

“In her thoroughly researched and beautifully written book, Professor Jung has provided her readers with an abundance of practical wisdom and profound spiritual insight. For those who hunger for authentic relationships and godly spiritual guidance, praying fervently for God’s renewing touch on their lives and in their communities, *Godly Conversation: Rediscovering the Puritan Practice of Conference* provides instruction, inspiration, and hope.”

— GARTH ROSELL, Professor of Church History,  
Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary

“Dr. Joanne Jung has done a great service to the church by bringing back to our attention the long-forgotten Puritan spiritual practice of ‘conference’ in all its various forms. Not content merely to explore this practice on an academic level (although her thorough exploration of Puritan materials would be reason enough for this book), Dr. Jung takes the next step and shows how this discipline connects with the contemporary church as an antidote to the now moribund small group movement. *Godly Conversation: Rediscovering the Puritan Practice of Conference* is a welcome and valuable addition to the now growing literature on spiritual formation.”

— RICHARD PEACE, Robert Boyd Munger  
Professor of Evangelism & Spiritual Formation,  
Fuller Theological Seminary

“There is a strong resurgence of interest in the history of Christian spiritual practices, yet too few are familiar with the important contributions made by the Puritans. In this book, Joanne J. Jung provides a wonderful addition to the literature by exploring the Puritan practice of conference, a vital and varied aspect of Puritan spirituality that is not widely enough known. Not only does this study offer historical insight, it also suggests the contemporary relevance of conference for believers today.”

— KELLY M. KAPIC, Professor of Theological  
Studies, Covenant College

“Our understanding of Puritan spirituality gets another boost from Joanne Jung in this fine study of a significant cluster of devotional practices. While personal experience of God’s grace was essential to that seventeenth-century movement, Puritanism also fostered spiritual growth in the covenanted community, through godly conversation and ‘conference’ meetings. The book will find appreciative readers among scholars of religious history as well as pastors and other Christian leaders. These spiritual practices developed in the seventeenth century will provide depth to today’s emphasis on small group ministry, Bible study, mentoring, and spiritual direction.”

— CHARLES HAMBRICK-STOWE, Senior Minister of the  
First Congregational Church, Ridgefield, Connecticut

“With one eye constantly on the needs of the contemporary church, practical theologian Joanne Jung has recovered an important aspect of Christian community from old and neglected Puritan sources. This stimulating and important study examines the gathering of the saints in informal settings, or ‘conferences,’ where Scripture and sermons were discussed and ‘ingested’ to nurture the spiritual life. The cumulative effect of Jung’s research is to put the topic of conference at the top of the list of important Puritan disciplines, thereby redressing the popular misconception that Puritans were individualists. The book offers us a detailed taxonomy of the types of Puritan conference, and it expounds for the first time the important role that women played in fostering the practice. The study is based on extensive original research in primary sources, and the author’s infectious passion for the church and its history clearly demonstrates that the ‘old’ can illumine the ‘new’ and inform and guide the church today.”

— JAMES E. BRADLEY, Geoffrey W. Bromiley Professor  
of Church History, Fuller Theological Seminary

GODLY  
CONVERSATION



# GODLY CONVERSATION

rediscovering the Puritan practice of conference

Joanne J. Jung

Foreword by J. I. Packer



**Reformation Heritage Books**

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*Godly Conversation*

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# Contents

|  |      |
|--|------|
| Foreword by J. I. Packer . . . . .   | vii  |
| Preface . . . . .  | xi   |
| Acknowledgments . . . . .  | xiii |
| 1. In Search of Piety's Forgotten Discipline . . . . .                                   | 1    |
| 2. A Royal Conflict over Prophesyings and the Origins<br>of Puritan Conference . . . . . | 21   |
| 3. Scripture for Puritan Eyes: The Word Read . . . . .                                   | 53   |
| 4. Scripture for Puritan Ears: The Word Heard . . . . .                                  | 69   |
| 5. Holy Conference: "A Kinde of Paradise" . . . . .                                      | 91   |
| 6. Holy Conference: Categorized and Exercised . . . . .                                  | 124  |
| 7. Puritan Conference for the Contemporary Church . . . . .                              | 156  |
| Bibliography . . . . .   | 181  |
| Subject Index . . . . .  | 199  |



## Foreword

The people who were called Puritans in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England had a bad press in their own day, and on the whole still do. They were, and are, pictured as folk who lived on the edge of fanaticism, driven by a combative God-centeredness and having a crushing sense of duty that pressed down upon every aspect of their lives. They were, and are, imagined as austere extremists, rigid and censorious, perhaps visionaries, perhaps neurotics, certainly a company of grim and gritted-teeth solitaries, each battling his or her way to heaven essentially unaided and alone. We today, as children of the secular, relativistic *laissez-faire* culture that surrounds us, find it hard to appreciate humanity of the historic Puritan type, shaped fundamentally as it was by a belief in a holy God who addresses us all via Bible and pulpit, who crisscrosses all our life activities with commands and prohibitions, whose hatred of sin and resolve to punish it are nightmarishly real, and who calls us to unceasing conflict against the evils of the world, the flesh, and the Devil. The fact that Puritans generally, not only leaders but also rank and file, though serious-minded, were ordinarily cheerful souls, living in the joy of knowing that their sins were forgiven through Christ's cross and they themselves were securely in covenant with God, and the further fact that they were extremely sociable, with hearts wide open to family and friends, seems to many simply incredible. But this is how it was—or, should I say, how they were.

During the past two generations, an academic cottage industry of studying Puritan faith and experience in terms of the Puritans'

own writings (mostly printed sermons) has developed, and at point after point the truth on these matters has been brought into focus, mostly in high quality doctoral theses. The present book is one such venture in wiping the mud off the face of Puritanism so that its real features may be properly seen. It explores one aspect of the fellowship that Puritans conscientiously practiced as a God-given means of grace.

Did the Puritans believe that “holy conference”—edifying conversation, that is, about spiritual things—was a prescribed Christian duty? Yes, as a body they did. Richard Baxter was one of the many who pressed the point. Having urged in general terms the need for such conversation, even for those who fear they will not be very good at it, he proceeds in his typical, rather overwhelming way to give two lists. List one is of what we would call conversation starters. You may, he says, choose to talk about “1. ...the last sermon that you heard, or of someone lately preached that nearly [i. e., deeply] touched you. 2. Or of something in the last book you read. 3. Or of some text of Scripture obvious [i.e., relevant] to your thoughts. 4. Or of some notable (yea, ordinary) providence which did lately occur. 5. Or of some examples of good or evil that are fresh before you. 6. Or of the right doing of the duty that you are about.”<sup>1</sup> Then list two is of things that are always worth talking about.

Let the matter be usually, 1. Things of weight, and not small matters. 2. Things of certainty, and not uncertain things. Particularly the fittest subjects for your ordinary discourse are these: 1. God himself, with his attributes, relations and works. 2. The great mystery of man’s redemption by Christ; his person, office, sufferings, doctrine, example, and work; his resurrection, ascension, glory, intercession, and all the privileges of his saints. 3. The covenant of grace.... 4. The workings of the Spirit of Christ upon the soul.... 5. The ways and wiles of Satan, and all our spiritual enemies.... 6. The corruption and deceitfulness of the heart; the nature and workings, effects and signs of

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1. Richard Baxter, *A Christian Directory* (Grand Rapids: Soli Deo Gloria Publications, 2008), 465.

ignorance, unbelief, hypocrisy, pride, sensuality, worldliness, impiety, injustice, intemperance, uncharitableness, and every other sin; with all the helps against them all. 7. The many duties to God and man which we have to perform, both internal and external.... 8. The vanity of the world, and deceitfulness of all earthly things. 9 The powerful reasons used by Christ to draw us to holiness.... 10. Of the sufferings which we must expect and be prepared for. 11. Of death...and how to make ready for so great a change. 12. Of the day of judgment.... 13. Of the joys of heaven.... 14. Of the miseries of the damned.... 15. Of the state of the church on earth, and what we ought to do in our places for its welfare. Is there not matter enough in all these great and weighty points, for...conference?<sup>2</sup>

Undiscerning critics have spoken of Bunyan's Christian, in *Pilgrim's Progress* part one, as an example of the ethos of solitary struggle that they take to be Puritanism's essence devotionally. But a closer look reveals that this is not even half the story. Bunyan gives Christian two traveling companions, with each of whom he enjoys edifying conversations that the author records at length. First came Faithful, later martyred in the town of Vanity; once he and Christian had met up, "they went very lovingly on together; and had sweet discourse of all things that had happened to them in their pilgrimage."<sup>3</sup> Then came Hopeful, to whom Christian said as they crossed the enchanted ground (the land of spiritual sleepiness), "To prevent drowsiness in this place, let us fall into good discourse"; whereupon he quizzed Hopeful thoroughly, as he had previously interrogated Faithful, about his conversion.<sup>4</sup> Conversation in which spiritual experience was shared (as distinct from the sort of hollow blathering that Bunyan puts into the mouths of Talkative and Ignorance) was embraced as a major means of grace, both because of the enhanced sense of divine goodness that it brings and also

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2. Baxter, *Christian Directory*, 466.

3. John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1945), 85–93.

4. Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress*, 165–73.

because it preempts satanic invasions of the mind. Bunyan comments in a couplet:

Saints' fellowship, if it be manag'd well,  
Keep them awake, and that in spite of hell.<sup>5</sup>

Professor Jung pilots us authoritatively through this dimension of Puritan spiritual discipline. All will benefit from what she has written here.

—J. I. Packer

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5. Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress*, 165.

## Preface

A friend once told me, “Puritans always get a bad rap.” That moment, my own presuppositions were challenged. In the years that followed, I would discover the Puritans’ world, culture, devotion, and heart. I found their pursuit of God inspiring, their love for His Word unparalleled, and their commitment to community contagious. Equipped with sound biblical knowledge, the Puritans nurtured community by inquiring about the state of one another’s souls, seeking to nourish receptive souls and help impoverished ones. The popular means of grace called *conference* served them well. It was common because—though few modern-day scholars make mention of it—evidence supports sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Puritan pastors frequently advising and encouraging their congregants to converse with one another on issues of biblical knowledge as it relates to the health of the soul.

The opportunity presented itself to me to uncover more on this practice called *conference*. What were its beginnings, its uses and users, its structure and benefits? And might it be possible to apply its guiding principles to twenty-first-century spiritual formation, perhaps strengthening current church communities? This irrepressible hope became a driving force in the reading, researching, data inputting, thinking, writing, and publication of my dissertation work.

The database Early English Books Online (EEBO), which I accessed through the libraries of Fuller Seminary and Biola University, provided images of primary sources found only in the archival stacks of prestigious libraries on both sides of the Atlantic. My visits

to the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, afforded the opportunity to peruse a number of treasured Puritan works. There was no lack of material to investigate.

My research revealed that conference was exercised in many venues of community. Laboriously reading through numerous treatises on conference, however, was like wading through a cluttered garage. To help organize the information, I created a rubric for categorizing the various types of conference. Each was categorized into its proper place, providing a helpful tool for future research.

In *Godly Conversation*, you are invited to come and take a walk through my “garage.” Each step will take you through the pages of history, where you will discover the personal sacrifice of an archbishop, evidence of the Puritans’ commitment to knowing God’s Word, and contributions from Puritan pastors and congregants who found this means of grace an integral part of developing community, growing closer to God and to one another.

*Godly Conversation* presents Puritan spirituality as a significant contribution to the contemporary discussion of spiritual formation. The mission of this book is to explore a historical segment of Protestant heritage, a time when people were serious about God and their walk with Him, the truth of Scripture, care for souls, and the journey-sustaining power of community. Today, those serious about community—pastoral and ministry staffs, small group Bible studies, or families—will be surprised to find how a movement in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England can impact their biblical literacy and help them influence the development of a thriving community today.

## Acknowledgments

Countless times I would face a blank computer screen and wonder to God how it would be filled with the necessary thoughts and words that would most clearly convey what I had been discovering. The book you have in your hands is evidence of God's kindness, provision, and purpose. *Godly Conversation* would not have been possible had it not been for the wisdom, encouragement, and involvement of many.

Dr. James Bradley was my mentor throughout the entire Ph.D. program at Fuller. Whether by phone or in person, his words of encouragement and guidance were always seasoned with courage and grace. With skill and mastery, Dr. Bradley, one of the finest church historians, established essential parameters that allowed great freedom in research and writing. He helped me discover and cultivate the nerdy researcher part of me I did not fully know existed.

My colleagues at Talbot School of Theology—Dennis Dirks, Mike Wilkins, Moyer Hubbard, Michelle Lee-Barnewall, and Matt Williams, just to name a few—have each, in their unique ways, ensured I did not become a recluse in my studies but maintained a healthy and engaging relationship with God, family, students, friends, and ministry. Their wise counsel, prayers, humor, and caring words, especially when I'd hit that proverbial wall, reminded me of the mission of this work.

My friends in “The Gang” and W.I.L.D. and my mentor, Pat Schiltz, journeyed with me and gave me proof that growing in godliness is an ordained community lifestyle. Thoughts of them continue to bring a smile to my heart.

My family continues to give unspeakable joy. Norm has been the life partner who has been committed to his words, “You need to do this.” Four of my favorite friends, our now-grown children, Adriane, Ashley, Cami, and Tyler, have kept me humorously and gratefully tethered to reality. God has been kind to place us in each other’s lives as family and beyond that as beloved friends.

I have learned, as the Puritans knew, that Christian fellowship is more than friendship; it is a walking together in godliness. Jonathan Mitchel, a Puritan, penned, “If you have a friend with whom you might now and then spend a little time, in conferring together, in opening your hearts, and presenting your unutterable groanings before God, it would be of excellent use: Such an one would greatly strengthen, bestead, and further you in your way to heaven.”<sup>1</sup>

God has made this journey worth taking. The gift of these friends and family reminds me so. They have shaped and influenced me—and therefore my research and writing. God has carved a place in my heart for these and more. I am honored to receive the gift of walking with them together in godliness.

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1. Jonathan Mitchel, *A Discourse of the Glory* (London: Printed for Nathaniel Ponder, 1677), 15.

## CHAPTER ONE



# In Search of Piety's Forgotten Discipline

The English Puritans are experiencing a twenty-first-century revival. Periodic name-dropping of some better known Puritans such as John Owen, Richard Baxter, or John Bunyan has been on the rise. Waves of published primary works from, and secondary sources about, these saints of Protestant evangelical heritage continue to find their way onto bookshelves and Internet sites. Decades of historical and theological attention to these saints of the past have formed a solid foundation for the present renewed interest in their lives, printed works, and practices.

Though not completely ignoring the religious perspectives, historians have tended to explore the sociological, political, ecclesiastical, intellectual, and economic perspectives of English Puritanism. Over the last seventy years, these aspects of Puritanism have captivated the interest of such scholars as William Haller, Patrick Collinson, and Christopher Hill, who have surveyed the Puritan landscape. These scholars are profoundly acquainted with the spectrum of Puritan influence and impact in their cultural, political, ecclesiastical, social, and economic spheres.<sup>1</sup> The classic works of these men are foundational to a multifaceted understanding of the Puritan movement.

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1. William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism: Or, the Way to the New Jerusalem as Set Forth in Pulpit and Press from Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570–1643* (New York: Harper, 1957); Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Cape, 1967); Christopher Hill, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution—Revisited* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).

Proponents who have recaptured the magnitude and relevance of Puritan spirituality include Geoffrey Nuttall, Horton Davies, Gordon Wakefield, Charles Hambrick-Stowe, and J. I. Packer. Their outstanding scholarship offers a strong religious complement and has buoyed interest in the Puritans.<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey Nuttall understands Puritanism as “a movement towards immediacy in relation to God” with a tradition of faith and experience.<sup>3</sup> He analyzes and identifies the Puritan doctrine of the Holy Spirit as the hallmark that served as the unifying element of Puritanism. Puritanism, then, is perceived as the movement along a spectrum toward a greater emphasis on the testimony of the Spirit.<sup>4</sup>

Adding another perspective, Horton Davies asserts that Puritanism in England was a liturgical movement.<sup>5</sup> He sees the movement as seeking to restore English worship to the simplicity, purity, and spirituality of the primitive church while rejecting the Romanish symbols by which the Catholic Church expressed its character. Though Puritanism began as a liturgical reform, Davies saw it as a development into a distinct attitude toward life.<sup>6</sup> This attitude broadens the scope to include the political and social contexts of the movement and the impact of other traits critical to a broader understanding of Puritanism. Davies, in keeping with a distinctly historical perspective while including the religious, defines Puritanism as “the outlook that characterized the radical Protestant party in Queen Elizabeth’s day, who regarded the Reformation as incom-

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2. Gordon S. Wakefield, *Puritan Devotion: Its Place in the Development of Christian Piety* (London: Epworth Press, 1957); Horton Davies, *The Worship of the English Puritans* (Morgan, Penn.: Soli Deo Gloria, 1997); Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1982).

3. Geoffrey Fillingham Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1992), 134.

4. Peter Lake, introduction to *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* by Geoffrey Nuttall (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1992), 20.

5. Davies, *Worship of Puritans*, 8.

6. Davies, *Worship of Puritans*, 9.

plete and wished to model English church worship and government according to the Word of God.<sup>7</sup> The Scriptures formed the basis for Puritan spirituality and way of life.

Gordon Wakefield asserts, “Puritanism starts from the absolute sufficiency and supreme authority of Scripture.”<sup>8</sup> He confirms the Puritans’ foundational dependence on the Word of God, regarding Scripture as “the supreme and final authority. Like a wind from heaven the Bible seemed able to sweep away the corruptions and accretions of the unreformed Church.”<sup>9</sup>

Charles Hambrick-Stowe offers this insight: “At its heart... Puritanism was a devotional movement, rooted in religious experience,” and that “the rise of Puritanism and the settlement of New England ought to be understood as a significant episode in the ongoing history of Christian spirituality.”<sup>10</sup> Hambrick-Stowe’s definition was penned nearly three decades ago about a formidable Christian movement whose adherents consistently related life to a Bible-based theology.

J. I. Packer understands the emphasis the Puritans placed on the soul’s connection between sound theology and expressed spirituality. His regular appeals to explore their scripturally informed spiritual formation appear throughout his writings, as he has plumbed the depths and breadth of their works over the past number of decades. His time-honored *Quest for Godliness* is a mainstay in understanding the Puritan view of sanctification, or spiritual formation.<sup>11</sup>

## **A Missing Link**

Even with these contributions and the rising interest in revisiting ancient practices employed by the saints of the past for purposes

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7. Davies, *Worship of Puritans*, 1.

8. Wakefield, *Puritan Devotion*, 13.

9. Wakefield, *Puritan Devotion*, 12.

10. Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety*, 25.

11. J. I. Packer, *A Quest for Godliness: The Puritan Vision of the Christian Life* (Wheaton, Ill.: Good News/Crossway Books, 1990).

of incorporating and adapting them for contemporary use, Christian scholarship has been slow to consider Puritan spirituality for such purposes. When sources that focus on the topic of spiritual formation are examined, they are found to have largely ignored contributions from the Puritan movement, choosing instead to highlight the practices of other Christian traditions, even of the same period.<sup>12</sup> There appears to be a historical marginalizing when it comes to exploring Puritan sources that reflect the spiritual movement of that era, especially in the area of the communal aspects of Puritan practices of piety.

The practice of “spiritual formation,” a term presently accepted, has been recognized under other phraseology. Robin Maas and Gabriel O’Donnell state in their introduction to *Spiritual Traditions for the Contemporary Church* that what Christian tradition has called asceticism, or piety, is twofold. It encompasses virtues, habits, and attitudes that are required to know God, as well as the ridding of vices, harmful attitudes, and destructive habits that make it impossible to be perfect or, in modern-day vernacular, authentic.<sup>13</sup> After exploring the roots of contemporary Western spirituality in their book, Maas and O’Donnell identify distinctive spiritual and theological traditions. Similarly, John Tyson’s *Invitation to Christian Spirituality: An Ecumenical Anthology*, offers a compendium of selections from significant historical figures of Christian church history from the period of the ancient church to contemporary times. Yet, both these works lack any significant input from a group known for their spiritual piety, the Puritans. There are no contributions from a Puritan figure from either side of the Atlantic.

The Puritans are briefly mentioned in Howard G. Hageman’s “Reformed Spirituality” in Kenneth Collins’s *Exploring Christian*

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12. Robin Maas and Gabriel O’Donnell, eds., *Spiritual Traditions for the Contemporary Church* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1990), passim; see also John R. Tyson, ed., *Invitation to Christian Spirituality: An Ecumenical Anthology* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1999), and Kenneth J. Collins, ed., *Exploring Christian Spirituality: An Ecumenical Reader* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000).

13. Maas and O’Donnell, *Spiritual Traditions*, 16.

*Spirituality: An Ecumenical Reader*. Richard Lovelace's contribution to this book briefly addresses Puritan spirituality, its goal of "the power of godliness," and its impact on subsequent spiritual movements.<sup>14</sup> Lovelace, in a fuller account, describes the genesis, bearings, and vitality of the spirituality of the Puritans. He then invites his readers to explore their literature more deeply and intentionally, for their "veiled" devotion can aptly influence our modern times.<sup>15</sup>

*The Study of Spirituality*, edited by Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, and Edward Yarnold, includes an eight-page contribution, "The Puritans," by Gordon Wakefield.<sup>16</sup> Brian Armstrong's contribution in *The Spirituality of Western Christendom, II*,<sup>17</sup> offers his own renewed perspective on Puritan spirituality. He has "become increasingly impressed by the relatively greater emphasis placed by the English Puritans upon piety, upon inward religion, than by the French and Swiss Calvinists."<sup>18</sup> Armstrong explores two crucial elements of Puritan spirituality: "Religious experience, or a lively encounter with God" and the "strong emphasis on the Bible as the living, convicting, healing, word of God."<sup>19</sup> A decade later, the spirituality of the Puritans appears in a one-page summary by Bradley Holt in *Thirsty for God*.<sup>20</sup>

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14. Richard F. Lovelace, "Evangelical Spirituality: A Church Historian's Perspective," in *Exploring Christian Spirituality*, ed. Collins (Grand Rapids, Baker, 2000), 218–22.

15. Richard Lovelace, "The Anatomy of Puritan Piety: English Puritan Devotional Literature, 1600–1640," in *Christian Spirituality: Post-Reformation and Modern*, ed. Louis Dupré and Don E. Saliers (New York: Crossroad, 1989), 294–323.

16. Gordon Wakefield, "The Puritans," in *The Study of Spirituality*, ed. Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, and Edward Yarnold (New York: Oxford, 1986).

17. Brian G. Armstrong, "Puritan Spirituality: The Tension of Bible and Experience," in *The Spirituality of Western Christendom, II: The Roots of the Modern Christian Tradition*, ed. E. Rozanne Elder, Cistercian Studies Series 55 (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian, 1984), 229–48.

18. Armstrong, "Puritan Spirituality," 229.

19. Armstrong, "Puritan Spirituality," 243.

20. Bradley P. Holt, *Thirsty for God: A Brief History of Christian Spirituality* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1993), 85–86.

The “Classic Texts: An Engagement” section in Alister McGrath’s *Christian Spirituality: An Introduction* offers a historical range of representative texts of writers from Gregory of Nyssa to J. I. Packer (with an accompanying guide with which the reader can engage).<sup>21</sup> The Puritans are not represented, proving that current sources have failed to cite a major theological group. McGrath includes an honorable mention of them, however, in a work he co-edited with Timothy George.<sup>22</sup> More recently, Evan Howard’s *Brazos Introduction to Christian Spirituality*<sup>23</sup> casts a positive light on the Puritans as a movement with which to be reckoned.

The intermittent attention given to the Puritans and their spirituality over the past few decades stands in contrast to the current swell of publications focused on the Puritan movement and ethos. Francis Bremer and Tom Webster have co-edited *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia*.<sup>24</sup> The first of this two-volume work consists of a collection of biographies of those who were unmistakably Puritan, those with Puritan sensitivities, and those opposing the movement—all of whose lives helped shape, define, or direct this movement. The second volume, which includes “Ideas, Events, and Issues” and an offering of select primary sources, provides the reader and researcher with invaluable points of reference to subjects pertaining to, positions held by, and historical events surrounding the Puritans.

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21. Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Spirituality: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 141–73.

22. Alister E. McGrath, “Loving God with Heart and Mind,” in *For All the Saints: Evangelical Theology and Christian Spirituality*, ed. Timothy George and Alister McGrath (Louisville: Westminster, 2003), 16–18.

23. Evan B. Howard, *Brazos Introduction to Christian Spirituality* (Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2008).

24. Francis J. Bremer and Tom Webster, eds., *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2006).

Joel Beeke's *Puritan Reformed Spirituality*<sup>25</sup> brings renewed insights to the spiritual formation discussion by way of addressing the biblical spirituality of the Reformed and Puritan traditions. Beeke and Randall Pederson's *Meet the Puritans*<sup>26</sup> introduces the reader to more than 120 English and American Puritans. Each entry provides a biographical sketch of the author as well as a review of the author's volumes that have been reprinted within the last fifty years. These works, along with the works of Kelly Kopic and those he edited with Randall C. Gleason or Justin Taylor,<sup>27</sup> promote further reading and a deeper understanding of the Puritans for both the scholar and general public, thus paving the way for exploring further the spirituality of the Puritans.

The recent surge in Puritan interest and scholarship, coupled with the evangelical quest to uncover practices that can be applied to dimensions of spiritual formation in evangelical churches, is fueling a greater appreciation for this segment of Protestant tradition and a realistic application for present-day spiritual formation. Puritan piety, or spirituality, is proving to be a plenteous source from which spiritual insights can be mined.

An uncovering of the long ignored Puritan practice of conference may prove a timely discovery that will help shape the current spiritual atmosphere. Few researchers address the communal means of Puritan conference in any great length. Those who do recognize it as a commonly used means of Puritan piety. None, however, further the discussion of the communal means of conference as a viable discipline with contemporary relevance, and none have simultaneously

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25. Joel R. Beeke, *Puritan Reformed Spirituality* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage, 2004).

26. Joel R. Beeke and Randall J. Pederson, *Meet the Puritans: With a Guide to Modern Reprints* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage, 2006).

27. Kelly Kopic, *Communion with God: The Divine and the Human in the Theology of John Owen* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007); Kelly Kopic and Randall C. Gleason, eds., *The Devoted Life: An Invitation to the Puritan Classics* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2004); Kelly Kopic and Justin Taylor, eds., *Overcoming Sin and Temptation* (Wheaton, Ill.: Good News/Crossway, 2006).

connected it with its Puritan roots. O. R. Johnston finds that though Puritan writings often allude to the means of conference, it is usually in passing.<sup>28</sup> This may be due to its acceptance as a common and regular practice. Further research may confirm its familiarity and functionality.

To date, there is no work that takes a serious, in-depth look at the Puritan discipline of conference and its application to contemporary spiritual formation. The revisit of Puritan conference found in this treatment seeks to highlight a dormant Puritan practice in hopes that the evangelical public would benefit from its rediscovery and re-incorporation. This recapturing of conference as a spiritual discipline—with its two-part foundation of the Word and the intention to nurture its expression in life—has potential to impact spiritual guidance, to increase biblical literacy, and to further the dynamics of Bible study small groups as a source of spiritual growth in godliness. The revival of the Puritan practice of conferencing can serve to alleviate more of the reservations many modern-day evangelicals have over spiritual formation, and also provide a vehicle for soul care that is found within their own tradition.

### **A Rediscovery in Puritan Spirituality**

It remains difficult to rid even scholarly minds of the unrelenting stereotype caricaturing Puritans as grim, kill-joy Christians, fanatics in black steeple-hats, the antithesis of Roman Catholic, or indifferent to humanity and the splendors of this world. Not only is this branding no longer tenable, but also its retention blinds the Christian to the wealth of material relevant to Christian spirituality for the individual and for the individual in community. To compound this problem, our present society's pejorative usage of "piety" has negatively influenced the understanding and use of this word. The Puritans, however, used the word "piety" in primarily a positive sense while abhorring false piety, which promoted self-deception and legalism.

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28. O. R. Johnston, "The Means of Grace in Puritan Theology," *Evangelical Quarterly* 25 (October 1953): 217.

Methods consistent with the disciplines of historical research in tandem with those consistent with practical theology will be applied toward the purpose of uncovering the Puritan discipline of conference. This involves the careful analysis and evaluation of numerous primary and secondary sources in the process of uncovering this aspect of spirituality as exercised by the English Puritans.<sup>29</sup>

The word “conference” is commonly used in present-day vernacular. It is typically used to denote a meeting of a number of people for the purpose of discussion or consultation, as in “conference room” or “conference call.” A meeting can sometimes last several days, in which people with a common interest participate in discussions or listen to lectures to obtain information, such as a “leadership conference.” The primary definition of conference focuses around a meeting to discuss serious matters. The *Oxford English Dictionary* identifies the sixteenth-century use of the term as, “The action of conferring or taking counsel,...always on an important or serious subject” and notes that formerly in a more general sense it meant “conversation or discourse; a meeting or rendezvous for conversation.”<sup>30</sup>

Two definitive works, Wakefield’s *Puritan Devotion* and Hambrick-Stowe’s *Practice of Piety*, have offered clear scholarship in the area of two specific practices of Puritan piety. Wakefield cites, from Bayly’s *Practice of Piety*, that prayer and meditation should accompany reading. The devout Puritan held all that is read in Scripture must be applied either to confirm faith or increase repentance. Each passage was addressed to the particular reader as if God, who was standing at his side, spoke the words.<sup>31</sup> Hambrick-Stowe observes that parents, ministers, and all saints had an obligation to watch over the spiritual welfare of their family members and neighbors.

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29. Authors of primary sources were those identified as Puritans or had Puritan sympathies. Their works range from collections of sermons and lengthy treatises to shorter printed works, diaries, and letters.

30. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. “conference,” accessed 6 July 2004, <http://www.dictionary.oed.com>.

31. Wakefield, *Puritan Devotion*, 22.

This took on a number of different forms—one of which was conference. He devotes five pages to the means of private conference and includes bibliographic sources from which more research can be explored.<sup>32</sup>

Engaging in conference furthered one’s understanding of Scripture and its application toward growth of godliness in the life of the conferee. One’s knowledge and discernment of God’s Word was foundational to one’s relationship with God through His Son and in His Spirit. Conference done well required one to “first have the word within us; and that not lightly floating in our braine, but deeply settled and hidden in our hearts.”<sup>33</sup> Puritan submission to Scripture was the litmus test. As the Puritan minister and writer Thomas Watson states:

The Rule by which a Christian must try himself, is the Word of God. Phancy and opinion are false Rules to go by. We must judge of our spiritual condition by the Canon of Scripture.... Let the Word be the Umpire to decide the controversie whether we have grace or no. We judge of colours by the Sun. So we must judge of the estate of our souls by the light of Scripture.<sup>34</sup>

Conference combined the two elements of biblical interpretation and care for the soul; minds were engaged even as souls were tended.

E. Glenn Hinson’s contribution on Puritan spirituality, in Frank Senn’s *Protestant Spiritual Traditions*, includes commonly practiced disciplines. He draws attention to the Puritan position on the sovereignty of God and election and attributes acute problems to the Puritan practice of self-examination. He adds that it was worsened, “since the Puritans made no special provision for spiritual direction which could mitigate the harsh and capricious aspects of

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32. Hambrick-Stowe, *Practice of Piety*, 150–55.

33. Nicholas Bownd, *Sabbathum Veteris Et Noui Testamenti: Or the True Doctrine of the Sabbath* (London: By Felix Kyngston, 1606), 394.

34. Thomas Watson, *Heaven Taken by Storm* (London: Printed by R. W., 1670), 56–57.

self-criticism.”<sup>35</sup> His argument continues with the example of John Bunyan and proceeds to describe the “manic depression” Bunyan was flung into by exercising such reflection. Yet Hinson’s mention of spiritual guides placed in Bunyan’s life, who may have aided in his conclusion of assurance over judgment, actually demonstrates the presence of others in a community who served to offer direction and care. The opportunity for spiritual guidance that presents itself in the form of conference was an integral part of Puritan spirituality. This communal activity of “private means” proved to have been of great benefit for many Puritans.

### **The Practice of Conference**

The word “conference” retained formal and informal meanings; both were employed in the sixteenth century. Its formal use denoted a formal meeting for consultation or discussion, usually between representatives of societies or parties. “Conference” was also employed in a more general, informal sense by means of conversation, discourse, or talk.

According to Hambrick-Stowe, conferences, or consultations with a spiritual mentor or director, were considered practices of private devotion and expressions of the membership of each believer in the covenant. Conference was exercised among parents with children, masters with apprentices, teachers and Harvard tutors with students, and older women with girls and young women. All had a responsibility to care for the spiritual welfare of others. Ministers were expected to be engaged in spiritual counseling as part of their calling, but conference with other spiritually mature believers was also to be sought. “Although one most often sought such a relationship in time of spiritual struggle, crisis, or melancholy, diary entries also attest to high spiritual attainment resulting from intimate sharing and guidance.”<sup>36</sup> Richard Baxter writes:

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35. E. Glenn Hinson, “Puritan Spirituality,” in *Protestant Spiritual Traditions*, ed. Frank C. Senn (New York: Paulist, 1986), 168.

36. Hambrick-Stowe, “Puritan Spirituality in America,” in *Christian*

Another help to this Heavenly life, is, To be much in serious discoursing of it, especially with those that can speak from their hearts, and are seasoned themselves with an heavenly nature. Its pittie, that Christians should ever meet together, without some talk of their meeting in Heaven, or the way to it before they part.... Methinks we should meet of purpose, to warm our spirits with discoursing of our Rest.... Get then together, fellow Christians, and talk of the affairs of your Country and Kingdom, and comfort one another with such words. If worldings get together, they will be talking of the world, when wantons get together they will be talking of their lusts, and wicked men can be delighted in talking wickedness and should not Christians, then, delight themselves in talking about Christ? and the heirs of heaven in talking of their inheritance? This may make our hearts revive within us.<sup>37</sup>

Baxter and other Puritan divines encouraged this discourse, or conference.

Many manuals pointed out that believers ought to seek out “much conference, especially with Ministers and other experienced Christians.” In John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*, private conference is what makes Christian’s journey practicable. Time and again, as destruction is imminent, the advice and comfort of a fellow pilgrim enabled him to press on. Private spiritual counseling guided individuals through the conversion experience as it screened church members and led them to make a public profession of faith. In families, it enabled parents to bring their children and servants to experience grace. In “A letter...to His Friend,” Jonathan Mitchel (1624–1668) urged:

If you had a friend with whom you might now and then spend a little time, in conferring together, in opening your hearts, and presenting your unutterable groanings before God, it would be of excellent use: Such an one would greatly strengthen, bestead,

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*Spirituality: Post-Reformation and Modern*, ed. Louis K. Duprae and Don E. Saliers, World Spirituality, vol. 18 (New York: Crossroad, 1989), 347.

37. Richard Baxter, *The Saints’ Everlasting Rest*, (London: Printed by Rob White for Thomas Underhill and Francis Tyton, 1650), 675.

and further you in your way to Heaven. Spend now and then [as occasions will permit] an hour [or so] with such a friend more than ordinary [sometimes a piece of a day, sometimes a whole day of extraordinary fast, in striving and wrestling with God for everlasting mercy.] And be much in quickning *conference* (author's emphasis), giving and taking mutual encouragements and directions in the matters of Heaven! Oh! the life of God that falls into the hearts of the Godly, in and by gracious Heavenly conference. Be open hearted one to another, and stand one for another against the Devil and all his Angels. Make it thus your business in these and such like ways, to provide for Eternity while it is called today.<sup>38</sup>

The mutual encouragement and direction given and received in the exercise of conference served to attend and strengthen souls.

### **Puritan Spirituality and the Bible**

Paramount to Puritan spirituality was knowing and understanding the Bible, the Word of God. Engaging in faithful Bible reading and meditation upon it was the essential device of Puritan piety. The text under consideration for meditation could either be the text preached on the previous Sabbath or the text of the day in a regular program of Bible reading. For Puritan writers the Bible was authoritative, and the loyal adherence to using biblical language in each text disclosed the ultimate authority of Scripture. The Bible was, above all, "a devotional book" for Puritans.<sup>39</sup>

The Word was also central to the sermon. The Word heard was even more important in Puritan piety than the Word read.<sup>40</sup> The preaching and hearing of the sermon were central acts of Puritan worship. John Owen observes: "The best of men, the most holy and spiritually minded, may have, nay ought to have, their Thoughts of

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38. Jonathan Mitchel, "Letter to a Friend," appended to *A Discourse of the Glory* (London: Printed for Nathaniel Ponder, 1677), 15–16.

39. Hambrick-Stowe, *Practice of Piety*, 8.

40. Dewey D. Wallace, Jr., ed., *The Spirituality of the Later English Puritans: An Anthology* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer Univ. Press, 1987), 27.

spiritual things excited, multiplied and confirmed by the preaching of the Word.”<sup>41</sup>

O. R. Johnston recognizes the sermon preached was one of three public means of spiritual formation for the Puritan: ministry of the Word, administration of the Sacraments, and prayer with thanksgiving and psalms.<sup>42</sup> The rhetorical style was “plain” in that sermons were to follow an accepted outline, be clearly understood, and be replete with biblical imagery and allusions. Perry Miller, relying on William Perkins’s *The Art of Prophesying* and Richard Bernard’s *The Faithful Shepherd*, emphasizes the rationality of Puritan sermons and describes them much like a legal brief.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, there was a specific order and structure to a Puritan sermon. Following the reading of the Bible, the selected text was “opened” in exegesis. Doctrines were extracted and theoretical objections were refuted. The final and most elaborate portion of the sermon was applications, or “uses” of comfort, warning, or exhortation.<sup>44</sup>

The Puritan preacher hoped that every auditor would be affected by the words. Theology sanctioned the clergy’s influence, and the laity accepted the ministry’s calling as a conduit of the Spirit’s activity in the Word. Although attendance at sermons was mandatory, the personal meetings with ministers were credited as instrumental in the spiritual lives of their auditors. The Puritans’ eager attendance at sermons, a benchmark of righteous behavior, multiplied the opportunities ministers were given to impact their auditors.

Sometimes a minister, in the course of his preparation and memorization of his message, wrote a fairly complete copy of it.<sup>45</sup>

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41. John Owen, *Phronema Tou Pneumatou, or, the Grace and Duty of Being Spiritually-Minded Declared and Practically Improved* (London: Printed by J. G. for Nathaniel Ponder, 1681), 23–24.

42. Johnston, “Means of Grace,” 203.

43. Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1963), 332.

44. Hambrick-Stowe, “Puritan Spirituality in America,” 346.

45. Babette May Levy, *Preaching in the First Half Century of New England History*, ed. Matthew Spinka and Robert Hastings Nichols, *Studies in Church History*, vol. 6 (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), 82.

More often, printed versions of sermons were usually prepared from notes, whether those of the minister or listener.<sup>46</sup> The devout were encouraged to take notes on the sermon, and members of the congregation often came equipped with inkhorn and paper to do so. Fortunately, many thick notebooks with sermon abstracts closely written by laymen have survived.

Even a system of shorthand had been specifically devised for recording as much of the sermon as possible. Schoolchildren were able to combine their writing ability with their religious indoctrination by taking notes on the Sunday sermon.

Nevertheless, a minister's impact was never an assumed fact. John Sill refused to take an aspect of Thomas Shepard's sermon seriously until, reading over some sermon notes with other people, he saw "there was more in them than I [had] apprehended."<sup>47</sup> The devout listened to and took notes on the sermon so as to spend the following week reflecting on what they had heard and recorded. In pious families, the sermon was reviewed and children were catechized on the main points.

The Puritan family also exhibited a strong and clear spirituality. The head of the household was perceived as minister of the home, and he was given the inalienable responsibility to care for the souls of the household, including family members as well as servants. What set Puritans apart from their contemporaries was their exceptional emphasis on church attendance, reading, prayers, self-examination, family instruction, and conference that formed the household curriculum to lead children and servants to faith.<sup>48</sup> Fathers served as interceding "priests," although mothers and other adults also shared in the responsibility of leading family worship.<sup>49</sup>

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46. Levy, *Preaching*, 83.

47. Thomas Shepard, *Confessions*, ed. George Selement and Bruce C. Woolley (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1981), 47.

48. John Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning, and Education, 1560-1640* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986), 150.

49. Hambrick-Stowe, "Puritan Spirituality in America," 347.

Householders who shunned this responsibility denigrated the souls of their dependents before God. Catechetical instruction, which included psalm singing, devotional reading of the Bible, devotional manuals or published sermons, and family prayer, comprised the substance of these morning and evening sessions. Prayers before and after eating comprised daytime devotions.

Ministers spent any available time monitoring the progress of family devotions in their churches by periodically visiting to offer advice on how best to conduct the sessions. One pastoral activity was to call on families, examining them on the sermon of the previous Sunday by applying its lessons to them practically.<sup>50</sup> Interpretation of Scripture involved ministers in relationship with the members of their congregation and was not given over to the individual. None of the spiritual brotherhood believed in the right of every man to interpret Scripture for himself. Pastors were to be spiritual fathers, tutors, physicians, and soul friends. Richard Baxter (1615–1691), in Kidderminster, England, followed up the Sunday sermon with a Thursday evening study group at his house where “one of them repeated the Sermon and afterwards they proposed what Doubts any of them had about the Sermon, or any Case of Conscience, and I resolved their Doubts.”<sup>51</sup>

Interactions with Puritan clergy were typical and outnumbered other types of interface.<sup>52</sup> Though mainstream, it is clear there was no monopoly on instructing and counseling. Family, friends, and acquaintances also performed that task. Together, these played an essential role in the means of grace of conference with its use of Scripture obtained by way of the minister, his sermons, the auditor’s sermon notes, or private Bible reading.

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50. Wallace, *Spirituality of Later English Puritans*, xxvii.

51. Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (London: Printed for T. Parkhurst, 1696), 83.

52. Charles Lloyd Cohen, *God’s Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1986), 164.

## Means of Grace

In view of the extremes of medieval superstition and tradition, the Puritans sought to cultivate a biblical worldview by maintaining a high view of Scripture, depending on the Holy Spirit, and committing to develop a holistic, working theology of the spiritual life. This was accomplished by specific means of grace.

Puritan John Preston says concerning the effectiveness of means:

You must take heed of depending upon the meanes without GOD. For know that the meanes without God, is but as a penne without Inke, a Pipe without water, or a scabbard without a sword. They will not strengthen the inward man without God: for it is the Spirit that puts life in the meanes, and yet you must not cut off the pipe from the well-head: you must not depend on God without the use of the meanes, but you must use both: that is, first seeke to God, and depend on him for the strengthening of the inward man, and withall use the meanes constantly, because as water is carryed from the Well-head unto the pipe, and so from the pipe unto many places, so the meanes are as pipes to carry grace into the soule.<sup>53</sup>

These means of grace were channels that enabled one to be more receptive and ready to grow in faithfulness as God leads. Richard Baxter adds,

All the means of Grace, and all the working of the spirit upon the soul, and all the gracious actions of the Saints, are so many evident Mediums to prove, that there remaineth a Rest to the people of God... All these means and motions, implie some End to which they tend, or else they cannot be called means, nor are they the motions of Wisdom or Reason.... God would never have commanded his people to repent and beleieve, to fast and pray, to knock and seek, and that continually, to read and study, to conferr and meditate, to strive and labor, to run and fight, and all this to no purpose.<sup>54</sup>

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53. John Preston, *Saints' Spiritual Strength* (London, 1637), 113–14.

54. Richard Baxter, *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, 171.

As people of God, it was critical that living lives pleasing to Him meant their practices should reflect and strive to that end of honoring their God. It is also important to recognize that the Puritan practice of religion was as much a social experience as it was a private religion. The social aspects of Puritan life were no less significant than its interiorized religion. In the minds of many of their neighbors, the “closet duties” of prayer and self-examination and the exercising of conference with other saints were among the qualities of the Puritan that constituted a “visible saint.”<sup>55</sup>

Private, devotional means of grace, termed “closet” or “secret” exercises, included the reading and studying of Scripture, meditation, and prayer. Indeed, whenever Puritan piety is taken to task, attention tends to be drawn to these individual forms of pious practices.

Hambrick-Stowe credits John Eliot in his delineation of “the way of godly conversation” in expanding and including other formal religious exercises that constituted the private devotional life of New England Puritans.<sup>56</sup> Secret exercises consisted primarily of reading, meditation, and prayer, usually conducted in that order.

Although these secret exercises exhibited the highest degree of privacy, other means of grace were performed in a variety of settings: private meetings of believers in homes, family exercises, and private counseling and prayer sessions with a trusted mentor. Private meetings consisted of neighborhood or occupational groups formed from the congregation by the pastor. Although the minister was often present at these meetings, laypersons usually led the exercises.

Diary entries by both clergy and laity testify to the devotional importance in spiritual growth in the home meetings for both men and women. It was in this setting that laity exercised their abilities to pray and counsel one another.<sup>57</sup> The discourses laypeople held with God, their friends, and themselves marked out activities that were uniquely theirs. Coupled with the preminent role of preachers

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55. John Spurr, *English Puritanism 1603–1689* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1998), 37.

56. Hambrick-Stowe, *Practice of Piety*, 136.

57. Hambrick-Stowe, “Puritan Spirituality in America,” 346–47.

in guiding the experience of conversion and spiritual growth, the rest of the community had an integral role in the functioning of a multifaceted Christian experience.

## **Conclusion**

The Puritans knew their Bible. Throughout their treatises are margins laden with Scripture references that lend support for many given points. The centrality of Scripture was evident not only in the proof texts found throughout these treatments on conference, but also in the constant effort displayed in asserting the guidance received through Scriptures. Biblical knowledge was to be applied to life for the purpose of growth in holiness.

With regard to Puritan means of grace, Johnston charges, “The amount of material available when dealing with these topics is staggering. The riches seem inexhaustible.” His article could shed some light upon “this vast spiritual treasure.”<sup>58</sup> In dipping into it, the functional and practical qualities of conference in Puritan piety and the various forms in which it presented itself are demonstrated. By exploring select Puritan confessions or conversion narratives, letters, diaries, and manuals, the methods, contents, and benefits of the Puritan means of conference will be described in subsequent chapters.

The historical origins of the conference as traced through the continental “exercise of prophesying” are explored in the next chapter. One of Elizabeth I’s archbishops, Archbishop Grindal, is highlighted as one whose uncompromising position in favor of prophesying made possible the eventual practice of conference. This view, however, also cost him his position. Chapter 3 establishes the Puritan view of Scripture and the authority God’s Word. The Word of God, whether in written or spoken form, was the critical basis for the discussion and care that took place in conference. Chapters 4 and 5 present the results of researching the primary material on this discipline and a proposed rubric for cataloging the various types of conference. Examples of men and women who exercised conference

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58. Johnston, “Means of Grace,” 223.

are offered at the close of chapter 5. The final chapter presents the recommendations for the application of conference for the twenty-first-century church. Implications from conference, ranging from incorporation into contemporary Bible study, small groups, and spiritual direction, are explored in that chapter as well.

Not only will the profitable discipline of conference be uncovered, but so will the joy and satisfaction found in this exercise of affirming growth in Christlikeness. Nicholas Bownd sums up the mutual benefits experienced from conference: It is by “*the conferring and talking with others of that which we have in the word read or heard: especially seeing both it is commended unto us in the Scripture, & also by experience we shall finde the profit of it to be so great, to our selves and others.*”<sup>59</sup> May we echo these sentiments of Ezekiel Culverwell:

By musing upon that which often the Scriptures doe teach us concerning love, that it is the *fulfilling of the Law*, and to give all wee have to the poore without love is nothing, and when our faith and hope shall cease, love shall remaine and most flourish in the life to come, I doe grow to an admiration of the excellencie thereof, the sense whereof I most feele, when as by some good meanes (as some sweete conference) my affection is enlarged to any of Gods Saints, mee thinkes I taste of the happiness to come, then which, what more delectable?<sup>60</sup>

Conference enlarges the capacity of the heart toward God and others in community.

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59. Bownd, *Sabbathum Veteris*, 391.

60. Ezekiel Culverwell, *Time Well Spent in Sacred Meditations* (London: Printed by T. Cotes, 1635), 208–9.