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THE PRESIDENT’S COLUMN

David Gay, University of Alberta, Canada

2019 is an IJBS triennial conference year. It is now three years since the very successful conference convened by our former President, Anne Page, at Université Aix-Marseille in July 2016. Anne achieved all of the qualities our conferences are known for, and we very much hope our 2019 edition at the University of Alberta will do the same. Among these qualities are two I hold dear: the first is a spirit of welcoming and inclusion for newcomers and for long time members; the second is the close proximity and connection we seek between graduate students and early career scholars and our senior scholars and distinguished plenary speakers. Watching these kinds of relationships unfold in a short period of time has been very gratifying. As I once said of Richard Greaves when we established an award in his name in 2007, generosity is the hallmark of a great scholar, meaning generosity of mind, spirit, time, and advice. Our senior scholars and past presidents have been wonderful mentors and examples to younger generations. We try to offer as many as four plenaries at our conferences not only to create an intellectual feast, but also to foster new connections to energize new work. Our relatively smaller conference programs (compared to large scale congresses and associations) also help to ensure that everyone feels part of the events. The IJBS can be an extended academic family as well as a welcoming society. I would hope everyone who experiences our conferences comes away with that feeling.

Our inaugural conference convened at Alberta in October 1995 with Richard Greaves as president. Greg Randall, the founding Secretary, undertook a membership drive prior to that conference, while Shannon Murray edited the first Recorder in 1993. So, we can view 2019-20 as a silver anniversary period as we look back on 25 years of scholarly community and connection. In fact, our 2019 conference theme—communicating and connecting—is apt for our society mission as well as a prominent and current early modern theme. With this in mind, I want to encourage the next generations to support and sustain the IJBS as it enters the next decade. It is not an easy time in the academic profession, as many fine young scholars are underemployed or as yet unsettled in a changing profession. We are extremely fortunate that David Walker, a senior and distinguished Bunyanist and co-editor of Bunyan Studies, will succeed me as President. We can look forward to adding new members during his tenure. Our most precious resource is our membership.

Finally, I want to thank the members of the current IJBS executive for their dedication, effort, counsel and support. Nathalie Collé has turned the Recorder into a work of visual art while maintaining its vital function as our society newsletter. I wish to thank Sylvia Brown (General Secretary), Rachel Adcock and Margaret Sonser Breen (Treasurers), and Joel Halcomb (Web Site Director) for their conscientious stewardship of the IJBS. Arlette Zinck and Sylvia Brown have also served with me with imagination and vision as conference co-organizers. I attach a draft program to show the range of ideas members have put into our upcoming conference. I take my leave by pointing you to this year’s rich, diverse, trans-generational and truly international gathering.
THE NINTH TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL JOHN BUNYAN SOCIETY

NETWORKS OF DISSENT: CONNECTING AND COMMUNICATING ACROSS THE LONG REFORMATION

University of Alberta, Edmonton Canada, 14-17 August 2019

Please note that this is a provisional schedule subject to revision as we expect to add several more papers.

Wednesday August 14

12:00-6:00 Registration Table: Business Atrium

2:00-3:30 Meeting of graduate student delegates and early career academics with plenaries.

4:00-6:00 Bruce Peel Special Collections

Reception with food and wine and official opening of the Bunyan Exhibition in Bruce Peel Special Collections (curated by Sylvia Brown). The Bruce Peel is one of the four largest repositories in the world for rare Bunyan editions.

6:15-7:30 Plenary Address 1: Kathleen Lynch (Folger Institute): “Mapping parishes, remapping church networks in Restoration London”

Thursday August 15

8:45-10:00 Plenary Address 2: Ariel Hessayon (Goldsmith's University of London): “Social networks and the publication of continental European writings during the English Revolution”

Session 1: 10:30-12:00

Bunyan’s Contemporaries

Jameela Lares (University of Southern Mississippi): “There Is No Way but Or: Method in Bunyan and Milton”

Gary Kuchar (University of Victoria): “The Sounds of Appleton House: Andrew Marvell’s Poetic Audioscapes”

Paul Dyck (Canadian Mennonite University): “Dissenting and Conforming Herbert: tracing the uses of The Temple in the later 17th century”

Towards the Modern and Contemporary

Andy Draycott (Talbot School of Theology): “Bunyan and Bonhoeffer: honoring prison writers among evangelical inheritors of dissent”

Devin Fairchild (Kent State University): “Anarchy in the UK and Terror in the Garden: a Postcolonial Reading of Paradise Lost and V for Vendetta”

Margaret Sönser Breen (University of Connecticut): “Toni Morrison, Temporality, and Networks of Dissent”

12:00-1:00 Lunch

Session 2: 1:00-2:30

Travel and Translation

Rev. Susanne Gregerson (Independent Scholar): “The first translation of Pilgrim’s Progress into Danish”

Shitsuyo Masui (Sophia University, Tokyo): “Olaudah Equiano’s Interesting Narrative and the 18th-century Transatlantic Evangelical Protestantism”

Roger Pooley (Keele University): “Dissenting Itinerancy”
Memory and Meditation

Rachel Adcock (Keele University): “Memorable Acts and Restoration Dissenting Networks”

Tom Schwanda (Wheaton College): “Remembering John Bunyan through the Writings of George Whitefield”

David Walker (University of Northumbria): “Defoe’s Meditations”

Session 3: 3:00-4:15

Women, Writing, and Publishing

Vera J. Camden (Kent State University): “Earthly House and Earthly Testimony: Mary Franklin’s Experience”

Adrea Johnson (University of Alberta): “‘I send thee forth’: Bunyan’s Language of Agency in the Work of Susannah Spurgeon”

Print Cultures and Networks

Jenna Townend (Loughborough): “Print and literary cultures of dissenting poetry and its readers, 1642-89”

Gary Kelly (University of Alberta): “Sixpenny Print Networks: Bunyan, the Number-trade and Dissent in the Onset of Modernity”

7:00-9:00 TIMMS CENTRE FOR THE PERFORMING ARTS
The Appeal of John Bunyan

Friday August 16

8:45-10:00 Plenary Address 3: Alison Chapman (University of Alabama)
“Tithes of War, The Early Modern Law of Tithing and Milton’s War in Heaven”

Session 4: 10:30-12:00

Allegory and Hermeneutics

Michael Arbino (Kent State University): “Predestination and Divinely Appointed Companionship in The Pilgrim’s Progress and The Life and Death of Mr. Badman”

Richard Bergen (University of British Columbia): “The Word and the World”

Noam Flinker (University of Haifa): “Psalm 51: From Christian Silencing to Judaic Messianism in Mid-17th-Century England”

Writing and Reading Among Dissenting Clergy

Helen Wilcox (Bangor University): “The Dissenter’s Journal as a Textual Network: the Case of Oliver Heywood”

Tim Cooper (University of Otago): “The Correspondence of Richard Baxter”

Robert Daniel (University of Warwick): “‘Read their lives in Mr. Clarke’s collection’: Writing and Reading Networks amongst Dissenting English Clergymen, 1650-1700”

12:00-1:00 Lunch

1:00-2:15 Plenary 4: Feisal Mohamed (Graduate Centre CUNY): “Bunyan on the Eve of Restoration”

AFTERNOON BREAK AND EXCURSIONS: 2:30-5:30

7:00-11:00 Conference Banquet
Papaschase Room: University of Alberta Faculty Club

Announcement of the Fifth Richard L. Greaves Award / Adjournment

Saturday August 17

10:00-11:00 IJBS Business Meeting
In *Grace Abounding*, John Bunyan likens the minister’s labour to the spiritual needs of his congregants – God’s children – to childbirth:

I have as it were travelled [i.e. travailed] to bring forth Children to God; neither could I be satisfied unless some fruits did appear in my work.

Taking its prompt from Bunyan’s words, used to describe his pastoral responsibilities, this fourth IJBS one-day colloquium sought to understand the significance of work in order to examine the links between labour and faith. Whether looking through the minister’s or the congregants’ eyes, the papers spoke of the economic and social realities of employment, thereby distilling an aspect of religious identity that has important ramifications.

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

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

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

The final plenary, entitled “In the sweat of thy face”: the Status of Work in the Writing of Bunyan, Milton, and Winstanley”, was given by Professor Thomas N. Corns (Bangor University). With Genesis (chapters 2–3) as a point of reference, Corns placed their reflections on the Fall, and its effect on the perception of labour, in the context of the lives and works of these three thinkers. Especially apparent was Milton’s high regard for the efforts of intellectual labour, and Winstanley’s optimism for the Diggers’ project (which turned fast to disillusionment). Labour had a spiritual dimension through the way that the prediction in Genesis, ‘cursed is the ground for your sake’ (3:17), played out in sometimes unexpected ways in the lives of these thinkers. The day’s papers cumulatively offered a nuanced account of the relationship between labour and faith.

IN MEMORIAM: ROBERT G. COLLMER (1926-2018)

Galen K. Johnson, Ashford University, USA

I first met Bob Collmer in a dining booth in 1998. I was only at the beginning of my PhD studies at Baylor University, but I knew that I wanted to write a dissertation on the intersection of theology and literary theory in John Bunyan’s works. Bob was a respected seventeenth-century expert and the former Dean of the Graduate School at Baylor. I say ‘former’ rather than ‘retired’, for he eschewed feeling non-productive and had only recently returned from teaching at the University of Jordan. Thankfully, Bob was ever eager to talk about Bunyan, and he not only accepted my meeting request but suggested the restaurant where to begin our acquaintance. I expressed my regret that I was unable to attend the second triennial meeting of the International John Bunyan Society that year but that, with his help, I would be ready for the next one in 2001 at Kent State University, whose press published his Bunyan in Our Time in 1989. Bob told me about Bunyan scholars I should get to know, monographs I should acquire, and some funny stories too. One was about the legendary historian Christopher Hill, who was surprised to discover during a visit to the US that the Texas Baptists he greeted did not have the same labor class mores that, as a Marxist, Hill associated with Bunyan and Baptists generally.
Bob asked if I would like to visit him at his home a few days later, and I was, of course, delighted to do so. He took me into an outbuilding that held more books than the town library of my childhood. As he was explaining to me the difference between old books and true antiques, he would pull down from his shelves volumes for my handling that he had collected from around the world, in many different languages and with many different illustrations, especially of Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. It was then that I began to realize what a truly cosmopolitan individual Bob was, and the more I learned about him, the more impressed I was at how little of that he had volunteered. He was born in Guatemala to missionary parents and came with them to Philadelphia and then Texas for his formal schooling. After high school, he enrolled in both Howard Payne College and the U.S. Army, and he later completed B.A. and M.A. degrees at Baylor. In 1953, he earned his Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania with his dissertation, ‘The Concept of Death in the Poetry of Donne, Herbert, Crashaw, and Vaughan’. Bob moved to Texas Tech University with wife Linnie and children Carol and Mark, and then back to Baylor as English Department faculty. Linnie’s death in 1979 cut short a marriage of over thirty years, but Bob eventually met and married Alys, who shared his interests in the arts and travel, especially to Holland, which they visited often during their own three-decade marriage.

Bob Collmer’s full life will be long and fondly remembered. In 2007, the University of Kansas purchased over 700 illustrated books from Bob’s personal library and hailed that its ‘Collmer Collection’ of Bunyan editions was rivaled in the whole world only by holdings at Harvard University, the British Library and the New York Public Library. At Baylor, doctoral students now can apply for the Robert G. Collmer Family Archival Research Fellowship, which funds visits to research libraries. Friends will continue to cherish Bob’s laugh and learning. For instance, the Rev. David George, who first met Bob at the 2004 Bunyan conference in Bedford, eulogized: ‘He was an unusual person, a great one in my estimation, and I miss him’. My own memories came full circle when I re-read an email Bob had sent me in 2011, after I became IJBS treasurer: ‘You have performed much useful service to the Bunyan clan. On behalf of them, please accept our thanks’. No, Bob. Thank you.

**Joint Book Launch at Queen Mary University of London**

July 2018 saw the publication by Oxford University Press of two books that will be of interest to all members of the International John Bunyan Society. The first, entitled *Vanity Fair and the Celestial City: Dissenting, Methodist, and Evangelical Literary Culture in England 1720–1800*, is by Isabel Rivers; the other, entitled *The Oxford Handbook of John Bunyan*, is a collection of thirty-eight original essays edited by Michael Davies and W. R. Owens. The two books were launched at a joint event held at Queen Mary University of London on Friday 7 September 2018, which was attended by about seventy people.
Some attendees at the Launch: Patti Owens, Sylvia Brown, Tamsin Spargo, Nathalie Collé and Carina Vitti

Isabel Rivers at the launch
**Vanity Fair and the Celestial City: Dissenting, Methodist, and Evangelical Literary Culture in England 1720-1800**

Isabel Rivers

- Offers the first detailed account of the writing, editing, publishing, and distribution of popular religious books by evangelical dissenters, Methodists, and Church of England evangelicals in the period 1720 to 1800
- Brings together the methods and approaches of religious history, book history, literary history, and the history of reading
- Discusses over two hundred writers, including Isaac Watts, Philip Doddridge, John Wesley, and John Newton
- Explores a wide range of literary genres, including lives, devotional guides, and hymns, with much illustrative material, and provides detailed case studies of many key books
- Clearly written and structured, easy for readers to navigate

In John Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, the pilgrims cannot reach the Celestial City without passing through Vanity Fair, where everything is bought and sold. In recent years there has been much analysis of commerce and consumption in Britain during the long eighteenth century, and of the dramatic expansion of popular publishing. Similarly, much has been written on the extraordinary effects of the evangelical revivals of the eighteenth century in Britain, Europe, and North America. But how did popular religious culture and the world of print interact? It is now known that religious works formed the greater part of the publishing market for most of the century. What religious books were read, and how? Who chose them? How did they get into people’s hands?

*Vanity Fair and the Celestial City* is the first book to answer these questions in detail. It explores the works written, edited, abridged, and promoted by evangelical dissenters, Methodists both Arminian and Calvinist, and Church of England evangelicals in the period 1720 to 1800. Isabel Rivers also looks back to earlier sources and forward to the continued republication of many of these works well into the nineteenth century. The first part is concerned with the publishing and distribution of religious books by commercial booksellers and not-for-profit religious societies, and the means by which readers obtained them and how they responded to what they read. The second part shows that some of the most important publications were new versions of earlier nonconformist, episcopalian, Roman Catholic, and North American works. The third part explores the main literary kinds, including annotated bibles, devotional guides, exemplary lives, and hymns. Building on many years’ research into the religious literature of the period, Rivers discusses over two hundred writers and provides detailed case studies of popular and influential works.

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11: Poems and Hymns
Appendix: Key Writers and Editors
Selected Primary Bibliography
Michael Davies and W. R. Owens eds.

Hardback
Published 26 July 2018
736 Pages | 23 Illustrations
246 x 171mm
ISBN: 9780199581306

- Presents thirty-eight original chapters by internationally recognised scholars from around the globe
- Examines Bunyan’s life and works, their literary, religious, and historical significance, and the critical reception of his writings, in particular his famous allegory of the Christian life, *The Pilgrim’s Progress*
- The interdisciplinary content and approach make this collection unparalleled in the field
- Each chapter includes a short list of recommended ‘further reading’ to direct the reader to the best work in the field and the latest published research
- Divided into four sections (Contexts; Works; Directions in Criticism; Journeys) this *Handbook* is easy to navigate and clear in rationale

*The Oxford Handbook of John Bunyan* is the most extensive volume of original essays ever published on the seventeenth-century Nonconformist preacher and writer, John Bunyan. Its thirty-eight chapters examine Bunyan’s life and works, their religious and historical contexts, and the critical reception of his writings, in particular his allegorical narrative, *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. Interdisciplinary and comprehensive, it provides unparalleled scope and expertise, ranging from literary theory to religious history and from theology to post-colonial criticism.
The Handbook is structured in four sections. The first, ‘Contexts’, deals with the historical Bunyan in relation to various aspects of his life, background, and work as a Nonconformist: from basic facts of biography to the nature of his church at Bedford, his theology, and the religious and political cultures of seventeenth-century Dissent. Part 2 considers Bunyan’s literary output: from his earliest printed tracts to his posthumously published works. Offering discrete chapters on Bunyan’s major works—Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners (1666), The Pilgrim’s Progress, Parts I and II (1678; 1684); The Life and Death of Mr. Badman (1680), and The Holy War (1682)—this section nevertheless covers Bunyan’s oeuvre in its entirety: controversial and pastoral, narrative and poetic. Section 3, ‘Directions in Criticism’, engages with Bunyan in literary critical terms, focusing on his employment of form and language and on theoretical approaches to his writings: from psychoanalytic to post-secular criticism. Section 4, ‘Journeys’, tackles some of the ways in which Bunyan’s works, and especially The Pilgrim’s Progress, have travelled throughout the world since the late seventeenth century, assessing Bunyan’s place within key literary periods and their distinctive developments: from the eighteenth-century novel to the writing of ‘empire.’

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Richard Baxter and John Bunyan, the two outstanding figures of late seventeenth-century Puritanism and nonconformity, never met. They did, however, have a good deal in common. They were close contemporaries: Bunyan, born in 1628, was thirteen years younger than Baxter, born in 1615. They shared the experience of Civil War, Interregnum and Restoration: Bunyan survived into the first months of the reign of James II; Baxter into that of William and Mary. Both were provincials: Bunyan was from a village a few miles from Bedford while Baxter grew up in rural Shropshire in the West Midlands and conducted his renowned Interregnum pastorate just over the county border at Kidderminster in Worcestershire. Neither proceeded to higher education; the formal education of both ended with their schooling, although Baxter was far more of an autodidact than Bunyan, insistently referencing Patristic and European Reformed and Roman Catholic sources throughout his works, while Bunyan presented himself as an ill-educated artisan ignorant whose spiritual insights owed nothing to other writers. As committed Puritans, both were victims of the Restoration persecution of nonconformity, more intermittently than Bunyan in the case of Baxter but just as publicly in his trial for seditious libel before Judge Jeffries in 1685 for allegedly reflecting adversely on the bishops of the Church of England in glosses in his Paraphrase on the New Testament (1685). Above all, during their lifetimes both achieved through their writings national and international renown as the authors of the century’s bestselling works of practical, pastoral and evangelistic divinity. Hence, while the open-communion Calvinist Baptist and the liberal ‘Presbyterian’ and unwilling nonconformist held very different ecclesiological and theological views – Baxter characterised Bunyan as ‘an unlearned Antinomian-Anabaptist’1 – the writings of the one offer illuminating points of comparison and contrast with those of the other.

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1 Richard Baxter, The Scripture Gospel Defended (1690), part ii, p. 49. He did add: ‘I never heard that Bunyan was not an honest godly man. If he attained the design of Christianity, was he not a Christian?’ The difference between the two men is explored in my forthcoming article for the issue of Études Épistémè arising from the 2017 Aix-en-Provence conference, which is drawn on here.
Members of the International John Bunyan Society may hence be interested to know that OUP has now advertised the first scholarly edition of Baxter’s Reliquiae Baxterianae to be published in five volumes early in 2019. This is a key text for early modern historical, ecclesiastical, cultural, literary and bibliographical studies in general, and for the history of Puritanism in particular. It presents a wealth of historical data and immediately observed experiences during the Civil Wars, Interregnum and Restoration period and mounts a compelling case to vindicate moderate Puritanism against the misrepresentations of the prevailing royalist narratives published in the later seventeenth century, culminating in Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion. No other work from the period articulates so fully this much maligned tradition, and no other example of life writing so fully explores the relationship between public affairs and personal spiritual and emotional experience. The result is not only a unique primary source but also a fascinating combination of autobiography, historiography and apologetic in a work crucial to our understanding of the development of modern narrative genres.

For Bunyanists, a particular point of interest is the difference in its structure and autobiographical emphasis from Bunyan’s Grace Abounding. Bunyan reveals almost nothing of his biography or the public sphere, of what influenced his development. His focus is exclusively on his inner spiritual struggles. By contrast, Baxter’s autobiography exhaustively (even exhaustingly) details what Baxter did – his actions as a parliamentarian chaplain, as a pastor during the Interregnum, in the ecclesiastical negotiations of the Restoration, as a nonconformist divine, accounts of his voluminous writings, his unwavering pursuit of church reunion. Where Bunyan is a passive (though suffering) protagonist Baxter is active through 800 folio pages.  

Most strikingly, the conversion experience that preoccupies Bunyan does not figure at all in the Reliquiae. In his youth, Baxter had been distressed for many years that his own experience did not conform to the received Puritan pattern of a sudden transformation, that he did not know ‘the Time of my Conversion, being wrought on by … Degrees’. Subsequently, however, he came to understand, and to teach, that ‘According to Gods ordinary way of giving Grace, it cannot be expected that Christians should be able to know the very time of their first receiving or acting true saving Grace, or just when they were Pardoned, Justified, Adopted, and put into a state of Salvation’. Rather, ‘Education is God’s ordinary way for the Conveyance of his Grace, and ought no more to be set in opposition to the Spirit, than the preaching of the Word’, with the consequence that ‘God breaketh not all Mens hearts alike.’ The gist of his advice in The Right Method for a Settled Peace of Conscience (1653), is not to look for marks of election nor to analyse spiritual experience too closely, but to focus on living a Christian life. Tellingly, in the Reliquiae he rejects intimate disclosure of the ‘Soul-Experiments which those that urge me to this kind of Writing, do expect’, such as preoccupied Bunyan, judging it ‘somewhat unsavoury’ to give ‘any more particular Account of Heart-Occurrences, and God’s Operations on me’; instead, he analyses ‘what Change God hath made upon my Mind and Heart’ since his youth, that is, the developments wrought by experience and study on his thought and understanding.

In its original 1696 printed form, the Reliquiae is very difficult to access and to navigate. The folio is textually defective in a number of ways and the book lacks structural coherence and adequate indexes, yet, since its first publication, it has never

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2 For an acute and sensitive accounts of the contrasting characters of the Reliquiae and Grace Abounding, see Kathleen Lynch, Protestant


received a scholarly edition. This OUP edition, prepared by myself, John Coffey, Tim Cooper and Tom Charlton, is based on Baxter's autograph manuscript which is still extant for over half the text, held in Dr Williams's Library and the British Library and will for the first time make this unique work available in a reliable text. Its textual introduction and notes, and the discussion of the archival record and history of the many substantiating documents Baxter included, throw light on the editorial history of the work, and on early modern bibliographical history. The general introduction sets out the history of the work's composition, explores its major themes, and reviews its reception from its first publication to the present day in both the dissenting and national church traditions. In addition, the editorial apparatus includes an explanatory commentary and textual notes; supporting documentation, much of it never before published; a detailed chronology; an expository linguistic and historical glossary; and the fullest available bibliography (based upon examination of extant copies) of Baxter 140 or so published titles, whose occasion and publication are a recurrent topic in the text. There will be four indexes: of persons, places, topics and Baxter's books. These will make fully accessible the wealth of Baxter's reference to hundreds of persons (many never before identified), historical sources and texts and contemporary events.

The hope of its editors is that this edition will enable Baxter's first-hand account to take its proper place beside those of such better-known (and better-served) witnesses as Pepys and Evelyn and make possible an accurate understanding and appreciation of this unique early modern text and primary historical source.

A NOTE ON READER RECEPTION OF THE PILGRIM’S PROGRESS, PART II (1684)

Bob Owens, Open University and University of Bedfordshire, UK

In her chapter on The Pilgrim’s Progress, Part II (1684), published in The Oxford Handbook of John Bunyan (edited by Michael Davies and W. R. Owens, 2018), Margaret Olofson Thickstun briefly surveys the reception and influence of the work (pp. 322–23). The bare fact that most editions of The Pilgrim’s Progress have included Part II may not in itself, she suggests, ‘be conclusive evidence of its influence’. She notes that there is little or no direct reference to Part II in Louis May Alcott’s Little Women, by contrast with the frequent references to Part I, suggesting that Bunyan’s female characters failed to inspire women readers. In support of this, she quotes Isabel Hofmeyr’s argument that unmarried women missionaries were strongly attracted to Great-heart, through whose ‘singleness and celibacy’ they could ‘see themselves as heroic figures, aided rather than hampered by their singleness’ (The Portable Bunyan (Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 163).

Quite recently, I came across a couple of comments by readers who remember reading Part II in childhood. Their recollections seem to bear out the argument that Great-heart may indeed have been the most memorable, and perhaps the most significant character in Part II, and they are sufficiently interesting, I think, to quote at some length. The first comes from an
autobiographical account of the early years of her life by Lucy Larcom (1824–1893), a millworker, teacher, poet and abolitionist who was born in Beverly, Massachusetts.

In A New England Girlhood, Outlined from Memory (1889), she gives a lengthy account of her childhood reading, among which The Pilgrim's Progress was pre-eminent:

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

The lot I most envied was that of the contented Shepherd Boy in the Valley of Humiliation, singing his cheerful songs, and wearing 'the herb called Heart's Ease in his bosom'; but all the glorious ups and downs of the 'Progress' I would gladly have shared with Christiana and her children, never desiring to turn aside into any 'By-Path Meadow' while Mr. Great-Heart led the way, and the Shining Ones came down to meet us along the road. It was one of the necessities of my nature, as a child, to have some one being, real or ideal, man or woman, before whom I inwardly bowed down and worshipped. Mr. Great-Heart was the perfect hero of my imagination. Nobody, in books or out of them, compared with him. I wondered if there were really any Mr. Great-Hearts to be met with among living men.

I remember reading this beloved book once in a snow-storm, and looking up from it out among the white, wandering flakes, with a feeling that they had come down from heaven as its interpreters; that they were trying to tell me, in their airy up-and-down-flight, the story of innumerable souls. I tried to fix my eye on one particular flake, and to follow its course until it touched the earth. But I found that I could not. A little breeze was stirring, and the flake seemed to go and return, to descend and then ascend again, as if hastening homeward to the sky, losing itself at last in the airy, infinite throng, and leaving me filled with thoughts of that 'great multitude, which no man could number, clothed with white robes', crowding so gloriously into the closing pages of the Bible.

Oh, if I could only be sure that I should some time be one of that invisible company! But the heavens were already beginning to look a great way off. I hummed over one of my best loved hymns—

‘Who are these in bright array?’

and that seemed to bring them nearer again. (A New England Childhood, pp. 101–3)

It is clear from this that Bunyan’s book made a big impression on the youthful Larcom. She loved it for its story, but it also stimulated her religious development and she links it with the Bible (quoting Revelation 7:9) and with favourite hymns (quoting the opening line of a hymn about heaven by James Montgomery, first published in 1819). Interestingly, however, it is Part II that gets most mention. She is much taken with the ‘contented Shepherd Boy’, and identifies with Christiana and her
children, but the incomparable Mr. Great-heart is 'the perfect hero' of her imagination.


Workman was a leading Methodist, who served as principal of Westminster Training College from 1903 until 1930, and who published many distinguished works on church history. His article was written to mark the tercentenary of Bunyan’s birth, but although it is warmly celebratory in tone, Workman feels that ‘there are, of course, defects in the Pilgrim’s Progress, as indeed there are spots on the sun’. He goes on:

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

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

THE COWPER AND NEWTON JOURNAL

Bob Owens, Open University and University of Bedfordshire, UK

The poet William Cowper is known to all students of Bunyan as the author of one of the earliest and most perceptive critical comments on The Pilgrim’s Progress. In his poem Tirocinium (1784), Cowper warmly praised the ‘Ingenious dreamer, in whose well-told tale / Sweet fiction and sweet truth alike prevail’, and whose ‘humorous vein, strong sense, and simple style’ had brought ‘deserved fame’ to an author whose name was still by some ‘despised’. Cowper’s friend John Newton, the Evangelical curate at Olney (where Cowper lived) was also an admirer of Bunyan, who expounded The Pilgrim’s Progress at prayer meetings in the 1760s, and became one of the foremost editors of The Pilgrim’s Progress in the late eighteenth century. (In her chapter on ‘The Pilgrim’s Progress in the Evangelical Revival’, included in The Oxford Handbook of John Bunyan, Isabel Rivers has pointed out that the notes Newton prepared for an edition of 1776 included several hymns later published in the famous Olney Hymns (1779).)
Because of these and other connections between Cowper, Newton and Bunyan, I would like to draw the attention of readers of *The Recorder* to *The Cowper and Newton Journal*. This scholarly journal dedicated to the study of Cowper, Newton and their circle has been appearing annually since 2011, edited by Vincent Newey, William Hutchings and Tony Seward. As a member of the Editorial Board I have had the pleasure of reading every volume, and of seeing the journal go from strength to strength. Articles that I have particularly enjoyed and learned from include Martha J. Koehler’s richly rewarding study, ‘Sincerity and Dread in William Cowper’s Conversion Narratives’, which should be read by any student of *Grace Abounding*; David Wood’s engrossing account of Newton’s links with Dissenters, and his adherence to moderate Calvinism (Newton thought it should be ‘diffused through our ministry as sugar is in tea; it should be tasted everywhere, though prominent nowhere’); Karen E. Smith’s discussion of Newton’s correspondence with John Ryland Jr on the subject of marriage; and Katherine Turner’s revelation of the extent of the circulation and influence of Cowper’s anti-slavery poems and their influence on later writings by slaves themselves, as well as by abolitionists in nineteenth-century America (including, I was intrigued to discover, George B. Cheever, author of the frequently-republished *Lectures on the Pilgrim’s Progress and on the Life and Times of John Bunyan*, delivered in New York in 1843–44, and of a popular updating of Bunyan’s allegory, *A Reel in a Bottle* (1852)).

Details of how to take out a subscription to *The Cowper and Newton Journal*, or how to buy single copies, are given on the website of the Cowper and Newton Museum: [http://www.cowperandnewtonmuseum.org.uk/journal-2/](http://www.cowperandnewtonmuseum.org.uk/journal-2/). The cost is a very reasonable £6.00 per copy, inclusive of postage and packing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON BUNYAN

David Parry, University of Exeter, UK


vernacular literature: Polish translations of John Bunyan’s allegory], 231–274.


**IJBS Treasurers’ Reports**

**Europe**

Rachel Adcock, Keele University, European Treasurer

The UK account for the International John Bunyan Society currently stands at £1,826.83. Use of electronic payment facilities for subscriptions to the Society is growing through the availability of PayPal and use of credit cards on the Society’s web pages. Renewal subscriptions and new membership payments can also be made via 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. It is important that members email me to let me know they have done this on R.C.Adcock@keele.ac.uk.

In addition to the existing current account, IJBS also has an investment account with Old Mutual Wealth, based in the UK. At the time of writing, this contains about £12,800, made up of an anonymous donation of £10,000 made to IJBS, together with the fund donated by the family of Richard L. Greaves which is used to award the triennial book prize established in his memory.

The amount in our NatWest account has increased slightly since last year, despite a couple of outgoings: £15.00 for membership of the Alliance of Literary Societies; and a £186.25 contribution to the book launch of The Oxford Handbook of John Bunyan, edited by Michael Davies and W. R. Owens, and Vanity Fair and the Celestial City: Dissenting, Methodist, and Evangelical Literary Culture, 1720-1800, by Isabel Rivers. The Executive Committee had also agreed to fund travel bursaries for postgraduate and early-career scholars who presented papers at the regional IJBS conference at Loughborough University on 5 April 2019.

**North America**

Margaret Sönser Breen, University of Connecticut, North American Treasurer

To date the North American account for the International John Bunyan Society stands at $5,538.73 (USD). Use of electronic payment facilities for subscriptions to the Society is growing through the availability of PayPal and use of credit cards on the Society’s web pages. Renewal subscriptions and new membership payments can also be made via a check or money order made out to IJBS. (Please note that dues are payable in US dollars and not in another currency.) Send your check/money order, along with your membership form, to Margaret Breen, IJBS North American Treasurer, Dept. of English, 215 Glenbrook Rd., U-4025, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT 06269-4025, USA. Whether you are making use of PayPal or sending a check or money order, it is important that you send me an email apprising me of your payment; I am at Margaret.Breen@uconn.edu. We are anticipating providing financial support for the upcoming IJBS conference in Edmonton this August.
REMINDER ABOUT CHANGE TO IJBS MEMBERSHIP RENEWAL TIMETABLE

Bob Owens, Open University and University of Bedfordshire, co-editor of *Bunyan Studies*, writing on behalf of the IJBS Executive Committee

In 2018, the IJBS Executive Committee agreed a significant change to our system for handling subscription renewals. The decision to make this change was partly to streamline and make more efficient our method of dealing with renewals, but also because IJBS subscriptions include the cost of supplying members with the annual copy of *Bunyan Studies*, which appears towards the end of each year, and so it is important that members do renew promptly. The change will be submitted for formal approval by members at the AGM to be held as part of the Triennial Conference at Alberta in August 2019, but it has been working well since its introduction last year.

The most important feature of the new system is that all membership renewals (whether these are for one or three years) now start on 1 October and therefore run out on 30 September (annually or triennially). At the beginning of each September all annual members are reminded to renew, together with any triennial members whose renewal falls due in that year. A reminder is sent in October to anyone who has not renewed, with a final reminder being sent in November to anyone who has still not renewed. This final reminder makes it clear that the up-coming number of *Bunyan Studies* for that year will not be sent out if there is no response, and the member’s details will be removed from the list.

The Executive Committee agreed that no member should be disadvantaged by this change. Regardless of when memberships would have become due, everyone’s renewal date was set to begin on 1 October 2018. So, for example, a member due for renewal on 1 June 2018 was moved to 1 October 2019, so that member was, effectively, given a few ‘free’ months of membership at the point of the move. No member has had to pay ‘extra’ dues because of the move.

Our experience over this first year of the new system is that members understand and approve of this change of policy and practice. We have not had a single ‘complaint’ or query about the changeover. Nevertheless, if you do have any questions, please write to me, or to any one of the other members of the Executive Committee outlining your concerns. We will be getting in touch with all members due for renewal early in September 2019, and hope that you will renew in good time to receive your copy of *Bunyan Studies*.
MEMBERSHIP FORM
The International John Bunyan Society (IJBS)

All members receive:

- access to The Recorder, the newsletter of IJBS (published electronically)
- Bunyan Studies, the official Journal of IJBS (published annually)
- use of our listserv for discussion
- invitation to our Triennial Conference

For more information about the Society, please visit the website www.johnbunyansociety.org, or contact the Secretary: Sylvia Brown. Email: sylvia.brown@ualberta.ca

Membership Rates:

Individual: £22 / US$35 per year, or £60 / US$100 for three years
Student, Retired, Under-employed: £12 / US$20 per year
Couples at the same address may pay a single fee (but will be sent only one copy of Bunyan Studies)

Please send the following information and payment to one of the two IJBS Treasurers:

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  University of Connecticut, Department of English
  215 Glenbrook Road, U-4025, Storrs, CT 06269-4025
  E-mail: margaret.breen@uconn.edu OR ijbstreasurer@gmail.com
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  Chancellor’s Building
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The International John Bunyan Society
A society dedicated to the study of the life and times of
John Bunyan (1628-1688)

http://johnbunyansociety.org/

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 March for the annual Spring/Summer issue.

For submissions and inquiries please contact Nathalie Collé, editor, at:
nathalie.colle@univ-lorraine.fr.

Nathalie Collé
UFR Arts, Lettres et Langues
Université de Lorraine, Site de Nancy, CLSH
23 Boulevard Albert 1er
BP 60446
54001 NANCY CEDEX
FRANCE

(00 33) (0)3 72 74 31 35

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Back cover image JUSTIN ROWE, book sculptor ©www.daysfalllikeleaves

‘Hopeful had much ado to keep his brother’s head above water’

Conception NATHALIE COLLÉ

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