

John Bunyan's "Holy War" and London Nonconformity

IN THE opening paragraphs of *The Holy War*, John Bunyan, explaining how it was his "lot to travel," came upon "a fair and delicate town, a corporation, called Mansoul. A town for its building so curious, for its situation so commodious, for its privileges so advantageous . . . that I may say of it, . . . There is not its equal under the whole heaven."¹ As the allegory of Mansoul unfolds it obviously refers to the spiritual struggle depicted by Bunyan in *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*.² The unequalled city with its commodious location, however, also contains some reflections of post-Restoration London with its stormy history of Nonconformity. The earlier Cromwellian era, when Bunyan gained some knowledge of the city through his connections with the printers John and M. Wright,³ is blissfully recalled in the depiction of London as "so goodly a town" with "dominion over all the country round about . . . Aye, the town itself had positive commission and power from her King [Shaddai] to demand service of all, and also to subdue any that any ways denied to do it."⁴ The city was fortified by defences so secure that they "could never be broken down, nor hurt, by the most mighty adverse potentate, unless the townsmen gave consent thereto."⁵ While Cromwell ruled "they were all true men, and fast joined together," but when Captain Resistance was slain, the city was taken by the forces of Diabolus.⁶ Mr. Conscience, the Recorder, "a man well read in the laws of his King, and also a man of courage and faithfulness, [who would] . . . speak truth at every occasion," was "put out of place,"⁷ as were the clergy who refused to conform to the restored Church of England. A new oath, indicative of the purpose of the Clarendon Code in the eyes of the Nonconformists, was imposed on the city, which became filled with "odious atheistical pamphlets, and filthy ballads and romances, full of baldry."⁸ The tone of Restoration morality is unmistakable. The challenge to Shaddai could not be ignored, hence he dispatched an army under the command of Captains Boanerges, Conviction, Judgment, and Execution, whom Bunyan explicitly identifies as "God's ministers" who "will set Mansoul against him [Diabolus]."⁹ The ensuing struggle of the captains and their forces for control of the city is described at length, until finally the forces of righteousness take possession.¹⁰ At this point the allegory apparently becomes millenarian in its expectation of a godly triumph, but the recapture of the city by Diabolus may be a reflection of the temporary lapse of persecution in 1672 and the ensuing attempt to reimpose Anglican exclusiveness beginning in 1673.

Behind the allegory, then, lie Bunyan's activities in London as well as his inner religious experience. His associations with London Nonconformists in the years prior to his writing of *The Holy War* (1682) can be determined, and they show him cooperating with the most influential Nonconformist ministers, several of whom had held high positions (as Bunyan's "true men") in the Cromwellian era. The struggles of these men in an era of persecution and occasional indulgence are reflected in the pages of *The Holy War*, which therefore represents not only the spiritual conflict of one man but also the historical experience of an underground faith.

The ministers depicted in the allegory as the four captains can tentatively be identified as George Cockayne, George Griffith, Anthony Palmer, and John Owen. A key to their identity is found in letters of dismissal from the church at Bedford to the London congregations of which these men were ministers. On 19th June 1671, the Bedford church took up the matter of a member (Mary Tilney) who had moved to London and requested a letter of dismissal. The reply, signed by Bunyan and three colleagues, approved her joining the congregation of George Cockayne, George Griffith, or Anthony Palmer. It also gave her the option of selecting another congregation if any of these men or John Owen would write a commendatory epistle regarding "the faith and principles" of the designated church. When this did not meet with her approval, the Bedford church reaffirmed its position in September.¹¹ In November 1671, the church sent a commendatory epistle on behalf of another member (Martha Grew) to the London church of "our dearly beloved bro: Anthony Palmer." The Bedford Nonconformists "behoove you to receive her to y^e Lords table with you, and to grant her those Gospell priviledges, w^{ch} by the testament of Christ, are bestowed upon you . . ."¹² On 29th May 1674, the Bedford congregation sent a letter "to that church, of whom Bro: [Henry] Jesse once was pastor to know whether it be their church principle still to hold communion with saints as saints though differing in Judgment about Water Baptism . . ."¹³ The Bedford letter was in response to a request from London, dated 12th May 1674, asking for the approval of Bedford to admit Martha Cumberland to membership in the London congregation. The Bedford church had previously authorised her to join the church of Cockayne, Palmer, or Owen, a fact called to the attention of Jessey's former church. Bedford was noticeably upset because the lady was not content with these churches, "the which we have taken very ill, especially since those of our members which are in london are receaved by and hold communion with them, they being also of that Christian principle afore mentioned[,] to hold comunyon with saints as saints . . ." Bedford refused to recommend her to Jessey's former church because of her attitude toward the congregations of Cockayne, Owen, and Palmer, as well as other demeaning behaviour. Bunyan was one of those who signed the letter.¹⁴

Bunyan's ministerial contacts in London in the late 1660s and

1670s thus focus on four men. A closer look at George Cockayne, George Griffith, Anthony Palmer, and John Owen will establish the heart of the circle in which Bunyan moved while in London. This circle, of course, broadened before his death in 1688, as will be noted. Those who comprised this circle were closely interrelated and were normally involved in illegal religious activities—actions Bunyan viewed as part of the holy war against Diabolus.

Cockayne, who received his B.A. in 1639 from Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, had been rector of St. Pancras, Soper Lane, from 1648 to 1660. While serving in this position he received a letter from the Bedford church in 1659 regarding the location of someone to assist John Burton, Bunyan's minister, in the pastoral work. "The adjacent Churches" recommended that Bedford contact Cockayne, Henry Jessey, and John Simpson, rector of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate (1652-5, 1659-62).¹⁵ This advice presumably came from John Donne of Pertenhall, William Wheeler of Cranfield, and John Gibbs of Newport Pagnell, all neighbouring ministers, whose help was sought when Burton was disabled the following year (1660). What recommendations Cockayne made, if he replied, are not known.

Something about Cockayne's activities after the Restoration may be discovered in the "Spy Book" of Sir Joseph Williamson, a privy council secretary, who compiled alphabetically-indexed extracts from informers' reports to provide information on men to be watched for potential violation of the penal statutes against Nonconformity or for seditious activity. The informers reported that Cockayne was living at Soper Lane, where several conventicles were known to meet.¹⁶ One of these brought together several well-known Independents: "Mr. [Joseph] Carrall [Caryl,] Mr. [Matthew] Barker[,] Mr. Cockayne[,] Mr. [George] Grefeth[,] all pastors[,] they all joyne there Church^s sometyes together, and mete sometyes in *Soper laine*, sometyes *Mr. Willetts* in St. Laurence laine," near the Guildhall.¹⁷ (Caryl was closely associated with John Owen, who succeeded him as minister of the Independent church in Leadenhall Street in 1673.) These meetings occurred in 1663, a year before Cockayne is thought to have visited Bunyan in prison.¹⁸

Cockayne's activities are hard to follow during the next eight years, though by 1672 a regular congregation was meeting in his home in Red Cross Street. Like Bunyan he took advantage of the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence to apply for a licence. As has been noted, his congregation was one of those in London to which Bedford was willing to dismiss members in the 1670s. This relationship did not change in the next decade. In 1682 a letter of commendation (including Bunyan's name) was sent to Cockayne's church on behalf of William Breeden, a tradesman and lay preacher.¹⁹ *A List of the Conventicles or Unlawful Meetings within the City of London*, published in 1683, one year after Bunyan's *Holy War*, indicated that in that year Cockayne's church was meeting between White Cross Street and Red Cross Street, near the Peacock Brew-House.²⁰ In September,

1688, Cockayne wrote a preface to Bunyan's posthumous *The Acceptable Sacrifice*, in which he described himself as "a lover and honourer of all saints as such," implying he knew Bunyan well. Cockayne remarked that God "was still hewing and hammering him [Bunyan] by his Word, and sometimes also by more than ordinary temptations and desertions" late in his life. Bunyan "always needed the thorn in the flesh, and God in mercy sent it him, lest, under his extraordinary circumstances, he should be exalted above measure; which perhaps was the evil that did more easily beset him than any other."²¹

Cockayne's friend, George Griffith, was another London minister known to and approved by Bunyan, and a model for one of the captains in *The Holy War*. Born in Montgomeryshire in 1619, Griffith was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1646, and a preacher at the Charterhouse in London from 1648 until his ejection in 1661. In 1654 he was appointed a lecturer at the St. Bartholomew Exchange, and he also served as one of Oliver Cromwell's Triers. Williamson's "Spy Book" reported him holding a meeting in St. Laurence Lane, near the Guildhall, in 1663, where Joseph Caryl also preached. Griffith's and Caryl's association with Cockayne and Matthew Barker here and in Soper Lane has been noted. In 1672 Griffith was licensed as a Congregationalist to preach at his own house in Addle Street. He was preaching at Plaisterers' Hall as of March, 1684. From sometime after 1684 to c. 1694 his congregation met at Girdlers' Hall in Basinghall Street. The eminent Richard Baxter thought well of him because of his conciliatory attitude and open meetings, which would also have appealed to Bunyan.²²

Griffith was closely associated with the prototype for another captain in *The Holy War*, John Owen, who has also been linked to the meetings in Soper Lane in the 1660s.²³ Owen was undoubtedly the leading Independent of the period. He had served as chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, as Dean of Christ Church, Oxford (1651-60), and as Vice-Chancellor of the University (1652-57). Yet in 1663 the "Spy Book" reports that he "dwells in y^e Fields on y^e left hand neer Moregate where y^e Quarters hang, & meets often wth Goodwine."²⁴ This would be Moorfields, and "y^e Quarters" would refer to the place where the drawn and quartered bodies of animals were hung in chains. Anthony Palmer and Laurence Wise also lived in this area. The informants indicated that Owen met often with Thomas Goodwin and Henry Jessey "in y^e fields neer to Moore Gate . . ."²⁵ In 1669 Owen was preaching not only in White's Alley, Moorfields, but also at a combined Congregational-Presbyterian lecture at Hackney. It was during this year that he and George Griffith advised the Nonconformist church at Hitchin, which later requested the services of John Wilson from Bunyan's church in 1674.²⁶

There is no record of Owen's being licensed in 1672, when the Congregationalist John Crouch²⁷ was licensed to teach at White's Alley. The next year Owen succeeded Joseph Caryl as pastor of the church in Leadenhall Street, "with which he joined his previous meet-

ing . . .”²⁸ Bunyan’s people approved both the previous congregation and the Leadenhall church for its members who moved to London. Bunyan, moreover, was in contact with Owen before the publication of his *Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism* in 1673. “The sober Dr. Owen, though he told me and others at first he would write an epistle to my book, yet waded it afterwards; . . . it was through the earnest solicitations of several of you [Henry Danvers, Thomas Paul, or William Kiffin and possibly other Baptists] that at that time stopped his hand . . .” Bunyan was philosophic about the fact that his polemic was not “seconded by so mighty an armour-bearer as he.” Yet Owen’s opinion would have been helpful, inasmuch as Bunyan’s position was attacked not only by leading Baptists but also by “some of the sober Independents . . .”²⁹ That Owen should have been asked to write an epistle for Bunyan was not unusual, given the number of epistles Owen wrote for other authors, including Bunyan’s possible friend at Sudbury, Samuel Petto, Francis Holcroft’s colleague at Cambridge, Samuel Corbin, and numerous others.³⁰

Owen’s stature in London Nonconformist circles is reflected in a letter of George Vernon, rector of Bourton-on-the-Water, Glos., depicting the Independent divine as the centre of a Congregational spy ring.³¹ Eleven of his “vnder-Officers” are listed, and at least three of these are associated in some way with Bunyan. Anthony Palmer and George Griffith ministered to congregations approved by Bunyan. Vavasour Powell compiled a concordance used by Bunyan, and may have known Bunyan personally and corresponded with him.³² Thomas Goodwin worked closely with Owen and perhaps was known by Bunyan. The other seven “vnder-Officers” are Philip Nye, Francis Howell, Thomas Brooks, Stephen Ford, John Chester (Collins?), John Loder, and a Mr. Barrow. They contributed to the Nonconformist cause in London, though there is no direct evidence that Bunyan knew them. Nye’s church met at Cutlers’ Hall and later at Tallow-chandlers’ Hall. Loder was Nye’s assistant, and Howell assisted John Collins, a Pinners’ Hall lecturer, at the Lime Street church. Brooks, like Goodwin and Owen, preached in Moorfields after his ejection, whereas Ford ministered to a congregation in Miles Lane, Cannon Street.³³ Vernon’s depiction of Owen as the chief of these men aptly recognises his place in the centre of the web of London Congregationalism. Vernon, it should be remembered, was no supporter of this movement. To him it was made up of “*Enthusiastick* Sectaries . . . [who] are men generally of illiterate minds, unpolished manners, and hearts full fraught with malice, impatience, discontent, pride, vain-glory and all those mental vices, which render them the Incendiaries of humane Societies . . .”³⁴

One of Owen’s “vnder-Officers” (and Bunyan’s captains) was viewed by Bunyan and his colleagues at Bedford as “our dearly beloved bro: Anthony Palmer,”³⁵ whose London congregation was another approved place of transfer for members leaving Bedford. He inspired Bunyan’s fourth captain in *The Holy War*. Palmer, born in 1616 at

Great Comberton, Worcs., had been a Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, before resigning to become rector of Bourton-on-the-Water, Glos. After being ejected in 1660, he moved to London and was living at Little Moorfields in 1663. Williamson's "Spy Book" has this entry: "Palmer (Pastor) meets often at one Shaws[,] Sailemaker in Tower Wharfe, and likewise at Palmers, [the Baptist Laurence] Wise, & Mr. [Carnsew?] Helmes [who had been ejected from Winchcombe, Glos.³⁶] who all dwell in y^e fields on y^e left hand neer Moregate where y^e Quarters stand where there are severall noted persons supposed to lurke . . .," including Owen, Thomas Goodwin, Thomas Brooks, and Henry Jessey.³⁷ A warrant for Palmer's arrest was issued on 25th February 1664. About five years later he was pastor of a mixed congregation of Independents and Baptists at Pinners' Hall, where he remained until his death on 26th January 1679. He was fined £20 in May, 1670, on account of his preaching, but was licensed as a Congregationalist in 1672 to preach at a house on London Bridge.³⁸ A similar licence was issued to Palmer's assistant, George Fownes, former vicar of High Wycombe, Bucks. (1656-57), and another Cambridge graduate (M.A., Emmanuel College, 1659). Fownes had been a Presbyterian, but adopted Baptist views in 1657. After Palmer's death he became the pastor of the Baptist church at Broadmead, Bristol (September, 1679). Two years later he was imprisoned at Bristol, and died in jail at Gloucester in 1683.³⁹ Palmer and Fownes were succeeded at Pinners' Hall by Richard Wavel, who would likely have been responsible for Bunyan preaching his *Greatness of the Soul* there in 1682, the year *The Holy War* was published. The 1683 *List of Conventicles* identifies Pinners' Hall as Presbyterian,⁴⁰ but this is essentially incorrect. The congregation formerly ministered to by Palmer and Fownes continued to use the Hall, but shared it with others. On Tuesdays lectures were given, usually by Presbyterians. On Saturdays (from 1681 to 1684) the Seventh-Day Baptists, led by Francis Bampffield, met there.⁴¹ There is no known evidence to indicate that Bunyan sat in on or gave one of the Tuesday lectures, but knowledge of Bampffield's Saturday endeavours may have prompted Bunyan to write his *Questions about the Nature and Perpetuity of the Seventh-Day Sabbath*, which was published in London by Nathaniel Ponder in 1685.

The reasonable accuracy of Vernon's letter citing Owen as the leader of such Nonconformists as Palmer, Griffith, Goodwin, Nye, Brooks, Cockayne, and John Loder is substantiated in the correspondence of London Nonconformists with Boston, Massachusetts, between 1669 and 1672. The correspondence sheds further light on the circle of Nonconformists with which Bunyan came in contact on his visits to London, though how many of these men he personally knew is enigmatical. This particular correspondence grew out of actions surrounding the organisation of a Baptist church at Boston in May, 1665, whose members included people excommunicated by the established Congregational Church. The General Court passed laws to restrain the Baptists, causing concern among the English Nonconformists. A

letter expressing their disapproval was written on 25th March, 1669, and was signed by Owen, Goodwin, Nye, Caryl and nine others.⁴² A letter from the magistrates and ministers of Massachusetts, dated 21st August, 1671, and dealing with the affairs of Harvard College, is addressed to an even broader group of English Nonconformists centred in London. It is addressed to the four men just named as well as to Griffith, Brooks, Cockayne, Palmer, Loder, William Greenhill, Nicholas Lockyer, John Knowles, William Hooke, Matthew Barker, (Ralph?) Venning, Matthew Mead, Samuel Lee, John Collins and Leonard Hoare.⁴³ A reply to this letter, dated 5th February 1672, carried the names of thirteen leading London Nonconformists, viz. Owen, Palmer, Caryl, Griffith, Cockayne (all of whom were almost certainly known by Bunyan), Brooks, Loder, Nye, Collins, Hooke, Knowles, Barker and John Rowe.⁴⁴

Among these men another almost certainly known personally by Bunyan was Matthew Mead, a fellow Bedfordshire man. Mead, born c. 1630 at Leighton Buzzard, was a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, from 1649 to 1651. In 1669 he went to Stepney as an assistant to William Greenhill in the Independent church there, succeeding him when Greenhill died in 1671. Owen and Caryl were present at Mead's ordination on 14th December 1671. In 1674 a new meeting house was completed, where Bunyan almost certainly preached. Mead had the largest congregation in the London area. In 1683 he succeeded Owen as a lecturer at Pinners' Hall, and may also have associated with Bunyan in this connection.⁴⁵

Bunyan and his colleagues had contact with one more London congregation—that of Henry Jessey (1601-63). Jessey had been pastor of a Separatist congregation in Southwark in 1637, and adopted Baptist views eight years later. He subsequently became the teacher of a Baptist church at Swan Alley, Coleman Street, but he staunchly advocated open membership and open communion.⁴⁶ Bunyan, in fact, expressly recorded his agreement with Jessey on this matter. When he came to London in 1673 to give his manuscript on *Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism* to his printer, John Wilkins, he "providentially . . . met with" a copy of Jessey's views on open membership and communion.⁴⁷ Jessey's influence had been "a prime factor" in getting others to adopt such views,⁴⁸ and had he lived another decade or two he might have been instrumental in persuading more Baptist and Congregational churches to adopt this position. He died, however, in September, 1663, the year in which the "Spy Book" reported that he often met with Goodwin and Owen "in y^e fields neer to Moore Gate where y^e Quart^s hang."⁴⁹ He continued to have contacts with people whose eminence declined at the Restoration; the "Spy Book" also has this entry for "*Harfordshire & Midellsex*": "Coll: [Henry] Danvers. Navington, where Mr. Jessey, Mr. Ward, Mr. Strainge mettes at the *Lady Hartopp*."⁵⁰ This would be the home at Stoke Newington of Lady Elizabeth Hartopp, daughter of General Charles Fleetwood and Bridget Ireton (*née* Cromwell), and wife of Sir John Hartopp of

Freeby, Leics., where Lady Elizabeth endowed a Nonconformist church.⁵¹ Jessey's death marked the end of Bedford's fellowship with his congregation, for the church (encouraged by William Kiffin) adopted traditional Baptist views.⁵² This congregation did not play a central role in London Nonconformity after Jessey's death. The signatories of the 1674 letter from this church to Bedford are little known men: Henry Forty, James Fitton, William Nubatt, Walter (?) Thomas, Thomas Flud, and Henry Crumph.⁵³

The circle in which Bunyan moved when he travelled to London in the 1670s, to preach and to deal with his publishers (notably Nathaniel Ponder, Francis Smith and Benjamin Harris), is reasonably clear. George Cockayne and his church at Red Cross Street was an obvious place to visit, especially in view of Cockayne's posthumous remarks about Bunyan. Cockayne may be the author of *A Continuation of Mr. Bunyan's Life*, which has this to say about his work in London:

"When he was at leisure from Writing and Teaching, he often came up to *London*, and there went among the Congregations of the Nonconformists, and used his Talent to the great good liking of the Hearers; and even some, to whom he had been misrepresented, upon the account of his Education, were convinced of his Worth and Knowledge in Sacred Things, as perceiving him to be a man of sound Judgment, delivering himself, plainly and powerfully; insomuch that many who came meer Spectators, for novelty sake, . . . went away well satisfied with what they heard . . ." ⁵⁴

Cockayne lived near Owen in these years, and his associations with Owen would surely have brought Owen and Bunyan together. This would give credence to the tradition that Owen heard Bunyan preach, possibly in Red Cross Street or in Owen's Leadenhall Street congregation. Bunyan would also have gone to Addle Street, where George Griffith lived and preached to a congregation Bunyan approved. The homes of Anthony Palmer and George Fownes, or their church at Pinners' Hall, would have been visited by the author of *The Holy War*. There he would have learned about the work of Francis Bampfield, whose views on the Saturday sabbath he repudiated.

In the later 1670s and 1680s Bunyan's fame spread in London. Following his final release from prison in 1676, "he preached the Gospel publicly at *Bedford*, and about the Countries [i.e. counties], and at *London*, with very great success, being mightily followed every where."

"When Mr. *Bunyan* preached in *London*, if there were but one days notice given, there would be more people come together to hear him preach, than the Meeting-house would hold: I have been to hear him preach . . . [to] about twelve hundred at a Morning-Lecture by seven a clock, on a working day, in the dark Winter time.

I also computed about three thousand that came to hear him one Lords day at *London*, at a Townsend Meeting-house . . ." ⁵⁵
The latter place would be Mead's church at Stepney, built in 1674.

Among the other likely sites for Bunyan's London sermons are Plasterers' Hall and Girdlers' Hall (where Griffith preached) and Pinners' Hall (where Palmer and Fownes, and later Richard Wavel, preached, and where Bunyan definitely preached in 1682). Contacts with London Nonconformists naturally increased in these years. Bunyan associated across the Thames with Stephen More at Winchester Yard, Southwark, where the cobbler Samuel How used to preach.⁵⁶ He also knew John Gammon of Boar's Head Yard, the author of *Christ, a Christian's Life*. Both Gammon and More were adherents of open communion. It was in Gammon's church near Whitechapel that Bunyan preached his last sermon on 29th August 1688.⁵⁷ He died at the home of the grocer John Strudwick, a member of Cockayne's church.

Cockayne, Griffith, Palmer and Owen thus provided the inspiration for Captains Boanerges, Conviction, Judgment and Execution. The struggles of these men in the 1660s and 1670s is poignantly expressed by Bunyan in a speech by Prince Emmanuel to the people of Mansoul:

"O ye inhabitants of the now flourishing town of Mansoul, . . . carry it not ruggedly or untowardly to my captains, or their men: . . . for though they have the hearts and faces of lions, when at any time they shall be called forth to engage and fight with the King's foes, and the enemies of the town of Mansoul; yet a little discouragement cast upon them from the town of Mansoul will deject and cast down their faces; will weaken and take away their courage."⁵⁸

Such was likely the tenor of the London sermons preached by Bunyan in the 1670s and early 1680s.

Emmanuel's final speech to the people of Mansoul in the closing pages of *The Holy War* is millenarian in flavour, but it is a spiritual millenarianism, distinct from the more militant variety preached in the 1650s by the Fifth Monarchy Men. London in 1682 was not willing to undergo a second holy war, hence Bunyan's allegory popularised fighting at another, spiritual level. *The Holy War* symbolised the increasing accommodation of Nonconformity to the post-Restoration world. "Remember therefore, O my Mansoul, that thou art beloved of me; as I have therefore taught thee to watch, to fight, to pray, and to make war against my foes, so now I command thee to believe that my love is constant to thee. . . . Behold, I lay none other burden upon thee, than what thou hast already, hold fast till I come."⁵⁹

NOTES

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¹ *The Holy War, The Works of John Bunyan*, ed. George Offor, III (Glasgow, Edinburgh, London, 1861), 255. A new, critical edition of the allegory is currently being prepared for the Clarendon Press by Professors Roger Sharrock and James Forrest.

² For a synopsis of other views of the sources of *The Holy War*, see William York Tindall, *John Bunyan: Mechanick Preacher* (New York, 1934), Chap. VII, and two later studies: Daniel Lamont, "Bunyan's *Holy War*: A Study in Christian Experience," *Theology Today*, III (1946-47), 459-72; and the Marxist interpretation by Alick West, "'The Holy War' and 'The Pilgrim's Progress'", *Modern Quarterly*, VIII (Summer, 1953), 169-82. For further studies see R. Greaves, *An Annotated Bibliography of John Bunyan Studies* (Pittsburgh, 1972), p. 42.

³ R. Greaves, ed., *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, II (Oxford, 1975), 3.

⁴ *Works*, III, 255.

⁵ *Works*, III, 256.

⁶ *Works*, III, 259, 260.

⁷ *Works*, III, 261.

⁸ *Works*, III, 267.

⁹ *Works*, III, 270-71.

¹⁰ *Works*, III, 296-97.

¹¹ *The Church Book of Bunyan Meeting, 1650-1821*, facsimile ed. with intro. by G. B. Harrison (1928), pp. 45-46, 48-49.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 55; cf. p. 58 for the full text of the letter.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23; *Calamy Revised*, ed. A. G. Matthews (Oxford, 1934), s.v.; Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *Visible Saints: The Congregational Way, 1640-1660* (Oxford, 1957), p. 36. For the possibility of relations between Bunyan and Simpson, see Tindall, *John Bunyan*, pp. 30, 125-26, 230n, 255n.

¹⁶ G. Lyon Turner, "Williamson's Spy Book", *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, V (1912), 247.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, V, 314; cf. V, 247.

¹⁸ C. Bernard Cockett, "George Cokayn," *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.*, XII (April, 1935), 229-30.

¹⁹ *Church Book*, p. 71.

²⁰ "London Conventicles in 1683," *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.*, III (1907-8), 364-66.

²¹ Cited in *Works*, ed. Offor, I, 686, 688.

²² *Calamy Revised*, s.v.; *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, ed. Matthew Sylvester (1696), II, 193; III, 19; Walter Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses in London, Westminster, and Southwark* (1808-14), II, 517. "Mr. Griffith and afterward Mr. Tate had a Church who met in an afternoon at Girdlers hall, and upon Mr. Tate's death which was about 1710 wholly dispersed." *A View of the Dissenting Interest in London of the Presbyterian & Independent Denominations from the Year 1695 to the 25 of December 1731*, Dr. Williams's Library (London) MS. RNC 38.18, fol. 76.

²³ R. Tudur Jones, *Congregationalism in England, 1662-1962* (1962), p. 72.

²⁴ Turner, *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.*, V, 253.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 249, 251.

²⁶ *Calamy Revised*, s.v.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, s.v.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, s.v.

²⁹ *Works*, ed. Offor, II, 649.

³⁰ These included Thomas Gouge, *The Surest and Safest Way of Thriving* (1674), Henry Scudder, *The Christian's Daily Walk* (1674), James Durham, *The Law Unsealed* (1676), Patrick Gillespie, *The Ark of the Covenant Opened* (1677), and Elisha Coles, *A Practical Discourse of God's Sovereignty* (1678).

³¹ D.N.B., s.v. Owen was "the nerve-centre of the Congregational resistance to the penal code." Jones, *Congregationalism in England*, p. 71.

³² Tindall, *John Bunyan*, pp. 125, 126-7, 261n. Yet of the ten years after

the Restoration, nine were spent in prison by Powell, who died in October, 1670. Nuttall, *The Welsh Saints, 1640-1660* (Cardiff, 1957), p. 51.

³³ Jones, *Congregationalism in England*, p. 80. *D.N.B.*, s.vv. Nye, Howell, Collins, Brooks, Ford.

³⁴ [Vernon], *A Letter to a Friend concerning Some of Dr. Owens Principles and Practices* (1670), p. 51.

³⁵ *Church Book*, p. 50.

³⁶ *Calamy Revised*, s.v. He died in 1669.

³⁷ Turner, *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.*, V, 253; see V, 246, 314, 346.

³⁸ *Calamy Revised*, s.v.; *D.N.B.*, s.v.; Wilson, *History and Antiquities*, II, 256-58.

³⁹ *Calamy Revised*, s.v.; Wilson, *History and Antiquities*, II, 258-60.

⁴⁰ *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.*, III, 364-66.

⁴¹ See R. Greaves, "Francis Bampfield (1615-1684): Eccentric Hebraist and Humanitarian," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XLIV (November, 1971), 224-28; W. T. Whitley, "Thompson's List of Conventicles in 1683," *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.*, IV (1909-10), 50; and cf. "The Ancient Merchants' Lecture," *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.*, VII (1916-18), 300-301.

⁴² *The Correspondence of John Owen*, ed. Peter Toon (London and Cambridge, 1970), pp. 145-46.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 149-51. Greenhill (1591-1671) was pastor of an Independent church at Stepney, where Bunyan later preached; Lockyer (1611-1685) formerly preached at St. Pancras, Soper Lane, and was ejected in 1662, as rector of St. Benet Shorehog; Knowles (1600?-1685) was co-pastor of a Presbyterian church meeting in the parish of St. Catherine-in-the-Tower; Barker (1619-1698) was pastor of an Independent church in Miles Lane; Venning (1621?-1674) was pastor of an Independent church at Pewterers' Hall; Lee (1625-1691) became a member of Owen's Leadenhall Street church, and in 1677 succeeded John Rowe (*infra*, n. 44) as a co-pastor at Baker's Court, Holborn; Collins (1632?-1687) was pastor of an Independent church in Lime Street; and Hoare (1630?-1675) succeeded Charles Chauncy as President of Harvard College. For all these men see *D.N.B.*, s.vv.

⁴⁴ *Correspondence of Owen*, ed. Toon, pp. 151-53. After the Restoration Rowe ministered to churches in Bartholomew Close and Baker's Court, Holborn. *D.N.B.*, s.v.

⁴⁵ *D.N.B.*, s.vv. Mead and William Greenhill; Tindall, *John Bunyan*, pp. 211, 241n., 284n. For the new meeting hall see *infra*, p. 165.

⁴⁶ *Calamy Revised*, s.v.; *D.N.B.*, s.v.; A. C. Underwood, *A History of the English Baptists* (1947), pp. 57ff., 97.

⁴⁷ *Works*, ed. Offor, II, 617.

⁴⁸ Nuttall, *Visible Saints*, p. 119.

⁴⁹ Turner, *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.*, V, 251.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, V, 315.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, V, 248, 352-54.

⁵² Tindall, *John Bunyan*, p. 240.

⁵³ *Church Book*, p. 51.

⁵⁴ In Roger Sharrock, ed., *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 170-71.

⁵⁵ *The Works of That Eminent Servant of Christ, Mr. John Bunyan*, ed. Charles Doe (1692), pp. 873-74.

⁵⁶ Tindall, *John Bunyan*, p. 87.

⁵⁷ Roger Sharrock, *John Bunyan* (1968), p. 47; Tindall, *John Bunyan*, p. 210.

⁵⁸ *Works*, ed. Offor, III, 321.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 373.