

Opening Plenary	<p>Ed MacDonald, UPEI “Paradise Lost? The Quaker Settlement of New London on 18th-Century Prince Edward Island”</p> <p>In 1773, Quaker merchant Robert Clark of London founded a Quaker enclave in the largely wilderness colony of St. John’s Island (later Prince Edward Island). Among other, more commercial intentions, his dream was to make New London “a place for the recovering of sinners.” As with most utopian experiments, things didn’t turn out quite the way he had planned.</p>
Concurrent sessions 1 and 2	<p>Concurrent Session 1: Reading Bunyan Chair: Donovan Tann</p> <p>Andy Draycott, “Readers of <i>The Pilgrim’s Progress</i> as Learners: The Evidence in the Margins” Readers’ marginal annotations in copies of <i>The Pilgrim’s Progress</i> give an immediate impression of learning responses to the text. Evidence from book copies, set down at the earliest in the 1830s and through to today in digital text annotation, shows how the stated intention of a particular edition and its paratextual setting finds correlates in reader response. So too can the location of the book’s use, where discernible, whether in Sunday School, high school, or university. Annotations display readerly skill as well as confusion. Marginalia can be conformist but can also be dissenting. Marginal annotations can run with the flow of authorial intent and publisher alignment or subvert those indicators in running against the stream of reader guidance. Annotations ignore, dispute, or refute the text, as well as praise, commend, reiterate, or expand it.</p> <p>This paper offers a taxonomy that classifies kinds of annotations, giving examples of each from across a span of some 200 years to the present. A lens of theological interpretation is used to suggest the benefit of the research to Bunyanists across the disciplines.</p> <p>Margaret Sonser Breen and Andy Draycott, “Reading Bunyan Near and Far: The Unfamiliarity of <i>The Pilgrim’s Progress</i>” For the past few years, we have edited <i>The Pilgrim’s Progress</i> for Norton’s new Library series, which is aimed at a general readership. (Hopefully, by the time of our presentation the volume will have been published!) In our presentation, we will foreground our primary concern: how to make the allegory accessible to a secular North American audience, largely unfamiliar with the Bible, let alone with Bunyan’s allegory. We will begin by discussing our own delightful if unconventional pairing: we differ in our academic training, faith tradition, and academic affiliation, even as we have been drawn together by a shared love of Bunyan. We will then turn to other challenges and opportunities that this project has afforded us. We will explain our indebtedness to as well as departure from earlier editions. We will consider the importance of footnotes and a glossary, including their placement. We will pay special attention to editorial strategies for familiarizing our readers with Bunyan’s at-times unfamiliar grammar and diction. We will also offer excerpts from the volume’s introductory essay, in which, by turning a Bunyanesque lens on American culture, we link 21st-century readers’ unfamiliarity with the text to the ubiquity of so many of its tropes in popular culture and the arts.</p> <p>Concurrent Session 2: Exegesis, Realism, and Rhetoric Chair:</p>

Michael Arbino, "John Bunyan's Typological Exegesis of Scripture as Nonconformist Pedagogy"

John Bunyan employed typology to interpret Scripture and church history. I argue that it also served as a pedagogical method to strengthen the faith of Nonconformists and compel them to peacefully endure persecution. In *Of Antichrist*, Bunyan states, "As therefore the burning fiery Furnace, and the Den of Lyons, were the support of the horrible Religion of the *Babylonians* of old; so Popish Edicts are the support of the Religion of *Antichrist* now" (MW, 13: 440). Daniel and the three Hebrew children were sentenced to the lion's den and fiery furnace, respectively, for refusing to conform to unrighteous laws. Bunyan implicitly instructs contemporary Nonconformists to follow their faithful example by enduring the persecution that emanates from "Popish Edicts," such as the Clarendon Code.

Bunyan also uses typology to teach Nonconformists that prayer, rather than sedition, is the proper response to persecution. He states, "the king of *Babylon*, who was a type of Antichrist, when he came up against *Jerusalem*, the Type of our Primitive Church, he brake down their City [and] destroyed their Walls" (MW, 3: 132). The Israelites made burnt offerings to God before rebuilding the city's temple and walls (Ezra 3:2-3). Likewise, the early reformers "offer[ed] up many strong cries, with groans and tears, . . . for the compleat recovering of the Church of God" (MW, 3: 134). Bunyan suggests that Nonconformists should emulate the early reformers by offering up sacrifices of prayer for the restoration of the pristine doctrine of the primitive church.

Richard Angelo Bergen, "Nonconformist Realism and Mimesis"

To what extent did the Nonconformists conform their aesthetics to past tropes and genres, and to what extent did they generate the novel? From the Romantics onward, allegory has often been figured as the opposite of the novel, so it might seem peculiar that the book which is often identified as the archetypal allegory is simultaneously read as novelistic in nature or, more recently, as a novel. Aspects of *The Pilgrim's Progress* were germane to the early novel: the featuring of psychologically complex characters from the working class, extensive use of narrative deixis, and brisker dialogue. This fact of literary history has generated some serious misunderstandings of John Bunyan, and Non-conformist writers in generals. This paper aims to demonstrate that Nonconformists like Bunyan saw "realism," "parable" and "metaphor" as mutually reinforcing terms, rather than antonyms. In other words, the more realistic the text, the more of an educational parable it should be. This sensibility applies to spiritual autobiographies, and, indeed, the language of spiritualizing, which to Bunyan refers to intense experiences of divine presence in hyper-sensory modes, rather than a sense of something disembodied. *The Pilgrim's Progress* is not alone in this framing, but works such as *The Resurrection of the Dead*, *Some Gospel Truths Opened*, *The Holy City*, *The Heavenly Footman*, and *Grace Abounding* all attest to this paradigm of diction. This perspective is a healthy corrective to the abiding aesthetic assumptions of our times that distort an accurate understanding of allegory. Bunyan's ideas about spiritual import and spiritualizing similarly suggest intensity and the particularity of detail that is now more associated with the novel.

Jameela Lares, "Bunyan's *Holy War* and Rhetorical Literacy"

	<p>John Bunyan's <i>Holy War</i> (1682) demonstrates a remarkable concern for persuasive language. In this later allegory, the efforts of both God and Satan to secure a human soul become the efforts of two early modern armies attacking the defenses of a rich town. Most human faculties are allegorized in this narrative. For instance, the five senses are the gates to the town, and various good and bad human traits become active characters. Human speech, however, is not allegorized, and it is central. The official orator has an honored role in Mansoul, and the serpent Diabolus brings his own orator to the Ear-gate. <i>Holy War</i> is also very much concerned with the specific forms that civic rhetoric will take, such as formal contractual language, promises, and threats.</p> <p>Bunyan is not the only early modern English author to picture the human soul as a besieged town. John Donne (d. 1631) in one sonnet presents a similar picture: "I, like an usurp'd town to another due, / Labor to admit you, but oh, to no end; / Reason, your viceroy in me, me should defend, / But is captiv'd, and proves weak or untrue." This paper will attempt demonstrate how Bunyan's picture of Mansoul as a civic entity can extend our thinking about rhetoric in early modern England.</p>
<p>Concurrent sessions 3 and 4</p>	<p>Concurrent Session 3: Richard Baxter Chair: Jim Honeyford Diana Wise, "Mere Nonconformity"</p> <p>In this paper I pursue Richard Baxter's complaint that students "waste much of their lives" reading "wrangling writers"—that is, the fractious nonconformists of the mid-17th century who disputed doctrine in pamphlet wars—to consider the charge of <i>mereness</i>. "And those few that at great cost and labour come to the bottom of the differences do perceive," he continues, "that the Proud Opiniators have striven partly about unrevealed or unnecessary things, but chiefly about meer ambiguous words and arbitrary humane notions; and multitudes condemn and revile each other, while they mean the same things, and do not know it." The contranymic affordances of <i>mere</i> make it an especially telling doctrinal adjective across the seventeenth century: in its earlier sense, it's a marker of wholeness that emphasizes the sufficiency of grace without works ("mere grace," as many a Protestant put it, from Luther onward); in its more modern and familiar sense, however, it deprecates its objects as just that and no more (as here in Baxter's "meer words"). I argue that <i>mere's</i> countervailing meanings reveal the rifts in nonconformist teaching, specifically those dividing Baxter, who ultimately evangelizes a "catholick" or "meer Christianity," and his most vituperative detractor, John Crandon, who condemns the "meer froth" of Baxter's style and accuses him of establishing in his theological aphorisms a "meer Covenant of Works." At once asserting and excluding, marking as whole while calling attention to what has been omitted, these instances of <i>mere</i> encode the rivenness of a theology that defines itself through delimiting.</p> <p>Tim Cooper, "Puritans and the University in the 1659-60 Correspondence of Richard Baxter"</p> <p>I am editing a volume of the correspondence of Richard Baxter for the years 1659-60. In this paper I will trace some of the ways in which education appears as a theme in the letters:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ William Thomas worries about the influence of the University of Oxford on his son's religious beliefs. ▪ Matthew Poole reports pleasing progress on a scheme for maintaining students

	<p>at university.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Edward Jeffreys, a student at Oxford University, writes to Baxter with two questions concerning his calling. ▪ Richard Pyke asks for Baxter's financial aid in supporting a student at Cambridge University. <p>I will couch all of this in a general discussion of Baxter's view of education and his own efforts to support financially the placement of young men at university.</p>
	<p>Concurrent Session 4: Meditations on Death and Gaol Chair: David Gay</p> <p>Susanne Gregson, "'Did you never hear of a little child that died?' Formation and Catechisation by the Moral Examples of Dying Children"</p> <p>"A Token for Children", London 1671-72 by the non-conformist minister James Janeway was written as one of the first books about and for children, and it became one of the most popular books to be found in nurseries along "The Pilgrim's Progress" and of course the Bible.</p> <p>It made a trend of literature for children both in England and New England, and in many ways it became a catechism focusing on holiness as visible holy living, abhorring play and idleness, taking God's name in vain, swearing, telling a lie, doing anything which the parents forbid and neglecting to do what they command. The question is explicitly: if you die, do you want to go to hell or heaven? The book's many examples are all children dying in joy and peace, secure in their own salvation helping siblings and servants to their salvation.</p> <p>But why dying children? What kind of formation does this bring? This paper will look at the tradition of dying children as moral examples both in likely and unlikely places – and make a circle back to John Bunyan.</p> <p>Arlette Zinck, "Teaching and Learning Hope in the Bedford Gaol"</p> <p>While in prison, Bunyan learns and then teaches hope. This is a remarkable fact given the miseries and stresses he faced there. No matter that his imprisonment does not involve the "social death" that most prisoners in our own age must suffer (Smith, 31) We know enough about the Bedford gaol to conclude that its conditions were as perilous to the body as to the soul. Yet Bunyan argues that for him the cell became a school. This paper will explore four of Bunyan's early poetic works, "Profitable Meditations," "Prison Meditations" (1663), "One Thing Needful" (1665), and "Ebal and Gerizzim" (1665). It will argue that in these prison poems we see evidence of personal learning about a particular kind of dying as well as self-conscious pedagogical tactics that Bunyan employs to enhance the reception of and engagements with his "student" readers.</p> <p>This paper will read these early poems in the context of psychologist William Lynch's seminal study, <i>Images of Hope</i> (1966). Lynch, a Jesuit priest, intentionally integrates a psychology of hope into the theological tradition within which Bunyan writes. For Lynch, despair is a kind of prison from which freedom may be achieved by way of specific practices that engage the imagination, foster community and generate the capacity to wish for better things. These three critical elements are apparent in Bunyan's early prison poems, and they may hold the key to</p>

	<p>understanding Bunyan's well being. For a man as psychologically fragile as Bunyan had been, it is significant that he maintains his health and his hope during the 12 years of his incarceration, let alone that he teaches others how to attain them too.</p>
Plenary Panel	<p><i>Global Bunyan and Visual Art</i></p> <p>This panel features four chapters of the 16-chapter forthcoming volume, <i>Global Bunyan and Visual Art</i> (Lexington/Bloomsbury, 2025), as well as some of these chapters' extensions. This panel's co-organizers are the volume's co-editors.</p> <p>Chair: Angelica Duran</p> <p>Nathalie Collé, "Navigating the Visual Afterlives of Bunyan's <i>The Pilgrim's Progress</i> and Other Works"</p> <p>This paper offers a brief presentation of Chapter 2 of <i>Global Bunyan and Visual Art</i>, "Trans-spatial, Transtemporal and Transmedial Bunyan," an overview of the incredibly long, rich, and varied afterlife of Bunyan's most famous work in visual culture. This afterlife first took the form of engravings in illustrated editions, which were published initially in Great Britain and the Netherlands, then in North America, and then on a global scale, in the forms of, for instance, bronze door panels, magic lantern slides, murals and panoramas, postcards, sculptures, and stained-glass windows, as well as board games, card games, and puzzles, or church displays and marionette shows. This presentation also incorporates examples that were left by the wayside from that chapter: first, (audio-)visual embodiments of <i>The Pilgrim's Progress</i> such as the interactive board games and performances that continue to engage audiences today, or the immersive theme parks that have been devoted to Bunyan and his now world-famous allegory; and second, the visual afterlives of Bunyan's other works: fictional, first and foremost, but also non-fictional. An exploration of the transtemporal, trans-spatial, and transmedial lives of <i>The Pilgrim's Progress</i> indeed invites an investigation of the afterlives of Bunyan's other works, and for an assessment of their respective temporal and geographical reach, and significance in both literary and human history. For, while the enduring relevance and adaptability of <i>The Pilgrim's Progress</i> serve as a testament to its timeless significance, extending the discussion to include Bunyan's other works can provide a broader understanding of his influence and contributions, as well as of English Renaissance works.</p> <p>Andy Draycott, "The ABC of <i>The Pilgrim's Progress</i> Cover Art"</p> <p>Cover art of <i>The Pilgrim's Progress</i> ranges, alphabetically, from albums to books to comics and beyond. This presentation, based on the eponymous Chapter 6 of <i>Global Bunyan and Visual Art</i>, suggests that covers are used to sell Bunyan's appeal to a readership along two broad lines: the historically weighty classic and of the spiritually heroic guidebook. These are not always mutually exclusive. This is evident in Anglophone publications in paperbacks at the end of the nineteenth century, through twentieth century scholarly and popular editions, and adaptations, as well as in Brazilian and Korean cover art of the twenty-first century. The global presence of visual commonplaces in cover art could indicate a colonial imposition or a polycentric authoring of <i>The Pilgrim's Progress</i>' cultural space. Wary of the former, I explore the possibility of the latter for a hopeful interpretation of an ever-reforming iconographic tradition.</p>

	<p>Katie Calloway, “Bunyan in the Bible Belt”</p> <p>This presentation, based on Chapter 11 of <i>Global Bunyan and Visual Art</i>, focuses on some ways Anglophone inheritors of Bunyan’s religious tradition in the southern United States have taught and learned about his life and works, largely through a deep dive into the Bunyan holdings at Baylor University, in Waco, Texas, with a few examples from the wider American “Bible Belt.” Baylor, a Baptist university since its founding in 1844, is a particularly apt choice because Bunyan has become an adopted son in the Baptist Church and because its library possesses over one hundred thirty material editions of Bunyan’s works and many more works about Bunyan. Baylor has a legacy of both academic scholarship on Bunyan and engagement with his allegories and (auto)biographies by students, pastors, and lay members of the central Texas community. I focus primarily on eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century works by and about Bunyan, with special consideration of illustrations, as well as evidence of wear and marginalia, as part of the story of Bunyan’s afterlife in the Bible Belt. This exploration sheds light on how a culture that still sets a theological premium on plainness and seeks to avoid idolatry of any “graven image,” per the Ten Commandments, has nonetheless engaged visually with Bunyan’s life and works for centuries; I ask, as well, whether this has always been a good thing.</p> <p>Vera J. Camden, “The Private, Puritan Pedagogy of Thomas Hennell”</p> <p>This presentation extends the arguments I make in Chapter 15 of <i>Global Bunyan and Visual Art</i> about Thomas Hennell (1903–1945), who has been called “the last great English watercolorist,” known for his paintings of England’s vanishing villages, agricultural practices, and natural beauties, as well as his paintings and sketches of the European and Asian-Pacific battlefields of the Second World War. As Andrew Sim puts it, “Hennell lived through and recorded the most traumatic events of his turbulent century, [but] he was, in spirit, the descendant of Constable, Cox and Samuel Palmer.” This presentation demonstrates that Hennell was also, psychologically and spiritually, the descendent of John Bunyan and his fellow Puritans. Hennell experienced a mental breakdown at the height of his artistic career and was hospitalized for acute schizophrenia for three years. Despite having been pronounced incurable by the medical authorities, Hennell was able to leave the mental asylum of Claybury Hospital, ascend to greatness as an artist, and live a life devoted to his art. His recovery of his sanity is often attributed to his time in nature and his revival of creativity. I suggest that these explanations are only partial. Drawing upon his autobiography, <i>The Witnesses</i>, I consider how the testimonies of the seventeenth-century English Puritans, especially those of Bunyan and Agnes Beaumont fostered, as it were, a private pedagogy that offered him a path out of his captivity in hospital and the imprisonment of his own mind.</p>
<p>Concurrent sessions 5 and 6</p>	<p>Concurrent Session 5: Phillips, Burton, and Trosse Chair: Margaret Breen</p> <p>Margaret Thickstun, “Bunyan in Philip Phillips’s <i>The Singing Pilgrim</i>”</p> <p>This paper addresses a mid-19th-century collection by Philip Phillips—<i>The Singing Pilgrim, or Pilgrim’s Progress Illustrated in Song</i> (Cincinnati, Ohio: Philip Phillips & Co. 1866). I will focus on the first section of this three-part book: a series of Sunday School lessons that use Bunyan’s allegory as a scaffold on which to present hymns</p>

that encourage conversion and perseverance. The typical page includes the title of the hymn, often explicitly connecting to *Pilgrim's Progress* (e.g. "Doubting Castle"); a quotation from Scripture; the hymn, including piano accompaniment for the first verse, with additional verses below; and a brief excerpt from Bunyan. The language is faithful, but radically abridged, and assumes a general familiarity with Bunyan's allegory. Some incidents are spread over several lessons, such as Evangelist's response to Mr. Worldly Wiseman; others appear in unlikely places. I will explore the ways in which Phillips uses the abridgment and hymns to reimagine Bunyan's text for his own evangelical purposes. *The Singing Pilgrim* omits most of Christian's encounters with other pilgrims and any episode that might complicate the idea of progress. In place of the companions and conversation in *Pilgrim's Progress*, Phillips provides hymns that illustrate representative spiritual states, model right attitudes toward self and Savior, and require active participation in religious education. The group hymn-singing never lets the participants forget that they are part of a community of believers. The hymns, mostly by nineteenth-century authors and composers, encourage both an emotional response to Jesus's suffering and a reassuring expectation of salvation.

Vera Camden, "Sermon 'gadding' in Hannah Burton's 1872 London *Diary*"

Hannah Burton (1723-1786), a 60-year-old widow of a bankrupted London goldsmith, kept a diary from September to December 1782 chronicling her struggle to survive on the widow's portion of her husband's pension from the Goldsmith's Hall. Her despair over losing her husband and the constant threat of debt collectors and magistrates at her door is daily mitigated by attending sermons in her non-conformist neighborhood of Islington. She describes walking out on mornings, afternoons and evenings, often of the same day to hear trusted ministers preach. Each well-known Independent, Congregationalist or Baptist minister is named, and his sermon recorded along with her commentary on the sermon: she offers disputations, as well as practical, pastoral applications of these sermons drawn from her own biblical commentaries and well as from Matthew Henry's and other commentaries. While some historians have claimed that the Dissenters' fashion of sermon "gadding" provided "*communitas*" and "*sociability*" not unlike the sporting "jaunts" and dances of young people's social gathering, my discussion of Hannah Burton's *Diary* will offer a more particularized account of one London widow's learned engagement with the homiletics of her time and place, undertaken in a desperate attempt to find consolation amidst sudden poverty and isolation.

Caleb Kobosh, "The Miseducation of George Trosse (1631-1713): Civil War Trauma, Madness, and Re-education of the Self"

As a young boy in Exeter, George Trosse witnessed the violence of the English Civil Wars firsthand. The experience led him to abandon further academic study in war-torn Devon for the promise of wealth abroad. He spent time both in Morlaix, France to gain language skills and in London to secure an apprenticeship in Portugal. After nearly two and a half years in Porto, a scandal was uncovered involving his brother-in-law which threatened to nullify the terms of his contract. Trosse decided to abandon his apprenticeship, rather than agree to the inequitable terms set by his master for reconciliation. The combination of childhood trauma from war, religious guilt from his upbringing, and vocational disruption in Portugal led to an existential

crisis that drove him insane. Sent to receive treatment at a private madhouse in Glastonbury, Trosse found hope in the words of a godly gentlewoman and the counsel of a godly minister, who advised his guilt-ridden conscience. Trosse's descent into and recovery from madness was a kind of reeducation of the self. Now, in his late twenties, he matriculated at Oxford in 1657. While the Restoration forced him out of the university, his godly education equipped him to become a nonconformist minister in Exeter. In the 1690s he composed an autobiography to be posthumously published. In it he described the miseducation of his youth and reflected on God's providence thwarting his intention to become a wealthy merchant and making him a minister of the gospel.

Concurrent Session 6: L. M. Montgomery and the Nonconformists

Chair: Anne Furlong

Donovan Tann, "Bunyan's 'Raspberry Cordial': The Game of *Pilgrim's Progress* (1994), L. M. Montgomery, and Dissenting Pedagogy"

What can adaptations of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* reveal about the Baptist preacher's pedagogy? The *Game of Pilgrims Progress* (1994) board game relies upon tension between the inevitability of success and the need to introduce and banish examples of failure. The game thus adapts the peril of choice into a system peppered with negative exemplars to dismiss along the path to salvation. These narrative patterns resemble L.M. Montgomery's representation of drink to describe instructive failure in the *Anne of Green Gables* (1908) series.

In the famous "raspberry cordial" episode in *Anne of Green Gables*, for example, accidental drunkenness provides readers with both a negative exemplar while keeping Anne as a blameless actor. Her eventual redemption through knowledge and heroic action (in the form of lifesaving medicine) restores her relationship with her friend Diana. In *Anne of Avonlea* (1909), Anne and Diana accidentally become lost when "drinking" in the landscape like a "cup of airy wine," but their mistake introduces them to Miss Lavendar, who becomes an important figure in the book's plot. In both cases, these incidents are instructive without being destructive. This presentation considers how these modern works echo the relationship between negative exemplars and the instructional subject for Bunyan and his dissenting contemporaries. From the companions that Christian leaves behind on his journey to the stories Richard Baxter shares in his *Reliquiae Baxteranae* (1696), I contend that dissenting writers similarly situate readers as empowered agents who are capable of avoiding and learning from others' failure.

Jean Mitchell, "'Montgomery, Bunyan, and the Evangelical Hotspot of Cavendish"

Shannon Murray, "Selling Bunyan in Montgomery's *The Tangled Web*"

L. M. Montgomery knew John Bunyan's work well, and *The Pilgrim's Progress* appears significantly both in *Emily of New Moon* and in Montgomery's own journals. In her lesser known adult novel *The Tangled Web*, though, it is not the moral or spiritual message of the allegory that matters. Instead it is the financial value of a rare copy of the book that allows one character to find happiness not in the next world but in this. In this satire on dysfunctional families, materialism, and squabbles over heirlooms, the choice of *Pilgrim's Progress* as the undervalued but actually valuable object places Montgomery between two of her 19th and early 20th century peers, Frances Hodgson Burnett and Louisa May Alcott, in her use of

	Bunyan's work.
Concurrent sessions 7 and 8	<p>Concurrent Session 7: Milton Chair: Arlette Zinck</p> <p>Jeremy Larson, "Gendered Instruction: Comparing and Contrasting Milton's Eve with Bunyan's Christiana"</p> <p>My paper investigates the similarities and dissimilarities between Milton's Eve and Bunyan's Christiana in terms of the need for and use of verbal and textual instruction. In Book 8 of Milton's <i>Paradise Lost</i>, Eve removes herself from the conversation between Adam and Raphael, not because of a lack of interest or deficient intellectual capacity, but rather because she would rather hear the substance of Raphael's message from Adam himself. Furthermore, in Books 11 and 12, Eve is not present during Michael's recounting of biblical history to Adam, having received the information directly from God in a dream. In Part 2 of Bunyan's <i>The Pilgrim's Progress</i>, Christiana makes her way to the Celestial City without either a husband to guide her or the book that was so prominent in Christian's conversion. What these episodes reveal is a complexity to the gender discussions in seventeenth-century scholarship. In both cases, Milton and Bunyan complicate stereotypical assumptions regarding hierarchy in the late English Renaissance. Besides exploring the above episodes, I give special attention to related moments that reveal the varying modes of both formative and deformative education in the works of Milton and Bunyan, such as Satan's whispering in Eve's ear in Book 4 and the first gate of Mansoul to be attacked by Diabolus in Bunyan's <i>The Holy War: the Ear-Gate</i>.</p> <p>David Gay, "On the Learning Curve: Comenius's Labyrinth and Milton's Paradise Within"</p> <p>John Amos Comenius (1592-1670) is an important figure in the history of education. An early spiritual work, <i>The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart</i> (1631, first English transl. 1901), invites comparisons with Bunyan and Milton, though neither would have known the original Moravian text. Comenius represents the world as an urban labyrinth explored by "Pilgrim." Editors draw comparisons to Bunyan as Pilgrim encounters allegorical figures such as Vanity, Falsehood, and Impudence. The work takes a satirical look at learning among its settings. The typology of urban labyrinth and inner paradise also suggests Milton, who responded to Comenius's supporters in "Of Education" (1644). Milton's Hell is an urban space where fallen intellects find "no end in wandering mazes lost" (<i>Paradise Lost</i> 2:561) (Bunyan's "exceeding maze" in the streets of Bedford also captures the anxieties of predestination.) These mazes materialize in <i>Paradise Regained</i> in cities around Jerusalem: Rome, Athens, and Babylon-Persepolis. As a type of dissenter, Jesus connects discernment, circumspection, and resistance to virtues of temperance, patience, and wisdom in response to Roman government, Babylonian empire, and the Athenian academy. The maze implies confinement in a fallen world under Satan's tutelage. The labyrinth suggests purposeful wandering that becomes a singular "way." For Comenius and Milton, the inner paradise abides within the outward labyrinthine world.</p>
	<p>Concurrent Session 8: Holy Conference and Dissenting Academies Chair: Gerald Wandio</p>

	<p>Jim Honeyford, “Holy Conference as a Primary Locus of Nonconformist Education in the Seventeenth Century”</p> <p>This paper examines the remarkably malleable practice known as "holy conference" or "religious society," which functioned as a primary locus for religious instruction among seventeenth-century nonconformists. Contrary to the historiography of Methodism and "early evangelicalism," religious societies and university "holy clubs" did not begin with John Wesley or even with post-Restoration Anglicans. On the contrary, intimate gatherings for mutual encouragement and the promotion of piety among the clergy and laity--both separately and together--can be found in the earliest days of the Protestant Reformation; the collective practice of holy conference and (later) religious society forms a significant line of continuity linking nonconformists, from puritans to methodists. This paper begins with a brief survey of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century practice of "holy conference," which wove together strands of household religious practices, clerical "prophesyings," and the private gatherings of clergy for prayer and textual study, all of which were designed to promote the transmission of doctrine and piety among nonconforming laity and clergy. The paper then focuses on the subsequent innovations of mid-seventeenth century nonconformist clergy, such as Oliver Heywood, who adapted the practice of holy conference to serve the needs of instructing young men in their communities in both doctrine and practice, with the hopes that some of the young men might pursue clerical careers themselves. Finally, the paper will explore the conceptualization of "spiritual equality" as an essential characteristic for the successful transmission of knowledge and piety within late seventeenth-century associational religious practices.</p> <p>Roberts Strivens, “Language Teaching at Dissenting Academies in Britain, 1660-1800”</p> <p>Following the restoration of the monarchy in England in 1660, it became very difficult, if not impossible, for those who dissented from the established Church of England to obtain a university education in England. As a result, dissenters began to develop their own institutions – the dissenting academies – to provide a higher education for sons of dissenting families and to train ministers for the dissenting pastorate. The teaching of languages was integral to the courses so provided. The classical languages of Latin and Greek were commonly taught. For ministerial candidates, instruction was generally given in the biblical languages – Hebrew, Aramaic and New Testament Greek. Tuition in French or German was sometimes available. The standard of instruction varied, but could be high and demanding, particularly on ministerial training courses. This paper will examine the approach taken at the various academies to the teaching of languages and will attempt to analyse the thinking lying behind this aspect of the curriculum, the methodology adopted and the objectives envisaged and achieved, if possible comparing these with the language teaching available in the English university system of the time.</p>
Closing Plenary	<p>Chair: Katie Calloway Angelica Duran, Purdue University “Teaching Individually and Globally in and with Bunyan”</p> <p>This tripartite keynote focuses, first, on key representations of teaching and learning in John Bunyan’s works, then on the integration of Bunyan’s works in</p>

	<p>educational institutions not specifically designated as Christian schools, and finally the methods and opportunities for teaching and promoting the teaching of Bunyan's works as we near the 350-year anniversary of his highest circulating work, Part 1 of <i>The Pilgrim's Progress</i> (1678). The first section indicates some of the correspondences and contradictions between current pedagogical theories—about, for example, active engagement, memorization, and serendipity—and the pedagogical practices Bunyan advocates in his works, including the scene of catechism of Christiana's sons in Part 2 of <i>The Pilgrim's Progress</i> (1684). The second section summarizes key case studies of the claims of innovation and popular relevance in justifications for including Bunyan's works in mainstream, or primarily secular, educational sites, which echo some of Bunyan's non-conformist rhetoric, as in his (once) oft-quoted statement from <i>The Doctrine of the Law and Grace Unfolded</i> (1659), "I never went to School to Aristotle or Plato." The conclusion then summarizes opportunities for promoting the teaching and by extension researching of Bunyan's biography, texts, and afterlives at this opportune time preceding the upcoming anniversary and at this moment of globalization.</p>
--	--