

John Bunyan's «Celestial City» and Oliver Cromwell's «Ideal Society»

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ABSTRACT

The object of this essay is to draw a parallel between John Bunyan's dreams and ideals for a new English society as they allegorically appear in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, part I, and Oliver Cromwell's application of the traditional tenets of the Puritan religion—call, election, predestination—to the organization of the state. Even though Cromwell had died long before Bunyan's work was published in 1678, it can be established that such dreams and ideals for a new English society had been very much in evidence for a long time.

John Bunyan was born in 1628, and died in 1688; Oliver Cromwell was born in 1599, and died in 1658. This means that when Bunyan's principal work, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, part I, on which this paper is based in part, was published in 1678, Cromwell had already been dead for twenty years. Bearing these dates in mind, then, it might appear that my thesis that Bunyan's «Celestial City» in *The Pilgrim's Progress* is the model for Cromwell's «Ideal Society» would be impossible to establish. However, by taking the period 1637-1658 as a time-frame for this discussion, it is possible to show that Bunyan's dreams and ideals for a new English society were very much in evidence long before he illustrated them in print in 1678.

Bunyan's most renowned biographer, Roger Sharrock, seems to confirm this: «When Bunyan came to write *The Pilgrim's Progress*, he had only to translate his spiritual odyssey into an allegory.»¹ My method for dealing with the thesis of this paper will comprise four stages: (1) to establish that Bunyan's «Celestial City» phenomenon was circulating during the last half of Cromwell's life; that is, between 1637-1658; (2) to establish that Bunyan's «Celestial City» did pertain to a revamped, improved contemporary English society; (3) to find traces of Cromwell's dreams and aspirations relating to an ideal English society in his speeches, comments, and general performance; (4) finally, to compare and contrast Bunyan's and Cromwell's views (both explicit and implicit) relative to the interaction of the supernatural and the social, political spheres of human life.

John Bunyan had lively experiences with dreams from his earliest days. At the age of nine, he was a rebellious youth, engaging in swearing, blaspheming, games, and petty crime with his young friends. Apparently, he was defying authority and other forces in

his environment—a behaviour which would later give him some problems, even culminating in his several imprisonments. As a consequence of his maverick activities, and before he was ten years old, Bunyan had some terrifying dreams. In these, he was convinced that God was chastising and threatening him with punishment for his penchant for evil. He saw in these dreams, visions of hell, devils, general judgment, all of which he viewed as samples of divine justice:

Therefore I have shut my self out of all the Promises; and there now remains to me nothing but threatenings, dreadful threatenings, fearful threatenings of certain Judgment and fiery Indignation. . . (PP, p. 167).

A family problem further affected Bunyan's early life. His father's hasty re-marriage, following his wife's death in 1644, inflamed the young Bunyan's temptation to rebellious activity. Early in his career, then, Bunyan found himself enshrouded in a tantalizing dilemma: whether to continue his assault on authority-images and on the legal system; or, to listen to the threats of a disturbed and offended God. This unrelenting struggle agonized his soul and his life in general. Yet, as mentioned earlier, it also reflected his relationship with his environment. Home-life, family poverty, and a rather distressing atmosphere of social and political unrest in the England of his day—all of these keenly accentuated his internal, spiritual contortions. From his earliest years, Bunyan performed as a barometer of his age, as well as being a vivid showcase of his interior challenges. However, as touched upon earlier, Bunyan apparently yearned for a reconciliation of these mutually conflicting forces: matter vs. spirit; God vs. Devil; external vs. internal. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, part I, Christian (Bunyan) seems to want to reform:

God help me to watch and be sober; and to pray that I may shun the causes of this man's misery. Sir, is it not time for me to go on my way now? (PP, p. 167).

The Civil War, which broke out in England in 1642, was a blessing in disguise for Bunyan. Pressed into service in the Parliamentary Army, the Model army, of Oliver Cromwell in 1644, Bunyan was thereby alienated from an unpleasant home and family situation. To add to this apparent delight, Bunyan found himself fighting against the Royalist forces, supporters of King Charles I. Bunyan's father favored the Royalists, and, therefore, in fighting the Royalists he was fighting his father as well. Bunyan's battle in Cromwell's army against the adversaries of the Model Army gave him a visual equivalent of what it was to fight against his spiritual aggressors. Christian's (Bunyan's) fight with Apollyon, who symbolized sin, the universal destroyer, whom Bunyan met in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, is perhaps a fitting parallel to Bunyan's Civil War career. Just as Apollyon was about to destroy Christian, Christian is saved:

But as God would have it while Apollyon was fetching of his last blow, thereby to make a full end of this good Man, Christian nimbly reached out his hand for his Sword, and caught it, saying, «Rejoyce not against me, O mine Enemy, when I fall, I shall rise.» and with that gave him a deadly thrust (PP, p. 187).

Bunyan's three years in the army of Cromwell provided him with yet another advantage. Here, he met a number of soldiers who were also preachers, men who espoused and promoted the Puritan form of religion. His military experience, and in

particular his fortunate association with these preacher-soldiers, enabled Bunyan to separate himself from what he considered the arid Protestantism of his native Elstow, and to learn something about the Puritan approach to spirituality. From his soldier colleagues, Bunyan learned much about this appealing philosophy which began to clarify for him a more inspiring system of conduct and worship. From his military friends he got a blueprint for personal salvation. The Puritan code was presented to him by these men, and the stages of personal conversion were outlined: conviction of sin; the infinite transcendence of God; the vocation or call; a reliance on the Bible as the essential medium of salvation; justification, through faith, which is the saving grace given by God to those who are chosen or elected; glorification, and consummation in eternal bliss, as a result of union with God.

Theoretically, the Puritan system was quite clear; however, the conversion process was a difficult, even harrowing experience. Alternating periods of hope and despair, joy and sadness, ecstasy and profound despair described the ordeal of the man who aspired to personal spiritual salvation:

Then Christian fell down at his feet as dead, saying, woe is me, for I am undone: at the sight of which Evangelist caught him by the right hand, saying, All manner of sin and blasphemies shall be forgiven unto men; be not faithless, but believing; then did Christian again a little revive (PP, p. 156).

In 1653, a few years after his military career ended, Bunyan joined his soldier-preacher's —John Gifford's— newly established Puritan church in Bedford. This represented Bunyan's first official membership in the Puritan sect, and his pilgrimage to salvation via the Puritan route was thereby inaugurated. Bunyan's affiliation with the Puritans gave meaning and significance to his oft-repeated statement in *The Pilgrim's Progress*: «I am come from the City of Destruction, and am going to Mount Zion» (PP, p. 176). These words, which actually become Bunyan's motto and campaign slogan, contrast the condition of the unconverted soul with the acquisition of spiritual salvation. They may also be used to juxtapose the social, political, and religious decadence of contemporary England with a regenerated homeland.

Bunyan's membership in Gifford's Puritan church did not thereby guarantee spiritual peace. Indeed, Bunyan's spiritual tortures grew in frequency and intensity. He was deluged with voices telling him that he had no hope of salvation; however, his friends advised him to search in the Bible for consolation and encouragement. But, sometimes before he had time to consult the Bible, Bunyan was assaulted with many temptations:

Sir, what think you? is there hopes? may I now go back and go up to the Wicket-gate, shall I not be abandoned for this, and sent back from thence ashamed? (PP, p. 158).

The character, Hope, in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, who represents a division of Christian's mind, describes Christian's (Bunyan's) recurring spiritual struggle: «. . . but at the last my trouble came tumbling upon me again, and that over the neck of all my Reformations» (PP, p. 252). Christian, advised by his friends (as mentioned earlier), finds solace as he consults the Bible, and he shares his discovery with Pliable:

Come with me Neighbour Pliable, there are such things to be had which I spoke of, and many more Glories besides; If you believe not me, read here in this Book, and

for the truth of what is exprest therein, behold, all is confirmed by the blood of him that made it (*PP*, p. 149).

From what has been said so far in this paper, it would appear that, by cross-referencing Christian's performance in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, part I, with his real-life experiences, Bunyan's campaign to attain personal spiritual salvation was launched early in his career. His dreams of a «Celestial City» were preoccuping him long before the appearance of his fictionalized allegory in his *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

A respected authority on John Bunyan, Henri A. Talon, seems to support the notion that Bunyan's themes and theories were well advertised long before he translated them in his major work. Hence, Cromwell would have been aware of Bunyan's activities, beliefs, and theories:

There is no doubt that Bunyan had carried *The Pilgrim's Progress* about him for a long time. A reading of the books which preceded his greatest work shows how the allegory slowly formed itself and how it was seeking to be born . . . If the book was conceived suddenly, bearing its author along with it irresistibly, it was preceded by a long, secret preparation.²

The genesis of his literary works is thus to be found in his Puritan religious experience.³

Now, let us try to show that John Bunyan's «Celestial City» might well refer to his concept or dream of a «new England.» Christian's frequently used statement, «I am come from the city of Destruction, and am going to Mount Zion,» is a suitable theme with which to begin discussing Bunyan's contemporary England and his aspirations for a regenerated homeland. To begin, I will equate the «City of Destruction» with the England as Bunyan observed it in the seventeenth century, in order to make a better case for the establishment of his ideal England.

The social, political, and general conditions in Bunyan's country were anything but appealing: they could well synonymize a «City of Destruction.» The Puritans, among whom Bunyan was now a loyal member, were not impressed with the extravagances rampant in the court of King Charles I. The atmosphere in and around the royal precincts, in Bunyan's view, was symptomatic of a widening alienating from anything even remotely celestial. In short, Bunyan had a first-hand view of what results from an excessive catering to the senses. Bunyan's environment clearly conflicted with the traditional Puritan quest for election and personal salvation. Commenting upon the significance of the roles and objectives of the characters Passion and Patience in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the character Interpreter seems to touch upon the luxurious pursuits of the worldly-oriented who could well refer to the favorites, followers, supporters, and minions of King Charles I. Interpreter explains a point to Christian (Bunyan):

. . . he therefore that hath his Portion first, must needs have a time to spend it; but he that has his Portion last must have it lastingly. Therefore, it is said of Dives, In thy life thou receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things; but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented (*PP*, p. 164).

In Bunyan's time, the trading and manufacturing classes were advancing in power and possessions. These were known as the bourgeoisie, the influential middle class,

who generally supported Charles I. They were capitalists who strove to amass more and more land and wealth. In the surging onslaught of capitalism, even the Bunyan family lost their land, thus becoming almost destitute. Bunyan's reference, in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, to the attack made on Little-faith by Faintheart, Mistrust, and Guilt would seem to resemble what Bunyan's family had to endure at this time in English social and political history:

... Mistrust ran up to him [Little-faith], and thrusting his hand into his Pocket, pull'd out thence a bag of Silver. Then he cried out, Thieves, thieves (*PP*, p. 241).

Prior to enrolling in the Puritan church of John Gifford in 1653, Bunyan subscribed to the principles of the Church of England, to which his father and step-mother also belonged. Conformity with the established church was made mandatory by the government and crown, and this same church had an enormous impact in the social and political domains as well. The Crown-Church of England ensemble was responsible for enacting some hurtful forms of legislation. Among these were the fixing of wages by statute, the banishing of the poor to Houses of Correction, and the physical punishing of beggars. Bunyan found all of this especially unjust, and, in his (Christian's) encounter with Apollyon in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Christian explains to Apollyon why he left the «City of Destruction.» In his speech, Christian seems to be summarizing the intolerable conditions of the England of his time: «I was born in your Dominions, but your service was hard, and your wages such as man could not live on. . .» (*PP*, p. 185).

The Act of Uniformity of 1662, which demanded allegiance to the Anglican church, adversely affected those subscribing to another church. The Bedford community of Puritans, which included Bunyan, suffered much because of the Act of Uniformity, and also the Five Mile Act, which prohibited the Puritans preaching within five miles of Bedford. Defying the Five Mile Act, Bunyan continued to preach and, eventually, he was imprisoned for disturbing the peace. As Christian reaches the top of the «Hill Difficulty,» Mistrust tries to dissuade him from continuing on to the City of Zion. Mistrust's speech might be a commentary on the treatment which the Puritans received at the hands of the political system following the enacting of various forms of anti-Puritan legislation:

Yes, said Mistrust, for just before us lye a couple of Lions in the way, whether sleeping or waking we know not and we could not think if we came within reach, they would presently pull us to pieces (*PP*, p. 173).

Bunyan's ordeal, in particular his suffering in Bedford, because of his Puritan affiliation, was a commentary on the muddled principles prevailing in the England of his time. And *The Pilgrim's Progress* is his fictionalized, allegorical representation of his actual experiences. In this work, he must surely be equating the environment in which he tried to survive with the «City of Destruction,» from which he fervently wished to escape. Speaking to Piety, Christian explains why he yearns for a change in his general milieu:

I was driven out of my Native Countrey, by a dreadful sound that was in mine ears, to wit, that unavoidable destruction did attend me, if I abode in that place where I was (*PP*, p. 177).

Then, since these personal conflicts did not and could not take place in a void, in a dimension of abstract human nature, Bunyan's work becomes a definition of the historical process of his age.⁴

So much for a comparative study, involving the «City of Destruction» and the actual situation in the England of his time. Now, it seems logical to try to relate the «Celestial City» to Bunyan's ideal for a reformed England. Bunyan obviously hoped for improvements in the social and political spheres of his native country. Speaking to Worldly Wiseman, who clearly personifies the craving for worldly success, and who tried to distract Christian from his journey to Zion, Christian seems to contrast the real and the ideal England:

Why, Sir, this burden upon my back is more terrible to me than are all these things which you have mentioned: nay, methinks I care not what I meet in the way, so be I can also meet with deliverance from my burden (*PP*, p. 153).

Here, Christian's burden refers, of course, to his anxiety as he seeks spiritual election and salvation. However, one might suggest that Christian (Bunyan) is also weighed down by his impressions of an England which he feels is floundering in the morass of decrepitude. Nevertheless, like all other Puritans hoping for ultimate justification, Bunyan looked forward to the conversion of his nation as a whole:

Like many of the sectarians of his period, he [Bunyan] was a millenarian, one who awaited the establishment of Christ's kingdom on earth . . . He seemed to feel that the government would be able to work with the kingdom of Christ.⁵

Evangelist, who guides Christian (Bunyan) on his way to spiritual –and temporal– freedom, steers Christian away from the temptations proffered by Worldly Wiseman. The advice given by Evangelist could illustrate the contrast between Christian's personal and social goals, and the corruption corroding contemporary England:

Evangelist . . . Secondly, Thou must abhor his [Worldly Wiseman's] labouring to render the Cross odious unto thee; for thou art to prefer it before the treasures of Egypt (*PP*, p. 157).

Here, the cross stands for the way to Christian's goal –eternal salvation– which is to be preferred over the «treasures of Egypt,» which is, roughly speaking, the luxuries relating to a worldly existence. The word «treasures» reminds one of the biblical counsel which was substantially this: «store not up for yourselves treasures which will not last.» In general, the «treasures of Egypt» might be seen as the equivalent of the direction in which Bunyan sees his country heading at this time. On his way to salvation, Christian has a vision which possibly contrasts England as it now is with the England Christian (Bunyan) hopes it might become. In this vision, Christian finds a cross on a hill with a sepulchre just below. One is inclined to see in this contrast a movement from death up to life; from social, political regression to regeneration for his country:

He ran thus till he came at a place somewhat ascending, and upon that place stood a Cross, and a little below, a Sepulchre. So I saw in my Dream, that just as Christian

came up with the Cross, his burden loosed from off his Shoulders, and fell from his back. . . (PP, p. 169).

Everywhere sounds the note of disciplined effort towards the achievement of the holy community whether on a household or on a national scale.⁶

There is an episode in *The Pilgrim's Progress* in which the Interpreter gives Christian a vision of two characters, Passion and Patience. This scene further relates to what has been said about the progress from degeneration to regeneration in England, on all levels, personal, social, and political:

The name of the eldest was «Passion,» and of the other, «Patience»; «Passion» seemed to be much discontent, but «Patience» was very quiet. Then Christian asked, What is the reason of the discontent of «Passion»? The Interpreter answered, The Governour of them [conscience] would have him stay for his best things till the beginning of the next year; but he will have all now: But «Patience» is willing to wait (PP, p. 163).

In a following passage, Interpreter explains more about Passion and Patience:

So he said, These two Lads are Figures; Passion of the Men of *this* world; and Patience, of the men of *that* which is to come: For as here thou seest, Passion will have all now, this year; that is to say, in *this* world; So are the Men of *this* World: they must have all their good things now, they cannot stay till next year; that is until the next World. . . (PP, p. 164).

This episode might help explain Bunyan's keen hope for a «new England.» The mention of the word «Governour» is interesting. «Governour» stands for conscience, as stated earlier. In the passage from *The Pilgrim's Progress*, this «conscience» fails to convince Passion that he should place more hope in what might yet unfold, than to be too preoccupied with what is presently transpiring. One might see here overtones of the current political situation in England, especially the apparent delight ensuing from the exercise of authority and the punishing of offenders of the law. «Passion» enjoys things as they are in England; «Patience» hopes for a change.

The remark of Christian to Faithful respecting the character, Talkative, is helpful when arguing that Christian's goal is the setting up of a «new England.» In this episode, Faithful has outargued Talkative, a feat which pleases Christian. Christian says:

I wish that all Men would deal with such, as you have done, then should they either be made more conformable to Religion, or the company of the Saints would be too hot for them (PP, p. 208).

The Puritans referred to the «Saints» very often, and it is a term which described the Puritans, and especially the Puritans who had achieved spiritual election. However, the «Saints» might also refer to the establishment of Christ's kingdom on earth, i.e. the «new England»:

The «Celestial City» is the dream of all England, all the world, united in Fellowship . . . Some day, perhaps not very far off, all England will throw off the distorting pressures, and make the dream of full fellowship true.⁷

The Puritans, who were also called nonconformitsts, or independents, or sectarians, were sincere in their high ideals for England—the England they yearned to see some time in the future. Christian, speaking with Pliable, explains the kind of environment and life he hopes to see, and he sounds like the prophet Isaias:

There shall be no more crying, nor sorrow; For he that is owner of the place, will wipe all tears from our eyes (*PP*, p. 150).

In terms of the sustained allegorical and Puritanical thrust of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Christian is here, of course, referring to the eternal bliss in the Celestial City on high. However, these same idealists were equally eager to see the kingdom of the «Saints» established on earth. Hence, it would not be out of place to see in Christian's comment to Pliable—already quoted—a plan for earthly—as well as heavenly—harmony:

Both the Independents, Fifth Monarchists, and other sectarians preferred to draw examples from the Old Testament in justification of a republican government. Were the rulers not the leaders of a Chosen People who, like Moses and Aaron, had brought them towards the Promised Land?⁸

As this paper enters its third phase, it is deemed helpful to find explicit or implicit references made by Oliver Cromwell to his concept of a «new England.»

Oliver Cromwell, Puritan, soldier, statesman, was a man whose life and performance were influenced by his religious convictions. However, his early years resembled those of John Bunyan. Like Bunyan, Cromwell considered himself the «chief of sinners,» but he, again like Bunyan, later changed his ways and converted to Godliness. It was then that he revealed his renewed purpose in life, which, like that of all dedicated Puritans, relied much on the Bible:

... therefore labour to know God in Christ, which the Scriptures make to be the sum of all, even life eternal.⁹

Whether as Lord Protector, or as the victorious military leader of his «Ironsides,» Cromwell always felt that he was an instrument in the hands of a higher power. His objective, both in government and in battle, was to discharge his duty in the interests of the people of God and of the Commonwealth over which he presided. Cromwell's association with Puritanism helped him see a possibility for a reconciling of the people of God (who were the Puritans, in his view) with the interests of the nation: "In God, we see the highest contradictions reconciled," Bunyan said.¹⁰

The traditional tenets of the Puritan religion—call, election, predestination—could apply also to the state. Cromwell was an aggressive, vigorous leader whose approach to almost everything was seasoned by the symbolism of battle. It is the view of this writer that, in his many victorious battles, both in England and in Ireland, Cromwell sensed that with each victory, the forces of evil were gradually weakening, and that virtue was beginning to get the upper hand in England. Each invasion, for Cromwell, seemed to be an example of God leading him on towards the establishment of God's kingdom on earth. With the sword of justice exercised in the cause of national righteousness, England would become an «elected,» saved nation—a «celestial city» on earth:

A foreign envoy, reporting secretly to his government wrote: «. . . there cannot be discerned in him [Cromwell] any ambition save for the public good, to which he brings all his spirit and power, which is so great and is used by his Excellency with such humility and respect towards everyone, that he has come to be honoured and esteemed (besides for his great valour) as a man commanded by Heaven to establish this republic by divine service.»¹¹

. . . Cromwell believed that God had called England apart from other nations, to be a chosen people, as the Hebrews were a chosen people.¹²

For the Puritans—and, therefore, for Cromwell—history was the story of God in action; it was the continuous unfolding of divine Providence, which revealed God's will and purpose. Cromwell saw history as a record of the phenomenon of life—both success and failure, glory and humiliation—and, in all of this, he saw the evolution of the divine will:

That strict doctrine of Providence which held with John Calvin that «the righteous are the special objects of His favour, the wicked and profane the special objects of His severity» was not only the stimulus of Cromwell's single minded purpose throughout the Civil War . . . but during the vicissitudes of the Protectorate it was also the one sure anchor of hope that God would be with him to the end.¹³

The role of divine Providence in the affairs of the world led rather logically to the notion that, eventually, the kingdom of God on earth would be established. It was apparently this hope which abetted Cromwell's earthly career, both in war and in peace. Cromwell seemed to correlate and juxtapose spiritual and temporal responsibilities: «He [Cromwell] must be up and doing, for he was called upon to assist in the building of the City of God.»¹⁴

Very often during his Protectorate, Cromwell was engaged in actual military operations, which he seemed to consider as a response to a divine decree:

. . . according to his own beliefs, his success was entirely due to the singleness of purpose with which he and his troops had tried to obey God's will.¹⁵

Cromwell's wars seemed to him to be his instruments for achieving peace and harmony in the Protectorate. In this respect, he often reminds us of Bunyan's use of the metaphor of war in his works, in particular, in his *The Holy War*:

Bunyan's use of the military metaphor reflects the same conception of order overcoming chaos but his realistic detail is the vehicle for a more personal sentiment... The theme of the army of the saints [a term used to denote the Puritans] is interwoven with the theme of millenarian hope, which again takes Bunyan's mind back to the days of the war and the Commonwealth when, that hope seemed likely to be fulfilled. Looking backwards and forwards he sees in the past, behind the years of betrayal and persecution, the godly troops of the old cause, in the future the army of the saints who are to reign in splendour for a thousand years.¹⁶

Andrew Marvell's poem, *The First Anniversary of the Government under His Highness the Lord Protector*, 1653, uses astronomical imagery to explain the poet's understanding of what a ruler signifies. Marvell likens Cromwell to the sun, which rules the cosmos.

As the «sun,» Cromwell ascends the skies where he learns about cosmic order, and about the music of the spheres. This order is what Cromwell hopes to transpose to the earth below, giving earth a political version of the universal harmony found in the heavens:

While indefatigable Cromwell hies,
And cuts his way still nearer to the skies,
Learning a music in the region clear,
To tune this lower to that higher sphere.¹⁷

The theme of these lines from Marvell's poem seem to substantiate Cromwell's ideas about his Protectorate, which he felt was a kind of prelude to the unfolding of the apocalyptic prophecy:

I saw the holy city and the new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven . . . when I heard a voice call from the throne, «you see this city? Here God lives among men. He will make his home among them; they shall be his people, and he will be their God» (*Book of Revelation*, 21.1-5).

. . . he [Cromwell] . . . had also drawn messianic conclusions: he had believed that a new heaven and a new earth were coming. . . .¹⁸

Cromwell's speech to his first Parliament on Thursday, September 4, 1654 shows how he was already blending politics with the messianic role of a leader:

And when more fullness of the Spirit is poured forth to subdue iniquity and bring in everlasting righteousness then will the approach of that glory be.¹⁹

Hanserd Knollys, an exponent of Puritan philosophy, in his work, *A Glimpse of Sion's Glory*, says:

It is the work of the day to give God no rest till he sets up Jerusalem as the praise of the whole world.²⁰

In the final section of this paper, it is considered both interesting and supportive to compare comments made by both Bunyan and Cromwell —comments relating to mankind's reliance upon the operations of divine Providence (see Appendix).

Another passage from Andrew Marvell's poem, already quoted in this paper, might serve as a fitting conclusion for this essay:

Hence oft I think if in some happy hour
High Grace should meet in one with highest power,
And then a seasonable people still
Should bend to his, as he to heaven's will,
What we might hope, what wonderful effect
From such a wished conjuncture might reflect.²¹

Appendix

CROMWELL: His speech at the dissolution of his first Parliament on January 27, 1654:

The Lord hath done such things amongst us as have not been known in the world these thousand years.²²

BUNYAN: Evangelist —in *The Pilgrim's Progress*— speaks to Christian about the bountiful goodness of God:

I say, right glad am I of this thing, and that for mine own sake and yours; I have sowed, and you have reaped, and the day is coming, when both he that sowed, and they that reaped shall rejoice together. . . (PP, p. 209).

CROMWELL: We all desire, he [Cromwell] said to his brother officers in 1647, «to lay this as the foundation of all our actions, to do that which is the Will of God.»²³

BUNYAN: Faithful —who is a division of Christian's mentality— while speaking to Talkative in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, says:

Give me understanding, and I shall keep thy Law, yea, I shall observe it with my whole heart (PP, p. 206).

CROMWELL: In a letter to his wife, Elizabeth, just before he dies, Cromwell writes: «The Lord hath showed us an exceeding great mercy . . . who can tell how great it is.»²⁴

BUNYAN: Christian, speaking to Apollyon —in *The Pilgrim's Progress*— stresses the mercy of God:

but the Prince whom I serve and honour, is merciful, and ready to forgive; but besides, these infirmities possessed me in thy Countrey, for there I suckt them in, and I have groaned under them, been sorry for them, and have obtained Pardon of my Prince (PP, p. 186).

CROMWELL: In a letter to Rev. John Cotton, Boston, New England, October 2, 1651: «Who is a God like ours? To know his will, to do his will, are both of him.»²⁵

BUNYAN: Faithful (Christian) says in *The Pilgrim's Progress*:

When Christ said, Do you know all these things? And the Disciples had answered, Yes: He addeth, Blessed are ye if ye do them. He doth not lay the blessing in the knowing of them, but in the doing of them. For there is a knowledge that is not attended with doing: He that knoweth his Master's will and doth it not (PP, p. 205).

Notes

1. Roger Sharrock, *John Bunyan* (London: MacMillan, 1968), p. 54.
2. Henri A. Talon, *John Bunyan* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1956), p. 23.

3. Lynn Veach Sadler, *John Bunyan*, Twayne's English Author Series (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), p. 15.
4. Jack Lindsay, *John Bunyan: Maker of Myths* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1969), p. 11.
5. Lynn Veach Sadler, *John Bunyan*, p. 19.
6. Roger Sharrok, *John Bunyan*, p. 22.
7. Maurice Ashley, *Oliver Cromwell and the Puritan Revolution* (London: The English Universities Press, Ltd., 1958), p. 169.
8. Maurice Ashley, *Oliver Cromwell and the Puritan Revolution*, p. 94.
9. Thomas Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Lomas, ed., 3 vols., II, 53-54.
10. John Bunyan, *Works*, I, 431.
11. Bernard Martin, *Our Chief of Men: The Story of Oliver Cromwell* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1960), p. 131.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
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