Puritan Spirituality and Evangelical Spirituality: Are They Different?

A Review Essay

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PURITAN SPIRITUALITY AND EVANGELICAL SPIRITUALITY: ARE THEY DIFFERENT?


Throughout the history of the Christian church various types of spirituality have flourished, such as patristic, medieval, Reformed, Puritan, and Evangelical spiritualities.¹ This review article will focus on both the Puritan and the Evangelical spiritualities by examining the following two books: The Devoted Life edited by Kelly Kapic and Randall Gleason and Evangelical Spirituality by James Gordon. The former represents Puritan piety, whereas the latter, Evangelical spirituality.² Before comparing

¹ Joel Beeke, in his book Puritan Reformed Spirituality (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2004), approaches Reformed and Puritan spiritualities as single entity. Others, however, treat these two kinds of spirituality separately. For example, see Frank C. Senn’s “Reformed Spirituality” and E. Glenn Hinson’s “Puritan Spirituality,” in Protestant Spiritual Traditions, ed. Frank C. Senn (New York: Paulist Press, 1986). John R. Tyson, editor of Invitation to Christian Spirituality: An Ecumenical Anthology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), divides his study of Christian Spirituality historically under five categories: (1) the ancient church; (2) the medieval era; (3) the reformation era; (4) modern spirituality; and (5) contemporary spirituality. It is under this fourth category that he places Puritan (in the person of Jonathan Edwards) and Evangelical (in the persons of the Wesley brothers) spiritualities together. This hints that these two types of spirituality have commonality.

² As to the terms “piety” and “spirituality,” Jerald C. Brauer notes that “Piety is the term that best expresses Puritan religiousness. Spirituality was a term seldom employed by Puritans, and when used it never referred to their essential religiousness.” Jerald C. Brauer, “Types of Piety,” Church History 56 (1987): 39. In this present study,
these two spiritualities, it is important, first, to define the term *spirituality*.

Gordon, citing Gordon S. Wakefield, says that generally spirituality describes “those attitudes, beliefs [and] practices which animate people’s lives and help them to reach out towards super-sensible realities.” With the label *Christian* attached to it, the term refers specifically to spirituality “derived from and inspired by the revelation of God in Christ.”

Or, in the words of Kapic and Gleason, Christian spirituality “seeks a deeper awareness of God’s presence as defined by the Christian faith according to the Bible.”

Christian spirituality has four major branches: Anglican, Orthodox, Protestant and Roman Catholic. From the Protestant branch sprang the Puritan and the Evangelical traditions. Yet David Bebbington, in his classic work—*Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, argues that Evangelicalism, which emerged in 1730’s as “a new phenomenon” had its roots in the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. Bebbington further asserts that Evangelicalism emphasizes four distinctive features: “conversionism, the belief that lives need to be changed; activism, the expression of the gospel in effort; biblicism, a particular regard for the Bible; and … crucicentrism, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on

however, I will refer to these two terms interchangeably.

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4 Ibid. The quote is from *A Dictionary of Christian Spirituality*, 362.

the cross.”⁶ For Bebbington, these are “the defining attributes of the Evangelical religion.”⁷ Later Bebbington’s concept of evangelicalism came to be known as the *Bebbington quadrilateral*, a standard term among historians.

Bebbington’s assertion implies that Evangelical spirituality is different from Puritan spirituality in at least the four ways that he has listed. James Gordon, who received much editorial help from Bebbington while working on his book *Evangelical Spirituality*, acknowledges some elements of truth in Bebbington’s thesis. Gordon says, “[t]hough the relative emphasis placed on each [of the *Bebbington quadrilateral*] has changed, together they have remained constant distinctives. The experience of conversion involving repentance towards God and faith in Christ as Saviour; the obligation laid on those who are ‘saved by grace through faith’ to share the gospel that others may be saved; the submission of mind and heart to the Bible as the authoritative revelation of God; and insistence on the cruciality of the cross in doctrine, experience and piety, are emphases which have given Evangelical spirituality a distinctive place in the Christian tradition.”⁸

Nevertheless, aware of the continuity between earlier Protestant traditions (which includes the Puritans) and Evangelicalism, Gordon declares that “these [four] theological characteristics” are not “unique to Evangelicalism, though evangelistic and missionary activism as an imperative imposed on each individual believer was given peculiar impetus by the [eighteenth-century Evangelical] Revival. Taken together,

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⁷ Bebbington, *Evangelicals in Modern Britain*, 5.

however, and having regard to the way each of these features is interpreted within the
Evangelical tradition, they represent a doctrinal and experiential framework which has
produced particular expressions of Christian piety.”

But the discontinuity between the two traditions, Gordon cautions, “must not
be overstressed.” To strengthen his point, Gordon quotes R. V. Pierard: “Although
evangelicalism is customarily seen as a contemporary phenomenon, the evangelical spirit
has manifested itself throughout church history.” Gordon proceeds to cite John Stott
who appealed “for an even more inclusive approach” to Evangelicalism. Stott
maintained that “[t]he evangelical faith is not a peculiar or esoteric version of the
Christian faith—it is the Christian faith. It is not a recent innovation. The evangelical
faith is original, biblical, apostolic Christianity.” Obviously, Stott does not agree with
Bebbington’s thesis that Evangelicals are deviationists or that Evangelicalism is a novel
phenomenon.

Gordon, who himself stands within the Evangelical tradition, recognizes some
strength in Stott’s contention. Even if Gordon believes that Evangelicalism “originated in

9 Ibid., 7.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid. The quote is from R. V. Pierard, “Evangelicalism,” in Walter A.
Elwell, ed., *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House,
1984), 380.
13 Ibid., 7-8. The quote is from Manwaring, Randle, *From Controversy to Co-
University Press, 1985), 192.
the particular cultural and social context of the eighteenth century,” and was shaped by
the Enlightenment, he is quick to admit that it has “much in common” with “earlier
Protestant traditions.”\(^\text{15}\) Such traditions are embodied by the Puritans and their Reformed
forefathers who “share the same spiritual and theological heritage as Evangelicalism.”\(^\text{16}\) Gordon demonstrates that “[m]any Evangelicals themselves have drawn deeply and
satisfyingly from the wells of these earlier traditions,” the Puritan, in particular.\(^\text{17}\) For
example:

Bishop Ryle weighted his argument against Keswick teaching and its emphasis on
holiness by faith as a second experience of grace, with solid ballast obtained from
the ‘English Divines’ stretching from Latimer to Baxter. John Calvin and the
Puritan Richard Sibbes were two favourites of Charles Haddon Spurgeon…. The
Methodist Samuel Chadwick, ‘that stout apostle of Protestantism… heartily loved
Catholic devotional manuals’. Alexander Whyte, Minister of Free St George’s,
Edinburgh, was thoroughly catholic in his taste and encouraged his students ‘to get
into a relation of indebtedness with some great authors of past days’. His own
relation of indebtedness included the Puritan Thomas Goodwin, the Carmelite
Teresa of Avila and Cardinal Newman.\(^\text{18}\)

This quote reveals that these Evangelicals were willing “to find nourishment
far beyond their own fences,” to the extent that they would even use Catholic writers to
support their theology and spirituality.\(^\text{19}\) Indeed, as Gordon points out: “Evangelicalism
has many debts to earlier and different traditions and the spirituality of Evangelical
Christians continues to be enriched, challenged and broadened when mind and heart are

\(^{15}\) Ibid., 7.
\(^{16}\) Ibid., 8.
\(^{17}\) Ibid.
\(^{18}\) Ibid., 9.
\(^{19}\) Ibid.
open to others.” Nonetheless, while Gordon contends for continuity between Puritanism and Evangelicalism, he also sees discontinuity between the two. But, for Gordon, this discontinuity is only a matter of emphasis, and, as mentioned already, should not be exaggerated. One emphasis that Gordon spots in Evangelicalism is “new life through grace.”

In his book, written “to provide an appreciative exploration of Evangelical spirituality,” Gordon states his belief that this “[n]ew life through grace” is a crucial theme in Evangelical piety. In his own words, “New life through grace is the kernel of the Evangelical experience and is consequently a central theme in Evangelical spirituality.” Gordon’s volume revolves around this theme. In fact each chapter of Gordon’s book begins with a short Evangelical quote on this theme. For instance, in Chapter 1 we find, “So free, so infinite His grace” (Charles Wesley); in Chapter 2, “Grace! Grace! What hath God wrought? (Whitefield); in Chapter 3, “Boundless stores of grace” (Newton); and so on.

Gordon has discovered this theme by examining the lives and writings of twenty-two Evangelicals. Their names, as they appear in the chapters of his book, are: Chapter 1: John and Charles Wesley; Chapter 2: Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield; Chapter 3: John Newton and William Cowper; Chapter 4: Charles Simeon and Hanna More; Chapter 5: Horatius Bonar and Robert Murray McCheyne; Chapter 6: Robert W. Dale and Charles H. Spurgeon; Chapter 7: Dwight L. Moody and Frances R.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid., viii.

22 Ibid., 1.
After examining and comparing the persons and works of these Evangelicals, Gordon concludes with four general observations, two of which are worth mentioning here: First, Gordon concludes that “while [these] Evangelicals have held certain doctrinal emphases in common,…[they] display considerable diversity within that basic unity.”

For instance, in the issue of sanctification there is a difference between John Wesley and George Whitfield. The former believed in perfectionism; whereas, the latter did not. The difference between the two shows a variety in Evangelical spirituality.

In fact, Ian Randall, in his book *What A Friend We Have In Jesus: The Evangelical Tradition*, pinpoints four major strands of Evangelical spirituality: “Keswick holiness, the Wesleyan tradition, Reformed approaches and Pentecostal/charismatic spirituality.” Keswick holiness, also known as the Higher Life movement, teaches that Christians can experience “entire sanctification,” or “Christian perfection.” This teaching, as noted already, was also present in the Wesleyan tradition; however, the Keswick tradition was less radical than the Wesleyan. Reformed evangelical spirituality, while stressing the need for personal holiness, rejects the doctrine of perfectionism. The Pentecostal/charismatic spirituality is to some extent a resurrected Quakerism. It gives

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23 Ibid., 311-12.


25 Keswick is a name of a market town in Cumbria, England where the movement became well-known.
too much emphasis on the work of the Spirit with less scriptural content; it is based more on emotions than on faith.

The second observation made by Gordon is that “part of this diversity is due to several influencing factors including historical and cultural context, individual temperament and the literary forms in which these Evangelical Christians expressed themselves.”26 As for the historical influence, says Gordon, the Romanticism of the nineteenth century created an emphasis on feelings felt even among Evangelicals. Hence, Robert W. Dale (1829-1895) observed in his time that “[p]eople want to sing, not what they think, but what they feel.”27 Feelings became more important than facts—a common belief among Pentecostal and Charismatic Evangelicals. Martyn Lloyd-Jones (1899-1981), aware of this dilemma, warned: “We are all ready to try to obtain and to thirst after special experiences—assurance of forgiveness and salvation, being freed from special sins, experiencing joy and peace, being able to live the full life and so on. All these things are part of the heritage of the Christian, but he must not live on them and be satisfied by them. To know Him properly is a life full of peace.”28

Like Bebbington, Gordon insists, that in addition to Romanticism, the Enlightenment movement of the eighteenth century also affected Evangelical spirituality. This movement, which accentuated personal experience as a basis for knowledge, influenced the thinking of Evangelicals in general. As Gordon writes, during the

26 Gordon, Evangelical Spirituality, 312.

27 Ibid., 318. The quote is from Robert W. Dale, “Mr Moody and Mr Sankey,” Congregationalist (1875).

Enlightenment “experience became a primary criterion for establishing the veracity of any proposition, affecting the way biblical statements were understood, for example those concerning personal salvation.”

Thus, in Evangelicalism, one can be assured of salvation primarily because of his personal experience of salvation in Christ, and not primarily because of the outward signs of his salvation. For Bebbington, this is how the Evangelicals differed from the Puritans who had the tendency to base their assurance on external signs. Bebbington’s point is well expressed by Randall:

> The evangelicals followed Martin Luther and John Calvin in preaching the doctrine of justification by grace through faith and calling for adherence to the Scripture. Like Calvin and the Puritans they stressed the practical outworking of the faith in the sanctified life. However, the Puritans tended to see a ‘settled, well-grounded’ assurance of personal salvation as a blessing that was rare. J.I. Packer, in his book on Puritan theology and spirituality, shows that typically the Puritans believed such assurance was something for the few…. According to some of the Puritans the exercise of discovering if one was among those whom God had elected to be saved meant a ‘descending into our own hearts’, as Perkins put it, in an attempt to find the answer to this crucial spiritual question. The result of this thinking was that a person’s sanctification became the ground of assurance of salvation: it was necessary to do certain things and infer assurance from them. By contrast, the evangelical leaders considered that for believers an assured sense of personal salvation through a relationship with God in Christ was normative.

Bebbington further avers that it is from this strong sense of assurance of salvation that evangelistic and missionary zeal of the Evangelicals arose. To let Bebbington speak: “The activism of the Evangelical movement sprang from its strong teaching on assurance. That, in turn, was a product of the confidence of the new age about the validity of experience. The Evangelical version of Protestantism was created by

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30 Randall, *What A Friend We Have In Jesus*, 17.
the Enlightenment.” That Evangelicalism emanated from the Enlightenment has caused Bebbington to argue for a sharp discontinuity of the Evangelicals with the Protestant Reformers and the Puritans.

As pointed out already, Gordon follows Bebbington’s basic thesis but will not argue for a complete discontinuity between Evangelical and early Protestant traditions. He undoubtedly considers Bebbington’s quadrilateral—conversionism, activism, biblicism, and crucicentrism—to be “hallmarks of the Evangelical spiritual traditions,” but will not regard them as completely exclusive to Evangelicals. Gordon will, however, concur that evangelistic and missionary activism was given special emphasis by Evangelicals.32

That the Puritans also had these four trademarks is clearly seen in The Devoted Life, which was edited by Kapic and Gleason. This book, concerned with Puritan spirituality, is a collection of eighteen classic writings by eighteen different Puritans investigated and introduced by a group of first-class scholars including Joel Beeke, Leland Ryken, J. I. Packer, Sinclair Ferguson, Mark Noll, Richard Lovelace and others.

In The Devoted Life the editors present a comprehensive definition of Puritanism. They suggest that “Puritans should not be limited strictly to radical Protestant nonconformists, but rather to a much broader movement of individuals distinguished by a cluster of characteristics that transcends their political, ecclesiastical, and religious differences.”33 Hence, the editors included Jonathan Edwards who “lived long after the

31 Bebbington, Evangelicals in Modern Britain, 74.

32 Gordon, Evangelical Spirituality, 329.

33 Kapic and Gleason, “Who Were the Puritans?,” in The Devoted Life: An
age of Puritan dissent had ended with the *Act of Toleration* in 1689;” and yet displayed in his life and ministry “the same distinctive mindset, vibrant spirituality, and dynamic religious culture of [his] Puritans forebears.”

One may recall that Gordon also included Edwards in his book. That Edwards could be a representative of either Puritans or Evangelicals signifies a close connection between Puritan spirituality and Evangelical spirituality.

As is true among Evangelicals, there is also a wide range of diverse beliefs among Puritans. Ecclesiastically, there were Anglicans (e.g. William Perkins), Separatists (e.g. William Bradford) Independents (e.g. John Owen), Presbyterians (e.g. Thomas Watson), and Baptists (e.g. Bunyan). Doctrinally, there were Calvinists (e.g. Thomas Goodwin), moderate Calvinists (e.g. Richard Baxter), and Arminians (e.g. John Goodwin).

Nevertheless, all these Puritans practiced the same spirituality. This is the basic thesis of Kapic and Gleason in their book. They contend that, insofar as spirituality is concerned, despite many ecclesiastical, doctrinal, or political differences among the Puritans, they were united in their exercise of piety. Kapic and Gleason list seven features that unite the Puritans. A careful look at these characteristics will show similarity between Evangelical spirituality and Puritan spirituality. For the sake of brevity, I will only discuss four of these seven unifying features.

The first characteristic is that Puritanism is *a movement of spirituality.*

“Although the term *spirituality,*” write the editors, “was not in vogue among the Puritans,

*Introduction to the Puritan Classics*, 17.

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34 Ibid., 18.

35 Ibid., 23.
their emphasis upon daily communion with Christ, energized by the Spirit and guided by a biblically ordered set of beliefs and values, includes all the essential elements of truly Christian spirituality.”

Basic to the Puritan understanding of spirituality is the stress on sanctification. A convert must strive daily to become more and more conformed to Christ. John Bunyan, in his celebrated *Pilgrim’s Progress* (1678), uses the concept of pilgrimage to describe this progressive sanctification.

The second feature is that Puritanism, at its heart, lays stress on experiencing communion with God. To prove this point, the editors quote several Puritans such as Thomas Shepard who said that “Saints have an experimental knowledge of the work of grace, by virtue of which they come to know it as certainly…as by feeling heat, we know that fire is hot; by tasting honey, we know it is sweet;” and Bunyan who wrote that he preached “what I felt, what I smartingly did feel.” These citations show that, like the Evangelicals, the Puritans also underscored personal experience as a basis for knowledge. This emphasis, comments James Maclear, which “sounded again and again in Puritan sermons, diaries, biographies, and guides to the spiritual life, attained its climax in the conversion experience, which was not an ornament but a norm of the religious life.”

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36 Ibid., 24.

37 Ibid., 25.


The third unifying feature is that the *Puritans were united in their dependence upon the Bible as their supreme source of spiritual sustenance and guide for the reformation of life*. Earlier in this paper Bebbington is quoted arguing that *biblicism* was one of the special traits of the Evangelicals. However, this trait was not unique to Evangelicalism for certainly the Puritans gave high regard to the Bible. John Owen clearly stated that the Scripture is “a stable, infallible revelation of [God’s] mind and will.”\(^{40}\) Richard Baxter also not only advanced the infallibility of the Scriptures, but pleaded with his audience to “love, reverence, read, study, obey and stick close to the[se] Scriptures.”\(^{41}\) The editors further observe that the commitment of the Puritans “to a biblically based spirituality can further be seen in their emphasis upon the spoken and written sermon as a means to communicate and meditate upon the Scriptures.”\(^{42}\)

The fourth feature is that *Puritanism can also be understood as a revival movement*. Here the editors rely heavily on the explanation of J. I. Packer who claimed that “spiritual revival was central to what the Puritans professed to be seeking.”\(^{43}\) Packer argued, in the words of the editors, that “although ‘revival’ is not commonly found in their writings, Puritans repeatedly used terms *reform*, *reformation* and *reformed*, to


\(^{42}\)Kapic and Gleason, “Who Were the Puritans?,” 27.

\(^{43}\)Cited in Ibid., 30. The quote is from J. I. Packer, *A Quest for Godliness* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 1994), 36-37.
express the inward renewal of the heart and life that they sought to promote." For instance, when Baxter wrote his well-known book *The Reformed Pastor*, his main intent was not to promote Calvinism or Reformed theology, but piety or revival among pastors. Packer added that “the ministry of Puritan pastors under God brought revival.” This is evident in the ministry of Baxter himself in which “most of the two thousands adult” in his town “were converted under his ministry.” Dewey Wallace is therefore right to observe that the “evangelical revivals of the eighteenth century” should not be regarded “as a new departure after generations of religious deadness,” but rather as “continuations of [the] seventeenth-century…revival of spirituality” among the Puritans. In the last chapter of *The Devoted Life*, Richard Lovelace further elaborates Wallace’s claim.

This fourth feature displays the activism of the Puritans. Michael Haykin has convincingly proven this case in his essay called “Evangelicalism and the Enlightenment: a reassessment” in which he tries to refute Bebbington’s argument that activism was

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largely absent in Puritanism. Haykin writes:

Much of the immense body of sermons they [i.e. the Puritans] preached and the literature they wrote was evangelistic in intent. Moreover, Restoration Puritan spirituality especially placed great emphasis on seeking the salvation of the lost. John Janeway (d. 1657) was, in the words of Dewey Wallace, ‘a paragon of soul winning’. Joseph Allein (1634-68), whose Alarm to Unconverted Sinners (1672) was a best-seller in the eighteenth-century evangelical print culture, even considered going to China to preach the gospel. John Bunyan (1628-88), one of the great evangelists of the Puritan era, could describe his passion for the salvation of the lost in terms that Whitefield or Wesley would gladly have owned.\(^5^0\)

Likewise, commenting on John Cotton’s *Christ the Fountain of Life* (1651), Charles Hambrick-Stowe, a contributor to *The Devoted Life*, writes: “Evangelicalism’s emphasis on personal faith, and especially asking Jesus into one’s heart, is no recent innovation but is rooted in the Puritanism of John Cotton.”\(^5^1\) Thus, to say that Puritans were not evangelistic and mission-minded activists is a historical fallacy.

As for crucicentrism, another contributor, John Coffey, who has analyzed the *Letters* (1664) of Samuel Rutherford, suggests that the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century evangelicals prized these *Letters* because “they emphasized themes dear to the evangelical holiness movement: the way of the cross, sanctification and affection for Christ.”\(^5^2\) This again substantiates the fact that both Puritans and Evangelicals pressed the importance of the cross in their doctrine and practice.


\(^{51}\) Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, “*Christ the Fountain of Life* by John Cotton (1584-1652),” in *The Devoted Life*, 75.

\(^{52}\) John Coffey, “*Letters* by Samuel Rutherford (1600-1661),” in *The Devoted Life*, 106.
In conclusion, having compared *Evangelical Spirituality* and *The Devoted Life*, we very clearly see a close relationship between the Evangelicals and the Puritans. Since there is diversity in both of these movements, it is only logical to find differences among them. However, although the two may have differences in emphasis, essentially they shared the same spirituality. And even “with regard to Puritan and evangelical evangelistic activity and the doctrine of assurance, there is also a great deal of continuity between Puritanism and evangelicalism.”\(^5\) Hence, insofar as *Bebbington quadrilateral* is concerned, Puritan piety and Evangelical spirituality are basically the same. This similarity having been established, there is now a real need for extensive analysis of the difference between these two spiritualities.
