

THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO JOHN BUNYAN

ed. by

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'Bunyan's Literary Life'

by

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PRINT AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

Bunyan might be thought the most improbable of authors. In an hierarchical age, when cultural patronage was in the hands of the court, the universities, the established church and London social elites, the literary prospects for a poorly educated provincial sectarian preacher might appear dim and yet this same Bedfordshire tinker, 'of a low and inconsiderable generation' from one of the 'meanest and most despised of all the families in the Land' (GA, §2¹), wrote nearly sixty works and, with *The Pilgrim's Progress*, became the century's bestselling writer. While, however, his success was exceptional, the fact of Bunyan's authorship was not quite as improbable as it might seem. His early literary career coincided with, and was shaped by, the unprecedented increase in press activity associated with the gathering momentum of the English Revolution. The political and religious tensions of the first half of the century were accompanied by, and articulated through, a proliferating press whose annual output rose from 625 titles in 1639 to 848 in 1640, over 2000 in 1641 and over 3,666 in 1642, thereafter to continue at between one and two thousand annually until the Restoration.² A unique record of this productivity is preserved in the remarkable collection of broadsides, tracts, pamphlets and books assembled by the bookseller George Thomason, who, between 1640 and 1661, amassed 22,000 publications. Never before had so many people turned to writing, never before had so many seen their thoughts into print, and never before had what they printed generated such extensive interest and public debate.³

Bunyan, mustered in the New Model Army in 1644 as he turned sixteen,⁴ came to maturity in the midst of this out-pouring of print. Overwhelmingly religious, and predominantly Puritan, in character, it was the work of new kinds of writer. An increasing number of non-university men and, for effectively the first time, many women were prompted to write, and to publish, by their Puritan experience. Writing in 1648, the minister Richard Baxter exclaimed in dismay that '*Every ignorant, empty braine (which usually hath the highest esteem of it selfe) hath the liberty of the Presse ... whereby the number of bookes is grown so great that they begin with many to grow contemptible*'.⁵ The revolutionary and radical ideas published in the tracts of Levellers, Anabaptists, Ranters and, later, Quakers, disclosed to Baxter's orderly temper a prospect of anarchy, of, in the oft-quoted words of Acts 17: 6, 'a world turned upside down'.⁶ Ministers and members of gathered churches, such as the Bedford open-communion Baptist church Bunyan joined in 1655,⁷ and Quakers in particular, made repeated use of the press to disseminate their message, publishing broadsides, tracts, prophecies, personal testimonies, sermons, as well as polemical and controversial pieces, by authors from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds. The result was a 'democratisation' of the press, a 'downwards dissemination of print',⁸ as radical Puritanism inspired in those such as Bunyan the confidence to access, and to participate in, a literary culture from which they had hitherto been excluded.

Books anticipate readers. In a population of some 3 million in 1500 and 5.5 million in 1700, full literacy (that is, the ability both to read and to write) was possessed by perhaps 15% of the population at the start of this period, and no more than 30% at its close.⁹ Puritanism, with what one historian has described as its 'obsession with the written word',¹⁰ saw it as one of its tasks to increase this proportion so that believers might study the Bible and benefit from the wealth of religious works available: 'By all means let children be taught to read', parents were exhorted, 'if you are never so poor, and whatever shift you make'.¹¹ To this end, Bunyan's *A Book for Boys and Girls* (1686) included an alphabet and numerical tables to help children learn to read and to count (*B&G*, pp. 194–6).

Puritan writers were especially anxious to reach the socially disadvantaged and marginalized who had never before been supposed capable of literary engagement. They addressed their texts to the 'vulgar', that is, the mass of the common people. For this market, Bunyan's publications were all cheaply produced and sold at the lowest prices. Three of them appear to have been broadsheets, probably for pasting on walls for ready and general availability to those who may not have been able to purchase them (*MW*, 12:xxv–xxvi). To reach such readers, breviates and chapbook versions of larger texts were frequently available, hawked for a few pennies – as of *The Pilgrim's Progress* in 1684.¹² Reading aloud to groups, lending, borrowing and bequeathing books, establishing public libraries, these and other expedients were much encouraged among the godly, facilitating the dissemination of texts among, and access to them by, the impoverished. Bunyan's first wife came from a poor family, but texts were not beyond its reach: she brought with her as dowry two of the century's bestsellers: Lewis Bayley's *Practise of Pietie* (1612) and Arthur Dent's *Plaine Mans Path-way* (*GA*, p. 8).

This drive for readers was a key step in moving the patronage of literature away from privileged elites to a popular readership, a necessary prerequisite for the development of the novel in the next century. In so doing Puritanism revalued the act of reading. Puritan readers, whatever their background, were not to be unduly impressed by the fact of a book's publication, nor by the reputation of its author. They were, as Bunyan's pastor John Gifford taught, to take 'not up any truth upon trust, as from this or that or another man or men, but to cry mightily to God, that he would convince us of the reality thereof' (*GA*, p. 37). In the oft-quoted words of I Thessalonians 5:21, the godly were themselves to 'Prove all things, hold fast that which is good', to assess, weigh and analyse evidence before accepting an author's contentions. This individual responsibility to determine truth invested the act of reading with high seriousness: faith carried the obligation to be a critical and self-aware reader.¹³ This is precisely the tenor of Bunyan's frequent injunctions to his readers carefully to weigh his arguments, and, persuaded, to act accordingly: '*read, and consider, and iudge*'; '*lay my Book, thy Head and Heart together*' (*MW*, 8:51; *P'sP*, p. 7).

BUNYAN AND THE PRESS

An incentive to this sudden upsurge in press productivity was the collapse of pre-publication censorship following the sitting of the Long Parliament in November 1640 and the subsequent abolition of the Court of Star Chamber in August 1641. Since the time of Henry VIII print publishing had been regarded by governments as a threat to their authority and they hence sought to restrain and control the output of the press: the printing trade and pre-publication censorship developed together. Every legally published title required prior approval (that is, a licence to publish) from an appointed censor (generally an episcopalian cleric), which was not to be had for texts challenging either political or ecclesiastical authority. In addition, laws on defamation, libel, slander, sedition and treason were used to control the output of the press. Very substantial fines and terms of imprisonment, and even banishment or execution (such as Bunyan himself feared (*GA*, pp. 95–101) were risked by printers who produced, booksellers who disseminated and authors who wrote unlicensed texts or texts judged to be subversive.¹⁴ The Long Parliament, however, quickly found that it had no more liking for a free press than had earlier regimes and by an ordinance of 14 June 1643 licensing of texts before publication was re-instituted. This was the immediate occasion of Milton's *Areopagitica: A Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing* (1644) which construed a free press, the availability of cheap print and pamphleteering as essential marks of a Christian commonwealth: 'Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. Under these fantastic terrors of sect and schism, we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding which God hath stirr'd up ... What some lament of, we rather should rejoyce at'.¹⁵

Milton's plea wonderfully captures the disputatious ferment within which Bunyan grew to maturity, but it had no effect on governing elites, not during the Interregnum and certainly not at the Restoration, when the Licensing Act (1662) re-imposed the old press controls and the penal legislation of what came to be known as the 'Clarendon Code' sought to extirpate Puritan opinion through sustained persecution.¹⁶ Writers adopted a number of expedients to circumvent the restraining authority of the censor. Heterodox works, such as Milton's theological treatise *De Doctrina Christiana*, and satirical works, such as Andrew Marvell's Restoration verse satires, might circulate in manuscript and not be put into print. *The Pilgrim's Progress*, begun probably in 1668 and completed in 1671, was shared with friends in this way before its publication in 1678 (*P'sP*, p. 2); the seven-year delay was perhaps due in part to apprehensions about its reception by the authorities.¹⁷ Bunyan's much more directly inflammatory *Relation of His Imprisonment* remained in manuscript until 1765 (*GA*, pp. xxiii–xxv) and his contentious millenarian *Of Antichrist, and His Ruine*, with its praise of Tudor but not Stuart monarchs, its criticism of the established church and condemnation of Roman Catholicism when the heir to the throne was a known Catholic, its promotion of liberty of

conscience and denunciation of persecutors, was published only posthumously in 1692 (e.g. *MW*, 13:424–6, 441–2, 493–4, 497–8). This was one of fifteen (perhaps sixteen¹⁸) works in manuscript at Bunyan's death, their number suggesting he withheld works from the press rather than risk their publication; certainly, the censor was hardly likely to pass the explicit association of 'Absolute Monarchy' with the persecuting tyranny of Nimrod, the founder of Babel, 'the first great Seat of Oppressors' in Bunyan's *Exposition on the First Ten Chapters of Genesis* (*MW*, 12:267–9). These unpublished manuscripts were finally printed in the 1692 folio edition of Bunyan's works when, in the changed circumstances following the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 and the Toleration Act of 1689, it became 'lawful now to print the works of dissenters, though it was not so formerly'.¹⁹

In works that did reach print, a variety of rhetorical and allusive strategies might allow oblique and implicit expression of meanings that could be denied if need be. In fiction and allegory the relationship between imagined and contemporary worlds might be particularly suggestive: in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, is it worldliness in general, or Restoration London in particular, that is represented in *Vanity Fair*, and, if the latter, does Bunyan glance at Charles II in its lord, Beelzebub (*P'sP*, pp. 89–97)? By-ends' self-seeking materialism can be read as a hit at those who prospered through conformity to the established church (*P'sP*, pp. 100). Indeed, the Restoration *beau monde* in general comes rather badly out of Bunyan: to be socially privileged, preoccupied with forms of civility and fashion, with status and hierarchy, these are almost invariably signs of moral turpitude: Giant Despair owns a castle and a great estate barred to trespassers; By-ends is from 'Fair-speech', 'a *Wealthy place*'; Mercy's suitor Mr. Brisk is 'a man of some breeding' but merely 'pretended to Religion' (*P'sP*, pp. 98, 113, 226). In *Mr. Badman* (1680), what the protagonist takes to be 'neatness, handsomness, comeliness, cleanliness ... following of fashions' is condemned by Mr. Wiseman as pride, and courtly Restoration female dress is denounced as a shameless inducement to licentiousness 'with their naked shoulders, and Paps hanging out like a Cows bag' (*LDB*, pp. 121–2, 125). Bunyan finds it readily understandable that in the parable of Dives and Lazarus 'the ungodly [are] held forth under the notion of a rich man', for 'to see how the great ones of the world will go strutting up and down the streets sometimes, it makes me wonder'; by contrast, God's own people 'are most commonly of the poorer sort', 'for the most part, a poor, despised, contemptible people' (*MW*, 1:252, 253–4, 255).²⁰ Such socially subversive sentiments would hardly recommend themselves to the political authorities, and so Bunyan, like other authors, often avoided the censor altogether by resorting to unlicensed publication. Only eight first editions of the forty or so titles published during Bunyan's lifetime appear to have been properly licensed,²¹ including the two parts of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, but neither *Mr. Badman* nor *The Holy War* (1682), both of which might be readily construed as deeply critical of the social values and political practices of the Restoration. Indeed, in *The Holy War* Bunyan had a tilt at the licensing authorities themselves in the figure of Mr. Filth, almost certainly a caricature of Roger L'Estrange, the Surveyor of the Press (*HW*, pp. 312, with n. on p. 257).

Bunyan's works, like those of other Puritan authors, are hence to be read as oppositional texts produced at considerable risk to all involved. Nonconformist publishing was a collaborative enterprise requiring from printers, booksellers and other tradesmen a shared commitment with the author to challenge and outwit the agents of the state. These networks operating in Restoration London in defiance of the authorities included the publishers of Bunyan's works.²² It is perhaps small wonder that no bookseller risked public association with Bunyan's *I Will Pray With the Spirit* ([1662]): the imprint of this defiant rejection of the restored episcopal national church and of set forms of worship just when these were being re-imposed by the Act of Uniformity (1662) reads simply 'Printed for the Author' (*MW*, 2:229, 233). Otherwise, Bunyan's publishers were identified on his title pages. In all, he contracted with thirteen publishers, but two stand out. From 1661 until 1679 the majority of his works were put out by Francis Smith, a Baptist and (later) licensed preacher who, despite a bewildering succession of arrests, examinations and imprisonments for publishing allegedly subversive works, survived to become a prominent Whig publisher during the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis. In 1678, Nathaniel Ponder, publisher of Andrew Marvell's prose satires (he was arrested in 1676 for his involvement in the production of *Mr. Smirke*) and of the works of the leading Congregationalist John Owen, who may have referred Bunyan to him, published *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and thereafter, understandably, maintained his connection with Bunyan. These two were responsible for twenty-one and twenty-seven editions respectively during Bunyan's lifetime, twelve and eight of them first editions of Bunyan titles. Other works were taken by publishers with equally distinctive nonconformist lists, such as George Larkin, prosecuted in 1668 for his role in publishing satirical verse; Benjamin Alsop, who went into exile after fighting in Monmouth's army in 1685; and the Presbyterian and Whig Dorman Newman.²³

'THAT UNWORTHY SERVANT OF CHRIST'

In a 'Catalogue-Table of Mr. Bunyan's Books' included in his 1692 folio edition of *The Works of that Eminent Servant of Christ, Mr. John Bunyan, Late Minister of the Gospel, and Pastor of the Congregation at Bedford*, Charles Doe spoke of 'sixty pieces of his labours and he was sixty years of age'.²⁴ Forty-two separate titles were first published from 1656 up to, and including, 1688, the year of Bunyan's death. In the following year, George Larkin published first editions of two other works, *The Acceptable Sacrifice* and, presumably from Bunyan's or an auditor's notes, his *Last Sermon* preached on 19 August 1688. Doe's 1692 collected edition included twelve works previously unpublished and in 1698 he issued *The Heavenly Foot-man*. Finally the *Relation of My Imprisonment* appeared in 1765. This gives us 58 works in all, 16 of them posthumous.²⁵

For Doe, as for the great majority of Bunyan's first readers, these '*many excellent Books*' were, as he wrote in *The Struggler*, a memoir of Bunyan and account of his own editorial labours included in the 1692 edition, '*Gospel-Books*' *that have published to the World [God's] great Grace, and great Truths*' (MW, 12:456). It is as an exemplum of the power of divine grace to create a '*Gospel-Minister*' and '*a lawful Successor of the Apostles*' despite worldly and educational disadvantage that Doe lauds Bunyan as '*a second Paul*' whose writings are extensions in another medium of his evangelistic work (MW, 12:455), that is, didactic and edificatory works in the Puritan tradition. These included theological treatises, such as his Calvinist exposition of justification in *The Doctrine of the Law and Grace Unfolded* (1659); controversial divinity, such as the early pieces against the Quakers, *A Defence of the Doctrine of Justification* (1672) against the Latitudinarian episcopalian Edward Fowler, and disputes with other Baptists in defence of admitting into communion those who had not received adult baptism; Biblical commentary, such as his *Exposition of ... Genesis* (1692); practical theology, such as his *Christian Behaviour* ([1663]); sermons and treatises developed from sermons. Bunyan's early readers did not distinguish as a separate category either *Grace Abounding* (1666) or the later allegorical works, and no more did Bunyan: their intention is still to encourage his reader to '*make thy Profession shine by a Conversation [i.e. way of life] according to the Gospel*' (LDB, p. 10). These, like all Bunyan's works, seek to transform lives.

Bunyan's literary career began with two anti-Quaker tracts, *Some Gospel-Truths Opened* (1656) and its *Vindication* (1657). He is introduced and described on his first title-page as 'that unworthy servant of Christ, *John Bunnyan*, of Bedford, By the grace of God, Preacher of the Gospel of his dear Son' (MW, 1:5).²⁶ These, and Bunyan's third piece, the sermon *A Few Sighs from Hell* (1658), carried commendatory prefaces by ministerial colleagues which anticipated, and turned to advantage, the objection that Bunyan lacked the cultural resources to set up as a preacher or writer of books: 'Reader, in this book thou wilt not meet with high-flown aerie notions ... but the sound, plain, common ... truths of the Gospel' delivered 'not by humane art, but by the spirit of Christ' (MW, 1:10, 12). The claim of the apostle Paul to preach 'not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit' (I Corinthians, 2: 1–5), alluded to here, shaped Bunyan's self-construction as a writer whose authority lies not in academic distinction but in experiential authenticity and divine inspiration. He presents himself as an ill-educated and culturally impoverished writer solely dependent upon the Bible and divine illumination: he 'never endeavoured to, nor durst make use of other men's lines' for he 'found by experience, that what was taught me by the Word and Spirit of Christ, could be spoken, maintained, and stood to, by the soundest and best established Conscience' (GA, pp. 87–8). Unlike 'carnal Priests' who 'tickle the ears of their hearers with vain Philosophy', he 'never went to School to *Aristotle* or *Plato*' and '*has not writ at a venture, nor borrowed my Doctrine from Libraries. I depend upon the sayings of no man*'; instead, he offers the reader 'a parcel of plain, yet sound, true and home sayings' drawn from '*the Scriptures of Truth, among the true sayings of God*' (MW, 1:345; 2:16, 8:51).

Bunyan has not 'fished in other mens *Waters*, my Bible and Concordance are my only Library in my writings'. He does not clutter his margins with 'a Cloud of Sentences from the Learned FATHERS' because 'I have them not, nor have not read them': 'I prefer the BIBLE before them; and having that still with me, I count my self far better furnished than if I had (without it) all the Libraries of the two Universities' (*MW*, 7:9, 3:1–2). In short, 'A little from God is better than a great deal from men' (*MW*, 13:332).

Bunyan was not in fact as ill-educated or poorly read as he maintains; he certainly did not 'loose that little I learned, even almost utterly' (*GA*, p. 5), and he may even have attended grammar school.²⁷ He had indeed done a spot of 'fishing in other mens *Waters*', notably in John Foxe's immensely influential martyrology *Actes and Monuments* (1563), in the expository matter in the Geneva Bible (1560), in an English translation of Luther's commentary on Galatians (*GA*, p. 40), and in a range of works of practical and controversial English theology.²⁸ Radical and sectarian Puritanism, noting the precedent of Jesus' poorly educated disciples, was generally distrustful of the association between ministerial authority and academic distinction. Doe, alluding to the confutation of Jewish leaders by Peter and John though 'unlearned and ignorant men' (Acts 4:13), pointed to Bunyan as evidence that those lacking 'School-Education' and '*unlearned*' might through divine grace minister more effectually than those with university degrees, citing with some glee Bunyan's refutation in oral debate of the '*hellish Logick*' of Thomas Smith, professor of Arabic at Cambridge (*MW*, 12:455–7²⁹). Bunyan's self-presentation is to be understood in this context. His insistence on his lack of resources creates a persona trustworthy precisely because it relies on divinely-guided personal experience. To those nonconformist readers with misgivings about recourse to the literary contrivances of fiction and allegory Bunyan's response is to appeal not to Classical and Renaissance theories of the efficacy of imaginative writing, still less to 'humane' art, but to the immediacy of divine inspiration through his account of the unpremeditated origin of *The Pilgrim's Progress*: having fallen '*suddenly into an Allegory*', ideas multiplied '*Like sparks that from the coals of Fire do flie*' without, it seems, his own active intervention (*P'sP*, p. 1). This is a view of creativity that accords no credit to the skill of the writer: Bunyan is but an 'instrument' in 'the hand of Christ' (*GA*, p. 91).

The evidence for experiential (or, as the seventeenth-century term was, *experimental*) Christianity is necessarily autobiographical, and its expression straightforward, '*plain and simple*'; Bunyan deliberately eschews '*a stile much higher then this*' lest he falsify his experience through rhetorical embellishment (*GA*, p. 3). His '*own native Language*' (*P'sP*, p. 168) is, indeed, oral rather than literary in its mannerisms and directness. In the early works especially we find 'a total unselfconsciousness in regard to the function of the writer'.³⁰ Bunyan does refer to putting '*Pen to Paper*', to taking his '*Pen in hand*' and to being 'moved ... to Write and Print this Little Book' (*MW*, 4:193, 11:7; *P'sP*, p. 1), but he will '*tell*' his readers of the dangers of sin and he promises to '*say*' more in a subsequent '*discourse*' (*MW*

1:245, 247).³¹ Rather than construct a text for readers, Bunyan directly addresses auditors who find themselves caught up in a conversation. The writer/reader relationship is constructed as dialogic: 'If thou shouldst say... To this I shall answer ...', 'But (you will say) ... I answer' (*MW* 2:16, 219). Bunyan's frequent exclamations, questions and self-reflexive interjections are locutory - 'I say therefore ...', 'let me tell you ...', 'Only let me say ...', 'I told you before' (*MW*, 2:14, 15, 285, 8:125). Through colloquialisms, dialectal forms, proverbs, Bunyan seeks openly to convey in print, as he did in the pulpit, the immediacy of 'what I felt, what I smartingly did feel' (*GA*, p. 85).

'A PRISONER OF HOPE'

By 1660 Bunyan had four published titles to his name, but with his arrest in November 1660 and subsequent twelve-year imprisonment his output greatly increased and his literary persona gained sharper definition. Incarceration provided him with additional incentives to write. As Baxter, himself imprisoned for nonconformity, tellingly noted, '*Preachers* may be silenced or banished, when *Books* may be at hand'.³² For Bunyan, separated from his people by prison, writing was the one way he could continue his ministry. '*Taken from you in presence*' and unable in person to '*perform that duty that from God doth lie upon me, to you-ward*' through print he could yet address his congregation and the wider community (*GA*, p. 1). His precedent lay in the epistles St. Paul had written from captivity in Rome, in Bunyan's time thought to include the epistles (I Timothy and Hebrews) which provided him with the titles for *Grace Abounding* and *The Pilgrim's Progress*.³³

Far from disguising Bunyan's circumstances, his 1660s' texts explicitly locate themselves in jail, directly confronting their readers with the fact of his imprisonment. The title-page of *Christian Behaviour* identifies its author as 'a Prisoner of Hope' (*MW*, 3:5). *Prison Meditations* (1663) is no poetic fancy but 'By JOHN BUNYAN, a Prisoner' (*MW*, 6:39). *The Holy City* (1665) originated 'Upon a certain *First day*, I being together with my Brethren, in our Prison-Chamber, they expected that, according to our Custom, something should be spoken out of the Word ... it being my turn to speak ...' (*MW*, 3:69). *Grace Abounding* will relate what its author 'hath met with in Prison' and 'was written by his own hand there' (*GA*, p. xlv). The 'Denn' upon which the narrator happens as he 'walks through the wilderness of this world' at the opening of *The Pilgrim's Progress* is marginally glossed 'Gaol' and it is '*from the Lions Dens*', from the prison where '*I stick between the Teeth of the Lions in the Wilderness*' that Bunyan addresses his reader in the prefatory epistle to *Grace Abounding*. *Lions* signify here, as they do in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the cruelties of persecution (*GA*, p. 1; *P'sP*, pp. 8, 45–6, 218–19). That he writes from prison enables Bunyan once again to associate his ministry with that of Paul. From the account in Acts 23–4 of the charges preferred by the Jews against Paul before Felix, Roman procurator of Judaea, Bunyan infers that '*an hypocritical people, will persecute the power of those truths in others, which themselves in*

words profess', adding 'I am this day, and for this very thing persecuted by them' (*MW*, 3:204).

By so insisting on the circumstances of his texts' production Bunyan associates their experiential authority with a validating tradition of Christian witness. Through Biblical instruction (notably Luke 6: 22: 'Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven'), the historical persecutions of Christians recounted in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, and their own experience, suffering became for Puritans a defining characteristic of Christian experience. Evangelist warns Christian and Faithful that they 'must through many tribulations enter into the Kingdom of Heaven' and that 'bonds and afflictions' await them (*P'sP*, p. 87). That 'the people of God are a suffering people' (*MW*, 10:95) is the theme of *Seasonable Counsel: or, Advice to Sufferers* (1684). Through suffering, the Christian is tried and purified: 'Goals [*sic*] are Christ his Schools/ In them we learn to dye' (*MW*, 6:45). Bunyan's authority to teach lies in the education he has received in this school.³⁴

'THE AUTHOR OF *THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS*'

With the publication of *The Pilgrim's Progress* in 1678 and its immediate success Bunyan's sense of his literary self and of his relationship to his writings changed significantly. As he explained in its preface, he had had misgivings over the propriety of his allegorical method and publication was delayed while he sought advice from friends, for many of whom the book was either superficial or obscure, or both (*P'sP*, pp. 2–5). In the preface to Part II (1682), however, defensiveness and misgivings are replaced by a defiant assertiveness as Bunyan delightedly tells of the extraordinary success of Part I in Britain, in New England, and across Europe. He is now sufficiently possessive about his texts to seek to discredit imitators, and sufficiently confident to point to his own distinctive style to confirm his authorial identity and the authenticity of this text (*P'sP*, pp. 168–71). In short, Bunyan's identity as a literary figure and the integrity of his creative output are now to be defended hardly less energetically than the Christian gospel.

There is hence a new kind of purposefulness and a new ambition in the later works. *Mr. Badman* is explicitly designed to partner *The Pilgrim's Progress* ('*It came again into my mind to write, as then, of him that was going to Heaven, so now, of the Life and Death of the Ungodly*' (*LDB*, p. 1)), and Part II of *The Pilgrim's Progress* follows in its turn, building up a library of related allegorical works. This new sense of ambition is most evident in the multi-layered complexity of *The Holy War*, in an 'Advertisement' to which Bunyan is still more concerned to assert his own unaided authorship of *The Pilgrim's Progress* against those who allege that only through plagiarism could he have written it, but he does so with a quip that directs attention not to gospel truths nor to divine inspiration but to his own individual claim on

original literary inventiveness: 'witness my name, if Anagram'd to thee,/ The Letters make, *Nuhony in a B*' (*HW*, p. 251).

The culmination of this process was Doe's complete edition of Bunyan's works, a publishing project designed to establish Bunyan as an author to set beside episcopalian preachers such as Isaac Barrow and John Tillotson, Presbyterian Puritans such as Richard Baxter, republicans and Whigs such as John Milton, and Quakers such as George Fox, all of whom had folio editions in the 1690s.³⁵ Planned originally before his death, '*but an interested Book-seller opposed it*', a preliminary announcement in 1690 was followed the next year by a fuller announcement from the publisher, William Marshall, and by a pamphlet in which Doe listed thirty reasons in support of the proposed two-volume edition to be funded by advance subscription from purchasers. In his *Reasons* Doe might insist on Bunyan's ministerial mission and character, addressing himself to 'Christian people', describing Bunyan as 'a very able and excellent minister of the gospel' and saluting him as 'an apostle of our age', but he did recognise that what was 'extraordinary' about Bunyan's case was that, unlike other 'good ministers', he had 'writ much, which hath gone off well',³⁶ and (in *The Struggler*) that the success of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, in its 100,000 English copies (he estimated) and many translations, had made its author '*famous*' (*MW*, 12:456). Through this fame Bunyan now enjoyed what, in a preface to the posthumous *The Acceptable Sacrifice* (1689), his ministerial colleague George Cockayne, called '*Extraordinary Circumstances*' (*MW*, 12:7). This the printing trade had quickly realised: though put out by publishers other than Ponder, the title-pages of *Mr. Badman* and of *The Holy War*, and of other texts (*MW*, 10:106; 11:97), capitalised on his success by identifying Bunyan no longer as 'the servant of Jesus Christ' but as the 'Author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*'. Bunyan was now a bestseller, his name a marketing tool. It was the beginning of an even more remarkable posthumous literary career as Bunyan's name entered the English literary canon.³⁷

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- 1 In fact, Bunyan rather overstated the case: see Richard L. Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory: John Bunyan and English Dissent* (Stanford University Press, 2002), pp. 3–4.
 - 2 For statistical data, see John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: vol. IV: 1557–1695* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), chapters 1, 2 and 26 (especially pp. 557–67), and appendix 1, from which these figures are taken; also Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 13–14 and appendix 1.
 - 3 On Thomason and the ‘explosion of print’ see Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), esp. pp. 161–201, and ‘The Literature of Controversy’, in Thomas N. Corns, *A Companion to Milton* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 191–210; Sharon Achinstein, ‘Texts in Conflict: the Press and the Civil War’, in N. H. Keeble (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 50–68.
 - 4 Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory*, p. 11.
 - 5 Richard Baxter, *Aphorismes of Justification* (1649), sigs. A1–A1v.
 - 6 The phrase provides the title of Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (London: Temple Smith, 1972).
 - 7 Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory*, pp. 54, 61–7.
 - 8 Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640–1680* (Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 24.

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- 9 Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 26; David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order ... in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge University Press, 1980), esp. pp. 72–5.
- 10 John Spurr, *English Puritanism, 1603–1689* (London: Macmillan, 1998), p. 151.
- 11 Richard Baxter, *A Christian Directory* (1673), 2:580.
- 12 See Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550–1640* (Cambridge University Press, 1991); Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (London: Methuen, 1981); Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 445–502.
- 13 See further Sharon Achinstein, *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader* (Princeton University Press, 1994).
- 14 See further Frederick Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476–1776* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952); Christopher Hill, 'Censorship and English Literature', in his *Writing and Revolution in 17th Century England* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1985), pp. 32–71; Raymond, *Pamphlets*, pp. 66–71, 196–201; N. H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Leicester University Press, 1987), pp. 93–126.
- 15 Don Wolfe (gen.ed.), *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, 8 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953–82), 2:554.
- 16 On this legislation and its effect see G. R. Cragg, *Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution 1660–88* (Cambridge University Press, 1957); Keeble, *Literary Culture*, pp. 25–92; for Bunyan's imprisonment, see Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory*, pp. 127–72.
- 17 Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory*, pp. 211, 216–18, 226.
- 18 See further below, p. 00

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- 19 George Offor (ed.), *The Works of John Bunyan*, 3 vols. (Blackie: Glasgow, Edinburgh and London, 1853), 3:764. See further below, pp.; 00, 00.
- 20 For further readings of Bunyan in this way see Christopher Hill, *A Turbulent, Seditious and Factious People: John Bunyan and His Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 125–30, 212–21, 243–50.
- 21 In an extraordinarily helpful appendix in his *Glimpses of Glory*, pp. 637–41, Greaves lists editions of Bunyan's titles put out in his lifetime, with their dates of publication, licensing and advertisement, identification of their publishers and conjectural dates of composition.
- 22 Richard Greaves, *Deliver Us from Evil* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 207–25, and *Enemies Under His Feet* (Stanford University Press, 1990), pp. 167–90; Keeble, *Literary Culture*, pp. 120–6.
- 23 Frank Mott Harrison, 'Nathaniel Ponder: the Publisher of *The Pilgrim's Progress*', *The Library*, 4th ser. 15 (1934), 257–94; Elizabeth Lane Furdell, "'At the King's Arms in the Poultry"; the Bookshop Emporium of Dorman Newman, 1670–1694', *London Journal*, 23 (1998), 1–20; H. R. Plomer, *Dictionaries of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work ... 1557–1775* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1977), s.vv; Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory*, p. 347.
- 24 Offor (ed.), *Works of Bunyan*, 3:763. For Doe's edition, see below, p. 00.
- 25 These details derive from Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory*, pp. 637–41 and *passim*, and *MW*, vols. 12 and 13. Doe's list of 60 works included *A Christian Dialogue* and *A Pocket Concordance*, both as 'Manuscripts, yet unprinted' and not otherwise known (but on the concordance see Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory*, pp. 269–71).
- 26 For an acute discussion of the significance of the published forms of Bunyan's name and authorial presentation throughout his career, see Tamsin Spargo, *The*

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- Writing of John Bunyan* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), pp. 6–42, and ‘Bunyan’s Abounding’, in N. H. Keeble (ed.), *John Bunyan: Reading Dissenting Writing* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2002), pp. 79–101.
- 27 Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory*, pp. 4–6.
- 28 Gordon Campbell, ‘“Fishing in Other Men’s Waters”: Bunyan and the Theologians’, in N. H. Keeble (ed.), *John Bunyan: Conventicle and Parnassus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 137–51; Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory*, pp. 603–7.
- 29 Doe does not identify Smith; for the episode in 1659, see Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory*, pp. 121–3
- 30 Roger Sharrock, ‘Bunyan and the Book’, in Keeble (ed.), *Conventicle and Parnassus*, p. 75.
- 31 As noted by Spargo, *Writing of Bunyan*, p. 21.
- 32 Baxter, *Christian Directory*, 1:60. See on this Keeble, *Literary Culture*, pp. 78–92.
- 33 1 Timothy 1:14–15: ‘the grace of our Lord was exceeding abundant ... Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am the chief’; Hebrews 11:13: ‘These all died in faith ... and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth’.
- 34 See on this theme see John R. Knott, *Discourses of Martyrdom in English Literature 1563–1694* (Cambridge University Press, 1993); Keeble, *Literary Culture*, pp. 187–214; Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory*, pp. 493–8.
- 35 As argued in W. R. Owens, ‘Reading the Bibliographical Codes: Bunyan’s Publication in Folio’, in Keeble (ed.), *John Bunyan*, pp. 59–77; see further *MW*,

12:xvii–xxiii.

- 36 Offor (ed.), *Works of Bunyan*, 3:764–5.
- 37 See further N. H. Keeble, “‘Of him thousands daily sing and talk’: Bunyan and his Reputation”, in Keeble (ed.), *Conventicle and Parnassus*, pp. 241–63; Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory*, pp. 619–34; Isabel Hofmeyer, *The Portable Bunyan* (Princeton University Press, 2004).