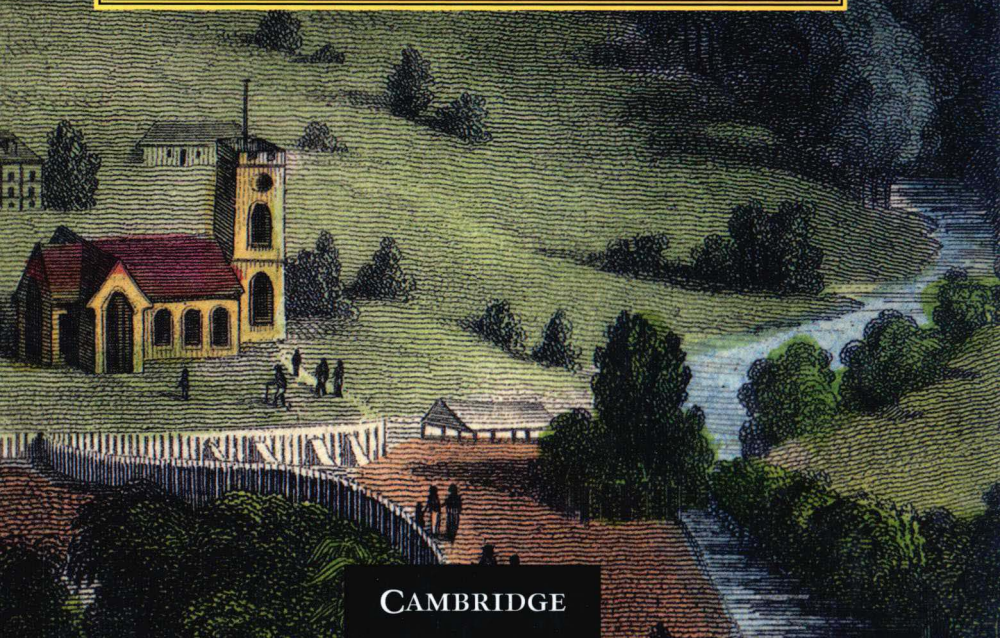


THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO



# BUNYAN

*Edited by Anne Dunan-Page*



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CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,  
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Cambridge University Press  
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org  
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521733083

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First published 2010

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data*

The Cambridge companion to Bunyan / edited by Anne Dunan-Page.

p. cm. – (Cambridge companions to literature)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-51526-9 – ISBN 978-0-521-73308-3 (pbk.)

1. Bunyan, John, 1628–1688 – Criticism and interpretation. 2. Christianity and literature – England – History – 17th century. 3. Christian literature, English – History and criticism. 4. Dissenters, Religious, in literature. 5. Puritan movements in literature. 6. Bunyan, John, 1628–1688 – Appreciation. 7. Bunyan, John, 1628–1688 – Influence.

I. Dunan-Page, Anne. II. Title. III. Series.

PR3332.C36 2010

828'.407-dc22

2009054023

ISBN 978-0-521-51526-9 Hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-73308-3 Paperback

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John Bunyan was a major figure in seventeenth-century Puritan literature, and one deeply embroiled in the religious upheavals of his times. This *Companion* considers all his major texts, including *The Pilgrim's Progress* and his autobiography *Grace Abounding*. The essays, by leading Bunyan scholars, place these and his other works in the context of seventeenth-century history and literature. They discuss such key issues as the publication of dissenting works, the history of the book, gender, the relationship between literature and religion, between literature and early-modern radicalism, and the reception of seventeenth-century texts. Other chapters assess Bunyan's importance for the development of allegory, life-writing, the early novel and children's literature. This *Companion* provides a comprehensive and accessible introduction to an author with an assured and central place in English literature.

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## CONTRIBUTORS

VERA J. CAMDEN is Professor of English at Kent State University, Training and Supervising Analyst at the Cleveland Psychoanalytic Center and Clinical Assistant Professor of Psychiatry at Case Western Reserve University. She is co-editor of *American Imago*. Her most recent publications include ‘“The Language of Tenderness and Passion” or, Sex in Paradise’, *New Literary History* (Autumn 2007), *Trauma and Transformation: The Political Progress of John Bunyan* (ed.) (2008) and ‘“The Past is a Foreign Country”: The Uses of Literature in the Psychoanalytic Process’, in Peter Rudnytsky and Rita Charon (eds.), *Psychoanalysis and Narrative Medicine* (2008).

MICHAEL DAVIES is Senior Lecturer in English at the University of Liverpool. He has research interests in English literature of the Renaissance and Restoration periods, focusing especially on the literary and religious cultures of seventeenth-century England. He has published essays on a range of writers, from William Shakespeare to William Cowper, and is the author of *Graceful Reading: Theology and Narrative in the Works of John Bunyan* (2002).

ANNE DUNAN-PAGE is Professor of early-modern British studies at the Université de Provence, Aix-Marseille I (France). She works on various aspects of religious dissent, focusing on seventeenth-century separatists and the Huguenots. She is the author of *Grace Overwhelming: John Bunyan, ‘The Pilgrim’s Progress’ and the Extremes of the Baptist Mind* (2006), and has edited *The Religious Culture of the Huguenots, 1660–1750* (2006), *Les Huguenots dans les Îles Britanniques de la Renaissance aux Lumières* (with Marie-Christine Munoz, 2008) and *Roger L’Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture* (with Beth Lynch, 2008).

ISABEL HOFMEYR is Professor of African literature at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa. She has published widely on South African and African literary and cultural history. Her first monograph, *We Spend our Years as a Tale that is Told: Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chiefdom* (1994), was shortlisted for the Hersovits Prize. Her monograph, *The*

*Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of 'The Pilgrim's Progress'* won the 2007 Richard L. Greaves Award, The International John Bunyan Society.

N. H. KEEBLE is Professor of English studies and Senior Deputy Principal at the University of Stirling, Scotland. His publications include *Richard Baxter: Puritan Man of Letters* (1982), *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (1987), *The Restoration: England in the 1660s* (2002) and a two-volume *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter* (with Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 1991). He has edited *John Bunyan: Conventicle and Parnassus – Tercentenary Essays* (1988), *The Cultural Identity of Seventeenth-Century Woman: A Reader* (1994), *The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution* (2001), *John Bunyan: Reading Dissenting Writing* (2003), Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1984) and texts by Richard Baxter, Lucy Hutchinson, Andrew Marvell and Daniel Defoe. He is a volume editor for the forthcoming *Oxford Complete Works of John Milton*.

EMMA MASON is Senior Lecturer in the Department of English and Comparative Literary Studies at Warwick University and is a specialist in nineteenth-century poetry and religion. She is the author of *Women Poets of the Nineteenth Century* (2006), *Nineteenth-Century Religion and Literature* (with Mark Knight, 2006) and *The Cambridge Introduction to Wordsworth* (2009); and co-editor of *The Blackwell Companion to the Bible in English Literature* (2009) and *The Oxford Handbook to the Reception History of the Bible* (2010).

SHANNON MURRAY teaches early-modern and children's literature at the University of Prince Edward Island, Canada. She is the founder and editor of *The Recorder: A Publication of the International John Bunyan Society* (1993–9). She writes on adaptations of *The Pilgrim's Progress* for children, on the Polish children's writer Janusz Korczak and on learning communities and teaching for creativity in higher education. She is a Canadian 3M National Teaching Fellow for excellence and leadership in university teaching and a published children's writer.

W. R. OWENS is Professor of English literature at The Open University. His research interests are in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century English literature, textual scholarship and book history. He is Director of the AHRC-funded project 'The Reading Experience Database' ([www.open.ac.uk/Arts/RED](http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/RED)). A past President of the International John Bunyan Society, he has published extensively on Bunyan, and has edited two volumes of *Miscellaneous Works* (1994), and editions of *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* and *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1987, 2003 respectively). Together with P. N. Furbank he has written four books and many articles on Daniel Defoe, and they are the General Editors of *The Works of Daniel Defoe* (44 volumes, in progress, 2000–).

ROGER POOLEY teaches English at Keele University. His books include *English Prose of the Seventeenth Century* (1993) and a new edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress* (2008). He has published a number of articles and chapters on Bunyan and seventeenth-century literature. He is currently President of the International John Bunyan Society (2007–10).

STUART SIM is Professor of critical theory in the English Department, University of Sunderland. He is the author of numerous publications on the fiction of the long eighteenth century and contemporary critical theory. A joint-editor and founder-member of the journal *Bunyan Studies*, he was elected a Fellow of the English Association in 2002. Recent works include *The Eighteenth-Century Novel and Contemporary Social Issues* (2008), and he has edited, with W.R. Owens, *Reception, Appropriation, Recollection: Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress'* (2007).

NIGEL SMITH is Professor of English at Princeton University. He is the author of *Perfection Proclaimed: Language and Literature in English Radical Religion, 1640–1660* (1989), *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640–1660* (1994) and *Is Milton Better than Shakespeare?* (2008), as well as articles on Shakespeare, Donne, Herbert, Milton and Bunyan, and on such topics as atheism, vegetarianism and Socinianism. He has edited the *Ranter Tracts* (1983), the *Journal of George Fox* (1998), the *Poems of Andrew Marvell* (2003) and co-edited *The Oxford Handbook of Milton* (2009).

DAVID WALKER is Principal Lecturer and Head of English and creative writing at Northumbria University. Co-author (with Stuart Sim) of *Bunyan and Authority: The Rhetoric of Dissent and the Legitimation Crisis in Seventeenth-Century England* (2000), he has published articles on Bunyan's non-fiction in *Prose Studies* and *Bunyan Studies*. He is reviews editor for *Bunyan Studies* and currently writing a book on memories of the sixteenth-century Reformation in mid to later seventeenth-century literature.

## NOTE ON THE TEXT

Early-modern texts cited in this *Companion* can be consulted via Early English Books Online (EEBO). Unless stated otherwise, the place of publication is London. Spelling and punctuation have not been modernised. Dates are given in Old Style with the year beginning on 1 January.

Page references to Bunyan's works appear in parentheses within the text. The titles of his non-fiction works have been shortened. The dating of all the works follows Richard L. Greaves's chronology in *Glimpses of Glory: John Bunyan and English Dissent* (Stanford University Press, 2002), pp. 637–41.



## ABBREVIATIONS

### Bunyan's works

- B&G* *A Book for Boys and Girls*, ed. Graham Midgley, in *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), vi:183–269
- Bunyan, *Works* *The Works of that Eminent Servant of Christ, Mr John Bunyan*, ed. Charles Doe (1692)
- GA* *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, ed. Roger Sharrock (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962)
- HW* *The Holy War*, ed. Roger Sharrock and James F. Forrest (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980)
- LDB* *The Life and Death of Mr Badman*, ed. Roger Sharrock and James F. Forrest (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988)
- MW* *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, gen. ed. Roger Sharrock, 13 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976–1994)
- P'sP* *The Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. James Blanton Wharey; 2nd edn, rev. Roger Sharrock (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960)

### Critical works

- Brown, *Bunyan* John Brown, *John Bunyan 1628–1688: His Life, Times, and Work*, 1885, 2nd edn, rev. Frank M. Harrison (London: The Hultbert Publishing Company, 1928)

- Greaves, *Glimpses* Richard L. Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory: John Bunyan and English Dissent* (Stanford University Press, 2002)
- Hill, *Turbulent* Christopher Hill, *A Turbulent, Seditious, and Factious People: John Bunyan and his Church, 1628–1688* (1988; Oxford University Press, 1989)
- Keeble (ed.), *Conventicle* N. H. Keeble (ed.), *John Bunyan: Conventicle and Parnassus – Tercentenary Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988)

### Reference works

- Oxford DNB* H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 vols. (Oxford University Press, 2004)

### Journals

- BQ *Baptist Quarterly*
- BS *Bunyan Studies: John Bunyan and his Times*
- ELH *English Literary History*
- ELR *English Literary Renaissance*
- PMLA *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*
- RES *Review of English Studies*
- SEL *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*
- SP *Studies in Philology*

## CHRONOLOGY

- 1628 Born in Elstow, near Bedford (Bedfordshire), the son of Thomas Bunyan (a brazier) and his second wife Margaret Bentley. Assassination of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Petition of Right.
- 1629 Dissolution of Parliament and beginning of Charles I's personal rule (to 1640).
- 1633 George Herbert's *The Temple* and John Donne's *Poems*. William Laud appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 1640 Summoning of the Long Parliament
- 1642 Beginning of the First Civil War. Closing of the theatres. Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici* (first authorised edition, 1643).
- 1643 The Westminster Assembly of Divines begins meeting (to 1649).
- 1644 John Milton's *Areopagitica*. Death of Bunyan's mother and sister. His father marries his third wife within a few months. Bunyan joins the Parliamentary forces in Newport Pagnell (Buckinghamshire), in the garrison of Sir Samuel Luke (company of Richard Cokayne).
- 1645 Formation of the New Model Army. Battle of Naseby. Birth of Bunyan's half-brother Charles, who dies shortly afterwards.
- 1646 End of the First Civil War. Episcopacy abolished. Bunyan volunteers for service in Ireland (but does not serve).
- 1647 The Army Debates at Putney concerning democracy and the constitution. Bunyan is demobilised and he returns to his father's house in Elstow.

- 1648 Second Civil War (to 1649). Colonel Pride's purge of the Long Parliament to secure a majority for bringing the King to trial, creating the 'Rump' Parliament.
- 1649 Trial and execution of Charles I. Monarchy and the House of Lords abolished. Commonwealth proclaimed. Bunyan marries his first wife, whose name is not recorded (four children born of the union). She brings as a dowry Arthur Dent's *The Plaine Mans Path-way to Heaven* (1601) and Lewis Bayly's *The Practise of Pietie* (1612?).
- 1650 Birth of Bunyan's first child Mary, who is blind. Spiritual awakening after an encounter with 'three or four poor women'. Starts meeting with the separatist congregation of John Gifford in Bedford.
- 1651 Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*.
- 1652 First Anglo-Dutch War (to 1654).
- 1653 Cromwell becomes Lord Protector. Margaret Cavendish's *Poems, and Fancies*.
- 1655 Moves from Elstow to Bedford. Admitted a full member of the Bedford congregation, possibly after accepting baptism by total immersion. Begins to preach. Death of John Gifford, succeeded by John Burton.
- 1656 Margaret Cavendish's *Natures Pictures*. Bunyan's first printed work, *Some Gospel-truths Opened*, against the Quakers.
- 1657 First Fifth-Monarchist rising in London led by Thomas Venner. Cromwell refuses the crown. *A Vindication ... of Some Gospel-Truths Opened*.
- 1658 Death of Oliver Cromwell. Richard Cromwell becomes Lord Protector. Richard Allestree's *The Whole Duty of Man*. Death of Bunyan's first wife. *A Few Sighs from Hell*, one of his most popular non-fiction works.
- 1659 Collapse of Richard Cromwell's Protectorate and restoration of the Rump Parliament. Bunyan marries his second wife, Elizabeth (three children born of the union). Supposed at this date to have written a tract in support of a woman accusing Quakers of witchcraft. His right to preach is challenged by Thomas Smith, keeper of Cambridge University Library and Professor of Arabic. *The*

*Doctrine of the Law and Grace Unfolded*, Bunyan's exposition of his doctrinal principles.

- 1660 Collapse of the Commonwealth and restoration of the full Long Parliament which votes to restore monarchy and for its own dissolution. Declaration of Breda. Charles II returns to England. Reopening of the theatres with actresses on stage. Founding members of the Royal Society begin meeting. Samuel Pepys begins his *Diary* (which he continues until 1669). Death of the Bedford congregation's minister, John Burton. William Wheeler is offered the pastorate, but declines. Bunyan arrested for illegal preaching in the hamlet of Lower Samsell (Bedfordshire). His wife Elizabeth gives premature birth to an infant who dies shortly afterwards.
- 1661 Venner's second Fifth-Monarchist rising in London. Corporation Act requiring all municipal officers to swear the oaths of allegiance, supremacy and non-resistance. *Mirabilis Annus, Or The Year of Prodigies and Wonders* (Second Part, 1662). Bunyan prosecuted under a 1593 Elizabethan Act and sentenced (remains in prison until 1672). Proceedings later published as *A Relation of the Imprisonment of Mr John Bunyan* (1765), usually reprinted with *Grace Abounding*. Publication of his first poem, *Profitable Meditations*.
- 1662 Quaker Act. Ejection of Puritan ministers who refuse to conform as required by the Act of Uniformity re-establishing the episcopal Church of England (24 August). Licensing Act. Charles II marries Catherine of Braganza. *I Will Pray with the Spirit* (?).
- 1663 Shakespeare's Third Folio. Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* (Second Part, 1664; Third Part, 1678). Roger L'Estrange appointed Surveyor of the Press. Samuel Fenne and John Whitman elected co-pastors of the Bedford congregation. *Prison-Meditations*, Bunyan's second verse collection, *Christian Behaviour*, a conduct book and *A Mapp Shewing the Order & Causes of Salvation & Damnation* (?).
- 1664 First Conventicle Act. Lucy Hutchinson begins writing the *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* (first published 1806).
- 1665 Five Mile Act. Bubonic plague. Second Anglo-Dutch War (to 1667). *The Holy City, The Resurrection of the Dead* (?); *One Thing is Needful* (?) and *Ebal and Gerizzim* (?), two verse collections.

- 1666 Great Fire of London. Margaret Cavendish's *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy. To which is added ... A New Blazing World. Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, Bunyan's spiritual autobiography.
- 1667 Milton's *Paradise Lost*. John Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*. Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*. Poems of Katherine Philips (the 'matchless Orinda'). Fall of Charles II's first minister, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.
- 1668 John Dryden created Poet Laureate. Bunyan probably begins writing *The Pilgrim's Progress* while still imprisoned.
- 1669 *The Holy City*.
- 1670 Second Conventicle Act. Treaty of Dover secretly concluded between Charles II and Louis XIV, committing Charles to return England to Roman Catholicism. Samuel Parker's *A Discourse of Ecclesiastical Politie*. Twenty-eight members of the Bedford congregation are arrested at an illegal conventicle.
- 1671 John Milton's *Paradise Regain'd* and *Samson Agonistes*.
- 1672 Andrew Marvell's *The Rehearsal Transpros'd* (Second Part, 1673). Bunyan elected pastor of the Bedford congregation (January). Declaration of Indulgence (March). Third Anglo-Dutch War (to 1674). Bunyan released from prison and applies for a licence to preach as a Congregationalist at the house of Josiah Ruffhead, a cordwinder. Controversy with the Anglican Edward Fowler and the 'closed-communion' Baptists recorded respectively in *A Defence of the Doctrine of Justification, by Faith in Jesus Christ* and *A Confession of my Faith* (followed by *Differences in Judgment upon Water-Baptism, no Bar to Communion*).
- 1673 Declaration of Indulgence withdrawn. Anti-Catholic Test Act. Charles II's brother and heir, James, Duke of York, refuses to take the sacrament at Easter and marries the Italian Catholic Mary of Modena, raising the prospect of a Roman Catholic ruling dynasty. *The Barren Fig-Tree*. Bunyan pursues his controversy with the Baptists with *Peaceable Principles And True*.
- 1674 Death of John Milton. Bunyan causes a scandal by riding on horseback with a young maid, Agnes Beaumont. Her *Narrative of the Persecution of Agnes Beaumont* will be published in 1760.

- 1675 Charles II cancels the licences formerly issued in accordance with the Declaration of Indulgence. Rebuilding of St Paul's Cathedral by Christopher Wren begins (completed 1711). Bunyan goes into hiding for a few months, possibly finding refuge with London Congregationalists. *Instruction for the Ignorant*, a catechism, and *Light for Them that Sit in Darkness*.
- 1676 George Etherege, *The Man of Mode*. Bishop Henry Compton's census of religious nonconformity. Death of Bunyan's father. Beginning of his second imprisonment (December 1676 to June 1677). Released, probably thanks to the intervention of John Owen. *The Strait Gate, Saved by Grace*.
- 1677 Andrew Marvell's *An Account of the Growth of Popery, and Arbitrary Government*. Aphra Behn, *The Rover*. William of Orange marries Mary, daughter of the Duke of York and his wife, the late Ann Hyde, daughter of Clarendon.
- 1678 Popish Plot. Death of Andrew Marvell. First Part of *The Pilgrim's Progress* published by Nathaniel Ponder. *Come, & Welcome, to Jesus Christ*, one of Bunyan's most popular non-fiction works.
- 1679 Death of Thomas Hobbes. Fall of the first minister, Sir Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby. Beginning of the 'Exclusion Crisis' (to 1681). Lapse of the Licensing Act. *A Treatise of the Fear of God*.
- 1680 Death of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, and publication of his *Poems*. *The Life and Death of Mr Badman*.
- 1681 Andrew Marvell's *Miscellaneous Poems*. John Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*. The opposition leader Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, imprisoned and later released when a London Grand Jury issues a verdict of *ignoramus*.
- 1682 Spurious 'second' part of *The Pilgrim's Progress* by the General Baptist Thomas Sherman. *The Holy War, The Greatness of the Soul*.
- 1683 Rye House Plot. Foundation of the Ashmolean Museum. *A Case of Conscience Resolved* against separate women assemblies.
- 1684 Suicide of the apostate John Child, once a member of the Bedford congregation. Aphra Behn's *Love-Letters Between a Noble-Man and his Sister* (Second Part, 1685, Third Part, 1687). Authentic Second Part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *A Holy Life, Seasonable Counsel, A Caution to Stir Up Against Sin*.

- 1685 Death of Charles II. Accession of James II. Unsuccessful rebellion of Charles II's illegitimate son, James, Duke of Monmouth. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Licensing Act renewed for seven years. Aphra Behn's *Miscellany*. Montaigne's *Essays* translated by Charles Cotton. *Questions about the Nature and Perpetuity of the Seventh-Day-Sabbath* against the Sabbatarians worshipping on Saturdays, *A Discourse upon the Pharisee and the Publicane*.
- 1686 *A Book for Boys and Girls: Or, Country Rhimes for Children*.
- 1687 James's Declaration of Indulgence suspending the Test and Corporation Acts. John Dryden's *The Hind and the Panther*, Isaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica*.
- 1688 Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*. Mary of Modena gives birth to a son. Reissue of the Declaration of Indulgence. Trial and acquittal of the 'Seven Bishops' who opposed the Declaration. William of Orange lands at Brixham (Torbay, Devon). James flees to France. Bunyan dies in London, 31 August, at the house of the grocer John Strudwick, in Holborn. Interred in Strudwick's tomb in the dissenting cemetery of Bunhill Fields. *Solomon's Temple Spiritualiz'd, A Discourse of ... the House of God, The Water of Life, The Advocateship of Jesus Christ, Good News for the Vilest of Men*. Posthumous publication of *An Exhortation to Peace and Unity* and Bunyan's deathbed sayings, both spurious.
- 1689 Death of Aphra Behn. Crown offered to William and Mary. Declaration of Rights. Toleration Act. John Locke's first *Letter Concerning Toleration* (a second and third follow in 1690 and 1692), *Two Treatises on Government* (dated 1690). Posthumous publication of Bunyan's *Last Sermon* and *The Acceptable Sacrifice*.
- 1690 John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*.
- 1692 Death of Elizabeth Bunyan. Bunyan's friend Charles Doe publishes *The Works of That Eminent Servant of Christ, Mr John Bunyan* in folio, including twelve previously unpublished pieces (*An Exposition on ... Genesis, Of Justification by an Imputed Righteousness, Paul's Departure and Crown, Of the Trinity and a Christian, Of the Law and a Christian, Israel's Hope Encouraged, The Desire of the Righteous Granted, The Saints Privilege and Profit, Christ a Compleat Saviour, The Saints Knowledge of*



*Christ's Love, A Discourse of the House of the Forest of Lebanon, Of Antichrist, and His Ruine*).

- 1694 George Fox's *Journal*.
- 1696 Richard Baxter's *Reliquiae Baxterianae* published by Matthew Sylvester.
- 1698 Charles Doe publishes *The Heavenly Foot-man*, possibly composed by Bunyan in late 1667 or early 1668, its central metaphor anticipating *The Pilgrim's Progress*.