writing, and Peter Kozdriń’s examination of Bunyan and Tolstoy.

IJBS triennial conferences have always featured a generous number of distinguished plenary speakers. On this occasion, delegates heard Laura Lunger Knoppers on ‘Bunyan’s Judges’, Paul Lim on ‘Bunyan’s Radical Christology’, Cynthia Wall on ‘Bunyan’s Spaces’, and Neil Keeble on ‘Bunyan’s King’. Kathleen Lynch, Executive Director of the Folger Institute, was present to receive the Richard L. Greaves Award for her highly acclaimed book, Protestant Autobiography in the Seventeenth-Century Anglophone World. Her gracious acceptance speech at the conference banquet affirmed the spirit of the award and the importance of our scholarly community.

Delegates enjoyed a day trip to Philadelphia on Wednesday, August 14. A highlight of the trip was a visit to the Library Company of Philadelphia, a library founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1731. Head librarian James Green made a presentation on Franklin’s reading of Bunyan and on the printing and reading of Bunyan in early America. Delegates examined some of the treasures of this vibrant research library.

The conference was a major success for the IJBS. Special thanks go to Nigel Smith, our past president, who envisioned and organized this memorable and outstanding conference experience.

David Gay
University of Alberta

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The Seventh Triennial Conference of the International John Bunyan Society, Princeton University, 12-16 August 2013

‘John Bunyan: Conscience, History and Justice’, Report 2

Organized by Nigel Smith, President of the Society these past three years, this conference included some forty participants, primarily from the fields of literature, religion, and history.

The conference began with a plenary lecture by Laura Knoppers (Penn State), on ‘Bunyan’s Judges’. Knoppers considered how Bunyan countered his experiences of judges who tried and imprisoned him by recognizing his own capacity for judgment, with conscience as his guide. Conscience, judgment, and justice in turn figure prominently in his work. Other conference participants took up these themes. Brett A. Hudson spoke of the biography of Nonconformist Joseph Alleine, and Teresa Feroli of the writing of Quaker Dorcas Dole. Will Verevere focused on Bunyan’s satiric imagination and, with it, the sustained concern for ‘a neighbourly ethic of virtue’ evident in his writings. Arlette Zinck rendered Bunyan’s preoccupation with these themes relevant to a twenty-first-century political context. Drawing on Bunyan’s *Seasonable Counsel*, she suggested how attention by US government officials to their conscience might ‘produce meaningful leverage to provoke ethical reconsideration’ of their participation in ‘the war on terror’.

A different kind of war, Bunyan’s *The Holy War*, was the focus of several scholars. For instance, Daniel V. Runyan reflected on the text’s relation to *The Pilgrim’s Progress* and Sarah Ritcheson explored ‘the politics of millennial waiting’ in *The Holy War* and Milton’s *Paradise Regained*, while David Walker examined both *The Holy War* and *The Holy City* in terms of the ‘stresses and strains of the Restoration Settlement and the developing history of religious nonconformity’. Finally, Robert G. Collmer’s ‘Using Bunyan for “Holy War” in the 1850s in the Crimea and China’ not only discussed *The Holy War* as an inspirational text for British soldiers in the Crimea but also pointed out that Chinese translations of *The Pilgrim’s Progress* as well as the story of Bunyan’s life may have played an inspirational role for Taiping king Hong Xiuquan, in the Taiping Rebellion of 1851–64.

Translation was also the subject of inquiry for Sylvia Brown and Susanne Gregersen. Brown spoke of Bunyan’s importance for German-speaking communities and local print cultures in pre-Revolutionary Pennsylvania, where, for example, the Ephrata Commune produced two issues of *Eines Christen Reise nach der seeligen Ewigkeit (The Pilgrim’s Progress)* in the mid-eighteenth century. Gregersen looked at Danish translations of English devotional literature, primarily from the English but also from the German. These translations offered ‘improvements’ on the originals; by toning down Calvinist messages, the translations functioned as vehicles for disseminating the views of Lutheran orthodoxy.

A number of papers focused on Bunyan’s importance for nineteenth-century writers and religious leaders. William Davis spoke of the common narrative patterns at work in Bunyan’s writings and *The Book of Mormon*, while Peter Kozdrin sketched out interconnections between Bunyan and Tolstoy. W. R. (Bob) Owens, Catherine R. Harland, and Roger Pooley offered a panel devoted to the novelist William Hale White, who is the subject of the current special number of *Bunyan Studies*. 

Margaret Sönser Breen
University of Connecticut, Storrs

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Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic were the topics of another special panel. David Parry spoke of Bunyan’s allegory in *The Pilgrim’s Progress* as an alternate mode of rhetoric, seeking to persuade the reader to conversion through reinscribing the reader’s perception of reality. Bethany Joy Bear examined Bunyan’s ‘grammar of redemption’ in *A Book for Boys and Girls*, while Jameela Lares discussed his ‘satanic and salvific syllogisms’ in a variety of works, including his earliest, *Some Gospel-Truths Opened*.

Many conference participants took up the issue of spaces. In her plenary lecture, ‘Bunyan’s Spaces’, Cynthia Wall (Virginia) discussed how Bunyan transcribed his physical world into powerful, imaginative, influential, and peculiar textual spaces, and how he played with boundaries—the divine and the domestic, the psychological and the physical, interior and exterior, literal and allegorical. Donovan Tann, Daniel V. Runyon, and Esther Yu also explored the issue of Bunyan’s relation to spaces, physical as well as theological.

Bunyan’s Christology was the focus of the plenary lecture by Paul Lim (Vanderbilt), ‘Bunyan’s Radical Christology Revisited’. Lim examined how Bunyan’s dispute with Edward Fowler, author of *The Design of Christianity*, over questions of grace, justification and imputed righteousness, helped define and distinguish his Christology. Lim’s paper was especially enlightening in its emphasis on the term ‘conscience’ in this dispute, as well as in its concluding focus on Bunyan’s late work, *Of the Pharisee and the Publican* (1685).

This was a remarkable conference both for the quality of the scholarship and the congenial and stimulating atmosphere sustained throughout. Particularly noteworthy was the range of scholarly interests pursued by participants. As examples we might mention the papers of Vera Camden and David Gay, and also Kathleen Lynch, whose *Protestant Autobiography in the Seventeenth-Century Anglophone World* (Oxford, 2012) won the 2013 IJBS Richard L. Greaves Award. Camden’s ‘Bunyan in Prison: A Cure through Creativity’ drew on the work of D. W. Winnicott to offer a psychoanalytic reading of Bunyan’s imprisonment. Framing her paper as a kind of homage to Freud’s claim that psychoanalysis is a ‘cure through love’, she argued that, while in prison, Bunyan undertook a ‘cure through creativity’. Her themes of empowerment and transformation resonated with that of resistance in David Gay’s ‘Prayer, Petition, and Representation in *The Holy War*’. Attuned especially to the ‘paradoxical challenges for the representation of prayer’ in Bunyan’s allegories, Gay contended that namelessness as a mode of covert representation was an example of Bunyan’s ‘spiritual weaponry’ at work in *The Holy War*. Finally, in ‘Whatever Happened to Dinah the Black? And Other Questions about Race and the Visibility of Protestant Saints’, Lynch offered provocative questions that underscored the difficulty of tracing out the lives of believers occupying marginal social positions because of their race and gender. Her case in point was Dinah the Black, who, she explained, is ‘not so much visible as visualizable as a convert’. For Lynch, ‘that Dinah be understood as either an extraordinary and singular convert or a perfectly ordinary model, an everyday (w)oman of the English gathered churches’ is both an ‘open’ as well as a ‘consequential’ question. Together, Camden’s, Gay’s, and Lynch’s papers demonstrate the wealth of intellectual approach and emphasis that the conference afforded.

The conference ended with a plenary lecture by N. H. (Neil) Keeble (Stirling), on ‘Bunyan’s King’. This explored in stimulating fashion an apparent paradox in Bunyan’s politics. On the one hand, he professed himself a loyal subject of Charles II, whose nonconformity posed no threat to the restored monarchy or the re-established Episcopal Church of England, and he argued for political quietism and for patience, not retaliation, under
persecution and suffering. On the other hand, he repeatedly advertised his status as a prisoner of the Restoration regime; invoked the example of Paul to justify his continued preaching and publication though imprisoned; and devoted his rhetorical and imaginative energies to championing the poor and marginalised against corrupt elites. Keeble argued that it is resolution and defiance, not passivity, that animate Bunyan’s writings, resulting in an irreconcilable tension between his explicit protestations of harmlessness and his powerfully dramatized and fictionalized images of power conferred on the powerless.

The next conference will be convened in Aix-en-Provence in 2016 by Anne Dunan-Page, the new President of IJBS.
The Dyer Library and Saco Museum, located in Saco, Maine, is pleased to announce a forthcoming monograph about the Moving Panorama of Pilgrim’s Progress (1851). The Painters’ Panorama: Narrative, Art, and Faith in the Moving Panorama of Pilgrim’s Progress, to be published by the University Press of New England, is the final phase of a larger project to restore and reinterpret the panorama for twenty-first century audiences, and has received substantial support from the Wyeth Foundation for American Art. Publication is anticipated in the spring of 2015.

Also known as Bunyan’s Tableau, the Moving Panorama of Pilgrim’s Progress was created in 1851 and presented to audiences nationwide throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Precursors to the modern motion picture, moving panoramas consisted of immense lengths of fabric painted to depict popular stories, events and locations of the time. Panoramas were presented by scrolling the massive canvas paintings across a stage, accompanied by narration and music. John Bunyan’s The Pilgrim’s Progress, on which this panorama is based, was also at a peak of popularity in nineteenth-century America, making the Moving Panorama of Pilgrim’s Progress one of the most important moving panoramas in the United States. Beyond its worthy subject, its unusual size, and the great expense of its production—$10,000 is often cited as its cost, or about $275,000 in today’s dollars—it gained prestige from the involvement of many rising stars in American landscape painting. It was conceived by members of the National Academy of Design in New York, with designs contributed by Hudson River School masters Frederic Edwin Church, Jasper Cropsey, Daniel Huntington, and others.

Since the publication of Stephen Oetterman’s Das Panorama in 1980 (Frankfort: Syndicat), scholars have struggled with how to write about this international cultural phenomenon of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries without having the actual artifacts at hand. Fragile, transient, and outsized, most of the thousands of panoramas created during this period were discarded, destroyed, repurposed, or simply left to decay. The latter was true of the Moving Panorama of Pilgrim’s Progress, which was discovered in the basement of Maine’s Saco Museum in 1996 and fully restored in a major initiative culminating in 2012. With the panorama’s re-discovery came the recovery of lost works by the major American artists who contributed to it, including Church, Cropsey, Huntington, and others. This book, therefore, will advance the scholarship both of panoramas—by using the Moving Panorama of Pilgrim’s Progress itself as the core primary document in interpreting it as an object and a work of art—and of nineteenth-century American painting, in exploring the sources for the early religious work of major English and American painters, and framing those works as both a rehearsal for and a reaction to their work in the panorama.

The book will include glorious, full-color plates of all forty major extant scenes of the panorama as well as a special fold-out section illustrating how the panorama’s scenes meld into each other in order to heighten a sense of panoramic illusion. The text will include essays by myself, the former director of the Saco Museum and the guiding

**Jessica Skwire Routhier**
Independent Scholar
force behind the 2012 project; Kevin J. Avery, a renowned scholar of nineteenth-century American painting and former curator at The Metropolitan Museum of Art; and Thomas Hardiman, Jr., the former Saco Museum curator who is credited with ‘rediscovering’ the panorama in 1996.

My essay mines the longstanding international tradition of illustrations for The Pilgrim’s Progress, including British painter and panoramist John Martin, and draws a line of influence through Thomas Cole to his students Church and Cropsey. Avery’s essay explores the international origins of moving panoramas as an offshoot of circular panoramas (popular in Britain and continental Europe), and explains why their portability and adaptability made them uniquely suited for American audiences, subjects, geography, and entrepreneurs like John Banvard. Hardiman’s essay documents the unique history of the Moving Panorama of Pilgrim’s Progress itself, focusing on its creation, travels, and critical reception. An epilogue, also by me, follows the panorama through its most recent adventures of restoration and reinterpretation. These essays, along with the book’s strong visual components—including supporting imagery by the artists associated with the panorama and ephemeral material related to the panorama phenomenon—will provide a richly layered look at the panorama and its moment in American art, history, and entertainment.

Influenced by a multitude of European traditions, the Moving Panorama of Pilgrim’s Progress linked together a uniquely American penchant for technological innovation, entrepreneurship, and showmanship; a burgeoning interest in the arts and culture newly embraced by leaders of American religious life; and a desire to communicate that interest to a diverse populace. This book will demonstrate how the Moving Panorama of Pilgrim’s Progress illustrates, in a way that few other works of art have done before or since, a moment when ideas about faith, art, and landscape all traveled along the same narrow highway in the course of American life.

For more on the Moving Panorama of Pilgrim’s Progress, please visit www.sacomuseum/panorama.

About the Dyer Library and Saco Museum

The Saco Museum is a regional museum of fine and decorative arts and historic artifacts that was founded as the York Institute in 1866; the Dyer Library Association, operating the museum and a public library, is a private, non-profit institution. Together, the library and museum share the mission to ‘promote life-long learning and appreciation of culture; preservation of the past; and state-of-the-art services and resources for all’. The Saco Museum’s collection is the largest and most comprehensive repository anywhere of the rich material culture of the Saco River Valley, including important Federal furniture, major portraits by John Brewster, Jr., the Moving Panorama of Pilgrim’s Progress (currently on view), the earliest known American camera, and other artifacts connected to southern Maine.

For more information: www.dyerlibrarysacomuseum.org.

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About the Authors

Jessica Skwire Routhier, former Director of the Saco Museum, led a major project to preserve and interpret the Moving Panorama of Pilgrim’s Progress in 2012. She has written extensively on regional artistic traditions in Maine, including dedicated publications on landscape painters Charles Codman and Harrison Bird Brown and articles in Antiques and Antiques and Fine Art magazines, among others. Ms. Routhier has also worked in the curatorial departments of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Portland Museum of Art, Maine, and serves as President of Maine Archives and Museums, dedicated to supporting and promoting Maine’s collecting institutions. She is a writer, editor, and independent museum professional.

Kevin J. Avery is a former curator of American paintings and sculpture at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; he remains affiliated with the Met as a researcher. Dr. Avery is also a professor of Art History at Hunter College of the City University of New York. He is the author of John Vanderlyn’s Panoramic View of the Palace and Gardens of Versailles, 1988; Church’s Great Picture: The Heart of the Andes, 1993; Hudson River School Visions, 2003; and Treasures from Olana: Landscapes by Frederic Edwin Church, 2005. A chapter of Dr. Avery’s doctoral dissertation for Columbia University was dedicated to the Moving Panorama of Pilgrim’s Progress, then thought to be lost.

Thomas Hardiman, Jr., is the Keeper of the Portsmouth Athenaeum, New Hampshire and the former curator of the Saco Museum. He is credited with rescuing the panorama and connecting it to the panorama of Dr. Avery’s earlier research. Hardiman has written and lectured extensively about the art and material culture of northern New England, including an influential Antiques magazine article establishing a body of work for southern Maine cabinetmakers Joshua Cumston and David Buckminster.
In the Irish Antiquities Division of the National Museum of Ireland we operate a system whereby a curator (the Duty Officer) is always available to the public during office hours. This means that members of the public can easily contact an archaeologist if they wish to report a discovery or make an inquiry. It also means that the Duty Officer is often the first person to hear about an exciting new discovery. For one Duty Officer (MC) one of the most unusual requests for assistance ever was made by Stephen d’Arcy in late October 2012. Stephen called to the Museum of Archaeology and History to ask for advice on how he might deal with the contents of the biscuit box he had with him. The objects in the box were amongst the most damaged and fragile ever brought to the museum—so much so that it was with great reluctance that the objects were disturbed for a cursory examination.

This story started when Stephen d’Arcy bought a house in Inverness Road, Fairview, Dublin 3 in 2004. Stephen bought the house as a restoration project because of its historical association with James Joyce. The Joyce family had lived at No. 8 Royal Terrace (now Inverness Road; Plate 1) for a period during the years 1900-01. The family were gradually falling into such poor circumstances that it often required leaving one rented house for another at short notice, the houses becoming smaller and less well furnished with each move. While living at Royal Terrace James Joyce was attending University College Dublin. The house and its environs are mentioned in Portrait of the Artist As a Young Man as Stephen Dedalus moves through the back lanes making his way to college and hears the voices of patients living in St Vincent’s Lunatic Asylum just over the wall.

In 2009 Stephen d’Arcy turned his attention to the garden which had become very neglected and overgrown. Royal Terrace was built in 1885 as a terrace of sixteen houses of two stories over garden level. Each house had a small yard with an outhouse and a long garden on two levels leading to a communal lane. Each house was accommodated with an ash pit located beside the outhouse on the upper garden level (Plate 2). This rectangular structure was used for depositing ashes, night soil and other domestic refuse. Ash pits were cleared out from time to time and the contents used as manure for gardening and agriculture. At Royal Terrace the ash pits were built in pairs separated by the boundary wall. Stephen, a professional gardener, was preparing this part of the garden for planting when he discovered the walls of the ash pit but thought they were the footing for a barbecue stand. However, he realised quickly that he had discovered something else completely when fragments of glass with images began to emerge from the pit. At this stage having removed some of the glass fragments and recognised them as magic lantern slides Stephen decided to backfill the pit and seek help to identify his finds.

James Joyce’s brother, Stanislaus, told in his book My Brother’s Keeper how two books had been found in the garden at Royal Terrace—an edition of the four gospels and a song-book. The family called them the ash pit books. Afterwards, John Stanislaus Joyce, their father, frequently called out ‘Have you tried the ash pit?’ when the family needed anything. Aware of this Stephen d’Arcy thought he must check out the
possibility that the finds from the ash pit were connected to the famous family who had once lived at 8 Royal Terrace. Although Stephen did make some inquiries about the finds, it was not until October 2012 that he had time and opportunity to investigate the possibilities further. This was the point at which the National Museum became involved.

Why would we become involved with such a discovery? Magic lantern slides in a suburban garden ash pit seem a long way from the usual investigations of cist burials and bog bodies, but the archaeological nature of the discovery and the possible connection to important historical persons and events fits perfectly with the discipline of archaeological inquiry. The only way to remove the remaining slides in the pit safely was by excavation (Plates 3, 4). Their possible historical connection to the house and its occupants might be determined by recording the stratigraphy of the pit and the relationship of the slides to any other objects. The condition of the slides was also a major concern. Stephen had described how some images had vanished when exposed to the air and so recovery and conservation of the slides had to be considered. While we explored the possibility of excavating the ash pit we also began attempts to identify the slides in the biscuit tin. Although familiar with magic lantern slides from the NMI’s own collection of slides of monuments and objects, those from the ash pit were of a totally different sort with various types of production and processing represented and many different subjects or narratives present. Some we could immediately identify as scenes from the life of Jesus such as the journey of the three wise men to Bethlehem (the Epiphany) and the marriage feast at Cana where Jesus changed water into wine. Others clearly represented the texts of hymns such as ‘Jerusalem the Golden’ and ‘Hark the herald angels sing’ but others, although obviously religious in nature, were not so easily identified while some were random scenes from stories with themes relating to morality, the dangers of drink and idleness. The costumes depicted suggested a late Victorian date with a hint of Edwardian hats in one slide. This task was made doubly difficult because of the condition of the slides. Usually each slide will have a label detailing the manufacturer, the title and the number in the sequence of the story being told but all these paper elements had disappeared. It was intriguing to discover that some of the subjects identified appeared to find a strong resonance within the published works of James Joyce, e.g. the hymn ‘Jerusalem the Golden’ is referenced in Ulysses. Our own research and contacts with Joycean scholars and magic lantern specialists revealed James Joyce’s strong interest in pre-cinema moving imagery and early cinema. However, we were extremely cautious and did not draw any conclusion from these discoveries.

For a prehistorian and a medievalist delving into the complex world of the magic lantern was a challenge but we received great assistance from colleagues, especially from Prof Kevin Rockett in TCD’s School of Drama, Film and Music. He and Emer Rockett are authors of a major source work, Magic Lantern, Panorama and Moving Picture Shows in Ireland, 1786–1909. We also found several online resources on magic lantern slides, projectors and related paraphernalia. LUCERNA, the magic lantern web resource (www.slides.uni-trier.de), was indispensable in identifying similar subjects and titles.

As part of our background research we investigated the ownership and tenants of 8 Royal Terrace and its neighbours. The terrace was owned by its builder and individual houses were rented separately. We used Thom’s Directories to compile a list of tenants and the invaluable Census of Ireland records for 1901 and 1911 for further information on households. This led to a highly significant discovery. In 1901 the Joyce family was sharing the house with the Hughes family but they had left the house by August 1901. The house was occupied by a number of people subsequently. In
‘Have you tried the ash pit?’ continued

1918 it is recorded as being let to Thomas McBratney (Plate 5). This man had also lived at No. 10 Royal Terrace from 1907 before moving to No. 8. The 1911 census revealed that Mr McBratney and his family were Presbyterians and his occupation was that of an evangelist. Mr. McBratney, a Scot with northern Irish roots, lived with his wife, Martha, and their children at No. 8 until his death in 1921. Given the biblical and religious nature of many of the slides and the exhortatory and moralising nature of others such as the story known as ‘Christie’s Old Organ’ (Plate 6), it began to look like Mr McBratney was the most likely candidate for ownership of the magic lantern slides. The census showed that in 1901 he was living in Athlone and working as a colporteur—a person who distributes religious tracts for the Presbyterian Church. In the intervening period he had moved to Dublin and became a lay preacher.

The Excavation

The excavation of the ash pit took place over a week in February 2013 and directed by Andy Halpin. Excavating an ash pit is not unlike excavating a Bronze Age cist burial as the area to be excavated, confined by its concrete walls, is similar and the ashy deposit is also reminiscent of cremated deposits. Modern debris was removed before the undisturbed layers were encountered. Unfortunately when we came on the glass slides, rather than having been placed in the pit in their slotted boxes, they seem to have been thrown in without any protective covering and in broken sequences. They were almost all in very poor condition making excavation and removal extremely difficult. National Museum of Ireland conservator, Carol Smith, oversaw this part of the work. Over 250 complete and fragmentary slides were excavated. Luckily some title slides were found which helped to identify some of the stories. Tiny labels found on some slides show that they were procured from Lizar’s, a well known supplier in Glasgow and Belfast of optical equipment including lanterns and slides.

One of the most illuminating stories is called ‘In His Steps’, sub-titled ‘What would Jesus do?’ by Charles M. Sheldon. This book, published in 1896, has sold over 30,000,000 copies and was also reproduced in magic lantern sets (Plate 7). The central message is to live one’s life by always considering what Jesus would do in any given situation. This was a message that any Christian preacher would wish to communicate.

Following the excavation, further research at the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland in Belfast produced detailed information about Thomas McBratney and the activities of the Presbyterian Mission in Ireland. The annual accounts show that monies were expended on slides and projectors. In 1907 a report on Lantern Services noted that ‘in various places agents have conducted lantern services with very best results’ and remarked that in the south large numbers of Roman Catholics attended ‘singing hymns most heartily’. Thomas McBratney spent sixteen years working as an open air missionary travelling all over Ireland to fairs and markets, preaching wherever he could gather a crowd together and, in spite of bad weather, occasional animosity and the odd missile, built a reputation as a great preacher. In Dublin open air meetings were held in the Phoenix Park and at the Custom House. On one occasion in 1914 in a town in Co. Laois he is described as holding the attention of an aggressive crowd for fifteen minutes ‘while the story of redeeming love was proclaimed’. After his death the McBratney family continued to live at Royal Terrace until the 1930s. It seems likely that during a clear out of the house the slide collection and other domestic rubbish were thrown in the ash pit.

The Pilgrim’s Progress

A partial set of beautifully painted slides representing John Bunyan’s The Pilgrim’s Progress was initially difficult to identify but with help from Prof. Bob Owens and Dr. Nathalie Collé-Bak they were eventually recognised as a
‘Have you tried the ash pit?’ continued

set based on drawings by the Scottish artist, David Scott, in an edition of *The Pilgrim’s Progress* originally published in 1851 (*The Pilgrim’s Progress* with forty illustrations by David Scott, R.S.A., &c.; a life of Bunyan by the Rev. J. M. Wilson; and explanatory notes abridged from the Rev. Thomas Scott, published by A. Fullarton, London, Edinburgh and Dublin; the book can be downloaded in full from Google Books). David Scott was a very well known Scottish painter (1806-1849). His brother, William B. Scott, was also well known as an engraver and painter and he is also credited in this edition. The full set of drawings numbers 42, including two drawings of John Bunyan. A set of preliminary drawings by David Scott of the scenes later engraved for the book is held in the Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens in San Marino, California ([http://www.huntington.org/](http://www.huntington.org/)). The illustrations in the book are as follows:

- 1. Portrait of John Bunyan*
- 2. Bunyan in prison dreaming of Christian’s Pilgrimage*
- 3. Christian’s Distress upon reading The Book
- 4. Evangelist shows Christian the Way
- 5. Obstinate tries to persuade Christian and Pliable to return*
- 6. Help raises Christian out of the Slough of Despond*
- 7. Christian reaches the Cross
- 8. Christian is saluted by the three shining Ones
- 9. Christian passes Simple, Sloth and Presumption
- 10. Christian parts company with Formalist and Hypocrisy
- 11. Christian climbs the Hill Difficulty
- 12. Timorous and Mistrust flying from the Lions
- 13. Christian passes the Lions that guard the Palace Beautiful
- 14. Christian is welcomed by Discretion and her Sisters ([Plates 8a, b](http://www.huntington.org/))
- 15. Christian instructed in the Palace Beautiful*
- 16. Christian is harnessed for the Pilgrimage ([Plate 9](http://www.huntington.org/))
- 17. Christian equipped goes on his way* ([Plate 10](http://www.huntington.org/))
- 18. The Fight with Apollyon* ([Plate 11](http://www.huntington.org/))
- 19. A hand from heaven heals Christian’s wounds ([Plate 12](http://www.huntington.org/))
- 20. Christian enters the Valley of the Shadow of Death
- 21. Christian passes the mouth of Hell
- 22. At sunrise Christian looks back on the Valley*
- 23. Christian hails Faithful journeying on before* ([Plates 13a, b](http://www.huntington.org/))
- 24. Faithful tempted by Wanton
- 25. Faithful tempted by the Old Adam ([Plates 14a-c](http://www.huntington.org/))
- 26. Christian and Faithful beaten at Vanity Fair*
- 27. They are made a Derision at Vanity Fair ([Plate 15](http://www.huntington.org/))
- 28. Faithful is dragged to Death*
- 29. The Martyrdom of Faithful*
- 30. By-ends, Money-love and the others lost in the Silver Mine
- 31. They journey by the water of Life ([Plate 16](http://www.huntington.org/))
- 32. Giant Despair finds them asleep
- 33. They are locked up by the Giant
- 34. The Giant shows them the bones of his Victims
- 35. They escape from Doubting Castle* ([Plate 17](http://www.huntington.org/))
‘Have you tried the ash pit?’ continued

• 36. They are received by the Shepherds on the Delectable mountains
• 37. The Shepherds show them strange things* (Plates 18a, b)
• 38. The byeway to Hell
• 39. Atheist tries to persuade them to go no farther* (Plates 19a, b)
• 40. The Passage of the river of Death*
• 41. They ascend to the New Jerusalem* (Plates 20a-c)
• 42. Hosts of Angels that cry continually Holy! Holy! Holy!*  

Those followed by a * have been positively identified amongst the slides removed from the ash pit. It is almost certain that the full set was present, but unfortunately due to their condition the remaining slides cannot be identified with particular scenes as so much loss of image has occurred. Although LUCERNA documents very many different sets of magic lantern slides that tell the story of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, only seven sets of slides are illustrated and these do not include the set found in the ash pit at Royal Terrace. However, it seems highly likely that a set listed by LUCERNA is the relevant one. This set of 43 slides was produced by Bamforth & Co. in 1891. The titles of the slides as listed match exactly those from the 1851 edition of the book. So far only one other partial set of slides from this edition has been found. This set of slides is in the care of The Bill Douglas Centre for the History of Cinema and Popular Culture at the University of Exeter where seven slides are catalogued (https://ore.exeter.ac.uk/repository/handle/10472/4689; Plates 1-13, 15, 16). This set is noted as the ‘Mackeith Set’. Although the Bill Douglas Centre has no record of the Mackeith in question, it seems highly likely that the set belonged to Alexander Mackeith who, with others, was the founder of the Glasgow Foundry Boys’ Religious Society in 1865. This society was set up to look after the spiritual and temporary welfare of boys who might be employed in Glasgow’s iron foundries. A magazine called *The Sabbath School Magazine* (ed. by W. Keddie) records that in 1882 at meetings held in various Glasgow venues, Mr. A. Mackeith addressed the crowds on *The Pilgrim’s Progress* with lime-light illustrations. Also noted are special meetings for the young conducted by Mr. Mackeith at which ‘beautiful lantern views of *The Pilgrim’s Progress* formed the subject of a Gospel address’. If, as seems likely, these slides are the Bamforth 1891 set, Mr. Mackeith may have been using another earlier set of *Pilgrim’s Progress* slides to promulgate his evangelical message in the 1880s. For Thomas McBratney, as we have seen from the ‘Mackeith set’, *The Pilgrim’s Progress* in magic lantern format would carry a very powerful message of Christian redemption and, no doubt, was one of the great crowd pullers in attracting possible converts from the overwhelmingly Roman Catholic population in the Irish mission field.

**Brief History of the Magic Lantern**

The history of image projection is long and complex but the earliest recognisable projectors date from the seventeenth century. Technological developments in the nineteenth century using gas light to project the images greatly improved the visual effects and led to the rapid development of new types of projectors, and increased sophistication in the nature of the shows presented with effects such as dissolving images and the illusion of real movement. Different types of slides were also developed. In many ways magic lantern projectors which pre-date photography are the precursors of now outdated 35mm slide projection and its digital successors (Plate 21).

The excavation at Fairview produced several types of slides, all of which are typical of late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century commercial production. Each slide consists of two sheets of glass 3½ inch (8.255 cm) square. The images were produced by painting on the glass and binding the sheets of glass together...
‘Have you tried the ash pit?’ continued

with tape. Once photography became commonplace many images were produced as ‘stills’. Scenes from a story were posed by actors—sometimes the ‘actors’ were family members or staff of the manufacturers. These so-called ‘life-model’ slides were produced in black and white and later tinted by hand. One of the most prolific British companies, Bamforth’s, still exists. Their well known cartoon sea-side postcards were developed from the company’s magic lantern slides.

In the late nineteenth century magic lantern slides and projectors became more affordable and available. It was recognised by many organisations, theatrical, educational and proselytising, that moving images provided a powerful way to influence people. It was the beginning of a new form of mass communication. None of this was lost on the young James Joyce as he made his way through the streets of Dublin. It is inconceivable that he may have encountered the lay preachers of the Presbyterian Church and heard their messages of salvation and deliverance. Later he went on to parody John Bunyan in a section of Ulysses.

Lanternism was all around—it could amuse, instruct, and convert; it could change perceptions, shock and titillate. Its magical effects were not just in its technical inventiveness but in its illusory and fantastical capacity to charm its audience. The chance discovery in the ash pit in Fairview reminds us that archaeology can be as revealing and as relevant in 1900 AD as in 1900 BC.

Acknowledgements

We are very grateful to all our NMI colleagues and to specialists in other disciplines for their advice and assistance especially Prof. Kevin Rickett, Prof. Bob Owens, Dr Nathalie Collé-Bak, Dr Keith Williams, Dr Richard Crangle and the Ward-McBratney family in Canada.

For more information see www.magiclantern.org.uk and www.slides.uni-trier.de.

Captions for the Plates

- Plate 1 No. 8, Royal Terrace [Inverness Road], Fairview, Dublin.
- Plate 2 Rear of No 8, Royal Terrace, showing location of the ash pit.
- Plate 3 Magic lantern slides exposed in the section through the ash pit.
- Plate 4 The ash pit after excavation.
- Plate 5 Thomas McBratney, the Presbyterian lay preacher who used magic lantern shows as part of his missionary work in Ireland.
- Plate 6 A scene from Christie’s Old Organ; Scene 19 ‘Christie began to be afraid Old Treffy was getting worse and worse’ (Bamforth & Co.).
- Plate 7 A scene from In His Steps by Charles M. Sheldon; possibly scene 15 ‘If Christ were editing a paper, do you honestly think He would print three columns of a prize fight in it?’ (Bamforth & Co.).
- Plate 8a Scene 14a, Christian is welcomed by Discretion and her Sisters; print by David Scott, 1851.
- Plate 8b Scene 14b, Christian is welcomed by Discretion and her Sisters; Bamforth &Co., 1891.
- Plate 9 Scene 16, Christian is harnessed for the Pilgrimage; Bamforth &Co., 1891; ‘Mackeith Set’, Univ. of Exeter®.
- Plate 10 Scene 17, Christian equipped goes on his way; Bamforth &Co., 1891; ‘Mackeith Set’, Univ. of Exeter®.
- Plate 11 Scene 18, The Fight with Apollyon; Bamforth &Co., 1891; ‘Mackeith Set’, Univ. of Exeter®.
- Plate 12 Scene 19, A hand from heaven heals Christian's wounds; ‘Mackeith Set’, Univ. of Exeter®.
- Plate 13a Scene 23a, Christian hails Faithful
journeying on before; Bamforth & Co., 1891; ‘Mackeith Set’, Univ. of Exeter ©.
• Plate 13b Scene 23b, Christian hails Faithful journeying on before; Bamforth & Co. 1891.
• Plate 14a Scene 25a, Faithful tempted by Old Adam; sketch by David Scott; Huntingdon Library ©.
• Plate 14b Scene 25b, Faithful tempted by Old Adam; print by David Scott, 1851.
• Plate 14c Scene 25c, Faithful tempted by Old Adam; Bamforth & Co. 1891.
• Plate 15 Scene 27, They are made a derision at Vanity Fair; ‘Mackeith Set’, Univ. of Exeter ©.
• Plate 16 Scene 31, They journey by the water of Life; ‘Mackeith Set’, Univ. of Exeter ©.
• Plate 17 Scene 35, They escape from Doubting Castle; Bamforth & Co. 1891.
• Plate 18a Scene 37a, The Shepherds show them strange things; print by David Scott, 1851.
• Plate 18b Scene 37b, The Shepherds show them strange things; Bamforth & Co. 1891.
• Plate 19a Scene 39a, Atheist tries to persuade them to go no farther; print by David Scott, 1851.
• Plate 19b Scene 39b, Atheist tries to persuade them to go no farther; Bamforth & Co. 1891.
• Plate 20a Scene 41a, They ascend to the New Jerusalem; sketch by David Scott; Huntingdon Library ©.
• Plate 20b Scene 41b, They ascend to the New Jerusalem; print by David Scott, 1851.
• Plate 20c Scene 41c, They ascend to the New Jerusalem; Bamforth & Co. 1891.

Editor’s note

See pages 30 and 38 of this volume for a few samples.
hope that colleagues will get in touch with comments and suggestions—and offers to help us.

The project, in brief, sets out to investigate and tell the story of the extraordinary history of the publication, distribution and reception of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. It is hard to think of a work in English (leaving aside the Bible) that has been so widely and continuously read or that has been translated into so many languages. By our initial rough calculation, something like 1,500 editions in English have appeared between 1678 and 2013—an average of five editions a year for 335 years. These figures do not include the vast numbers of adaptations, abridgements, and editions tailored for specific types of readers which began to appear in the seventeenth century and have continued to appear ever since.

No doubt partly because of its instant success in England, *The Pilgrim’s Progress* rapidly became a ‘transnational’ book, circulating throughout the world, and eventually being translated into some 200 languages. This process of translation continues: the UNESCO ‘Index Translato-num’ database lists over eighty new translations since 1979. For a book to have been published and read on this scale, over such a long period and in so many languages represents a publishing and cultural phenomenon with few parallels. Yet this phenomenon has never been adequately explained, analysed or accounted for, partly because the data has never yet been collected and published in one place.

Our project has three main objectives. The first is to compile as much factual information as possible in order to answer some very basic questions. How many editions of *The Pilgrim’s Progress* in the English language have been published? Where were these editions published, and by what publishers? How many translations have been published? Where were these editions published, and by what publishers? How many adaptations, abridgements, and editions tailored for specific types of readers which began to appear in the seventeenth century and have continued to appear ever since.

No doubt partly because of its instant success in England,
there been? Where, when and by whom were these published?

Some of this information is readily available in the digital catalogues of major libraries across the world, and indeed the project has only become feasible because of the ease with which data from these electronic catalogues can be ‘harvested’ using tools like ‘RefWorks’. Our plan is to bring this data together in one place and make it freely available in an interactive online resource in a form which can be searched and interrogated by anyone interested.

The second objective is to produce a comprehensive publishing history of The Pilgrim’s Progress, drawing upon the data collected. This will seek to provide answers to a range of interrelated questions and problems, such as the following:

• What were the commercial, ideological and material processes by which The Pilgrim’s Progress became an international bestseller?

• How did publishers understand, and seek to satisfy, the ‘market’ for this book? How extensively was this market ‘segmented’, with editions in different formats aimed at specific readerships within the market? What changes in this market took place, and how did publishers respond to these changes?

• How important were religious and ideological motivations in the massive (and still continuing) effort to publish and distribute The Pilgrim’s Progress? Who were the religious sponsors of the text? Were they largely Protestant Nonconformists and Evangelicals, or was it a more diverse religious phenomenon?

• Why was The Pilgrim’s Progress—a text originally created in one genre and published in one medium—so frequently appropriated, adapted and transferred into other genres and media for delivery to new and often very different audiences? Does this text have intrinsic features that render it peculiarly amenable to adaptation? How did (and do) publishers conceive of the ‘market’ for such adaptations?

• How can we account for the remarkable process of linguistic and cultural translation by which The Pilgrim’s Progress became a ‘world book’, circulating globally in, eventually, over 200 languages? Did this text possess specific intrinsic qualities rendering it more translatable than other religious or literary texts, and if so what were these? When were translations made, and to what extent can periods of high translation activity be related to surges in the activities of missionary societies or to other factors? To what extent is translation to be understood as a combination of religious, political, social and business interests? Is it possible to map, using spatial software, the international circulation of The Pilgrim’s Progress and demonstrate the routes by which it has become a work of ‘world literature’?

• What can a longitudinal study of the history of a particular book like this one tell us about changes in publishing over time?

• What can we learn about the history of reading practices through a study of the reception of The Pilgrim’s Progress?

• What, in sum, was it about The Pilgrim’s Progress that appealed to so many readers over such a long period and that made it such a ‘translatable’ book?

The third objective is to disseminate the findings and outputs of the project as widely as possible, not only to academics, but to a whole range of other people who may be interested. We will seek to make the research available and accessible by, for example, presenting an illustrated exhibition of the publishing history of The Pilgrim’s Progress; by preparing materials for use in schools and in higher education; and by using the project as a way of illustrating the intercultural impact of this book’s publication, distribution, adaptation, appropriation and translation within
very different societies, promoting it on occasions such as World Book Day, and at the annual ‘City of Literature’ events organised by UNESCO.

Two project partners will make a major contribution to the project. The first is the John Bunyan Museum and Library, attached to Bunyan Meeting in Bedford. The library was established in 1946, based on collections built up over the years by ministers at Bunyan Meeting, including John Brown, the Victorian biographer of Bunyan. The contents of the library have been catalogued (third revised edition, 2007), and it includes 262 dated editions of *The Pilgrim’s Progress* in English; 63 undated editions; 83 versions or adaptations; and 472 editions in translation.

The second project partner is Bedford Central Library, which has two very important holdings of Bunyan texts and other documents. One is the Frank Mott Harrison Collection, presented to the library in 1938 (and catalogued in the same year), which runs to nearly 800 items including many rare editions of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. The second is the Offor Collection, presented to the library in 1961 by the descendents of one of the most important Victorian Bunyan scholars, George Offor, which has not as yet been catalogued.

We have also begun to assemble an International Advisory Board, including members of the International John Bunyan Society, but also a number of historians of the book and of publishing in various countries. These colleagues have kindly agreed to assist us by commenting and advising us on our plans as they develop, but also by checking details of editions and translations of *The Pilgrim’s Progress* in countries and languages with which they are familiar.

If you have information that you think would be helpful, or are interested in knowing more about the project, and/or would be willing to join our Advisory Board, please get in touch with one of us: bob.owens@beds.ac.uk or alexis.weedon@beds.ac.uk. We’d be delighted to hear from you.
Major research projects such as the Dissenting Academies Project at the Dr Williams’s Centre for Dissenting Studies, and the Reading Experience Database (1), have recently alerted us to the importance of book circulation in Dissenting circles. It may be surprising to find information in the records and minutes of gathered Churches, but these manuscripts contain evidence relevant to scholars of literature, and they can afford a glimpse of the reading habits, the intellectual horizons, and the spare funds of the Dissenting communities, as well as the circulation of texts. There are at least four possible areas for investigation, as illustrated by the following four short examples.

Distribution of Books

On 28 June 1692, the first Church book of the congregation meeting in Old Gravel (1676-1711) states ‘Att the same time ther was three pounds worthe of books disposed unto seuerall younge bretheren in the congregation and aboute 12 months agoe ther was six pound giuen to other bretheren for books’ (Wapping CB, fol. 53). The two lists do not appear alongside the entry but were inserted at the beginning of the manuscript, just after the register of members. In the earlier 1691 list of books distributed to ‘other brethren’ we find, among others, Stephen Charnock, Richard Baxter ‘on Witches’ and John Bunyan’s Holy War, as well as ‘one English Dictionary’, ‘One book Logic and Retoric’, an unspecified confession of faith and ‘one scholars Library’, this last valued at 12 shillings.

In the 1692 list, specifically intended for ‘younge bretheren’, there is considerable overlap with the previous one, but we also find five copies of the confession of faith, instead of just one, three copies of William Ames’s The Marrow of Sacred Divinity, and ‘one Newtons Logic’, a rather impressive list for young metropolitan Baptists. Three (unspecified) books are listed as having ben paid for by Valentine Lindsey (or Lyndsey or Lyndse), a member admitted in 1690 (Wapping CB, fol. 41) and soon after a preacher.

Churches’ Libraries and Catalogues

One good example is to be found in the Church records of Hexham and Hamsterley, at the Angus Library and Archive, Regent’s Park College, Oxford. ‘Aug. 26. 1717. A Catulouge of books given me by Jo. Ward of Calffall’ is an annotated list of 34 books which does not seem to have been examined; the authors named include John Owen, Benjamin Keach, Tobias Crisp, Henry Denne, Francis Stanley (see below) and Bunyan again, who is represented this time by his popular tract, Come, and Welcome, to Jesus Christ (Hexham and Hamsterley CB, fol. 11r).
Later on, there is a second, much enlarged (and undated) catalogue of English and Latin titles (with a French grammar!), where Bunyan’s works have swollen to four: ‘the holy war’, ‘Charles does’ Booke’ (that is Bunyan’s folio edited by Charles Doe in 1692), ‘prison meditations’, and ‘pilgrims passage’ which is presumably The Pilgrim’s Progress (Hexham and Hamsterley CB, fol. 77r-v). The fact that The Holy War is mentioned twice in such catalogues suggests its popularity among ministers and Baptist Churches in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The second part of the manuscript is related to the Church meeting at Hamsterley and Cold Rowley (County Durham). Its pastor, William Carr, recorded that ‘Bunions folio’ was among five titles ‘given to the ministry of our Church’. The books then passed on to Carr’s successor, Isaac Gardner, who notes in the Church book that ‘Bunyans Works in Foll.’, with the rest of the volumes, ‘belong to ye Church’, thereby now emphasising their communal ownership.

Churches’ Sale of Books

Not content with owning and distributing books, the Baptists also organised book sales in their meeting houses. In the 1690s, in White’s Alley (General) Baptist congregation, in Moorfield, it was the practice to display books, on the communion table, for sale to members and hearers. It seems that the titles first had to be approved by the then minister, Joseph Taylor, before being put out for sale. Some titles are more easily identified than others, but they reflect a broad range of interests: conduct books for parents and children, funeral sermons, and the ubiquitous anti-Quaker and anti-Catholic propaganda. The ones identified below are short publications, quartos of between 8 and 28 pages. The sale might have been a popular practice in the mid-1690s since the first Church book (1681-1700) records it happening on four separate occasions, about once a year:

- in November 1695 ‘Bro. Cooper Book of Kent his Book of Advice to Parents & Children may be laid vpon ye Table in order to ye sale of them’ (White’s Alley CB, Fol. 133r), the plural suggesting there might have been more than one copy;
- in November 1696 were sold ‘som of those Bookes written by Bro: Stanly being a funerall discourse on occasion of [deleted word Reve ? replaced with] the Death of Bro: Will: Reve’ (White’s Alley CB, Fol. 149r), that is, A sermon preach’d at the funeral of Mr. William Reeve, a minister of Christ and servant to the churches... London, 1696, Wing S5235. Again, the plural suggesting there might have been more than one copy;
- in November 1696 were sold two titles, ‘a little book of Baptisme... likewise a book ag[ain]st ye Quakers writt by a country friend’ (White’s Alley CB, Fol. 169r), the latter perhaps being W. D., A Letter from a gentleman in the country to his friend at London concerning a conference between some clergymen... and some Quakers [London], 1698, Wing D97;
- in June 1699 ‘a Booke Called Mr pillkintons Recantation’ (White’s Alley CB, fol. 186r), that is John Piggott, An Account of Mr. John Pilkington’s public recantation of the errors of the Romish Church, London, 1699, Wing P220.

The Churches as Publishing Sponsors

Earlier on, but still in White’s Alley, the Church meeting of 11 March 1688/9 reveals that one of the deacons, Joseph Walker, had been approached by the printer Francis Smith, by then almost entirely ruined, for financial relief. The whole entry is not often quoted:

Agreed that wheras Mr ffr: Smith has this day Informed vs By Bro. Jos: walker ye [sic] he did sevarall years past at ye Request of Divers Bretheren of ye Babtized perswation as well p[er]ticulars as genaralls print severall papers which were Iudged to be for ye Intrest of ye Babtized Churches in Genarall, and did give away severall of them <for> which as he sayes he was never yet fulley satisfyed and therefore Altho we doe not find or selves Concerned to Reimburse him yet Considering
his necessitus Condidcon it is ordered yt Bro Jos: walker give
him ten shillings (White’s Alley CB, fol. 38r).

Smith was a shrewd observer of the General Baptist Lon-
don life for White’s Alley, with Glasshouse Yard, was the ri-
chest of the five London Churches (White’s Alley, Glass-
house Yard, Goodman’s Fields, Shad Thames/Dock Head and
Winchester Park). White’s Alley had a long tradition of as-
sisting the poor, having up to eight deacons at a given time,
and made a point of offering fi-
nancial assistance to members
of other congregations, among
which were members of the
Goswell Street congregation
to which Smith preached (White’s
Alley CB, fol. 41r).

It is interesting to note the
terms in which Smith chose to
make his approach. He implies
that he has been a faithful la-
bourer in the cause of the Bap-
tist community (both General
and Particular), which he cer-
tainly was, but also (and with-
out proof, ‘he says’), that
the Baptists had not always
paid their dues. The members
of White’s Alley chose not to
follow him on that ground
and Smith’s attempt to blame
the London Churches for his pre-
sent condition did not cut any
ice with them. They did offer
him assistance, but shifted the
argument from Smith as bene-
factor of the Baptist commu-
nity to Smith as impoverished
workman in need of personal
relief.

There were other ways to
further the interests of godly
publishing. On 21st August
1694 Wapping decided to
‘raise twenty shillings for prin-
ting Bro. Norcotts booke of
baptism into Welsh’ (Wapping
CB, fol. 64).

This is probably the third
(posthumous) edition of John
Norcott’s Baptism Discovered
Plainly & Faithfully (Wing
N1227A) a fairly popular trea-
tise whose Welsh translation
did indeed appear in 1694. In
November 1702 (just after the
death of their pastor, Hercules
Collins), they pledged to ‘pro-
mote’ Joseph Stennett’s forth-
coming answer to David
Russen’s ‘scandalous book La-
tely published’ (Wapping CB,
fol. 102), that is Fondamentals
without Foundation: Or, A
True Picture of the Anabap-
tists, In their Rise, Progress,
and Practice (dated 1703 on
the title-page). A few folios
later, we learn that ‘promot-
ing’ meant raising a subscrip-
tion to support the printing of
100 copies of Stennett’s pam-
phlet, finally published in
1704 (Wapping CB, fol. 106,
109).

The manuscript records of
Dissenting Churches are not
usually considered fit material
to gather such information
about printers, book sales, or
book distribution and yet they
reveal the extent of their col-
lective support both inside
and outside the congrega-
tions. Those documents cer-
tainly do not yield as rich a
crop as libraries’ or booksellers’
catalogues, or advertisements.
And yet, if put together and en-
larged with information from
other records, and if properly
investigated, they could nicely
complement other sources of
evidence for larger studies of
dissenting book culture.

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from Oct. 1651 to July 1680 and
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terly and Cold Knowley, Country
Durham.

(1)

http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/
drwilliams/academies.html

and

http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/R
ED/.
cess to the Library is by appointment only, and the librarian is always happy to arrange this.

The John Bunyan Museum & Library is fortunate to have an active ‘Friends’ organisation of around 300 members, who focus on raising funds to benefit the Museum and Library. Members are mainly drawn from the local community, but also include some international members. All members receive a regular newsletter updating them on the work of the Museum. Social events are usually held three times a year, including concerts and lectures on a wide range of topics.

The work of the Friends is crucial to the future of the Museum. They currently raise nearly £4,000 a year via donations, membership subscriptions and fundraising events. These funds are used to support the Museum and Library in a variety of ways. In recent years, for example, they have provided two new scenes within the Museum depicting Bunyan as a young man and in the Civil War; a museum shop fit-out; restoration of a long case clock; conservation of Bunyan’s deed of gift; the development of the new Reading Room and Study area; and black-out blinds and UV film for the museum windows.

More funds are urgently required to maintain the post of Curator and keep the Museum & Library open and accessible to all. The purpose of this short article is to invite all members of the International John Bunyan Society to help us to maintain and develop this most important and historic of all Bunyan sites and resources. There are three ways in which you can help.

- You can make a donation, large or small. You can do this directly via the web-site, or you can write a cheque or money order (made out to the Trustees of Bunyan Meeting, Museum Account) and send it to Cherry Protheroe, Bunyan Meeting, Mill Street, Bedford MK40 3EU, U.K.

- You can visit the museum as an individual or, better still, arrange a group visit. You can purchase items from our museum shop by mail order (see web-site for details).

- You can become an international member of the Friends of John Bunyan Museum & Library for only £12 a year. To become a Friend, please contact Stephen Ashman, Membership Secretary,
Bunyan Meeting, Mill Street, Bedford MK40 3EU, U.K. or by email to stephen@squareyard.co.uk.

The support of members of the International John Bunyan Society is vital to the future of the Museum & Library. Please help us in any way you can. You can find out more about our work by visiting the website: www.bunyanmeeting.co.uk /museum. For any further information, please feel free to email us at: curator@bunyanmeeting.co.uk.

You can also write to us at: John Bunyan Museum & Library, Mill Street, Bedford MK40 3EU, U.K. or ring us on +44 (0)1234 270303. We look forward to hearing from you.
I was very pleased when Nigel Smith accepted my proposal for a panel of papers at the IJBS conference at Princeton in August 2013 on the Victorian novelist William Hale White, better known by his literary pseudonym ‘Mark Rutherford’. White was born in Bedford on 22 December 1831, and died in Groombridge, in Kent on 14 March 1913. The panel was designed to mark the one hundredth anniversary of his death, and was one of a number of such events held throughout 2013.

Hale White is a figure of particular interest to Bunyan scholars, for a number of reasons. The first is his strong connection to Bunyan Meeting. His parents were prominent members of the church, and White himself attended it every week up until he was about seventeen. His father, William White, was a lay preacher and superintendent of the Sunday School. As a young man White entered training for the Congregational ministry, first at the Countess of Huntingdon’s College at Cheshunt, and subsequently at New College in St John’s Wood, London. Here, however, together with two other students, he was charged with holding unorthodox views on the inspiration of the Bible, and all three were expelled. He subsequently spent a couple of years working for John Chapman, the radical publisher and editor of the Westminster Review, but in 1854 he entered the Civil Service, and remained there until his retirement in 1892. He never became a formal member of any other church, though he occasionally preached at Unitarian chapels.

Among the last things Hale White wrote was a book-length study of Bunyan, published in 1905, which remains of value. He is best remembered, however, for the six novels he published under the name ‘Mark Rutherford’ between 1881 and 1896: The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford (1881); Mark Rutherford’s Deliverance (1885); The Revolution in Tanner’s Lane (1887); Miriam’s Schooling (1890); Catharine Furze (1893); and Clara Hopgood (1896). These novels form the basis for his reputation 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. His readership was never a large one, but his work has been admired by many distinguished writers, including Arnold Bennett, Edmund Gosse, Joseph Conrad, D. H. Lawrence, John Middleton Murry, André Gide, Edward Upward and George Orwell.

The panel at Princeton was entitled ‘Nonconformity and Literature: The Writings of William Hale White (1831–1913)’. My own paper, ‘Nonconformity in the Novels of William Hale White (“Mark Rutherford”)’ was designed to introduce White, given that he is not now well known or widely read, and to discuss some of the ways in which Nonconformist values inform his writings. This is a complicated subject, in that the picture of Nonconformity presented in his earlier novels 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. My paper argued that neither approach is 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. What most marks White out as a Nonconformist writer, I argued, is his belief in the absolute primacy of the individual conscience, and I ended by discussing the centrality of this in White’s last novel, Clara Hopgood (1896).

The second paper, by noted Hale White scholar Catherine R. Harland (Queen’s University, Kingston, Canada), was entitled “‘Reaching After a Meaning’: William Hale White and the Uses of Literature’. This explored the significance of White’s considerable body of literary criticism. As Cathy explained, although 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 the biography of Bunyan (1905) but also critical editions of works by Samuel Johnson, Thomas Carlyle, Coleridge and Wordsworth. His published reviews, letters to friends, and notebook entries contain various judgments of literary works. Cathy’s argument was that White’s attitude to literature is characteristic of his approach to other areas of life and intellectual endeavour. 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 realises the most terrible and isolating aspects of human experience and enables the participating reader’s self-transcendence and emotional liberation. An interesting part of Cathy’s paper was her discussion of White’s relationship with Matthew Arnold. Although in his John Bunyan White castigated Arnold for his negative assessment of Nonconformity, in many ways, she argued, White shared Arnold’s view of the value of literature, his sense 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, she concluded, 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 revitalise and illuminate those works which had helped him to discover authenticity, meaning, and even a kind of spiritual community.

The final paper of the panel was by Roger Pooley, and his title was ‘The Revolution in Tanner’s Lane: The Honesty of Dissent in Politics, Theology and the Family’. Roger’s argument was that The Revolution in Tanner’s Lane is the most successful of the Mark Rutherford novels; and in the sweep of its concerns mounts White’s most successful defence of Nonconformity. One of its most striking features is its 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, Roger argued, in his portrait of Zachariah Coleman, a working-class printer described in the novel as ‘a Dissenter in religion, and a fierce Radical in politics’. Through the character of Coleman, Rutherford shows what it is like to listen to a powerful and challenging sermon; but also what it is like for a jealous man, unused to the theatre, to witness a performance of Othello. Like The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford and Mark Rutherford’s Deliverance, The Revolution in Tanner’s Lane is a story of disappointment, and even defeat; but, Roger argued, 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’.

Revised versions of the three papers delivered at the panel have now been included in a special number of *Bunyan Studies* devoted to William Hale White (number 17, 2013). Other contributors include Valentine Cunningham, who discusses White’s relationship to earlier Dissenting writers, particularly in their shared engagement with the English Bible; Max Saunders, who explores the early novels as examples of ‘autobiografiction’; Vincent Newey, who considers the significance of Hale White’s book *John Bunyan* in relation to three earlier nineteenth-century studies of Bunyan; Jean-Michel Yvard, who takes up the question of White’s religious thinking, arguing that it may best be described as ‘religious agnosticism’; Nicholas Jacobs, who discusses early scholarship on White, drawing attention to two European studies; Michael Brealey, who writes about the first PhD thesis on White in English; and Mark Crees, who brings the collection of essays to an end with a reflection on what White’s life and work mean to him, prompted by a visit to his grave.

Some of these other essays originated as papers delivered at events organised during 2013 to mark the centenary of White’s death, in particular a Symposium held at Dr Williams’s Library, London on 22 June 2013. This was organised by the Mark Rutherford Society in association with the Dr Williams’s Centre for Dissenting Studies and the University of Bedfordshire.

If you are interested in learning more about the activities and interests of the Mark Rutherford Society, and how to become a member, please visit the ‘Mark Rutherford Resource’ at [http://www.concentric.net/~djfrench/](http://www.concentric.net/~djfrench/).
‘She Being Dead Yet Speaketh’: The Private Papers of Mrs Mary Franklin

Forthcoming from ‘The Other Voice’ series (edited by Albert Rabil and Elizabeth Hageman) of the Center for Renaissance and Reformation Studies of the University of Toronto

Margaret Ezell reflects upon the work of recovering early women writers from the dust and desertion of the archives, where—up until their rescuing in the mid 1980s—they had languished hidden from view for centuries. The archive, she says,

is a place of both preservation and imprisonment, where the past is both protected from dissolution but also hidden from view. . . . For while texts and documents have been preserved in archives, both national and private, they have also been hidden from sight within them because of the nature of the archive itself.

Jacques Derrida’s meditation on the archive as a ‘Freudian impression’ purposefully returns to the origins of the word ‘archive’ from the Greek ‘arkheion’: ‘initially a house, a domicile, an address, the residence of the superior magistrates, the archons, those who commanded’. The archons house official documents within their privileged domicile, but they also control the hermeneutic, the meaning and interpretation of the documents, and indeed, their distribution. ‘It is thus’, writes Derridas, ‘in this domiciliation, in this house arrest, that archives take place’. The dwelling, the place where documents dwell permanently marks the institutional passage from the private to the public but not necessarily from the ‘secret to the non-secret’. Documents are sheltered and by definition, concealed; in the case of women’s writings their identities are frequently obscured by the very archival methods meant to preserve them, such as principles of cataloging and hierarchies of valuation. For the feminist literary historian, this search for origins is fraught with institutional and cultural barriers that have intensified the feverish determination to rescue, in the words of historian Bonnie Smith, ‘those many princesses, possibly beautiful’ who are languishing and waiting to be discovered.

Thus the recovery of the writings of early modern women, exemplified in projects such as ‘The Other Voice’ of the Center for Renaissance and Reformation Studies rescues the voices of women from the past, and strives to bring those voices into the university classroom, into scholarly research, and even into the collection of the common reader. Readers of The Recorder will perhaps be particularly interested to hear of the forthcoming publication of the above referenced edition of the family papers of Mrs Mary Franklin whose domestic writings will provide a most welcome contribution of a Dissenting voice to the distinguished volumes of English writers of the Early Modern period now being published in ‘The Other Voice’ series. Her papers have languished in the archives of the Congregational Library for many decades, having had one early revelation in an early edition published in its Transactions in the early twentieth century. Now I am preparing the full collection of her family papers for publication in a modernized edition.

Vera Camden
Kent State University
Who is Mary Franklin?

The 24 August 1662 was referred to by the English Dissenters as Black Bartholomew’s Day when some 2000 Puritan ministers were ‘ejected’ from their pulpits and their livings. From the standpoint of the history of the English Dissenters, ‘The Great Ejection’ is viewed as part of the defeat suffered by Oliver Cromwell and the Republican cause, following the Restoration of the monarchy of Charles II. My project brings to the fore the testimony, and the ‘domestic papers’ surrounding the spiritual chronicle of Mrs Mary Franklin, the wife of one of the ejected ministers of Black Bartholomew’s Day. Mrs Franklin took pen to paper following the imprisonment of her husband, Robert, to record her persecutions, as well as her communal and familial resiliency.

She preserves a record of her experiences ‘when the troubles were about the Duke of Monmouth’ for her absent and jailed husband, her children, her congregation, and indeed posterity. She writes within the conventions of the spiritual autobiography, but adds to this testimony eyewitness, domestic accounts of her husband’s imprisonment, its effect on her life, and her persecution during the period between the Restoration and the Duke of Monmouth’s Rebellion. She records key events of this period, such as the Great Fire of London and the public executions of notorious Dissenters. Her chronicle is preserved, having been circulated among her family and congregation. Also preserved along with her narrative is a small ‘Commonplace Book’ in which she records the speeches of Elizabeth Gaunt and Alice Lyle, who were burnt at the stake for their rebellion against the crown, and the prayers of other martyrs to the Protestant cause. The correspondence between Mary Franklin and her husband while he was imprisoned is also archived among these papers.

Finally, and of special interest, also kept with these ‘private’ papers is the diary of Mary Franklin’s granddaughter, Hannah Burton, who takes up her grandmother’s book some one hundred years after its composition, to record on its blank pages—nearing that she is ‘down in pocket’ and cannot afford paper—the struggles of her own life as widow struggling to survive in London in 1782.

The granddaughter sustains an abiding regard for the narrative of her grandmother’s triumph over religious persecution, while lamenting her own financial and familial devastation living in a London filled more with the persecutions and threats of debt collectors and magistrates than the ‘informers’ who threatened the life and property of her grandmother. Since she is living in a very different London, one now wracked by commerce and competition that threatens to ruin this destitute widow, her spiritual diary functions almost as a kind of desperate therapy amidst family losses and financial ruin.

Quite remarkable, then, are the efforts of the entire family over the centuries to preserve the entire cache of these domestic papers, and the provenance of the documents is itself part of the narrative’s interest. The private papers of this personal archive may indeed have been imprisoned and preserved; protected from dissolution and yet hidden from sight by such efforts. But now they are rescued, remembered, and possibly beautiful to the eyes that behold them from the vantage point of contemporary literary history.
It seemed straightforward: writing a ‘progress report’ on my John Bunyan volume for the British Council’s Writers and their Work series. I was asked, said yes, and then realized that at the moment I don’t quite know what is happening with, or to, the manuscript. In common with many writers who have sent their copy to the publishers, I am in that oddly passive, not to say helpless, phase when I can do nothing but wait. I must trust them to alert me to any errors so glaring that they blinded me to their presence; I must hope that the interval between submission and publication will not be so lengthy that I will have inadvertently failed to comment on a sudden ‘event’ in Bunyan studies; I must hope that their commitment to publish will not be reviewed. So the direct response to the question about the progress of my book is that the manuscript is, in a sense, at the Gate, or, perhaps, as proof-reading awaits, at the River.

Unable to offer a more detailed report on the volume’s progress to publication, except to note that it has an ISBN number and Northcote House have asked me to complete the usual blurbs and biographies, I found myself thinking instead of my progress to this point. Anyone who feels this unduly solipsistic (as I partly do myself) can stop reading now and wait instead for the book to appear.

If you are asked by the esteemed general editor of a series such as Writers and their Work to contribute ‘a brief study’, be wary. When I was invited to write the Bunyan volume, I was, of course, honoured and rather flattered. The request coincided with a number of other publishing commitments, but I was assured that this was a project that could be completed easily, in the evenings or other allegedly spare hours. A moment’s self-reflection would have shown me how misguidedly hopeful this assessment of the process of writing an introductory study was, at least for me.

The attractions of the project were also the obstacles to the, admittedly appealing, scenario of coming home from a day’s teaching to sit and effortlessly commit one’s definitive thoughts on Bunyan to print. My first thought was, of course, that they could have, should have, asked someone else, someone better equipped. But I was assured that the invitation was made on the basis of scrutiny of my earlier work and I felt, perhaps selfishly, that this was an opportunity for something-like-mature reflection on that work. I had first explored Bunyan’s writing in my doctoral thesis and first monograph, The Writing of John Bunyan, decades earlier, from the perspective of youthful conviction.

My first study, on Bunyan’s relationships to various forms of authority, was directly informed by post-structuralist and cultural-materialist concerns and approaches, although my original choice of Bunyan was also less-consciously influenced by my, then rather successfully repressed, Cornish low-church childhood. I have since explored this combination of influences in essays exploring the possibilities of post-secular theory with reference to Bunyan’s writings, but have not had an opportunity to return in a fuller sense to the subject of Bunyan in his own right and first moment. In the years since I wrote the first book I have, inevitably, experienced those moments when one wishes to, if not recant,
revise some of the more predictable (anti) beliefs and confident declarations of youth, so the Writers and their Work volume offered the ideal opportunity for a restatement of my understanding of the value of Bunyan’s work.

There have, of course, been important monographs on Bunyan in recent years, to which this can only be a junior relation, but the text which was unnervingly ever-present in my mind as I wrote was, of course, Roger Sharrock’s 1954 John Bunyan—the study that imprinted, and extended, the preeminent literary Bunyan scholar’s re-presentation of Bunyan to the world as a writer of importance. Knowing that my study would perhaps address a similar readership but would be shorter, and written by me not Roger Sharrock, was not comfortable. But as I reflected on how my volume might differ, what it could add, I found myself envying the implied collectivity (and shared responsibility) of the recent, and forthcoming, Cambridge and Oxford Bunyan handbooks. It is a stretch, but not that far, to say that occasionally, usually when deciding I could not expand on, or qualify, a point, I wished my progress resembled the more companionable journey of The Second Part more explicitly. How much more appealing it would be to feel one was involved in a directly collaborative effort. But, as I reacquainted myself with the work of fellow scholars on each of the texts, and tried to represent, however briefly, the varied traditions and approaches of contemporary Bunyan studies, the book felt more a summary of an ongoing conversation than my last word.

After mulling over ideas for unusual formats, within the overarching imperative to introduce the author’s key texts within a biographical and historical context and to represent current literary-critical methods, I decided to work with rather than against expectations and to focus on each of what I think of as the ‘big six’ in chronological sequence: Grace Abounding, Pilgrim’s Progress, Mr. Badman, Pilgrim’s Progress: The Second Part, The Holy War, A Book for Boys and Girls. Considering these texts in order of composition (as far as it is known) and publication, allowed me to connect them with the other treatises, sermons, and texts that are too many of us just as important in considering Bunyan’s contribution and legacy, as well as noting the shifting historical, social and cultural context. If there is a narrative thread that links my chapters, apart from this chronological sequence, it is the ever-widening reach of Bunyan’s writings as he seeks to enlist readers for his discourse of salvation, from the self-examination and -presen-
tation as example of *Grace Abounding to A Book for Boys and Girls*, in my judgment the culmination of his attempts to exploit the potential of reading as an aid to fostering faith.

My study, when it emerges from the publisher’s office, where it may, for all I know, be doing good service balancing an unsteady desk, will undoubtedly be flawed. It cannot be definitive but will, I hope, encourage new readers to sample more than the obvious texts and guide them to fuller, more specialised studies. While Bunyan’s marginal hands pointed the way to correct interpretation, mine, could I have included them (and wouldn’t that be good?), would have pointed outwards to the many scholars and commentators whose work has served to illuminate and elucidate over the years. In this series, authors are encouraged to keep even references to a minimum. The frustrations of this double level of selection were accompanied by an uneasy sense that some Bunyan scholars will feel unfairly left out, but I can only hope that the keenest of readers will not only go on to discover more of Bunyan’s works than the best-known, but also explore the deeper levels of international scholarship that underlie more easily accessible studies. In short, while I wait to see when my little book will reach its readers, I hope that while its errors and infelicities will be my own, it may be seen as a product of the scholars of the IJBS.

‘Have you tried the ash pit?’
Plates 13a, 13b, 18b and 20c
Recent and Ongoing Theses/PhDs on John Bunyan

**WILLIAM DAVIS, University of California, Los Angeles**

‘An American Iliad: John Bunyan’s Influence on Joseph Smith and the American Imagination’ (working title)

PhD thesis co-directed by Michael Hackett, Chair of the Department of Theater, and Michael Colacurcio, Distinguished Professor, English Department

*To be defended on 1st July 2015*

**William on his work:** ‘I am currently writing a dissertation on Joseph Smith’s reliance on John Bunyan to compose the Book of Mormon. The focus of my dissertation is an investigation into the ways in which Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon religion, was actively involved in a national cultural project of creating a new American identity. In the aftermath of the Revolutionary War, Americans became highly self-conscious of their new and independent status, and multiple calls came from members of the nascent society to formulate an original, fully legitimate American identity within art, literature, politics and culture. In American religious history, Joseph Smith stands at the forefront of American religious innovators in this era of cultural formation. He amalgamated teachings from multiple religious and mystical traditions to create a new religion uniquely American in origin, and my dissertation will argue that Smith turned to John Bunyan as his primary source of inspiration.’

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**SARAH RITCHESON, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida**

‘Living in the Last Days: Messianic Time and Literary Production in England, 1642-1688’

PhD thesis directed by Mihoko Suzuki, Director of the Center for the Humanities

*To be defended in 2015*

**Sarah on her work:** ‘I am currently writing a dissertation that includes John Bunyan. My dissertation is titled “Living in the Last Days: Messianic Time and Literary Production in England, 1642-1688”. I am writing under the supervision of Dr. Mihoko Suzuki. I intend to focus on Bunyan’s work in the third chapter. In particular, I intend to examine *The Pilgrim’s Progress* and possibly *The Holy War*. I will have to see how it develops. The first chapter is dedicated to prose tracts written in the 1640s and 50s, and the second chapter focuses on John Milton. I intend to write a fourth chapter that investigates Lucy Hutchinson’s epic, *Order and Disorder*. I am in the first year of writing, so I do not have a defence scheduled yet, but I intend to defend in the Spring of 2015.’

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**RACHID MEHDI, Université du Maine, France**


Doctoral thesis in English Studies co-directed by Jeffrey Hopes, Université d’Orléans, France, and Anne Page, Aix-Marseille Université, France

*Defended on 24th June 2013*

**Abstract:** The Puritans generally forbade imagery and required a strict literal interpretation of the Bible. Bunyan, although a Puritan writer himself, was in favour of spiritual expression and metaphorical understanding of the Biblical text, convinced that this was the style of the Scriptures. This thesis sets out to study this paradox and understand the reason for the Puritans’ fear of literary images, as well as the reason why Bunyan used them, especially in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. The first part
Recent and Ongoing Theses/PhDs on John Bunyan, continued

analyses the Puritans’ relationship with the Bible. The first chapter discusses their position toward the Established Church and the monarchy. The second chapter analyses the authority of the Bible. The third chapter depicts Bunyan’s scriptural steps before and after his conversion. The second part discusses the importance of imagery to Bunyan. The first chapter attempts to define the word ‘image’ in order to elucidate its meaning, and to distinguish it from other figures of speech. A brief history of literary and artistic imagery from antiquity to Bunyan’s time, and the theological debates about the word ‘image’ through the centuries are also proposed. The second chapter attempts to determine how and why Bunyan used images for the edification of his readers. The third chapter analyses the techniques used to compose The Pilgrim’s Progress. Finally, the third part discusses in detail two biblical images that Bunyan used in The Pilgrim’s Progress: the Way and the lion. It explains the nuances of these images and their theological content, in the context of Bunyan’s Protestant and Puritan beliefs.

DAVID PARRY, University of Cambridge, UK

‘A Divine Kind of Rhetoric’: Puritanism and Persuasion in Early Modern England

PhD thesis co-directed by Beth Lynch and Jason Scott-Warren

Defended in 2011

Abstract: This thesis is a rhetorical study of the writing of four Puritan preachers: William Perkins (1558-1602), Richard Sibbes (c.1577-1635), Richard Baxter (1615-91) and John Bunyan (1628-88). It argues that the persuasive practice of Puritan divines draws on the classical rhetorical tradition derived from Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian, inherited by Renaissance rhetoricians and taught in early modern universities. Nevertheless, classical rhetoric is modified in Puritan practice. This is partly because ‘godly’ preachers have a commitment to ‘plainness’, which does not mean a literary style devoid of all ornament but rather a style which prioritises the edification of the audience over displaying the erudition of the speaker. Also, although they use verbal techniques to seek to persuade others, Puritan divines believe that conversion cannot be effected without the persuasive work of the Holy Spirit.

These writers speak of both the work of the Spirit in conversion and the temptations of the devil in terms of ‘persuasion’ and ‘rhetoric’. Though the rhetoric of the Spirit uses a variety of non-verbal means of persuasion, the Spirit persuades primarily through the spoken words of preachers. Satanic rhetoric has a particular affinity with the figure of paradiastole, which exploits the frequently close resemblance between good and bad in order to deceive.

Though identifiably in the same tradition, the four writers considered in this thesis have varying pastoral priorities, theological emphases and educational backgrounds, and so vary in their use of rhetoric. Perkins and Sibbes are both Cambridge preachers, but whilst Perkins emphasises the reason, Sibbes appeals more to the affections. The self-taught Baxter has two persuasive modes: one of earnest exhortation and one of appeal to the imagination through meditation. Though lacking formal learning, Bunyan uses rhetorical strategies mediated through the godly preaching tradition, and his allegorical narratives adopt an indirect rhetorical mode, in which pastoral ‘direction’ emerges from literary ‘diversion’.

Editor’s Note: David is in the process of revising his thesis towards a monograph and is looking for a publisher right now. We wish him the best of luck, and great success in this enterprise.
New Thesis Project

The Allegorical Mindscape: Mapping the ‘True’ Places of Allegory

Richard Bergen
Trinity Western University, Langley, British Columbia

‘Allegory’, constituted by the Greek allos (‘other’) and agoreuein (‘to speak in public’) may be tentatively defined as ‘other-speaking’. Allegory is at tension with itself, Jon Whitman observes, because it seeks to reveal the ‘truth’ that is ‘other’, but finds linear discursive expression incapable for its purposes, and so it employs a fictional object in a narrative world in order to refer beyond it to an abstract truth (2). Whether allegory is understood as ‘a genre, a mode, a technique, or a rhetorical device’ (Copeland and Struck 2), it is essentially metaphorical in nature. A narration of the events of the inner life is necessarily reliant on metaphor, and allegory is an extended metaphor made to grapple with spiritual, moral, and psychic conflict, inventing observable figures for abstract concepts or invisible experience. During the medieval and early modern periods, many writers embraced this mode of representation, trusted in its efficacy to instruct and delight, and practiced it extensively in their great imaginative works. My research seeks to theorize the nature and function of setting in allegorical works composed in medieval and early modern Europe and to address critical, but largely uninvestigated, questions on space/place in foundational allegorical texts. These questions include: How does the landscape of an allegory differ from that of a novel? Do all allegorical texts in medieval and early-modern Europe constitute setting in a similar fashion? Is space/place shaped differently in pre-Reformation and post-Reformation texts? To what extent is a historicist approach useful in understanding an individual author’s use of concrete setting? I hope that my research will help to map not only the medieval and early modern mind in more sophisticated ways, especially their imaginative modes of communication, but also our own minds as readers of allegory.

European writers employed allegory for centuries, but challenges from ideological movements such as philosophical Nominalism, the Protestant Reformation, Empiricism, and Romanticism diminished its popularity. The twentieth century, however, saw a significant resurgence of interest in allegory. Walter Benjamin’s 1928 The Origin of German Tragic Drama proposed that allegorical figuration is at the heart of modernist aesthetics grappling with meaning. C. S. Lewis’s 1936 The Allegory of Love persuasively argued that medieval allegory left an indelible legacy on later sensibilities. Northrop Frye’s 1957 Anatomy of Criticism maintained that ‘all commentary is allegorical interpretation’ (89); subsequently, Paul de Man famously argued that all reading is allegorical. Angus Fletcher’s 1964 Allegory: Theory of a Symbolic Mode exposed the complex structures of allegorical works, and how they correspond to vital psychological phenomena. The Cambridge Companion to Allegory (2010), one of several recent critical works on this topic, argues that ‘allegory has once again occupied a critical position, this time as the trope of tropes, by its very name (“other-speaking”) announcing itself as the definitive mark of the contingency of language and its referential claims’ (10). The crescendo of books and conferences about allegory indicates, as the title of Gary Johnson’s new book puts it, The Vitality of Allegory. Many avenues of significant research are emerging in allegory studies, a subject of immense importance for individual and social self-understanding, and a communicative tool for conveying the knowledge of self and society in the global marketplace.

The question raised by Aristotle in Poetics of how fiction relates the particular and the universal relates perhaps to what is most puzzling and intriguing about allegory. For in-
The Allegorical Mindscape: Mapping the ‘True’ Places of Allegory, continued

stance, how does a story set in a highly subjective psycho-spiritual world construct a concrete landscape to teach a universal truth? Certainly, there is no such thing as a ‘universal’ landscape, and thus the problems of evocation, association, and representation are pertinent for the allegorist who wishes to abstract while presenting a palpable fictional setting. This topic is worth pursuing, for, as Christopher Salter and William Lloyd put it, ‘[t]he strength of landscape in literature lies in its subtle human qualities […] and not in its objectivity’ (2). Salter and Lloyd nod toward ‘romance and allegory’, stating that one ‘need not ignore these less realistic modes of expression’ (3). Similarly, Leonard Lutwack’s The Role of Place in Literature asserts that ‘it is a mistake to discount [allegories]’ because they are less realistic (31), for ‘[a]ll places […] serve figurative ends and thereby sacrifice part of their concreteness as they cater to some human desire or craving beyond present reality’ (32). However, neither of these works pursues the matter further.

In fact, to the best of my knowledge no extensive studies of allegorical setting have been published to date, whereas it is not uncommon for a literary study of the novel to discuss setting at great length, and entire monographs will theorize the importance of place and space in the works of a single author. Among the dozen or so books attempting to theorize allegory in the twentieth century, none include even a sub-heading about the role of setting, although most include incidental observations: Gay Clifford’s The Transformations of Allegory (1974) and Carolyn Van Dyke’s The Fiction of Truth (1985) exhibit keen sensitivity to place and allegorical topography, but stop far short of theorizing the role of setting in allegory. Short essays like Ruth Ronen’s ‘Places in Allegorical Worlds’ (1988) and Alvin Greenberg’s ‘The Novelist’s World and the Allegorist’s Heaven’ (1972) have valuable suggestions, but are limited in scope. If one considers studies of canonical allegory authors such as John Bunyan, once again, one finds a handful of short discussions, as in Colin Manlove’s and Michael Mullett’s books, and Dennis Turner’s excellent essay, ‘Bunyan’s Sense of Place’.

What I propose to research are the symbolic, psycho-spiritual aspects of allegorical setting. Representative allegorical narratives will chiefly be drawn from late medieval and early modern canonical texts such as Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun’s Romance of the Rose, Dante Alighieri’s Divine Comedy, William Langland’s Piers Plowman, Edmund Spenser’s Faerie Queene, the Sin and Death episodes of John Milton’s Paradise Lost, and the allegories of John Bunyan. In addition to drawing on preeminent allegory theorists, I plan to make use of the key thinkers of Humanistic Geography (David Lowenthal, Anne Buttimer, David Ley, and Yi-Fu Tuan), a ‘school’ of geosophy that focuses on the phenomenological and existential experience of space and place. The recent emergence of Space and Place Theory provides a useful theoretical framework for understanding the settings in allegories. Space, according to Tuan, is the narrative quality of openness, threat, and movement in between the places invested with the meaning of a name. Places in allegories (e.g., the Slough of Despond) prominently exhibit what John Ruskin termed the ‘pathetic fallacy’; many places are unsettling and evoke anxieties. As Clifford discerns, ‘The worlds of allegory are only half-familiar and they are rarely safe’; the protagonist is constantly in motion from place to place, for ‘[i]n allegory the concern is always with process’ (2, 11). The fact that allegory frequently prescribes shifts in the narrative’s temporal and spatial setting may be elucidated by analyzing the interplay of space and place.

My education thus far has prepared me well for this program of study. My interest in allegory is long-standing, and I have written numerous academic papers on allegorical texts and on theoretical questions pertaining to allegory, several of which have addressed setting. I am in the second year of my Master of Interdisciplinary Hu-
manities (English Literature Stream), and am presently at work on my SSHRC-funded master’s thesis entitled ‘Reforming Allegory in The Pilgrim’s Progress’, which argues that the scholars who insist on the unbroken continuity between pre-Reformation pilgrimage allegories and Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress are mistaken, as are those who maintain that the narrative is a proto-novel which defies allegorical conventions; rather, the genre of allegory itself is constantly undergoing reformation. Concerning language training, I have a working knowledge of Latin and Middle English, but hope to pursue study of Italian and French during my PhD to aid with explication.

In September of 2014, I hope to continue with my studies in the PhD program at the University of Alberta, where the English department includes scholars whose research closely aligns with my dissertation project. The University of Alberta houses the Medieval and Early Modern Institute and holds a world-class Milton and Bunyan collection, ranking with those of the British Library and the Huntington. Stephen Reimer, a scholar in medieval language and culture, has particular expertise in William Langland. David Gay, the Vice President of the International John Bunyan Society, is an influential Bunyan and Milton scholar, and an expert in allegory. I have been in contact with him, and he has expressed an enthusiasm for my research as well as a willingness to act as my supervisor.

For more theses and PhDs of interest, please visit http://dissent.hypotheses.org/dissertations-theses-and-post-doctoral-research

Bibliography of Recent Bunyan Studies (2013 and 2014 to date)

David Parry
University of Cambridge, UK

Books


Reprinted Books


Bibliography of Recent Bunyan Studies, continued


ARTICLES


Parry, David. “‘God breaketh not all men’s hearts alike’: Early Modern Conversion Narratives in Contemporary Perspective.” The Glass 25 (Spring 2013): 3-17.

### Bibliography of Recent Bunyan Studies, continued


### Dissertations and Theses


### Other Publications of Interest


### Monographs and Biographies


Other Publications of Interest, continued


Collective Volumes


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The Richard L. Greaves Prize

R ichard L. Greaves studied for his 1964 doctorate at New College, London, under Geoffrey F. Nuttall. This was an auspicious and entirely fitting start to his exceptional academic career since, like Nuttall’s, it would be devoted to the sympathetic but rigorously scholarly exposition of early Protestant culture, particularly in its Puritan and Nonconformist manifestations. That thesis, published (with a preface by Nuttall) in 1969, was a theological study of John Bunyan, and Bunyan would be a recurring presence in Greaves’ oeuvre, notably in his contributions to the Oxford edition of the miscellaneous works, and most magnificently in his final publication, the magisterial biographical study Glimpses of Glory: John Bunyan and English Dissent (2002). Wherever two or three are gathered together to discuss Bunyan, they will before long inevitably refer to ‘Greaves’, such is his unrivalled contribution to our understanding of Bunyan’s life and thought in its political, social and religious context.

It was therefore entirely appropriate that when the International John Bunyan Society was founded at the University of Alberta, Richard Greaves should be its first president. That was in 1992, but the idea of the society had developed from an idea first mooted (in large part through the vision of Greaves himself) in 1988. There were giants in the land in those tercentenary days—Nuttall, Christopher Hill, Roger Sharrock. Greaves was of their company, and the Society could not have been more fortunate in its founding president.

In 2004, the year of Richard Greaves’ death, his family generously funded the Richard L. Greaves prize in his memory and honour. It is awarded every three years by a committee nominated by the President of the IJBS to an outstanding book-length study of the history, literature, thought, practices and legacy of Anglophone Protestantism to 1700 (the recently revised and formalized regulations covering eligibility and the assessment process can be accessed on the Society’s website, http://johnbunyan-society.org/the-richard-l-greaves-prize/).

For this current round, the selection committee consists of myself (as chair), Professor Ann Hughes (Keele) and Professor Cynthia Wall (Virginia). We are each of us very excited by, but also a little daunted at, the prospect of taking stock of current scholarly work in the field of early modern religious studies. We have begun on the task of compiling a longlist and will continue with this until the end of 2015, when we shall agree a shortlist from which to choose the eventual winner, to be announced at the Society’s eighth triennial conference at Aix-en-Provence in the summer of 2016.

At this stage, therefore, we are keeping our eyes and ears open for likely books. Already some impressively original studies have appeared, but there will certainly be more. While we of course have our own sources of information, Society members are most welcome to recommend titles for the panel’s consideration. This could most be done most conveniently by emailing me (n.h.keeble@stir.ac.uk).
The Richard L. Greaves Prize, continued


President of the selection Committee: N. H. Keeble (Stirling)

Members of the selection Committee: Ann Hughes (Keele) and Cynthia Wall (Virginia)

2013  3rd Prize (books published 2010–2012)

President of the selection Committee: David Gay (Alberta)

Members of the selection Committee: Katsuhiro Engetsu (Doshisha) and David Walker (Northumbria)


Honourable Mention: Tim Cooper, John Owen, Richard Baxter and the Formation of Nonconformity (Ashgate, 2011)

2010  2nd Prize (books published 2007–2009)

President of the selection Committee: Galen Johnson

Members of the selection Committee: Anne Dunan-Page (Aix-Marseille) and Isabel Hofmeyr (Witwatersrand)


2007  1st Prize (books published 2003-2006)

President of the selection Committee: Sylvia Brown (Alberta)

Members of the selection Committee: Sharon Achinstein (Oxford) and Nigel Smith (Princeton)


In April 2013 the Université de Haute Alsace in Mulhouse in the French province of Alsace hosted a three-day international interdisciplinary conference on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century radicalism. The event was sponsored by the Mulhouse-based research team Institut de Recherche en Langues et Littératures Européennes (Research Institute for European Languages and Literatures) as well as by the French Société d’Études Anglo-Américaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Society for British and North American Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies). The call for papers invited contributions on the modes of writing and transmission of radical ideas in the early modern era and on the interaction of these modes of writing with the political, religious, economic and social context of the British Isles at the time. While not excluding research related to the history of the book, the conference had a wider scope, and the contributions covered a variety of topics, ranging from seventeenth-century sectarian radicalism to eighteenth-century radical fiction and cultural transfers between Britain and the European continent. They focused on actors (‘radical voices’) and on a range of written texts and cultural practices (‘radical ways’), from fiction, correspondence, pamphlets and treatises to petitions presented to Parliament and toasts raised in public.

There were two plenary lectures, one by Professor Harry Dickinson (Edinburgh University), on how the British Radicals of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries engaged with the notion of democracy, and the other, by Professor Nigel Smith (Princeton University), on seventeenth-century English radicalism in international context. Nigel Smith called for the historical study of the English Revolution to be extricated from its insular context and viewed in a more global way. He explored three forms of cultural transfers between England and the European continent in the seventeenth century, first addressing the way English political radicalism took root on French soil, at least temporarily, with the attempted exportation of the Leveller-inspired constitutional text The Agreement of the People to the province of Guyenne in south-western France during the rebellion against Mazarin known as the Fronde. He then spoke about the continental legacy of prophecy and its influence on English religious radicals and explained how the prophetic language of Jacob Boehme and Qurinus Kuhlmann weaved its way into Civil War heterodox discourse. He rounded off his talk with a discussion of how the radical Reformation on the continent was redeployed in English utopian radicalism and especially insisted on the appeal of the ideas developed by such Dutch thinkers as Plockhoy and van den Enden.

Several scholars contributed papers on Civil War heterodoxy. Complementary with Nigel Smith’s reflections on the adaptation of continental prophecy to the English context was Dr Ariel Hesssayon’s investigation of the connection between early modern English radicalism and the translation and diffusion of...
of mystic and esoteric texts. Dr Hessayon (Goldsmiths, University of London) focussed especially on the transmission and reception of a number of writings—notably texts by or attributed to Paracelsus, Jacob Boehme, and Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus—to re-examine that relationship, and suggested that the notion of ‘radical mysticism’ was appropriate to identify a thinker such as Gerrard Winstanley. Dr Catherine Gill (Loughborough University) showed how early Quakers’ approaches to learning revealed their unease with language and the written word. Although many early Quakers had a preference for experiential learning, there were exceptions, and the way they described inward-learning changed from writer to writer and was expressed in a variety of writings, thus making the Quaker episteme much more variegated than meets the eye. Catherine Gill concluded that a study of seventeenth-century heterodoxy, and early modern radicalism at large, cannot dispense with a close examination of the modes of expression used by individual voices, apprehended in their sheer diversity. Dr Cyril Selzner (University of Limoges) analysed the mutations of radicalism by looking at how early Quakers engaged with the political context of their time. He showed that, although Quakerism attracted a significant number of disappointed radicals from other sects and movements, especially among Baptists or former Levellers, the Quakers adopted, under the leadership of men such as Fox and later Penn himself, a decided pacifist stance renouncing all forms of plotting and open rebellion. He concluded that the Quakers developed—in some cases invented—a relatively new style of radicalism, in line with their proclaimed principles but also in interaction with the context of Restoration politics.

Also of interest to Bunyan scholars was the paper given by Catherine Vigier (Rouen University) on William Okeley’s captivity narrative Ebenazer (1675), in which she insisted that Okeley was part of a wider network of non-conformist writers working with the radical printer Nathaniel Ponder, from the Independent minister John Owen and the poet Andrew Marvell to John Bunyan. She thus argued that Okeley’s narrative should be understood as part of a corpus of work published by Ponder in defence of nonconformist ideas and, by examining the themes and imagery running through the narrative, she established links with some of Andrew Marvell’s poems and prose works, in particular The Rehearsal Transpros’d. She analysed biblical and mythological references in both Okeley’s narrative and Marvell’s pamphlets to support her claim that the Okeley text carried the polemic around The Rehearsal Transpros’d to a wider public, and that publishing this captivity narrative, a popular literary genre, allowed Ponder and his collaborators to make a further case for freedom of speech.

The presentations sparked a lively and enriching debate on the issue of the articulation and dissemination of radical ideas in early modern England. It was suggested that a conceptual framework associated with the ‘functional’ approach to radicalism, as opposed to the over-restrictive ‘nominalist’ and the all-embracing ‘substantive’ constructs, should be established in order to make the study of the diffusion of radical ideas more effective. It was also argued that continuities should be mapped: first, through time, as a number of radical motifs pertaining to the seventeenth-century were recycled in eighteenth-century Britain, so that a trans-historical study that avoids the pitfalls of systematisation makes sense; through space, then, by focusing on the way radical ideas travelled between Britain, the European continent and America, so that, ultimately, British radicalism is best
appreciated in its transnational context. It was last claimed that the study of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English radicalism will benefit from multifarious approaches, notably methodological tools developed by literary scholars, which are especially well suited as they offer renewed perspectives that are fully compatible with and complement historical analysis.

These fruitful exchanges between scholars from the United States, the United Kingdom, France and other European countries took place in a relaxed atmosphere and continued à l’alsacienne over tarte flambée, coq-au-riesling and glasses of Gewürztraminer. The ‘Radical Voices, Radical Ways’ conference will be followed by a book to be published in the form of a collection of essays next year.
The SÉAA XVII-XVIII: A Society of Interest to Bunyan Scholars

Founded in 1975, the Société d’Études Anglo-Américaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (SÉAA XVII-XVIII) is a French learned society devoted to all areas of scholarly investigation in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century culture, literature, art and the history of ideas in Great-Britain and colonial America.

It holds its annual conference every January in Paris. The best papers of the conference are published in the *Revue d’Études Anglo-Américaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (*RÉAA XVII-XVIII*), a scholarly journal which also includes a certain number of varia. In its special collection, the SÉAA contributes to the publication of the proceedings of various conferences held on connected topics.

In order to encourage young researchers the Society also organizes, jointly with the Société Française d’Études sur le XVIIIe siècle (SFEDS), a ‘Colloque Jeunes Chercheurs’ that takes place every year in a French University. Besides, the Society also awards, every other year, a ‘Prix de Thèse’ and a ‘Prix de Master’ meant so single out its best researchers and to promote their work.

Please visit the SÉAA’s official website: www.1718.fr.
Religious and political thought have seldom been entirely separable, but this was especially the case following the seismic changes that characterized the early modern period. These transformations affected the relationship of the religious and the political, blurring the boundaries between sacred and secular, public and private in ways previously inconceivable. These two sources of power met on a large scale in wars of religion or the establishment of national churches. But this period also witnessed the internalization of godly governance: manuals describing self-regulation, covering topics as diverse as child-raising, managing the home, ordering the diet, and dying well, abound. Intersections between these two facets of early modern life fill the period’s literature, music, art, and material culture, in the spaces of high culture and the quotidian, in performative and textual expression. Recent work has established that both religion and politics intersect with confessional identities, material culture, the spatial imagination, intellectual and patronage networks, and across manuscript and print culture. This conference seeks to illuminate the entanglements and confrontations between God and government in these diverse fields, hoping that the study of these difficult but fruitful meeting places can open up new avenues of understanding about the early modern world.

Confirmed Keynote Speakers are: Prof. Peter McCullough (Oxford) and Dr Lucy WOOTING (KCL).

We warmly invite proposals of 200-250 words for 20-minute papers from scholars working on the early modern period in any field or geographical area, and proposals for panels of three or four papers (consisting of three abstracts and a title). We particularly welcome interdisciplinary approaches to these subjects. Suggested topics may include, but are not limited to, the following:

- spaces of religious performance or performative religion
- the reception of godly polemic
- sites of engagement with religious or political themes in the arts and literature
- the roles of gender, class, and sociability in the formation of confessional identities
- godly governance writ large in the government of the state or in local government
- the politics of individual and communal spirituality
- religio-political collisions in material and visual cultures.

Please send abstracts and panel proposals to Christine Knaack, Jonas van Tol and Emma Kennedy by 1 March 2014 at godlygov2014@gmail.com.

To visit the conference website please go to: http://godlygov2014.wordpress.com.
Past and Forthcoming Events

Source:
http://dissent.hypotheses.org/events-call-for-papers

January 2014

8 January 2014, Seminar, Dr Williams’s Centre for Dissenting Studies: ‘Henry Crabb Robinson and the Dissenters: His Reading in Colchester 1790-95’ by Jane Giscombe (Dr Williams’s Library, London).

More information at http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/events/current.html

February 2014

5 February 2014, Seminar, Dr Williams’s Centre for Dissenting Studies: ‘Friedrich Breckling, Jane Leade and the Philadelphian Society: Controversy and Consensus in the European Network of Behmenism and Radical Pietism’ by Dr Guido Naschert (Erfurt).

More information at http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/events/current.html

March 2014


More information at http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/events/current.html

April 2014

30 April 2014, Seminar, Dr Williams’s Centre for Dissenting Studies: ‘The Radical Welsh Baptist Minister, Morgan John Rhys and his American Travel Diary, 1794-95’ by Professor E. Wyn James (Cardiff).

More information at http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/events/current.html

June 2014

11 June 2014, Seminar, Dr Williams’s Centre for Dissenting Studies: Family, Memory and Materiality in Nonconformist Life-Writings of the Long Eighteenth Century’ by Dr Tessa Whitehouse (Queen Mary, University of London).

More information at http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/events/current.html


More information at http://recsoxford.org/2014/01/24/george-whitfield-at-300/
Past and Forthcoming Events, continued

Source: http://dissent.hypotheses.org/events-call-for-papers


July 2014


More information at http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/events/current.html


November 2014

8 November 2014, ‘Dissenting Experience, Experiencing Dissent’. Year 2 : ‘Varieties of Dissenting Expression’, second conference in a series of three, co-organised by IJBS members Michael Davies, Anne Dunan-Page, and Joel Halcomb, in partnership with the Dr Williams’s Centre for Dissenting Studies, Dr Williams’s Library, Gordon Square, London.

More information at http://dissent.hypotheses.org
Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal for Bunyan Scholar Arlette Zinck

Arlette Zinck—founding member, former Treasurer, and indispensable friend of the IJBS—has been recognized by the Government of Canada for leadership in another field of endeavour close to her heart: her educational work with Omar Khadr, who was the youngest inmate at Guantanamo Bay.

Arlette is the recipient of a Queen Elizabeth Diamond Jubilee medal. These medals were struck in 2012 to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the accession of Elizabeth II to the Throne as Queen of Canada, and to recognize citizens of Canada ‘who have made significant contributions to their communities and nation or who have made achievements abroad that bring credit to Canada’. Arlette was nominated by Member of Parliament Linda Duncan for her work in leading an interdisciplinary team of volunteer professors who have devised a program of education for Omar Khadr while he remains incarcerated. In her nomination, Linda Duncan commended Arlette as ‘an outstanding example of applying one’s strong beliefs in human rights and dignity and putting them into practice’.

Omar Khadr’s formal education ended at the age of eight. A Canadian citizen, Khadr was introduced to radical Islam by his father, and in 2002, at fifteen, was captured in Afghanistan by American forces after a deadly firefight. He was the youngest prisoner and the last Western citizen incarcerated at Guantanamo.

A 2008 lecture by Khadr’s lawyer, Dennis Edney, to King’s University College in Edmonton, prompted Arlette and her students to make contact with Khadr and to learn more about his case. This led to a regular correspondence between Arlette and Omar, and eventually to a curriculum designed not just to make up educational deficiencies but to introduce him to and, eventually, to reintegrate him into, Canadian life. It was, as Arlette has stated, a curriculum for building a person, for ‘human flourishing … ultimately what liberal arts and science education is all about’.

Knowing Arlette myself, it is clear to me how her work with Omar Khadr has been for her a natural extension of her vocations—both as a teacher and as a Christian enjoined to visit prisoners and put the gospel into action. She would not want to strain parallels between her unique relationship with her student Omar and her interest in John Bunyan, who wrote his famous allegory about the journey from a place of destruction to one of heavenly redemption from prison. Yet it is true that Arlette’s latest paper to the IJBS, delivered at Princeton in 2014, was the result of thoughtful cross-fertilization between these two different worlds, to each of which she has committed time, energy, and love. At Princeton, Arlette spoke on ‘Bunyan, Casuistry
and the US War on Terror: The Connection between Personal Reform and an end to “The Inherent Insanity of War”. In this paper, Arlette reflected on Bunyan’s exploration of a deeply personal and individualized casuistry, of conscience as a response to seemingly unanswerable and unchangeable reasons of state and acts of state violence. The paper wove together Bunyan’s own experience of religious persecution and his narrative and ethical responses to it and the contemporary ‘war on terror’. Arlette’s paper challenged its audience to consider their own ethical position within the current state of ‘war’.

The members of the IJBS should be proud to have among their number such an inspiring example of a truly humane practitioner of the humanities, a Bunyan scholar who, like Faithful in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, aims for a richer, more vibrant kind of knowledge: not ‘knowledge that resteth in the bare speculation of things’ but rather ‘knowledge that is accompanied with the grace of faith and love; which puts a man upon doing even the will of God from the heart’.

Arlette Zinck’s work with Omar Khadr was the subject of a piece titled ‘The Professor and the Prisoner’ published in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* on 30 April 2014:


Warm and sincere congratulations, Arlette, on behalf of the IJBS!
Friends of Nigel Smith, former President of the IJBS, will know that he has another life as a bass guitar player and singer, going back to his time at Hull and Oxford, and reignited by collaboration with the poet Paul Muldoon at Princeton, first in a band called Rackett and now in the altogether crisper, varied and more layered sound of Wayside Shrines.

Listen to ‘Feet of Clay’ on the website, where Nigel takes the lead vocals (sounding much like himself in sprachgesang) along with Ila Couch (sounding like a sweet-voiced backing singer from the early 60s) negotiating Muldoon’s double rhymes and word play, reigniting clichés at some speed. Rather as Christopher Ricks recognised in Beckett, cliche is dead language that won’t lie down; for Paul Muldoon it seems to be readymade language, a language of the street that can be made to do all sorts of things. So it is with ‘feet of clay’, ‘a people person’ (Julius Caesar, Machiavelli, and Stalin all were), and ‘taking stock’. And they invent new ones, sort of—‘Owls to Athens’ as a knowledge-based version of ‘coals to Newcastle’.

There is a variety of voices and styles here, almost as if the band are working their way through the expressive options open to an eclectic rock group with a sense of music history. So, for example, ‘Elephant Anthem’ begins like early electronica, ‘It won’t ring true’ features the acoustic guitar of the singer-songwriter, possibly even parodically, and ‘Cleaning up my act’ the satiric edge of Brecht/Weill (listen to the piano track, especially) to point out that ‘There are no gentlemen/In a gentlemen’s club’. And there is a darkness—the word on the street, in the title song, ‘is we’re through’.

There is more to come from this collaboration, I suspect—not least a study from Nigel on the relation between words and music. And while I can’t detect a single Bunyan reference in the lyric book (cunningly CD shaped), I think many IJBS members will enjoy the songs.

Congratulations, Nigel, on behalf of the IJBS, and long life to Wayside Shrines!
As of February 21, 2014, the North American savings account for the International John Bunyan Society holds $1578.50 (US dollars). Use of Paypal for membership dues has gone very smoothly and is a nice way to avoid postage and check writing. Anyone around the world may login to your personal Paypal account and choose to send the price of your membership fee to galen.johnson@faculty.ashford.edu. There will be space in payment form to include a special note, such as at what rate you are renewing, and if you enter the US membership rates ($35 for one year, $20 for underemployed and retirees, $100 for five years) in the ‘send’ blank, it will automatically send the exchange rate for your local currency to the IJBS account. You will never have to pay a fee to the Society or our bank, and you will immediately receive an email receipt. The conventional mailing address for check renewals remains Dr. Galen Johnson, IJBS North American Treasurer, 802 Amanda Dr., Siloam Springs, AR 72761 USA. Please be sure to include a completed copy of the membership form with any payment, especially since having your email address on file will ensure timely receipt of forthcoming issues of The Recorder and access to the list-serv on the IJBS website. I am very honored to be of service to you all.

The balance in the UK saving account for IJBS is currently £1573.50. The Society enthusiastically welcomes new members who automatically, as part of their membership, receive a copy of the peer-reviewed annual publication, Bunyan Studies: A Journal of Reformation and Non-conformist Culture. Joining the Society is a straightforward process, and forms can be accessed at the following web address: http://johnbunyansociety.org/join/.

Payment may be made by cheques, direct debit, and standing order, and by making a direct transfer of the appropriate amount (in £ sterling) into the following bank account: NatWest Bank, International John Bunyan Society, Sort Code: 54-10-31, Account number: 14718073. Complete the Standing Order Form and mail the signed copy to David Walker at the address below. You can download the form from http://johnbunyansociety.org/join/.

New and existing members can contact me at the following email address with any queries about the status of their membership, or the means by which they can join: david5.walker@northumbria.ac.uk. My mailing address is: Professor David Walker, Department of Humanities Faculty of Arts, Design and Social Sciences, Lipman Building, room 418, Newcastle Upon Tyne NE1 8ST, UK.
IJBS Membership

Join the IJBS!

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For more information about the Society, please visit the website [www.johnbunyanssociety.org](http://www.johnbunyanssociety.org), or contact the Secretary: W. R. (Bob) Owens, Division of Performing Arts and English, University of Bedfordshire, Polhill Avenue, Bedford MK41 9EA, UK. Email: bob.owens@beds.ac.uk

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The Recorder

The Recorder is the Newsletter of the International John Bunyan Society. It appears once a year and offers members of the Society a forum for notes and queries, conference announcements, calls for papers, news of members, book and conference reviews, short articles, bibliographies—anything of interest to scholars and readers of Bunyan and his times.

Submissions (in electronic form) are gratefully received by early February for the annual Spring issue. For submissions and inquiries please contact Nathalie Collé-Bak, editor nathalie.colle@univ-lorraine.fr or IJBSrecordereditor@yahoo.com

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