

Ignatian and Puritan Prayer: Surprising Similarities; A Comparison of Ignatius Loyola and Richard Baxter on Meditation

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I may have been rather brash thirty years ago, when I introduced *The Saints Everlasting Rest* as "Baxter's 'Spiritual Exercises'" and commented that it was "closely analogous in both origin and content" to Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*.¹ I went on to point out that, although Baxter did not go through the same emotional struggle as the Spanish saint, he did "write 'out of the depths'" when stricken with what was expected to be a terminal illness when serving as a chaplain in Cromwell's army. In his *Autobiography* Baxter described the circumstances of its composition:

Whilst I was in health I had not the least thought of writing books, or of serving God in any more public way than preaching. But when I was weakened with great bleeding, and left solitary in my chamber at Sir John Cook's in Derbyshire, without any acquaintance but my servant about me, and was sentenced to death by the physicians, I began to contemplate more seriously on the everlasting rest which I apprehended myself to be just on the borders of. And that my thoughts might not too much scatter in my meditation I began to write something on the subject, intending but the quantity of a sermon or two (which is the cause that the beginning is in brevity and style disproportionable to the rest); but being continued long in weakness, where I had no books nor no better employment, I followed it on till it was enlarged to the bulk in which it is published. The first three weeks I spent in it was at Mr. Nowel's house at Kirkby Mallory in Leicestershire; a quarter of a year more, at the seasons which so great weakness would allow, I bestowed on it at Sir Thomas Rous's house at Rous Lench in Worcestershire; and I finished it shortly after at Kidderminster. The first and last parts were first done, being all that I intended

for my own use; and the second and third parts came afterwards in besides my first intention.

This book it pleased God so far to bless to the profit of many that it encouraged me to be guilty of all those scripts which after followed. The marginal citations I put in after I came home to my books; but almost all the book itself was written when I had no book but a Bible and a Concordance. And I found that the transcript of the heart hath the greatest force on the hearts of others. For the good that I have heard that multitudes have received by that writing, and the benefit which I have received by their prayers, I humbly return my thanks to him that compelled me to write it.²

The Aim of "Spiritual Exercises"

You will recognize, I am sure, that Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises* and Baxter's *Saints Everlasting Rest* have a very different look about them. On the surface the two may seem far apart because of the language and the handbook format of *The Spiritual Exercises*. Ignatius's language was much more steeped in tradition, Baxter's in the Bible. Ignatius was fashioning a handbook for spiritual formation, Baxter a long, long sermon or exhortation based on a biblical text. If interpreters of these documents are correct, however, Loyola and Baxter shared the principal goal of perfection in the love of God. Both would recognize that humans will not achieve such a goal in this life, but they may have a foretaste, as it were, and thus must concentrate their energies now on preparation. What *raison d'être* have we in this life other than to glorify God and serve God forever?

Ignatius outlined a program for an intensive four-week retreat; Baxter framed a daily regimen he thought every devout believer should pursue. *The Spiritual Exercises* are concise and pointed; *The Saints Everlasting Rest* profuse and verbose (almost 800 pages long!). Catholics had not gotten caught up in the typographic revolution that exploded with the invention of moveable type in 1456 to the extent Protestants, especially Puritans, had.

As you might expect also, Loyola and Baxter expressed their goals in different ways even if they envisioned rather similar goals. Ignatius stated at the outset that the aim of his spiritual exercises was "to overcome oneself, and to order one's life, without reaching a decision through some disordered affection." "To overcome

oneself" accentuated the negative purpose—to set aside sins or faults which get in the way of the main goal. Jesuit scholars, however, have debated what the central aim of ordering one's life means. One school, "electionists," contend that the object is to help a sincerely devout person make a wise choice of vocation in which to serve God. The other, "perfectionists," argue that the goal is intimate and complete union with God. Ignatius himself seems to have pursued both ends in his use of the text. With beginners he used it to achieve the first; with advanced the second.³

Baxter did not state his purpose so succinctly as Loyola did, but the major one appears many times throughout *The Saints Everlasting Rest*. He wanted readers not merely to read what he had written but to "set upon this work [of attaining the rest as set forth in Heb. 4:1], and [to] take God in Christ for thy only rest, and fix thy heart upon him above all." Loving God and delighting in God should be "the work of our lives."⁴ What is the saints' rest? It is "the most happy state of a Christian; or it is, the perfect endless enjoyment of God by the perfected saints, according to the measure of their capacity, to which their souls arrive at death, and both soul and body most fully after the resurrection and final judgment."⁵ Baxter, however, would have agreed enthusiastically with Ignatius's assertion that "Human beings are created to praise, reverence, and serve God our Lord, and by means of this to save their souls."⁶

Ignatian and Puritan Examen

Format aside, similarities of the whole process of formation are more striking, beginning with self-examination. Although Baxter did not expound on a method so rigorous as Ignatius's examination of conscience three times a day during the first week of a Lenten retreat, like most Puritans he placed much emphasis on self-scrutiny as a part of daily meditation. His brief examples show that he kept his own behavior under careful watch and was keenly conscious of failure to live up to what the "saints' rest" would demand. His expectations would come close to those set forth in Francis de Sales' adaptation of *The Spiritual Exercises* in his *Introduction to the Devout Life*. Those wishing to live a devout and holy life must first forsake sin, purge themselves of a bad conscience, and free themselves from earthly attachments.⁷ Baxter devoted one whole chapter to self-examination as the means of determin-

ing whether one would be worthy of the saints' rest. He gave directions for this which might have earned the approval of Ignatius himself:

Empty thy mind of all other cares and thoughts, that they may not distract or divide thy mind. This work will be enough at once, without joining others with it.—Then fall down before God in hearty prayer, desiring the assistance of his Spirit, to discover to thee the plain truth of thy condition, and to enlighten thee in the whole progress of this work.—Make choice of the most convenient time and place. Let the place be most private; and the time, when you have nothing to interrupt you; and if possible let it be the present time. Have in readiness, either in memory or writing, some scriptures containing the descriptions of the saints and the gospel terms of salvation; and convince thyself thoroughly of their infallible truth. Proceed then to put the question to thyself. Let it not be whether there be any good in thee at all? Nor whether thou hast such or such a degree and measure of grace? But whether such or such a saving grace be in thee in sincerity or not. . . . If after all thy pains thou art not resolved, then seek out for help. Go to one that is godly, experienced, able, and faithful, and tell him thy case, and desire his best advice. . . . But don't make it a pretence to put off thy own self-examination.⁸

That scheme is not far from Loyola's five-step procedure: (1) Give thanks to God for benefits; (2) Ask for grace to know sins and rid oneself of them; (3) Ask an account of the soul from arising to the present; (4) Ask pardon of God for faults; (5) Resolve, with God's grace, to amend them and close with the Our Father.⁹ It is worthy of note that both Baxter and Ignatius ascribed the success of the self-examination to grace or the Holy Spirit. Ignatius *required* a spiritual director, Baxter *encouraged* seeking one.

One Ignatian exercise which one will not find matched in *The Saints Everlasting Rest*, but which Baxter would have approved, is meditation on Hell. Ignatius underscored vivid imagination entailing all five senses. In imagination the retreatant should *see* the huge fires and souls within the bodies full of fire; *hear* the wailing, shrieking, cries, and blasphemies of the damned; *smell* the smoke, the sulfur, the filth, and the rotting things; *taste* the bitter flavors of hell—tears, sadness, and the worm of conscience; and *touch* how

the flames burn souls. Like Loyola, Baxter did make much use of antithesis, but he relied much more on contrasting life on earth here and now—its painfulness, sinfulness, uncertainties, gloominess, terrors—with the saints' rest. Nothing on earth can match the joys and glories of heaven.

Making Imagination Work for You

What stands out most vividly in these two classics is their consensus regarding the whole process of effecting obedience to God. Ultimately it is our will which determines how we behave. Although we depend on God's grace to see that we will the Good, what God wills, we know that human emotions or affections influence the will either for good or for bad. If we are to "work together with God" to do what is right, therefore, we must influence our emotions through the proper use of imagination. Because imagination can impact emotions both negatively and positively, however, we must rely on our rational faculties, "consideration," to direct imagination, and the safest place to turn our imaginations would be toward the scriptures, for Ignatius especially the Gospels, in which we may discover "the mind of Christ," for Baxter the texts on the "saints' rest" in which we can see our goal.

"Consideration": Directing Imagination¹⁰

Both Ignatius and Baxter seem to have had a strong awareness of the erratic nature of emotion and sought to safeguard against it through "consideration." Ignatius does not explain in detail, as Baxter does, how consideration would work, but the exercises themselves make clear that the whole process originates in and proceeds from the rational faculty. Baxter, however, perhaps because Calvinist theology would have less confidence in human reason, elaborated at some length on how consideration would keep the whole process on the right track toward obeying God.

"Consideration is the great instrument by which this heavenly work is carried out," he said. "This must be voluntary and not forced. . . . Great is the power which consideration hath for moving the affections and impressing things on the heart, . . ." ¹¹ In typically Puritan fashion he proceeded to expound the step-by-step process: (1) Consideration "opens the door between the head and the heart" by taking received truths and laying them on the memory and thence conveying them to the affections; (2) It "pre-

sents to the affections those things which are most important"; (3) "in the most affecting way": here Baxter throws in an added note that consideration is not simply *human* reason at work—rather, by virtue of the tie with scriptures, it "is but the reading over and repeating God's reasons to our heart"; (4) It "exalts reason to its just authority" and "helps to deliver it from its captivity to the senses and sets it again on the throne of the soul"; (5) Consideration "makes reason strong and active"; (6) It "can continue and persevere in this rational employment. Meditation holds reason and faith to their work and blows the fire till it thoroughly burns."¹²

In Baxter's elaboration of the way consideration influences reason one can see the Calvinist caution. Consideration is not the same faculty as reason; it is more the God-guided mind. "When reason is silent, it is usually subject; for when it is asleep, the senses domineer. But consideration awakens our reason Spiritual reason excited by meditation, and not fancy or fleshly sense, must judge of heavenly joys."¹³

A Chain of Command

Both Ignatius and Baxter envisioned a sort of chain of command in the process of achieving the object of meditation. Consideration would arouse Memory; Memory would lead to Meditation; Meditation would arouse the Affections. By itself, consideration alone will not affect the heart, Baxter concluded. It requires the arguing of a case with oneself (soliloquy) and prayer.

Imagination the Key Tool

The use of imagination as the key tool in meditation on scriptures is not surprising in the Catholic tradition that is rich in art—mosaics, paintings, stained glass windows, statuary, *et al.* It comes as something of a shock to find the imagination holding a central place in the writing of "Mr. Puritan," Richard Baxter. Part of the "purification" which the Puritans intended was to remove all images from their worship. Cromwell's "round heads" could scarcely pass a church during the English Civil War (1642-1646) without trying to bust out windows or remove statues and effigies. True, Baxter did insert a warning about the use of images drawn from the physical senses. We should keep images in the mind and not put them on canvas or in statues. "Don't, like the papists, draw them in pictures," he directed.¹⁴ Despite this caution, however,

Baxter restricted imagination based on scriptures only in insisting on directing it by consideration.

The *Spiritual Exercises* obviously sought to get the exercitants to recognize their human failings and need of God's help to change, then to enter into the Jesus story in imagination and let it do a job on them, and finally to experience the transforming love of God manifest in the Cross and in the Resurrection. The effectiveness of the exercises lay both in their schematic nature and in Loyola's insistence on vividness of imagination in going through the Jesus story. Each contemplation required preparatory prayer; preludes imagining history and place and asking for what you desire; reflection on several questions; and then a colloquy in which you make a case for yourself. Vividness depended on the use of all five senses. "If you are imagining a scene where there are animals," Ignatius insisted, "smell the manure."

Once again, you will find surprising congruity between the Ignatian and the Baxterian approaches. Both were firmly convinced that meditation holds great value for the spiritual life. "Say not," Baxter said, "how can mortals ascend to heaven! Faith hath wings, and meditation is its chariot."¹⁵ He touted it as "that duty by which all other duties are improved and by which the soul digesteth truths for its nourishment and comfort."¹⁶ It does for the soul what digestion does for the body, "turns the truths received and remembered into warm affection, firm resolution, and holy conversation."¹⁷ Meditation is not just a work of understanding and memory.

The Process

Like most spiritual guides, Baxter attended to details that would make this exercise effective. It should occur at stated times, frequently, and on special occasions. The fittest place would be "some private retirement."¹⁸ Preparation for meditation is all important. We can see in Baxter's counsels concerning "Preparations of Your Heart" how closely his aims coincided with Ignatius's. He demanded two preparations: (1) "Get thy heart as clear from the world as thou canst."¹⁹ The reason for that is that the enjoyment of God in contemplation "depends on the capacity and disposition of thy heart" and thus you must seek God "with all thy soul."²⁰ (2) "Be sure to set upon this work with the greatest solemnity of heart and mind."²¹ To do this, you must strive "to have the deep-

est apprehension of the presence of God and [God's] incomprehensible greatness" and to realize the importance of contemplation. Thus, you must consider "with what a spirit thou shouldst meet the Lord and with what seriousness and awe thou shouldst daily converse with him."²²

Given Puritan fear of violating the second commandment, it may come as a surprise to hear that Baxter devoted one lengthy chapter to how heavenly contemplation may be "assisted by sensible objects" and "guarded against a treacherous heart." Sounding very Ignatian, he directed: "For helping of thy affections in heavenly contemplation, draw as strong suppositions as possible from thy senses."²³ By no means should meditators actually draw pictures. They should instead "get the liveliest picture of them in the mind that thou possibly canst by contemplating the scripture account of them till thou canst say, 'Methinks I see a glimpse of glory!'"²⁴ In addition, they could compare "the objects of sense with the objects of faith." Comparing and contrasting things of earth and things of heaven, based on scriptures, of course, would be the key. Focus on scriptures related to the saints' eternal rest rather than the life of Jesus would give a different cast to Baxter's meditation, but the style of argumentation is remarkably similar to Ignatius's "points." In both cases, the aim is to direct one's mind toward higher, that is, godly, things.

Baxter gave an extended list of comparisons or contrasts: "the corrupt delights of sensual men to the joys above"; "the delights above, with those we find in natural knowledge"; "the delights above with the delights of morality and of the natural affections"; "the excellencies of heaven with those glorious works of creation which our eyes now behold"; "the enjoyments above with the wonders of Providence in the church and world"; "the joys above with the comforts thou hast here received in ordinances"; "the joy thou shalt have in heaven with what the saints have found in the way to it and in the foretastes of it"; "the glory of the heavenly kingdom with the glory of the church on earth and Christ in his state of humiliation"; "the glorious change thou shalt have at last with the gracious change which the spirit hath here wrought on thy heart"; and "the joys which thou shalt have above with those foretastes of it which the Spirit hath given thee here."²⁵

For a meditation scheduled for the first day of the second week of retreat on the Incarnation Ignatius included three points, all comparing and contrasting earth and heaven.

The First Point. I will see the various persons, some here, some there.

First, those on the face of the earth, so diverse in dress and behavior: some white and others black, some in peace and others at war, some weeping and others laughing, some healthy and others sick, some being born and others dying, and so forth.

Second, I will see and consider the Three Divine Persons, seated, so to speak, on the royal throne of their Divine Majesty. They are gazing on the whole face and circuit of the earth; and they see all the peoples in such great blindness, and how they are dying and going down to hell.

Third, I will see Our Lady and the angel greeting her. Then I will reflect on this to draw some profit from what I see.

The Second Point. Here I will listen to what the persons on the face of the earth are saying; that is, how they speak with one another, swear and blaspheme, and so on. Likewise, I will hear what the Divine Persons are saying, that is, "Let us work the redemption of the human race," and so forth. Then I will listen to what the angel and Our Lady are saying. Afterward I will reflect on this, to draw profit from their words.

The Third Point. Here I will consider what the people on the face of the earth are doing: How they wound, kill, go to hell, and so on. Similarly, what the Divine Persons are doing, that is bringing about the most holy Incarnation, and other such activities. Likewise, what the angel and Our Lady are doing, with the angel carrying out his office of ambassador and Our Lady humbling herself and giving thanks to the Divine Majesty. Then I will reflect on these matters, to draw some profit from them.²⁶

Similarities in the process do not stop here. Ignatius proposed ending each meditation with a *colloquy*. He explained that it "is made, properly speaking, in the way one friend speaks to another, or a servant to one in authority—now begging a favor, now accusing oneself of some misdeed, now telling one's concerns and asking counsel about them."²⁷ For the meditation just cited, he explained: "I will think over what I ought to say to the Three Divine Persons, or to the eternal Word made flesh, or to our Mother and Lady. I will beg favors according to what I feel in my heart, that I may better follow and imitate Our Lord, who in this way has recently become a human being."²⁸ Baxter recommended a *soliloquy* "or a

pleading the case with thyself" in order to "quicken they own heart." "Enter into serious debate with it," he insisted.²⁹ Soliloquy is "preaching to oneself."³⁰ In practice, I suspect that soliloquy and colloquy would differ little from one another.

Finally, both proposed ending the meditation with prayer, Ignatius the "Our Father," Baxter a more spontaneous prayer. Persons acquainted with *The Spiritual Exercises* will know that Ignatius appended three methods of prayer: (1) on the ten commandments, seven mortal sins, three powers of the soul, and five senses of the body; (2) contemplation of each word of a prayer; and (3) rhythmical recitation of a prayer. These provided a flexibility for the assistance of persons not well equipped to do the full *Exercises*. He undoubtedly expected spiritual directors to guide retreatants with reference to prayer. Baxter thought that ejaculatory prayers "may very properly be intermixed with meditation as a part of the duty." He explained why:

As God is the highest object of our thoughts, so our viewing of [God], speaking to [God], more elevates the soul and excites the affections than any other part of meditation. . . . Thus in our meditations to intermix soliloquy and prayer; sometimes speaking to our own hearts and sometimes to God is, I apprehend, the highest step we can advance to in this heavenly work. Nor should we imagine it will be as well to take up with prayer alone and lay aside meditation. For they are distinct duties and must both of them be performed.³¹

How to Explain Such Surprising Similarities

It is quite surprising, shocking even, to find such similarities of concepts and practices of prayer in these antagonists and adversaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When Richard Baxter penned *The Saints Everlasting Rest* in 1646 during a protracted illness, no group could have gotten a chillier reception and put themselves at greater risk by coming to England than the Jesuits. Edmund Campion (1540-1581), a convert to the Roman Catholic Church in 1571 who entered the Society of Jesus in 1573 and joined Robert Parsons (1546-1610) in the first Jesuit mission to England in 1580, was put on the rack and martyred at Tyburn on December 1, 1581. Parsons escaped by fleeing to the continent. One could hardly find a period subsequently when anti-Catholic sentiment reached a higher peak than the English Civil War (1642-

1646) during which Baxter wrote, and none surely would have spoken more harshly of "popish religion" than Puritans. In trying to account for correspondences between Jesuit and Puritan meditation, therefore, I doubt whether anyone could establish that Baxter self-consciously sought to learn from the great Spanish spiritual master. The Puritans deliberately went back to medieval sources to find help in effecting the "further reformation" they sought in England, but they would have had a different view of Jesuit writings and activities. Not even Baxter, a scholarly pastor, would have sought out and adopted the views and customs of so inveterate an enemy.

Since it is highly unlikely that Baxter would have consulted Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* directly, we need to look in another direction to explain correspondences. A more fertile field in which to search would seem to be the vast contemplative tradition that nurtured *both* Jesuits and Puritans. Innovation would have been the last idea to have forced its way into the mind of Ignatius in a day when the Spanish inquisition loomed threateningly over every new movement that stirred. By spending a year at a Dominican convent at Manresa Ignatius surely would not have intended to diverge far from that great tradition.

What Ignatius did was to feed the vast corpus of contemplative thought and practice through his own mind and heart in a different context and to integrate it into a spirituality that would guide the Catholic faithful through the traumatic years of the Reformation and beyond.³² Similarly, the Puritans arrested the wild scuttling of ancient practice in which the early Protestant reformers engaged and started rooting around in early Christian and medieval closets to find methods of prayer which could effect the "further reformation" they so earnestly yearned to bring about in England.³³ Similar exigent circumstances a century apart turned out to be the mother of invention.

Notes

1. E. Glenn Hinson, "Editor's Introduction to *The Saints Everlasting Rest*," in *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, ed., E. Glenn Hinson (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978), p. 3.

2. Richard Baxter, *Autobiography*, Ch IX; Everyman's Library, pp. 94-95.

3. George E. Ganss, SJ, *Ignatius of Loyola: Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works, Classics of Western Spirituality* (New York, Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1991), pp. 390-91, n. 10.

4. Richard Baxter, *The Saints Everlasting Rest*, Ch 1, Sect 1.
5. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, Ch 1, Sect 2.
6. Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises* 23; in *Classics of Western Spirituality*, p. 130.
7. Francis de Sales, *Introduction to the Devout Life*, trans. Michael Day (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd; New York: E.P. Dutton & Co Inc, 1961), pp. 17-23.
8. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, VIII.12; *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, I. pp. 86, 87.
9. Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises* 32-44; *Classics of Western Spirituality*, pp. 132-5.
10. For an excellent introduction to the Ignatian perspective see Robert W. Gleason, SJ, "Introduction to the Spiritual Exercises," in *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, trans. by Anthony Mottola (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Image Books, 1964), pp. 11-31.
11. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, XIV.2; *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, p.142.
12. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, XIV.3-8; *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, pp. 142- 4.
13. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, XIV.6; *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, p. 144.
14. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, XV.3; *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, p. 159.
15. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, XI.10; *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, p. 102.
16. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, XIII.3; *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, pp. 130-131.
17. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, XIII.3; *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, pp. 130-131.
18. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, XIII. *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, p. 18.
19. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, XIII. *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, p. 140.
20. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, XIII. *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, p. 20.
21. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, XIII. p. 21; *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, p. 141.
22. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, XIII. p. 21; *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, p. 141.
23. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, XV.3; *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, p. 158.

24. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, XV.3; *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, p. 159.

25. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, XV.3; *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, pp. 159-168.

26. Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, pp. 106-8; *Classics of Western Spirituality*, pp. 148-49.

27. Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, p. 55; *Classics of Western Spirituality*, p. 138.

28. Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, p. 109; *Classics of Western Spirituality*, p. 149.

29. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest* XIV.21; *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, p. 155.

30. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, XIV.21; *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, p. 156.

31. Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*, XIV.22; *Doubleday Devotional Classics*, pp. 156-57.

32. Alexandre Brou, SJ, *Ignatian Methods of Prayer*, translated by William J. Young, SJ (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1949), p. 2, remarks that, although earlier teachers of prayer didn't use the word method, "the author of the *Exercises* was not without forerunners." Methodical prayer began with contemplatives of the twelfth century and got away from generalities in the thirteenth. Bonaventure, for instance, taught a method not far removed from Loyola's "three powers of the soul." By the time Ignatius came along methodical prayer was well developed. What he did, Brou concluded, is to popularize it by simplifying and reducing it to essentials. He placed such exercises within the reach of all. Others, such as Francis de Sales, carried the popularization further. "And the work of St. Ignatius which was the end of a movement that had its beginning in the heart of the Middle Ages is also the beginning of the movement that has lasted down to our own day" (Ibid. p. 11).

33. A number of studies have pointed to this, but, with apologies, I cite my article on "Puritan Spirituality" in *Protestant Spiritual Traditions*, edited by Frank C. Senn (New York and Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1986), pp. 165-182. My conclusion on this issue is: "Puritans were to Protestantism what contemplatives and ascetics were to the medieval church. They parted company with their medieval forbears chiefly in the locus of their efforts. Where monks sought sainthood in monasteries, Puritans sought it everywhere—in homes, schools, town halls, shops as well as churches. Sometimes knowingly, at other times unknowingly, they employed virtually the same methods monks used to obtain the same goal—'the saints' rest,' heaven, or 'full and glorious enjoyment of God.' Like the monks, they were zealous of heart religion manifested in trans-

formation of life and manners. Impatient with halfway commitments, they kindled fires for unreserved, enthusiastic embracing of the covenant. Everything they did, they did with solemnity and determination" (Ibid. p. 165).