

# The Plain Man's Pathway to Wisdom: The Fear of God in John Bunyan's Spirituality

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In his dedication to *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven* (1601), Arthur Dent (1552–1607) noted of his work, “As concerning the manner, heere is no great matter in learning, wit, art, eloquence, or ingenious invention; (for I have heerein specially respected the ignorant and vulgar sort, whose edification I doe chiefly aime at) yet somewhat there is, which may concern the learned, and give them some contentment.”<sup>1</sup> To do so, Dent created an imaginary dialogue between the characters Theologus (a Divine), Philagathus (an honest man), Asunetus (an ignorant man), and Antilegon (a caviller).<sup>2</sup> Dent hinted at the purpose of the conversation when Theologus and Philagathus noticed the other interlocutors approaching:

*Phila.* But behold yonder cometh two men towards us, what be they I pray you?

*Theol.* They be a couple of neighbours of the next Parish, the one of them is called Asunetus, who in very deed is a very ignorant man in Gods matters: the other is called Antilegon, a notable Atheist, and caviller against all goodnesse.

*Phila.* If they be such, it were good for us to take some occasion to speake of matters of religion: It may be we shall do them some good.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Arthur Dent, *The Plaine Mans Path-way to Heaven. Wherein every man may clearly see, whether he shall be saved or damned. Set for Dialogue wise, for the better understanding of the simple* (London: Robert Dexter, 1601), x, Early English Books Online. All quotations from primary sources reflect the author's grammar and style.

2. Dent, *The Plaine Mans Path-way to Heaven*, 1.

3. Dent, *The Plaine Mans Path-way to Heaven*, 2.

By using an imaginary dialogue, then, Dent charted the way for people of various backgrounds to travel the path of wisdom. As if overhearing a conversation taking place on the street, the common man was given the opportunity to find life and wisdom by taking up Dent's story and listening to dialogue partners discuss eternal matters.

One such "ignorant and vulgar" fellow who benefited from Dent's book was John Bunyan (1628–1688). By way of his first wife's dowry, Bunyan read *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*, which played an important role in his eventual conversion and in his own writings. Both *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678, 1684)<sup>4</sup> as well as *The Holy War* (1682)<sup>5</sup> reflected the kind of dialectical conversation Dent incorporated in his own work. Like his Puritan predecessor, Bunyan aimed to reach the common man. Using allegory, then, Bunyan painted a picture of how the most disadvantaged could receive salvation and journey toward the Celestial City with divine wisdom—a wisdom that began with and was maintained by the fear of God.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, this article will argue that the fear of God served as the compass by which Bunyan guided his readers through the moral mazes of his most influential allegorical works. As Bunyan understood it, godly fear is the disposition of the believer's soul that enables him to make right returns of his affections to God.<sup>7</sup> However, as his works demonstrated, the believer's worship is not confined to religious services. Rather, the right return of his affections is evidenced in the daily choices he makes along life's path. In arguing this thesis, then, this article will give a brief overview of Bunyan's work, *A Treatise of the Fear of God* (1679), survey both *The Holy War* and *The Pilgrim's Progress* to demonstrate this theme in action, and conclude with a

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4. John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress From This World to That Which Is to Come*, 2nd ed., ed. Roger Sharrock (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

5. John Bunyan, *The Holy War Made by Shaddai upon Diabolus. For the Regaining of the Metropolis of the World. Or, the Losing and Taking Again of the Town of Mansoul*, ed. Roger Sharrock and James F. Forrest (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980).

6. "Bunyan's interests here are personal and pastoral. In *The Pilgrim's Progress* he wrote a journey allegory on salvation; in *The Holy War* he wrote a battle allegory on sanctification or godliness." Daniel V. Runyon, "The Holy War: Sanctification as Spiritual Warfare," *Bunyan Studies* 12 (2006/2007): 105.

7. My thanks to Dr. J. Stephen Yuille for introducing me to the concept of "the right return of the affections to God" in his 2021 Reformation and Puritan Spirituality PhD seminar at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. See J. Stephen Yuille, preface to *Christ and His Threefold Office*, by John Flavel (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2021).

summary of how Bunyan's spirituality of fear aids the believer in his relationship with God.

### Overview of *A Treatise of the Fear of God*

Bunyan produced several of his most important and enduring works during the years between 1678–1684. While political turmoil in England may have played a role in the production of these works, as *A Treatise of the Fear of God* showed, Bunyan sought to help struggling believers experience the fullness of a relationship with God.<sup>8</sup> More specifically, Bunyan described the fear of God as a special grace God works in the hearts of the elect.<sup>9</sup> Thus, arguing from Revelation 14:7 (“Fear God, and give glory to him”), Bunyan stated, “I call it the highest duty, because it is as I may call it, not only a duty in it self, but, as it were, the SALT that seasoneth every duty. For there is no duty performed by us, that can by any means be accepted of God, if it be not seasoned with *godly fear*.”<sup>10</sup> The fear of God, then, is essential for the life of faith.

However, Bunyan labored to distinguish godly fear from the various forms of ungodly fear. Godly fear is neither a mere acknowledgment of God's right to judge men's sins that fails to produce a change of heart, nor is it a dread of God's wrath that drives the sinner away from God.<sup>11</sup> Such “slavish fear” cannot bring about a right relationship with God that exults in His goodness. While the fear of God does include trembling at His majesty, it also entails rejoicing in His grace.<sup>12</sup> As Michael Reeves argues,

The living God is infinitely perfect and quintessentially, overwhelmingly beautiful in every way: his righteousness, his graciousness, his majesty, his mercy, his all. And so we do not love him aright if our love is not a trembling, overwhelmed, and fearful love. In a sense, then, the trembling “fear of God” is a way of speaking about the intensity of the saints' love for and enjoyment of all that God is.<sup>13</sup>

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8. *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, ed. Richard L. Greaves, *A Treatise of the Fear of God, The Greatness of the Soul, A Holy Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 9:xix.

9. As in *The Holy War*, Bunyan uses the “fort” imagery in his treatise to describe the heart: “It is seated in the heart, and the heart is, as I may call it, the main *FORT* in the mystical world, *man*... But when the heart, *this principal fort*, is possessed with the fear of God, then he is safe, but not else.” See *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:124.

10. *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:5.

11. *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:22–23.

12. *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:10–11.

13. Michael Reeves, *Rejoice and Tremble: The Surprising Good News of the Fear of the Lord* (Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway, 2021), 52.

God births this fear in the life of the believer by first working in him a “spirit of bondage,” by which the Holy Spirit convicts him of sin and reveals the futility of his efforts to please God.<sup>14</sup> This form of fear, however, is only temporary, as it eventually gives way to a “spirit of adoption” wrought in the soul by the Holy Spirit.<sup>15</sup> As a result, the believer no longer needs to dread the wrath of God because his sins have been atoned for through the cross of Christ. Thus, Bunyan stated, “I would not have them *fear* with the fear of slaves, for that will add no strength against sin, but I would have them *fear* with the reverential *fear* of Sons, and that is the way to depart from evil.”<sup>16</sup> Indeed, the fear of God “flows from the distinguishing love of God to his elect.”<sup>17</sup>

Once the sinner is made a son, the fear of God guides him in the path of wisdom, doing so principally through the Word of God, which serves as the “Rule and Director of our FEAR.”<sup>18</sup> “*This fear* is called, *The beginning of Wisdom* (Job 28:28; Ps. 111:10),” Bunyan argued, “because then and not till then, a man begins to be truly spiritually wise; what wisdom is there where the fear of God is not?”<sup>19</sup> Thus, the fear of God produces tenderness of heart toward the things of God, bears the fruit of self-denial, cuts to the core of pride, makes the believer fearful of offending his wonderful Creator, King, and Father, and leads the saint to make use of all spiritual means to cultivate godliness.<sup>20</sup> In doing so, godly fear protects the Christian from making shipwreck of his faith and assures him of the Father’s everlasting mercy and love.<sup>21</sup> “There is no greater signe of wisdom than to grow in this blessed grace,” Bunyan stated.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the man who cultivates and perseveres in the fear of the Lord will, by the grace of God, endure to the end.

As Bunyan explained, godly fear is the “darling grace” because it is a gift of God planted in the heart of anyone and everyone who would look to Christ in faith.<sup>23</sup> A regenerated heart that puts its hope in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus and fears God is all that is needed to have eternal peace with God. Notably, Bunyan exclaimed near the end of his treatise,

14. *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:31.

15. *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:34.

16. *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:49.

17. *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:56.

18. *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:6.

19. *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:53.

20. *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:67–68, 71, 73, 105.

21. *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:83.

22. *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:104.

23. *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:103.

Poor Christian man, thou hast scarce been able to do any thing for God all thy daies, but only to fear the Lord. Thou art no Preacher, and so canst not do him service that way: Thou art no rich man and so canst not do him service with outward substance: Thou art no wise man, and so canst not do any thing that way: But here is thy mercy, thou fearest God. Though thou canst not preach, thou canst fear God. Though thou hast no bread to feed the belly nor fleece to cloth the back of the poor, thou canst fear God. O how blessed is the man that feareth the Lord, because this duty of fearing of God is an act of the mind, and may be done by the man that is destitute of all things, but that holy and blessed mind.<sup>24</sup>

In summary, the fear of God played a central role in Bunyan's spirituality. As Bunyan conveyed throughout his *Treatise*, the grace of godly fear leads the spirit of bondage to give way to the spirit of adoption, in which the believer is united to Christ in faith. Godly fear also cultivates communion with God as the believer is exposed to His Word, creating a disposition of heart that leads the believer to both rejoice and tremble before his Father. However, just as Bunyan concluded his treatise with a word of comfort to "the least of these," so he aimed with a pastor's heart to show the common man how godly fear is worked out in the heart and life of the believer through his allegorical works, *The Holy War* and *The Pilgrim's Progress*.<sup>25</sup>

### The Fear of God in *The Holy War*

In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Bunyan used story to describe the Christian's journey through life. In *The Holy War*, however, Bunyan drew attention to the drama unfolding in the human heart.<sup>26</sup> Bunyan told the story of the town of Mansoul which dwelt on the Continent of Universe. Mansoul was built and established by one Shaddai. However, the vile Diabolus, along with his

24. *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:129.

25. I was first made aware of the theme of the fear of God in Bunyan when I read Pooley's helpful introduction in the Penguin Classics edition, in which he shows Bunyan's pastoral concern that his readers walk in the fear of God. See Roger Pooley, introduction to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, by John Bunyan, ed. Roger Pooley (London: Penguin Classics, 2009), xxi.

26. Rosenfeld rightly notes, "The main literary source for all Bunyan's fictional texts was the Bible; indeed, one would not wish to argue with the perceived centrality of the Holy Scripture in his writings." Yet, it's also possible that Bunyan, as Rosenfeld notes, may have been aware of and influenced by Milton's *Paradise Lost*. See Nancy Rosenfeld, "The Holy War (1682)," in *The Oxford Handbook of John Bunyan*, ed. Michael Davies and W. R. Owens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 277–78.

legion of Diabolonians, captured the town, seized its castle, and brought her under their sway. In his might and mercy, Shaddai sent His Son, Emanuel, to win back the town which belonged to them both by creation as well as by purchase through Emanuel's sacrifice.<sup>27</sup> In doing so, Emanuel and His forces captured the town and took up residence in Mansoul's castle. Though a struggle ensued for the affections of the Mansoulans, Emanuel triumphed in the end.

The principal means by which Diabolus captured Mansoul in the first place was through the alluring of the peoples' affections. He accomplished this by gaining entry through the senses, most specifically, through Ear-gate and Eye-gate. In short time, the Lords of the town gave way to Diabolus's promises, beginning with Lord Willbewill. "For as at first," Bunyan explained, "he was willing that *Diabolus* should be let into the Town; so *now* he was willing to serve him there."<sup>28</sup> Thus, Diabolus made Willbewill "Captain of the *Castle*, Governour of the *Wall*, and keeper of the Gates of *Mansoul*," by which Bunyan referred to the heart, flesh, and senses respectively.

Nevertheless, Shaddai would not stand to see Mansoul lost. Both He and Emanuel entered into an agreement by which they would win back their town. "The purport of which agreement was this," Bunyan noted, "To wit, that at a certain time prefixed by both, the Kings Son should take a journey into the Countrey of Universe, and there in a way of Justice and equity, by making of amends for the follies of Mansoul, he should lay a foundation of her perfect deliverance from Diabolus, and from his Tyranny."<sup>29</sup> Thus, Emanuel and his forces besieged the town of Mansoul, calling for her to submit to Shaddai and escape from Diabolus and his lies. The town, however, would have none of Emanuel's entreaties. In the end, Lord Mayor Incredulity responded by stating, "To conclude, we dread you not, we fear you not, nor will we obey your summons."<sup>30</sup> Through this episode, Bunyan showed how the human heart responds to God apart from true, godly fear.

27. Morden makes the careful observation that, "Bunyan's work also exhibits a thoroughgoing commitment to the cross of Christ. True, his epic allegory, *The Holy War*, has surprisingly little place for the cross, a point which has drawn criticism from evangelical writers. But elsewhere he insists that the cross is the place where sin is dealt with. Those who received salvation did so only through the sacrifice of Christ; they were justified only by his blood and reconciled to God only by his death." See Peter J. Morden, "John Bunyan: A Seventeenth-Century Evangelical?" *International Congregational Journal* 15, no. 2 (2016): 84.

28. Bunyan, *The Holy War*, 22.

29. Bunyan, *The Holy War*, 29.

30. Bunyan, *The Holy War*, 49.

Yet, Emanuel's victory was immanent, despite Mansoul's hesitancy to acquiesce to His demands. Both Incredulity and Willbewill tottered back and forth on whether they should give in, while Diabolus raged at the thought of losing his prize. This conflict in Mansoul led to "perplexing fears," as they considered whether they should give themselves up to Emanuel, or if Emanuel should be taken at His word.<sup>31</sup> This ungodly fear, as Bunyan explained in *A Treatise of the Fear of God*, was the result of a hard heart. "If by the fear that thou hast, thy heart is not united to God and to the love of his Son, Word, and People," Bunyan explained, "thy fear is nothing worth."<sup>32</sup> Thus, Mansoul's fear was ungodly because it refused to be united to Shaddai, His Son, and His rule, and to believe in Emanuel's offer of pardon.

However, Emanuel's forces did not call upon the Mansoulians to respond with servile fear. In fact, upon their unsuccessful invasion of the town, Emanuel's captains sent for reinforcements. In their correspondence, they stated, "And send, Lord, as we now desire more forces to *Mansoul*, that it may be subdued; and a man to head them, that the Town may both love and fear."<sup>33</sup> Their request, therefore, reflected the nature of godly fear. That is, godly fear endears sinners to God as they behold both His majesty and grace. As Bunyan's allegory implied, the taking of Mansoul and her castle (the heart) was about man being captivated by God's glory and goodness in the person of Jesus Christ, so that he turned from his wicked ways and willingly submitted to His lordship.

Nevertheless, as was the case for Bunyan himself, Mansoul's transition to lasting godly fear took time. Only when Emanuel himself arrived with reinforcements did Mansoul begin to give way. Even the Recorder himself (the conscience) began to fear his ensuing destruction at the enemy's hands. Finally, when Emanuel broke through the gates (the senses), Mr. Desires-awake fell on his face and exclaimed, "O that *Mansoul* might live before thee!"<sup>34</sup> As the scene unfolded, the Mansoulians began to consider whether they should agree to Emanuel's terms, though Diabolus had already been cast out. They petitioned Emanuel several times to have mercy but each time the messengers were turned away, until at last they came with true

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31. Bunyan, *The Holy War*, 54.

32. *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:98–99.

33. Bunyan, *The Holy War*, 65.

34. Bunyan, *The Holy War*, 96.

contrition and a willingness to be Emanuel's loyal and loving subjects. In His mercy, He consented to come in and dwell among them as their King.<sup>35</sup>

It did not take long, however, for Mansoul to go wayward once again. Though the town and her castle had been taken, the Lord Secretary now resided within her (the Holy Spirit), and the Diabolonians (the lusts of the flesh) were executed or driven out, some of Diabolus's forces remained hidden within Mansoul. Notably, Mr. Carnal Security began to wreak havoc among the Mansoulans. He was, after all, the offspring of Mr. Self-conceit and Lady Fear-nothing. Though Mansoul belonged to Emanuel once more, her citizens began to live as they had under their former bondage because of the growing influence and activity of Mr. Carnal Security.<sup>36</sup>

Thus, Bunyan introduced Mr. Godlyfear, an old gentleman who was "one *now* but little set by, though formerly one of great request."<sup>37</sup> Carnal Security invited Godlyfear to a banquet, where he hoped to ruin him and so silence his voice once and for all. However, Godlyfear rejected Carnal Security's attempts and beckoned the Mansoulans to wake up from their slumber. As a result, Mr. Conscience, that is, the Subordinate Preacher (once the Lord Recorder), also began to rouse the citizens of Mansoul. Amid their frivolity, they were unaware that Emanuel left Mansoul, though His forces remained. They began petitioning the Lord Secretary, but he refused to give them a hearing for the grief he felt over their unfaithfulness.<sup>38</sup> The townspeople came to realize how foolish they had been and so gave heed to Godlyfear, whom they came to consider as a prophet.<sup>39</sup> In turn, "that reverend Mr. Godlyfear" exhorted them to petition their Prince no matter how many times they may be turned away, "*For, said he, it is the way of the wise Shaddai to make men wait and to exercise patience, and it should be the way of them in want, to be willing to stay his leisure.*"<sup>40</sup>

Mansoul's repentance was nearly ruined by the disguise attacks of the remaining Diabolonians. Even Godlyfear was fooled for some time by Lord Anger, who addressed himself as Good-zeal. Yet, Mr. Godlyfear came to his senses, or as Diabolus said in his letter, "*The peevish old Gentleman took pepper in the nose and turned our companion out of his house. Nay he has informed us since, that he ran away from him, or else his old master had hanged him up for*

35. Bunyan, *The Holy War*, 113.

36. Bunyan, *The Holy War*, 152.

37. Bunyan, *The Holy War*, 154.

38. Bunyan, *The Holy War*, 157.

39. Bunyan, *The Holy War*, 158.

40. Bunyan, *The Holy War*, 161.

*his labour.*"<sup>41</sup> This seems to be a muffled confession that even godly fear can be stunted when the believer does not watch and pray against the lusts of the flesh, such as anger. Though the fear of God amongst the Puritans has often been portrayed as a cold and unfeeling religious duty, Bunyan modeled a fear that, when controlled by the Spirit, was filled with love and joy.<sup>42</sup>

As it turned out, one Mr. Prywell learned of the enemy's intentions to take back the town of Mansoul. Thus, he alerted Mr. Conscience of the plot, who in turn roused the captains and elders of Mansoul to action. They began hunting down all remaining Diabolonians, petitioned Shaddai, humbled themselves through fasting, and with Lord Willbewill in the lead, fought against Diabolus and his hordes. As Willbewill and the captains went to battle with the Diabolonians, Mr. Godlyfear played the man at the castle gates. Bunyan described the scene:

The Captains also from the Castle did hold them in continual play with their slings, to the chafing and fretting of the minds of the enemies. True, Diabolus made a great many attempts to have broken open the Gates of the Castle, but Mr. Godlyfear was made the Keeper of that; and he was a man of that courage, conduct and valour, that 'twas in vain as long as life lasted within him, to think to do that work though mostly desired, wherefore all the attempts that Diabolus made against him were fruitless; (I have wished sometimes that that man had had the whole rule of the Town of Mansoul.)<sup>43</sup>

Thus, Bunyan revealed the preeminence of godly fear in the spirituality of the believer. Godly fear fortifies the heart against the lusts of the flesh and the assaults of the devil in order to preserve the soul in obedience. It is "seated in the heart of man" because the heart is the control center of the will and affections. Only by protecting these vital components and ridding them of sinful influences and disordered desires can the Christian experience ongoing communion with Christ. Bunyan explained, "By the fear of the Lord men depart from evil, that is, in their Judgment, will, mind, and affections: not, that by the fear of the Lord, sin is annihilated, or has lost

41. Bunyan, *The Holy War*, 170.

42. Reeves clarifies godly fear's true nature when he states, "This right fear of God, then, is not the minor-key, gloomy flip side to proper joy in God. There is no tension between this fear and joy. Rather, this trembling 'fear of God' is a way of speaking about the sheer intensity of the saint's happiness in God. In other words, the biblical theme of the fear of God helps us to see the *sort* of joy that is most fitting for believers." See Reeves, *Rejoice and Tremble*, 61.

43. Bunyan, *The Holy War*, 206.

its being in the soul, *there* still will those *Canannites* be, but they are hated, lothed, abominated, fought against, prayed against, watcht against, strove against, and mortified, by the soul, *Rom. 7.*"<sup>44</sup>

As he kept the castle gates, Mr. Godlyfear encouraged the people to, in contrast to their own petitions, ask the Lord Secretary to write up his own petition to Emanuel. Working with the people, then, the Lord Secretary wrote a petition to Emanuel to rescue them from the assaults of the enemy. Meanwhile, Diabolus approached the castle gates and ordered them to be opened, but Godlyfear refused his demands, stating that "*the Gate should not be opened unto him, nor to the men that followed after him.* He said moreover, *That Mansoul when she had suffered a while should be made perfect, strengthened, settled.*"<sup>45</sup> Just as Godlyfear stated, the castle gates remained shut until Emanuel arrived with his forces to defeat Diabolus and his legions.<sup>46</sup>

In the final scene, Emanuel addressed the town of Mansoul, reminding them of his great love for them and exhorting them to walk in faithfulness to their King. As He addressed them, Emanuel drew their attention to the sovereign grace He worked in them from the very beginning. He states:

'Twas I that made thy sweet, bitter; thy day, night; thy smooth way, thorny, and that also confounded all that sought thy destruction. 'Twas I that set Mr. Godlyfear to work in Mansoul. 'Twas I that stirred up thy Conscience and Understanding, thy Will and thy Affections, after thy great and woful decay. 'Twas I that put life into thee, O Mansoul, to seek me, that thou mightiest find me, and in thy finding find thine own health, happiness and salvation.<sup>47</sup>

For Bunyan, then, salvation from sin was an act of God's mercy and grace toward the undeserving. Godly fear is the means the Lord uses to draw the sinner to Himself that he might encounter the living, holy, and majestic God through faith in Christ and come to rejoice in His kindness and love. Thus, Bunyan used *The Holy War* to teach the true nature of the fear of God, using the tool of allegory to capture the attention of the plain man.<sup>48</sup>

44. *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:55.

45. Bunyan, *The Holy War*, 210.

46. Bunyan, *The Holy War*, 212.

47. Bunyan, *The Holy War*, 246.

48. Walker argues, "Bunyan knew that he was writing for a discerning readership that could interpret his allegory politically. Unlike the very broad appeal of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *The Holy War* attracted the cultivated taste of a more sophisticated elite." See David Walker, "Militant Religion and Politics in *The Holy War*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Bunyan*, ed. Anne Dunan-Page (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 114. Without

## The Fear of God in *The Pilgrim's Progress*

Other than the Bible, *The Pilgrim's Progress* has had a wider impact on the history of the English-speaking world than any other book. Bunyan's "similitude of a dream" portrayed the Christian's pilgrimage as one filled with trials and struggles, all through the mode of allegory.<sup>49</sup> By helping his readers develop a "sanctified imagination," Bunyan led his readers on a journey of discovery not only of the Celestial City but also of the fear of God.<sup>50</sup>

### *The First Part* (1678)

Bunyan began *The First Part* by explaining to his readers that he had a dream. In his dream, he saw a man named Christian who lived in the City of Destruction. Christian began reading from a book, and as he read, he "wept and trembled."<sup>51</sup> Christian's family did all they could to assuage his pain, but to no avail. Eventually, Christian set out from home, much to the discouragement of his family and neighbors, in search of "Life, Life, Eternal Life."<sup>52</sup> As he fled, he met a man named Evangelist, who asked Christian why he was crying. Christian replied, "Sir, I perceive, by the Book in my hand, that I am Condemned to die, and after that to come to Judgment; and I find that I am not willing to do the first nor able to do the second."<sup>53</sup> This preparatory fear, however, was followed by a slavish fear when Christian fell into the Slough of Despond. "Fear followed me so hard," said Christian, "that I fled the next way, and fell in."<sup>54</sup> Thus, the slavish fear of judgment and the weight of his burden drove Christian on in his search for relief.

Unfortunately, Christian's freedom was delayed when he took the advice of Mr. Worldly-Wiseman to venture to the house of Mr. Legality,

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dismissing the political background or the possibility that he may have had some political motivation in writing his stories, it seems more likely that Bunyan's aim was pastoral in nature. Both the marginal notes relating his work to Scripture and the spiritual themes found throughout these stories further emphasize his pastoral intent.

49. As Davies puts it, "*The Pilgrim's Progress* is not just an allegorical 'fable': it is a simulator for the mind's flight into Gospel 'Truth,' and into the realm of things unseen." See Michael Davies, "The Pilgrim's Progress (1678): Chasing Apollyon's Tale," in *The Oxford Handbook of John Bunyan*, ed. Michael Davies and W. R. Owens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 252.

50. J. I. Packer, *A Quest for Godliness: The Puritan Vision of the Christian Life* (Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway, 2010), 334.

51. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 8.

52. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 10.

53. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 9.

54. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 15.

whom he claimed could help Christian with his burden. However, as Christian ascended the hill to Mr. Legality's home, he was overwhelmed by the difficulty of the climb and feared for his life as fire began to pour forth from the mountain so that "he did quake with fear."<sup>55</sup> To Christian's shame, Evangelist arrived and rebuked him for leaving the path and attempting to climb Mt. Sinai in his own strength.

The nature of Christian's fear began to change, however, when he reached the Wicket-gate. When Christian knocked, a man named Good-will met him. After hearing his plea, Good-will granted him entrance and pulled him through. When Christian asked why he was pulled in, Good-will informed him that Beelzebub and his servants shot arrows at those seeking entrance at the Wicket-gate. Upon hearing his explanation, Christian stated, "I rejoyce and tremble."<sup>56</sup> This, for Bunyan, was the effect of godly fear. While conviction of sin and fear of judgment accompanies the initial stages of the Spirit's drawing, it gives way to a sweeter experience of the person and grace of Jesus Christ.

Fear was personified for the reader when Christian arrived at the Interpreter's house and encountered the man in the Iron Cage of Despair. This man's persistence in sin rendered him unable to repent so that "there now remains to me nothing but threatnings, dreadful threatnings, fearful threatnings of certain Judgement and firy Indignation, which shall devour me as an Adversary."<sup>57</sup> This example of ungodly fear and the failure to repent, however, served as a warning for Christian to watch, be sober, and pray. In a similar but more positive light, Christian was taught to both "hope and fear" when he heard a man recount a terrible dream of God's coming judgment and of how the Judge "had always his eye upon me."<sup>58</sup> However, in sending Christian on his journey, the Interpreter said, "The Comforter be always with thee good *Christian*, to guide thee in the way that leads to the City."<sup>59</sup> Thus, Christian was moved to perseverance in the faith by the fear of God and the coming judgment, while at the same time he was reminded that the Holy Spirit's presence and power will lead him safely home.

Following his encounter with Apollyon, Christian passed through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, through which he was harassed by sights, sounds, and smells that were meant to drive him back to the City

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55. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 20.

56. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 25.

57. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 35.

58. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 37.

59. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 37.

of Destruction. At a crucial moment, however, Christian thought he heard someone quoting from Psalm 23:4, "I will fear no ill, for thou art with me." As a result, Christian was comforted by the thought "that some who feared God were in this Valley as well as himself," and that "God was with them."<sup>60</sup> In an important development of his spirituality, then, Bunyan emphasized that the fear of God was rooted in the knowledge of His presence in and with His people as they journeyed together. Communion with God and growth in godliness, then, took place in community, a truth which came to center stage in the Second Part.<sup>61</sup>

After the death of Christian's companion, Faithful, at Vanity Fair, he was joined by Hopeful, who had been converted after seeing Christian and Faithful endure suffering. As Christian and Hopeful journeyed together, they managed to avoid Demas and his Silver-Mine, into which many would-be pilgrims fell for the love of money. Shortly thereafter, they came across a Pillar of Salt, which was Lot's Wife. This monument stood by the side of the path to warn pilgrims against the sin of covetousness. Upon reflection, Hopeful noted, "This ministreth occasion to us to thank God, to fear before him, and always to remember *Lot's Wife*."<sup>62</sup> Just as fear prepares the sinner to receive God's grace, so it is a grace in and of itself intended to encourage believers to watch and pray against sin.<sup>63</sup>

As such, godly fear drives out slavish fear. This is evidenced when Hopeful encouraged Christian not to give in to the fear of Giant Despair when they sat captive in Doubting-Castle. Christian, in fact, was tempted to take his own life because of his desperate emotional condition. However, Hopeful reminds Christian, "*Remember how thou playdest the man at Vanity-Fair, and wast neither afraid of the Chain nor Cage; nor yet of bloody Death: wherefore let us (at least to avoid the shame, that becomes not a Christian to be found in) bear up with patience as well as we can.*"<sup>64</sup> In recalling Christian's endurance through Vanity Fair, Hopeful reminded him of God's past faithfulness. This reminder encouraged both men to patiently wait

60. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 64.

61. "It is possible that his pastoral experience during the decade before Part II was published led Bunyan to give more attention to the life and purpose of a local congregation." Bethany Joy Bear, "Fantastical Faith: John Bunyan and the Sanctification of Fancy," *Studies in Philology* 109, no. 5 (2012): 683.

62. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 110.

63. Joel R. Beeke and Paul M. Smalley, *John Bunyan and the Grace of Fearing God* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P & R Publishing, 2016), 90–91.

64. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 117.

for deliverance. Thus, God's past faithfulness strengthened their faith and deepened their fear of God.<sup>65</sup>

The notion of ungodly fear was made more explicit when Christian and Hopeful interacted with the Shepherds at the delectable Mountains. The men were shown the side of a hill in which lay a door that opened to a horrific scene of flames and the cries of torment. The Shepherds explained that this was the By-way to Hell. This sight provoked Christian and Hopeful to continue their journey. However, the Shepherds first invited them to look through their Perspective Glass, by which they could see all the way to the Gate of the Celestial City. As they looked, however, their vision was blurred because their hands shook with fear from the scene at the By-way to Hell. Bunyan noted in the margin that this trembling was "the fruit of slavish fear."<sup>66</sup> Thus, Bunyan showed that true godly fear was meant to drive Christians to delight in God rather than fear the torments of hell. In fact, godly fear was the springboard to joy in Christ, who delivers those, "who through feare of death were all their life time subject to bondage (Hebrews 2:15)."<sup>67</sup>

Perhaps one of the clearest descriptions of godly fear followed a conversation Christian and Hopeful had with Ignorance. Time and time again, Ignorance foolishly rejected their warnings about the wretchedness of his sin. In reflecting on Ignorance's refusal to accept their counsel, Hopeful stated to Christian, "I do believe as you say, that fear tends much to Mens good, and to make them right, at their beginning to go on Pilgrimage."<sup>68</sup> Indeed, as Christian noted about godly fear, "It is caused by saving convictions for sin. It driveth the soul to lay fast hold of Christ for Salvation," and "it begetteth and continueth in the soul a great reverence of God, his word, and ways."<sup>69</sup> Though Hopeful seemed to move on to another subject, Christian elaborated on the subject of fear, explaining how the ignorant avoid the fear of God by rejecting conviction of sin. They do so by thinking that

65. Beeke and Smalley, *John Bunyan and the Grace of Fearing God*, 49.

66. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 123.

67. "The Puritans agree that the difference between 'servile' and 'filial' fear is determined by the individual's view of God. Ungodly fear is the result of viewing God as a potential source of harm. It caused people to take steps to minimize the perceived threat whilst remaining steadfast in their sin.... In marked contrast, godly fear is the result of viewing God as the greatest good. Such a view of God's greatness and goodness causes the faculties of the soul to function in their proper sequence, resulting in changed behavior." J. Stephen Yuille, *Puritan Spirituality: The Fear of God in the Affective Theology of George Swinnoock*, Studies in Christian History and Thought (Eugene, Ore.: Wipf and Stock, 2008), 76-77.

68. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 150.

69. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 150.

“those fears are wrought by the Devil, that these fears tend to the spoiling of their faith,” thus they “presume they ought not to fear, and therefore, in despite of them, wax presumptuously confident,” and they “see that these fears tend to take away from them their pitiful old self-holiness, and therefore they resist them with all their might.”<sup>70</sup>

When Christian and Hopeful reached their journey's end, Bunyan made two important moves that rounded out his understanding of fear. First, he noted that as the men were brought to the gate of the Celestial City, the Angels announced, “These Pilgrims are come from the City of *Destruction*, for the love that they bear to the King of this place.”<sup>71</sup> In doing so, he showed that fear of God and love for God complemented each other. Second, he gave a final warning to his reader by conveying Ignorance's denied entrance at the gate. Unable to produce a Certificate, Ignorance was carried by the Shining Ones to the By-way to Hell. Bunyan concluded, “Then I saw that there was a way to Hell, even from the Gates of Heaven, as well as from the City of *Destruction*.”<sup>72</sup> In a similar vein, Bunyan explained in *A Treatise of the Fear of God*,

Work out your salvation with fear. Not that work is meritorious, or such that can purchase eternal life, for eternal life is obtained by hope in Gods mercy, but this hope if it be right, is attended with this godly fear, which fear putteth the soul upon a diligent use of all those means that may tend to the strengthening of hope, and so to the making of us holy in all manner of conversation, that we may be meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the Saints in light. For hope purifieth the heart, if fear of God shall be its companion, and so maketh a man a vessel of mercy prepared unto glory.<sup>73</sup>

### *The Second Part (1684)*

Bunyan indicated in his introduction that the Second Part was a response to the spread of several counterfeit editions of his work. In addition, the positive reception of the first part encouraged him to fill in gaps in the narrative and give his readers an answer as to what happened to Christian's family.<sup>74</sup> Though many of his contemporaries disagreed with his use of allegory,<sup>75</sup>

70. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 151.

71. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 161.

72. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 163.

73. *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:74.

74. Bear, “Fantastical Faith: John Bunyan and the Sanctification of Fancy,” 686.

75. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 171.

Bunyan defended his method by grounding it in both biblical examples as well as in the fact that, while not all would accept his delivery, many would greatly benefit from it, especially those who sought to walk by faith.<sup>76</sup>

As was the case with Christian in *The First Part*, Christiana, Mercie, and the children arrived at the Wicket-Gate, where they contemplated how they should knock for admittance. Bunyan noted in the margin, "*Prayer should be made with Consideration and Fear; As well as in Faith and Hope.*"<sup>77</sup> When they began knocking, a large dog growled as if it were getting closer and closer. Finally, Good-will permitted Christiana and her children entrance, but Mercie was left outside. As they talked, Mercie beat on the door so loudly that it scared Christiana. When Good-will opened to her, Mercie fainted from fear. Yet, Good-will took her by the hand and said, "Fear not, but stand upon thy Feet, and tell me wherefore thou art come."<sup>78</sup> In this episode, Bunyan conveyed how the "spirit of bondage" drove sinners to flee from the wrath to come. Once again, however, this served only as the beginning stage of godly fear. As Good-will later explained, though the dog does not belong to him, nevertheless, "shall a Dog, a Dog in an other Mans Yard: a Dog, whose barking I turn to the Profit of Pilgrims, keep any from coming to me? I deliver them from the Lions, their Darling from the power of the Dog."<sup>79</sup> Thus, Christiana sang, "*Our Tears to joy, our fears to Faith Are turned, as we see: Thus our beginning, (as one saith,) Shews what our end will be.*"

Before setting out from the Interpreter's house to continue their journey, he insisted that the whole company should go to the Garden "to the Bath," where they were to be made "clean from the soil which they have gathered by traveling."<sup>80</sup> As Bunyan noted in the margin, this was "*The Bath Sanctification.*" Having received their washing, the company set out and began singing, "*To move me for to watch and pray, To strive to be sincere, To take my Cross up day by day, And serve the Lord with fear.*"<sup>81</sup> However, it is important to see that Bunyan placed the pilgrims' justification before their

76. "What we are invited to learn from the allegorical 'Method' of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, then, is that faith itself is something that requires us to perceive a reality based, in a Pauline sense, in things 'unseen.'" Davies, "The Pilgrim's Progress (1678): Chasing Apollyon's Tale," 251.

77. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 188.

78. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 190.

79. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 193.

80. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 207.

81. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 209.

sanctification.<sup>82</sup> In doing so, he showed that salvation was accomplished through Christ's atoning death, while the believer's growth in holiness took place through sanctification as the progressive work of God in and through his obedience.<sup>83</sup> Thus, only those who continually experienced this transformative power truly walked in the fear of the Lord.

It is especially interesting to note the time and space Bunyan gave to describing Mr. Fearing. This Mr. Fearing experienced trouble with fear from the start. He was almost consumed in the Slough of Despond, could barely knock at the Gate, and lay outside the door of the Interpreter's house until Great-heart brought him inside. "Only he seemed glad," Great-heart recounted, "when he saw the Cross and the Sepulcher. There I confess he desired to stay a little, to look; and he seemed for a while after to be a little *Cheary*."<sup>84</sup> However, as Great-heart made clear, his "trouble was *not about such things as those*, his Fear was about his Acceptance at last."<sup>85</sup> Despite his struggle with slavish fear, Mr. Fearing reached the River of Death, where Great-heart noted, "And here also I took notice of what was very remarkable, the Water of that River was lower at this time, than ever I saw it in all my Life; so he went over at last, not much above wet-shod."<sup>86</sup>

Bunyan seemed to anticipate the reader's confusion about the coexistence of godly and slavish fear with Great-heart's response to Hopeful: "There are two sorts of Reasons for it; one is, The wise God will have it so. Some must *Pipe*, and some must *Weep*: Now Mr. Fearing was one that

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82. After permitting them entrance at the Wicket-Gate, the Keeper of the gate told Christiana and Mercie, "I grant Pardon by word and deed; by word in the promise of Forgiveness: by deed in the way I obtained it. Take the first from my Lips with a kiss, and the other, as it shall be revealed." The "deed" that the Keeper revealed was the sight of Christ crucified—a sight which would serve also as a comfort throughout the pilgrims' journey. See John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. Roger Pooley (London: Penguin Classics, 2009), 193.

83. Greaves notes, "Elsewhere in his writings Bunyan argued at length that baptism was *not* compulsory; to make it so in *The Pilgrim's Progress* would go against the position he defended in the 1670's." See Richard L. Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory: John Bunyan and English Dissent* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2002), 509.

84. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 251. In a similar vein, Bunyan noted in his treatise on the fear of God, "If thou wouldst be rid of an hard heart, that great enemy to the growth of the grace of fear, *Be much with Christ upon the Cross in thy Meditations*; For that is an excellent remedy against hardness of heart: a right sight of him, as he hanged there for thy sins, will dissolve thy heart into tears, and make it soft and tender. *They shall look upon me whom they have pierced and mourn* (Zech. 12. 10,11). Now a soft, a tender, and broken heart, is a fit place for the grace of fear to thrive in." See *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:119.

85. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 251.

86. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 253.

play'd upon *this Base*... Only here was the imperfection of Mr. *Fearing*, he could play upon no other Musick but this, till towards his latter end.<sup>87</sup> According to Bunyan, then, the all-wise God ordained some to wrestle with such fear; nevertheless, the same believers feared God more than most. "No fears, no Grace," said Christiana's son, James. "Though there is not always Grace where there is fear of Hell; yet to be sure there is no Grace where there is no fear of God." To which Great-heart replied, "*Well said, James, thou hast hit the Mark, for the fear of God is the beginning of Wisdom; and to be sure they that want the beginning, have neither middle nor end.*"<sup>88</sup> Through Mr. *Fearing's* story, Bunyan encouraged his readers to distinguish between slavish and godly fear so that they would live with both reverence and confidence.<sup>89</sup> Bunyan himself knew from experience how devastating slavish fear could be to the believer's faith. He wrote, then, not merely as a storyteller, but as one who had experienced the grace of fearing God.<sup>90</sup>

Near the end of the story, the reader meets Valiant-for-Truth. Though confronted by three men who threatened to do him harm, Valiant-for-Truth fought them off. After meeting the company of pilgrims and recounting those recent events, Mr. Great-heart and the rest of the travelers welcomed him gladly, and so Valiant-for-Truth rejoiced, "*Hobgoblin, nor foul Fiend, Can daunt his Spirit: He knows, he at the end, Shall Life Inherit. Then Fancies fly away, He'l fear not what men say, He'l labour Night and Day, To be a Pilgrim.*"<sup>91</sup>

Of course, the adversity the pilgrims were met with included temptations to sin. While making their way through the mist of the Enchanted Ground, the pilgrims came across Mr. Stand-fast, whom they found kneeling in prayer. As he explained, he had been approached by one Madam Bubble, who offered "*her Body, her Purse, and her Bed.*"<sup>92</sup> Nevertheless, Mr. Stand-fast rejected her seductions. She persisted, however, with her temptation, leading Mr. Stand-fast to fall to his knees in prayer. Just as he did,

87. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 254.

88. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 254–55.

89. "For if God shall come to you indeed, and visit you with the forgiveness of sins, that visit removeth the guilt, but increaseth the sense of thy filth, and the sense of this that God hath forgiven a filthy sinner, will make thee both rejoyce and tremble." *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, 9:10–11.

90. Joel R. Beeke and Mark Jones, *A Puritan Theology: Doctrine for Life* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2012), 717.

91. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 295.

92. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 300.

the pilgrims arrived, and the temptress was driven away. When Mr. Stand-fast asked his old friend Mr. Honest what he thought when they came upon him while he was on his knees, Mr. Honest answered that he was encouraged to find "an honest Man upon the Road, and therefore should have his Company by and by." To which Stand-fast replied, "If you thought not amiss, how happy am I! But if I be not as I should, I alone must bear it."<sup>93</sup> Thus, showing his concern to be found blameless, Honest responded to his friend, "That is true... but your fear doth further confirm me that things are right betwixt the Prince of Pilgrims and your Soul. For he saith, *Blessed is the Man that feareth always*."<sup>94</sup> Thus, Bunyan emphasized the role the fear of God played in resisting temptation and walking in blamelessness. Note, however, the sense of joy and relief conveyed in this episode. Mortifying the flesh means exchanging temporary pleasures for eternal joy. As the saint cultivates this sin-crucifying fear of God, his desire to be found blameless and to experience the joy of his Master grows.<sup>95</sup>

Having arrived at the Land of Beulah, the pilgrims waited expectantly for the Shining Ones to bring news of their impending departure to the Celestial City. Christiana was the first to be called home, but before she passed through the River, she spoke a few final words to her family and fellow pilgrims. In particular, she exhorted Much-afraid: "Be ye watchful, and cast away Fear; be sober, and hope to the End."<sup>96</sup> Similarly, she urged Mr. Feeble-Mind to "repent thee of thy aptness to fear and doubt of his Goodness before he sends for thee, lest thou shouldst when he comes, be forced to stand before him for that Fault with Blushing."<sup>97</sup> In both cases, the pilgrims were exhorted to put off slavish fear and put on hope, which they would do if they remembered the goodness of God. Thus, Bunyan focused the reader's attention on the need to recognize *who* was to be trusted. In Bunyan's spirituality, then, the fear of the Lord cleared the believer's gaze to behold the King in His beauty. In doing so, the Christian's affections were rightly ordered, enabling him to trust the character of God and so obey Him in thought, word, and deed.<sup>98</sup>

93. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 300.

94. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 300.

95. Packer, *A Quest for Godliness*, 114.

96. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 306.

97. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 306.

98. What Yuille notes of George Swinnock was true of Bunyan's own spirituality: "For Swinnock, this means the soul embraces God—'his will chooseth him, his affections love him, his desire is after him, his delight is in him, his fear is of him, his trust is on him, his

## Conclusion

Bunyan's use of story played a pivotal role in his pastoral aim to make the gospel known to the common man and to shepherd believers in godliness. As this article shows, the fear of God was central to Bunyan's allegorical works and his understanding of true spirituality—a spirituality directed according to Scripture, established by the gospel, and lived out through renewed affections. To experience communion with Christ, the believer must distinguish between slavish fear and godly fear. The former leads the sinner away from God, while the latter draws him toward God's majesty and beauty in humble and hope-filled worship.

For Bunyan, then, true spirituality was about coming to enjoy life with God as He intended. The fear of God is not, as Michael Reeves puts it, "the gloomy theological equivalent of eating your greens." Instead, "It frees us from our crippling fears, giving us instead a most delightful, happy, and wonderful fear."<sup>99</sup> The Christian who desires to enjoy God, then, must cultivate godly fear through a growing knowledge of God as revealed through His Word and in the person of Jesus Christ. By meditating on God's self-revelation, the Christian fortifies his heart against the lusts of the flesh and the lies of the enemy, giving room for the nurturing of his affections. As a result, the believer's will is both encouraged and equipped to walk in wisdom throughout life's journey.

To be sure, the believer will continue struggling against the world, the flesh, and the Devil for the rest of his life. However, as Bunyan conveyed in *The Holy War*, the fear of God unites the believer's heart in loyalty to the King and in opposition against the enemy, enabling him to turn away from evil and continue walking in the truth (Job 28:28; Ps. 86:11). Because the believer's victory over sin and death is certain through the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, he has ample reason to press on in the fear of God, or as the apostle Paul stated, "Having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God" (2 Cor. 7:1). True godly fear, then, leads the believer to mortify the lusts of the flesh because his affections are being continually cultivated in holy love for the God before whom he both rejoices and trembles. Thus, title, talent, and treasure are not necessary for a life pleasing to God—only faith in Christ and the fear of God.

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care and endeavour is to walk worthy of the Lord unto all well-pleasing.' This sensible (or inclinational) knowledge of God is the fear of God." Yuille, *Puritan Spirituality*, 74–75.

99. Reeves, *Rejoice and Tremble*, 16.