

## A „RIGHTEOUS WAR”: COMPARING MILTON’S EXTERNAL REVOLUTION AND BUNYAN’S INTERNAL STRUGGLE

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**Abstract:** *This study compares the concept of a “righteous war” by examining the perspectives of John Milton and John Bunyan. Even though there has been a lot of research conducted on these two authors, none has compared their respective theories of war. While literary circles focus on the techniques and themes of their writings, the field of theology examines their thoughts from a faith-based perspective. This paper aims to comprehensively evaluate their theories of war in order to shed light on these two fields of study. It considers their respective living circumstances, emphasizing the creative energy and destructive irony of the literature. It was found that although Bunyan’s “internalization” of war for saving one’s soul differs from Milton’s “external” war for the salvation of society, both of them supported war when it was for a worthy reason. The possibility of Bunyan’s holy war being transformed into an ideology concerned with external war as well, regardless of Bunyan’s intention, was considered.*

**Keywords:** holy war, commonwealth republic, Samson, Mansoul.

John Milton (1608–74) and John Bunyan (1628–88) are considered to be among the greatest British authors and both experienced the same calamitous period of widespread social and political upheaval in Britain during the 17th century. In the process of transitioning from a traditional feudal society to modern civil society, England was ahead of all the other European countries in its struggle for freedom and contentment<sup>1</sup>. Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) and his followers benefited from this struggle by bringing down the monarchy and declaring the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth, however, ended with Cromwell’s death, and the monarchy was eventually restored, causing English society to seemingly fallback into chaos.

Since Milton and Bunyan had firsthand experience of this historical struggle, they offered their British contemporaries wise, guiding principles to live by, publicly announcing battle cries. This study conducts a comparative analysis of the core aspects of their respective claims regarding a “righteous war.” For the sake of efficiency, our discussion will be limited to *Samson Agonistes* (SA) by Milton and *The Holy War* (HW) by Bunyan.

Milton and Bunyan were born under the rule of a British monarchy and lived during a turbulent period of social and political unrest that resulted in King Charles I being beheaded by both the parliamentarians and English

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<sup>1</sup> A. Dalelbekkyzy, Z.-G. Bisengali, A. Toleubayeva, A. Zhanat, K.M. Baitanasova, “National code: Metaphysics and unity of historical consciousness”, in *Analele Universitatii din Craiova - Seria Istorie*, 2019, vol. 35, no. 1, p. 105-118.

citizens so that England could become a republic called, the Commonwealth<sup>2</sup>. Milton served as a high-ranking official (corresponding to today's Foreign Minister) of the Commonwealth<sup>3</sup>, and Bunyan joined Cromwell's army. However, the Commonwealth was short-lived, as the monarchy was restored, which meant both were subjected to hardship in this political environment. Milton was convicted of treason and sentenced to death, but he managed to narrowly escape the death penalty with help from his friends<sup>4</sup>. While Bunyan lived during the Commonwealth period in relative freedom as a lay preacher, the restoration of the monarchy restricted his freedom to preach, and he spent many years in prison.

Milton was born to a wealthy Protestant family and received an elite education at the University of Cambridge. He was fluent in several languages, including Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and he excelled in classical literature. He was one of the most brilliant biblical scholars and writers in 17th-century England. Milton was a devoted Christian, and although he was attracted to the Presbyterian Church, he characterized Presbyterians as corrupt after witnessing their leaders parleying with the royalists. Still, he read the Bible and prayed daily, perceiving himself as a reformer. His reform involved moving away from the institution of an organized church and establishing a sort of "house church" that was independent of any institution or organization<sup>5</sup>.

As a follower of Jacobus Arminius' theology, Milton denied the concept of predestination that was championed by John Calvin (1509–64), and instead, he supported the Arminian view of God's foreknowledge (i.e., prognosis). According to this school of thought, human history is not predestined by God, but rather, a new society is jointly formed by the synergy between divine and human actions<sup>6</sup>. Arminianism also claims that original sin is not passed down to everyone, and people may achieve salvation on their own<sup>7</sup>. Milton rejected the orthodox belief in the sacred Trinity and claimed that the Son is subordinate to the Father, just as the Holy Spirit is subordinate to the Father and the Son. He also believed in the idea of "soul sleep," or mortalism, which means that the human soul, upon death, enters a state of rest underneath the

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<sup>2</sup> S. Kim, J. Chung, *Modern church history*, Gibbeum Madang Press, Seoul, 2013; J. Choi, *Middle Milton: Milton's prose*, Kyeongbuk University Press, Daegu, 2014; I. Saifnazarov, G. Abdullahanova, N. Alimatova, U. Kudratova, "The main trends of increasing the role of the teacher in the innovative development of Uzbekistan", in *International Journal of Advanced Science and Technology*, vol. 29, no. 5, p. 1771-1773.

<sup>3</sup> L. Nepop, I. Lukachuk, "Cultural diplomacy as an instrument of soft power", in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 31, no. 6, p. 58-61.

<sup>4</sup> J. Choi, *The life and thought of John Milton*, Yeok-lak Publishing Company, Seoul, 2011.

<sup>5</sup> J. Milton, *Christian doctrine in complete prose work of John Milton. Vol. 6*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1973.

<sup>6</sup> J. Chung, *Evangelical movement*, Kwangshin University Press, Gwangju, 1998.

<sup>7</sup> S. Kim, *A study on John Milton's particularism and universalism*, Gibbeum Madang Press, Seoul, 2014.

ground<sup>8</sup>. He also promoted tolerance towards divorce in the pursuit of happiness.

Milton's perspective stems from his optimistic belief in postmillennialism, which views the millennial rule as occurring through joint endeavors that are both human and divine<sup>9</sup>. The core of Milton's postmillennial perspective is the belief that England would eventually reform its practices of social injustice and corruption to become the most extraordinary country in the world. Then, all of the other countries would follow the British model so that the heavenly kingdom would reign on earth for a thousand years<sup>10</sup>. Consequently, his works sought to awaken the souls and hearts of detached intellectuals, steering them towards real-world participation and commitment.

Contrary to Milton, Bunyan was born to extremely poor parents and only received a few years of schooling<sup>11</sup>. However, he possessed the genius to write realistic stories of "flesh and blood," which favorably echoed among the citizens. He was especially adept in telling traditional folk tales, fables, and proverbs, through which he developed insights into the pain of both rural and urban residents. In the streets and markets, he attentively listened to conversations and collected a plethora of information that expanded his knowledge. He also read books that he could purchase for cheap. Bunyan made a formidable impact by linking this acquired intelligence with biblical wisdom<sup>12</sup>.

After leaving the army, he became a lay preacher. His faith was generally aligned with conservative Calvinism, but he also handled rituals, such as baptism and the Eucharist, as optional church activities. Unlike Milton, however, Bunyan strongly defended the necessity of an institutionalized church, as he believed that a church without a foundational institution is incapable of administering spiritual training to believers.

Bunyan, unlike Milton, is pessimistic about the human endeavor to make the world a paradise on earth. Since the fall of Adam, the first man, all human beings have inherited his sin. Since they have fallen from grace, they are unable to make a perfect heaven on earth. However, he argues that they are capable of cleansing the world to a considerable extent. Bunyan's theological outlook is based on premillennialism, which is that a heavenly kingdom on earth is

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<sup>8</sup> Z.A. Aimukhambet, A. Abdilmanatkyzy, K. Baitanasova, A. Seiputanova, K. Kurmambayeva, "The poetic interpretation of binary opposition in the structure of Myth", in *Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities*, 2017, vol. 9, no. 1, p. 11-20.

<sup>9</sup> S. Kim, *A study on John Milton's particularism and universalism*, Gibbeum Madang Press, Seoul, 2014.

<sup>10</sup> S.S. Sadykov, B.K. Serdaly, B.M. Abiev, "Of national identity in late Kazakhstan's press (Soviet period)", in *Life Science Journal*, 2014, vol. 11, no. Spec. Issue 6, p. 40-42.

<sup>11</sup> J. Chung, *Puritan history*, Word of Life Press, Seoul, 1997.

<sup>12</sup> Ye. Kwon, *Holy war*, Munjin-dang Press, Seoul, 1989.

possible, but only with the premillennial return of Christ. Thus, Bunyan reminded his followers that God is the master of world history, and he taught them to yearn for a perfect heaven instead of attempting to become the master themselves. Even though Milton and Bunyan hold complementary views about war, their respective reasoning behind their perspectives is completely distinct. Milton is supportive of war because of his belief in a social reform that creates a heaven on earth. Bunyan's reasoning, on the other hand, is based on entering the heavenly kingdom after death.

### **Milton's Samson Agonistes**

Milton believed that England would be the center of European and world history one day; he envisioned the glory of an England-centered, Christian civilization. Working toward this ambition, he participated in the Puritan reform movement, favored the execution of King Charles I, and helped Cromwell by joining his Commonwealth government and supporting his policies. His works adamantly opposed the restoration of the monarchy, regarding it as a historical retrogression. Contrary to his expectations, however, the monarchy was restored, and he narrowly avoided the death penalty. Then, he went completely blind and was lonely in his later years. Despite the dire situation of his physical activities being restricted by his blindness, he never ceased dreaming about the revival of the Commonwealth. His vision was freely expressed in his writings, like SA, where he boldly described his conviction of a "righteous war" that used the armed forces to recover the Commonwealth.

At that time, Latin was the lingua franca of Europe<sup>13</sup>, so he was fluent in Latin and used this language to write diplomatic documents that defended the Commonwealth and championed British political thought in the European political arena. His internal dialogue, however, was English, and he believed that the world would one day utilize English as an international language. Therefore, he wrote his literary works in English.

Milton published *Paradise Lost* (PL) in 1667 and *Paradise Regained* (PR) in 1671, which was the year that Charles II strengthened pre-publication censorship. Since Milton had already been blacklisted for treason, he had to be careful about promoting his ideas through his books. So, he bound PR and SA together into a single volume. PR is carried out as an epic poem that is comprised of four books that are written in a plain diction with ample traces referring to the contents of SA. Milton's intention was to successfully push PR unscathed through the pre-publication censorship process by dealing with common religious topics and then, expound his true opinions later on in SA.

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<sup>13</sup> B.K. Serdali, G.S. Ashirbekova, K. Orazbekuly, B.M. Abiev, "Genres of modern mass media", in *Mathematics Education*, 2016, vol. 11, no. 5, p. 1075-1085.

*Main content of Samson Agonistes.* SA is a heroic account that is a clear declaration of Milton's interminable dream of the Commonwealth<sup>14</sup>. In the Bible, Samson was a sinner who had become blind after disobeying God and turning a blind eye to the Israelites, who had fallen to practicing idolatry. Samson thoroughly repented his sin and accomplished God's will by overcoming temptation. In SA, Milton answers the following questions: What is the real reason behind Samson's failure that causes him to go blind? How does Samson make amends for this failure?

Milton ascribes Samson's failure to disobeying God as well as collusion involving religion and politics. Milton applied this character of the Old Testament to the situation he faced in England. Just as Samson repents and is used by God again, Milton thought that the Commonwealth of England would revive if he and his 17th-century British contemporaries repented and moved in the right direction, awakening from their blindness. Thus, Samson's sin is not only his personal sin but also the collective sin of the people of Israel. It follows, then, that the revival of England's Commonwealth calls for both Milton's individual repentance as well as that of the entire British population as a collective whole, especially the political and religious leaders.

Samson's huge mistake was marrying Delilah, a Gentile woman who dominated Samson's heart and soul to such an extent that he rebelled against God's will<sup>15</sup>. Samson bitterly regrets this marriage, reproaching Delilah as a "precious monster, accomplished snare"<sup>16</sup>. In SA, Milton warns men against exposing themselves to a fatal crisis by condoning women's wrong doings, just as Adam was deceived by Eve in PL. Delilah is not merely Samson's wife, as she only pretends to assist him while secretly collaborating with Gentile leaders. Eventually, she succeeds in driving a wedge between Samson and the Israelites. Delilah does not play the private role of a man's wife, but rather, she is a public spokesperson for the heathen religion she represents. Tricked by Delilah's lies and hypocrisy, Samson sins by disclosing the source of his God-given power.

In regard to Delilah's entrapment of Samson and the Israelites, Milton drew a parallel to the Presbyterians in Parliament<sup>17</sup>. The Presbyterians helped Cromwell in the early phase of the Puritan Revolution by dominating the Parliament. However, they grew weary of Cromwell's iron rule and missed the monarchy, so they eventually dismissed the Commonwealth. Their collusion with the royalists led to the restoration of the monarchy. Milton points to the Presbyterian's conspiracy through Delilah: "With hard contest: at length that

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<sup>14</sup> Ch. Lee, *Samson Agonistes*, Dongin Press, Seoul, 2003.

<sup>15</sup> J. Milton, *Samson Agonistes and shorter poems*, Harlan Davidson Publishing Company, Arlington Heights, 1950.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>17</sup> Ch. Hill, *The century of revolution 1603–1714*, W.W. Norton Company, New York, 1980.

grounded maxim, / So rife and celebrated in the mouths / Of wisest men, that to the public good / Private respects must yield, with grave authority / Took full possession of me, and prevail'd"<sup>18</sup>. Milton portrays the Presbyterians as a shrewd, experienced, and savvy people that created a “grounded maxim” and called it the public good to delude people.

According to Milton, the sin committed by the political leaders and religious elites in England at that time was collusion that trampled on religious freedom and plunged it into a political ideology<sup>19</sup>. Milton believed that they paralyzed state affairs, which caused the collapse of the Commonwealth, by closely linking politics and religion. They feigned kindness in order to deceive, causing religious piety to plummet and corrupting politics. Milton described them as “soft,” “modest,” “meek,” and “demure,” which are all adjectives that mean “kind”<sup>20</sup>. However, these words can also be understood in a negative sense when referring to a person, as they can also mean “conspiracy” and “intrigue”. Furthermore, Milton connects these adjectives to nouns and verbs to give them an even more negative tone. The verbs “enslave” and “deprave,” for example, are used by Milton to indicate that the British religious leaders were depraving people with religion and promoting enslavement through politics, which dehumanized and devalued people<sup>21</sup>.

According to Milton, these corrupt leaders would congregate and scatter as their interests dictated, always choosing the easiest and most comfortable route. God blessed England with the Puritan Revolution and provided the Commonwealth to the people as a gift, but they preferred servitude and destroyed this offering by resurrecting the tyranny of monarchy<sup>22</sup>. As slaves, their subjectivity as free individuals disappeared, and they were doomed to fall from following false teachings. This fall from grace manifested itself in the form of idolatry<sup>23</sup>.

Milton depicts Samson’s misery after disobeying God’s command, which resulted in his punishment of blindness and being a wretched prisoner in a dungeon<sup>24</sup>. Sinning against God must be followed by repentance, which is first felt in the heart, and then, actions follow. Samson, thoroughly aware of his

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<sup>18</sup> J. Milton, *Samson Agonistes and shorter poems*, Harlan Davidson Publishing Company, Arlington Heights, 1950.

<sup>19</sup> D.V. Lukianov, H.P. Ponomarova, A.S. Tahiiiev, “The Quran in Shia jurisprudence”, in *Journal of the National Academy of Legal Sciences of Ukraine*, 2020, vol. 27, no. 4, p. 29-42.

<sup>20</sup> J. Milton, *Samson Agonistes and shorter poems*, Harlan Davidson Publishing Company, Arlington Heights, 1950.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>22</sup> K. Begalinova, M. Ashilova, A. Begalinov, “Religious extremism in Kazakhstan: Threats of spreading and means of opposition”, in *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, 2020, vol. 21, no. 4, p. 124-131.

<sup>23</sup> J. Milton, *Samson Agonistes and shorter poems*, Harlan Davidson Publishing Company, Arlington Heights, 1950.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*.

fault before God, repented his sin of being seduced by a pagan woman. He did not ignore his weakness and indecision or bring up other pretenses. Instead of remaining frustrated or distressed by his failure, he rose again to seek God's mercy. He did not lean on his distinguished past achievements, but rather, he set out in a new direction with clear intentions. First, he removed his wife, Delilah, from his life. Then, he challenged the Philistines, unintimidated by their religious and political power. Relying on God, instead of his individual power, Samson moved forward from his past failures and was hopeful of the future.

Repentance for a great sin requires thoroughness, as superficial repentance is insufficient, and there are different degrees of action that may result. The magnitude of sins varies widely; they may be slight, such as committing a moral offense or ethical mistake, or they may be heavy, such as directly challenging God<sup>25</sup>. Samson committed a great sin that drove himself and all the Israelites to idolatry. Accordingly, his repentance involved pain upon his death. Milton emphasizes Samson's heroic repentance to relinquish his life. At the cost of his life, Samson had to destroy the temple of Dagon, the principal symbol of idolatry, by using all of his strength<sup>26</sup>. Milton's desire is that Samson's heroic repentance happens to British citizens when everyone rises, like Samson, awakened to England's dire social situation. Thus, Milton's Samson is brought to action in a way that justifies violence and slaughter (i.e., a "righteous war"). Milton regarded violence, such as murder and arson, as a necessary evil to remove whatever God loathed, like idolatry. By pulling down the temple of Dagon's two foundational pillars, Samson killed more people at the time of his death than he had killed during his life<sup>27</sup>. Milton commended the death of his enemies in a "righteous war."

In SA, Milton calls on his British contemporaries (as well as himself) to first repent wholeheartedly, as Samson had, and then bear the fruits of that repentance by demonstrating it through action. He scrutinizes every past mistake that had led to failure and thoroughly analyzes their causes, even if it is ascribable to human weakness, and cautions others to not repeat the same mistakes of their free will. Milton's theology embraces the synergy between divine grace and human freedom to achieve a sense of goodness. The resurrection of the Commonwealth was not merely a romantic dream, but a

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<sup>25</sup> D.V. Lukianov, V.M. Steshenko, H.P. Ponomarova, "Freedom of expression and Islam: Charlie Hebdo's lessons", in *Journal of the National Academy of Legal Sciences of Ukraine*, 2021, vol. 28, no. 1, p. 61-70; Z. Kokbas, Z. Aimukhambet, K. Kurmambayeva, N. Smagulova, M. Yesmatova, "Mythical cognition and artistic method", in *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology*, 2020, vol. 9, p. 3198-3202.

<sup>26</sup> J. Milton, *Samson Agonistes and shorter poems*, Harlan Davidson Publishing Company, Arlington Heights, 1950.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*.

world that could be realized by having faith. His firm belief was that God allows violence to achieve this end.

### **Bunyan's holy war**

We will discuss John Bunyan's HW in two parts, including a theological perspective of piety that is meant to promote personal faith and present a social critique of politics and religion. This division is because the terms in HW are colored with metaphor and allegory, which encourages various interpretations.

*Theological interpretation.* The focus of Bunyan's Pilgrim Progress (PP) concerns how a new convert of Christianity lives in this world and accomplishes sanctification to please God, but his other masterpiece, HW, functions as a "spiritual anatomy" that explains how an established believer can wisely and practically fight their evil inner voice<sup>28</sup>. By examining HW, we observe both why and how individual believers engage in spiritual warfare.

The main reason to engage in the holy war is to keep the order of the universe. In HW, King Shaddai represents the God who created the universe with such incredible beauty and finesse that men lacked nothing. God blessed humankind to live the happiest life among all of the species, but this blessing came with a caution. Since the source of this blessing in HW is King Shaddai, human's purpose was to please King Shaddai. So, as long as man understood that he was a steward and not the master of the town, Mansoul, then his happiness was assured. This depiction is ideologically consistent with Milton's conception of humankind's peaceful state before the fall from grace in PL.

God wanted humankind (the townsfolk of Mansoul) to manage and enjoy the beauty and abundance of paradise, but it was their duty to prevent the enemy from invading the town by using both their God-given free will and the five gates: Ear-gate, Eye-gate, Mouth-gate, Nose-gate, and Feel-gate. Humankind were at a crossroads when it came to using their free will and five senses for either good or evil. Theologically speaking, it represents the covenant between God and human, which means that obedience to God is a prerequisite for happiness<sup>29</sup>. In other words, happiness ends at the moment that God's commandments are disobeyed. Human, of course, succumbed to Satan's temptation and failed to maintain this covenant order.

Then how does one carry out one's holy war? This question involves two important issues: first, know the plans of the enemy in detail; second, prepare many holy wars thoroughly and fight as hard as one can. Bunyan calls the

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<sup>28</sup> J. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, E.P. Dutton & Company, New York, 1956; H. Kim, *Commentary on Pilgrim Progress*, Word of Life Press, Seoul, 2005.

<sup>29</sup> Z.A. Aimukhambet, A. Zhumagazina, A. Dalelbekkyzy, S.Sh. Aituganova, A.K. Seiputanova, "Mythical symbolism in structure of meta-text", in *Astra Salvensis*, 2021, vol. 2021, p. 199-210.



enemy, Diabolus, which is Satan in the Bible. Satan's strategy is to corrupt one's free will so the believer would rebel against God. Bunyan dissects the features of humankind's free will in HW, which have become thoroughly corrupted by temptation. Corrupted people are driven by an unbridled desire to pursue lust in order to live as Satan's slaves<sup>30</sup>.

When humankind was in a state of despair after succumbing to Satan's temptation, King Shaddai sent Prince Emmanuel to earth, and he dispelled Satan's forces (the Diabolonians) with his heavenly army, revealing the path of salvation to the human<sup>31</sup>. Prince Emmanuel issued a pardon by virtue of the power he received from his father<sup>32</sup>. Bunyan divulges human's incessant sinfulness through the townsfolk of Mansoul, who shortly returned to the path of corruption after being pardoned by Prince Emmanuel.

The HW concludes as a call to action for believers to retain hope in the Millennial Kingdom<sup>33</sup>. This Kingdom is full of the glory of God, leaving no room for conspiracy or intrigue by murderers or Diabolonians. With no Diabolonian soldiers and colors, there is no sorrow or grief. Life there shall always be sweet and new, nor shall there be any impediment. Believers can prove their faith by having grace and winning the battle against Satan. This grace entails a profound, loving relationship with Christ, the Holy Spirit working within them according to the Lord's words, praying to God, and living a life of thorough repentance by soul-searching<sup>34</sup>. In short, Bunyan's war is not a historical war from real life, but reflective of the spiritual battle within each of us. While the ultimate goal of Milton's "righteous war" is the salvation of the state and society, Bunyan's "righteous war" concerns an individual's spiritual salvation and sanctification.

*Implications of literary and historical interpretations.* Bunyan's HW can be interpreted as political language, opening an arena for social criticism. It reveals the evil actions of political and religious leaders. Although expressed through metaphor and allegory, it is not appropriate to regard all of these evil characters (including Diabolus, his followers, and the leaders of Mansoul) as fictional. Some may represent Bunyan's contemporaries in the 17th-century England, such as Charles I, Charles II, or their collaborators. After the monarchy's restoration, Charles II killed or expelled those who participated in his father's death, just as Bunyan elucidated the wicked deeds of the political and religious leaders through allegory by describing Satan's removal of the people who worshipped God and replacing them with people in his favor. Naturally, if a ruler's conduct is incorrect, the region or state governed by him is as well.

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<sup>30</sup> J. Bunyan, *Holy war*, Baker Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, 1986.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>34</sup> P. Morden, *The People's Pilgrim*, Duranno Press, Seoul, 2016.

Bunyan addresses this problem with harsh criticism in the scene where Diabolus appoints the chief officials of Mansoul<sup>35</sup>, keeping his people close to maintain power. Then, he manipulates legislation to strengthen his power, as his army repairs the castle walls. Similarly, after the restoration of the monarchy, Charles II attempted to persecute Puritans and other religious dissenters to solidify the Anglicans' position by establishing the Conventicle Act (1664) and the Five Mile Act (1665).

By bringing the evil deeds of political and religious leaders to light through metaphor and allegory, Bunyan presents the fundamental right of people as a rationale for reclaiming everything they lost. This God-given right cannot be monopolized by the king and his followers. Just as the Son, Jesus, made the ultimate sacrifice on the cross and saved humankind from evil, the Puritan Revolutionaries also gave their lives for the Commonwealth of England in a revolution that came at a high price. Bunyan argues that the act of pulling down the Commonwealth and restoring the monarchy was an act of tyranny, fraud, and treason against both the state and the people<sup>36</sup>. He further vented his political views by describing the ignorant British citizens who restored the monarchy by welcoming Charles II:

O unhappy town of Mansoul, I cannot but be touched with pity and compassion for thee. Thou hast accepted of Diabolis for thy king, and art become a nurse and minister of Diabolonians against thy sovereign Lord [...] You have bowed and subjected yourselves to be his<sup>37</sup>.

Bunyan justifies the righteousness of war by describing how Prince Immanuel (the Son of the Holy Trinity) uses his army to defeat his enemies, which involves mutual violence and slaughter. The weapons used by the Prince's army are listed, and the generals exhibit their valor as they ruthlessly kill their enemies without remorse because they are fighting a "righteous war." If HW is interpreted as alluding to Oliver Cromwell's revolutionary army battles, then no fault can be placed on either Cromwell or Milton regarding their war. Instead, according to Bunyan, they should be praised. Similarly, if one applies Bunyan's description of war to the time of Charles II, it may encourage a military uprising to re-establish the Commonwealth. While it seems obvious that Bunyan's purpose was not to provoke a revolutionary war, HW has some hidden elements of social criticism that may lead to this interpretation<sup>38</sup>.

Bunyan's metaphorical war deals with themes of free will and righteous violence. In the past, mankind's free will was corrupted after the fall from grace, and people served Satan. In modern times, however, some hold that if

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<sup>35</sup> J. Bunyan, *Holy war*, Baker Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, 1986.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*.

believers are repentant in Jesus and utilize their free will to uphold God's glory, then God will encourage them to use their free will for virtuous purpose, including punishing evil tendencies through death by suffocation or crucifixion<sup>39</sup>.

If Bunyan had not spent three years in the barracks after being conscripted into the Parliamentary army, he would not have been familiar with the political conspiracies and military terms he used in HW. He witnessed firsthand the valor and indomitable dedication of Cromwell's army; how they joined the Puritan Revolution to fight. Bunyan also learned why the royalists were defeated, and he both heard about and witnessed their cruelty and indecision. Furthermore, he was informed of the collusion regarding politics and religion during the restoration of the monarchy. Since Bunyan had firsthand experience of England's political and religious life before and after the monarchy during his long imprisonment, he became particularly well acquainted with the debauchery and religious oppression of King Charles II. Bunyan was neither a Catholic nor an Anglican priest, but among the Protestant sects, he served an independent Baptist congregation.

Regardless of the author's intent, the metaphors and allegories used in HW can be interpreted as political language. Just as Milton did, Bunyan denied the doctrine of a king's divine right to rule that was advocated by Charles I and Charles II. Owing to Bunyan's vivid depiction of the political and religious situation during that period, HW can viably be utilized to support various social critiques, depending on how readers approach it.

## Conclusions

Both Milton and Bunyan supported war when it was for a worthy reason. Milton was a staunch supporter of Cromwell's Puritan Revolution that used armed forces, and he wrote justifications for this use of force in Latin so it would spread throughout Europe. SA, for example, overtly illustrates the reasoning behind this political act. Milton accepts war and violence as a necessary evil for the salvation of the state and society.

In HW, Bunyan depicts realistic scenes of war, including the disposition of troops, generals fighting in battlefields, and the weapons used. This description provides a clear look into the war waged by Puritans in the 17th-century British history, but it also shows how Bunyan encouraged this kind of "righteous" warfare. A crucial issue, however, is that this war should not be

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<sup>39</sup> I.S. Saifnazarov, "Innovative methods of forming spiritual immunity of youth (on an example of Tashkent State University of economics experience)", in *Astra Salvensis*, 2019, no. 1, p. 355-362; A.S. Begalinov, M.S. Ashilova, K.K. Begalinova, "Cinema as the platonic cave: French Thinkers' views on media education", in *Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities*, 2018, vol. 10, no. 2, p. 136-147.

understood as a real-life, violent war, but an internal, spiritual war. For Bunyan, “destruction” is a personal, religious matter, such as destroying spiritual negligence, physical indulgence, obscene thoughts, evil deeds, and greed. In other words, Bunyan’s holy war is an internal struggle between a believer and his sinful nature. In this sense, Bunyan’s “internalization” of war to save one’s soul is distinct from Milton’s “external” war over the salvation of society. Milton vehemently calls on individual piety to be channeled into “public energy” while pursuing the reform of sociopolitical institutions and organizations.

However, Bunyan’s views should not be considered an affirmation of tyranny or monarchy either, as he criticizes the cruelty and corruption of the monarchy (i.e., Diabolus and his followers, respectively) in *HW*. This work is a social criticism of politics, society, and religion expressed through metaphor and allegory, where Bunyan highlights the need for Commonwealth ideals to entail the belief in God’s sovereignty and for the freedom of all citizens. However, Bunyan does not argue in favor of a “righteous war” as a means of political reform because he presents it with a strict distinction. Instead, he focuses on the believers under his care. He is also influenced by his belief in premillennialism, as Bunyan’s ideal social salvation involves the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. So, if Milton is a Puritan political intellectual who champions revolution, Bunyan is a Puritan pastor who advocates for an individual to fight their own sinful nature.

However, the possibility remains that Bunyan’s holy war can be transformed into an ideology concerned with external war as well, regardless of Bunyan’s intention. Bunyan’s *PP* and *HW* are not political stories encouraging real-life warfare, but an inspiration for Christians (who may misunderstand the guidelines of religious life) to practice faith that is based on their individual experience. The Chinese revolutionary, Hong Xiuquan (洪秀全, 1814–64), mistook Bunyan’s intention in *PP* and the Bible as books concerned with building a heaven on earth, and he used them as guidance, support, and inspiration to begin the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64). This 14-year civil war in Mainland China, led by Hong Xiuquan, caused the death of more than twenty million innocents. This historical catastrophe demonstrates the creative power of literary metaphors, but it also reflects a historical irony since it took place irrespective of the author’s intention.