The Recorder

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The International

John Bunyan Society

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The President's Column

Dear Members of the International John Bunyan Society:

I'm delighted to say that the programme for the International John Bunyan Society Conference at Keele (July 26-28) is looking full of good things. As well as our three distinguished plenary speakers, we have (at the last count), twenty-three other research papers, many from postgraduates and others new to the Society. The teaching round table, building on the success of the Dartmouth event, has also attracted a number of contributors. Although the deadline for submissions has officially passed, I could use one or two extra, particularly as the funding situation almost everywhere is dire, and some may not be able to travel. There is now a booking website, with rewards for early booking!

www.keele-conferencemanagement.com/johnbunyan2010

Registration is on the Monday morning, and the first plenary will be after lunch; and we conclude with lunch on the Wednesday. Let me know if you plan to arrive early, on the Sunday, and we will arrange a gathering. While Keele has no Bunyan associations, the area is important for the history of nonconformity, especially Primitive Methodism – you can see Mow Cop from Keele bank on a clear day.

I have kept the event quite short compared to other years, partly with expense in mind, but there are other conferences here in July which you might like to know of if you're planning a longer visit. I particularly recommend the Seventeenth Century conference at Durham, organised by Richard Maber (r.g.maber@durham.ac.uk); this year the theme is Ideas and Values. This runs from 19-22 July, and leaves a little time for tourism or libraries before Keele. Our Vice-President, Nigel Smith, is co-hosting a conference on Marvell and London at Keble College Oxford, 9-10 July.

It's clear from the renewed vigour of *John Bunyan Studies*, postgraduates writing about Bunyan, and a steady stream of articles and chapters, that work on Bunyan remains vigorous.

See you in July!

Roger Pooley

International John Bunyan Society Seventh Triennial Conference July 26~28, 2010 Keele University, U.K.

You are invited to join the members of the Society for our triennial meeting. Keele is a campus university near the city of Stoke-on-Trent, easily reached by rail and motorway links.

Plenary speakers who have already agreed to come are Professor Lori Branch (University of Iowa), author of *Rituals of Spontaneity: Sentiment and Secularism from Free Prayer to Wordsworth*; Professor John Coffey (University of Leicester), biographer of Samuel Rutherford and John Goodwin and historian of the midseventeenth century; and Professor Isabel Rivers (Queen Mary University of London), co-director of Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, and author of the two-volume *Reason, Grace and Sentiment*.

As happened at the last conference, there will also be a round table on teaching Bunyan. The business meeting of the Society, to include the election of officers for the following three years, will take place at the conference.

Stoke is known as the 'Potteries' - though many of the factories have closed down now - the setting for many of Arnold Bennett's novels, and it has a rich nonconformist tradition, including the birthplace of Primitive Methodism.

Please address all enquiries to Dr. Roger Pooley, School of Humanities, Keele University, Keele, Staffs ST5 5BG, email <u>r.f.pooley@keele.ac.uk</u>.



The IJBS and its Executive

David Gay, Secretary of IJBS

As we approach of our sixth triennial conference at Keele University in July, I think this is an ideal time to re-acquaint members with the governance and organization of the society as it moves into its third decade of operation (the IJBS began in 1992 and held its first conference in 1995). Part of my function as Secretary is to ensure continuity and participation in all aspects of the Society's mission. The Society has been blessed with the leadership of outstanding and distinguished presidents throughout its history, and has benefited from the service of many people playing key roles at important times. I hope that all members will read the following descriptions and feel very welcome to offer their services or to inquire about ways of participating in the IJBS in the coming months or years.

The Society's Members

As our mission statement on the web site states, "The International John Bunyan Society exists to promote and support scholarship about Bunyan, his contemporaries, and his influence. Our conferences convene every three years. We invite all scholars, teachers, and members of the general public interested in Bunyan and in early modern literature and culture generally to join." Membership has grown considerably over the years, and it has always been our policy to maintain a complete membership list in order to ensure that past and present members stay in the communication loop. Nothing is more affirming of the Society's mission than the introduction of a new member or the renewal of a current member. Membership is a challenge at times, and so I encourage all members to renew by forwarding their dues to the Treasurer. Basic communication functions such as this newsletter depend at present on membership dues.

The Society's Executive

President: the President is responsible for the intellectual leadership and direction of the Society. This mainly takes the form of organizing and hosting a triennial conference. It can also take the form of recommending directions or initiatives for the Society based on the President's view of trends in early modern scholarship, the relationship of scholarship to the general public, and the development of the global academic community. Term: three years (not normally renewable).

Vice-President: the Vice-President serves as a key advisor to the President and the Executive on all matters that may arise or require consultation. The Vice-President is the automatic nominee for the position of President upon the current President's retirement, and is acclaimed as President if he or she accepts the nomination. Term: three years (not normally renewable).

Secretary: the Secretary serves as the overall co-ordinator of the IJBS. As such, he or she works with all other members of the Executive to support their efforts in communication, membership promotion and renewal, financial and business matters, and conference consultation and development. The Secretary maintains continuity by ensuring that nominees are available for positions on the Executive. Term: three years (renewable).

Treasurer: the Treasurer maintains the Society's funds and disburses them according to a planned budget in support of The Recorder and other events and initiatives. The IJBS has had two treasurers in recent years -- one for North America and one for Britain – in order to make joining or renewing a membership more convenient for members from countries with different currencies. Term: three years (renewable).

Editor of *The Recorder*. The Editor ensures that the annual newsletter is produced and distributed to members. The Recorder is our vital link for information, book reviews, short articles and scholarly notes and queries, calls for papers, and other academic announcements. Term: three years (renewable).

Committee on Scholarly Awards: since the inception of the Richard Greaves Award, the IJBS has struck a committee, usually consisting of three members with one member chairing, to identify a winner for this award. As our web site states: "The Richard L. Greaves Award is presented triennially by the Society to an outstanding book on the history, literature, thought, practices, and legacy of English Protestantism to 1700. Eligible books must be published in the three-year period leading up to the Society's triennial conference. The award is not limited to studies of Bunyan, and can be conferred on authors who are not members of the IJBS." Term: three years (renewable, but preferably not for consecutive terms).

Past Presidents: Richard Greaves (1992-95); Neil Keeble (1995-98); Vera Camden (1998-2001); Bob Owens (2001-2004); Thomas Luxon (2004-2007); Roger Pooley (2007-2010); Vice-Presidents: Tamsin Spargo (2004-07); Nigel Smith (2007-2010); Secretaries: Greg Randall (1992-95); David Gay (1995-2010); Treasurers: Aileen Ross (1992-2001); Arlette Zinck and Roger Pooley (2001-2010); Editors of *The Recorder*: Shannon Murray (1992-98); Ken Simpson (1998-2007); Chris Garrett (2007-); Scholarly Awards Committees: Sharon Achinstein, Sylvia Brown (Chair), Nigel Smith (2004-07); Anne Dunan-Page, Galen Johnson (Chair), Isabel Hofmeyr (2007-10).

BOOK REVIEWS

Nancy Rosenfeld. *The Human Satan in Seventeenth-Century English Literature:* From Milton to Rochester. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008. Hardcover: US \$ 99.95.

Review by Daniel V. Runyon, Spring Arbor University.

Nancy Rosenfeld explores the human qualities of the character Satan as depicted by Milton, Bunyan, and Etherege, ponders the satanic qualities of the human Rochester, and finds the archetype qualities of the Satan she has explored lurking in the behavior of Milton's *Samson Agonistes.* The Satan archetype she identifies "embodies those impulses of the human that... can lead one to commit evil" (2).

Rosenfeld says a key characteristic of Milton's Satan—often portrayed by oxymoron and equivocation—is not so much pride or ambition as violent mood swings between hope and despair, like a serpent that must move in opposite directions at the same time to go forward. Indeed, "the only characteristic that he seems to retain throughout his journey is the speed at which he changes" (18). In addition, Satan is seen with confused sexuality—Mel Gibson captured this in his portrayal of the tempter in *The Passion of the Christ*—a creature with masculine and feminine elements existing side by side: "despair-induced postlapsarian mood swings result in a weakness that mitigates against the maintenance of identity" (25). Rosenfeld hesitatingly suggests that "the inability to draw a conclusion, rather than pride, may be Satan's real sin of intellect" (27).

Bunyan's Satan in *Grace Abounding* "is characterized by his ability to penetrate the mind of the sinner" (35). Milton's Satan is a dramatic character with physical presence; Bunyan's Tempter is "both a facet of the mind and a palpable creature" (38). The mind-manipulating Satan functions much like a politician who "spreads disinformation to instill in his followers a sense of despair" (44). Rosenfeld also builds the case that both Milton and Bunyan portray their Satan characters as poets and actors able to manipulate "the thoughts, feelings, and dreams of another man, much in the same way as would a political leader or an artist" (52).

Rosenfeld sees Bunyan's Mr. Badman as a prototype of the humanized Satan in *The Holy War*, where Diabolus portrays Satan with new levels of qualities associated with fallen humanity. Although a *Gyant*, *The Holy War* Satan is poor and beggarly, ashamed of his personal appearance, a second-rate politician working as head of a committee, and one who shrinks and cringes before Emanuel. Rosenfeld has trouble staying on topic in this chapter and misinterprets Bunyan on several points, for example suggesting that the offer by Diabolus to maintain a ministry and an academic chair in Mansoul is evidence of his sense of humor, though in this scene it is Bunyan who is full of mirth as he watches the fiend slither. The laughter evoked is because Satan is behaving much like Charles III

The Satan of *Paradise Regained*, Rosenfeld suggests, is fleshed out based on the tempter in Job—a prosecuting attorney, a stage director, a kind and fatherly old shepherd, and a despotic yet charismatic political leader. But he has a limited breadth of vision, he has an inability to accept ambiguity, and he "reveals his despair at attaining, not only virtue, but even a credible reading of virtue" (99). Chapter five of Rosenfeld's book presents a far-ranging assimilation of all the Satan archetype information that has been presented in earlier chapters,

but with a focus on Satan's inability to sustain an individual inner life: "He exemplifies the satanic nature of what has come to be known as the unexamined life" (117).

In chapter six Rosenfeld presents both the poetry and the personality of John Wilmot, second Earl of Rochester, "one of the first poets of the absurd" (134) as the living embodiment of the Satan character of Milton and Bunyan. Her case is solidified in the next chapter where the character Dorimant in George Etherege's *The Man of Mode* is based so closely on Rochester the rake that "his contemporaries did not always differentiate between Rochester the man and Dorimant the stage character" (148). For Rochester and Satan alike, "confusion and pain are the constants" (167).

The epilogue explores Milton's *Samson Agonistes* where Satan is absent as a distinct character, yet Rosenfeld argues that in Samson we see "what Milton's Satan had become: a man limited by his human vision, yet retaining certain superhuman abilities as leader and prophet" (187). But unlike Satan, in death Samson achieves final reconciliation.

Rosenfeld has delightful flashes of Biblical insight, such as her discerning comparison of Jesus as "the bright and morning star" in Revelation 22.16 and "Lucifer, son of the morning" (122), and twice points out Milton's troubling assertion that the Son was created by God (10 and 25). Her many years of reading Milton serve her well; her knowledge of Bunyan seems less comprehensive although all the usual sources and familiar authors are cited.

I appreciate the respect with which Rosenfeld treats Bunyan and the three works she sources: *Grace Abounding, Mr. Badman*, and *The Holy War*. We often sense Bunyan as a man out of step with his time, but Rosenfeld recognizes his portrayal of Satan as an accurate and timely contribution to the development of the sympathetic villain in English literature. What her book lacks in cohesiveness and continuity is made up for by a solid contribution to the substance of what can be known about how Satan was perceived and portrayed in the seventeenth century.

Charles Pastoor and Galen K. Johnson. *The A to Z of Puritans*. Scarecrow Press, 2007. Paper: \$45.00.

Review by John Coffey, University of Leicester.

The reviewer of a new reference work must address four questions: Is it necessary? Is it comprehensive? Is it up-to-date? And is it reliable?

To begin with the first question, there is a gap in the market for a handy, affordable, one-volume dictionary of Puritanism. Benjamin Brooks' *The Lives of the Puritans* (1813) is still

in print, but while it is still a useful reference point, it is obviously very dated, comes in three volumes and is purely biographical. Frank Bremer and Tom Webster edited a multi-authored two-volume *Encyclopedia of Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America* (ABC-Clio, 2006), but this is expensive and bulky, whereas Pastoor and Johnson's *A to Z of Puritans* is inexpensive and compact. A more serious competitor is the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, which is so readily available to scholars that it makes biographical handbooks largely redundant. For the most part, the person entries in this *A to Z* are shorter and less satisfactory than the often excellent ODNB articles. However, the *A to Z* also contains topical entries, an introduction, a chronology, and short bibliographies, which give it an added value, and it may prove useful to readers who do not enjoy online access to the ODNB. So arguably there is a need for this kind of work, though whether the A to Z format is ideal is open to question. A more useful model would be that of the Routledge Companions to British history, which provide a valuable assortment of lists, tables, chronologies, glossaries, biographies and annotated bibliographies.

What of our second criterion: comprehensiveness? No one expects a compact one-volume handbook to be exhaustive, but it needs to cover the territory reasonably well. *The A to Z of Puritans* is reasonably comprehensive. It includes hot Protestantism in New England and Scotland as well as England, though Ireland is largely ignored (apart from entries on Ussher and the Irish Articles and a short section in the bibliography). Most of the major Puritan divines have an entry and the chronological balance is in general quite good. The volume maintains a nice balance between the mainstream godly and radical Puritans (there are entries on Diggers, Levellers, Muggletonians, Quakers and Seekers). And it includes major lay figures like the Cromwells, Lord Saye and Sele, and Sir Henry Vane alongside the clergy. Women are marginal, but not entirely overlooked - there are entries on Elizabeth I and on the New Englanders Anne Bradstreet, Anne Hutchinson and Mary Rowlandson. So the volume is fairly well rounded, though as we shall see below, there are some serious omissions.

Thirdly, is this reference work up-to-date? The answer here has to be negative. There is no discussion of historiography, and one could read the entire volume and remain quite ignorant about how the scholarship in this area has developed in recent decades. There is no discussion of the extended historical debates over the definition of Puritanism, and its relationship to 'Anglicanism', and both terms are used as if they are largely unproblematic, whereas one was used pejoratively in the seventeenth century and the other was not used at all. The introduction makes helpful points about the chronology, ecclesiology, theology and politics of Puritanism, but it relies heavily on older scholarship, and fails to observe how the

work of Patrick Collinson and Peter Lake has reshaped the study of Puritanism. Whilst the bibliography does list a (rather random) selection of recent works, important books are omitted, and the volume has an old-fashioned feel. The article on 'Science' for example, sounds like it was written in the heyday of the Merton thesis under the influence of Christopher Hill and Charles Webster, and does not register more recent scepticism about Puritan influence on the early Royal Society. There are no entries on a host of individuals whose lives have been (sometimes brilliantly) recreated by recent historians to illuminate the culture of Puritanism: the separatist leader Katherine Chidley, the exorcist John Darrell, the London boxmaker John Etherington, the poet and biographer Lucy Hutchinson, the Boston merchant Robert Keayne, the diarist Ralph Josselin, the godly aristocrat Mary Rich (countess of Warwick), the revolutionary prophet Thomas Tany, the Fifth Monarchist prophetess Anna Trapnell, the patron of godly preachers Lady Mary Vere, the London woodturner Nehemiah Wallington, the executed heretic Edward Wightman, or the New England pastor John Williams whose daughter Eunice went native after being captured by Native Americans. *The A to Z of Puritans* has simply failed to harvest a generation of rich scholarship in the field.

More worrying still, the volume is frequently unreliable. The errors begin in the Preface, where Sir Henry Vane is unaccountably named 'William Vane'. Here, as elsewhere, an error in one part of the volume is silently corrected in another part, but the innocent reader will find themselves all at sea. Vincent Alsop wrote against William Sherlock, not William Shedock (27); Thomas Goodwin, not John Goodwin, was buried at Bunhill Fields (65); James II did not issue a Declaration of Indulgence in 1689 (134); William Laud was not Archbishop of Canterbury in 1629 (156); the Lambeth Articles were not directed against 'Arminian teachings', since the storm over Arminius in the Dutch republic had not yet happened (180); the Civil War did not break out in 1641 (190); the Fifth Monarchy anticipated by the sect of that name was the monarchy of Christ, not England (213); Fifth Monarchists did not play a significant part in the English Civil Wars since they had not yet coalesced as a movement (226); Hugh Peter was curate, not 'curator', of Holy Trinity Church in Rayleigh, Essex (241); Oliver Cromwell did not die in 1659 as the awkward phrasing on page 257 seems to suggest; Puritan clergy were not deprived of their positions by the Lambeth Articles (287); Laud did not try to take 'Presbyterian lands' in the Scottish Revocation Act of 1625, Charles I did not impose the English 'Book of Common Prayer' on Scotland, and the Bishops' Wars occurred before not after the outbreak of the English Civil War (288); there were no 'Arminian groups' in the sixteenth century, though there were 'Free Willers' (319); John Locke was not 'the chief drafter' of the Act of Toleration (320-21); early English Socinianism did not draw 'most of its

membership from disaffected Presbyterians', though many Presbyterians would drift into anti-Trinitarianism in the eighteenth century (326); the Westminster Confession was not the official confession of 'all churches' in the British Isles until the Restoration (341); before 1640, nearly all English Puritan clergy had been ordained by bishops, so it is fundamentally misleading to state that 'Puritans believed that government by bishops was not supportable by Scripture' (359).

In short, this is a problematic reference work. It contains much useful information, but is contaminated by a good deal of error. If used at all, it needs to be used with caution. It is not what it could or should have been.

Special Exhibition of Bunyan Collection Held at the University of South Australia

During March and April 2010, the University of South Australia Library featured a collection of Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The exhibition announcement provided the following information about the collector, Jennifer McKay:

Professor Jennifer McKay is a Professor of Business Law in the School of Commerce, Division of Business, University of South Australia. Her passion for collecting *The Pilgrim's Progress* started almost 30 years ago. This is what she has to say:

'I have been collecting these books since 1980. The collection started with a paperback copy given to me by one of my grandfathers, Grandfather Augustine Murphy. I would visit Masonic temples (Melbourne) with my father and grandfather and the charity shops in the 1980's and they would often have copies. I was attracted to the illustrations in some of the older editions and started to collect. I still look for them in shops in Australia and England; however, they are extremely rare now. I have 140 different editions, some multi-copies, which bring the collection to 200 copies.'

The website for the exhibition is: http://www.library.unisa.edu.au/Resources/Exhibitions/PilgrimsProgress/

Margaret Atwood Adapts John Bunyan

Ken Simpson, Thompson Rivers University

Readers of *The Recorder* might like to know that acclaimed Canadian novelist and poet, Margaret Atwood, refers to Bunyan as an influence on the hymns she wrote for *The Day of the Flood* (p. 433, McClelland and Stewart, 2009). The novel is narrated by two women, Ren and Toby, and follows their struggles in a post-apocalyptic world of environmental collapse caused by corporate scientists seeking immortality and the improvement of the human race through genetic experimentation. Interspersed throughout the novel are fourteen hymns (and brief sermons accompanying them) that commemorate the sacred days, saints, and ideas of God's Gardeners, an eco-religious group devoted to the re-connection of human beings and the natural world that was God's gift in the original Garden.

Many of the hymns reflect the simplicity of Bunyan's diction and metre in the songs/hymns of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and in Bunyan's poetry more generally, but the same could be said of the possible influence of Blake, also acknowledged by Atwood, or even Dickinson, who is not. One hymn in particular, however, "The Longest Mile," recalls more specifically Bunyan's "Who would true Valour see" from The Second Part of The Pilgrim's Progress. The allegorical personifications, the balance between abstract and concrete language, the use of words and phrases such as "byway," "Destruction's highway," and "Pilgrim Soul," and the depiction of the pilgrimage as fraught with difficulty for the persevering pilgrim, are pure Bunyan, but the metre of "The Longest Mile" links it more clearly to "Valiant's Song," as it's sometimes called. While Atwood does not use Bunyan's stanza form (Atwood uses seven quatrains rhyming abab while Bunyan's three stanzas rhyme ababcccd), she does glance at Bunyan's use, in the first four lines of each stanza, of an iambic line followed by a shortened line (one fewer syllables for Bunyan and three fewer for Atwood) dominated by trochaic or spondaic substitutions. Both build metrical expectations in order to bring them to an emphatic stop, creating a movement of expansion and truncation throughout the hymns. Bunyan, however, uses this pattern, slightly altered, to perfection in the last four lines of each stanza, where three lines with initial trochees, reinforced by rhyme, march to a shortened, climactic refrain, "To be a Pilgrim." Atwood, on the other hand, emphasizes a more insistent rhythm by alternating longer iambic lines with shorter, predominantly trochaic ones in each stanza throughout the hymn. The fading effect of the last syllable of the final trochee of the shortened

lines also contributes to the quiet dignity of the hymns. Here are the first two and the last two stanzas of Atwood's hymn:

The last mile is the longest mile— 'Tis then we weaken; We lose the strength to run the race, We doubt Hope's beacon.

Shall we turn back from this dark Road, Footsore and weary, When deep Despair has drained our Faith, And all seems dreary?

Race on, race on, though eyes grow dim, And faint the Chorus; God gives us Nature's green applause— Such will restore us.

For in the effort is the Goal, 'Tis thus we're treasured:
He knows us by our Pilgrim Soul—'Tis thus we're measured.

(From The God's Gardeners Oral Hymnbook, pp. 405-06, The Year of the Flood)

This is an extraordinary adaptation of the spirit and technique of Bunyan's song/hymn, which was also turned into an Anglican hymn by Percy Dearmer and Ralph Vaughan Williams for the *English Hymnal* ("He who would valiant be," # 402, 1906). But Atwood has gone one step beyond Bunyan's literary hymn making: she has agreed to let her fictional hymns be set to music. See Orville Stroeber's settings of Atwood's hymns in a collector's edition CD on the Earthly Ark Music label.

John Bunyan Scholarly Bibliography 2009

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MEMBERSHIP FORM

The International John Bunyan Society

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Professor Roger Pooley
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- £ 60 / US\$ 120 for lifetime memberships

All members will receive *The Recorder*, the newsletter of the International John Bunyan Society.

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Areas of scholarly interest (optional):

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The Recorder

The Recorder is the Newsletter of the International John Bunyan Society. Published once a year, it offers members of the society a forum for notes, queries, conference announcements, calls for papers, news of members, reviews, abstracts, bibliographies: anything of interest to scholars and readers of seventeenth-century texts.

Submissions are gratefully received by 1 March 2011 for the Spring 2011 issue. Disk, electronic, and paper submissions are welcome.

E-mail submissions and all other inquiries should be sent to:

Chris Garrett, Editor The Recorder

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Cover image: illustration of Christian battling Apollyon

(source: http://www.spiritsrevealed.com/PhotoAlbums/Pilgrims/)