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MINISTER TO THE BODY:
RICHARD GREENHAM AND THE OTHER SIDE OF
PURITAN PASTORAL PRACTICE

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MINISTER TO THE BODY:
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To my wife, Dori, for her unceasing love and support

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- BCP* Brian Cummings, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662*
- Inst.* John Calvin, *Institutio Christianae Religionis*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, under the title *Institutes of the Christian Religion*
- LCC The Library of Christian Classics, ed. J. Baille et al.
- LW* Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, American Edition, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann, 55 vols.
- REM Rylands English Manuscript 524
- WRG* Richard Greenham, *The Workes of the Reverend and Faithfull Servant of Jesus Christ M. Richard Greenham*, ed. Henry Holland, 5th ed.

PREFACE

I first encountered Richard Greenham nearly a decade ago in J. I. Packer's *Quest for Godliness* and was immediately struck by the fervor with which he undertook his pastoral duties and his tragic assessment of the influence of his ministry in Dry Drayton when he left for London. The roots of this project go much deeper as for years teachers and professors have engendered in me a love for early modern England. As I have taught high school for two years in the midst of researching and writing this project, I also have become acutely aware of the deep debt of gratitude I owe those who taught me how to write. To that end, I must thank Mr. McNiff and Doc Swanson from McCallie for first exposing me to the treasures within this era and for stressing the importance of clarity and concision. From UNC, I am grateful for Dr. Armitage and his courses on Shakespeare which further developed my fascination with this period and challenged me to improve my writing. I also must express my thankfulness for the professors and my fellow students within the Church History and Historical Theology department at Southern Seminary. Through courses taught and conversations had, the folks within this department have sharpened my thinking and inspired me with their examples of Christian scholarship. I am particularly grateful for Dr. Wright, who has been my professor, pastor, supervisor, mentor, and now, friend.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the ardent support of my family. My parents have worked hard to afford me opportunities for academic success and have pushed me to pursue excellence in all things. They also were my first models of people caring for both the spiritual and physical well-being of others. Finally, I owe my deepest thanks and profoundest gratitude to my wife, Dori. She has been with me from the start of this project and has selflessly supported me through all phases of this work.

Without her, this dissertation would not have been finished. It is with all my love and affection that I dedicate this work to her.

JDM

Gainesville, Georgia

May 2017

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Richard Greenham and His Legacy

After over two decades of ministry in the small Cambridgeshire village of Dry Drayton, Richard Greenham (c.1540-1594) left his parish with the belief that no more than a single family in this community had gained spiritually from his work among them.¹ His perceived failure could not be blamed on a lack of effort. Throughout his ministry, he maintained a vigorous schedule.² On Sundays, he preached two lengthy sermons, and in between he catechized the parishioners. Every weekday morning, he rose with the farmers before the sun to proclaim sermons. Thursdays, he exchanged preaching for catechizing as he worked with the children of the parish to supplement their Sunday catechesis. While Greenham discerned little fruit from his labors among the people of Dry Drayton, he helped shape the puritan movement and especially influenced its practical divinity for the next century. The village's people might not have been receptive to Greenham's ministry, but his connections to the "godly" community and his writings allowed him to have a lasting effect on puritanism, particularly its pastoral practice.³

¹C. F. S. Warren, Untitled Note, *Notes and Queries* 6, no. 7 (January-June 1883): 366; Kenneth L. Parker and Eric J. Carlson, *'Practical Divinity': The Works and Life of Revd Richard Greenham* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 22-23.

²Samuel Clarke, *Lives of Thirty-Two English Divines*, 3rd ed. (London: William Birch, 1677), 12.

³Greenham and those with similar sympathies who sought to further reform the church in England preferred to describe themselves as "godly" while their opponents ridiculed them as "puritans" and "prescians." Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement, c. 1620-1643* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3-4. For the role of puritanism's opponents in labeling and defining this movement, see Patrick Collinson, "Antipuritanism," in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, ed. John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 21-30; Patrick Collinson, *Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan Anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Little information exists about Greenham's early years. The first firm date from his life came with his enrollment in Pembroke Hall of Cambridge University on May 27, 1559.⁴ From his time at university, some educated conjecture can be made about his earlier days. Given the typical age of matriculation and his passing comment about being a child during Queen Mary's reign (1553-1558), Greenham likely was born in the early to mid 1540s.⁵ However, he did not enroll until the ascension of Queen Elizabeth (r. 1558-1603), whose coronation is in January of 1559. This possible delay could mean he was older than the average student, but most likely he was not born before the early 1540s. His matriculation after Elizabeth took the throne could reveal already deeply held Protestant beliefs by Greenham and his family. Finally, his position as a sizar while at Cambridge suggests that he did not come from a family of means.⁶

Greenham remained at Cambridge from 1559 until 1570. In 1563-1564, he earned his bachelor's degree, and in 1567, he received his master's and was elected as a fellow.⁷ Religious turmoil marked this period both at the university and throughout England.⁸ The Protestantism of the Elizabethan Settlement proved less thoroughgoing than many desired. The Vesterian Controversy raged during these years, and as Greenham's time at Cambridge drew to a close, Thomas Cartwright (c.1535-1603)

⁴John H. Primus, *Richard Greenham: The Portrait of an Elizabethan Pastor* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998), 12; John Venn and J. A. Venn, eds., *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I: From the Earliest Times to 1751*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), s.v. "Greenham, Richard."

⁵Richard Greenham, REM fol. 16v; Parker and Carlson, *'Practical Divinity,'* 9; Primus, *Richard Greenham*, 12.

⁶Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, s.v. "Greenham, Richard."

⁷Ibid.

⁸For upheaval within the university, see H. C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), esp. Part 2, "The Puritans and Authority," 99-273. For the broader English context and how it came to affect the university, see Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 57-155.

provoked the ire of the university for teaching that the hierarchy of the established church was unbiblical.⁹

For his part, Greenham held many sympathies with these complaints over the church's liturgy and polity, and he had close personal connections to these radical movements. However, John H. Primus rightly has described him as a "stabilizing puritan rather than a revolutionary."¹⁰ Greenham's stabilizing effect arose not as result of differing goals for the reform of the church but from a different approach to achieving those goals. He sought further reform through the transformation of personal piety. Any desired change in the structure and practice of the national church would only come about as the spirituality of individuals within that church came more in line with the biblical standard. Biblical spirituality formed the foundation for biblical ecclesiology. While others sought first for structural changes, Greenham believed that godly piety would result in rightly-ordered polity.

Greenham's views and actions in regard to church government demonstrated his shared goals but differing approach from those who desired a top-down reform. On the one hand, he backed Cartwright in the midst of his controversy at Cambridge. In the summer of 1570, Greenham signed his name to a letter in support of Cartwright to the chancellor of the university, William Cecil (1520-1598).¹¹ Additionally, he participated in the Cambridge classis that featured such key figures in early puritanism as Cartwright, William Perkins (1558-1602), Laurence Chaderton (1536-1640), William Whitaker (1548-1595), Walter Travers (c.1548-1635), and John Knewstub (1544-1624). These meetings grew out of the earlier prophesyings, and in many ways functioned as unofficial

⁹Porter, *Reformation and Reaction*, 140-42. For the articles that Cartwright taught, see John Strype, ed., *The Life and Acts of John Whitgift* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1822), 3:19-20.

¹⁰Primus, *Richard Greenham*, 69.

¹¹John Strype. *The Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion and Other Various Occurrences in the Church of England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1824), 1:376, 2:412-17; Primus, *Richard Greenham*, 66.

presbyteries. The ministers involved viewed their gatherings as times for support and edification, but the crown found in them great potential for subverting her established church.

Greenham envisioned no overthrow of the church in England, but rather its transformation through reformed pastors who faithfully preached God's Word. The patient side of his renewal efforts manifested itself in his attempts toward peace and unity within the church. His irenic approach could be seen in the fact that his extant writings contain no criticisms of the established church.¹² Moreover, Henry Holland (1556-1603) reported concerning Greenham, "In his holy Ministerie, hee was ever careful to avoide all occasions of offence, desiring in all things to approve himselfe as the Minister of Christ; he much rejoyced and praised God for the happie government of our most gracious Queene Elizabeth, and for this blessed calme and peace of Gods Church, and people under it."¹³ Furthermore, Greenham actively condemned those who would disturb this peace. He harshly criticized the writers of the Martin Marprelate tracts for disrupting the unity of the church, and he warned against those who "meddle and stirre much about a new Church government, which are sensles and barren in the doctrine of new birth."¹⁴

Greenham described such tinkering with church polity as "often the policie of Sathan" to keep ministers from their present good work.¹⁵ While the rector of Dry Drayton, Greenham shared a similar message from the pulpit of Great St. Mary's in Cambridge when he returned to preach there. George Downham reported about Greenham's sermon that "he heard a zealous preacher reprove young divines, in a sermon

¹²Primus, *Richard Greenham*, 67.

¹³Henry Holland, "Preface to the Reader," *WRG*. All quotations retain original spelling and capitalization. However, the use of i and j along with u and v have been modernized.

¹⁴Clarke, *Lives of Thirty-Two English Divines*, 13; Primus, *Richard Greenham*, 206; Richard Greenham, *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, *WRG*, 48.

¹⁵Greenham, *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, *WRG*, 48.

at Cambridge, who before they had studied the grounds of theology, would over-busy themselves in matters of discipline; and as he said, before they had laid the foundation of their study, would be setting up, as it were, the roof.”¹⁶ For these students, they were first to understand the basics of theology before worrying about the discipline of the church. What was true for these students was true for the church as a whole: godly piety would form the basis of biblical polity. The foundation must be laid before the roof could be built.

In 1570, Greenham began his own work as a minister a few miles northwest of Cambridge in Dry Drayton.¹⁷ For a convinced Protestant who esteemed the role of the pastor, this parish possessed numerous challenges. Like his contemporaries around the country, Greenham faced the task of bringing the new Protestant faith to a Catholic congregation.¹⁸ For much of its history, Dry Drayton exhibited a strong connection with Roman Catholicism as the village had been under monastic lordship until the middle of the sixteenth century. Only in 1543, fewer than thirty years before Greenham’s arrival, did Henry VIII dissolve Crowland Abbey’s manor and thus end the monastic rule of this area.¹⁹ The rectors preceding Greenham would not have given the parishioners much confidence in their new Protestant faith. The rector at the time of the dissolution, John Clever, was a non-resident pluralist, known to be living with a woman who was not his wife.²⁰ In 1567, William Fairclough began serving as rector, but he too became notorious

¹⁶Strype, *Annals*, 3:720.

¹⁷Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, s.v. “Richard Greenham;” Primus, *Richard Greenham*, 24. For more on Dry Drayton, see A. P. M. Wright and C. P. Lewis, eds., *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, (London: Victoria County History, 1989), 9:71-90.

¹⁸For the vibrancy of Roman Catholicism in England at this time, see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1800*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005).

¹⁹Parker and Carlson, *Practical Divinity*, 14.

²⁰*Ibid.*

for his sexual misconduct.²¹ He was charged with adultery in 1568, but it took his death in 1570 to remove him from his living.²² His death opened Dry Drayton's pastorate to Greenham, who assumed the role later in 1570.

The following year, 1571, Bishop Richard Cox of Ely (c.1500-1581), required an oath of support for the Book of Common Prayer, the use of vestments, and the Thirty-Nine Articles from his clergy.²³ Greenham refused to take such an oath, but another two years passed before his nonconformity caught up with him. At that time, in 1573, he wrote Bishop Cox, stating that he could not go against his conscience and subscribe.²⁴ He plainly told his bishop, "I neyther can, nor will weare the apparell, nor subscribe unto it, or the communion booke."²⁵ His conscience would not allow him to whole-heartedly endorse either the vestments or the liturgy. Greenham, however, assured Cox that he wanted to maintain the unity of the church: "I will by all meanes seeke peace and pursue it."²⁶ Additionally, he declared, "My duetifull and loyall harte to Prince, Church, and Trueth."²⁷ Greenham's response to Cox revealed his desire to champion moderation and peace while pushing for further reform. He had great concerns over the liturgy and the ornamentations of the church, but, more than these qualms, he feared dividing the church.

In addition to his controversy with Cox, Greenham's advice showed this same tendency toward a strict adherence to Scripture while highly valuing the unity of the church. "To one that seemed scrupulous in wearing the Surplice and Cap," Greenham

²¹Parker and Carlson, *Practical Divinity*, 14.

²²Ibid.

²³For this controversy with Cox, see *ibid.*, 16-18; Primus, *Richard Greenham*, 58-61.

²⁴Richard Greenham, "The Apologie or Aunswere of Maister Greenham, Minister of Dreaton, unto the Bishop of Ely," in *A Parte of a Register Contayninge Sundrie Memorable Matters*, ed. John Udall (Middleburg: Richard Schilders, 1593), 86-93.

²⁵Ibid., 87.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., 91.

counseled, “As I will not for all the world advise you to weare them; so I would counsell you to be well grounded ere you leave them, least you shaking them off, rather of light affection than of sound judgement, afterward take them againe to your great shame and the offence of others.”²⁸ He urged caution to anyone who would not follow the ceremonies of the church, for such nonconformity affected not only those who wore the vestments but also those in the congregation and other outside observers. Going against the church’s hierarchy had to come from a fully convinced conscience that had been informed by Scripture.

Greenham cautioned against too quickly challenging the established church not only because of the significance of such an action but also because he valued peace within the church. For example, “After one had asked his advice for sitting, or kneeling at the Lords table, he said: As for such things, let us labour what we may, to doe as much as we can for the peace of the Church.”²⁹ For peace, he willingly submitted to the established church’s order on the “lesser adjuncts of religion,” but when it came to the “substantial ceremonies,” which he described as “the essence of gods worship,” he had no choice but to follow his conscience.³⁰ He elaborated on this distinction, “It is one thing to live where the meanes of pure worship are wanting; another to be where false worship is erected.”³¹ Thus, he allowed for differences of opinion on such things “as sitting, standing, knelling, walking, at the receiving of the sacrament,” but he refused to make the sign of the cross in baptism.³² He argued that the sign of the cross changed the essence of

²⁸Richard Greenham, *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, WRG, 44; cf. Greenham, REM, fol. 8v-9r.

²⁹Richard Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 30; cf. Greenham, REM, fol. 10v.

³⁰Greenham, REM, fol. 54v.

³¹Richard Greenham, *Godly Instructions for the Due Examination of Al Men*, WRG, 648.

³²Greenham, REM, fol. 54v, 29v.

the sacrament ordained by Christ by adding a second symbol where Scripture set forth only one. Baptism itself “is a sign of the cros,” and he averred, “now to add another cros is to make the thing signifying, and the thing signified al one, and mee thincks it is aginst gods ordinance to make a double seal to one thing.”³³ All ceremonies in worship were to have “warrant from the word of the Lord,” or else they would bear no fruit and run the “danger to be turned to hurtful superstition.”³⁴ Neither a minister nor a church possessed the right to change an essential ceremony ordained by God in his Word.

On issues of central importance to the faith, a godly pastor had to take a stand. However, such opposition was to be done as peaceably and as patiently as possible. Greenham continued to believe that the proclamation of God’s truth would change the church. He advised ministers to preach faith and repentance first, and then with time, address the abuses of the church.³⁵ In addressing these abuses, the minister was to display “wisdome and love mixed with zeal.”³⁶ For Greenham, those qualities meant a pastor could not unilaterally tear down stained glass windows and crosses, but he needed to convince his church with winsome vehemence that the gospel demanded it. He was to teach, not destroy.³⁷ The minister would only be able to act once the consent of the congregation had been gained “when by the power of the gospel hee had convinced ther consciences.”³⁸ The preaching of the Word transformed people, but the minister had to display patience and seek to maintain peace as God worked through his Word to reform the church.

³³Greenham, REM, fol. 29v.

³⁴Greenham, *Godly Instructions for the Due Examination of Al Men*, WRG, 652.

³⁵Greenham, REM, fol. 40r.

³⁶Ibid., fol. 37r.

³⁷Ibid., fol. 36v.

³⁸Ibid.

In his subscription controversy with Cox, Greenham's strong emphasis on peace combined with the bishop's need for competent clergy to allow Greenham to remain in his parish. Dry Drayton's checkered past with rectors testified to the difficulty of adequately filling these positions. Cox's need for an educated and moral Protestant clergy trumped his desire for conformity. Additionally, the bishop feared two dangers to religion in his diocese: Roman Catholicism and radical mysticism. In Greenham, he found a staunch opponent of both and thus an ally. In fact, Cox would employ Greenham to help root out the Family of Love, a spiritualist sect that had made its way to England from the Netherlands.³⁹

While in Dry Drayton, Greenham married Katherine Bownd (d. 1612), a widow who moved to the parish following her husband's death, likely to be closer to her family.⁴⁰ This marriage elucidated Greenham's connection with a broader community of those seeking to reform the church in England. While discussing a slightly later period, Tom Webster convincingly demonstrated the significance of these close-knit networks of reform-minded people for the training, placement, and sustaining of godly clergy within the church.⁴¹ Greenham's own move to parish ministry possibly resulted from such a connection. His master at Pembroke Hall, Matthew Hutton (1529-1605), seemed to have been related to the Huttons who possessed the advowson for Dry Drayton since the dissolution of the monastery.⁴² Certainly, a relative's recommendation could go a long way in securing the position for Greenham. Not only his benefice but also his marriage likely came from this same connection. Katherine's sister, Sibill, married James Hutton

³⁹Parker and Carlson, *Practical Divinity*, 18-19; Primus, *Richard Greenham*, 70-76. For more on the Family of Love and Greenham's interaction with them, see below, chap. 2.

⁴⁰William P. W. Phillimore and Evelyn Young, eds., *Cambridgeshire Parish Registers – Marriage*, vol. 3 (London: Phillimore, 1909), 70; Parker and Carlson, *Practical Divinity*, 15; cf. Primus, *Richard Greenham*, 26. Katherine's first husband, Robert Bownd had been the personal physician to the Duke of Norfolk.

⁴¹Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England*.

⁴²Parker and Carlson, *Practical Divinity*, 14.

of the same family, which would lead Katherine to Dry Drayton and eventually to Greenham.⁴³

In 1573, Katherine and Greenham married, and while they would have no children of their own, she had four children from her first marriage: Nicholas, Alexander, Richard, and Ann. Nicholas and Ann further revealed Greenham's connections with the self-styled godly across the country and were conduits of his influence to the next generation of puritanism.⁴⁴ Nicholas Bownd (1550-1613) authored two treatises on the Sabbath that shared much in common with his stepfather's vision for that day.⁴⁵ Additionally, Nicholas's other writings on comforting the afflicted reflected similar pastoral concerns with his stepfather.⁴⁶ Since Katherine's other children did not follow Nicholas in publishing their views, the extent of their agreement with Greenham remains unclear. However, Ann did continue the family's connection with the English godly community through her 1585 marriage to John Dod (c.1549-1645).⁴⁷ The bond between Greenham and Dod appears to have been stronger than typical for stepfather to his stepdaughter's husband. Dod's contemporaries hailed him as Greenham's Elisha, and M. M. Knappen commented on Dod's writings, "After reading Greenham's works they impress one as mere repetitions of the ideas of his father-in-law, and one looks almost in vain for a single original bit of thinking."⁴⁸

⁴³Parker and Carlson, *Practical Divinity*, 15.

⁴⁴Primus, *Richard Greenham*, 26.

⁴⁵Nicholas Bownd, *The Doctrine of the Sabbath Plainely Layde Forth* (London: Orwin, 1595); Nicholas Bownd, *Sabbatum Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1606). Cf. Richard Greenham, *A Treatise of the Sabbath*, WRG, 128-71. For more on Greenham's understanding of the Sabbath and its place within English Sabbatarian thought, see below, chap. 3.

⁴⁶For example, see Nicholas Bownd, *Medicines for the Plague: That Is Godly and Fruitful Sermons upon Part of the Twentieth Psalme* (London: Adam Islip, 1604); Nicholas Bownd, *A Storehouse of Comfort for the Afflicted in Spirit* (London: Cuthbert Burbie, 1604); Nicholas Bownd, *The Unbeleefe of St. Thomas the Apostle Laid Open for the Comfort of All Who Desire to Believe* (London: Cantrell Legge, 1608).

⁴⁷Primus, *Richard Greenham*, 26.

⁴⁸Marshall Mason Knappen, "Richard Greenham and the Practical Puritans under Elizabeth" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1927), 107.

In addition to these family relationships, Greenham's training of ministerial students revealed his strong connection to and influence on puritanism. He shaped future ministers during his Dry Drayton tenure through his household seminary.⁴⁹ Cambridge divinity students made the short journey to his parish for a time of pastoral apprenticeship. Greenham believed such mentoring to be the duty of every minister as it gave the next generation practical experience.⁵⁰ He worked with his students one at a time, and much of the instruction seems to have been through observation and informal conversations. His proximity to the university meant that he trained a number of students, and many of them went on to play important parts in the next generation of the English church.⁵¹

Three of his more notable students were Robert Browne (c.1550-1633), the separatist leader; Henry Smith (c.1560-1591), the famed "silver-tongued" preacher of London; and Arthur Hildersham (1563-1632), who compiled Greenham's tabletalk, was a staunch supporter of the puritan minister and exorcist John Darrell, and also signed the Millenary Petition.⁵² Browne and Hildersham would reveal themselves to be far more willing than Greenham to push for radical reform in the church, and thus, Greenham's influence varied among his students. While they might not have shared his patience for reform, his students did embrace his approach to practical divinity, and in this regard, his influence was profound. Parker and Carlson describe his effect on the next generation,

⁴⁹Webster shows that these household seminaries were a common and important part of ministerial training. See Webster, *Godly Clergy*, esp. chap. 1, "Clerical Education and the Household Seminary." For more on Greenham's household seminary, see Parker and Carlson, '*Practical Divinity*,' 22; Primus, *Richard Greenham*, 42-45; Porter, *Reformation and Reaction*, 216-17, 243.

⁵⁰Greenham, REM, fol. 57v.

⁵¹Parker and Carlson, '*Practical Divinity*,' 22.

⁵²Knappen speculates that Edmund Spenser, the playwright, also might have come under Greenham's influence. Spenser matriculated at Pembroke Hall in May of 1569, and Knappen suggests that "there is a good possibility that Greenham was Spenser's tutor during his first eighteenth [*sic*] months at the University." Knappen, "Richard Greenham and the Practical Puritans," 87. Furthermore, he argues that Greenham was Spenser's source for his religious ideal: "Surely Greenham, and neither Yong nor Grindal, is the model minister whom Spenser is praising throughout his works, and he it was who set the example of keeping off controversial matters of church government." *Ibid.*, 95. Knappen points particularly to Spenser's "Hymne of Heavenly Love." *Ibid.*

“As his protégés disperse into the rectories, vicarages, and pulpits of England, Greenham’s example in Dry Drayton went with them and, presumably, helped to define the shape of their own ministries. Literally thousands of English lay people were, by the 1620s, in some sense the flock of Richard Greenham.”⁵³

The last few years of Greenham’s life further demonstrated the high esteem in which he was held in his own day. His renown for counseling grew, and he became recognized “for his singular dexteritie in comforting afflicted Consciencs.”⁵⁴ His friends believed that he wasted his significant abilities by remaining in such a small parish. They urged him to move to London, and in 1591, he acquiesced. This departure sparked his negative assessment of his own ministry in Dry Drayton to the incoming rector. “Mr. Warfield,” Greenham remarked, “God blesse you, and send you more fruit of your labours then I have had: for I perceive noe good wrought by my ministerie on any but one familie.”⁵⁵ This evaluation led to the ditty Thomas Fuller reported, “Greenham has pastures green, but sheep full lean.”⁵⁶ His hard labor seemed to have been of little benefit to the people of his parish. Modern biographers have disputed Greenham’s claim and have seen in it a response typical for pastors of this time.⁵⁷ However, upon examining several wills from Dry Drayton during this period, Margaret Spufford agrees with

⁵³Parker and Carlson, *Practical Divinity*, 22.

⁵⁴Elizabeth Holland, “To the High and Mightie Monarch, James by the Grace of God King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, and defender of the Faith, &c.,” *WRG*. “Counseling” was the term used in this period to denote pastoral care and guidance, and this is the sense in which the term is used throughout this dissertation.

⁵⁵This quotation comes from a handwritten note following the section on Greenham in a copy of Thomas Fuller, *The Church History of Britain from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the Year MDCXLVIII* (London: John Williams, 1656). C. F. S. Warren recounted this addition in an untitled note, *Notes and Queries* 6, no. 7 (12 May 1883): 366.

⁵⁶Fuller, *Church History of Britain*, 9:219.

⁵⁷Parker and Carlson, *Practical Divinity*, 23-24; Primus, *Richard Greenham*, 53-54.

Greenham, writing, “There is less feeling of convinced Protestantism in the wills of Dry Drayton than any other parish I have examined.”⁵⁸

From the difficulties of his Dry Drayton pastorate, Greenham moved to London where he became officially attached to Christ Church on Newgate Street and gained a license to preach without having to subscribe to Archbishop John Whitgift’s (1530-1604) twelve articles.⁵⁹ While in the city, Greenham continued to counsel the afflicted and to care for those in need. In 1592, during the third deadliest plague of Elizabeth’s reign, Greenham remained in London to care for those who could not flee the city. He survived the plague but died two years later in April of 1594. On April 25, he was buried in Christ Church.

Greenham’s influence continued well after his death. In addition to the ministers he trained, his written works influenced English piety well into the seventeenth century. Greenham only published one work during his lifetime, but his death prompted those close to him to print a number of his writings.⁶⁰ In 1595, the year after his death, three of his works were published: *A Fruitful and Godly Sermon, A Most Sweete and Assured Comfort*, and *Two Learned and Godly Sermons*.⁶¹ Two of these were published in London and one in Edinburgh, showing his renown had already spread beyond

⁵⁸Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 328. Primus addresses Spufford’s assessment but dismisses it based upon the “very small sample of wills – only eight during Greenham’s tenure” and because of the questionable evidence that wills provided. Primus, *Richard Greenham*, 53 n. 142. For the questionable value of wills in demonstrating the testators religious beliefs, Primus points to Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 504-523, where Duffy, following Spufford, argues that the preambles to wills often follow a conventional character and thus said more about the scribe than the testator.

⁵⁹For Greenham’s ministry in London and the end of his life, see Parker and Carlson, ‘*Practical Divinity*,’ 25-29; Primus, *Richard Greenham*, 200-208.

⁶⁰Richard Greenham, *A Godlie Exhortation and Fruitfull Admonition to Vertuous Parents and Modest Matrons* (London: Nicholas Ling, 1584).

⁶¹Richard Greenham, *A Fruitful and Godly Sermon Containing Necessary and Profitable Doctrine* (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1595); Richard Greenham, *A Most Sweete and Assured Comfort for All Those that Are Afflicted in Conscience or Troubled in Minde* (London: John Danter, 1595); Richard Greenham, *Two Learned and Godly Sermons Preached By that Reuerende and Zelous Man M. Richard Greenham* (London: Gabriel Simson and William White, 1595). Waldegrave, who published *A Fruitful and Godly Sermon*, had previously published the first of the Marprelate tracts.

England. In 1597, another of his works, *Propositions Containing Answers to Certain Demands*, was published in Edinburgh, and in the following year a London printer brought out more of his work entitled, *Two Treatises for the Comforting of Afflicted Consciences*.⁶² The demand for Greenham's writings was such that between 1599 and 1612 five editions of his collected works were printed.⁶³ Additionally in 1612, a one-page work, *Short Rules Sent by Maister Richard Greenham to a Gentlewoman Troubled in Minde*, was published.⁶⁴ His writings were also added as supplements to the works of his friends and other godly authors. In 1603, Henry Holland's *Spirituall Preseruatiues against the Pestilence* had a previously unpublished prayer by Greenham added at the end of the work.⁶⁵ Likewise, John Dod's *Foure Godlie and Fruitful Sermons* was supplemented by Greenham's "A Brief Tract of Zeale."⁶⁶ The publishing of one of Greenham's works continued up to 1632 in a collection with other puritan ministers entitled *A Garden of Spiritual Flowers*.⁶⁷

⁶²Richard Greenham, *Propositions Containing Answers to Certain Demands in Divers Spirituall Matters* (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1597); Richard Greenham, *Two Treatises for the Comforting of Afflicted Consciences* (London: Richard Bradocke, 1598).

⁶³Richard Greenham, *The Works of the Reverend and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ M. Richard Greenham*, ed. Henry Holland (London: Felix Kingston, 1599); Richard Greenham, *The Workes of the Reverend and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ M. Richard Greenham*, ed. Henry Holland, 2nd ed. (London: Felix Kingston, 1599); Richard Greenham, *The Workes of the Reverend and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ M. Richard Greenham*, ed. Henry Holland, 3rd ed. (London: Felix Kingston, 1601); Richard Greenham, *The Workes of the Reverend and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ M. Richard Greenham*, ed. Henry Holland, 4th ed. (London: Felix Kingston, 1605); Richard Greenham, *The Workes of the Reverend and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ M. Richard Greenham*, ed. Henry Holland, 5th ed. (London: William Welby, 1612).

⁶⁴Richard Greenham, *Short Rules Sent by Maister Richard Greenham to a Gentlewoman Troubled in Minde* (London: T. S. 1612).

⁶⁵Henry Holland, *Spirituall Preseruatiues against the Pestilence* (London: John Brown and Roger Jackson, 1603).

⁶⁶John Dodd, *Foure Godlie and Fruitful Sermons Two Preached at Draiton in Oxford-shire* (London: T. C., 1611).

⁶⁷*A Garden of Spiritual Flowers Planted by Ri. Ro. Wm. Perk. R. Gree. M. M. and Geo. Web.* (London, T. Pauier, 1609). Editions of this work were published in 1609, 1613, 1629, 1630, and 1632.

Diary entries and the frequent recommendations of Greenham's writings demonstrate that his works were well read in the years following his death.⁶⁸ Throughout the seventeenth century, he was praised and his works were endorsed. A dozen years after Greenham's death, Joseph Hall (1574-1656) described him as "that saint of ours."⁶⁹ In 1608, Thomas Cooper (fl. 1626) noted "the manie excellent treatises & discources concerning the power of godliness" available in his day, and a printed marginal note listed vertically, "Greenham. Perkins. Rogers. Arthur Dent, etc."⁷⁰ Dry Drayton's pastor took pride of place on this list, even above the eminent Perkins. In 1616, Charles Richardson (fl. 1612-1617) recommended "the writings of many excellent Ministers of our owne Church," and his list consisted of Andrew Willett (1562-1621), Greenham, Perkins, and Dod.⁷¹ Hall again praised Greenham in a 1623 sermon in which he enumerated "those great lights of our Church, not long since set" and included Greenham in his list alongside such prominent figures as Perkins, Whitgift, and Thomas Hooker (1586-1647). Reflecting on the late Tudor and early Stuart periods, Fuller reported concerning Greenham's *Treatise of the Sabbath*, "No book in that age made greater impression on peoples practice."⁷² His influence continued well into the seventeenth century as John Owen (1616-1683) heaped praise on him in a list with John Calvin (1509-1564), Girolamo Zanchius (1516-1590), Theodore Beza (1519-1605), Perkins, and

⁶⁸Parker and Carlson, *Practical Divinity*, 1-8.

⁶⁹Joseph Hall, *Heaven upon Earth or Of True Peace and Tranquillitie of Minde* (London: John Windet, 1606), 72.

⁷⁰Thomas Cooper, *The Christians Daily Sacrifice: Containing A Daily Direction for a Setled Course of Sanctification* (London: H. B., 1608), A5.

⁷¹Charles Richardson, *A Workeman that Needeth Not To Be Ashamed* (London: W. Stansby, 1616), 29-30.

⁷²Fuller, *Church History of Britain*, 9:220; Greenham, *A Treatise of the Sabbath*, WRG, 128-71.

several other eminent divines.⁷³ Likewise, Richard Baxter (1615-1691) included him on the short list of books to make up the “Poorest or Smallest Library that is tolerable.”⁷⁴

Later historians have appreciated Greenham’s influence and have seen in him the prototypical puritan minister. M. M. Knappen cites Greenham as the “model minister of Cambridgeshire” who was of “widespread influence.”⁷⁵ Patrick Collinson echoes this sentiment, referring to Greenham as “the model puritan.”⁷⁶ Likewise, William Haller emphasizes Greenham’s importance in the early puritan movement.⁷⁷ In his study of Tudor Cambridge, H. C. Porter draws attention to Greenham’s role in providing practical education to Cambridge students through his rectory seminary.⁷⁸ As puritan studies progressed during the twentieth century, scholarly focus on Greenham has waned, but in 1998, the publication of two biographies renews interest in him.⁷⁹ More recently, Theodore Dwight Bozeman highlights Greenham as a seminal figure within puritanism, arguing that he “illustrates the shift of emphasis from structural reform to experiential piety.”⁸⁰ Bozeman offers an excellent treatment of Greenham, contending that he marks the turn toward prioritizing personal faith, which resulted in an introspective self-focus for

⁷³John Owen, *The Doctrine of the Saints Perseverance Explained and Confirmed*, vol. 11, ed. William H. Goold (Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter, 1850-1853; repr., Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, 1965), 487.

⁷⁴Richard Baxter, *A Christian Directory: Or, A Summ of Practical Theologie and Cases of Conscience* (London: Robert White, 1673), 691-92.

⁷⁵M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 382.

⁷⁶Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 128.

⁷⁷William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938).

⁷⁸Porter, *Reformation and Reaction*, 216-17, 243.

⁷⁹As an example of waning interest in Greenham, R. T. Kendall mentions him as “a patriarchal figure” in puritanism but then quickly passes over him as merely a precursor to Perkins. R. T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979; new ed., Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1997), 45-47. The two biographies are Parker and Carlson, ‘*Practical Divinity*’; Primus, *Richard Greenham*.

⁸⁰Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *The Precisianist Strain: Disciplinary Religion and Antinomian Backlash in Puritanism to 1638* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 69. For Bozeman’s treatment of Greenham, see chap. 4, “Richard Greenham and the First Protestant Pietism.”

the believer. While not discounting the interiority of Greenham's spirituality, this dissertation avers that Greenham's life and ministry reveal that puritan experiential piety did not limit Christians to inward contemplation. Instead, this devotion turned the faithful outward into the world where they put their piety into practice.

Despite the ongoing recognition of Greenham's importance as a model puritan minister, little scholarly attention has focused directly on his pastoral ministry. Knappen's 1927 unpublished dissertation remains the only full-length treatment of Greenham's pastoral practice to date.⁸¹ Knappen provides valuable insights in tracing the origins of Greenham's pastoral practice. However, he unhelpfully bifurcates puritan clergy along the lines of those who emphasized theology and those who emphasized practice. Against Knappen, the present dissertation demonstrates that Greenham's theology shaped his practice. His care for others arose from a theological foundation. To better understand the pastoral practice of puritanism, this man, who was regarded by his contemporaries as the preeminent pastoral model, needs to be considered more fully. Greenham's reputation and his contributions in the area of pastoral theology demand further study of his life and thought.

Typical Picture of Puritan Pastoral Ministry

Current studies of puritan pastoral ministry provide a starting point for inquiry into Greenham's practice, but there remain significant areas still in need of exploration. Concerning Post-Reformation England, Collinson asserts, "It is more difficult to write about the pastoral ministry in this period than almost any other time in the history of the English Church."⁸² The lack of material on this subject reinforces such a sentiment. The

⁸¹Knappen, "Richard Greenham and the Practical Puritans."

⁸²Patrick Collinson, "Shepherds, Sheepdogs, and Hirelings: The Pastoral Ministry in Post-Reformation England," in *The Ministry Clerical and Lay*, vol. 26 of *Studies in Church History*, ed. W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 189.

roles of preaching and assurance of salvation in puritan pastoral theology have received the bulk of attention, but the literature has failed to give adequate due to the care puritan pastors exhibited for the physical needs of their parishioners.

Preacher of the Word

Typically, puritan studies has presented the godly clergy as primarily, if not only, preachers. Webster succinctly summarizes the prevailing view, “It is a truism to suggest that the ministry as conceived of by the godly focused on the act of preaching almost to the exclusion of all else.”⁸³ Additionally, Collinson, Eric Josef Carlson, Christopher Haigh, Christopher Hill, and Hughes Oliphant Old all understand preaching as the epitome of puritan ministry.⁸⁴ While some caveats are given, these studies picture the puritan pastor as an instructor who had little time for work outside of his study and pulpit.

The historiographical emphasis on preaching, while at times failing to give a complete picture of puritan ministry, can be understood as the godly themselves stressed the importance of the proclamation of God’s Word. For puritans, preaching was to be the minister’s principal work, for, as William Ames (1576-1633) argued, “Preaching is the ordinance of God, sanctified for the begetting of faith, for the opening of the

⁸³Webster, *Godly Clergy*, 96.

⁸⁴Eric Josef Carlson, “The Boring of the Ear: Shaping the Pastoral Vision of Preaching in England, 1540-1640,” chap. 8 in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Collinson, “Shepherds, Sheepdogs, and Hirelings”; Patrick Collinson, “Lectures by Combination: Structures and Characteristics of Church Life in 17th-Century England,” chap. 18 in *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: Hambledon, 1983); Patrick Collinson, John Craig, and Brett Usher, eds., *Conferences and Combination Lectures in the Elizabethan Church, 1582-1590*, vol. 10 of Church of England Record Society (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2003); Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1964); Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church*, vol. 4, *The Age of the Reformation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002). Of course, an emphasis on preaching was far from being an invention of the puritans. The Reformers, both on the Continent and in England, saw the preaching of the Word as essential to the Reformation. Evidence also has suggested that preaching played an important role in the Late Medieval Church. See Susan Wabuda, *Preaching During the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

understanding, for the drawing of the will and affections to Christ.”⁸⁵ Proclamation brought salvation. Puritans frequently echoed the words of the Apostle Paul in Romans 10, “Faith comes by hearing.”⁸⁶ In an elaboration of Paul’s message, Richard Sibbes (1577-1635) transformed the apostle’s stress on hearing into an impetus for preaching: “Faith is the issue and fruit of preaching.”⁸⁷ “This Preaching,” Sibbes continued, “is that whereby God dispenseth salvation and grace ordinarily.”⁸⁸ In the middle of the seventeenth century, the Westminster Divines continued to accent the priority of preaching, describing it as “the power of God unto Salvation” and as “one of the greatest and most excellent works belonging to the Ministry of the Gospell.”⁸⁹

The puritan focus on proclamation was part of its protestant heritage. Reformational soteriology elevated preaching to the pinnacle of Christian worship. “Faith comes by hearing,” and this faith alone saved. Preaching, then, was the means of bringing salvation to the lost. Susan Wabuda explained how solafideism transformed the church’s liturgical practice, “Faith, according to Luther and his followers, came not through the premier visual moments of the Mass, of seeing the Host lifted at the moment of consecration, but it came through the presentation of the Gospel, as Christ had taught it, and as it had been taught in turn by his apostles and the early Fathers in the Primitive Church.”⁹⁰ Preaching, rather than the Eucharist, became the primary means of grace. As such, the sermon, not the Supper, was the central element of Protestant worship.

⁸⁵William Ames, *The Marrow of Theology*, trans. and ed. John D. Eusden (Boston: Pilgrim, 1968), 194.

⁸⁶Carlson, “The Boring of the Ear,” 273. Puritans most commonly cited Rom 10 along with Acts 8 and Prov 29:18 to argue for the necessity of preaching.

⁸⁷Richard Sibbes, *The Fountaine Opened in Light From Heaven* (London: E. Purflow for N. Bourne, 1638), 114.

⁸⁸Ibid., 120.

⁸⁹*Directory for Publique Worship* (London: T. W, 1645), 27.

⁹⁰Wabuda, *Preaching During the English Reformation*, 12-13.

In addition to eliciting faith, preaching also replaced confession as the method to call for repentance. The Reformers deemphasized private confession with a priest and set forth the sermon as the vehicle for prompting sinners to repent. “With the abrogation of auricular confession, preaching became the principal way by which lay Christians might be brought to repentance for their sins, without which there was neither faith nor salvation.”⁹¹ Seen as the means to bring forth repentance and faith, preaching became essential to Protestant worship.

Thus, the puritan pastor identified himself not as priest but as preacher. “With the Mass abrogated and mandatory auricular confession abolished, priests became ministers and ministers were preachers above all else.”⁹² His central function was to proclaim the truth of God’s Word in order that his hearers might be saved. Owen stressed that “the First and Principal Duty of a Pastor, is to feed the flock by diligent Preaching of the Word.”⁹³ When the puritans surveyed the “halfly-reformed” church in their native England, they concluded that the key to a true reformation was preaching. In their minds, “the greatest obstacle to realizing a genuinely reformed Church of England, reformed and informed about its doctrinal title deeds, was the lack of a preaching ministry.”⁹⁴ The people had to be taught in order for the reformation to take root.

Puritans condemned as “hirelings” and “dumb dogs” those rectors who failed to instruct their people through the regular preaching of God’s Word.⁹⁵ Rather than preaching, these ministers merely read the Prayer Book each Sunday and, when required, a sermon from the Book of Homilies. Such a ministry was far from sufficient in the

⁹¹Carlson, “The Boring of the Ear,” 250.

⁹²Ibid., 255.

⁹³John Owen, *The Nature of a Gospel Church and Its Government* (London: William Marshall, 1689), 86.

⁹⁴Collinson, Craig, and Usher, *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, xxvii.

⁹⁵Collinson, “Shepherds, Sheepdogs, and Hirelings,” 187.

puritan mind; in fact, it was no ministry at all. In a statement whose sentiment resounded with most puritan divines, Owen contended, “This Feeding is of the Essence of the Office of a Pastor, as unto the exercise of it; so that he who doth not, or cannot, or will not feed the Flock, is no Pastor, whatever outward call, or work he may have in the Church.”⁹⁶

The clergyman who did not feed his church through teaching the Word of God could lay no claim to the title of “pastor.” Even more directly, Owen stated, “He that doth not so feed, is no Pastor.”⁹⁷ The Reformation could only be completed in England by the faithful preaching of God’s Word. Above all else, the pastor was to be a preacher.⁹⁸

Thus, leaders within the puritan movement strove to bring faithful preaching not only to their own parishes but to every parish in England. They worked to prepare young men for preaching and to place them into pulpits around the country. For his part, Greenham took advantage of Dry Drayton’s proximity to Cambridge by mentoring university students in the practical arts of godly ministry. Preaching seemed to be a focus of such training at this household seminary. As “preaching is a central concern of his disciple’s notes,” these students, no doubt, occupied much of their time listening to Greenham during his multiple sermons a week.⁹⁹ Given Greenham’s own emphasis on preaching, it is not hard to imagine that these students spent an ample amount of time discussing preaching with their mentor.

⁹⁶Owen, *Gospel Church*, 86.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, 87.

⁹⁸Christopher Haigh highlights this new pastoral ideal as the reason for anti-clericalism in this era. “The single orthodoxy of late-Tudor England, a religion of spartan services and long, moralising sermons, provoked the popular anticlericalism which even mortuaries had not caused. . . . The minister who stressed Bible-reading to a largely illiterate congregation, who denigrated the cycle of fast and feast linked to the harvest year, who replaced active ritual with tedious sermons to pew-bound parishioners, and who refused to supply protective magic for this world and the next, was naturally less popular than his priestly predecessor.” Christopher Haigh, “Anticlericalism in the English Reformation,” in *The English Reformation Revised*, ed. Christopher Haigh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 73. He continues, “‘Anticlericalism,’ in short, was not a cause of the Reformation; it was a result.” *Ibid.*, 74.

⁹⁹Carlson, “The Boring of the Ear,” 225.

Of course, listening to and discussing sermons did not a good preacher make. Preaching was an art best learned by practice. Puritans recognized this and instituted “prophesyings” to provide an opportunity for preachers to hone their skills in the pulpit. Based upon a practice developed by Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531) in Zurich, these meetings typically featured three to four sermons on the same passage followed by a discussion of the material and presentations.¹⁰⁰ The prophesyings did more than improve a minister’s preaching; many of the godly laity found these meetings to benefit their own spiritual development. “As long as preaching was in short supply, the prophesyings provided sermons for an otherwise impoverished population.”¹⁰¹ For those without a preaching rector in their parish, these meetings could be their only access to sermons. Thus, many puritan lay-people found them essential to the enrichment of their faith.

Queen Elizabeth, however, thought otherwise. In the prophesyings, she saw a sectarian church movement, and in a nation where the church and state were inseparable, the queen viewed any religious sectarianism as rebellion. The presence of laity further exacerbated the problem in the her eyes. It would be one thing for ministers to discuss and to debate a breadth of theological topics on their own, but Elizabeth perceived that no good, but only discord, could come from the laity’s becoming privy to these discussions.¹⁰² Thus, in 1577 she outlawed the prophesyings.¹⁰³

The end of the prophesyings, however, did not end the preaching of sermons outside of the regular services of the church. In place of prophesyings, the puritans began lectures. The primary difference between the two was “that after 1577 the congregation

¹⁰⁰Collinson, Craig, and Usher, *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, xxvi-xxvii.

¹⁰¹Ibid., xxix.

¹⁰²As Collinson, Craig, and Usher succinctly state, “The popular element was always the Achilles heel of Elizabethan prophesyings.” Ibid., xxix.

¹⁰³Ibid.

was confronted by a single preacher rather than a panel of the prophesying.”¹⁰⁴ The single orator rather than a group of speakers limited the opportunity for potentially fractious debate, which made these new gatherings slightly less noxious than the old for Elizabeth. These lectures were typically held on the weekly market day or once per month, and they provided the opportunity for those without a preaching minister to hear a sermon regularly.¹⁰⁵

In addition to providing sound teaching to the people, lectureships also provided employment for puritan preachers who found themselves outside the regular service of the church. As Webster demonstrates, the self-styled godly worked their connections to place puritan ministers within as many parishes in England as possible.¹⁰⁶ When a living in the church could not be found for a recent graduate or when his scruples did not allow him to serve within the national church, a lectureship remained a viable option. Lecturers were to obtain an episcopal license to preach, but they retained a different legal status than beneficed clergy.¹⁰⁷ Additionally, a lecturer’s support came from voluntary donations, which, when combined with the other factors, gave the lecturer more freedom in exercising his conscience than a typical parish rector had.¹⁰⁸ Lecturers were preachers who were not obligated to perform services in line with the Book of Common Prayer, and so they could teach the Scriptures as they saw fit without worrying with the objectionable aspects of the church’s liturgy.¹⁰⁹ Like the prophesyings before them, puritan lectureships provided preaching for a population that, at least in the puritan

¹⁰⁴Collinson, “Lectures by Combination,” 476.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 468.

¹⁰⁶Webster, *Godly Clergy*, esp. chap 2, “Profitable Conferences and the Settlement of Godly Ministers.”

¹⁰⁷Collinson, Craig, and Usher, *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, xxiii.

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

mind, desperately needed to hear the Word of God proclaimed, and the lectureships supplied the scrupulous preacher an opportunity to minister outside the restrictions of the national church.¹¹⁰

“The office of a minister,” Perkins explained, “is to execute the duty of teaching his people.”¹¹¹ For many puritans, the minister’s duty to instruct souls extended beyond the pulpit into catechizing.¹¹² In these sessions, the teacher instructed a group of students through a didactic series of questions and answers on the basic doctrines of the Christian faith. Typically, students were expected to memorize the answers by rote as the first step toward comprehension. Greenham dedicated time on Sunday afternoons and on Thursdays for catechizing the youth of Dry Drayton.¹¹³ Many in Greenham’s pastoral tradition followed the practice of regular catechesis, most notably Baxter, who famously frequented his parishioners in their Kidderminster homes to evangelize and to instruct them in the faith.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰All these sermons were far from merely a clerical imposition upon an unreceptive populace. Puritan laity exhibited a great deal of ardor both in securing preaching ministries and in attending sermons. See Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 61-63; Christopher Haigh, *The Plain Man’s Pathways to Heaven: Kinds of Christianity in Post-Reformation England, 1570-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 40; Eamon Duffy, “The Reformed Pastor in English Puritanism,” *Nederlands Archief Voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 83, no. 1 (January 2003): 220.

¹¹¹William Perkins, *A Treatise of the Vocations, or Callings of men* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1603), 23.

¹¹²For a comprehensive look at catechizing in England during this period, see Ian Green, *The Christian’s ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c. 1530-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996). Not all those of puritan sympathies were keen on catechesis. The Dedham Conference debated the appropriateness of catechizing and using written catechisms. Some objected to the fact the catechisms used were not found in the Bible but were man-made. Additionally, New Testament warrant for such a method of instruction proved less than readily apparent to some. Collinson, Craig, and Usher, *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, xciv, 83-85. The prevalence of published catechisms over the next century demonstrated that only a minority hold such a position.

¹¹³Clarke, *Lives of Thirty-Two English Divines*, 12. While Greenham’s catechizing focused on the young of his parish, it was not uncommon for ministers to catechize the adults under their care as well. Green, *Christian’s ABC*, 73-75. See Richard Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechizing*, WRG, 71-91.

¹¹⁴Green, *Christian’s ABC*, 102-3; J. William Black, *Reformation Pastors: Richard Baxter and the Ideal of the Reformed Pastor* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 2004). Black helpfully notes that while the rhetoric of puritanism voiced a commitment to pulpit-centered ministry, their practice showed the importance they placed on catechesis (ibid., 18).

In 1549, Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556) included a basic catechism in the Book of Common Prayer that was to be used in preparation for and during the confirmation service.¹¹⁵ Many found this work insufficiently short to provide any meaningful instruction, and in response to this complaint, Alexander Nowell (c.1517-1602) prepared a much more thorough catechism in Latin in 1563.¹¹⁶ In 1570, he translated it into English, and by 1571 it had become widely used by schoolmasters.¹¹⁷ However, stretching to 176 quarto-pages, this work proved too comprehensive to be practical in a pastoral setting, and even his shortened version remained nearly 100 pages long.¹¹⁸ Many pastors, including Greenham, sought “to supplement rather than replace” these two catechisms by writing one of their own.¹¹⁹ One of the puritan complaints at the Hampton

¹¹⁵BCP, 58-62; Green, *Christian’s ABC*, 20-21.

¹¹⁶Green, *Christian’s ABC*, 71-73.

¹¹⁷Alexander Nowell, *A Catechisme, or First Instruction and Learning of Christian Religion* (London: John Daye, 1570); Green, *Christian’s ABC*, 71-73.

¹¹⁸Green, *Christian’s ABC*, 71-73.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, 71; Richard Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 71-91. A sampling of catechisms written by those with puritan sympathies before the Westminster Assembly gives some sense of the prevalence of ministers writing their own catechism: Edward Dering, *A Short Catechisme for Householders* (London: John Charlewood, 1580); George Gifford, *A Catechisme Conteyning the Summe of the Christian Religion* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1583); Edward Fenton, *So Shorte a Catechisme, that Whosoeuer Cannot or Wil not Learne, Are not in Any Wise To Be Admitted to the Lords Supper* (London: Christopher Barker, 1591); William Perkins, *An Exposition of the Lords Praier in the Way of a Catechisme* (Edinburgh: Robert Walde-grave, 1593); Robert Allen, *A Treasurie of Catechisme, or Christian Instruction* (London: Robert Field for Thomas Man, 1600); John Dod, *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandements with a Methodicall Short Catechisme* (London: T. C. for Thomas Man, 1604); James Balmford, *A Short Catechisme, Summarily Comprizing the Principall Points of Christian Faith* (London: Felix Kyngston for Richard Boyle, 1607); Richard Bernard, *A Double Catechisme* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1607); Richard Gawton, *A Short Instruction for All Such as Are To Be Admitted to the Lords Supper* (London: William Hall for John Hedgets, 1612); Samuel Crook, *The Guide unto True Blessedness* (London: John Pendley for Nathaniell Butter, 1613); William Hinde, *A Path to Pietie Leading to the Way, the Truth, and the Life Christ Jesus* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1613); William Gouge, *A Short Catechisme wherein Are Briefely Laid Downe the Fundamentall Principles of Christian Religion* (London: John Beale, 1615); Edmund Littleton, *A Briefe Catechisme Containing the Summe of the Gospell of Jesus Christ* (London: George Purlouue for Simon Stafford, 1616); John Ball, *A Short Treatise: Containing All the Principall Grounds of Christian Religion* (London: William Welby, 1617); William Crashaw, *Milke for Babes, or A North-Countrie Catechisme* (London: Nicholas Oakes, 1618); Thomas Cartwright, *A Methodicall Short Catechism Containing Briefly All the Principall Grounds of Christian Religion* (London: B.A. for Thomas Man, 1623); Thomas Gataker, *The Christian Mans Care: A Sermon on Matt. 6.33 together with a Short Catechisme for the Simpler Sort* (London: John Haviland for Fulke Clifton, 1624); Richard Byfield, *A Candle Lighted at the Lampe of Sacred Scriptures, or A Catechisme Conteyning All Truths Fundamentall, and None but Fundamentalls* (London: np, 1627); John Gere, *A Catechisme in Briefe Questions and Answeres* (Oxford: J.L., 1629); William Whitaker, *A Short Summe of Christianity Delivered by Way of Catechisme* (London: Jasper Emory, 1630). For a more comprehensive list, see Green, “Catechisms and Catechetical Material Produced, Used or Recommended for Use in England c. 1530-1740,”

Court Conference (1604) was the inadequacy of the Prayer Book catechism, which led to an amplified version being included in the 1604 revision of the Book of Common Prayer.¹²⁰ Catechizing continued to be an important part of puritan pastoral duties well into the seventeenth century. As part of their work in the 1640s, the Westminster Divines created a catechism that proved even more amenable to the puritans. This Westminster Shorter Catechism received parliamentary approval in 1648, and even after the Restoration, this catechism continued to be used, sometimes in slightly modified forms, by a number of churchmen and dissenters.¹²¹

Whether using their own series of question and answers or an officially sanctioned set, puritan pastors catechized in order to teach parishioners the fundamentals of the Christian faith. Students normally learned about the Apostles' Creed, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, and the sacraments. Ian Green distills some of the instructional goals clergymen of this period typically sought to achieve through catechesis. Green's study encompasses a wide selection of clergy, demonstrating that piety was not only to be found within puritanism, and so while his observations are on catechesis more generally, they certainly hold true for the work of godly pastors as well. First, he explains, "Catechizing laid the necessary basis of religious knowledge without which an individual could not hope for salvation."¹²² Beyond a basic foundation, catechesis further "enabled members of the church to achieve a deeper understanding of

in *Christian's ABC*, 573-751.

¹²⁰Green, *Christian's ABC*, 71; see also Edward Cardwell, *A History of Conferences and Other Proceedings Connected with the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer: From the Year 1558 to the Year 1690* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1840), 186-7.

¹²¹Green, *Christian's ABC*, 80-82. The House of Commons approved the Westminster Larger Catechism, but the House of Lords failed to do so. In addition to the many presbyterians who continued to use the Shorter Catechism, Green noted that a diverse group of churchmen including Archbishop Ussher, Richard Baxter, and John Wesley used it as well. Additionally, Independents such as Isaac Chauncy and Isaac Watts adopted large portions of this catechism, and Benjamin Keach modified a few sections to create a catechism for the Particular Baptists.

¹²²Green, *Christian's ABC*, 26.

the scriptures and of what took place during church services.”¹²³ Additionally, Green notes, “It also prepared them for a fuller part in church life by helping them to frame a profession of faith and to participate in the Lord’s Supper.”¹²⁴ Finally, catechesis promoted biblical beliefs and practice. Green describes how “it enabled them to distinguish true doctrine from false; and it promoted Christian virtue and dissuaded from vice.”¹²⁵ Through catechesis, ministers educated their parishioners in the knowledge necessary for salvation and a virtuous life. The puritan pastor was a teacher, both as a preacher and as a catechist. He instructed his flock in matters of faith and proclaimed the gospel to them that they would be redeemed unto everlasting glory.

Greenham fit the mold of the puritan pastor who was, first and foremost, a teacher. He ministered by preaching frequently, often at some length. When not in the pulpit, he could be found educating his parishioners in the Scriptures through catechesis. His was an instructional ministry. He taught people’s minds in order to redeem their souls. It comes as no surprise then, that in describing the ministry of Greenham, Samuel Clarke, the seventeenth-century biographer and promoter of puritanism, spent much of his time recounting Greenham’s prowess in the pulpit and the frequency of his preaching and catechizing.¹²⁶ Clarke described an impassioned Greenham who preached with such vigor that he drenched his shirt with sweat and needed to change into a fresh one after the service.¹²⁷ Additionally, Fuller, whose father was “well acquainted” with Greenham, recorded that the pastor of Dry Drayton often traveled the few miles southeast to Cambridge to preach at Great Saint Mary’s.¹²⁸

¹²³Green, *Christian’s ABC*, 26.

¹²⁴Ibid.

¹²⁵Ibid.

¹²⁶Clarke, *Lives of Thirty-Two English Divines*, 12.

¹²⁷Ibid.

¹²⁸Fuller, *Church History of Britain*, 9:219.

Greenham exerted himself in preaching because he saw the proclamation of God's Word as the key to his hearers' spiritual well-being. He declared in one treatise, "Preaching is the most principall means to increase and beget faith and repentance in Gods people."¹²⁹ Preaching was the divinely ordained means to bring about faith in people. In addition to faith itself, Greenham averred, "Assurance of faith is wrought by the word preached."¹³⁰ Faith and assurance came by hearing. Precisely because so much was at stake, he understood it to be his duty to labor diligently in this work. He envisioned himself as "a good fieldsman" who needed to work the land and to wait patiently for the harvest, "not measuring the fruit of his labor by the time present but by the tyme to come."¹³¹ As the farmers to whom he preached poured their sweat into the ground for the harvest at the end of the season, so Greenham toiled in his preaching, waiting for the spiritual reaping of his labors in eternity.

The hard work of a sermon consisted not only in proclamation but also in hearing. Greenham expected his hearers to work as hard in listening as he did in preaching. He identified four things necessary when one came to hear from God's Word.¹³² He first proposed that faithful hearing required "a reverent feare of the majesty of God."¹³³ Then, he stipulated that one needed "an assured faith in Christ," and that was to be followed, third, with "an earnest endeavour to frame our lives thereafter."¹³⁴ Hearing had to be matched by living. Fourth and finally, hearers, "must pray for the holie Ghost to bee given them, to enlighten their mindes, and to write all these things upon their

¹²⁹Richard Greenham, *A Profitable Treatise Containing Directions for the Reading and Understanding of the Holy Scriptures*, WRG, 173; see also Greenham, *A Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 72.

¹³⁰Richard Greenham, *A Treatise on Blessedness*, WRG, 207. For more on Greenham's understanding of assurance see below, chap. 5.

¹³¹Greenham, REM, fol. 7v.

¹³²Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 72.

¹³³Ibid.

¹³⁴Ibid.

hearts.”¹³⁵ This final exhortation revealed that preaching could not be a merely human endeavor for Greenham. He emphasized the need for divine assistance in both hearing and proclaiming. As in the fourth injunction, the hearer was to pray for the enlightenment wrought by the Spirit, and the pastor was to pray that God blessed the church by the Word preached. Greenham encouraged his fellow preachers, “The Minister must not onely reade and studie the word of God, preach the same purely,” but he had to be “praying also for his flocke, that his Ministerie may be profitable unto them.”¹³⁶ Preaching and hearing required diligent labor, but that labor would only prove fruitful when the Lord blessed it.

Even when he was not preaching, Greenham desired to hear God’s Word proclaimed. He recounted how he was “alwaies desirous to be in the place of the publike reading, praying and preaching.”¹³⁷ He joined with many in his own day and lamented “the want of diligent Preaching.”¹³⁸ Nonetheless, he was quick to hear other sermons even when the preachers left much to be desired in their skills. “If the speaker had great wants,” Greenham found that “even these wants did humble him, and made him to meditate inwardly of that truth, whereof the Preacher failed: insomuch that sometimes hearing the wants, and then meditating of the truth, he could as well be enabled to preach againe of that text, as if he had read some Commentarie.”¹³⁹ Greenham believed he could learn even from the worst of sermons.

The lack of homiletic skill in the preacher was not to deter the godly from hearing a sermon, and neither was an absence of spiritual feelings to prevent Christians

¹³⁵Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 72.

¹³⁶Richard Greenham, *The Fourteenth Sermon*, WRG, 342.

¹³⁷Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 26.

¹³⁸Greenham, *A Treatise of the Doctrine of Fasting*, WRG, 213.

¹³⁹Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 26.

from hearing God’s Word proclaimed. Greenham cautioned, “It is good still to attend upon hearing the word, although we feele not that inward joy and working of God his Spirit, which either we have felt, or desire to feele.”¹⁴⁰ He reasoned that “the preaching of the word is God his ordinance” to transform people.¹⁴¹ Thus, Greenham exhorted people to seek out as much preaching as they could, especially when they did not feel “that inward joy and working of God his Spirit.”¹⁴² Christians were to attempt to hear as many sermons as they could, for “we know not who is the man, what is the time, where is the place, which is the sermon that God hath appointed to work on us, let us in all obedience attend on the ministerie of every man, watch at all times, be diligent in very place, and runne to every sermon which we can conveniently.”¹⁴³ God had ordained the proclamation of his Word to bring faith and assurance to his people, and so his people needed to take pains to hear that Word preached as often as possible. Greenham labored diligently to faithfully preach, and when he was not preaching, he sought to hear as many sermons as he was able.

In both their rhetoric and practice, puritan ministers revealed the faithful preaching of God’s Word to be their central responsibility. Through the proclamation of the Scriptures, the Lord brought about faith and repentance in his people. The godly expected biblical truth to set people free from the bondage of sin. While this truth chiefly came through sermons, many godly parsons supplemented their preaching with catechesis to aid further in bringing this truth to their parishioners. The Word-centered nature of the puritan faith resulted in its clergy primarily serving in a didactic role.

¹⁴⁰Richard Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 64.

¹⁴¹Ibid.

¹⁴²Ibid.

¹⁴³Ibid.

Assurer of Souls

While puritans prioritized preaching, the pastor's work did not end when he stepped down from the pulpit. He ministered not only as a teacher but also as a counselor. As much as the puritans emphasized the pastor as preacher and instructor, they also expected godly rectors to spend a good deal of their time guiding individuals through ethical dilemmas and spiritual doubts. Ministers aided their members in navigating moral difficulties and by teaching them to find assurance of faith. Thus, the godly wrote much about how to counsel those in crisis, and in turn, studies on puritan pastoral ministry often have considered the question of assurance of salvation.

Primarily, the historiography of assurance has been part of a broader conversation about the continuity between Calvin's thought and the later Reformed tradition. As such, the majority of works on this issue focus less on the pastoral aspects of assurance and more on the relationship between faith and assurance in puritan theology. R. T. Kendall, for example, uses Perkins's teaching on assurance to argue for a divergence from Calvin to later Reformed Scholasticism, particularly on the issue of the extent of the atonement.¹⁴⁴ Dewey D. Wallace and Jonathan D. Moore point to the puritan understanding of assurance to highlight the early diversity within the Reformed tradition.¹⁴⁵ Joel R. Beeke, Robert Letham, and Richard A. Muller all take up the question of assurance in order to argue for continuity between Calvin and later proponents of Reformed theology.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*.

¹⁴⁵Dewey D. Wallace, Jr., *Puritans and Predestination: Grace in English Protestant Theology, 1525-1695* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); Jonathan D. Moore, *English Hypothetical Universalism: John Preston and the Softening of Reformed Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007).

¹⁴⁶Joel R. Beeke, *Assurance of Faith: Calvin, English Puritanism, and the Dutch Second Reformation* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991); Joel Beeke, "Personal Assurance of Faith: The Puritans and Chapter 18.2 of the *Westminster Confession*," *Westminster Theological Journal* 55 (1993): 1-30; Robert Letham, "Faith and Assurance in Early Calvinism: A Model of Continuity and Diversity," in *Later Calvinism: International Perspectives*, ed. W. Fred Graham (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994), 355-84; Richard A. Muller, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

While still emphasizing discontinuity with the Reformers, Michael P. Winship and Bozeman are among the few who examine the puritan view of assurance in an effort to understand the more practical side of their ministry.¹⁴⁷ However, both these studies, while helpful, need to be supplemented because they do not address how the godly minister cared for more than just his parishioners' souls. These two authors see puritanism as primarily, if not only, a religion of introspection and contemplation. Winship speaks of the puritans searching for assurance through "anxious introspection," and Bozeman describes the "mazes of introspection, that drew moderate puritanism into its age of anxiety."¹⁴⁸ Bozeman typifies those arguing for discontinuity when he describes the puritan quest for assurance as "re-Catholicization."¹⁴⁹ He avers, "Somehow the Puritan movement had worked back, as it were, toward the introspective doubtful mood of the late Middle Ages – the very mood that original Protestantism was bent to dispel."¹⁵⁰ Anxiety arose with puritan introspection, Bozeman suggests, because connecting good works to assurance in any way linked "certitude to moral performance."¹⁵¹ No matter how often puritans proclaimed salvation by faith alone, their practical counseling returned salvation to works-righteousness. Winship and Bozeman do not account adequately for the ways puritan ministers helped their parishioners live in this world. Later chapters in the present work will offer a corrective to their portrayal through an examination of Greenham's teaching on good works and the "interiority" of his piety.

The scholarly focus on assurance reflects a repeated puritan emphasis on the

¹⁴⁷Michael P. Winship, "Weak Christians, Backsliders, and Carnal Gospellers: Assurance of Salvation and the Origins of Puritan Practical Divinity in the 1580s," *Church History* 70, no. 3 (September 2001): 462-81; Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*.

¹⁴⁸Winship, "Weak Christians," 477; Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 127.

¹⁴⁹Bozeman, *The Precisianist Strain*, 130.

¹⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 136.

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*, 125.

minister's role as counselor. While primarily a preacher of the Word, the puritan pastor also served as an assurer of souls. Offering assurance of salvation began with the preaching of God's Word, and from there, puritans expected ministers to counsel individuals, comforting their afflicted souls. To this end, Baxter urged his fellow pastors, "It is no small part of a Ministers duty, to Counsel men, as a wise, skilful, and faithful Casuist."¹⁵² Casuistry was "morality in detail."¹⁵³ Few godly clergy were as comfortable as Baxter in labeling their work "casuistry," which was typically what they accused Catholic priests of doing. Instead, they preferred to speak of their work as "practical divinity" and "cases of conscience." No matter the name, puritan pastors aimed to help the individual through ethical quandaries and spiritual crises. This counsel sought to apply Christianity to the daily lives of believers.

Richard Rogers (c.1550-1618) exemplified this practical divinity in his *Seven Treatises*. He considered cases of conscience simply to be a guide for the Christian life. Thus in writing, he sought "to make the Christian way any thing more easie and pleasant unto them, then many finde it: and to bring into more price, then the most doe value it at."¹⁵⁴ As a comprehensive guide to Christian living he covered topics such as redemption in Christ, assurance of salvation, daily spiritual practices, and hindrances to faith. In all circumstances, introspection proved the key to the godly life. Rogers helped "the frailtie of Gods children. . . by setting before their eies as in a glasse, the infinite, secret, and deceitfull corruptions of the heart."¹⁵⁵ Only when people looked inward to their own depravity could they conquer their sin and live in a manner pleasing to God. Rogers did

¹⁵²Richard Baxter, *How To Do Good to Many: Or the Publick Good Is the Christians Life* (London: Robert Gibs, 1682), 12.

¹⁵³John T. McNeil, "Casuistry in the Puritan Age," *Religion in Life* 12, no. 1 (1942-3): 77.

¹⁵⁴Richard Rogers, *Seven Treatises Containing Such Direction as Is Gathered out of the Holie Scriptures* (London: Humfrey Lownes, 1605), preface.

¹⁵⁵*Ibid.*

not stand alone in promoting this “introspective piety.”¹⁵⁶ His work represented the expected practice of counseling for the puritan minister, and it was also part of a large body of literature on the subject. To mention a few, Perkins, Ames, and Robert Bolton (1572-1631) all wrote extended treatises on cases of conscience, guiding the believer to self-analysis for godly living.¹⁵⁷

More than any other question, the greatest case of conscience was assurance of salvation. The subtitle of Perkins’s 1592 work on cases of conscience made clear that the ultimate question in casuistry was “how man may know, whether he be the childe of God or no.”¹⁵⁸ He observed, “In Gods Church commonlie they, who are touched by the Spirit, and begin to come on in religion, are much troubled with feare, that they are not Gods children, and none so much as they. Therefore, they often thinke on this point, and are not quite till they find some resolution.”¹⁵⁹ For this assurance, Perkins pointed his readers to 1 John and Psalm 15. He asks, “How then may we know that our sinnes are washed away by Christ?”¹⁶⁰ The answer rests in John’s words: “[1] Joh. 9. If we confess our sinnes (name with an humble heart, desiring pardon) he is faithfull & just (in keping his promise) to forgive our sinnes, and to clense us from al unrighteousnes.”¹⁶¹ Perkins enlisted Psalm 15 to note that “he who leadeth the course of his life up-rightly” can have

¹⁵⁶Winship, “Weak Christians,” 462.

¹⁵⁷William Ames, *Conscience with the Power and Cases Thereof* (London, 1639); Robert Bolton, *Instructions for a Right Comforting of Afflicted Consciences* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1631); William Perkins, *The Whole Treatise of the Cases of Conscience* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1606); William Perkins, *A Case of Conscience: The Greatest that Ever Was* (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1592). Geroge L. Mosse identifies Perkins as “the founder of Puritan Casuistry.” Geroge L. Mosse, *The Holy Pretence: A Study in Christianity and Reason of State from William Perkins to John Winthrop* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957), 48. Certainly, Mosse is correct that “Perkins’s importance as a casuist cannot be overrated,” but to speak of him as the founder fails to take into consideration the significant roles Rogers and Greenham played in developing puritan practical divinity (ibid., 66).

¹⁵⁸Perkins, *Case of Conscience*.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., 2.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., 5.

¹⁶¹Ibid.

assurance of faith.¹⁶² The redeeming work of God transformed believers into those who faithfully followed his commands. Thus for Perkins, and in this he represented puritanism more broadly, assurance came by looking to the work of Christ on the cross and by looking to the work of the Spirit in one's life. Both objective and subjective elements existed in each of these means of assurance. Christ's atoning death redeemed his children, and yet, these people still had to believe. The Spirit transformed believers' lives, and yet, they had to live in manner worthy of this calling.

Like his fellow puritans, Greenham counseled and assured souls. An early editor of his collected works recalled, he "was inferiour to few or none in his time" in counseling afflicted consciences.¹⁶³ Henry Holland, a later editor of the collected works, identified the pastor of Dry Drayton as a preeminent "Spirituell Physition."¹⁶⁴ Elaborating on Greenham's work as a spiritual counselor, Holland recorded, "This reverend man of God, M. Greenham, was a man in his life time of great hope, and could have given best rules for this unknowne facultie: for that the Lord by his good knowledge and experience, restored many from unspeakable torments, and terrors of minde."¹⁶⁵ Similarly, Joseph Hall remembered Greenham as one who "excell'd in experimental divinity; and knew well how to stay a weake conscience, how to raise a fallen, how to strike a remorselesse."¹⁶⁶ His reputation as a spiritual counselor continued well into the seventeenth century where Fuller highlighted Greenham's care for souls, "His master-piece was in comforting wounded consciences. For although Heavens hand can only set a broken heart, yet God used him herein as an instrument of to many, who came to him with weeping eyes, and

¹⁶²Perkins, *Case of Conscience*, 28.

¹⁶³Stephen Egerton, "To the Right Worshipfull Sir Marmaduke Darrell," *WRG*.

¹⁶⁴Henry Holland, "The Preface to the Reader," *WRG*.

¹⁶⁵Ibid.

¹⁶⁶Joseph Hall, *Epistles*, (London: A. H., 1608), 1:72.

went from him with chearefull souls. The breath of his gracious counsel blew up much smoking flax, into a blazing flame.”¹⁶⁷ Reflecting on the evidence from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, two modern biographers of Greenham argue, “While William Perkins has been credited as the founder of English Reformed casuistry, based on ‘cases of conscience’, contemporary testimony and the cases recorded by Greenham’s students leave little doubt that Greenham was widely acknowledged to be the founder and original practitioner of what became in the seventeenth century a widely practised art.”¹⁶⁸ His counsel was not limited to his own parishioners, but many traveled to seek his guidance, making “Dry Drayton a veritable pilgrimage site for those thrown down by spiritual doubts and fears.”¹⁶⁹

Greenham’s emphasis on counseling the afflicted arose from his conviction that “the peace of conscience and joy in the holy Ghost” was the great need of all people.¹⁷⁰ However, such peace often proved elusive, for “if the spirite of a man bee once troubled and dismayed, hee cannot tell how to be delivered.”¹⁷¹ Ideally, an afflicted person was to call to mind the character and promises of God as a means of comfort, but when trouble struck the conscience, there would be no comfort.¹⁷² Torment in conscience afflicted a person in mind, in body, and in soul. Therefore, the mind offered little aid in consoling the afflicted, and this was where the faithful pastor must intercede.

Greenham stressed the danger of an afflicted conscience by comparing it to other maladies, “There is no sicknesse, but a Physicke provideth for it a remedi; there is

¹⁶⁷Fuller, *Church History of Britain*, 9:219.

¹⁶⁸Parker and Carlson, ‘*Practical Divinity*,’ 85.

¹⁶⁹Ibid.

¹⁷⁰Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 7.

¹⁷¹Richard Greenham, *The First Treatise for an Afflicted Conscience*, WRG, 95.

¹⁷²Ibid.

no sore, but a Chirurgie will affoord it a salve; friendship helpeth povertie; there is no imprisonment, but there is hope of libertie.”¹⁷³ When it came to an affliction of conscience, he asked, “But what Physicke cureth? what Chirurgie salveth? what riches ransometh? what countenance beareth out? what authoritie asswageth? what savour relieveth a troubled conscience?”¹⁷⁴ Even if “all these banded together in league (though they would conspire a confederacie) cannot helpe this one distresse of a troubled minde.”¹⁷⁵ The godly minister needed to apply God’s Word and work to provide “comfort of a quiet minde,” which “doth wonderfully cure, and comfortably asswage all other griefes whatsoever.”¹⁷⁶

Greenham aimed to soothe people’s souls by helping them rightly bring God’s counsel to their situations. When people found peace with God, they were able to face any sort of adversity. “If a man languish in sicknesse, so his heart be whole, and is perswaded of the health of his soule, his sicknesse doth not grieve him.”¹⁷⁷ Spiritual wholeness allowed the person to handle all physical and psychological adversity. Pain in this world would pass away, but the danger of unaddressed spiritual problems was that they had eternal consequences. Greenham explained, “Where all other evils are the more tolerable, because they be temporall, and pursue us but to death: this not being cured, endeth not in death but becommeth eternall.”¹⁷⁸ Peace of conscience resulted from a person being at peace with God through the work of Christ. Apart from this peace with God, people would face eternal condemnation. As with preaching, Greenham made counseling the afflicted an integral part of his ministry because he saw in it a way to

¹⁷³Greenham, *The First Treatise for an Afflicted Conscience*, WRG, 97.

¹⁷⁴Ibid.

¹⁷⁵Ibid.

¹⁷⁶Ibid.

¹⁷⁷Ibid.

¹⁷⁸Ibid., 98.

bring about faith in the unconverted and to assure the elect of their salvation in Christ.

Minister to the Body

Greenham's ministry aligned with the typical picture of the puritan minister as the instructor of minds and assurer of souls. He preached with frequency and fervor. He systematically catechized the children of his parish, and he counseled those afflicted in conscience. He was the prototypical puritan pastor. However, limiting puritan pastoral ministry to these elements tells only part of the story. Clarke went on to describe a whole other side of Greenham's ministry: he cared greatly for the poor.¹⁷⁹ He earned a reputation as one who helped the needy he passed on the roadside and who frequently gave alms to the prisoners at the castle in Cambridge. In order that he would be able to give most of his allotment of straw to the poor, Greenham kept only two animals to work his land. At times, his generosity outstripped his means. Some years, there was not enough left of his sizeable £100 per annum salary to bring in the harvest, and so his wife had to borrow money to do so. Greenham did not limit his charity to his private actions, but he also used his influence in Dry Drayton to bring about policies to care for those in need. During one time of scarcity, he negotiated the price of barley down to a more affordable rate for the poor. On another occasion, he worked to create a co-operative where, based on the needs of their families, the poor could buy their grain at a reduced rate. Greenham also preached against the reduction of the size of the bushel by public order during a shortage, and he personally refused to cut his own bushel, while still selling grain for less than many others.

Greenham's care for the poor characterized his ministry from the beginning. He spoke of a distinct trust placed upon him at the time of his ordination. He recounted, "I was and am induced, the rather by a speciall charge of caring for the poore laide upon

¹⁷⁹Clarke, *Lives of Thirty-Two English Divines*, 12.

me (by a special occasion) at the time of mine ordination into the Ministerie.”¹⁸⁰ He elaborated on why he accepted such a call: “I willingly went under [this charge], because the holy Apostles Paul and Barnabas did the same before me. Whose wise and worthie dispensation about the Church almes, often admonishing me of no lesse wisdom and discretion, than of dutie & conscience to be used in this behalfe.”¹⁸¹ He gave an account of this care entrusted to him in the context of a letter he wrote furthering another of his charitable enterprises. With Whitaker and Chaderton, Greenham coordinated a fund to aid those students at Cambridge who came from poorer families. In addition to the charge at his ordination, Greenham’s own status as a sizar while at Cambridge indicated he could easily empathize with these impoverished students.¹⁸²

Greenham did not limit his concern for others’ physical well being to charity. In his counseling, for which he won fame in his own day, Greenham sought to minister to the body as well as the soul. In the face of trouble, he encouraged his parishioners to seek help from both the physician and the minister.¹⁸³ To all those who flocked to Dry Drayton for his counsel, he instructed them to care for their bodies as well as their souls. He advised those who sought his help to employ the means of grace: to hear and to read God’s Word, to pray, and to receive the sacraments. But his advice to afflicted consciences continued beyond these spiritual exercises. He further counseled, “The body also should be brought into some temperature by Physicke, by purging, by diet, by restoring, by musicke, and by such like meanes; providing alwaies that it be done so in the feare of God, and wisdom of his spirit.”¹⁸⁴ For Greenham, the soul and the body are the objects of the pastor’s care.

¹⁸⁰Richard Greenham, *A Letter for the Relieving of Poore Students*, WRG, 864.

¹⁸¹Ibid. See Acts 11:27-30.

¹⁸²Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, s.v. “Greenham, Richard.”

¹⁸³Greenham, *The First Treatise for an Afflicted Conscience*, WRG, 106-7.

¹⁸⁴Ibid.

When the physical side of puritan pastoral care has received scholarly attention, the focus has been on poor relief. Even these discussions fail to understand sufficiently the vibrancy and theological underpinnings of puritan efforts to relieve the poor. Max Weber argues that puritanism helped develop capitalism, in part, because it discouraged people from charity, which, in turn, made more capital available for investment.¹⁸⁵ Hill follows Weber in arguing that puritanism decreased care for the poor, and he further averred that the godly used poor relief as a means of social control.¹⁸⁶ Keith Wrightson and Margo Todd strongly emphasize the domineering nature of puritan-led poor relief, but Spufford counters that puritanism primarily concerned itself with God, not social control.¹⁸⁷ The vast majority of work on puritanism and poor relief has been of a sociological nature. When these social historians do introduce theology into the discussion, they typically fail to realize that the puritans saw neither providence nor justification by faith alone as reasons for inaction. Hill, for example, claims, “The new attitude towards charity arose directly and naturally from the central tenets of protestant theology – predestination and justification by faith, not by works.”¹⁸⁸ In discussing puritan charity, historians argue that if salvation no longer depended on works, and no one feared the torment of purgatory, then people had no reason to do good. Such thinking clearly caricatures Protestant teaching on the relationship between faith and good works. Even Spufford, who rightly asserts that puritanism was not about social control,

¹⁸⁵Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribners, 1958). Weber contends that this lack of charity arose from a puritan emphasis on divine providence coupled with a belief that only the “deserving” poor were to be helped.

¹⁸⁶Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism*; Christopher Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution: Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1958). See esp. chap. 7, “William Perkins and the Poor.”

¹⁸⁷Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1982); Margo Todd, *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Margaret Spufford, “Puritanism and Social Control?” chap. 1 in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

¹⁸⁸Hill, *Society and Puritanism*, 287.

completely discounts how necessary the godly understood loving one's neighbor to be. She argues that their faith was only about relating to God and not to man, but an examination of puritan teaching on the moral imperatives of the Christian faith proves such a view to be false. Faith was for this world as well as the next. In part, this dissertation seeks to explicate Greenham's professed motivation for his physical care for those in need and to demonstrate its compatibility with his broader theology.

While a number of shortcomings exist in the literature on puritan pastoral ministry, two recent areas of study provide a better foundation from which to examine the pastoral practice of puritanism. First, the influx of social histories of sixteenth-century England, while not dealing directly with Greenham, allow for better insights into the ministry of an Elizabethan pastor by furthering our understanding of the period. These studies elucidate the lives and beliefs of the average person to whom Greenham sought to minister. Of particular relevance for this study is Spufford's *Contrasting Communities*, which focuses on Cambridgeshire and specifically addresses Dry Drayton at a few points.¹⁸⁹ Spufford describes the economic, educational, and religious life of Cambridgeshire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Her discussion of the economic realities that necessitated for the type of care Greenham exhibited for the poor proves particularly helpful.¹⁹⁰ Similarly, Wrightson elucidates the economic realities of this time and so makes clear the need for poor relief in this period.¹⁹¹ While Spufford and Wrightson examine the social and economic aspects of this period, Keith Thomas and

¹⁸⁹Patrick Collinson and John Craig, eds., *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640* (New York: St. Martin's, 1998); Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*; Haigh, *The Plain Man's Pathways to Heaven*; Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*; Margaret Spufford, ed. *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*.

¹⁹⁰Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, 51-52.

¹⁹¹Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002).

Alexandra Walsham greatly help their readers understand the worldview of the common person of this time.¹⁹² Thomas articulates the competition between magic and religion as interpretative frameworks during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Walsham shows that belief in providence affected every aspect of society; everything could be explained by recourse to God's divine plan. Thomas's and Walsham's studies underscore the interconnectedness Greenham and his parishioners saw between the physical and spiritual realms. These studies provide a backdrop against which one can better understand Greenham's repeated counsel to find the good that God was bringing about in physical affliction.

In addition to the insights gleaned from social historians, theology of the body provides a helpful lens through which to view Greenham's pastoral practice. Over the past century, theological reflections on the body have proliferated.¹⁹³ Works on the biblical language of the body by Rudolf Bultmann, John A. T. Robinson, and Robert H.

¹⁹²Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*; Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*.

¹⁹³For example, see Emil Brunner, *Man in Revolt: A Christian Anthropology*, trans. Olive Wyon (New York: Scribner's, 1939); D. R. G. Owen, *Body and Soul: A Study on the Christian View of Man* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1956); Karl Barth, *Christ and Adam: Man and Humanity in Romans 5*, trans. T. A. Smail, Scottish Journal of Theology Occasional Papers no. 5 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956); Karl Barth, *The Doctrine of Creation, Church Dogmatics*, vol. 3 bk. 2 ed. G. W. Bromiley and T. F. Torrance, trans. H. Knight, et al. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1960); G. C. Berkouwer, *Man the Image of God* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962); Rudolf Bultmann, "Adam and Christ According to Romans 5," *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation: Essays in Honor of Otto A. Piper*, ed. William Klassen and Graydon F. Snyder (London: SCM, 1962): 143-65; Cipriano Vagaggini, *The Flesh Instrument of Salvation: A Theology of the Human Body* (Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1969); Jürgen Moltmann, *Man: Christian Anthropology in the Conflicts of the Present*, trans. John Sturdy (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971); Hans Walter Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament*, trans. Margaret Kohl (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974); Helmut Thielicke, *Being Human. . . Becoming Human: An Essay in Christian Anthropology*, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984); Wolfhart Pannenberg, *Anthropology in Theological Perspective*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1985); Benedict Ashley, *Theologies of the Body: Humanist and Christian* (Philadelphia: The Pope John Center, 1985); Joseph Ratzinger, "Concerning the Notion of Person in Theology," *Communio*, 17 (Fall 1990): 439-54; Paula M. Cooley, *Religious Imagination and the Body: A Feminist Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); J. P. Moreland and Scott B. Rae, *Body & Soul: Human Nature & the Crisis in Ethics* (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity, 2000); John Paul II, *Man and Woman He Created Them: A Theology of the Body*, trans. Michael Waldstein (Boston: Pauline, 2006); Marc Cortez, *Embodied Souls, Ensouled Bodies: An Exercise in Christological Anthropology and Its Significance for the Mind/Body Debate* (London: T&T Clark, 2008); Gregg R. Allison, "Toward a Theology of Human Embodiment," *Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 13, no. 2 (2009): 4-17.

Gundry prove beneficial in analyzing Greenham's exegesis of Scriptures.¹⁹⁴ Mary Timothy Prokes, John W. Cooper, and Adam G. Cooper provide the theological and philosophical frameworks to discuss the concepts within Greenham's writings.¹⁹⁵ Additionally, these three works help clarify the language necessary to discuss the body and its relationship to the soul.

Historical studies, particularly historical theology, have also seen an increased interest in the body. In their respective works, John W. Cooper and Adam G. Cooper survey the historical developments in the Christian understanding of the relationship between body and soul, and while both authors discuss the Reformation era, they do not address the post-Reformation period.¹⁹⁶ Likewise, Margaret R. Miles and Alida Leni Sewell offer more in-depth looks at John Calvin's (1509-1564) view of the body, which proves helpful in tracing the forerunners of Greenham's thought.¹⁹⁷ Michael C. Schoenfeldt, Richard Sugg, and Charis Charalampous study the mind-body relationship in early modern England, and their works provide context for Greenham's thought.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴Rudolf Bultman, *Theology of the New Testament*, 2 vols., trans. Kendrick Grobel (New York: Scribner's, 1951), see esp. vol. 1, chap. 4, "Man Prior to the Revelation of Faith," 190-269; John A. T. Robinson, *The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology* (Naperville, IL, 1957); Robert H. Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology with an Emphasis on Pauline Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

¹⁹⁵Mary Timothy Prokes, *Toward a Theology of the Body* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996); John W. Cooper, *Body, Soul & Life Everlasting: Biblical Anthropology and the Monism-Dualism Debate*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000); Adam G. Cooper, *Life in the Flesh: An Anti-Gnostic Spiritual Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

¹⁹⁶Cooper, *Life in the Flesh*; Cooper, *Body, Soul, and Life Everlasting*.

¹⁹⁷Alida Leni Sewell, *Calvin, the Body, and Sexuality: An Inquiry into His Anthropology* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2011); Margaret R. Miles, "Theology, Anthropology, and the Human Body in Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*," *Harvard Theological Review* 74, no. 3 (1981): 303-23. For more on Calvin's anthropology, see Roy W. Battenhouse, "The Doctrine of Man in Calvin and in Renaissance Platonism," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 9, no. 4 (1948): 447-71; T. F. Torrance, *Calvin's Doctrine of Man* (London: Lutherworth, 1949); Charles Partee, "The Soul in Plato, Platonism, and Calvin," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 22, no. 3 (September 1969): 278-95; Charles Partee, *Calvin and Classical Philosophy*, *Studies in the History of Christian Thought*, ed. Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden: Brill, 1977); Mary Potter Engel, *John Calvin's Perspectival Anthropology* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988).

¹⁹⁸Michael C. Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Richard Sugg, *The Smoke of the Soul: Medicine, Physiology and Religion in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave, 2013); Charis Charalampous, *Rethinking the Mind-Body Relationship in Early Modern Literature, Philosophy and Medicine: The Renaissance of the Body* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

However, there exists neither a book-length treatment nor even a journal article devoted to puritans and the body.

When scholars have written on puritans and the body, most allege that the puritans were, at best, ambivalent toward the body. Bozeman typifies the standard view of the puritans and the body, claiming they held to “a selective Christian Platonism.”¹⁹⁹ He argues that their belief in the radical effects of sin on human nature led to a negative assessment of the body. Such a claim does not necessarily follow, and in the case of Greenham, his belief in total depravity did not lead to a platonic disdain for the body. Two recent works have begun to rectify the dearth of material on puritans and the body. In “The Image of the Body in the Formative Phases of the Protestant Reformation,” David Tripp briefly touches on Richard Baxter (1615-1691) and his insistence that the Christian calling was for the whole person.²⁰⁰ While not focusing on religion, Charis Charalampous’s *Rethinking the Mind-Body Relationship in Early Modern Literature, Philosophy and Medicine* approvingly cites Baxter in support of the book’s examination of “the ways in which the body was theorized and represented as an intelligent agent, with desires, appetites and understanding independent of the mind.”²⁰¹ More work needs to be done examining the puritan understanding of the body to supplement the few existing studies and to correct misconceptions.

Thesis and Outline

This dissertation argues that Greenham’s pastoral care for the whole person arose from his theology. Specifically, his biblical anthropology informed his belief that

¹⁹⁹Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 91. Similarly, Frank Bottomley sees puritanism as bringing Platonizing tendencies into the Christian faith. Frank Bottomley, *Attitudes to the Body in Western Christendom* (London: Lepus, 1979).

²⁰⁰David Tripp, “The Image of the Body in the Formative Phases of the Protestant Reformation,” in *Religion and the Body*, ed. Sarah Coakley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 131-52.

²⁰¹Charalampous, *Rethinking the Mind-Body Relationship*, 1.

each individual lived in this world as a unified person – body and soul joined together. Additionally, his Christology gave value to the whole person because Christ took on a complete human nature in order to redeem the soul as well as the body. Human nature and the person and work of Christ demanded that the godly pastor care for his people in both body and soul. A person consisted of the union of body and soul, and since Christ Jesus redeemed his people in both body and soul, the pastor was to minister to the whole person.

The next chapter explains Greenham's view of the body and soul within his intellectual context. Then, chapter 3 examines his counsel for how a Christian was to live an embodied life both in the mundane and during major life events. Chapter 4 surveys his counsel on caring for the afflicted body, and chapter 5 reviews how he applies that advice to specific trials. While Greenham was neither the originator nor the sole practitioner of this holistic style of ministry, he remains a representative figure of an important component of puritan pastoral ministry that has received little attention. Additionally, the influence he exerted on the subsequent generations of godly ministers necessitates an examination of his pastoral practice.

CHAPTER 2

GREENHAM'S ANTHROPOLOGY IN ITS INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT

Greenham's holistic ministry arose from the foundation of a theologically-informed anthropology. He articulated an understanding of each person as a unity of two distinct elements: body and soul. These two components were united in this life, separated at death, and would be reunited in the resurrection. The whole person, including the body, had value because God created and redeemed whole people. Greenham's view of the body needs to be understood in its intellectual context. In his anthropology, Greenham kept in step with the major Protestant thinkers of the sixteenth century, and thus theological parallels to his conception of human nature abound. Additionally, analogs to his thought can be found in the philosophical reflections and medical practices of his day. This chapter begins with an exposition of Greenham's conception of body and soul, highlighting the importance of Christology in shaping his views. Then, the chapter turns to the intellectual context, comparing Greenham's anthropology to sixteenth-century philosophy, medicine, and theology.

Greenham's Understanding of Body and Soul

Greenham believed that a person was the union of body and soul and that the person and work of Christ revealed the value of this whole person in soul as well as body. Through an examination of his pastoral writings, this section first demonstrates Greenham's fundamental belief in psychosomatic unity and then examines the nature of that union. Next, this chapter reveals how he derived the value of the whole person from Christology. Building on his understanding of sin as rooted in the soul yet infecting the

entire person, Greenham argued that Christ's redemptive work had to be holistic to counter the total corruption of sin. Sin came from the soul and alienated the person in both body and soul from God. To rescue sinners from this total estrangement, Christ came from heaven and took on full humanity. The Son of God suffered in both body and soul to redeem sinners in both body and soul. Christ's physical resurrection guaranteed that God would not leave the body to decay in the grave, but on the last day, the Almighty would resurrect the bodies of the dead and reunite them with their souls. The unrepentant would be raised to eternal physical judgment and the believer to eternal embodied life. Redemption would not be complete until the physical resurrection of the faithful. Thus for Greenham, the Christian religion was about far more than the salvation of souls; it was about the redemption of the whole person.

Union of Body and Soul

Greenham demonstrated a fundamental belief in psychosomatic unity. A person consisted of two parts: body and soul. These two remained inseparable in this life, separated at death, and would reunite in the resurrection.¹ His counsel to the afflicted revealed this unified anthropology, which made up part of a larger worldview that saw the physical and spiritual realms as intimately connected. He adamantly affirmed the union of body and soul, but within this union, a hierarchy existed. The soul, as the seat of religion, far outweighed the body in importance. Yet, the soul's status meant it also bore greater culpability for sin. The body was not inherently sinful but could be employed by Christians for their spiritual growth.

A person experienced life as the unity of body and soul, and so in his counsel, Greenham drew no clear distinction between the physical and spiritual realms. In fact, the two were so interconnected that he advised those in physical adversity to seek both

¹Richard Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 84.

physical and spiritual remedies. Likewise, to those suffering spiritual maladies he counseled them to care for both the body and the soul.² When afflictions came, be they bodily or spiritual, Greenham directed people to examine the spiritual causes of affliction. Did the afflictions come from sin, from Satan, or from God?³ No matter the cause, the remedy had to address both body and soul.

Greenham outlined a fourfold holistic process to addressing hardships. “First, to labour to have peace of conscience, & joy of the holy Ghost, through the assurance of their sinnes pardoned in Jesus Christ.”⁴ The afflicted were to look first to Christ crucified to assure them of the forgiveness of their sins. Second, he explained, “Then to be carefull to use the meanes which may nourish their inward peace & joy.”⁵ The assurance and peace gained from looking to Christ had to be nourished by the faithful use of the means of grace. “Thirdly,” he encouraged, “they must rejoyce and recreate themselves in wisdom and well-doing with the Saints of God, and holie companie.”⁶ The community of believers, especially when gathered for corporate worship, would do much to refresh the afflicted. Greenham’s counsel did not stop with spiritual remedies, but he urged those suffering to seek physical aid as well: “Lastly, they must refresh themselves with kitchin physicke, and a thankfull using of the creatures of God.”⁷ They were to nourish themselves with good food that would aid their recovery. Furthermore, the afflicted needed to put God’s creation to work for their healing. The body and soul were so

²Richard Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 34.

³For Greenham on sin, see *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 80; *Certaine Rules for an Afflicted Minde Concerning Severall Temptations*, WRG, 857. For Satan, see *The Fifth Sermon*, WRG, 274. For God, see *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 639.

⁴Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 34.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid. See later in this chapter for more on the role of diet in sixteenth-century medicine.

intertwined that a malady of one would invariably hurt the other, and so to heal one part, both had to receive treatment.

Such holistic advice flowed from more than pragmatic wisdom; it was built upon Scripture's presentation of human nature. The Psalmist himself, argued Greenham, recognized the need to treat body and soul together. Pointing to verses 81 and 82 of Psalm 119, Greenham commented, "When he saith that his eyes and bodie were troubled, he sheweth that the fainting of the soule, is the fainting of the body, to teach us in the diseases of the body, not only to looke to naturall causes & remedies, but to have an eye to the soule, & remedy that."⁸ Body and soul could not be separated. Trouble to one was trouble to both, and so the healing of the person required attention be paid to both the spiritual and physical. Unlike the Psalmist, "worldlings" failed to see the interconnectedness of the body and soul. As a result they did not benefit from afflictions as the godly did, but instead their troubles "come to miserable ends."⁹ The unity between body and soul necessitated that a malady of one be healed by medicine to both parts. This prescription arose from Greenham's anthropology: soul and body together made up the individual.

The interconnectedness of the physical and spiritual in each person reflected this same correspondence in nature. Typical for his time, Greenham understood there to be no clear distinction between physical and spiritual activities.¹⁰ The natural and supernatural realms were intimately interconnected. Both God and spiritual forces of evil

⁸Richard Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 439.

⁹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 731.

¹⁰Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), explores conceptions from this period of the interrelation between the supernatural and natural spheres and, in particular, addresses how Protestant providentialism understood the connection between these worlds. Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), also helpfully illustrates the links between the spiritual and physical worlds at this time.

were at work in the natural world. Greenham frequently warned his flock of the danger of witchcraft and wizardry, “Hee that goeth to witches and wizards, goes to aske counsell of the divell.”¹¹ To seek such help in times of need is to invite Satan into one’s life. No firm boundary existed between the physical and spiritual realms, and so Greenham offered counsel on “walking spirits” and “fayries.”¹² Spiritual forces pervaded the world, and Greenham alerted the godly to the danger lurking behind these traditional avenues for supernatural assistance.

However, not all interactions between the natural and supernatural proved detrimental. While the devil’s agents might roam the earth, Greenham highlighted that only by divine intervention did the world continue to exist. He condemned those who looked only to natural explanations, “The politike Atheists and disciples of Philosophers of our time thinke, that raine must come by a conjunction of Planets of necessitie.”¹³ However, he explained, as Christians, “We grant that the Lord useth meanes, but so as he intendeth and remitteth them by his owne limitation and power.”¹⁴ Thus, when a calamity such as drought came, believers went to the Creator directly through prayer, and “God as the author, from whom our helpe commeth, heareth the heavens, the heavens answer the earth, the earth relieveth the creatures, the creatures minister unto man.”¹⁵ Natural explanations only provided half the answer to events on this earth. The Lord employed

¹¹Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 581. Greenham also addressed witchcraft and wizardry in *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 42, and in *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 821-22. He warned, too, against visiting a “magitian” in *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 3. For a more comprehensive look at magic and those who practiced it in early modern England, see Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 177-219; 435-583.

¹²For Greenham’s view of walking spirits, see *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, WRG, 50. For fairies, see *ibid.*, 42. For a more detailed explanation of fairies in Protestant thought at this time, see Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 588-614.

¹³Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions for the Attaining and Retaining of Faith and a Good Conscience*, WRG, 59.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵*Ibid.*

means to accomplish his ends, but he, not his means, was the cause of all. The Almighty sent rain to the earth that nourished it and thereby sustained human life. Only by his constant intervention did the world continue to exist. Thus, Greenham's view of the union between body and soul in each person was a microcosm of his greater worldview that saw the physical and spiritual intertwined throughout the entire universe.

Although Greenham understood the body and the soul to be united, he still spoke of "how much the soule is better than the body."¹⁶ Such a hierarchy stemmed from the fact that "God is a spirit, therefore his commaundments are spiritual, and require spiritual obedience."¹⁷ God's nature as a spirit required that the center of human religious activity be the spiritual aspect of that person. Thus Greenham declared, "The heart is the seate of the Christian religion."¹⁸ Love and devotion to the Lord formed the foundation of the godly life. First and foremost, one's affections had to be oriented toward God, and these affections found their home in the soul.¹⁹ Greenham freely interchanged the terms "soul," "heart," and "affection," but the point was clear: religion was a matter of love toward God. From this emphasis on the affections, Greenham pointed to the inner person as "the principall place for God to worke on."²⁰

It was the affections, not the intellect, that Greenham identified as central to the Christian faith. In fact, he proposed that benefiting from Scripture was not a matter of reason but the affections: "The cause then why we do no more profit by the word, is because wee doe not denie our reason, wee have not affections that hunger after it, nor

¹⁶Richard Greenham, *A Godly Exposition of the XVI Psalme*, WRG, 324.

¹⁷Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 73.

¹⁸Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 518.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 719.

love to make us pant for it, which things if we did, we should surely be satisfied.”²¹ Mere mental assent could never be enough; true faith consisted of love and devotion toward God. Only when the affections were transformed could the mind and the rest of the person begin to be renewed. “We may be convinced in judgement,” Greenham reported, “and yet not have our mindes changed and renewed, for that commeth onely when our affections are reformed into the due obedience of that which we have in true understanding.”²² The mind could know the truth, but obedience would only come when the affections aligned with that truth. This was far from an intellectualist approach to religion; Greenham called for an affective faith. A life conformed to God’s precepts began with a heart devoted to God. The godly were to seek their Maker with whole hearts, for transformation began in the affections, and from there, extended to the whole person.

The soul’s place at the center of religious activity in no way denigrated the body. While devotion to God originated in the soul, Greenham stipulated, “The roote of all sinne is in our soule.”²³ With the soul’s elevated status came greater responsibility. Sin originated in the soul, not in the body. The physical body did not cause sin, but evil desires rooted in the heart and soul led the whole person to sin.

Consequently, Greenham defended the body against those who would blame it entirely for sin. He lamented, “Some preachers doe much inveigh against the body, crying out, that it is the enemy of the soule.”²⁴ Instead, he proposed, “We are rather to nourish the body as the friend of the soule, for the exercise of repentance, and

²¹Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 520.

²²Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 731.

²³Ibid., 773.

²⁴Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 26; cf. Richard Greenham, REM 524 fol. 20v. Throughout his writings, Greenham differentiated between body and flesh. In his catechism, he asked, “What call you the flesh?” He answered, “The corruption of our nature, wherein wee were borne and conceived.” *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 89. Greenham identified the flesh as the sinful nature and referred to the body as the physical aspect of a human being.

mortification, and sanctification.”²⁵ The body might not have caused sin, but it still partnered with the soul in sin, and so with the soul needed to be redeemed. Thus, the body needed to be put to work in spiritual exercise as well. Rather than lambasting the body, Christians were to understand that “the soule is the enemie to the body in using it to sinne, for that there is never any corrupt action in the body, but there hath been first a corrupt motion and sinful affection in the soule.”²⁶ Corrupt actions began in the soul, and then the soul put the body to work in sin. Greenham repeatedly cited the inner person as the reason for sin. The heart, he declared, was “the fountaine of all sinfull actions.”²⁷ He went on to confess, “It is mine owne heart, that is the cause of sinne in me.”²⁸

The opportunity to sin might come from without, but a person’s sin still originated in the soul: “The occasion of evill may bee outward, but the cause of it is inwarde.”²⁹ To the sinner who would point to circumstances as the reason for disobedience, Greenham retorted, “Though you have occasions of sinne offered: yet the cause of sinne is still in your selfe.”³⁰ The pathway into sin might have been opened by another, but, Greenham counseled, you could not blame another for your sin because “the cause of it is in our owne corrupt nature, which is alwaies readie to sinne.”³¹ Greenham even highlighted the life of Basil the Great to demonstrate that sin came from the soul. “When he had perswaded himselfe, that if he could be in the wilderness, he should be

²⁵Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 26.

²⁶Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 26.

²⁷Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 700.

²⁸Ibid., 704.

²⁹Ibid., 700.

³⁰Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 30. For a similar statement of sin coming from within, see Greenham, REM 524 fol 4v.

³¹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 799.

happie, and serve God more devoutly, being out of the companie of men; when he came thither, he said, I have forsaken all things, but I retaine my olde heart still. If this evill were not, all evill temptations could not prevaile against him.”³² Escaping to the wilderness did not prevent sin because the old heart remained. Only a transformation of the affections put sin to death. From the soul sprang devotion to God, but at the same time, the soul, not the body, was the source of sin. All spiritual activity, whether good or bad, began in the soul. From the inner person came either love or hatred toward God.

The soul was the center of all spiritual activity, but as the soul could not be separated from the body in this life, Greenham understood the body to be a key component of a person’s spiritual life. As the remaining chapters will demonstrate, Greenham’s appreciation for the psychosomatic unity of human nature led him to counsel others to use their bodies in service of their devotion to God. The union of body and soul demanded that the physical be put to work for spiritual ends. Everything from diet to death and from sex to sickness was to be employed for spiritual growth. The whole person in both body and soul needed to be sanctified. The union between body and soul commended the worth of the body, but for Greenham the true foundation of the body’s worth was not anthropology but Christology.

³²Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 704. The negative impact of sin on the body created ambivalence toward the body from some puritans. On the one hand, they affirmed the importance of the body in Christ’s redemptive work and the imperative to care for those in need. All the while, they hesitated on the value of the body in this life. For example, Richard Sibbes often spoke of “vile bodies.” Richard Sibbes, *The Redemption of Bodies*, in *The Works of Richard Sibbes*, vol. 5, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (1862-1864; repr., Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, 1973), 165. Similarly, William Ames averred, “The soul is more noble than the body.” William Ames, *The Marrow of Theology*, trans. and ed. John D. Eusden (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1968), 315. Likewise, Thomas Watson described “being imprisoned in the body” and declared that “the soul is the most precious thing.” Thomas Watson, *A Sermon Preached on July 2 at the Funeral of Mr. John Wells* (London: Thomas Parkhurst, 1676), 30; Thomas Watson, *A Plea for Almes* (London: Thomas Parkurst, 1658), 8. Sin’s devastating effects caused some puritans to equivocate on the value of the body in this life, longing for the day when it would be freed from pain and sickness.

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The person and work of Christ gave the human body eternal significance. Sin brought death to soul and body, but the Son of God became fully human to redeem his people in both body and soul. The hope of the Christian faith for Greenham was not that the godly would escape their bodies, but that their bodies together with their souls would be redeemed, resurrected, and live forever in the new creation. The body mattered in the Christian life because Christ had redeemed it and would resurrect it when he came again.³³

Sin did not limit its effect to the soul but brought death to both soul and body. Thus, the remedy for sin needed to bring life to the soul as well as to the body. Greenham made plain that Adam's sin damaged every aspect of his being. Through sin, Adam

³³Godly pastors would join Greenham in pointing to Christology as evidence of the value of the body, but they also grounded their anthropology in their understanding of creation. The body had value because God created it and declared it good. The prelapsarian world, including human bodies, existed without fault or corruption. William Perkins expressed this key tenet: "The creation is that by which God made all things very good, of nothing, that is, of no matter which was before the creation." William Perkins, *A Golden Chain*, in *The Work of William Perkins*, ed. Ian Breward (Appleford: Sutton Courtenay, 1970), 186. He continued, explaining that such "goodness of the creature is a kind of excellency by which it was void of all defect, whether punishment or fault" (ibid.). This goodness extended not only to souls but to all of the physical world, including human bodies. The initial creation of humanity as good included their creation as united bodies and souls. Ames elaborated on this creation process: "The body was first prepared and afterwards the soul was breathed in Gen. 2:7. The body was made of elementary matter, but the soul was produced not out of matter existing before, but rather by the immediate power of God." Ames, *Marrow*, 105. While denying pre-existent souls, Ames indicated the psychosomatic unity of humans. A person existed as a united body and soul. The physical and spiritual were joined together. As Perkins affirmed, "Human nature. . . consisteth in whole of body and soul." Perkins, *Golden Chain*, in *Work*, 200.

Beyond being created as good, humans possessed an elevated status relative to the rest of creation because they were created in the image of God. Their souls and bodies bore his image. Their whole being reflected his glory. John Owen plainly stated, "Our entire nature was originally created in the image of God." John Owen, *A Discourse Concerning the Holy Spirit*, in *The Works of John Owen*, vol. 3, ed. William H. Goold (Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter, 1850-1853; repr., Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, 1965), 417. He then elaborated on what it meant for the entire human nature to be in God's image: "Our whole souls, in the rectitude of all their faculties and powers, in order unto the life of God and his enjoyment, did bear his image. Nor was it confined unto the soul only; the body also, not as to its shape, figure, or natural use, but as an essential part of our nature, was interested in the image of God by a participation or original righteousness" (ibid.). The Lord created human nature, both body and soul, in his image. The goodness of creation and humanity's status as divine image bearers meant that humanity existed in a state of perfection prior to the fall. This perfection extended to the body, as well, and as Ames explained, "The perfection of body was seen in its embodiment of beauty and usefulness conforming to God's will." Ames, *Marrow*, 106. Human physicality was central to edenic existence. According to Perkins, ruling the physical world, having physical bodies, and doing physical work were all part of the nobility of humans in their paradisaical existence. All the while, humans lived "in an excellent estate of innocence." Perkins, *Golden Chain*, in *Work*, 187-88. God had created the body as good and to bear his image, and thus even after the fall, the body continued to have value.

“alienated himself from God” in “his soule, his bodie.”³⁴ This separation from God brought death in body and soul to every person. Death, however, did not have the final word, for God sent his Son as a sacrifice to bring life to those who turned to him in faith. As Greenham proclaimed, “Now remember that as Christ being no sinner, was made of God a sinner, and punished of God as a sinner for thee: thou having no righteousness, art made through Christ righteous, and shalt be rewarded of God as righteous through him.”³⁵ God declared the unrighteous as righteous through the sacrifice of Christ.³⁶ The redemption he won was as thorough as sin; it covered the entire person. By the Son of God’s work, the Lord “purchased us anew, and [bought] every jot of us againe.”³⁷ Sin ravished the whole person, so Christ redeemed both the soul and the body.³⁸

Christ accomplished this full redemption by taking on a fully human nature. He existed as both God and man. Greenham argued that only as Christ came with a complete human nature, both body and soul, was he able to offer complete redemption to those who turned to him in faith. In his catechism, Greenham taught that the mediator and deliverer had to be “he which is indeed very man and perfectly righteous... because that the righteousness of God requireth, that the same nature that sinned, should pay, and make amends for all sinne.”³⁹ Christ had to become human to pay for human sin, and his being fully human necessarily entailed his possessing both a soul and a body.⁴⁰

³⁴Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 707.

³⁵Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 31.

³⁶For Greenham on imputation, see *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 85; *The Markes of a Righteous Man*, WRG, 119; *The Seventeenth Sermon*, WRG, 370.

³⁷Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 707.

³⁸Puritans shared this belief that the redemption won by Christ was holistic. “Christ is a perfect Saviour,” Sibbes proclaimed, “He saves not only the soul, but the body.” Sibbes, *The Redemption of Bodies*, in *Works*, 5:170.

³⁹Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 80. See also p. 82 where he reiterates this same reasoning.

⁴⁰The godly of Greenham’s era affirmed that Christ had to become a human in order to

The person of Christ laid the foundation from which he was able to accomplish his work of redeeming the whole person. Greenham emphasized that Jesus suffered in both body and soul in order to save the entire person. In the section of his catechism on the Creed, Greenham asked what it meant to confess, “He suffered under Pontius Pilate.”⁴¹ The required response demonstrated the necessity of Christ’s work being accomplished in both body and soul: “By them I shew my selfe to beleeve, that Christ endured most grievous torments both of body and soule.”⁴² In this life, the believer could take comfort in this sacrifice, knowing, “I am freed from all those punishments of bodie and soule which my sinnes have deserved.”⁴³ The Son of God bore the wrath of God in his body and soul because his people earned that penalty by sinning with both their bodies and souls. Thus Greenham testified to the necessity of the fact that Christ’s “whole body for thee was crucified.”⁴⁴ However, he did not only suffer physical pain; he “also in soule did abide most unspeakable vexations, griefes, painfull troubles, & feare of

accomplish his work of redemption, and for his human nature to be complete, he necessarily had a physical body. Thomas Cartwright explained that in becoming a man, “The Divine nature tooke to himselfe a body and reasonable soule.” Thomas Cartwright, *A Treatise of Christian Religion* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1616), 127. Perkins indicated that Christ had to be both God and man “because man had sinned, and therefore a man must die for sin, to appease Gods wrath: he must be God to sustaine and uphold the manhood, to overcome and vanquish death.” William Perkins, *The Foundation of Christian Religion Gathered into Sixe Principles* (London: John Legatt, 1636), 18-19. Cartwright elaborated on this thought, explaining, “The justice of God could no otherwise be satisfied, then by our nature which had committed the sin: and for that he could not suffer in his Godhead.” Cartwright, *Christian Religion*, 129. The nature which sinned paid for sin. Christ assumed human form in order to redeem humans in body and soul.

While emphasizing the full humanity of Jesus, puritans upheld the twin truth of his full deity. He had to be both God and man. To this end, Cartwright affirmed, “In the humane nature of Christ the fulnesse of the God-head doeth personally so rest and abide, that both the natures of the God-head and the man-hood make but one Christ.” Thomas Cartwright, *A Commentary upon the Epistle of Saint Paule Written to the Colossians* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1612), 120. Likewise, Perkins contended, “Salvation and life dependeth on that fullness of the Godhead which is in Christ, yet it is not communicated unto us but in the flesh and by the flesh of Christ.” Perkins, *Golden Chain*, in *Work*, 226. Christ had to be both fully divine and fully human in order to redeem his people, and his full humanity necessarily entailed a human body.

⁴¹Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 84.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Richard Greenham, *The Sixteenth Sermon*, WRG, 368.

minde, unto the which both before, and most of all when he hanged upon the crosse, he was cast.”⁴⁵ In his crucifixion, Jesus suffered physically and spiritually in order to deliver humans in their entire beings.

Christ not only had to suffer in body and soul, but in order to save the entire person, the whole work of redemption had to incorporate both aspects of humanity. From cross to glory, the Son of God brought salvation to the whole person by accomplishing his work with a complete human nature. Greenham recounted various aspects of redemption, emphasizing the holistic nature of each. Concerning the crucifixion, he explained about Christ, “Neither did he suffer in the bodie alone, but in the soule also: whereby he shewed, that he freed not the soule alone, but the bodie also, because the body as well as the soule was guiltie and punishable for sinne.”⁴⁶ Likewise his resurrection encompassed his whole being: “He rose not in soule alone, but in bodie also, whereby he brought grace, and restored holiness as well to the body as the soule, seeing both body and soule had lost the same by transgression.”⁴⁷ Greenham repeatedly affirmed the physical nature of the resurrection, and used it as great comfort for the Christian.⁴⁸

⁴⁵Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 84. Likewise, Owen taught concerning Christ on the cross, “In his person he suffered, in the two essential, constituent parts of it, his body and his soul.” John Owen, *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ: The Mystery of the Gospel Vindicated And Socinianism Examined*, in *The Works of John Owen*, vol. 12, ed. William H. Goold (Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter, 1850-1853; repr., Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, 1965), 490.

⁴⁶Richard Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 186.

⁴⁷Ibid. Puritans emphasized the importance of the physicality of the resurrection. Together with Greenham, Ames is representative of this view when he detailed, “Christ’s resurrection pertained to his whole human nature which had fallen by death. For the soul it was a resurrection from hell or from state and dominion of death to which the soul, so far as it was a part of the human nature, was subject. For the body it was a resurrection from the dead and from the grave.” Ames, *Marrow*, 145-46. Ames found it nonsensical to speak of an incorporeal resurrection: “The soul cannot be said to have risen again, but this can be said of the body and human nature. The body and the man actually recovered their perfection, but the soul recovered the ability to act and move perfectly in the body” (ibid., 146).

⁴⁸See Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 178-86. Likewise for puritans more generally, the resurrection was essential to the Christian faith. Watson voiced their shared belief when he wrote, “The Doctrin of the Resurrection is a Fundamental Article of our Faith; the Apostle puts it among the Principles of the Doctrin of Christ, *Heb.* 6.2. The Body shall rise again; we are not so sure to rise out of our Beds, as we are to rise out of our Graves. The saved Body shall arise again.” Thomas Watson, *A Body of Practical Divinity* (London: Thomas Parkurst, 1692), 234-35. He elaborated further, “Believe this Doctrin of the Resurrection; and that the same Body that dies, shall arise again, and with the Soul be crown’d. Without the belief of this, *tota corrui Religio*, all religion falls to the ground, *1 Cor.* 15.4. If the Dead rise not, then Christ is not rise, and then our Faith is vain” (ibid., 236). Furthermore, puritan pastors

The believer was able to confess, “His resurrection doth assure me, that his righteousness shall be imputed to me for my perfect justification. . . [and] that I shall rise againe in the last day from bodily death.”⁴⁹ Likewise, the physicality of Christ’s ascension to his Father’s right hand brought comfort and hope to the believer. Greenham declared that the Son of God “ascended not only in soule but in the body also, because he would give glorie to the body and the soule, seeing he had purchased them both.”⁵⁰ Believers had hope for their own future glorification, knowing that “Christ in his humane Nature (the Apostles looking on,) ascended into Heaven.”⁵¹ Even into the present, the Son of God in his full humanity reigned at his Father’s right hand: “Christ in mans nature, was advanced by the Father unto that high authoritie, whereby hee ruleth all things in heaven and earth.”⁵² Christ’s physical ascension reassured Christians of their future hope and

emphasized that the resurrection must be holistic in order to bring to fruit the complete redemption of God’s people. Since humans sinned in body and soul, they needed to be saved in body and soul. Ames outlined this reasoning, “Resurrection relates to what has fallen. Because man fell from life by the separation of soul from body, it is necessary for his rising again that the same soul be reunited to the same body and that the same man exist in the restored union of the two.” Ames, *Marrow*, 57. God redeemed and would resurrect the whole fallen person. Additionally, Watson identified the justice of God as a reason behind the physical resurrection. Although people sinned in their bodies apart from God, once they came to the Lord through faith in Christ, they obeyed God in their bodies. “If God be just,” he argued, “then he will reward the Bodies of the Saints as well as the Souls. It cannot be imagined that the Souls of Believers should be glorified, and not their Bodies: They have served God with their Bodies: Their Bodies have been Members of Holiness.” Watson, *Practical Divinity*, 235. God would be unjust if he only rewarded the soul, for the body, too, obeys and honors him. Along with God’s justice, Watson averred that the bodily resurrection was necessary for the complete happiness of God’s people in glory. “If the Body did not rise again,” he explicated, “then a Believer should not be completely happy: for though the Soul can subsist without the Body, yet it hath *Appetitum Unionis*, a desire for re-union with the Body; and it is not fully happy till it be clothed with the Body: Therefore undoubtedly the Body shall rise again: If the Soul should go to Heaven, and not the Body, then a Believer should be only half saved” (ibid.). The body would rise when Christ returned to complete the redemption of believers, to satisfy the justice of God, and to ensure the joy of believers.

⁴⁹Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 85.

⁵⁰Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 186. According to puritan teaching, Christ ascended into heaven and sat at his Father’s right hand, all the while retaining a complete human body. In this regard, Ames taught, “As the exalted soul of Christ retained the nature of a soul, so the glorified body did not relinquish the essence and essential properties of a body.” Ames, *Marrow*, 145. The work of the glorified Christ continued in both body and soul. Perkins emphasized the Son of God’s continuing embodied work in union with believers: “In this union not our soul alone is united with Christ’s soul, or our flesh with his flesh, but the whole person of every faithful man is verily conjoined with the whole person of our saviour Christ, God and man.” Perkins, *Golden Chain*, in *Work*, 226. From his corporeal existence at the Father’s right hand, Christ united himself to believers in both body and soul.

⁵¹Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 85. See Acts 1:11.

⁵²Ibid.

supported them in this life with the knowledge that their Savior reigned over all things. Jesus was crucified, was resurrected, ascended, and reigned in both body and soul. All of these components of redemption were accomplished holistically in order to save his people and to glorify them in body and soul.

The work of Christ secured the future bodily resurrection and glorification for all those who were united to him by faith. Greenham encouraged Christians to claim the entire work of Christ for their salvation. “Now he rose not for his owne cause, no more than he was purely borne, holily lived, and innocently dyed: all these things he did for us, that we might be sanctified, that we might be justified, that we might be glorified.”⁵³ The end of Jesus’s work for believers was their final, embodied glorification. Thus, the godly person chiefly was to rejoice “in Christ crucified, because he can present me blamelesse before God his judgement seate, hee hath nailed my sinnes to his crosse, he is the immaculate Lambe that was sacrificed for me, and will present me as cleare without spot before his father, as ever I was created.”⁵⁴ It was to this final spotless presentation before the Father that the Christian life aimed. From the perspective of this world, however, death seemed to stand unshakably between the godly and final glory. Understanding the stark reality of death, Greenham pointed to the resurrection as the great hope of the Christian life. Christ’s resurrection worked many things for the believer in this life. It gave new life in Christ, it imputed Christ’s righteousness to his people, and it worked in them righteousness and holiness.⁵⁵ More than all these things, Jesus’s resurrection confirmed for Christians that they too would be raised on the last day. According to Greenham, those who trusted in Christ could declare boldly, “I believe that this bodie

⁵³Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 186.

⁵⁴Greenham, *The Sixteenth Sermon*, WRG, 368.

⁵⁵Greenham, *The Seventeenth Sermon*, WRG, 370.

after it shall be dissolved into dust, shall be raised up againe at the last day, and my soule shall live in everlasting glorie.”⁵⁶

For believers, there was particular hope to be found in the coming resurrection. Their resurrection would free them from death and allow Christ to present them in glory before his Father. In fact, Greenham considered the resurrection to be the consummation of redemption. The results of Christ’s work remained unfinished until the final resurrection. For God’s children, “their Resurrection is their day of Redemption.”⁵⁷ Greenham explained that all believers, even those long dead, eagerly awaited this coming day, “Even the first member of Christ dying many thousand yeers agoe, shall not receive the fulness of the promise, that is in bodie and soule, untill the last member be readie.”⁵⁸ With this in mind, Greenham counseled the godly to look forward to and long for that resurrection when Christ came again:

In his coming againe we steadfastly looke for the fulnes of our redemption in him, who was borne for us, who lived for us, who died for us, who rose for us, who ascended for us, who liveth in us, who will come againe to redeeme us, delivering our soules from sinne, from grieffe, and reproch, our bodies from sicknes, paine, and trouble, wiping away all teares from our yes, and setting us free from death, miserie and corruption: for whom wee all crie in our afflictions: Come Lord Jesus, who shalt change our vile bodies, and make them like to thy glorious bodie.⁵⁹

With that final resurrection, sin and grief would no longer afflict the soul, and the body would be freed from sickness and pain. Death, misery, and corruption would have no more power over believers, for earthly bodies would be made like Christ’s glorious body. Until that time, the godly in this world were to be marked by “an expecting of the daily increase of our soules health & our bodies resurrection” and “a sure confidence of God

⁵⁶Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 86.

⁵⁷Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 63.

⁵⁸Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 183.

⁵⁹Greenham, *The Seventeenth Sermon*, WRG, 371.

his power in raising us up againe; and a steadfast hope of a more glorious possession after this life.”⁶⁰

Greenham strongly emphasized the physical nature of this resurrection. He affirmed that the body would be raised, “The bodies of the faithful seem utterly to perish, when they are in the earth, and yet in the last day shall rise againe through that seede which is given in Christ.”⁶¹ However, he also understood the difficulty of grasping such a doctrine. Not even the wisdom of the ancient philosophers could discover this truth. “The Philosophers had many glancing and glorious speeches of the immortalitie of the soule; but when they came to this point, concerning the rising againe of the flesh, nothing was more ridiculous and incredible unto them.”⁶² Not human wisdom, but the Word of God had to reveal that the body would rise again. If the resurrection were merely a renewing of the mind or an illumination of the spirit, it would not have taken Scripture to reveal it. But as it was, the resurrection of the body was a distinctively biblical doctrine. It could not be conceived by the human mind apart from divine revelation. “But here is the point which they sticke at, and can by no meanes digest it,” Greenham relayed, “that the natural bodie, after it is consumed into the ayre, fire, water, or earth, should afterward revive, and receive supernaturall qualities: and as Philosophers and Hereticks cannot brooke this kinde of teaching, so sure it is that few of the common professors receive it in truth, as

⁶⁰Richard Greenham, *Sweete and Sure Signes of Election To Them That Are Brought Low*, WRG, 122; Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 179.

⁶¹Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 181. With Greenham, the godly affirmed the physicality of the future resurrection. “The life which all shall receive by the power of Christ at the last day is essentially a reunion of soul and body,” Owen averred. John Owen, *A Display of Arminianism*, in *The Works of John Owen*, vol. 10, ed. William H. Goold (Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter, 1850-1853; repr., Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, 1965), 80. Perkins elaborated on what this reunion would entail, “Now at the sound of the trumpet the elect which were dead shall rise with those very bodies which were turned to dust and one part rent from another shall by the omnipotent power of God be restored; and the souls of them shall descend from heaven and be brought again into those bodies.” Perkins, *Golden Chain*, in *Work*, 248. The final resurrection would reunite souls with their bodies. “Then finally,” Ames encouraged, “the glory and blessedness hoped for will shine forth in all fullness, not only in the soul but also in the very body.” Ames, *Marrow*, 214.

⁶²Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 179.

their lives doe manifestly prove.”⁶³ The ancient philosophers and modern heretics, not to mention the average Christian, could not imagine how the natural body could decay, then be revived, and then receive supernatural qualities. Such a truth had to come from God, for it would never originate with humans.

The difficulty of this doctrine led Greenham to spend extended time explicating it. He began his defense by pointing to the argument of Jesus in Matthew 22:31-32: “And concerning the resurrection of the dead, have ye not red what is spoken unto you of God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, & the God of Isaac, & the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead but of the living.”⁶⁴ Greenham elaborated on Christ’s argument, explaining, “God cannot be sayd to be the God of Abraham, being dead, except he raise his body againe, which he hath in keeping, as well as his soule. For he saith not I am the God of Abrahams soule; but I am the God of Abraham, the God of his whole man: wherefore it needs be that Abraham must rise againe.”⁶⁵ With his understanding of human nature as the union of body and soul, Greenham could not fathom what it would mean to say that a person was resurrected apart from his or her body. For God to be the God of the living, the body had to be raised. Additionally, Greenham drew attention to John 5:28-29 where Jesus taught, “Marveile not at this: for the hour shal come in which all that are in the graves, shal heare his voyce. And they shall come forth, that have done good, unto the resurrection of life: but they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of condemnacion.” Here, Greenam explained was a place where “the Lord sheweth the resurrection of both estates and willeth them not to marvell, that he should raise their soules to life, which would raise their bodies from death.”⁶⁶

⁶³Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 179-176. These pages are mis-numbered in WRG; they should be 179-80.

⁶⁴Unless otherwise noted, Scripture quotations come from the 1560 Geneva Bible, *The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament* (Geneva: Rouland & Ali, 1560).

⁶⁵Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 182.

⁶⁶Ibid.

Christ declared that upon his return, his voice would sound and all those in graves would rise. For Greenham, such a statement from the lips of Jesus clearly indicated that there would be a physical resurrection of the dead.

To those unswayed by the words of Christ and who continued to doubt a bodily resurrection, Greenham pointed to the Lord's sovereignty as creator of the world. He counseled skeptics not to underestimate the power of God: "Is it not as easie to draw a man out of the earth againe, as to make a man of the earth at first? Is it not as easie, though rottennesse doth seeme to hinder the resurrection, to renew a body out of many bones, as cut of one bone to frame a whole body?"⁶⁷ This God who would raise people from the dead was the same God who created them in the first place. If he could create man out of the dust of the ground, he could certainly re-create from dust as well.

Greenham continued his rhetorical questions, "Is not he Lord as able to restore the body, which he dissolveth into the elements, being made into it former fashion, as before it had any being, to tie the flesh together with sinewes, to convey strength into the bones, and to beautifie all with a skin."⁶⁸ The magnificence of the first creation testified to the Lord's power to resurrect human bodies. After all, he possessed complete power over the human body in this life, and so he would be able to raise them as he willed. Greenham explained, "Let us as well consider God his power, in reducing mens bodies into their former estate, as his mightie hande in unloosing them. For as hee bringeth flesh to rottennesse, the rottennesse to wormes, the wormes to a putrified matter, the putrifaction to flesh, the flesh to immortalitie."⁶⁹ The Lord exercised sovereign control over all the elements of nature; he could fashion them as he wills. He had the power to reduce human bodies to

⁶⁷Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 184.

⁶⁸Ibid., 184.

⁶⁹Ibid., 184.

dirt that would be eaten by worms, and he had the authority to speak life into that dirt again, shaping it into people's bodies.

The person and work of Christ, particularly the resurrection, were not just truths for the life to come. For Greenham, Christ's work in both body and soul to redeem his people guided their lives in this world and provided them hope in the midst of pain. Greenham asked, "How shall wee overcome the paines, losses, and reproches, of the World?" His response was to point people to Christ: "By alively Faith in Jesus Christ, who suffered all those things to worke our salvation, and to inable us to suffer them. 2. By a steadfast Faith in Gods promises and providence, that wee shall want no good thing, & that all things seeming hurtfull, shalbe turned to the furtherance of our salvation."⁷⁰ Since the Son of God suffered all things for his people, they were empowered by him in their lives to endure suffering, and since God had redeemed his people in both body and soul, they could be assured that in his providence, God would provide all they need for life in this world and the next. Christology revealed the essential role of the body in God's salvific plan, and when combined with an understanding of psychosomatic unity, these truths led Greenham to minister to the body as well as the soul.

Body and Soul in Sixteenth-Century Thought

Greenham's understanding of the value of the human body and its relationship to the soul did not arise in a vacuum. Rather, his christologically-driven assessment of the importance of the body and its union with the soul had a number of analogs in philosophical, therapeutic, and theological thought in the sixteenth century. In terms of philosophy, his studies at Cambridge would likely have made him aware of the ancient debate on the relationship of the soul to the body. The Christian reading of Aristotle Greenham would have been expected to encounter at university would lend credence to

⁷⁰Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 89-90.

the view he espoused in his later writings. When it came to caring for the body, the burgeoning vernacular medical literature of this period, coupled with a renewed interest in Galen of Pergamum (AD 129-c.199), afforded Greenham ample opportunities to become familiar with methods of treatment that stressed the interconnection between body and soul. Finally, numerous Protestant theologians of this century addressed the connection between body and soul, and these writings revealed a number of similarities with Greenham's thought.

Philosophical Views of the Body

The body was an object of study from the earliest days of Cambridge.⁷¹ For a medical student, understanding the human body proved essential, but the university also insisted that those pursuing degrees in divinity study natural philosophy, which included a study of humanity. Through the study of creation, the student was to better understand the creator. Indeed, natural philosophy was so valued that it held a "central position in the faculty of the arts."⁷² Even with the tumultuous changes of the sixteenth century, natural philosophy retained a vital place in the university curriculum.⁷³ While the object of study did not change, the means of study did. Humanism, the source of many of the changes within early modern Cambridge, emphasized the classics as the key source for all knowledge, including medicine and the natural world. Galen remained the dominant medical text throughout this century, and Aristotle continued as the source for natural philosophy. Even the religious changes of the Reformation did not alter significantly this

⁷¹Damian Riehl Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 1, *The University to 1546* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 160.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³For the place of natural philosophy in sixteenth-century Cambridge, see James Hannam, "Teaching Natural Philosophy and Mathematics at Oxford and Cambridge 1500-1570" (PhD diss., Pembroke College, University of Cambridge, 2008). For the university more generally during this period, see Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 1; Victor Moran and Christopher Brooke, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 2., *1546-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

aspect of university training.⁷⁴ However, one change did arise from the religious upheaval: Protestant commentaries on Aristotle replaced the medieval Catholic volumes on the ancient philosopher.⁷⁵ For Greenham, matriculating in 1559, the study of natural philosophy would have been part of his university education.

In his study of natural philosophy, Greenham most likely became familiar with Aristotle's *De Anima*, and in that work, he would have faced the question of how the body related to the soul.⁷⁶ While the humanistic impulses of this period sought to return to the classical sources, Christian theology could not allow Aristotle to have the final word on the soul, its immortality, and its relation to the body. His soul-body hylomorphism, which taught that the soul was the inseparable form of the body, and its attendant belief in the mortality of the soul, proved antithetical to a Christian understanding of death, resurrection, and the world to come. Medieval scholastic theologians recognized and addressed these challenges in Aristotle in their own

⁷⁴While the Reformers did not see nature as a conduit of salvific revelation, they did value the study of it for what it revealed about God. "For Calvin," Lindsay J. Starkey notes, "the purpose of natural philosophy was to provide people with a deeper knowledge of God's creatures. In doing so, it gave them insight into the world God had made." Lindsay J. Starkey, "John Calvin and Natural Philosophy" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2012), 16. For Calvin on the value of natural philosophy, see *Inst.* 1.5.2 and 1.5.4. Likewise at Wittenberg, Melanchthon supported the teaching of natural philosophy at the university, and in 1539, he added the study of anatomy to the curriculum. Andrew Cunningham, "Protestant Anatomy," in *Religious Confessions and the Sciences in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Jürgen Helm and Annette Winkelmann (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 46. Melanchthon's motivation mirrored Calvin's endorsement of natural philosophy. As Cunningham explained, "With respect to anatomy, then, its position as a natural philosophical study meant that the body of man, which was dissected and discussed, was looked at as the highest point of God's creation. Anatomy therefore demonstrated God's workmanship, design, intention and providence at its most perfect" (*ibid.*, 45). For more on Melanchthon and natural philosophy, see Sachiko Kusukawa, *The Transformation of Natural Philosophy: The Case of Philip Melanchthon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁷⁵Johannes Velcurio's *Commentariorum libri IIII in uinversam Aristotelis Physicem* would become the predominant protestant natural philosophy textbook and would be discussed more fully subsequently in this chapter. For more on these changes in the natural philosophy curriculum, see Hannam, "Teaching Natural Philosophy."

⁷⁶Aristotle *De Anima* 2.1 was the section concerned with the relationship of the soul to the body. In the introduction and commentary of his translation of *De Anima*, Christopher Shields offers helpful insights in to Aristotle's view of the body soul relationship. See Aristotle, *De Anima*, trans. Christopher Shields, Clarendon Aristotle Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); xvii-xviii, 165-81.

commentaries on him.⁷⁷ However, Henry VIII's 1535 injunctions banned the teaching of scholastic philosophy, and so a new Christian perspective on Aristotle had to be sought.⁷⁸

Cambridge found its non-scholastic Christian corrective to Aristotle in Johannes Velcurio's *Commentariorum libri III in universam Aristotelis Physicen*.⁷⁹ Velcurio (c.1490-1534) offered not only a Christian commentary on Aristotle but, important to the religious environment in England at this time, a Protestant one. He studied and taught at Wittenberg and staunchly supported Luther and Melancthon.⁸⁰ From the mid-1540s, "Veclurio was the leading natural philosophy textbook" at both Cambridge and Oxford.⁸¹ He based his work on Aristotle's *libri naturales*, and in the four books of his commentary, Velcurio addressed "the principle of natural things and their causes, the elements that make up the world and their qualities, mixed bodies, and the nature of the soul."⁸² He elaborated on the functions of the body such as digestion, the senses, and sleep. Additionally, he provided a limited examination of humoral theory. In discussing the relationship of the body and soul, he offered the disclaimer that such a question was not an issue of natural philosophy but of metaphysics and theology.⁸³

⁷⁷For example, see Aquinas *Sentencia libri De Anima* 2.1.

⁷⁸"Injunctions Delivered to the University by Thomas Legh," in *Collection of Statues for the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, ed. James Heywood (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1840), 200-201.

⁷⁹Velcurio's work was first published posthumously in Basel in 1537 and subsequently was printed several times across Europe during the sixteenth century. Here, all references are to the first edition printed in England: *Commentariorum libri III in universam Aristotelis Physicen* (London: George Bishop, 1588).

⁸⁰Hannam, "Teaching Natural Philosophy," 178-79. See also Starkey, "Calvin and Natural Philosophy," 57.

⁸¹Hannam, "Teaching Natural Philosophy," 179; see also his chart in his appendix 1, 222. Kusakawa reports that Velcurio's volume could be found in 14 percent of the libraries in Cambridge at this time and confirmed that it was the main textbook for natural philosophy. Sachiko Kusakawa, "The Reception of Melancthon in sixteenth-century Cambridge and Oxford," in *Melancthon und Europa* 2. *Teilband Westeuropa*, ed. Günter Frank and Kees Meerhoff (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2002), 248.

⁸²Starkey, "Calvin and Natural Philosophy," 57-58.

⁸³Velcurio, *Commentariorum*, 380. Such a statement was in keeping with Starkey's observation, "Velcurio carefully separated between natural philosophy and theology, arguing that theologians should concern themselves with this revelation while masters focused on the natural order of the created universe," "Calvin and Natural Philosophy," 60.

However, with this caveat in place, he affirmed the immortality of soul but then immediately disclaimed that such belief had to come from Scripture and the church since it was not natural to men.⁸⁴ Given the place of natural philosophy in the university curriculum and the topics that fell within this subject during his time at Cambridge, Greenham most likely studied the relationship of the body and soul along with the traditional Christian understanding of an everlasting soul that separated from the body at death.

Therapeutic Knowledge of the Body

While the medieval and early modern periods witnessed strong connections between medicine and ministry, the Cambridge curriculum for a degree in divinity would not expose a student to medical knowledge.⁸⁵ During this time, other Protestant universities required the study of anatomy for theology students, but at Cambridge, this was not the case.⁸⁶ However, even without this exposure at university, it is more than

⁸⁴Velcurio, *Commentariorum*, 380.

⁸⁵In the medieval and early modern periods, a strong connection existed between medicine and ministry. Andrew Wear explains that religion influenced medicine “in two ways: it took on the role of medicine by explaining why disease occurred and by offering healing through prayer and repentance; and it arrived at a *modus vivendi* with physicians and their remedies and allowed secular medicine to exist without much interference.” Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 30. The seventeenth-century English pastor George Herbert (1593-1633) saw it as the parson’s duty to be ready to provide medical care for his flock. George Herbert, *A Priest to the Temple* (London: T. Maxey, 1652), 94-101. Herbert did not believe it burdensome to acquire the necessary medical skills; it only required the reading of a few books: “Yet is it easie for any Scholer to attaine to such a measure of Phisick, as may be of much use to him both for himself, and others. This is done by seeing one Anatomy, reading one Book of Phisick, having one Herball by him” (ibid., 97). Some clergy went a step further and wrote their own books of physick. Paul Slack notes that ministers wrote much of the literature in the burgeoning field of vernacular medical texts. Paul Slack, “Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men: The Uses of the Vernacular Medical Literature of Tudor England,” in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 254. In fact, Greenham’s good friend and the editor of his collected works, Henry Holland (c. 1555-1603), was both “a Puritan minister and medical practitioner.” Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, 32. Those trained to practice medicine did not always appreciate the clergy’s interest in healing. Wear notes, “Physicians attacked ministers alongside empirics and charitable gentlewomen for practicing medicine. Despite the occasional prayer and reminder to the physician in medical texts to invoke God’s blessing on their medicines, the general impression is that the physicians did not usually reciprocate the interest that religious writers showed in their subject.” Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, 33. Turnabout was fair play, and most ministers found much objectionable in the theological musings of doctors like Paracelsus (c. 1493-1541), Michael Servetus (c. 1510-1553), Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564).

⁸⁶For example, Wittenberg began teaching anatomy in 1539. In Glasgow, anatomy became part of the curriculum in the 1560s, and in Edinburgh, anatomy was incorporated into the course of study in the

likely that Greenham was familiar with Galenic medicine through the popular vernacular medical literature of his day.

From the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century, Galenic medicine reigned as the most influential medical tradition.⁸⁷ Galenism originated with Galen who built upon the work of Hippocrates (c.460-c.370 BC) to develop a system of health designed around the four humors. Galen taught that the human body consisted of four humors: blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm. Maintaining the proper balance between these four was the key to health, and that balance came through moderation.⁸⁸ Prevention proved as important as treatment, and the best prevention consisted of moderation in the six nonnaturals: air; sleep and waking; food and drink; rest and exercise; exertion and retention; and the passions and emotions.⁸⁹

The Galenic system affirmed the connection between body and soul. Galen went “no further than affirm that there was some connection between soul and body, but left the answer as to what kind of connection existed between them rather vague.”⁹⁰ Additionally, he did not follow Plato in seeing moral health as necessary for bodily health; the former concerned the philosopher, the latter the physician.⁹¹ Despite Galen’s rejection of any “recourse to the supernatural or the use of religious means,” his support for the union of body and soul, together with the flexibility of his system, allowed Christians to

1580s. Cunningham, “Protestant Anatomy,” 46-47.

⁸⁷Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 13.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 14.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*

⁹⁰Luis García-Ballester, *Galen and Galenism: Theory and Medical Practice from Antiquity to the European Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 119. For more on early modern discussions of the connection between body and soul, see Richard Sugg, *The Smoke of the Soul: Medicine, Physiology and Religion in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave, 2013).

⁹¹García-Ballester, *Galen and Galenism*, 122-24.

adapt his medicine to their worldview.⁹² Part of this adaptability was his focus on the physical nature of disease all the while affirming the body's connection to the soul without elaborating on the nature of this union.⁹³

Despite the numerous challenges to Galenism during the early modern era, “the sixteenth century was above all Galen's century.”⁹⁴ Part of his popularity in this period stemmed from the availability of his works. In 1525, Aldo Manuzio published Galen's complete works in Venice, which were well received by humanists who desired to return to classical sources.⁹⁵ More than just antiquarian interest prompted the study of Galen. He had practical value as humoral medicine formed the foundation of medical education in England. The 1549 statutes for Cambridge mandated, “The medical lecturer is to read Hippocrates or Galen.”⁹⁶ The next year, a letter by an Oxford student revealed Galen's centrality to his medical training at this university as well.⁹⁷ Such familiarity with Galen for medical students continued into the seventeenth century.⁹⁸ Galenism was central to learned medical knowledge in early modern England.

While Greenham would not study Galen in pursuit of his divinity degrees, Galen's popularity spread far beyond the medical profession.⁹⁹ Popular medical literature

⁹²García-Ballester, *Galen and Galenism*, 128.

⁹³*Ibid.*, 119.

⁹⁴Nancy G. Siraisi, “Medicine, 1450-1620, and the History of Science,” *Isis* 103, no. 3 (September 2012): 497.

⁹⁵Gentilecore, *Food and Health*, 12.

⁹⁶“Laws or Statutes of the University of Cambridge,” in *Collection of Statutes* ed. Heywood, 7. For more on medical training during this period, see Siraisi, “Medicine, 1450-1620”; Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*; Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*; A. Wear, R. K. French, and I. M. Lonie, eds., *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

⁹⁷“Letter CXCVIII: John ab Ulmis to Rodolph Gualter, dated at Oxford, Nov. 5, 1550,” in *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. Hastings Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1847), 420.

⁹⁸William T. Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 128-35.

⁹⁹Siraisi, “Medicine, 1450-1620,” 500. In addition to the widespread availability of this knowledge mentioned below, Siraisi helpfully pointed out that popular medical knowledge also spread

proliferated at this time, and the vast majority of it built upon Galenic medical theory. Between 1486 and 1605, 153 vernacular medical books are published.¹⁰⁰ The number of editions of many of these texts evidenced the popularity of the genre. For example, Thomas Moulton's *Myroure or Glasse of Helth* went through at least seventeen editions between 1530 and 1580, which was almost matched by the sixteen editions of Thomas Elyot's *Castel of Helth* from 1536-9 to 1595.¹⁰¹

These prolific texts promoted a Galenic view of the body and healing that clearly had widespread appeal. The appreciation for Galen was evident throughout these works. In *The Method of Phisicke*, Philip Barrough referred to Galen as "the Prince of Phisitions," but respect for the second-century doctor consisted of more than mere accolades.¹⁰² Elyot, for example, spent the first of his four books in *Castel of Helth* explaining a Galenic view of the body and health. He elaborated on the naturals, nonnaturals, contranaturals, and humors.¹⁰³ The second covered preventative medicine,

"through more personal forms of contact or communication" (ibid., 510). For Greenham, one potential personal source for medical knowledge would have been his good friend and editor Henry Holland. See note 85 above.

¹⁰⁰Slack, "Mirrors of Health," 238. Some representative works from this period were Thomas Elyot, *Castel of Helthe* (London: Thomas Berthlet, 1539); Thomas Moulton, *The Myroure or Glasse of helth* (London: Wyllyam Mydelton, n.d.); Christopher Langton, *A Very Breve Treastise Orderly Declaring the Pricipal Partes of Phisick* (London: Edward Whitchurche, 1557); Christopher Langton, *An Introduction into Phisycke with an Universal Dyet* (London: Edwarde Whytchurche, n.d.); Andrew Boorde, *A Compendyous Regyment or Dyetary of Health* (London: Wyllyam Powell, 1667); Philip Barrough, *The Method of Phisicke* (London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1583); Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health* (London: Henrie Midleton, 1584). For more information on this genre, see Elizabeth Lane Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2002). She argues that profit was the primary motive for the publication of this vast number of tracts. Profit would only come if people would buy these books, and so it seems a significant market existed for this type of literature during the sixteenth century.

¹⁰¹Slack, "Mirrors," 237, 248.

¹⁰²Barrough. *The Method of Phisicke*, 1.

¹⁰³Galenic medicine builds upon the foundation of three key aspects: naturals, nonnaturals, and contranaturals. Lindemann explains, "The naturals comprised seven things: (1) the four classical elements of earth, air, fire, and water; (2) the four humors (phlegm, blood, black bile, and red or yellow bile); the complexions or temperaments, which reflected an individual's unique blend of hot, cold, wet, and dray qualities; (4) the parts of the body, including major organs such as the liver, heart, and brain; (5) an animating spiritus, which was a sort of air or pneuma produced in the heart and carried throughout the body by the arteries; (6) the virtues, which were the activities of systems; and (7) the operations, which were the functions of individual organs. While all this may seem a tremendously complicated, bizarrely artifice, and extremely peculiar construct (at least to modern eyes), a combination of the seven natural effectively accounted for the workings of the human body." Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, 88. The contranaturals

which in typical Galenic fashion called for moderation to provide balance for the body.¹⁰⁴ Elyot advised moderation in the use of the six nonnaturals such as “moderate slepe” and “the moderate use of the sayde qualities of meates and drynkes.”¹⁰⁵ The final two books covered therapeutic medicine, addressing various illnesses and their remedies. The content and layout bore much in common with the rest of the literature in this genre although other authors had their various emphases. Thomas Cogan, for example, spent the vast majority of his *Haven of Health* discussing the preventative and therapeutic powers of a variety of foods.¹⁰⁶ Calls for moderation, a middle course between asceticism and indulgence, hallmarked these works, and Greenham would echo similar advice in his counsel to the physically and spiritually afflicted.

Theological Understandings of the Body

In addition to the areas of philosophy and medicine, analogs with Greenham’s thought also could be found in the realm of theology. His conception of the value of the body and its relation to the soul shared many features with the views expressed by major Protestant voices in this period. These theologians voiced a pastoral concern for providing for those in need, and while some conveyed ambivalence toward the body in this life, they all recognized the holistic redemption won by Christ that would be

were diseases, and in order to work maintain health, a person must maintain balance in the seven naturals through the use of the six nonnaturals, which were “(1) air; (2) sleep and waking; (3) food and drink; (4) rest and exercise; (5) exertion and retention; and (6) the passions (including sex) and emotions” (ibid., 88). Regimen, balance, and moderation were the keys to good health.

¹⁰⁴On the importance of moderation, see Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, 23; David Gentilcore, *Food and Health in Early Modern Europe: Diet, Medicine and Society, 1450-1800* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 4.

¹⁰⁵Elyot, *Castel of Helth*, 47, 18.

¹⁰⁶Gentilcore examines the close connection between food and medicine in this period. His work explores “how the medical discourse of regimen shaped and was shaped by changing food perceptions and practices in the wider society of early modern Europe,” and he demonstrated that “during the Renaissance cookery and physic were perceived as closely connected.” Gentilcore, *Food and Health*, 3, 18. For more on food in this period, see Andrew B. Appleby, “Diet in Sixteenth Century England: Sources, Problems, Possibilities,” in *Health, Medicine and Mortality*, 97-116.

consummated upon his return. These similarities demonstrated Greenham's broad agreement with key Protestant figures, but his theological disagreements also proved formative. His polemical writings against the Family of Love revealed his concern to affirm the physical aspects of Christ's work for humanity in both his advents.

Care for the body. Key figures within Protestantism, both on the Continent and in England, voiced a concern for the body and for meeting physical needs. From the earliest days of the Reformation, Protestants recognized caring for the poor as an essential Christian activity. To this end, Martin Luther (1483-1546) argued, "A true pastor thus contributes to the well-being of men in body and soul, in property and honor."¹⁰⁷ Of course, the Wittenberg Reformer grounded this duty in faith. For the pastor and for Christians more generally, caring for those in need was to arise "out of faith in God's word" in order for it to avail any spiritual benefit.¹⁰⁸ Good works came from justifying faith.

John Calvin (1509-1564) followed Luther in emphasizing the necessity of caring for the poor. The Genevan Reformer compared giving to the poor to "what people do who determine to migrate to another place, where they have chosen a lasting abode. They send before them all their resources and do not grieve over lacking them for a time."¹⁰⁹ He continued, "If we believe heaven is our country, it is better to transmit our possessions thither than to keep them here where upon our sudden migration they would be lost to us."¹¹⁰ The way to send possessions ahead to a heavenly home was "by providing for the needs of the poor; whatever is paid out to them, the Lord reckons as

¹⁰⁷Martin Luther, *A Sermon on Keeping Children in School*, LW 46:227.

¹⁰⁸Martin Luther, *That These Words of Christ, "This is My Body," Still Stand Firm against the Fanatics*, LW 37:92.

¹⁰⁹John Calvin *Inst.* 3.18.6 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:827).

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*

given to himself.”¹¹¹ Along with these injunctions to give, Calvin outlined in book four of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* how deacons were to be entrusted with caring for the poor.¹¹²

Martin Bucer (1491-1551) also made extensive provisions for poor relief in *De Regno Christi*.¹¹³ Bucer spent his last two years of life in England, and compelling cases have been made for his impact on this country generally. As it more directly related to Greenham, Partick Collison demonstrated the influence Bucer had on Edmund Grindal (1519-1583), and Kenneth L. Parker and Eric J. Carlson then traced this influence from Grindal through Pembroke Hall to Greenham.¹¹⁴

While he did not immigrate to England as Bucer did, Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575) exerted a significant influence on religion through his correspondence and his published works. The Short Title Catalogue shows over fifty of his works were published in the sixteenth century, and a 1530 royal proclamation condemned his writings to the same fires as Luther’s and Zwingli’s works.¹¹⁵ In his *Decades*, Bullinger repeatedly exhorted Christians to care for the needy. He highlighted the example of the Good Samaritan and called upon those who follow Christ to “ayde, succour, and relieve fatherlesse children and poore widowes, old men and impotent people” among their

¹¹¹John Calvin *Inst.* 3.18.6 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:827).

¹¹²See esp. Calvin *Inst.* 4.3.9 (trans. Battles, LCC 21:1061-1062).

¹¹³Martin Bucer, *De Regno Christi*, trans. Wilhelm Pauck in collaboration with Paul Larkin, in *Melanchthon and Bucer*, ed. Wilhelm Pauck, LCC 19 (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969), 256-59, 306-15.

¹¹⁴Patrick Collinson, “The Reformer and the Archbishop: Martin Bucer and an English Bucerian,” *Journal of Religious History* 6, no. 4 (1971): 305-30; Kenneth L. Parker and Eric J. Carlson, ‘*Practical Divinity*’: *The Life and Works of Revd Richard Greenham* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 9-11. For more on Bucer’s impact on England, see Constantin Hopf, *Martin Bucer and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1946); Basil Hall, “Martin Bucer in England,” in *Martin Bucer: Reforming Church and Community*, ed. D. F. Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 144-60. For more on Bucer’s time at Cambridge, see H. C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 51-55, 62-66.

¹¹⁵Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 57. See also A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 2nd ed. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press), 263-64, 342, 349.

fellow believers as well as calling upon them to “relieve straungers, and whome so ever else wee maye.”¹¹⁶

The Books of Homilies and various visitation articles evidenced that this concern for the poor found its way into the newly reformed church in England. Caring for the poor was a priority for the established church. The sermon “Of Christian Love and Charitie” called on people to demonstrate their love for God and for others “in all our outward acts and deeds.”¹¹⁷ “Of Alms Dedes” amplified this teaching by declaring, “Amongst the manyfould duties that almighty god requireth of his faithful servauntes the true christians, by the which he would that both his name shuld be glorified, and the certaintie of theyr vocation declared: there is none that is either more acceptable unto him, or more profytable for them, than are workes of mercye, and pitie shewed upon the poore, which be afflicted with any kinde of misery.”¹¹⁸

Various archbishops’ articles of visitation confirmed this concern for the needy. Matthew Parker’s (1504-1575) articles for Canterbury asked, “Whether youre hospitals and almes houses be justly used,” and then on the more personal level, they enquired, “Whether the Parishioners of everye parishe duelye pay unto the Collectors of the same, for the poore, accordinge to the statute in that behalfe provided.”¹¹⁹ Grindal followed a similar course, looking into whether the almshouses were doing their job and how people were contributing to the needy.¹²⁰ In his writings, John Whitgift (1530-1604) also

¹¹⁶Henrie Bullinger, *Fiftie Godlie and Learned Sermons divided into five Decades*, trans. H. I. (London: Ralphe Newberrie, 1577), 91-99, 289.

¹¹⁷*Certain Sermons Appointed by the Queenes Majestie To Be Proclaimed and Read by All Parsons, Vicars, and Curates* (London: Christopher Barker, 1582), 54.

¹¹⁸*The Seconde Tome of Homeleyes of Such Matters as Were Promised and Instituted in the Former Part of Homeleyes* (London: Rychard Jugge and Thomas Carwood, 1563), 169.

¹¹⁹Matthew Parker, *Articles To Be Enquired of within the Dioces of Canterbury* (London: Reginalde Wolfe, 1573), Items 19, 25.

¹²⁰Edmund Grindal, *Articles To Be Enquired of within the Province of Canterbury* (London: Christopher Barker, 1580), Items 26, 51, 54.

emphasized the need to care for the poor, arguing that it constituted one of the marks of a sufficiently reformed country¹²¹ In times of dearth, he called on the wealthier members of the community to match their prayer and fasting with physical care for those in need.¹²²

The visitation articles demonstrated a greater interest in how well each parson lived up to the standard of charity he espoused when reading The Book of Homilies. The church hierarchy expected the local rectors to be preeminent models of caring for the poor. Parker called upon his visitors to ask, “Whether youre Parsons and Vicars be residente continually upon their benefices: Whether they given themselves to devoute prayer, discreate reading of the Scripture, and godly contemplacion, and releev the poore charitably to their hability, according to the Queenes Injunctions.”¹²³ Alongside their prayer, reading of Scripture, and godly meditation, they were to devote themselves to caring for the needy. Grindal followed in a similar vein, asking about the vicars, “Whether they be diligent in visiting the sick, and comforting them, and do move them earnestly, especially when they make their Testaments, to consider the necessitie of the poore, and to give to their bore or chest their charitable devotion and almose?”¹²⁴ He continued with more specificity, asking for particular amounts the parson distributed to the poor.¹²⁵ This glimpse into the sixteenth-century English church reveals an ecclesiastical establishment concerned with providing for those in need.

While meeting the physical needs of the impoverished held an important place in early modern Protestant thought, poor relief was far from the only demonstration of concern for the human body. Luther, for example, highlighted the Lord’s role as creator

¹²¹John Whitgift, *The Works of John Whitgift*. vol. 3, ed. John Ayre. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1853), 210.

¹²²*Ibid.*, 618.

¹²³Parker, *Articles To Be Enquired*, Item 8.

¹²⁴Grindal, *Articles To Be Enquired*, Item 17.

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, Item 29.

to argue that humans were to enjoy the creation. “God is also the God of the bodies. Therefore He provides us with bodily gifts, and He wants us to enjoy these gifts with gladness.”¹²⁶ He warned against the pursuit of a “self-chosen spirituality” that entailed “merciless severity to the body” and does not please God but rather violates his “command that one should care for, not kill, the body.”¹²⁷ Preserving a person’s life could trump other biblical commands. In this regard, Luther cited the example of the disciples breaking grain to eat on the Sabbath. He contended, “It is evident in this case that there is always an exception to divine law in cases of need, not only in the interest of our souls, but even in consideration of our bodies as well as our material possessions.”¹²⁸

Calvin highlighted a similar concern for the body by warning Christians against either asceticism or indulgence. Instead, Christians were to follow “the rule of moderation” and seek contentment in all circumstances.¹²⁹ In asking God to provide for daily bread in the Lord’s Prayer, Calvin explained, “We ask of God all things in general that our bodies have need to use under the elements of this world, not only for food and clothing but also for everything God perceives to be beneficial to us, that we may eat our daily bread in peace.”¹³⁰ The reason Christians could entreat the Lord for such needs was “our most gracious Father does not disdain to take even our bodies under his safekeeping and guardianship in order to exercise our faith in these small matters, while we expect everything from him, even to a crumb of bread and a drop of water.”¹³¹

¹²⁶Martin Luther, *Lectures on Genesis*, LW 4:273.

¹²⁷Martin Luther, *On the Councils and the Church*, LW 41:130.

¹²⁸Martin Luther, *Judgment of Martin Luther on Monastic Vows*, LW 44:390.

¹²⁹Calvin *Inst.* 3.10.4 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:722-723).

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, 3.20.44 (trans. Battles, LCC 21:908).

¹³¹*Ibid.*

As it is the Lord who provided for the body, Bullinger looked to the Scriptures for “howe we may rightly possesse and lawfully spende the wealth that is rightly and justly gotten.”¹³² He warned against “put[ting] any confidence in riches” while at the same time he recognized “that al the creatures of God are good, created to the good and preservation of us men.”¹³³ Thus, he exhorted his readers, “Let earthly goodes also serve our necessitie,” and reminded them to use earthly goods “with the feare of God and giving of thanckes.”¹³⁴ Bullinger allowed for more goods than was necessary for the mere subsistence of a person’s body, recognizing, that the Lord “also doth allowe him all moderate pleasure wherewithall to delight him.”¹³⁵

For English Protestants, Whitgift articulated comparable advice on the moderate use of the physical world for the preservation of the body. In a sermon before Queen Elizabeth, he reminded all those present of the need to strike a balance between earthly and spiritual concerns. “We are but straungers in this world,” he proclaimed, “therefore we must so behave our selves as those that are in a straunge countrie... though we enjoy those things that are needefull for thys presente life, yet must we not so fixe oure minds upon them, that we be withdrawn from that earnest desire that we have to returne to our own countrie.”¹³⁶ Christians needed to live as the pilgrims they were, awaiting their heavenly home while still providing for and enjoying their lives on earth. The balance between indulgence and asceticism had to be struck for people belong to the Lord in both soul and body. The body was to be cared for, Whitgift explained elsewhere,

¹³²Bullinger, *Decades*, 279.

¹³³Ibid., 282, 283.

¹³⁴Ibid., 283.

¹³⁵Ibid., 284.

¹³⁶John Whitgift, *A Godlie Sermon Preached before the Queenes Majestie at Grenewiche the 26 of March Last Past* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1574).

because “our members are the members of Christ, and our bodies are the bodies of the Holy Ghost: we are willed to glorify God not in our spirit only, but in our body also.”¹³⁷

Articulated anthropology. Key figures within Protestantism in the sixteenth century demonstrated a strong concern for the physical well-being of others. Some only voiced the commands of Scripture in this regard, leaving the value of the body implicit in their teachings. Others went a step further and explicitly taught on the nature of humanity. When articulated, the anthropology of Protestants in the early modern period revealed a belief in the distinct natures of body and soul that were unified in a person and in the value of the body. As with Greenham, these theologians rooted their anthropology in Christology. The person and work of Christ defined what it meant to be human.

The consensus among the majority of sixteenth-century Protestants was that the body and soul were distinct entities, united in this life to form one person. At death, body and soul separated, but the two would be reunited when Christ returned. Within this broad agreement, there existed debate between dichotomist and trichotomist over whether a person consisted of body and soul or of body, soul, and spirit.¹³⁸ The key for this present summary is to note that these theologians believed a person consisted of a union between physical and spiritual that would be divided at death and reunited in the resurrection.

In discussing human nature, Luther asserted, “The nature of man consists of the three parts – spirit, soul and body; and all of these three may be good or evil, that is,

¹³⁷Whitgift, *Works*, 3:298.

¹³⁸Given the general nature of the present summary, a lengthy discussion of this debate would be outside the scope of this section. Furthermore, the writers discussed show some fluidity in moving between these two positions. Luther, for example, seemed quite set on the trichotomist position in his teaching on the Magnificat, but, at other points, he spoke as a dichotomist (see *LW* 21:303 n. 2). Calvin also showed some flexibility between these positions when he explained, “Furthermore, that man consists of a soul and a body ought to be beyond controversy. Now I understand by the term “soul” an immortal yet created essence, which is his nobler part. Sometimes it is called ‘spirit.’ For even when these terms are joined together, they differ from one another in meaning; yet when the word “spirit” is used by itself, it means the same thing as soul.” Calvin, *Inst.* 1.15.2 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:184). In terms of psychosomatic unity, the agreement between these camps far outweighed the differences.

they may be spirit or flesh.”¹³⁹ He then articulated how “the soul, is the same spirit, so far as its nature is concerned,” but they differed in their functions.¹⁴⁰ The soul was the seat of reason while the spirit was “the dwelling place of faith and the Word of God.”¹⁴¹ The spiritual side of a person could exist apart from the body, but “the body has no life apart from the spirit.”¹⁴² In this life, the body and soul had to be united for a person to live. Luther’s view of the sacraments revealed the strength of the union between the physical and the spiritual was in each person. In writing on the Lord’s Supper, he addressed how the body would benefit from the bread and the wine, “Similarly, the mouth, the throat, the body, which eats Christ’s body, will also have its benefit in that it will live forever and arise on the Last Day to eternal salvation.”¹⁴³

While Calvin contested Luther’s view of the Supper, he concurred with the anthropological sentiment of the above statement. The Genevan reformer argued, “That man consists of a soul and a body ought to be beyond controversy,” and then he went on to explain, “I understand by the term ‘soul’ an immortal yet created essence, which is his nobler part.”¹⁴⁴ This soul was “something separate from the body,” and he averred that

¹³⁹Martin Luther, *The Magnificat*, LW 21:303.

¹⁴⁰Ibid.

¹⁴¹Ibid.

¹⁴²Ibid.

¹⁴³Luther, *These Words of Christ*, LW 37:134.

¹⁴⁴Calvin, *Inst.* 1.15.2 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:184). A number of studies have examined Calvin’s anthropology. T. F. Torrance explores Calvin’s anthropology in his *Calvin’s Doctrine of Man* (London: Lutherworth, 1949), but he only briefly discusses the body and its relationship to the soul. Mary Potter Engel’s *John Calvin’s Perspectival Anthropology* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) is more relevant to the discussion at hand. See especially chap. 5, “Immortality and Resurrection,” 151-87. Roy W. Battenhouse, “The Doctrine of Man in Calvin and in Renaissance Platonism,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 9, no. 4 (1948): 447-71, argues for the close association of platonism and Calvin’s view of the body. Charles Partee discusses the influence of classical philosophy on Calvin in both his *Calvin and Classical Philosophy*, *Studies in the History of Christian Thought*, ed. Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden: Brill, 1977) and “The Soul in Plato, Platonism, and Calvin,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 22, no. 3 (September 1969): 278-95. While conceding some similarities, Partee argues convincingly against Battenhouse’s assertion that Calvin was fundamentally platonic in his anthropology. More recently, in *Calvin, the Body, and Sexuality: An Inquiry into His Anthropology* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2011), Alida Leni Sewell comments on Calvin’s use of the platonic metaphor of the body as a prison for the soul: “The Platonic idiom was filled with Pauline content.” 67. In Sewell’s estimation, Calvin’s familiarity with disease in his day as well as his own poor health prevented him from considering “a more positive view of the body within the

throughout Scripture, the writers “clearly distinguish the soul from the body.”¹⁴⁵ “The soul,” Calvin explicated, “is not the body and the body is not the soul,” but “there is one person in man composed of two elements joined together.”¹⁴⁶ Though joined in this life, the soul separated from the body after death and continued to live eternally.¹⁴⁷

In the generation after Luther and Calvin, Zacharias Ursinus (1534-1583) reflected their thinking on the nature of man. Ursinus’s influence spread in the middle of the sixteenth century through his work on the *Heidelberg Catechism* and his commentary on it.¹⁴⁸ While never achieving the renown of Luther or Calvin, Ursinus’s impact was widespread, and his repeated emphasis on the body in the Christian life makes him of particular relevance to this study. Concerning the creation of man, he reported, “Man was created by God on the sixth day of the creation of the world. His body was made of the dust of the ground, immortal if he continued in righteousness, but mortal if he fell. . . . His soul was made out of nothing. It was immediately breathed into him by the Almighty. It was, therefore, rational, spiritual, and immortal.”¹⁴⁹ In this statement, Ursinus confirmed that a person consisted of a united body and soul, and that the soul was everlasting. He continued in his description, elaborating on the nature of this union, the Lord “created and united the soul and the body, so as to constitute by this union, one person, performing such internal and external functions and actions as are peculiar to human nature, and which are just, holy, and pleasing to God.”¹⁵⁰ These three authors

boundaries of the present life” (ibid., 102). Instead, she avers, “Calvin’s hope was in the resurrection of his body” (ibid., 96).

¹⁴⁵Calvin *Inst.* 1.15.2 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:184).

¹⁴⁶Ibid., 2.14.1 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:482).

¹⁴⁷Ibid., 3.25.6 (trans. Battles, LCC 21:996-998).

¹⁴⁸For more on Ursinus and his influence, see Derk Visser, *Zacharius Ursinus: The Reluctant Reformer His Life and His Times* (New York: United Church, 1983).

¹⁴⁹Zacharias Ursinus, *The Commentary of Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*, trans. G. W. Williard (Columbus, OH: Scott & Bascom, 1852), 28.

¹⁵⁰Ibid.

reflected the majority Protestant position in the sixteenth century concerning human nature. A person was the union of a distinct and separable body and soul.

Even with the Protestant consensus on psychosomatic unity, some ambivalence toward the body remained. This was particularly true with Calvin. He picked up on the platonic metaphor and repeatedly described the body as a prison for the soul.¹⁵¹ He continued, “Our body is the receptacle of a thousand diseases.”¹⁵² Furthermore, he stipulated, “There will be no one hereafter who will reach the goal of true perfection without sloughing off the weight of the body.”¹⁵³ While he affirmed the union of body and soul, he spoke of the soul as the “nobler part” and “the principal part.”¹⁵⁴ They were united but not equal. Indeed, according to Calvin, the soul “far excels the body in the Lord’s sight.”¹⁵⁵

However, even with this ranking and the negative statements about the body, Calvin saw positive aspects of the body. While the seat of God’s image was in a person’s soul, “God’s glory shines forth in the outer man” as well.¹⁵⁶ He elaborated further, “The likeness of God extends to the whole excellence by which man’s nature towers over all the kinds of living creatures,” and he added, “although the primary seat of the divine image was in the mind and heart, or in the soul and its powers, yet there was no part of man, not even the body itself, in which some sparks did not glow.”¹⁵⁷ The fall made the body susceptible to disease, weakness, and all kinds of hardship, but the whole person

¹⁵¹For examples, see Calvin *Inst.* 1.15.2 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:184), 2.7.13 (20:362), 3.3.20 (20:614), 3.7.5 (20:689).

¹⁵²*Ibid.*, 1.17.10 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:223).

¹⁵³*Ibid.*, 2.7.5 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:353).

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 1.15.2 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:184,185).

¹⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 2.8.40 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:405).

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 1.15.3 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:186).

¹⁵⁷*Ibid.* 1.15.3 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:188).

remained God's creation that reflects his glory. Although Calvin ranked the soul ahead of the body, he pointed out that the soul itself fails in many ways. Its priority did not mean perfection. "The soul is in an incorporeal substance," he explained, which is "set in the body, it dwells there as in a house; not only that it may animate all its parts and render its organs fit and useful for their actions, but also that it may hold the first place in ruling man's life, not alone with respect to the duties of his earthly life, but at the same time to arouse him to honor God."¹⁵⁸ The responsibility of the soul to guide the whole person meant that culpability for sin could not be placed merely on the outward person; the soul had to take responsibility. The soul, then, could be both "flesh" and "carnal."¹⁵⁹ The soul, according to Calvin, was the nobler part of a person, but this nobility translated into responsibility, not perfection. The body suffered many hardships in this life, but it too was part of God's creation and reflected his glory. While he equivocated on the value of the body in this life, Calvin viewed the body as central to the future hope of believers.

Luther did not express Calvin's same ambivalence toward the body. Rather, he argued that the body had value because God created it, cared for it, and redeemed it. First came the affirmation that it was the Lord "who gave body and soul."¹⁶⁰ Then, he explained that God's work as creator assured believers of his work as sustainer. "He will," Luther asserted, "defend you well in body and soul. No one will consume you unless he has devoured Him first. No one will touch a hair of your head unless it is his will, and unless he did this to Him first."¹⁶¹ The Lord's work with the body did not cease with creating and sustaining it, but he also redeemed it. Through his Word, he "purifies not only the heart but also the body."¹⁶² Additionally, Luther found in the Eucharist a pledge

¹⁵⁸Calvin *Inst.* 1.15.6 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:192).

¹⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 2.3.1 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:289).

¹⁶⁰Martin Luther, *Sermons on the Gospel of St. John*, LW 24:253.

¹⁶¹*Ibid.*, 24:158.

¹⁶²Martin Luther, *Lectures on Hebrews*, LW 29:164.

from God that “our body too shall live forever.”¹⁶³ The creator and sustainer of the body “also sanctifies Christians in the body.”¹⁶⁴

While the Lord’s creation and preservation of the body provided some theological foundation for valuing the body, the worth of the body was most clearly revealed through its redemption by the Son of God. The body had value because God redeemed it through Christ and would resurrect it at his second coming. The person and work of Christ were necessary for this redemption, and both of these aspects of Christology made plain the significance of the body.

Christ’s taking on a full human nature, including a physical body, while remaining fully divine demonstrated the worth of the body. Concerning Christ’s dual nature, Calvin testified, “It was also imperative that he who was to become our Redeemer be true God and true man.”¹⁶⁵ To be truly human, “God’s natural Son fashioned for himself a body from our body, flesh from our flesh, bones from our bones.”¹⁶⁶ Calvin spoke out against those who would deny the physical nature of Christ, and affirmed that the second person of the Trinity became fully man.¹⁶⁷ “Ungrudgingly he took our nature upon himself to impart to us what was his, and to become both Son of God and Son of man in common with us.”¹⁶⁸ Ursinus upheld these same truths as Calvin, stating about Christ, “He had a body of flesh, and came in the flesh.”¹⁶⁹ His title as the seed of David evidenced Christ’s human nature, and Ursinus also highlighted “those passages which attribute to Christ things peculiar to man; as, to grow, to eat, to drink, to be ignorant, to

¹⁶³Luther, *These Words of Christ*, LW 37:71.

¹⁶⁴Luther, *On the Councils and the Church*, LW 41:146.

¹⁶⁵Calvin *Inst.* 2.12.2 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:466).

¹⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 2.12.2 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:465).

¹⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 2.13.2 (trans. Battles, LCC 20:476-478).

¹⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 2.12.2 (trans. Battles, LCC 465).

¹⁶⁹Ursinus, *Commentary*, 96.

be fatigued, to rest, to be circumcised, to be baptized, to weep, to rejoice, &c.”¹⁷⁰

Furthermore, Ursinus argued that Christ’s work necessitated his nature as fully God and fully man. “Our Mediator must be man – very man, deriving his nature from our race, and retaining it for ever – a perfectly righteous man, and very God. In a word, he must be in the unity of his person, that he may truly be a middle person, and mediator between God and men.”¹⁷¹ About this humanity, Ursinus affirmed, “Christ is a true and natural man, consisting of body and soul, perfectly and truly, and subject to all infirmities, sin excepted.”¹⁷²

As with his life, Christ’s death had to be accomplished in a complete human nature. The full humanity and deity of the Son of God were necessary in order for him to accomplish his work. Christ had to take on human form in order to redeem his people. He lived a perfect life as a human, and in his redeeming death, he suffered in both body and soul. In keeping with the mainstream of Protestant thought, Ursinus explained concerning the crucifixion, “By the term passion, however, we are to understand chiefly the closing scene, or last act of his life, in which he suffered extreme torments both of body and soul, on account of our sins.”¹⁷³ He suffered in his whole person in order that he might wholly redeem his people.

Christ’s work did not end with his death, but, after three days, he physically rose from the dead. The consequence of his atoning death ultimately would be seen when people joined him in the final resurrection. Christ’s resurrection in body and soul was the first fruits of the harvest that would occur when he came again. “Christ has risen;

¹⁷⁰Ursinus, *Commentary*, 96.

¹⁷¹Ibid., 95. Ursinus also affirmed the necessity of the full humanity and deity of Christ in questions 16 and 17 of the *Heidelberg Catechism*.

¹⁷²Ursinus, *Commentary*, 208.

¹⁷³Ibid., 213.

therefore we also shall rise.”¹⁷⁴ And the resurrection of people would be like that of Christ: in both body and soul. “We will have our bodies,” according to the Second Book of Homilies, “likewise raised again from death, to have them glorified in immortality, and joined to his glorious body”¹⁷⁵ Ursinus further explained, “The resurrection of the body means the restitution of the substance of our bodies after death out of the very same matter of which they now consist, and the re-animating, or quickening of the same bodies with an incorruptible and immortal life by the same immortal soul, by which they now subsist.”¹⁷⁶

Luther, too, affirmed that at the resurrection, “All men will be revived again on one day, that our body and soul will be united as they are united today.”¹⁷⁷ He understood the difficulty of comprehending and believing such a doctrine:

Who could believe that we unfortunate people, who are executed and die like the most miserable human beings on earth, who are buried in the ground, consumed by maggots and worms or are burned alive and reduced to ashes and dust, will all emerge from this stench, from ashes and dust, in the twinkling of an eye, with whole clean, and shining bodies more radiant than all heaven, than the sun and the moon, more beautiful and precious than all gold and jewels, purer and more fragrant than all balsam, gardens, and Paradise?¹⁷⁸

On the basis of Christ’s resurrection, the Christian confessed, “We will then come forth in a moment like a spark, more resplendent than the entire heaven, with our whole body and all our members again completely intact, even though we may now be burned to ashes, consumed in the water, torn to bits by wolves, or eaten by ravens.”¹⁷⁹ His resurrection was the example and the evidence of what would come. “The body that dies

¹⁷⁴Ursinus, *Commentary*, 314.

¹⁷⁵“Of the Resurrection,” in *Seconde Tome of Homeleyes*, 2009 [209].

¹⁷⁶Ursinus, *Commentary*, 312.

¹⁷⁷Martin Luther, *Commentary on 1 Corinthians 15*, LW 28:69.

¹⁷⁸Luther, *Sermon on the Gospel of St. John*, LW 24:359. Calvin also expressed the difficulty of believing in the bodily resurrection. See *Inst.* 3.25.3.

¹⁷⁹Luther, *Commentary on 1 Corinthians 15*, LW 28:99-100.

now shall come forth again and become alive, just as Christ bodily rose from the grave.”¹⁸⁰

On the last day, Calvin affirmed, Christ would come “to conform our lowly, inglorious body to his glorious body.”¹⁸¹ On this day, Christ would accomplish what Bullinger called the “perfect salvation of the whole man.”¹⁸² Sin corrupted the whole person, and so God’s redemption would restore the whole person. “For as man by sinne did perish both in bodie & soule, so ought he to be restoared againe both bodilie and ghostlie.”¹⁸³ Salvation would come to its final fruition in the redemption of the body and soul at the final resurrection.

While these theologians pointed with hope to Christ’s second coming, they also cautioned that the bodily resurrection would be for both the godly and ungodly. Luther, for example, warned the peasants rebelling in Germany, “The eternal fate of your body and soul is involved.”¹⁸⁴ Likewise, Calvin, meditating on Jesus’s admonition to fear him who could destroy both soul and body, argued, “There would be no reason to fear unless the body we now bear were liable to punishment.”¹⁸⁵ Ursinus further explained, “Rewards and punishments extend to the whole man, because the whole man has sinned. Therefore the bodies of all shall rise – the righteous that they may enjoy that glory and felicity which God freely gives; the wicked that they may endure punishment according to their deserts.”¹⁸⁶ The resurrection of righteous and unrighteous reflected “the perfect justice of God [which] requires the ungodly be punished according to the form

¹⁸⁰Luther, *Commentary on 1 Corinthians 15*, LW, 28:168.

¹⁸¹Calvin *Inst.* 3.25.3 (trans. Battles, LCC 21:991).

¹⁸²Bullinger, *Decades*, 84.

¹⁸³Ibid.

¹⁸⁴Martin Luther, *Admonition to Peace*, LW 46:23.

¹⁸⁵Calvin *Inst.* 3.25.7 (trans. Battles, LCC 21:1000). See Matt 10:28.

¹⁸⁶Ursinus, *Commentary*, 314.

under which they sin.”¹⁸⁷ Since they sinned in body and soul, “It is necessary, therefore, that their bodies should also rise again that they may be punished both in soul and body.”¹⁸⁸ The just and the unjust would rise again with physical bodies to face the final judgment.

Sixteenth-century protestant anthropology affirmed that a person consisted of a distinct physical and spiritual component. The body and soul were united in this life, separated at death, and rejoined in the resurrection at the second coming. The body had value because God created and sustained it, but even more than these aspects, Christ’s assumption of a human nature and his redemption of the whole person affirmed the significance of the body.

Body in polemic. Keeping with the major voices of early Protestantism, Greenham taught that Christ rose bodily and that people would share in that physical resurrection when he returns. While Greenham’s views on the resurrection stemmed from agreement with the mainstream of the Reformation, his repeated and strong emphasis upon the physical nature of the resurrection arose out of his opposition to the Family of Love, which emerged in his diocese as he began pastoring in Dry Drayton. This spiritualizing group denied any bodily aspect of the resurrection, claiming it was merely a spiritual reality to be achieved in this life.

The members of the Family of Love followed the teachings of the sixteenth-century Dutch Mystic, Hendrik Niclaes (c.1501-c.1580). The Family began in Niclaes’s home country of the Netherlands during the 1540s, and by the middle of the 1570s, they had a moderate following in England. Across Europe, Catholics and Protestants alike considered this group to be heretical, and when the Family made inroads into England,

¹⁸⁷Ursinus, *Commentary*, 314.

¹⁸⁸Ibid.

they encountered persecution from all corners. Niclaes claimed to have received divine revelation, and as a prophet, he taught those who listened to seek perfection in this life through the imitation of Christ and obedience to the elders of the Family. The Christian needed not long for a new heaven and a new earth where people would live in glorified bodies. Instead, an inward heaven could be achieved in this life. Perfection could be had in the present world as an illumination of the soul. The goal of the Family was a perfected, inward spirituality, and as such the material world did not concern them. They degraded the physical to such an extent that they denied the bodily resurrection.¹⁸⁹

Niclaes used orthodox language to define his views on the resurrection, but his writings made clear that he in no way believed in a bodily rising from the dead. His teaching appeared to affirm a bodily resurrection. For example, he testified, “We believe in the resurrection of the flesh. We confess that the dead which are deceased or fallen asleepe in Christ; rise up with their Bodies and appeare with Christ in his Glory, where-through the whole house of Israel becometh erected or restored in the last day, according to the promises.”¹⁹⁰

However, his definitions of these terms proved far from the biblical usage. When challenged on what he meant in charges against the Family of Love, he failed to answer the accusation that they deny the resurrection.¹⁹¹ Elsewhere, in explicating the details of his view, he clearly espoused a spiritualized view of the resurrection. For Niclaes, “The day of judgement is now come;” the end of the world was present in his life.¹⁹² As a self-described prophet, he claimed that God had revealed to him about these

¹⁸⁹Christopher W. Marsh, *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Alastair Hamilton, *The Family of Love* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1981).

¹⁹⁰Hendrick Niclaes, *The First Exhortation of H. N. to His Children and to the Family of Love* (London: Giles Calvert, 1655), 46.

¹⁹¹Hendrick Niclaes, *An Apology for the Service of Love and the People that Own it Commonly Called the Family of Love* (London: Giles Calvert, 1656).

¹⁹²Hendrick Niclaes, *Evangelium Regni: A Joyful Message of the Kingdom* (London: n.p.,

last days, “the mystery of the heavenly Kingdome of God, his righteous Judgment, and the coming of his Christ now in the last time; in the Resurrection of the dead.”¹⁹³

Later in the same work, Niclaes more explicitly declared that the resurrection had come, “In this present day, is this Scripture fulfilled: and (according to the testimony of the Scripture) the raising up and resurrection of the Lords dead, cometh also to pass presently in this same day.”¹⁹⁴ This resurrection, he declared, was happening in his day, and it was his divinely appointed work to proclaim it. He continued to reiterate the present nature of this resurrection, explaining,

In which resurrection of the dead, God sheweth unto us, that the time is now fulfilled, that his dead (or the dead which are fallen asleep in the Lord) rise up in this day of his judgement, and appear unto us, in godly glory: which shall also (from henceforth) live in us everlastingly, with Christ, and reign upon the earth: wherein the Scripture becometh fulfilled in this present day, like as there standeth written thereof.¹⁹⁵

The present resurrection was God’s declaration that “he hath chosen us to an house for his dwelling, and liveth and walketh in us with his holy ones; wherein the Scripture becometh fulfilled in this present day.”¹⁹⁶ This current resurrection was the final resurrection. The future hope of God’s people would be fulfilled in the present day. “The true resurrection from the death according to the Scripture, through which the living God of heaven and his Christ is known according to the Spirit and Truth,” he expounded, was that “one beholdeth and inheriteth in the spirit the Love in her virtuous nature, that most holy, as likewise the fullness of the riches of God the Father, in the heavenly being or essential form.”¹⁹⁷ While Niclaes used orthodox language to speak of his view of the

1652), 5.

¹⁹³Niclaes, *Evangelium Regni*, 7.

¹⁹⁴Ibid., 177.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., 178.

¹⁹⁶Ibid., 179.

¹⁹⁷Hendrick Niclaes, *A Publishing of the Peace upon Earth and of the Gracious Tyme and Acceptable Yeare of the Lorde* (Cologne: N. Bohmberg, 1574), 105.

resurrection, his writings plainly revealed that he believed the resurrection to be a present, spiritual reality, not a future, bodily one.

Greenham's personal interactions with this group began by 1580 when he helped Bishop Cox prosecute this sect in the Diocese of Ely where Dry Drayton was located.¹⁹⁸ Greenham reserved some of his strongest language for the Family of Love because he saw them as one of the most threatening types of heretics. He explained, "The neerer Heresie commeth to the likenesse of the Trueth, the more dangerous it is," and the danger of Niclaes and his followers was that they used the same language of Christianity but with entirely different meanings.¹⁹⁹ They employed the words of the Bible but substituted their own definitions. Greenham berated them for their deceptive interpretation of Scripture and dependence on their so-called prophet, "The damnable Familie of love make the word (which is a thing fearefull to bee though, much more to spoke of) but a nose of waxe, or a shipmans hose, and yet they will have their H.N. [Hendrik Niclaes] who is the eight person and the last man, who must bee joyned with the Gospell, and so farre forth as hee with other gray-headed, and illuminate elders do interpret Scriptures, they will agree."²⁰⁰

For Greenham, the most dangerous component of the Family's interpretation of Scripture was their Christology. They denied any physical component of Christ's nature, and thus his work could do nothing to redeem the body. Greenham saw this as a hopeless philosophy. Death had the final word over humans because Christ's work was only spiritual, not physical. Greenham began his complaint against the Family's doctrine, "In speaking of the birth, death, and resurrection of Christ, these men as fooles flying one

¹⁹⁸John H. Primus, *Richard Greenham: The Portrait of an Elizabethan Pastor* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998), 73. See also John Roches Dasset, ed., *The Acts of the Privy Council of England*, vol. 12 (London: Byre and Spottiswoode, 1896), 231-32, 269.

¹⁹⁹Greenham, *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, WRG, 48.

²⁰⁰Richard Greenham, *Of the Sending of the Holy Ghost*, WRG, 219.

extremitie, runne post-hast into the contrary extremitie: and therefore these wretches imagining themselves a spirituall Christ, are as much to be maliced, as the Papists are to be pittied.”²⁰¹ He elaborated on the extent they would go to spiritualize the Son of God and deny his physicality:

These fellowes under a colour of not being ceremoniall, but altogether desiring to be spirituall, take away all from us, and yet most deceitfully will seeme to grant all. If ye demaund anything of Christ his birth, they will grant it; if ye aske whether he was borne of the seed of David, and of the Virigin Mary, they will confesse it, but as understanding it after this allegorie, for that Mary, as they say, signifieth doctrine, David the beloved service: so that this is their judgement of Christ his birth, that he was borne of the doctrine and the service of love.²⁰²

The great danger revealed itself in their understanding of Jesus’s resurrection. Greenham described how they disfigured this aspect of their theology, “In like manner they will grant the resurrection of Christ his death and his buriall, but in this sense, that Christ suffereth in our suffocated nature, and is crucified, when sinne dieth in us, and when they suffer for the doctrine of love, and that after they have suffered and begin to be illuminated, then Christ riseth againe in them.”²⁰³ Greenham castigated the Familist’s doublespeak as particularly dangerous. They affirmed a central doctrine of the Christian faith, all the while denying the truth of that claim. They would speak of the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, but in doing so, they spiritualized the events and voided them of any physicality or future hope.

Against the Family of Love’s spiritualizing the resurrection of Christ, Greenham asserted the physicality of both Christ’s and believers’ resurrections. He declared, “We see now [Christ’s] rising was corporall, it was no spiritual resurretion; in what sorte he rose, in like manner shall we rise also: but he rose in the flesh, then shall we rise in the flesh, and therefore not in the spirit alone, as our brainsicke heretikes

²⁰¹Greenham, *The Sixteenth Sermon*, WRG, 365.

²⁰²Ibid.

²⁰³Ibid.

imagine.”²⁰⁴ The resurrection could not be a spiritual resurrection from sin as the Familists imagine, for this would make Christ’s resurrection meaningless. Thus in the Bible, “The Prophet spoketh for a resurrection of the flesh, after it shall bee corrupted, contrarie to the heretiques, who dreame of a spiritual resurrection from sinne, which by no means can be understood of Christ, in whom was no sinne, and therefore no rising from sinne.”²⁰⁵ Christ did not sin, and so his resurrection could not be from sin. Therefore, his resurrection had to be something more; it was a physical rising again of his body from the dead. As his resurrection was the first fruits of his people’s rising from the dead, their resurrection also would be a bodily resurrection. Greenham repeatedly affirmed this central doctrine of the Christian faith because of the opposition to it by the Family of Love.

Conclusion

According to Greenham, a person consisted of a united body and soul in this life. The soul would be separated from the body at death only to be reunited at the final resurrection. Both the faithful and the wicked would have their bodies in eternity; the former in the new creation and the latter in everlasting punishment. The eternal embodied bliss that awaited the godly was won for them through Christ. He redeemed his people in both body and soul by taking on a fully human nature, living a perfect life, suffering, dying, and rising again. All of these things he accomplished in both body and soul. Greenham coupled these christological truths with his doctrine of creation to emphasize that value of the body in this life. Parallels to his view of psychosomatic unity and the value of the body were found in the philosophical, medical, and theological thought of the sixteenth century.

²⁰⁴Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 186.

²⁰⁵Ibid., 182.

CHAPTER 3

COUNSELING FOR LIFE IN THE BODY

In 1570, Greenham moved from the academy to the parish. He now had to apply the lessons of the classroom to the lives of his congregation. No longer an academic theologian, he aimed to be a pastoral theologian. He did not remit his place as a theologian but, for the good of his parishioners, shifted the focus of his practice. In Dry Drayton and later in London, his theology undergirded his pastoral ministry. His christologically-informed anthropology shaped his pastoral theology. Two key aspects of his clerical practice stemmed from his anthropology. First, his understanding of psychosomatic unity led him to address holistically spiritual and physical problems. Second, the importance God placed on the body, especially as revealed through the person and work of Christ, led Greenham to care for both body and soul in his ministry.

In order to demonstrate the connection between Greenham's anthropology and his pastoral practice, this chapter elucidates the role of the body in his spiritual counsel. First, it examines the foundations Greenham established for his vision of an embodied spirituality. To live as a faithful Christian in the physical world, believers had to appreciate their status as pilgrims, the essential nature of thanksgiving, and the value of introspection. Next, the chapter explores Greenham's care for the body in the everydayness of life. His counsel on diet, clothing, work, and rest reveals a genuine concern for the body and a belief that the physical had a part to play in spiritual life. Third, this chapter explicates his teachings on marriage and death to show his care for the body and the value of the body in major life events. Finally, this chapter considers the specific roles Greenham outlined for the body in a Christian's spiritual life.

Foundations for Embodied Spirituality

In all situations, Greenham instructed Christians to use their bodies for spiritual growth. The body itself had value. After all, Christ redeemed it, and God provided for it. He was Lord over both the soul and the body. However, the greatest value of the body was how it could help a person know and love God more. The importance of the body, then, could not be found apart from the spiritual side of a person, which Greenham variously identified as the heart or the soul, and this aspect of a person was the seat of religion.¹ While the soul was the seat of religion, the unity between soul and body meant that the body was to be put to work for religious purposes. The Lord spoke to and redeemed his people as holistic beings, and thus, believers needed to put their whole person to work for their faith. They were to love God, as Christ commanded, with their entire being. Godly people would use the physical for their spiritual benefit by recognizing that they were pilgrims in this world, thanking and glorifying God in all circumstances, and examining their own lives.

Pilgrims in this World

Employing the material for the advancement of piety began with the recognition that Christians were pilgrims in this world. Appreciating that there was more to life than what met the eye allowed believers to subject their earthly desires to heavenly ones. They journeyed through this life as strangers and aliens toward a city whose builder and architect was God. They focused on the greater good that would come and used all they had to reach that heavenly country. Their ultimate destiny in the presence of the Divine allowed them to deny this world. Greenham described the starting point of this spirituality, “We see then where we must make the beginning of all godlines and good religion, even in denying this world, and acknowledging ourselves to be but pilgrimes in

¹See above, chap. 2.

the same.”² Only when the godly recognized the transitory nature of this world would they be able to appropriately use this world. Christians could repudiate the things of this world because they knew they passed through this life as sojourners in a strange land. As with God’s people under the old covenant, new covenant believers were to recognize that they were strangers in this world.³ Those who would partake in the kingdom of heaven yearned for the world to come and would use all they had to get there.

Christians would never feel completely at home in this world, for their hope was in the new heavens and the new earth. Greenham implored the godly to cast an eye toward their future home and so set themselves free to use the creation for spiritual ends. The natural world, including the body, was to serve to further believers’ devotion to the Almighty. The people of this world did not have to be told to use things of this earth for their comfort, and so Greenham extrapolated, Christians were to know how to use this world for their spiritual benefit, “As naturall men use Gods creatures to stirre up a naturall comfort: so spirituall men should use them to procure some spirituall comfort, and to stirre up godly joyes and fruitfull meditations in themselves.”⁴ God’s followers were to contemplate his creation to rouse joy and to bring comfort. Such joy and comfort could come from creation because the Lord was the God who created this world. His creation was to benefit his people. As Greenham expressed, God as creator meant that the Christian “shall have a profitable and convenient use of all Gods creatures.”⁵ Indeed, “the creatures were made for man,” and so “to waste the creatures of god is a great sin.”⁶ The Creator intended his creation to serve humanity, and there was no greater service than to

²Richard Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 405.

³Ibid.

⁴Richard Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 41; cf. Richard Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 673; Richard Greenham, REM fol. 2v.

⁵Richard Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 82.

⁶Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 48; Greenham, REM fol. 62v.

aid them in their devotion to God. The godly were to employ the physical world for their spiritual benefit.

Their nature as pilgrims focused Christians not on this world but on the Kingdom of God. Thus, Christians held loosely the things of this world as they put creation to work toward their transcendent goal. Greenham cautioned that an overvaluing of the charms of this life would prevent growth in godliness, and so he challenged people to look toward the heavenly city: “In what worldly thing soever we exceede, we cannot applie our selves to God his kingdome. For if the kingdom of God be our chiefest delight, we shall use this world, as though wee used it not.”⁷ He cautioned, however, that if the Kingdom of God were not his people’s chief delight, they would not gain from the means of grace. He warned of this danger, “Our hearts were fraught and ballaced with worldly cares, so that there was no place left voide in our affections for the word; and that our hearts were so pestred and thronged with vaine pleasures, that there was no roome for God his spirit to keepe residence in, and for religion to dwell among us.”⁸ Worldly cares flooded into life and counteracted the means of grace. They “locke up our hearts that the Lord cannot enter in.”⁹ The preaching of the Word and the sacraments provided little help when earthly concerns consumed the affections. Vain pleasures so occupied the heart that there no longer remained any room to devote to God. Therefore, Greenham exhorted Christians to loosen their grip on this world and thereby unlock their hearts that God might enter.

Instead of an overwhelming care for this present life, the godly were to follow the example of the Apostle Paul. Greenham explained, “Whilest Christ lived in Paul, he used this world as though he used it not, he felt such joy in the fruites of the Spirit, that

⁷Richard Greenham, *Of the Sending of the Holy Ghost*, WRG, 220.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

all other things were vile unto him.”¹⁰ Greenham went on, “The lesse account wee make of earthly things, and the more account of heavenly things, the liker we are to have them: for worldly things must be so craved, as we first give them to God, and then wish to have them if it please him.”¹¹ Christians were to hold loosely to this world through which they sojourned. They focused on that heavenly city to which they traveled, and then they would be able to use all of creation not for vain pursuits but to increase their devotion to God.

Greenham readily admitted such heavenly-mindedness did not come easily. In fact, the focus on the Kingdom of Heaven that allowed Christians to use this world as though they used it not had to come by divine intervention. Only when God redeemed people and set his Spirit within them did their affections begin to change. Being justified by grace transformed people. The Spirit of God worked within them to conform them to the image of Christ. Greenham outlined what this transformation looked like in an individual’s life. Once redeemed, “then are his affections in some good measure altered, his desire is set, not upon earthly, but upon heavenly things; his joyes are not in the earth, but in the heavens.”¹² In addition to these newfound desires and joys, “his anger is wasted and spent, not upon his owne private cause and quarrels, but upon his owne sinnes, and upon whatsoever hindreth the glorie of his God.”¹³ Greenham made clear that this transformation had supernatural origins, “This is the life of God in him; thus he liveth that hath received the spirit.”¹⁴ The shift in focus from earth to heaven would not come

¹⁰Greenham, *Of the Sending of the Holy Ghost*, WRG, 221.

¹¹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 784.

¹²Richard Greenham, *A Sermon Preached by Maister Greenham upon These Words: Quench Not the Spirit 1 Thess. 5.19*, WRG, 243.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

from human effort but had to result from a saving encounter with the Lord. Salvation changed God's people. The Lord transformed them into people who did good works, who lived in a manner pleasing to God, and who had been enlightened concerning the mysteries of godliness. Moreover, in delivering his people, God changed their hearts. The Almighty, as Greenham made clear, altered their affections so that their desires were set not upon earthly things but heavenly. The Spirit of God so transformed believers that their goal became the glory of God in all things.

Greenham highlighted the story of Mary and Martha to show the relative importance of heavenly versus worldly concerns. Like Mary in the Gospels, the godly, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, were to set their focus on things that last and not on the temporal concerns of this world. Mary exemplified a life devoted unto the Everlasting, as Greenham described, "When Mary was occupied in hearing our Saviour Christ, and Martha was busied in ministring things about her house, Christ saith flatly, Mary hath chosen the good part."¹⁵ Why, asked Greenham, was Mary's part better? He answered, "It shall not be taken away from her. Marthas part in death shall be taken away, and come to nought."¹⁶ The permanence of Mary's choice revealed its value. Martha's part would fade away, but Mary's would remain. From this account, Greenham extrapolated, "So may we safely say of all things concerning our trades in this life, they must cease when death comes, they shall have an end; but Maries part shall not bee so, that is whatsoever faith, love, or obedience wee have attained by the word preached, it shall abide by us with peace of conscience in this life, and afterward it will accompanie us even to the kingdome of heaven."¹⁷ Death would end all the cares of this world, but the works of faith, love, and obedience would go with believers into the world to come.

¹⁵Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 708.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid.

When God’s children recognized their status as pilgrims in this world, they could rightly order their lives around matters of eternal consequence. They would put the physical world to work for their spiritual benefit.

Thanksgiving to Glory

This pilgrim mindset drove people to the Lord in prayer and thanksgiving. When focused on the world to come, not only did Christians see the greater value of the things of God, but they also recognized their dependence on the divine for their spiritual and physical well-being. God was the one who cared for all their needs. No matter the circumstances, whether prosperity or poverty, Christians were able to offer thanks to the Lord, knowing he supplied the needs both of soul and of body. Out of this thankfulness for God’s gracious provision sprung a desire to glorify him in all circumstances.

Greenham highlighted the biblical figure of David as a reminder that God cared for the physical and spiritual needs of his people. Preaching on David in Psalm 16, Greenham reminded his hearers, “God provided on every side for him, both spiritually for his soule, and corporally for his body.”¹⁸ David himself recognized this fact and knowing that “the life both of body and soule. . . being in the hands of the Lord, hee dare safely commend himselfe unto him.”¹⁹ Expecting the Lord would provide for his physical and spiritual needs, the king of Israel entrusted himself to God in all matters. Greenham exhorted his congregation to be like David and to recognize the provision the Lord made for the whole person. In this sermon, he challenged them to search the Scriptures “because the word of God will shewe them now all sufficiencie both for their soules and bodies is in the Lorde, who freely hath taken the whole charge thereof into his owne hands.”²⁰ The Bible, he explained, was far more than a guide for the soul. “It is the

¹⁸Richard Greenham, *The Twelfth Sermon, WRG*, 321.

¹⁹Ibid., 322.

²⁰Ibid.

wisdom of God in his holie word, not onely to instruct us in things concerning our salvation, but also to teach us in things of this life.”²¹ God’s Word revealed his care for the whole person and instructed the reader in wisdom for this life and the life to come.

The Lord’s care and provision for the whole person meant that believers returned thanks to God in all circumstances. “If we were perswaded,” Greenham averred, “whatsoever we have, we have it of God, we would use it with prayer, [and] receive it with thanksgiving.”²² Thankfulness testified that people believed the Lord provided for their needs. While grateful for God’s good care, Christians had to avoid trusting in what the Almighty provided rather than in God himself. “We should not rest in outward things, as in lands, possessions or preferments, as in our portion, but in the Lord who giveth these things.”²³ Believers were to find their comfort in God and not in his gifts. Thanksgiving reminded the godly of their need for the Lord.

Greenham made clear that all situations needed to be met with prayer and thanksgiving, and believers were to confess, “Whatsoever we have, we have it of God.”²⁴ Whether in poverty or prosperity, Christians returned thanks to the Lord, knowing that in his wisdom he had ordained whatsoever came to pass. Gratefulness in all circumstances was to be expressed in more than words. True thankfulness would be accompanied by a desire to glorify God with whatever he had given. “If the Lord giveth us healthfull bodie, credit, riches, and authoritie,” exhorted Greenham, “we are hereby resolved to glorifie God by these things, to redeeme the time, and so to possesse them as though we possessed them not.”²⁵ However, “if the Lord denieth us these things, and sendeth sicknes,

²¹Richard Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 52.

²²Greenham, *The Twelfth Sermon*, WRG, 324.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Greenham, *Of the Sending of the Holy Ghost*, WRG, 222.

discredit, povertie, and obscuritie,” believers were to remain thankful, for “the Lord will send a recompence of inward things.”²⁶ Greenham elaborated on the future hope of those who lacked physical blessings, “Wanting bodily health, he will give the salvation of our soules; in stead of outward credit, we shall have credit with God, and be well thought of among his children; and if wanting worldly riches, we be enriched by heavenly things.”²⁷ Even without any worldly wealth or physical help, the godly were to confess, “We have lost nothing, having changed drosse and dung for gold.”²⁸ No matter what the circumstance in life, whether vast wealth or poverty, whether sickness or health, people’s physical conditions could be put to spiritual work. The rich were to use their prosperity to glorify God while holding their possessions loosely. Poverty and physical illness did not need to hinder the increase of religious devotion. Rather, physical challenges were to grow the godly’s longing for the spiritual benefits to come. Thanksgiving allowed Christians to keep a heavenly mindset, which, in turn, enabled them to live in all circumstances for the glory of God.

Thanksgiving and a longing to dwell with God were two ways Greenham encouraged believers to honor the Lord in all circumstances. Furthermore, he added that people glorified God when they used their worldly circumstances for the good of others. “When the Lord makes any one man more excellent than another for gifts outward or inward,” Greenham taught, “he trieth him whether he wil seeke Gods glorie, and the profit of this brethren.”²⁹ Blessings from God were to flow to others. The Lord gave in order that his people might imitate his gracious generosity. Certainly, Greenham’s instructions entailed providing for physical needs, but he also exhorted the godly to be

²⁶Greenham, *Of the Sending of the Holy Ghost*, WRG, 222.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 742.

about “the best kinde of dutie.”³⁰ They needed to be able to confess with him, “our senses, and the parts of our bodies are about the busines of saving of our soules, & about the busines of the Lords glorie.”³¹ When all the senses together with the whole body worked toward the salvation of sinners, they glorified God. Believers were to use whatever material blessings they had to work for the spiritual and physical good of others.

However, when someone failed to use God’s good gifts to bless others, Greenham warned, “The Lord [would] let him see, that this is his corruption which he must labour against.”³² When blessings intended for others did not get passed on, God would use them to expose the sinfulness of the one who held too tight a grip on this world. “For example,” Greenham declared, “doth the Lord give thee wife, riches, or any such benefits? hee doth it to make thee more fitte to serve.”³³ God not only blessed people for their material good and to be conduits of blessing to others, but he also gave good gifts to sanctify his people. When they employed God’s gifts for the good of others, they grew more like Christ. When they did not use these blessings for others, the Lord would reveal this corruption.

Greenham elaborated on these principles with a specific example, “So then, hath the Lord, given thee a wife? Looke to her, as the Lord hath committed his owne creature to thee, so thou be fit to be a guide unto her, going before her in al honestie and godlines.”³⁴ A wife was a blessing from God, but she was also an opportunity for the husband to learn to put someone else’s needs above his own and thus become more like Christ. Greenham continued explaining the Lord’s purpose, “Againe, he doth trie thee

³⁰Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 708.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid., 742.

³⁴Ibid.

whether thou wilt rest in her love, and whether thou wilt use her companie soberly, not effeminately: he trieth thee whether thou wilt be covetous to care for earthly things in her behalfe. But these and the like fruites, the Lord doth shew thee the corruption which thou must labour against.”³⁵ With the gift of a wife, the Lord challenged a man to put someone else’s needs above his own and to live in accord with the biblical standard of marriage. God gave marriage as a good gift, but marriage was not an end in itself. Husband and wife would serve as means of sanctification to each other, and through their marriage they would be better fit to enter the Kingdom of God.

Whatever the gift, whether spouse, riches, or any other benefit, the Lord intended them to make his people more fit to serve others and to glorify him. A pilgrim mindset drove people to thank God for his provision in all situations, and from this thankfulness, they sought to glorify the Lord no matter their circumstances.

The Examined Life

Greenham’s vision for an embodied spirituality began with the recognition that believers travel through this world as sojourners and strangers. From there, he encouraged believers to give thanks to God and to glorify him in all circumstances. Finally, for Christians to gain spiritual benefits from their lives in this physical world, they had to examine themselves. Introspection unlocked the spiritual advantages available in this world. God’s children were to reflect upon their circumstances and his Word in order to gain from them.

Greenham’s typical call to introspection was on display in his advice to a noble woman. To her request for guidance, Greenham responded with a call for her to examine herself. She needed to reflect on her life to ensure that she used the physical world for her spiritual benefit. He counseled her, “Madame, first God hath given you a birth, blood

³⁵Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 742.

passing many, credit and countenance, wealth and abundance: in all which you excell others, so these things require in you the greatest care of well doing.”³⁶ The Lord had given this woman tremendous blessings in her social standing and finances, and as a result, she had to take great care to use her status and wealth for godly purposes. “Wherefore,” Greenham continued, “my advice and counsell is unto you, to trie your heart, whether you have in any measure beene answerable to these things in your obedience to the Gospell.”³⁷ These worldly gifts were to be put to work in accordance with her faith. She, therefore, was to try her heart to see if she had been faithful. He encouraged self-examination in order that she might use her rank and prosperity in a manner that honored God and thereby blessed herself and others.

Believers benefited spiritually in this world through reflection and introspection. “In our most earnest matters,” Greenham proposed, “wee must be zealous over our owne heart, and then especiallie examine and call to account our affections.”³⁸ Maintaining the pilgrim mindset and a life of thanksgiving that glorified God required self-examination. Believers were to test their hearts and to keep them focused on the Lord. They needed to work to keep in mind the greater purpose of their lives in this world. When a challenge arrived, believers were to examine their hearts in order to benefit from it. They used these trials to reorient their lives around God.

The purpose of this examination ultimately was not to determine the cause of difficulty but was to bring the Christian’s response in line with God’s instruction. The question “why” might be of some benefit, but the greatest gain came by reflecting on how to benefit from the trial. No matter the cause, God’s will was to be sought. Thus, believers sought that “pedagogie of the soule,” which was “that in all things we had

³⁶Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 69.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 19.

neede to aske the gouvernement of God, by his word and spirit.”³⁹ Self-scrutiny only worked when it judged the heart by God’s standard and allowed his Word and Spirit to shape the response. The examination of the heart had to be done through the lens of Scripture.

Greenham envisioned this trying of the heart and self-examination as a personal courtroom. It was not enough to hear others’ evaluations. Christians were to judge their own hearts on the basis of God’s Word. As Greenham indicated, “Wee must search our owne hearts carefully, how well soever others report of us: for wee may speake of our selves of knowledge, when others doe speake of charitie.”⁴⁰ Another person might speak with too much grace, but the individual could examine the depths of the heart and judge from personal knowledge. Thus, Greenham pictured Christians putting themselves on trial: “When we examine ourselves, we are to sit in judgement over our selves, and to keepe a solemne court in our owne consciences, to survay our manners: our wits, our senses, our members, and to see how we have used them.”⁴¹ Christians were to scrutinize their actions, their thoughts, and their affections; no part of the person could go unexamined.

Personal conscience, however, could not be the final judge. “Yet,” Greenham cautioned, “least we should be too favourable to our selves, either in not espying out our sinnes, or in not condemning our sinnes, still we remember to make the law our judge, but Christ the answerer of the judge.”⁴² God’s law served as the standard and judge for his people. Yet, the judge did not have the final word, for Christ answered the law on

³⁹Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 19.

⁴⁰Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 671.

⁴¹Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 37.

⁴²Ibid.

behalf of his people. Even in the midst of putting themselves on trial, Christians needed to recall that Christ had freed them from the condemnation of the law.

God's Word formed the basis of the believer's self-examination. Ultimately, believers would come before the Lord "who shall and will examine quick and dead."⁴³ Rather than waiting until it was too late, Greenham advised people to let their final judge test them in this life: "If wee will truly examine our selves, then let us set our selves before the Lord...for to him wee must render a just account."⁴⁴ People allowed the Lord to judge them in this life by scrutinizing their lives through the lens of Scripture. The basis of the Lord's future judgment was plainly set before them in the Bible. People were to measure themselves against God's Word. The Scriptures formed the standard by which Christians evaluated their faithfulness. "Let us trie our worke," Greenham counseled, "by the word; whereto if it be agreeable, then will the Lord allow of it, though not as perfect, yet in his sonne Christ."⁴⁵ The goal of such an examination by God's Word was not discouragement but encouragement in the face of difficulty. When the evaluation proved that their works accorded with Scripture, Christians would be strengthened. Coming before the Lord for an examination by his Word, Greenham argued, "is the way to raise us when we are fallen, to strengthen us when we stand, and ever to maintaine the peace of our consciences."⁴⁶

Greenham found particular need for self-examination in religious activities. Pious deeds were to be scrutinized by the standard of God's Word. Although spiritual devotion seemed the last place personal impurity would appear, Greenham warned

⁴³Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 671.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid.

Christians about “the unreverent and irreligious handling of most holy exercises.”⁴⁷ He cautioned, “We may easily be corrupted even in prayer, in hearing of the word, in keeping of our Sabbath, which in themselves do carry a kind of holinesse, which being not rightly used are said to be prophaned.”⁴⁸ The godly, generally speaking, did well in avoiding the more flagrant sins, but they needed to be on guard against sinning in their sacred duties. Due to the corruption of the human heart, even the means of grace could be profaned if improperly employed. Prayer, hearing Scripture preached, and keeping the Sabbath, while good in themselves, could be misused and become occasions for sin.

Greenham noted that sin could even steal into a pastor’s work, and thus he cautioned his fellow ministers, “It is a good thing to looke to ones hart in all things, especially for uncleanes even creeping upon us in holy things, and with most holy persons.”⁴⁹ He warned ministers to examine their hearts even about whom they counseled. It was far too easy, he explained, to “desire in comforting afflicted mindes to doe it rather with women then with men, and with beautifull women, rather then with others, and with rich women, rather then with poore women, wherein the heart is very corrupt, and full of matter to humble us.”⁵⁰ The corruption of the heart could turn the most pious acts into sin. Unholy desires would desecrate a pastor’s attempts to help those in need.

The danger for the godly was that religious devotion could mask the wickedness within even to the point of deceiving oneself. Consequently Greenham advised, “We must more warily watch over our selves,” and he declared, “It is a good thing to looke to ones hart in all things.”⁵¹ In everything from godly counsel to observing

⁴⁷Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 54.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid., 66.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid., 54, 66.

the Sabbath to prayer, Christians were to examine themselves against the Scriptures to guard against the corrupting influence of sin. Spiritual exercises required as much, if not more, biblically informed introspection for their proper use as did physical blessings and hardships.

Self-reflection that was guided by Scripture formed the final piece of the foundation for Greenham's embodied spirituality. The godly were to examine their whole lives, including their spiritual and physical blessings, to ensure they were living in a manner pleasing to the Lord. Combined with a pilgrim mindset and a life of thanksgiving lived to the glory of God, introspection allowed the godly to follow Greenham's injunction, "We shall use this world, as though wee used it not."⁵² The material could become spiritually advantageous. When believers embraced this embodied spirituality they would gain everlasting benefits from this physical world both in their daily lives and in major life events.

Daily Life

Greenham's counsel for everyday life revealed his concern for the body and his belief that the material could be spiritually beneficial. His ultimate focus remained on the spiritual ends of the Christian life, but such a goal never led him to neglect or to devalue the physical body. In fact, building on his Christology, Greenham emphasized the need to care for the whole person. He highlighted Christ's redemption of his people in body and soul and moved from there to promote a ministry that cared for corporeal needs. Greenham combined his preaching of a gospel of eternal salvation by faith alone with counsel on how believers were to live amidst the everydayness of earthly life. He cared for the body, and this care manifested itself as advice on diet, clothing, work, and rest. If

⁵²Greenham, *Of the Sending of the Holy Ghost*, WRG, 220.

Christ loved his people's bodies enough to live, to suffer, and to die in his own body for them, then certainly Christians needed to care for the body, both theirs and others'.⁵³

Diet

Like all life, the Christian life would be short-lived apart from food. Greenham understood the fundamental role food played in sustaining life, but for him, diet was for much more than merely subsisting. While he generally counseled moderation, Greenham pointed to the myriad flavors of food and drink as evidence that these things were created for enjoyment as well as sustenance. Additionally, Greenham advised Christians to consider the spiritual implications of what they put in their bodies.⁵⁴

Greenham began his work as a nutritionist at home. In his own life, he practiced moderation in diet, and he relayed how "hee would labour to use his stomach to the most common diet," following a course of self restraint and abstaining from "cordial meats and drinks."⁵⁵ He avoided too much luxury in his food and drink because he found

⁵³With Greenham, other puritan authors based their shared concern with the physicality of the Christian life on the redemption of the body won through Christ's incarnation which would be consummated with the resurrection and glorification of the body in the new creation. For example, Thomas Watson exhorted, "Seeing you expect your Bodies should arise to Glory, keep your Bodies unspotted from sin." Thomas Watson, *A Body of Practical Divinity* (London: Thomas Parkurst, 1692), 236. Likewise, Richard Sibbes called on believer to "put honour upon these bodies that shall be thus honoured" by using the body for honorable purposes in this life. Richard Sibbes, *The Redemption of Bodies*, in *The Works of Richard Sibbes*, vol. 5, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (1862-1864; repr., Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, 1973), 166.

⁵⁴For more on diet in England during Greenham's life, see Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions 1500-1760* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006).

⁵⁵Greenham, REM, fol. 28r. Moderation was the rule for puritan counsel on diet for the health of the body and the soul. William Perkins exemplified puritan dietary instructions when he called on his fellow Christians, "We must keep a holy moderation in the use of our diet."⁵⁵ William Perkins *The Whole Treatise of the Cases of Conscience* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1606), 551. Concerning food, he argued that "excesse destroyes the bodie, and kills even the very naturall strength and life thereof," and he added, "It brings great hurt to the soule of man, in that it annoyeth the spirits, it dulleth the senses, it corrupteth the naturall heate, and good temper of the bodie" (ibid., 558). Richard Baxter echoed this concern for moderation in diet, adamantly warning against gluttony and drunkenness. Richard Baxter, *A Christian Directory: Or, A Summ of Practical Theologie and Cases of Conscience* (London: Robert White, 1673), 370-394. He agreed that excess in diet is "usually a hurt to Body or Soul, the body being hurt by the excess, the soul is hurt by inordinate pleasure" (ibid., 370). In Baxter's mind, gluttony can be eating too much or eating too often, and, he also warned, "It may also be an excess in the costliness or price, when men feed themselves at too high rates" (ibid.). Expense concerned him because of the needs of the poor (ibid.). Over-indulgence did not just harm the consumer; it also robbed those in need. Thus puritans counseled the godly to practice justice in their diets, which entailed that they earned their daily bread by "just and honest labor" and then did not waste their resources at "tavernes and tipling houses," neglecting those in their care.

by experience that such fine fare was meant “to bee remedies to cure infirmities, but when extraordinary things were made ordinary. . . they would do no more then ordinary meats and diets, yea so far of they were from being medicines to help nature decayed, that they were rather as hindrances of the strength of nature.”⁵⁶ Consistent consumption of sumptuous food left no provision for when a person grew sick and needed extra sustenance. The body grew used to these foods and would not benefit from them in times of need. Greenham compared such an immoderate diet to wearing a coat when it was warm; once winter came and the temperature dropped, the wearer had no way to get warm. When it came to food and drink, wise people would follow a moderate path, so that they would have recourse to remedy when illness comes. Thus, Greenham prescribed, “Such physical helps of nature, should bee used but in ther necessity, and then to be surceased again, least weakning nature too much wee should not have means to comfort it.”⁵⁷ A moderate diet proved best for health.

In his counsel to his wife, Greenham revealed that his practice of moderation was good for the soul in addition to the body. He advised her, “Bee moderate in things most which the appetite liketh of most, and check that too much greedines of an earthly thing, and you shal find this to bee a good physick to the body and an wholesome preservation for the soule.”⁵⁸ Moderation in food and drink proved best for the body. It avoided both paucity and overindulgence. Greenham’s concern, however, went beyond just care for the body. He also seized the opportunity afforded in diet for spiritual growth.

Perkins, *Cases of Conscience*, 550. While the Lord gave food for pleasure, he did not give it for self-indulgence that would rob families of their sustenance. Furthermore, believers were to practice charity in their diets by giving no offense in what was eaten and by remembering the poor (ibid., 550-51). Greenham did not address wasteful eating as a means of robbing those in need, but he did draw a similar connection with spending too much on clothing; see the discussion in the next section.

⁵⁶Greenham, REM, fol. 28r.

⁵⁷Ibid., fol. 28r-28v.

⁵⁸Ibid., fol. 37v.

Thus, he advised keeping one's appetite in check in order to avoid greed and too strong of a grip on the things of this world.

With his parish only a few miles from Cambridge and his household seminary for training pastors, Greenham had young men in and out of his home on a regular basis. He guided these students gathered around his table toward moderation in their diets. To such guests, he proposed, "It was good for a yong man in his meat, not to be too abstinent but somewhat liberal rather, but in his drincks to bee both moderate, and avoding any strong drincks nor liquors."⁵⁹ The typical Cambridge student at this time was a teenage boy who needed to eat well in order to continue to grow. However, this same demographic could be particularly prone to the lure of liquor, as accounts of William Perkins's drunkenness make clear.⁶⁰ Greenham wanted Christians to practice moderation in their diets. They needed to strike the balance between extravagance and abstinence, for, as he explained, "Although then wee may not pamper up our bodies, yet may wee have a due care of the same."⁶¹ Care was to be taken to promote physical health, and a temperate diet best supports that goal. "It is not good," Greenham declared, "to use that for dyet, which is prescribed for physicke: for that will not work in the extraordinarie neede of the bodie, which is used as ordinarie in the state and time of health."⁶² A moderate and balanced diet should replace the extremes of harsh fasting and gluttonous indulgence.

Whether it was wine or food, Greenham's overriding principle was moderation. Neither "excesse" nor "austeritie" would do; rather, all good gifts from God were to be

⁵⁹Greenham, REM, fol. 42r.

⁶⁰Benjamin Brook, *The Lives of the Puritans: Containing A Biographical Account of Those Divines Who Distinguished Themselves in the Cause of Religious Liberty*, vol. 2 (London: James Black, 1813), 129. Some doubt the authenticity of the account that makes Perkins's name synonymous with drunkenness during his early days at Cambridge.

⁶¹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 769.

⁶²Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 34.

enjoyed temperately. Greenham pointed to Joseph to evidence this truth about wine. First, he mentioned that Joseph's consumption did not promote over-indulgence, "Josephs example in drinking wine, is not an example of excesse, wherein wee commonly offend at this day, for that is condemned and judgements are prepared for it."⁶³ On the other hand, "too much austeritie is not commended."⁶⁴

Greenham then pointed to the variety of food and drink to demonstrate that these items were meant for pleasure as well as for sustenance. He asked, "Why then should there bee such divers tastes in meates? And wine was given not onely to quench the thirst, but also to make the hearts of men glad: for which purpose all the creatures serve also and therefore the children of Israel were commanunded to eate and to bee merrie before the Lord."⁶⁵ God provided a variety of foods so that people could take pleasure in eating and drinking. Moving from the Old Testament to the New, Greenham highlighted Jesus's miracle at the wedding in Cana, "The same may bee gathered out of the second of John, where Christ, albeit they had well drunke at the mariage, yet chaunged water into wine, which hee would not have done, if so austere order should have beene observed."⁶⁶ Food and drink provided more than sustenance; they brought enjoyment to life. The Lord even commanded his people to eat and to be merry before him. Greenham clearly saw the danger of intemperance in diet, but the godly's tendency toward an austere asceticism caused him greater concern. He promoted moderation in food and drink as an alternative to both abstinence and indulgence. Within this framework of moderation, however, the Lord intended food and drink to be enjoyed as

⁶³Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 769.

⁶⁴Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 34.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Ibid.

good gifts from him. Christians could honor God by enjoying these pleasures with thanksgiving.⁶⁷

Arising from his understanding of the unity of body and soul, Greenham advised Christians to consume food and drink for their spiritual good as well as their physical needs. Daily bread did more than nourish the body; it fueled praise and service to God. Thus, Greenham recommended the spiritual results be considered when planning a meal, “Because no particular rule can be set downe how to amend excesse and defect in diet, this were the best rule generally to be observed, so to feede, as that we may be made thereby more fit either to speake or heare the praises of God with more cheerfulnes and reverence.”⁶⁸ The sustenance a meal provided determined its worth, for believers needed to be fueled by food to perform their God-ordained duties. Christians were to eat in a manner that enabled them to worship and serve the Lord appropriately.⁶⁹

Food could fuel the service of God, but Greenham stipulated that it could also hinder one’s relationship with God. When the mandate for moderation was shunned, sin quickly followed. Greenham warned, “The bellie was the first sword the divell drew against man.”⁷⁰ To avoid this danger, the rector of Dry Drayton again counseled moderation. He built his case for this middle way between abstinence and total indulgence from biblical examples. Paul’s instructions for Timothy to drink wine provided warrant for the use of alcohol: “Paul saith to Timothie drinke no more water: in

⁶⁷Similarly, Perkins described how the Almighty supplied food “not sparingly alone, and for meere necessitie, to the satisfying of our hunger, and quenching of our thirst, but also freely and liberally, for Christian delight, and pleasure.” Perkins, *Cases of Conscience*, 548. God gave food for their sustenance and enjoyment, and so people were to eat with thanksgiving for their delight as well as their nutrition.

⁶⁸Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 10; cf. Greenham, REM fol. 37v.

⁶⁹In a similar vein, Perkins counseled against asceticism in diet, which could prove as dangerous as over-indulgence. Moderation meant that “every man must eat and drinke so much, as may serve to maintain the strength of his nature, of his bodie and mind, yea so much, as may serve to uphold the strength of grace in him.” Perkins, *Cases of Conscience*, 553.

⁷⁰Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 807-808.

sicknesses or infirmities we have leave to drinke wine.”⁷¹ However, the example of Noah warned against over-indulgence: “We must take heed of wine wherein there is excesse. Noah thought that after the great water, wine would have done him no hurt, but it made him a laughing stock to his owne son.”⁷² Likewise, the Israelites in the Exodus demonstrated the dangers of being ruled by the stomach. Greenham cautioned, “The children of Israel did eate and drinke, and then rose up to play, for they had no so much lust before meate: and what play plaid they at that time? that which made Moses breake the Tables.”⁷³ Greenham elaborated on Paul’s condemnation of those whose god was their stomach, highlighting that in the Garden of Eden the devil induced the Fall through an appeal to the belly. There remained a place for good food and even for wine, as Paul’s instructions to Timothy made clear, but Christians were to be wary of over-indulgence. Noah after the flood and the Israelites during the Exodus plainly revealed the dangers of yielding to one’s appetite. Food provided physical nourishment, but the godly could not forget to take into account the spiritual ramifications of their diet.

God gave food and drink as his good gifts to be enjoyed in moderation with thanksgiving and to his glory. Such moderation was good for the physical health of Christians and also for their spiritual health as it helped to prevent greed and gluttony. Food proved necessary for life and for performing spiritual duties, and so God’s people were to eat. In all of this, Greenham continued to warn against over-indulgence and to encourage moderation.

⁷¹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 807-808.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid.

Clothing

Greenham concerned himself not only with what went inside the body but also with what covered the body. Echoing his instructions on what to eat and to drink, Greenham advised moderation when it came to clothing. He declared that the godly must seek this moderation in fashion and in cost in order to avoid vanity and to provide for others. Once again, Greenham's instructions revealed his concern for the body and his belief that the physical aspects of life had spiritual consequences.

God's people should avoid extremes when it came to the style of their apparel. "He that exceedeth the boundes of custome in outward things," Greenham warned, "is a very wicked man."⁷⁴ Christians were to be drawing attention to their Savior, not to themselves, and they could accomplish this by dressing according to convention. Greenham exhorted his readers to take seriously the ramifications of what they wore by pointing to the example of the Israelites in Ezekiel 23. In this passage, the prophet chastised the people of God for desiring the rich clothing of the Assyrians. Greenham commented, "We see the judgement of God upon them, for looking on strange apparel."⁷⁵ They desired the unusual and costly garments more than they sought the Lord, and so he punished them by handing them over to those whose clothes they sought.⁷⁶

⁷⁴Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 676.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Perkins shared this concern for moderation in clothing. He encouraged his readers, "Our care for apparell, and the ornaments of our bodies, must be very moderate." Perkins, *Cases of Conscience*, 564. Everyone was to observe "the Rules of decencie and comelinesse" (ibid., 567). These norms included dressing "according to the sexe" and "according to our office" (ibid.). The former meant men must wear men's clothes and women wear women's. The latter required clothing appropriate for one's station in life according to social status and vocation (ibid., 568). Perkins argued for this hierarchical nature of dress by saying it helped to maintain "distinction of order and degree in the societies of men," but he also offered that apparel must be in accord with the means available to pay for it. Additionally, Perkins averred that one's station in life determined dress because clothing must be practical for one's vocation; it needed to be "fit and convenient for us, in respect of our calling: that it may not hinder or disable us, in the performance of the duties thereof" (ibid., 567). The notion that clothing was to reflect social standing likely accounted for why John Owen, who stood in this tradition calling for moderation, could become renowned for his sartorial choices. Perkins further counseled, "We must place the principall ornament of our soules and bodies, in vertue and good workes, not in any outward things" (ibid., 578). Apparel never was to be the primary accessory; good works were to adorn the godly. Thus, attire needed to be chosen according to virtue rather than fashion. Perkins advised, "The garments that we make to cover our bodies, must be such

Greenham counseled the godly to consider not only the fashion but also the cost of their attire. Alluding to 1 Peter 3:3, he declared, “The Apostle forbiddeth also costly or pretious apparell. He that breaketh into these expences of apparell, more than is beseeming his state, he is a theefe.”⁷⁷ Spending too much on clothing was tantamount to robbery. They could be robbing their families, those in need, and even God himself. Those who squandered their money on dress could be stealing from their families, for they took money meant for the whole group and spent it on themselves. This seemed to be a particular concern of Greenham’s as he qualified his statement on clothing expenses with the phrase, “beseeming his state.” He expected those with more money and of a higher class to spend more on what they wore. However, even if the wearers of costly clothes could provide for all their families’ needs, Greenham, as much of his writings made clear, was concerned that those with financial and material means provided for the indigent. Christians were to care for the poor and downtrodden, but if the godly spent all their money on themselves, they would have no way to give to those in need. Even greater than stealing from family and the poor, wasteful spenders robbed the Lord who entrusted this wealth to them. They misappropriated funds given to them for God’s glory and the good of others.

Greenham concluded his counsel on clothing by prompting Christians to consider their baptismal oath and duty to die to the things of this world. He reminded the godly, “We have renounced in our Baptisme... all the venities of the world.”⁷⁸ Thus, the people of God were not to spend so much time primping for others; instead, they were to

as may expresse the vertues of our mindes; specially the vertues of Modestie, Frugalitie, Shamefastnes” (ibid., 570). Whatever its physical necessity, clothing was to serve as a vehicle for sanctification.

⁷⁷Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 676-77.

⁷⁸Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 677. The 1559 Prayer Book had the priest ask the godparents, “Doest thou forsake the devil and all his workes, the vaine and pompe and glorye of the world, with al the covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not folow, nor be led by them?” *BCP*, 144.

devote themselves to God. Citing “a Father,” Greenham reiterated his condemnation, “They pray for one minute, and be an whole houre in attyryng themselves.”⁷⁹ Christians needed to concern themselves with being clothed with Christ, not with “pretious apparell.”⁸⁰ Greenham finished this section on clothing by quoting Bernard of Clairvaux on John the Baptist, “What is this to John? What, you would have us goe in John Baptists coate? I wish not that thou beest like him in attire, but yet I would not you should be flat contrarie.”⁸¹ Like Bernard, Greenham did not ask people to forsake all fashion and wander about in rags. He clarified, however, that such a provision did not give license to go to the other extreme and dress in the finest clothes. Instead, Greenham advised moderation in the fashion and cost of clothing in order to avoid vanity and to have funds available to care for their families and those in need. First and foremost, Christians were to clothe themselves with Christ.⁸²

Work

Greenham’s concern for the whole person extended to how people spent most of their time: work. He understood a person’s labor to be more than an occupation; it was

⁷⁹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 677.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²While echoing Greenham’s concern for moderation in apparel, Perkins and Baxter added that clothing was necessary in order both to protect and honor the body. Baxter indicated that attire served “1. To keep the body warm; 2. To keep it from being hurt.” Baxter, *Christian Directory*, 465. People had to wear clothes, Perkins reported, “for the defending of the body from the extremitie of parching heate, and the pinching cold, and consequently the preserving of life & health.” Perkins, *Cases of Conscience*, 572. According to Perkins, the necessity of clothing for protection only arose after the Fall. He argued, “Whilist man was yet in the state of Innocencie, before his fall, ther was a perfect temperature of the aire, in respect of mans bodie, and so there was no need of garments.” Ibid. The post-lapsarian nature of clothing came not just from shame but from the cosmic effects of sin. In addition to protecting the body, clothing also honored it by adorning it and by covering “those parts, which nature hath made your shame” (ibid., 573; cf. Baxter, *Christian Directory*, 465). Furthermore, clothing honored the body by adorning it properly as a temple of the Holy Spirit and a member of Christ. Perkins, *Cases of Conscience*, 576. Moreover there existed numerous spiritual benefits to be found in clothing. Perkins exhorted his readers, “We must make a spiritual use of the apparell which we weare” (ibid., 580). All clothing was to humble its wearer because humans had to cover their bodies because of original sin (ibid., 580-81). Additionally, he indicated that dressing reminded Christians to put on Christ and to prepare for his return, and undressing admonished believers to put off sin (ibid., 581).

a calling from God. With this concept of vocation in mind, Greenham urged Christians to work not only for their physical needs but also to the glory of God. Having confidence that God had brought them to a particular place and a certain calling freed the godly to serve the Lord in their work and to trust that he would provide for all their needs.

Elsewhere, Greenham counseled a heavenward focus, but when it came to work, he called his hearers back to earth and reminded them of their duties: “You are in earth to follow your calling, you are not yet in heaven.”⁸³ Work formed a necessary part of life in this world. From the beginning, life on this planet had entailed work, and as long as Christians remained, they had to work.⁸⁴ As the nomenclature of “calling” indicated, Greenham believed that people’s work had divine origins. They did not choose their jobs; rather, their work was ordained by God. Christians did not have occupations but vocations.⁸⁵

If people trusted that their sovereign Lord had brought them to such a position, they were to work rather than squander their time longing for something new. God’s call for devotion extended to all circumstances. Greenham declared that his hearers did not need to wait for their conditions to improve but were to serve the Lord in the present. He counseled, “Thinke not with thy selfe, if I were in such a place, if I were in such a calling, or if it were such a time, if I had obtained such a thing, or if such a trouble were past, then

⁸³Greenham, *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, WRG, 50.

⁸⁴Despite work’s prelapsarian existence, this quotation indicated that Greenham did not expect work to continue in the world to come. Certainly, he acknowledged there would be service rendered unto God in the next life, but he seemed unwilling to put this in the same class as the labor here on earth, notwithstanding his comments on serving the Lord in one’s vocation on earth. Perhaps, it would be best to read Greenham here as seeing work in this life and the service unto God in the next as such categorically different actions that they could not be called by the same name.

⁸⁵Given Greenham’s building upon Luther’s Law-Gospel distinction (Primus, *Richard Greenham*, 93-100), it seems likely that Greenham was familiar with his doctrine of vocation as well. For examples of Luther’s teaching on vocation, see *LW* 3:128-31, 321; 37:361-65. For how Luther’s doctrine of vocation fit into his overall theological framework, see Gustaf Wingren, *Luther on Vocation*, trans. Carl C. Rasmussen (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1957). For more on how other puritans understood vocation, see William Perkins, *A Treatise of the Vocations, or Callings of Men* (London: John Legat, 1603); William Ames, *Conscience with the Power and Cases Thereof*. London, 1639), 248-54; George Swinnock, *The Christian-mans Calling* (London: T. P., 1662), 466-515; Baxter, *Christian Directory*, 447-76.

I would serve God, then I would take another course.”⁸⁶ Not one’s circumstances but one’s mind needed to change in order to serve the Lord, for as Greenham reported, “Though the time were changed, and these things changed, yet if thy minde were not chaunged, thou wouldest be of the same opinion still.”⁸⁷ Instead, he exhorted believers to get to work where they were: “Redeeme the time present, doe good while thou mayest: serve God to day, for who knowes whether thou shalt live till tomorrow.”⁸⁸ Today, Greenham declared, was the day to serve God. Serve him in the current situation. Do good in the present circumstance. Redeem the time, for tomorrow was not guaranteed. In offering such counsel, Greenham did not oppose hard work and advancement. Rather, he opposed those who would offer their current hardships as excuses for less than full obedience to God. The Lord who had called people to their current situations called upon them to be devoted unto him in those same positions.

Concerning work, Greenham averred that a Christian understanding of vocation should combine with trust in God’s provision to assure believers that God would meet their needs. The godly were to work, but they did not need to worry. Greenham assured them, “If we beleeve that the Lord will prepare a kingdome for us in the heavens, we cannot but beleeve that in this life he wil preserve us.”⁸⁹ He then argued from the greater to the lesser, “For if we beleeve, that our bodies shall be turned unto dust, and yet raised up againe, we shall be sure he will not but provide for us in this world: for it is a greater thing to raise up the body from death, and out of the dust, than to preserve it being alive.”⁹⁰ The God who raised people from the dead certainly could keep them alive. Not

44. ⁸⁶Greenham, *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, WRG,

⁸⁷Ibid., 44-45.

⁸⁸Ibid., 45.

758. ⁸⁹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG,

⁹⁰Ibid.

only did the Lord possess the power to preserve his people, but he also desired to do so. He evidenced his loving-kindness to them by preparing a kingdom for them and ushering them into that kingdom by the life and death of his Son. The Apostle Paul's own counsel on this matter could not have been far from Greenham's mind, "Who spared not his owne Sonne, but gave him for us all to death, how shal he not with him give us all things also?" (Rom 8:32). The God who called them to this position would provide for all their needs. He would preserve them. Work was necessary, and in it Christians served God, all the while trusting that the Lord who built a kingdom for them would supply their needs.

Rest

Part of this dependence on God that Greenham advocated consisted of the realization of human finitude and need for rest. Sleep and recreation did not hinder the Lord's provision for his people. In fact, Christians could rest from work because they knew God would provide. Christians needed physical refreshment, but as in all things, they were to seek to honor the Lord in their rest.⁹¹

Greenham hesitatingly entered into the discussion of leisure and rest. He began his treatment of recreation with the qualification that time was never to be wasted. The Lord called upon the godly to be conscientious, for "the holy ghost did wil us to redeem the tym."⁹² For Greenham, this injunction meant that recreations were not to be employed merely to pass away the time. Instead, "the creatures of god may sometime of some men for some cause bee used for our refreshing."⁹³ Within the limitations of these "somes," he expounded the goal of recreation to be the refreshment of the person. All refreshments,

⁹¹A later section in this chapter examines Greenham's teachings on the Sabbath that dovetail these instructions on rest.

⁹²Greenham, REM, fol. 26v. More assertively, Perkins stated, "Rest from labour, with the refreshing of bodie and mind, is necessarie; because mans nature is like the bow, which being alway bent and used is soone broken in pieces." Perkins, *Cases of Conscience*, 584.

⁹³Greenham, REM, fol. 26v.

however, were not created equal: “cards and dice hee thought altogether unlawful.”⁹⁴ Even permitted activities might need to be avoided for growth in godliness. “It were better,” Greenham advised, “that some good men would abstain even from ther pleasures lawful, then that by them evil men should take occasion to use pleasures unlawful.”⁹⁵ Such regulations were not be burdensome, for Christians needed to remember that true refreshment came from spiritual delight, which would only happen with “the word of god dwelling in them.”⁹⁶ Physical rest and recreation might be necessary, but they could not be used to the neglect of spiritual improvement. Even with all these qualifications, Greenham concluded by advocating “a variety of exercises” be used in wisdom and at the proper time.⁹⁷

Sleep was another means of both physical and spiritual refreshment that Greenham espoused. He took up the topic of sleep in a sermon on Psalm 16 where the first verse began, “Preserve me, O God: for in thee doe I trust.”⁹⁸ Greenham highlighted how “David desireth not deliverance from any speciall trouble, but generally prayeth to be fenced and defended continually by the providence of God.”⁹⁹ He continued to elaborate on how David desired “to be preserved at all times, in all estates, both in soule and bodie.”¹⁰⁰ When Greenham reached the seventh verse of the Psalm, “My reines teach

⁹⁴Greenham, REM, fol. 26v. Likewise, Perkins disallowed “games of hazard” [chance] such as “Dicing, and sundry games at the Tables & Cardes.” Perkins, *Cases of Conscience*, 590. Perkins also listed “the Bayting of the Beare, and Cockefights, are no meere recreations... the antipathie and crueltie, which one beast sheweth to another, is the fruit of our rebellion against God, and should rather moove us to mourne, then to rejoyce” (ibid., 589). Baxter shared similar concerns and also added the unlawfulness of stage plays. Baxter, *Christian Directory*, 460-65. However, Perkins did allow “games of wit, or industrie” such as “shooting the long bow, shooting the caleever, Running, Wrastling, Fensing, Musicke, the games of Chess, and draughts, the Philosophers game, and such like.” Perkins, *Cases of Conscience*, 589.

⁹⁵Greenham, REM, fol. 26v.

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷Ibid.

⁹⁸Greenham, *The Twelfth Sermon*, WRG, 316.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

me in the night,” he expounded upon how such preservation extended especially to when a person sleeps.¹⁰¹ In this section, Greenham described how the godly were to redeem the night by learning from both their dreams and their waking. Concerning dreams, he explained, “The Physitians affirme, that our dreames in the night season are agreeable to our musings in the day time: and that our affections in our sleepe doe much follow the complexions, the repletion or evacuation of the bodie.”¹⁰² With this being the case, Greenham argued, “Surely a man by diligent observation may espie his inclination of minde as well by his dreames sleeping, as by his cogitations waking.”¹⁰³ Wise Christians would use even what occurred during their sleep to advance in holiness, and to Greenham, being afforded this opportunity proved a great grace. “Thus we see there is no part of us whereof the Lord in mercie hath not care, even in the night, in which one blessing the Lord will discerne and distinguish us from brute beasts, and more confirme us in godlines.”¹⁰⁴

Dreams were not the only way for the Lord to work during the night. Greenham found that God’s goodness extended even to sleepless nights, for the godly could put waking up in the quiet of the night to good use. As someone who seemed to have suffered from insomnia, Greenham counseled those who had trouble sleeping, “It is good to use every night as soone as wee awake, some exercise of prayer, or meditation, and to prevent the morning and evening watch in thinking on the Word.”¹⁰⁵ Even the

¹⁰¹“Reines” are kidneys, which were considered the seat of the affections in biblical times. Concerning Psalm 16:7, Greenham offered, “This place hath in it some difficultie, and divers interpreters write diversly of it. But it is certaine, that often in the Scriptures the heart and the reines are mentioned together... By the heart (I thinke) is meant the more inward and secret thoughts: by the reines are understood the more outward and sensuall affections.” Greenham, *The Twelfth Sermon*, WRG, 325.

¹⁰²Greenham, *The Twelfth Sermon*, WRG, 325.

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 326.

¹⁰⁵Samuel Clarke, *Lives of Thirty-Two English Divines*, 3rd ed. (London: William Birch, 1677), 13; Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 27. For more on his insomnia, see *ibid.*, 36.

middle of the night was time to be redeemed by the faithful for spiritual exercises. As with dreams, the Lord might have something to teach the godly by waking them at night. Greenham advised those who wake to examine why they did so and to learn from it. “Because great naturall and worldly sorrow and joy will cause a man to breake his sleepe at midnight,” Greenham’s own practice was to “trie himselfe whether sorrow for sinne, or joy in salvation had caused him to doe the like.”¹⁰⁶ Even in the middle of the night, self-examination could further growth in godliness. Sleep was a gracious means the Lord provided for preserving his people, and whether through the refreshment it brought, consideration of dreams, or waking at night, Christians were to redeem their nights.

Greenham’s counsel on caring for the body in diet, clothing, work, and rest revealed his concern for people’s physical well-being. He valued the body and urged people to care for it properly. His advice on caring for the body also demonstrated the interconnection he saw between the physical and spiritual worlds. The treatment of the body had spiritual significance. Godly believers were to make every effort to use their bodies for growth in faith.

Marriage and Sexuality

Greenham’s care for the whole person and his call to use the physical for spiritual ends extended from everyday activities to major life events. As a parish rector, he was called upon to marry and to bury, and he took advantage of these opportunities to counsel those who would listen on how to honor the Lord in both soul and body in marriage and in death. Such care for the whole person extended from a christological foundation. Christ suffered in both body and soul in order to redeem his people in body and soul, and so his under-shepherds were to exhibit the same concern for the whole person. Furthermore, the psychosomatic unity of humans meant that these actions were at

¹⁰⁶Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 16; cf. *ibid.*, 36; Greenham, REM, fol. 12r.

once physical and spiritual. When it came to marriage, Greenham manifested his care by advising if and whom to marry as well as the role of sexual intercourse in marriage.¹⁰⁷

Considerations before Marriage

Greenham's location near and involvement with the university at Cambridge gave him ample opportunities to counsel young men as they considered marriage. He advised them on the goal of marriage and what to look for in a spouse. However, given the age of the students and the nature of young men, he addressed lust before discussing marriage.

One young man came to Greenham, seeing marriage as the only antidote to his sexual desire. He asked the pastor, "Whether it were good to marrie; seeing sometimes when concupiscence pricked him, he was moved to it, and some other time when he felt no such thing, he thought he might abstaine from it."¹⁰⁸ Greenham counseled him against such a motivation to marriage and urged him not to "come hastily into that calling."¹⁰⁹ Instead, he proposed that the man seek "by prayer, fasting, and avoyding all occasions of concupiscence" whether he was called to a life of marriage or chastity.¹¹⁰

Another young man inquired how he might eschew lust altogether, asking "how he might best avoide concupiscence."¹¹¹ Greenham responded that controlling sexual desire necessitated both spiritual and physical work. Spiritually, overcoming lust

¹⁰⁷Marriage was a common topic on which the godly advised. For some representative examples of puritan teaching on marriage, see William Whately, *A Bride-bush: Or, A Direction for Married Persons* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1619); William Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties* (London: John Haviland, 1622), 16-132, 172-426; Thomas Gataker, *A Good Wife Gods Gift and A Wife Indeed: Two Marriage Sermons* (London: John Haviland, 1623). Richard Baxter, *A Christian Directory: Or, A Summ of Practical Theologie and Cases of Conscience* (London: Robert White, 1673), 475-89, 520-42.

¹⁰⁸Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 21; cf. Greenham, REM fol. 16r.

¹⁰⁹Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 21.

¹¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹¹Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 8; cf. Greenham, REM fol. 21v-22r.

required “a continual examination of our selves by the law; a reverent and daily meditation of the word; a painful walking in our honest calling; a holy shaming of our selves, and fearing of our selves before our friends.”¹¹² Greenham went on to add that controlling sexual desire had a physical component as well. He instructed the godly to employ “a continual temperance in diet, sleepe, and apparell: a carefull watching over our eyes, and other parts of our bodies. . . fasting. . . [and] moderate exercise of the body.”¹¹³ Christians were to keep the Scriptures ever in their mind and humble themselves by comparing their own actions to the standard of God’s Word. However, human nature dictated that merely a spiritual program would never suffice. The body had to be taken into account as well. As such, Greenham recommended moderation and self-control in eating, in sleeping, and in clothing oneself. The godly were to learn to control their bodies, especially where they looked. Such self-restraint could be learned and aided by fasting. Finally, he encouraged physical exercise as a means to fight lust. Greenham recognized that sexual desire had both spiritual and physical components, and so he encouraged self-discipline in both body and soul to control lustful impulses.

For those with a loftier goal in marriage than controlling concupiscence, Greenham advised young men on the type of wife they should seek.¹¹⁴ He offered a fourfold evaluation when looking for a wife. “First,” he proposed, “wee are to looke the woman be religious.”¹¹⁵ Greenham reminded those he counseled, “I would have you in

¹¹²Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 8.

¹¹³Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 8. Cf. Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 78.

¹¹⁴As mentioned above, Greenham directed his advice toward men because of his proximity to young men at Cambridge University. He did write one work on marriage and family at least partially for women. See Richard Greenham, *A Godlie Exhortation, and Fruitful Admonition to Virtuous Parents and Modest Matrons* (London: Nicholas Ling, 1584). However, in this work he primarily addressed the raising of children in marriage and did not come to the issue of the attributes a woman was to look for in a husband.

¹¹⁵Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 65. In his discussion on the seventh commandment, Greenham declared that marrying someone of no religion was a type of adultery. Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 77.

any case remember that you are principally espoused unto Christ.”¹¹⁶ As in all of life, the relationship with the Lord was to take priority, and so the faithfulness of the potential spouse in religious duties had to be considered. Additionally, Greenham highlighted that a goal of marriage was to further the couple in their faith in and their love for God, and this could only be accomplished with a believing spouse. After the devotion of the proposed spouse had been considered, Greenham succinctly stated the next three criteria, “Secondly, that she be chaste. Thirdly, that she be loving to her husband. Fourthly, that she be an huswife.”¹¹⁷ Her character, her love, and her ability to manage domestic affairs all needed to be considered. For other desirable attributes beyond these four, Greenham suggested, “If God cast them on us, they are not to be refused.”¹¹⁸ However, he quickly brought back to mind, “If we want them we must remember godliness is the best dowrie.”¹¹⁹

Due Benevolence in Marriage

When a couple had adequately reflected on all these considerations and did join in marriage, Greenham reminded them that as Christians they were to “be married in the Spirit and not in the flesh.”¹²⁰ Such a command was not to be understood as prohibiting physical intimacy in marriage, for Greenham did not equate the fleshly with the physical. In fact, he directed husband and wife on the biblical necessity of intercourse for their marriage. However, he cautioned that the marriage bed needed to be used temperately or dire consequences would plague the family.

¹¹⁶Richard Greenham, *A Treatise of a Contract before Marriage*, WRG, 125.

¹¹⁷Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 65.

¹¹⁸Ibid.

¹¹⁹Ibid.

¹²⁰Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 742.

In addressing a couple about to be married, Greenham euphemistically instructed them, “You must render due benevolence unto each other.”¹²¹ His meaning became clearer as he provided the biblical basis for this directive: “For as the bodie of the Husband is not his owne, but his wifes: so is not the womans her owne, but her husbands: for they are both one flesh, as the Scripture doth teach.”¹²² He first drew upon the Pauline instructions in 1 Corinthians 7 concerning the sexual obligations between man and wife.¹²³ Then Greenham based this exhortation upon the one flesh nature of the union between man and wife as taught at creation and reiterated by Jesus.¹²⁴ Marshalling this biblical evidence together, Greenham made clear the necessity of sexual intercourse in marriage. A Christian couple was to be married in the Spirit, and such a marriage necessitated a sexual relationship.

Greenham urged the husband and wife to keep a proper spiritual perspective when entering into their sexual relationship. He taught husband and wife to pray, “Keepe us pure both in soule & bodie,” for he saw dangers that could arise in the misuse of sexual intercourse in marriage.¹²⁵ He mandated, “Use those means carefully, whereby the marriage bed may be kept pure and undefiled.”¹²⁶ Even a married couple, Greenham warned, could commit adultery if they were to use “the marriage bed intemperately.”¹²⁷

¹²¹Greenham, *A Treatise of a Contract before Marriage*, WRG, 127. “Due benevolence” was how the Geneva Bible translated *tēn opheilē eunoia* in 1 Cor. 7:3. (N.B. NA28 does not include *eunoia* in its preferred reading). Gouge explained this language in more detail, “As it is called *benevolence* because it must be performed with good will and delight, willingly, readily and cheerfully; so it is said to be *due* because it is debt which the wife oweth to her husband, and he to her.” *Of Domesticall Duties*, 222.

¹²²Greenham, *A Treatise of a Contract before Marriage*, WRG, 127.

¹²³Ibid.

¹²⁴Ibid. See Gen 2:24; Matt 19:5-6; Mark 10:7-8.

¹²⁵Greenham, *A Treatise of a Contract before Marriage*, WRG, 128.

¹²⁶Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 78.

¹²⁷Ibid., 77. While Greenham unabashedly identified such behavior as adultery, intemperance by the couple was no grounds for divorce. His hope was that they would grow in grace to a point of having a sanctified marriage. He proposed that in marriage “though the parties meet in the flesh without any sanctified manner to assure themselves to bee joyned of the lord yet they are not to bee separated when god afterward giveth them grace to live holily.” Greenham, REM fol. 1v; cf. Greenham, *Grave Counsels and*

Lustful and lecherous behavior had no place in marriage. Indeed, he enjoined moderation and self-control in the couple's physical relationship. Greenham instructed, "New, or young married folkes ought not licentiouslie to go together, before they have first upon their knees, secretelie in their chamber, commended themselves unto God by praier."¹²⁸ Married couples were to seek God's grace in prayer in order that their sexual activity might be free from lust.

Failure to keep the marriage bed pure would have dire consequences according to Greenham. He warned about the effect such actions would have on the marriage and on the couple's relationship with the Lord, but his admonitions primarily focused on how the immoderate use of sexuality could hurt the offspring of that marriage. Greenham cautioned couples, "Can a man hope for a holie posteritie? or doe we marvaile if the Lorde crosse us in the children of our bodies, when we make as bolde and brutish an entrance into that holie ordinance of the Lorde as is the meeting of the neighing horse with his mare."¹²⁹ Emulating "the neighing horse with his mare" would hurt any child that comes from such intimacy. Lest anyone would think that Greenham only had in mind only the passing of spiritual infirmities, he continued his injunction against immoderate sexual activity by describing the dangers for the offspring:

Christians therefore must knowe, that when men and women raging with boyling luste meete together as brute beastes, having no other respects then to satisfie their owne carnall concupiscense, when they make no conscience to sanctifie the mariage bedde with praier, when they have no care to increase the Church of Christ and the number of the elect, it is the just judgement of God to send them either monsters, or natural fooles, or else such as having good gifts of the mind, and well proportioned bodies, are most wicked, graceless, and prophane persons.¹³⁰

Godly Observations, WRG, 4.

¹²⁸Greenham, *A Godlie Exhortation*, np.

¹²⁹Ibid; cf. Greenham, *The Sixth Sermon*, WRG, 277. There is a slight variant between these two sources that has little to no bearing on the overall meaning. Where *A Godlie Exhortation* had "mare," WRG read "mate."

¹³⁰Greenham, *A Godlie Exhortation*; cf. Greenham, *The Sixth Sermon*, WRG, 277.

A lack of spiritual preparation before intercourse could have devastating physical effects on the children. They might be born as “monsters” with any number of physical deformities.¹³¹ If spared physical abnormalities, the offspring might have mental impairments and thus be “natural fooles.” Even if the children born of such relations escaped the physical and mental consequences, there would certainly, in Greenham’s mind, be a reckoning in their spiritual lives. He expected such children to become the “most wicked, graceless, and prophane persons.” This counsel revealed the fundamental interconnection between the physical and spiritual worlds in Greenham’s thinking.

While the shock of physical and mental abnormalities might be greater, Greenham identified the true danger lay in the passing on of sin to one’s children. He cited an Old Testament example to demonstrate how the sin of a father could convey sin to the whole family, “The sinne of the master of a familie, bringeth sinne over the whole familie, as wee see in Abimelech.”¹³² Not only was this the pattern in the biblical record, but Greenham also found an analogy to the passing of sin from father to children in the natural world. He averred, “As oftentimes it falleth, that some men receive naturall sicknesse from their naturall parents; so doe some likewise receive from their naturall parents naturall sinnes.”¹³³ Couples needed to take care to sanctify their marriage bed lest they set their children on a negative spiritual trajectory.

¹³¹For the prevalent reporting and interpreting of birth defects as providential signs in early modern England, see Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 194-203.

¹³²Greenham, *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, WRG, 47; cf. Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG; Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 666. Most likely, Greenham here referred to the Abimelech who took Sarah, Abraham’s wife, as his wife (Gen 20:1-18), but the same principle he articulated could be extrapolated from the destruction Abimelech, Gideon’s son, brought on his family (Judg 9:1-57). In these arguments, Greenham seemed to adhere to a realist understanding of how original sin passed from generation to generation.

¹³³Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 795.

Despite such a warning to keep the marriage bed pure, Greenham admitted that a one-to-one correspondence did not exist between godly parents and godly children or wicked parents and wicked children. An examination of both Scripture and life revealed as much. “Had not Jacob wicked children, and David godlesse sonnes?” Greenham asked, “And doth not daily experience teach us, that wicked men have godly children? Yes: for besides the secret counsel of the Lord herein, we must know that neither the promise of the Lord is so universall, that every particular childe of a faithfull man should be within the covenant.”¹³⁴ He further elaborated, “Neither must wee tie the Lords worke so much to man, that a good man may not have an evil sonne,” and yet this did not mean that the Lord had lost his faithfulness.¹³⁵ The faithful child of a wicked man might be the result of a faithful forefather, “and though that an evill man have no cursed child, yet the curse may be accomplished in the third and fourth generation following.”¹³⁶ God remained faithful to his promises even if they were not fulfilled in a single person’s lifetime.

Notwithstanding his strong covenantal thinking, Greenham placed substantial responsibility on children for their own sin. No matter their parents’ actions, children stood accountable for their own lives. “I doe not,” he explained, “exempt children from all blame, so charging the parents, as though the children were free from all guiltinesse herein.”¹³⁷ While, “as in the time of Ezekiel, so in our dayes, youth is readie enough to take up this Proverbe, The fathers have eaten sowre grapes, and the childrens teeth are set on edge,” Greenham steadfastly affirmed, “Though the occasion be offered of such wicked parents, yet the cause of destruction is still in the children themselves.”¹³⁸

¹³⁴Richard Greenham, *The Sixth Sermon*, WRG, 279.

¹³⁵Ibid.

¹³⁶Ibid.

¹³⁷Ibid., 280.

¹³⁸Ibid. See Ezek 18:2.

Through their own sin, parents set their children up for failure, but the guilt finally rested on the children. No matter the actions of one's ancestry, each person stood culpable for one's sin. All would give an account.¹³⁹

For many, life in the body entailed marriage and sexuality. Greenham extended his care of the whole person to these aspects of embodied life by counseling people on whether or not they should marry and on how to approach sexual intercourse in a God-honoring manner. His teachings on divine judgments for improper intercourse revealed not just his belief in psychosomatic unity but also his understanding of the interconnectedness of the physical and spiritual worlds. The spiritual judgment of sexual sin would likely manifest itself physically. In marriage, the godly were to honor God with their bodies.

Death, Judgment, and the Afterlife

Greenham's counsel for everyday life as well as for marriage and sexuality demonstrated his belief in the union of body and soul and the value of the body within that union. However, at the end of this embodied life stood the stark reality of death. His pastoral duties brought him face to face with people encountering their own mortality as he counseled the dying, ministered to plague victims, and buried the dead. Greenham made clear that the soul and body separated at death. Yet, death was not the end of physical life. When Christ returned, the bodies of the just and the unjust would rise and

¹³⁹The reality of children's responsibility led Greenham to advise on parenting. Typical of the puritans, he wanted to see the house be a little church, encouraging parents, "If ever we would have the Church of God to continue among us: we must bring it into our households, and nourish it in our families." Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of All Men*, WRG, 799. However, much of his counsel on parenting was to use the misbehavior of one's children to consider one's own state before God: "When children have infirmities, their parents are to see and consider whether they have not received such sinnes from them. If they have, they are rather to pray for their children, than to too much correct them, lest they persecute their own sinnes in the persons of their children" (ibid., 798). Even in childrearing there was a place for introspection to consider one's own spiritual estate. One reason Greenham cited for such introspection was that parents were often tempted to prioritize their children over God, and thus he pointed out, "The Lord hath corrected the immoderate love of parents towards their Children, specially when it was grounded on nature more than the gifts of God: as we may see in Abraham, who so loved Ishmael; in Isaack, who so loved Esau; and in David, who so loved Absalom." Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 27.

be reunited with their souls to face the judgment. After judgment, humans would enter into an everlasting embodied existence. Those redeemed by Christ would live forever in their resurrected bodies in God's presence, but those who rejected his offer of salvation would suffer unending corporeal and spiritual punishment. Greenham's teaching on death, judgment, and the afterlife further elucidated his understanding of psychosomatic unity. Additionally, the body's future existence revealed its value in this life as well as in the one to come.

Greenham described physical death as the separation of the soul from the body, and he advised all who would listen to consider this inevitable event in order to avoid the second death.¹⁴⁰ However, despite the unavoidable nature of this coming reality, "manie make no account of the death of the soule, because they feele it not as they doe the death of the bodie."¹⁴¹ Thus, Greenham felt compelled to urge his hearers to consider their own mortality and the impending judgment. Contemplation of death proved essential to living well, for as he explained, "The meditation of death doth so far mouve us from suffering our delights to dwell on earthly things, as reason disswadeth us from making any cost about a tabernacle, where we know we shall dwell but a while."¹⁴² Death provided the proper perspective for life, causing people to look at this world through the lens of eternity.

Godliness and repentance arose from reflecting upon death and judgment. Greenham considered it "the usuall manner of the Holie Ghost to perswade men to godlinesse, because they have but a quantitie of dayes."¹⁴³ The knowledge of impending

¹⁴⁰Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 84.

¹⁴¹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 656.

¹⁴²Greenham, *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, WRG, 47.

¹⁴³Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 659.

judgment combined with a regard for their eternal estate to spur people toward holiness in this life. For unbelievers, meditating on death would drive them toward repentance and faith. Greenham repeatedly declared that the opportunity to turn toward God remained available only in this present life. “While we live,” he explained, “there is a place for repentance, but after death there is none.”¹⁴⁴ Thus, he urged those who would listen, “So long as thou livest, there is time to repent, but after death there is none. Therefore labour to feele his favour in Christ, which if thou doe, thou shalt never faile till thou come to him.”¹⁴⁵

More powerful motivation than the fear of death and judgment was the vision Greenham cast for the new creation. Christians endured the hardships of this life not primarily out of fear of judgment but for the hope that was to come. The expected resurrection inspired the Christian life. He asked, “Why doe men endure the crosse so patiently why doe they abstaine from evill so carefully? why do they follow that which is good so cheerfully?”¹⁴⁶ The answer, he explained, resided in their future hope: “They looke for a glorious resurrection, which is the full end of all God his promises, & without the which the most godly are most miserable, and the most wicked lesse unhappie.”¹⁴⁷ Apart from this resurrection promise, “Who would care to worship God in their bodies, or who would make conscience to keep their bodies from sinne?”¹⁴⁸ While the fear of judgment might lead to initial repentance, the hope of a glorious embodied future fueled the Christian life. The godly trusted their heavenly Father to be faithful to his promises,

¹⁴⁴Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 661.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., 656.

¹⁴⁶Richard Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 186.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

¹⁴⁸Ibid.

and so they remained faithful in their obedience with the sure confidence that God would bring them into the new creation.

For faithful followers of Christ, death ultimately proved beneficial because it would lead to their resurrection into eternal life. In his catechism, Greenham taught Christians to confess, “I neede not feare death, seeing that sinne which is the sting of death is taken away by the death of Christ, and that now death is made unto me an entrance into this life.”¹⁴⁹ By his sacrificial death, Jesus bore the penalty of sin that his people might have life. Death became the doorway to everlasting life because death meant that God’s people would be raised again like Christ. Consequently, when they thought of their deaths, “God his children are to rejoyce, for the day of their Resurrection is their day of Redemption.”¹⁵⁰

The resurrection on this day was not a resurrection unto an ethereal existence in the clouds but was the resurrection of the physical, glorified bodies of believers into everlasting life in the new creation. Greenham repeatedly emphasized the physicality of this resurrection.¹⁵¹ “The bodies of the faithful seem utterly to perish, when they are in the earth, and yet in the last day shall rise againe through that seede which is given in Christ.”¹⁵² Though their bodies might rot for a time, Greenham taught Christians that on the basis of Christ’s work, they could declare, “I am assured of the glorification of my soule and bodie in the heavens, because I am made an heire of everlasting life.”¹⁵³ Everlasting life would be a physical existence.

¹⁴⁹Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 84.

¹⁵⁰Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 63.

¹⁵¹One reason for this repeated emphasis in Greenham was his polemic against the Family of Love’s teaching that the resurrection was not physical but was merely “that rising againe unto sanctification, which is in this life.” Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 176; this page is mis-numbered in WRG and should be 180. For more on the Family of Love, see above, chap. 2.

¹⁵²Ibid., 181.

¹⁵³Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 86.

Greenham recognized the difficulty that some would have with the doctrine of bodily resurrection, and so he mounted a case from biblical evidence in support of this teaching. He began by citing Jesus's discussion with the Sadducees over the resurrection, and Greenham stated that in this argument, "We see how Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob being alive, have their bodies in the Lord his hands in keeping, as well as their soules. Wherefore seeing both the Prophets and Christ himselfe have used this place to that ende, wee also may safely use it to prove the Resurrection."¹⁵⁴ Greenham seemed undeterred by the lack of any explicit mention of the physical nature of resurrection in this passage. For the patriarchs to be alive necessarily meant they possessed bodies. In building his case, he quickly turned to much surer footing in Job 19, where Job steadfastly declared, "And though after my skinne, wormes destroy this bodie, yea shall I see GOD in my flesh."¹⁵⁵ The Lord's nature as creator formed the basis for Greenham's strongest argument in favor of the bodily resurrection. The God who created all things would certainly be powerful enough to recreate them. He was the Lord of life both before he brought people into being and after they died. Rhetorically, Greenham pondered, "Is it not as easie to draw a man out of the earth againe, as to make a man of the earth at first? Is it not as easie, though rottennesse doth seeme to hinder the resurrection, to renew a body out of many bones, as cut of one bone to frame a whole body?"¹⁵⁶ The Lord sovereignly reigned over all aspects of a person's being. He brought life and death, and he had the power to resurrect his creation. "Let us as well consider," Greenham added, "God his power, in reducing mens bodies into their former estate, as his mightie hande in unloosing them. For as hee bringeth flesh to rottennesse, the rottennesse to wormes, the wormes to a

¹⁵⁴Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 176 [180].

¹⁵⁵Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 176 [180]. Here, Greenham quoted in full Job 19:25-27: "I am sure that my Redeemer liveth, and hee shall stand the last on earth. And though after my skinne, wormes destroy this bodie, yea shall I see GOD in my flesh. Whome my selfe shall see, and mine eyes shall beholde, and none other for mee, though my reines are consumed within mee."

¹⁵⁶Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 184.

putrified matter, the putrification to flesh, the flesh to immortalitie.”¹⁵⁷ The Lord who gave life at first could give it again. The God who created man from the dust of the ground would be able to recreate him after he has turned back into dust. The resurrection would be physical.

God did not reserve bodily resurrection for Christians, but both the just and the unjust would be raised physically on the last day. Greenham cited John 5:28-29, “Marveile not at this: for the houre shal come in the which all that are in the graves shal heare the voyce of the Sonne of man. And they shall come forth, that have done good, unto the resurrection of life: but they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of condemnacion.”¹⁵⁸ About this passage, he declared, “The Lord sheweth the resurrection of both estates.”¹⁵⁹ Believers would be raised to everlasting life, but unbelievers to eternal, physical judgment. “In hell,” Greenham warned, “though our bodies conintually burne, yet shall they never consume.”¹⁶⁰ Such a punishment proved fitting, for people did not merely disobey God with their souls but used their bodies to sin as well. Commenting on 2 Thessalonians 1, he indicated, “Persecutours [of the church] being wanton in their sinnes, and triumphing in their crueltie; should have their crowne of shame and endles

¹⁵⁷Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 184.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., 182. With Greenham, the puritans proclaimed that the physical resurrection was for the just and the unjust alike. The redeemed would be raised into everlasting life in God’s presence, but the reprobate would be raised to unending punishment. Representative of this line of thinking was William Perkins, who reported, “All men shall rise againe with their owne bodies, to the last judgement; which being ended, the godly shall possesse the Kingdome of heaven: but unbeleevvers and reprobates shall be in hell tormented with the divell and his angels for ever.” *The Foundation of Christian Religion Gathered into Six Principles*, in *The Work of William Perkins*, ed. Ian Breward (Appleford: Sutton Courtenay, 1970), 10. Those who died outside of Christ would be raised to an embodied existence where “they are wholly in body and soul tormented with an incredible anguish, through the sense and feeling of God’s wrath poured out upon them for ever.” William Perkins, *A Golden Chain*, in *The Work of William Perkins*, ed. Ian Breward (Appleford: Sutton Courtenay, 1970), 256. Their rising to “endlesse perdition” was an effect of God’s justice, which demands that the evil done in the body be punished in the body. William Perkins, *An Exposition of the Symbole or Creed of the Apostles* (Cambridge: John Legatt, 1595), 522; Perkins, *A Salve for a Sicke Man*, 50. The physical disobedience of the ungodly will be physically punished. For more on the puritan view of the resurrection more generally, see above, chap. 2 n. 47, 48.

¹⁵⁹Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 182.

¹⁶⁰Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 696.

contempt in torments.”¹⁶¹ God’s justice required such a penalty. Greenham elaborated further on why this punishment should be both physical and eternal, “The wicked have not onely dishonoured God in their soules, through all the fruites of reprobation, but also have used the members of their bodies as instruments of sinne, & weapons of iniquitie, unto the full number of sinnes; so they should not onely suffer the vengeance of God in their soules, but also in their bodies.”¹⁶² The reprobate sinned against God as a unity of body and soul, and so they were to be punished in both body and soul.

At this point, there existed a correlation with the work of Christ. If the judgment awaiting his people were not physical and spiritual, Jesus would not have needed to suffer physically and spiritually for them. He bore the wrath of God in his body and soul because God’s wrath was to be poured out on people’s bodies and souls. Those not covered by the atoning work of Christ were left to bear eternally the Lord’s just punishment of their bodies and souls in Hell.

When Christ returned, all humanity would be resurrected, Christians to glory but unbelievers to everlasting judgment. The knowledge of what would come should drive all people to look to Christ for the redemption of both body and soul because, as Greenham explained, “Neither did he suffer in the bodie alone, but in the soule also: whereby he shewed, that he freed not the soule alone, but the bodie also.”¹⁶³ The Savior’s life, death, and resurrection won for believers the everlasting redemption of their bodies and souls. In light of the coming resurrection, people needed to repent and receive this freely offered salvation by faith.

The soul and body separated at death but would be reunited when Christ returns. Once resurrected, bodies would remain forever united to souls. Greenham

¹⁶¹Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 183.

¹⁶²Ibid.

¹⁶³Ibid., 186.

encouraged all people to consider the destiny of their bodies and souls in order that they might trust in Christ and obtain everlasting life in God's presence.

The Spiritual Life of the Body

Christ Jesus suffered in body and soul to redeem his people in body and soul for an everlasting, physical existence in his presence. Greenham combined this christological foundation with his understanding of psychosomatic unity to argue that the body needed to be employed for the spiritual growth of the believer. The body was more than a house for the soul. Together with the soul, it participated in the spiritual life of the believer. God through Christ was saving the entire person, and so the body and the soul were to be put to use for the glory of God. Greenham counseled believers to sanctify the whole person by employing the means of grace in a manner that engaged them in both body and soul.

Sanctify the Whole Person

Christians who had been redeemed in body and soul and who would be glorified in both were to seek to be sanctified spiritually and physically. "Whosoever is joyned in Christ for justification," Greenham declared, "hee must be joyned to him in sanctification."¹⁶⁴ Christ Jesus redeemed both bodies and souls, and so sanctification necessarily entailed the whole person. Furthermore, the union of body and soul meant that the soul could not be sanctified apart from the body. Moreover, the indwelling Spirit that had transformed the believer's body into a temple necessitated bodily sanctification. Greenham hammered this point home with a series of rhetorical questions: "Shall we take the members of Christ, and make them members of an harlot? Shall we make the Temple of God the mansion of divells? Shall we doe such injurie to the member of Christ? Shall

¹⁶⁴Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 61.

we offer such violence to the Temple of God?”¹⁶⁵ The indwelling of the Spirit meant that Christians’ bodies were temples of God that had to be sanctified. Greenham entreated believers toward sanctification because these temples must be purified for their new inhabitant.¹⁶⁶

Greenham continued to stress the need for holistic sanctification. “We must thoroughly be cleansed,” he argued, “that is both in the flesh and in the spirit: As 2.Cor. 7.1 both in heart and hand, James, 4.”¹⁶⁷ For the rector of Dry Drayton, bringing the body and its members in line with the will of God was the great challenge of sanctification. Listening to sermons could easily delight believers, but the difficulty lay in putting the body to work in accordance with God’s Word. “It is a small thing to lend the eares in hearing, it is easie to feede our delight with hearing a man renewing our knoledge,” he began.¹⁶⁸ The challenge, however, was “to set on worke the eye, the eare, the hands, to travell with the heart to set the whole bodie in a frame of subjection, as becometh them that pray to the Lord (which sheweth, that prayer is a thing both painfull and laborious) we shall prove is a very hard thing.”¹⁶⁹ The work of the Christian life rested not in

¹⁶⁵Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 61.

¹⁶⁶Similarly, John Owen expressly noted that the body was to be sanctified. The body that would be glorified was to be sanctified. “True holiness,” according to Owen, “consists in the renovation of the whole person.” John Owen, *A Discourse Concerning the Holy Spirit*, in *The Works of John Owen*, vol. 3, ed. William H. Goold (Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter, 1850-1853; repr., Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, 1965), 417. He elaborated, “Our entire nature that is the subject of evangelical holiness.” *Ibid.*, 3:419. Thus, he averred, “The body should be interested in this work and privilege of sanctification and holiness” (*ibid.*, 3:420.) Additionally, Owen grounded the need for holistic sanctification in the fact that believers are now temples of the Holy Spirit (*ibid.*, 3:421). See 1 Cor 6:19. Therefore, not only the actions of the soul but also the actions of the body were to be sanctified.

¹⁶⁷Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 805. In the 1560 Geneva Bible, 2 Cor. 7:1 read, “Seeing then we have these promises, dearely beloved, let us clense our selves from all filthiness of the flesh & spirit, and growe up unto ful holiness in the feare of God.” The marginal note for “flesh & spirit” in this Bible noted, “Of bodie & soule.” James 4:8 exhorted the reader, “Drawe nere to God, and he wil drawe nere to you. Clense your hands, ye sinners, & purge your hearts, ye wavering minded.”

¹⁶⁸Richard Greenham, *A Short Treatise of Prayer*, WRG, 238.

¹⁶⁹*Ibid.*

hearing the Scriptures only but in bringing one's whole person in line with the Bible's teachings. Acting on God's truth in eye, ear, and hand was true sanctification.

Sanctification in body and soul began with mortifying sin. Greenham counseled believers to observe their own lives with an eye toward battling sin, "We had neede to be watchfull over ourselves both soules and bodies, leas by abusing our selves before the face of the Lord, we provoke him unto anger, and cause his displeasure to fall on us."¹⁷⁰ Attentiveness to sin started with a close watch over actions, for as Greenham explained, "We must learne by our outward senses to espie our inward corruptions."¹⁷¹ The condition of the soul would be evidenced by the actions of the body. Christians needed to vigilantly examine their lives for sin.

Greenham recognized that the mindfulness he encouraged opened the godly up to ridicule, but he confidently asserted that such a cost was well worth the perseveration of one's life in God. He answered such objections, "I know there be many, who thinke it is a precisenesse, to be so much afraid of our owne weakenes, and to be watchfull and warie of our owne affections; yea, and oftentimes in those things, which to judgement are lawfull, yet abstaineth in life and in our practice."¹⁷² Even so, the eternal benefit for body and soul far outweighed the risks: "Blessed be that feare, and happie is that precisenesse, which is so carefull over our owne infirmities, and so much suspecteth our owne wants and weakenesse. Wherefore the man of God still prayeth for perserverance."¹⁷³ It mattered not to Greenham if he were called a precisianist or a puritan so long as he guarded his life from sin and remembered enough of his own weakness to look to the Lord's mercy for preservation. Such watchfulness would lead to Christians fleeing from

¹⁷⁰Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 802.

¹⁷¹Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 58.

¹⁷²Richard Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 528.

¹⁷³Ibid.

sin. It did no good to watch oneself fall into sin; one was to be attentive in order to fight. Greenham combined the counsel of Paul and James to explicate how sin must be fought: “It is worthie to be marked that Paul saith, flie Fornication: and James saith, resist the divell: for Fornication must not be stood long withal, but to put our safetie out of question, let us flee all occasions of it.”¹⁷⁴ However, when it came to Satan, he “must not be fled from, (for that will embolden him) but he must be resisted by the word, and by prayer, and the power of Christ.”¹⁷⁵ Flee from sin and fight the devil. These endeavors began with watchfulness, but they did not end there. Christians were to employ the measures put in place by God to mortify sin in body and soul in order to grow in their holistic sanctification.

Means of Grace

“When the Lord will have a thing come to passe, hee will also grant the meanes.”¹⁷⁶ Greenham found this axiom especially true when it came to the mortification of sin and the sanctification of the believer. God had put in place the necessary resources for growth in godliness. These resources were for the body and the soul. The sanctification that was to take place in the believer’s entire being would be effected by the means of grace. By the Lord’s enabling grace, Christians were to put these means to work in order to conform more and more to the image of Christ.

In order to demonstrate their necessity, Greenham compared the means of grace to medicine prescribed for the sick. When it came to physical health, he asked, “If a man being sicke would crie, Lord helpe me, Lord restore me to my health, and yet in the meane time wilfully refuseth the prescribed meanes for his recoverie, tempted he not

¹⁷⁴Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 66. See 1 Cor 6:18; Jas 4:7.

¹⁷⁵Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 66.

¹⁷⁶Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 673.

God?”¹⁷⁷ If this were the case physically, how much more when spiritual health was at stake. “How much more dangerous is this in things concerning the soule,” he declared, “when a man either for want of hearing & reading the word feeleth not the diseases of the minde; or feeling them effectually, pineth and languisheth away under the burthen of them, neglecting prayer, confessing of his sinnes, repentance, and such like meanes of his salvation?”¹⁷⁸ Arguing from the lesser to the greater, Greenham articulated how Christians were to make use of the means God had provided for their growth in godliness. The goal in such obedience was not to earn salvation but for Christians to avail themselves of all the opportunities the Lord had given in order that “the spirit may have a more voluntarie, free, and perfect worke in and upon us.”¹⁷⁹ God worked through his chosen means to sanctify believers in soul and in body, and so Christians were to use these channels that the Lord had provided.

While Greenham identified at least one dozen means of grace, his counsel can be divided into three main categories: Word, fasting, and Sabbath.¹⁸⁰ Christians needed to employ these means in both body and soul in order that the Lord would sanctify the whole person in preparation for the resurrection and final glorification. His instructions on the means of grace further revealed his belief in psychosomatic unity and the redemption of the body. The body would one day be glorified, but even in this life it was part of the spiritual life and needed to be sanctified.

¹⁷⁷Greenham, *The Twelfth Sermon*, WRG, 316.

¹⁷⁸Ibid.

¹⁷⁹Greenham, *Of the Sending of the Holy Ghost*, WRG, 224.

¹⁸⁰Greenham identified reading, hearing, conferring and conferences, praying, singing and psalms, meditating, sacraments, the Lord’s discipline, church attendance, practicing, fasting, and vowing as means of grace. See esp. Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 11; *Of the Sending of the Holy Ghost*, WRG, 224; *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 845; *More Special Directions To Be Observed for the Comfort of Afflicted Consciences*, WRG, 854. The Lord’s discipline in the form of affliction as a means of grace will be addressed in the following two chapters.

Word. Greenham proclaimed the centrality of the Word of God to the Christian life: “If then we desire that God should be our inheritance, we must be his; if we be his, he must take up wholly our soules and bodies in his word; which if wee despise, undoubtedly wee shall be despised of God.”¹⁸¹ The children of God were to engage the Scriptures not only in their minds and souls but also with their bodies. The Lord’s Word proved a sure guide for the spiritual health of the believer, for as Greenham confirmed, “We may therefore as safely for the soules health, follow the light of the word, as we may for the safegard of our body, follow the light of a lanterne.”¹⁸² Furthermore, in commenting on Psalm 119:159, he argued, “Without the word we are not able to live in the bodily life.”¹⁸³ The unified physio-spiritual life of a believer necessitated dependence upon the truth of the Scriptures. For Greenham, this reliance entailed Christians both receiving God’s Word and putting it into practice.

The primary way Greenham envisioned the Word of God going to his people was through the preaching of the Scriptures. The proclamation of God’s Word was to be received as the Word of God. “Wee must so heare the word, as though we heard God himselfe speaking to us, yea as though we either went up to heaven, or God came downe to us.”¹⁸⁴ The importance of the Lord’s speaking stemmed from the power of his Word over mere human speech, for as Greenham clearly stated, “It is the word of God that moveth, not the word of man.”¹⁸⁵ For a sermon to transform the life of the soul and body, it had to come from the mouth of God.

¹⁸¹Greenham, *The Twelfth Sermon*, WRG, 323.

¹⁸²Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 474.

¹⁸³Ibid., 575.

¹⁸⁴Greenham, *Of the Sending of the Holy Ghost*, WRG, 220.

¹⁸⁵Ibid.

The transforming power of God’s Word faithfully proclaimed would induce Christians to seek all opportunities to hear preaching. Greenham encouraged the godly that even when they least desired it, they were to endeavor to hear the Word of God. Even if they had to go grudgingly, he proposed, “We must at all times heare the Worde, and use all the meanes of our situation, though wee feele our selves most unwilling thereunto. For we know not when God will blesse it, or any of them to us.”¹⁸⁶ God’s Word was the marrow of life for believers. Their health depended upon the regular receiving of it. Thus, Greenham repeated his admonition to hear the Word even when the affections were lacking: “It is good still to attend upon hearing the word, although we feele not that inward joy and working of God his Spirit, which either we have felt, or desire to feele.”¹⁸⁷ He reasoned, “The preaching of the word is God his ordinance.”¹⁸⁸ God had commissioned his Word to accomplish his will, and “if it hath not wrought heretofore, though it worke not presently, it may worke hereafter.”¹⁸⁹ Consequently, Greenham advised one to seek every occasion to hear the Word of God preached: “Because we know not who is the man, what is the time, where is the place, which is the sermon that God hath appointed to work on us, let us in all obedience attend on the ministerie of every man, watch at all times, be diligent in very place, and runne to every sermon which we can conveniently.”¹⁹⁰ God’s Word powerfully transformed people in both soul and body, and so people should be willing to travel far and wide to hear it. Even when that inward joy was missing, or perhaps particularly when those emotions were lacking, the godly needed to seek to hear the Lord in his Scriptures faithfully proclaimed.

¹⁸⁶Greenham, *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, WRG, 46.

¹⁸⁷Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 64.

¹⁸⁸Ibid.

¹⁸⁹Ibid.

¹⁹⁰Ibid. For more on the puritan encouragement to travel to hear sermons, see above, chap. 1.

However, only hearing the Word would never be sufficient; faithful followers of Christ would practice the Word as well. “We must not simply and barely knowe the Scriptures,” Greenham stipulated, “but applie them to our owne use, and make our owne faith sure by them.”¹⁹¹ Right practice began with meditation. The godly had to ruminate on the Scriptures. To receive the full benefit of God’s Word, reception of the Scriptures by reading and hearing was to be supplemented by meditation. “Meditation is the very life and strength of reading, hearing, prayer and Sacraments, without which they are made weak and unprofitable unto us.”¹⁹²

For Greenham, meditation was not the emptying of the mind, but the filling of the mind with God’s truth. He explained, “Meditation is the exercise of the mind, whereby we calling to our remembrance that which we know, doe further debate of it, and applie it to ourselves, that we might have some use of it in our practice.”¹⁹³ The thoughtful consideration of biblical truth proved much more powerful than merely hearing it or reading it alone. “If we meditate of those generall rules which we have heard of the word,” Greenham declared, “we shall many times see more cleerly into the truth of it, than he that preacheth, or at least more than he expressed unto us. For by the spirit of God we shall be taught to applie it more particularly to our selves, than he did or could doe, because we are most privie to our owne estate.”¹⁹⁴

Meditation allowed for more thoroughgoing application of God’s Word.

Indeed, Greenham identified such contemplation as the key ingredient for sanctification:

Those that much meditate, become thereby the godliest men, and most profitable to themselves and others: because meditation so increaseth knowledge in us, as that it especially breedeth good affections, and quickeneth them most, being begun in us, & by our affections we are carried to practice goodnesse in ourselves. Contrariwise,

¹⁹¹Greenham, *The Twelfth Sermon*, WRG, 230.

¹⁹²Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 22.

¹⁹³Ibid.

¹⁹⁴Ibid.

they which use not meditation, cannot attaine to that knowledge, which otherwise they might have.¹⁹⁵

Greenham's explanation of meditation's value revealed that the contemplation of God's Word went far beyond the mind to encompass the whole person. Thoughtful musing on Scripture transformed the affections, and as a result, the whole person sought to obey the Lord. Thus, meditation upon God's truth proved to be an essential means of grace that the Lord provided. Consequently, he proposed, "Why doe not the old Protestants grow in knowledge, as they grow in age? but because they doe not use to meditate."¹⁹⁶ Meditation alone was not sufficient, but the means of grace needed to complement each other. Greenham warned, "To reade and not to meditate, is unfruitful: to meditate and not to read, is dangerous for errorrs: to reade and meditate without prayer is hurtfull."¹⁹⁷ Meditation worked with the other means of grace to grow the believer in godliness.

In one particular instance, Greenham highlighted the way in which meditation of God's Word could aid the Christian in overcoming grief. He began by describing the situation, "Those that have experience of these things doe know, that the grieffe sitteth neere their heart, when they cannot feele comfort in Gods word."¹⁹⁸ Thus, comfort came "when the eyes of their mindes are most inlightned" by the Scriptures.¹⁹⁹ Hence, Greenham advised, "For seeing that our nourishment and life is in the Word, we ought continually to fetch nourishment from thence, by meditating therein."²⁰⁰ In the face of overwhelming anguish, hearing alone would not prove strong enough. The Christian had to contemplate God's Word to find comfort in it. Given this salve, the cause of grief was

¹⁹⁵Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 22.

¹⁹⁶Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 464.

¹⁹⁷Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 24.

¹⁹⁸Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 406.

¹⁹⁹Ibid.

²⁰⁰Ibid.

no mystery to Greenham. As he explained, “Many are on a sudden cast into great sadness and heaviness of heart, and yet they know not for what cause; whereas this no doubt is one among the rest: because they use not to meditate on Gods word.”²⁰¹ The Scriptures were the remedy for any sorrow. All the challenges of life could be comforted by God’s Word. Knowing the power of his Word, the Lord, Greenham argued, used such grief as a means to drive people to his Word. He described how when sorrow came, “The Lord drive[s] them to his word, that there they might find comfort, and so for ever after have the word in greater estimation, and bestow greater diligence thereupon.”²⁰² Receiving the Scriptures by reading was to be supplemented by meditation in order for the Word to have its full effect.

Greenham considered the Word of God to be an essential means of grace for the sanctification of the believer in body and soul. While the Scriptures would seem to be a method for the soul alone to receive grace, they actually involved the whole person. The body proved essential for the intake of the Word as it must be received by hearing or reading. The mind and affections played a major role in the receiving of the Scriptures, but Greenham made clear that it was never enough to merely consume. God’s Word had to be put into action, and for this, the body was indispensable.

Fasting. As a result of the union of body and soul, the body played a crucial role in a person’s spiritual life. Perhaps, nowhere was this interconnection more clearly seen than in fasting. At times, the denial of food proved a profitable means of grace. Greenham recognized that “the deny[ing] of the outward” would lead to “the rening of

²⁰¹Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 406.

²⁰²Ibid.

the inward man.”²⁰³ Fasting aided spiritual renewal when employed as a supplement to prayer and repentance.²⁰⁴

Greenham identified prayer as essential to the Christian’s spiritual life. He encouraged believers, “We cannot be drie in the graces of God, so long as we resort to Christ by fervent prayer.”²⁰⁵ At times, prayer needed to be bolstered by fasting as a reminder to Christians and a demonstration to God of their reliance upon him. Fasting served as an antidote to sinful indulgence. The pangs of hunger woke believers to their utter dependence upon God. Greenham believed the need for fasting was clear: “The necessity of fasting in our Church may easily be seene, for that we abound with so many sins.”²⁰⁶ Whereas sin indulged the flesh, fasting denied self for the glory of God. Fasting alone would never suffice; it must be accompanied by prayer. Greenham stipulated, “Fasting is necessarily to be used with prayer, for the preservation of Religion, & of the Estate, & that the word of God may be divided aright, that the consciences of men being terrified with their sin.”²⁰⁷ The goal was not an empty stomach but increased dependence upon God, and prayer voiced that dependence.

Greenham identified a multitude of requests for prayers during fasting, but these prayers all centered on the central theme of human weakness and fallibility. Thus, the prayers that accompany fasting necessarily involved repentance. For Greenham,

²⁰³Greenham, REM, fol. 54r.

²⁰⁴According to Thomas Cartwright, in fasting, “the inwarde vertues [are] helped forward by the bodily exercise,” and while, “it may appeare but a childish thing to carnall men, and a thing unworthy the wisdom of the Gospel, to place any thing in this bodily exercise, seeing that the Lord is a Spirit, & will be worshipped in spirit & trueth; and seeing that they being of their own nature, neither good nor evill, can not make us either better or worse; yet if wee consider that it is the Lordes ordinance, who hath so commaunded it, we can not be but most assured, that the Lord, who hath so instituted it, will give it a blessing, and cause it to prosper, to that end wherunto he hat ordeined it.” Thomas Cartwright, *The Holy Exercise of a True Fast Described Out of God’s Word* (n.p., n.d.), 26, 13-14. Perkins identified four purposes of fasting: subdue the flesh, stir up devotion, humble, and acknowledge and admonish sin. Perkins, *Cases of Conscience*, 430-432.

²⁰⁵Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 26.

²⁰⁶Richard Greenham, *A Treatise on the Doctrine of Fasting*, WRG, 211.

²⁰⁷Ibid.

abundance of sin proved the primary motivator for fasting. He explained, “But above all, Fasting in these daies is necessarie, because our sinnes do more abound than before, greater tokens of Gods wrath doe appeare than before, more feare of danger both in the Church and Common wealth than before.”²⁰⁸ He continued his warning, “It is requisite not onely that there should be ordinarie preaching and praying...but also extraordinarie use of those means with fasting, to prevent the wrath of God that may ensue.”²⁰⁹ Fasting supplemented prayer as a sign of repentance to turn away God’s wrath.

Despite the great benefits Greenham saw in fasting, he warned that it should be used sparingly. He compared fasting to medicine, arguing that it was great for the sick but lousy for a daily diet. Comparing it to medical treatments of his day, he advised, “Moreover we are to be circumspect that we require not a daily fast for as in Physicke it is a thing most absurd to prescribe a continual use of violent vacuation, & seldome of ordinarie foode.”²¹⁰ Hearing God’s Word was the daily diet for the healthy Christian life, and so Greenham averred, “The ministerie of the word of God is as often to be used, as milke for babes to be nourished; or as meate for strong men to group up to the fulnes of the age of Christ.”²¹¹ There remained, however, a key role for the denial of food to the body: “Fasting is to be admitted, but as letting of blood, or purging of some corrupt humour, when some great cause urgeth the same.”²¹² God’s Word was the meat and drink of the Christian life, and fasting, while important, was merely the medicine to accompany repentance.

²⁰⁸Greenham, *A Treatise on the Doctrine of Fasting*, WRG, 211.

²⁰⁹Ibid., 212.

²¹⁰Ibid., 213.

²¹¹Ibid.

²¹²Ibid.

Fasting was good but only in moderation. Greenham looked to the history of Christianity for examples of the dangers of fasting: “It is said of Basil the great, and Nazianzene the learned, that they use thus to macerate their bodies with very often abstinence: but what followes after, they were made...unprofitable to the Church, lying sicke sometimes halfe a yeere, sometimes an whole yeere.”²¹³ These luminaries of the early church so harshly treated their bodies that they limited the good they could do for the church. Basil and Gregory Nazianzus made themselves less profitable to the church through their unmitigated fasting. If they could not bear such fasting, then, Greenham argued, people in his own day best not attempt such harsh treatment of the body.²¹⁴ What was more, Greenham continued, “Seeing wee are dead with Christ from the ordinances of the world; why, as though we were in the world, should wee bee burthened with traditions?”²¹⁵ Through Christ, Christians had been freed from such traditions.

Believers were to employ fasting as a medicine, using it sparingly. Rather than fasting daily, Greenham recommended moderation in the regular consumption of food. Fasting, he explained, “Neither by Gods word ought, nor yet by naturall reason can be continually or daily.”²¹⁶ Instead, he counseled, “Wee must learne to make a difference betweene a temperate & moderate use of Gods creatures (which we call sobrietie, and ought alwaies to appeare in the life of Christians) and an utter abstinence from the use of the creatures, called Fasting.”²¹⁷ Eating and drinking in moderation was the regular pattern for the Christian life. Likewise, Greenham counseled that fasting should be done neither too frequently nor too rarely: “And here let us learne to avoide the extremities, &

²¹³Greenham, *A Treatise on the Doctrine of Fasting*, WRG, 213.

²¹⁴Ibid.

²¹⁵Ibid.

²¹⁶Ibid., 214.

²¹⁷Ibid.

to keepe the meane in fasting, which master Bucer hath taught us who saith that if we eschue not fasting at all, or fasting too much, wee shall fast aright.”²¹⁸ Fasting served as a good medicine for the soul, but like any medicine it was not to be used too often or it would harm a person. Rather, Christians needed to practice moderation and temperance as their daily virtues, reserving fasting for times of great need.

Fasting was a necessary means of grace to supplement prayer and repentance, but it could not be a daily habit. Denial of the body could aid the soul, but pushing fasting to the extreme where it harmed the body ran counter to Greenham’s unified view of human anthropology and the high view of the body promoted in his Christology. The treatment of the body could have a profound influence on the spiritual life, but any asceticism needed to be tempered by the necessity of caring for the body.

Sabbath. While fasting had to be used in moderation, the Sabbath was a regular means of grace to be employed weekly. Although Greenham described it as “a day of medicine for the soule,” in reality, he viewed Sunday as a day for the whole person.²¹⁹ He divided the Sabbath into two categories: devotion to God and duties toward neighbor. The first division included corporate worship with the church as well as the private exercises of faith such as “the examining of my sinnes and wants, private prayer, reading of the Scriptures, singing of Psalmes, conference with others, and applying all things to my selfe, with a care to profite others.”²²⁰ The second category entailed “relieving the needie, visiting the sicke, and them that be in prison, comforting them that bee in any miserie, reconciling them that be at variance, admonishing the unruly, and such like.”²²¹ Greenham’s teachings revealed that Sabbath keeping involved body and

²¹⁸Greenham, *A Treatise on the Doctrine of Fasting*, WRG, 214.

²¹⁹Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 572.

²²⁰Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 75.

²²¹Ibid.

soul. Both exhibiting love for God in worship and displaying love for neighbors by caring for their needs required the whole person. Greenham encouraged Christians to engage both body and soul in worship. Likewise, caring for others revealed the importance of body as well as soul in Greenham's pastoral theology.

Greenham was an early proponent of the puritan view of Sunday as the Christian Sabbath. He wrote his *Treatise on the Sabbath* around 1580, and while it remained unpublished until after his death, it seemed to have circulated in manuscript form before then.²²² Sabbatarianism, Patrick Collinson helpfully explained, "implies the doctrinal assertion that the fourth commandment is not an obsolete ceremonial law of the Jews but a perpetual, moral law, binding on Christians; in other words, that the Christian observance of Sunday has its basis not in ecclesiastical tradition but in the decalogue."²²³ Greenham's treatise bore the three features typically identified as the distinguishing marks of puritan teaching on the Sabbath: (1) the fourth commandment was a perpetual moral law; (2) Sunday had become the Christian Sabbath by divine appointment, not ecclesiastical invention; and (3) the whole day was to be used for religious exercises.²²⁴

The origin of the puritan Sabbath remains a topic of debate.²²⁵ Puritan interest in the Sabbath arose in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Both in England and on

²²²Richard Greenham, *A Treatise of the Sabbath*, WRG, 128-71; cf. Primus, *Richard Greenham*, 151-52.

²²³Patrick Collinson, "The Beginnings of English Sabbatarianism," in *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: Hamblen, 1983), 429.

²²⁴*Ibid.*, 429.

²²⁵John H. Primus, *Holy Time: Moderate Puritanism and the English Sabbath* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1989); Kenneth L. Parker, *The English Sabbath: A Study of Doctrine and Discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) are essential reading on this topic. See also Richard L. Greaves, "The Origins of English Sabbatarian Thought," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 12, no. 3 (1981): 19-34; James T. Dennison, *The Market Day of the Soul: The Puritan Doctrine of the Sabbath in England, 1532-1700* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1982). For more on puritan corporate worship, see Horton Davies, *The Worship of the English Puritans* (repr., Morgan, PA: Soli Deo Gloria, 1997); Percy Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962); Bryan D. Spinks, "Anglicans and Dissenters," chap. 16 in *The Oxford Handbook of Christian Worship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 492-533. The Book of Common Prayer is indispensable context for comprehending puritan views on worship, and Brian Cummings's *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) is a great resource for understanding the prayer book and its early changes. The Genevan

the Continent there was a renewed interest in Christian ethics and the Decalogue, and as people discussed and taught the Ten Commandments, they addressed how the fourth commandment was to be observed by Christians.²²⁶ In the 1570s, Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626) lectured on the Decalogue at Cambridge, and his exposition of the fourth commandment included all the major components that would make up the puritan Sabbath.²²⁷ Interestingly, Andrewes matriculated at Pembroke Hall, Greenham's college, shortly after Greenham had left for Dry Drayton. While they were not at Cambridge at the same time, Greenham remained involved with the university, and, according to Thomas Fuller, he and Andrewes were well acquainted.²²⁸ While it remains unclear who influenced whom on the Sabbath, Andrewes's lectures demonstrated that the question of how Christians should keep the fourth commandment was receiving renewed interest at this time. Another example of the growing discussion of the Sabbath during this period was the debate between Richard Crick and Henry Sandes that occurred at the Dedham Classis.²²⁹ In June 1583, the ministers who gathered at Dedham appealed to a group of men at Cambridge, which likely included Greenham, to resolve their debate.²³⁰

While lectures and discussions on the Sabbath had been occurring for years, the first major published work in England on the Sabbath during this period comes in 1595. Again, Greenham was connected to this aspect of Sabbatarianism as it was his

Service Book profoundly impacted puritan worship, and Robert Waldegrave published a version of that book in London, probably around 1585, as *A Booke of the Forme of Common Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments*. Also of interest for puritan liturgical thought are the Westminster Divines' *Directory for Publique Worship* and Richard Baxter's *A Petition for Peace with the Reformation of the Liturgy* (London, 1661).

²²⁶Primus, *Holy Time*, 104-5.

²²⁷Lancelot Andrewes, *The Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine at Large* (London, 1650), 259-309; cf. Lancelot Andrewes, *A Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine* (London, 1630), 232-57; see also, M. M. Knappen, "The Early Puritanism of Lancelot Andrewes" *Church History* 2, no. 2 (June 1933): 95-104.

²²⁸Thomas Fuller, *The Church History of Britain from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the Year MDCXLVIII* (London: John Williams, 1656), 9:219.

²²⁹Primus, *Holy Time*, 37-53.

²³⁰*Ibid.*, 55.

stepson Nicholas Bownd (1550-1613) who wrote this work. Bownd's 1595 *The Doctrine of the Sabbath* became the object of the establishment's ire thanks to the outspoken criticism of Thomas Rogers (d. 1616), Richard Bancroft's (1544-1610) chaplain. Rogers had Bownd's book banned and burned, which only increased its popularity.²³¹ When able to print again in 1606, Bownd published an expanded edition of his work entitled *Sabbathum Veteris et Novi Testamenti*. While Bownd's two works, totaling 765 pages, were far more expansive than Greenham's treatise, the central tenets of the stepson's work were present in his stepfather's. Bownd's conflict with Rogers in the 1590s brought Sabbatarianism more into public view, and the Church hierarchy became increasingly concerned with these teachings. The conflict reared its head again with the Book of Sport controversy in 1617-18, and then in the 1630s, Sabbath doctrine became "the war cry of those who opposed the Laudian innovations."²³²

Since the early seventeenth century, Sabbatarianism has been viewed as a puritan invention. While recognizing medieval precedents and contemporary continental analogs for the Sabbath that Greenham and Bownd promoted, most historians echo M. M. Knappen's sentiment that Sabbatarianism was "a bit of English originality."²³³ Although he notes continental influences like Beza and Bullinger as well as English forerunners like Hooper, Collinson largely agrees with Knappen that Sabbatarianism arose out of puritan ingenuity.²³⁴ In his *English Sabbath*, Eric L. Parker challenges this received interpretation, arguing that the Sabbath doctrine taught in the late sixteenth century

²³¹Collinson, "The Beginnings of English Sabbatarianism," 442; Parker, *English Sabbath*, 92-97. For more on Bancroft's role as the enemy and, in many ways, the define of puritanism, see Patrick Collinson, *Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan Anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

²³²Parker, *English Sabbath*, 178.

²³³M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1939), 442.

²³⁴Collinson, "The Beginnings of English Sabbatarianism," 431-37.

showed remarkable continuity with the teaching and practice of the medieval church.²³⁵ In the Elizabethan and early Jacobean church, both puritans and the establishment promoted strict observance of the Sabbath. Parker avers, “Sabbatarianism did not become a ‘puritan *cause célèbre*’ until a few Laudians made it so.”²³⁶ Ecclesiastical politics led to the branding of strict Sabbath observance as a subversive puritan doctrine. In *Holy Time*, John H. Primus examines Reformation sources on Sabbath teaching and agrees with Parker that there existed some continuity between the puritan teaching on the Sabbath and the previous generation.²³⁷ However, while the puritans built upon the teachings of those who came before, Primus believes they promoted a more stringent and a fundamentally different observance of the Sabbath. Furthermore, he argues that Parker finds no discontinuity because he fails to account for the distinctive element of the puritan Sabbath: Sunday absolutism.

While they disagree on the originality of the puritan teaching, Parker and Primus concur that the Sabbath controversies of the seventeenth century were more about authority than practice. Likewise, Collinson notes that the circumstances of the rise of Sabbatarianism were essential for understanding why it became a conflict.²³⁸ Personal offense combined with self-promotion to initiate this controversy in the late sixteenth century. Both Bownd and Thomas Rogers were from Suffolk, and Rogers was kept out of this area’s Monday exercises for ministers after he preached and then printed a sermon condemning Laurence Chaderton’s (1536-1640) Presbyterian teaching on Romans 12.²³⁹ In light of this ongoing strike, Collinson proposes, “When Bownd published his

²³⁵Parker, *English Sabbath*.

²³⁶Ibid., 216.

²³⁷Primus, *Holy Time*, 1-13.

²³⁸Collinson, “The Beginnings of English Sabbatarianism,” 437-43.

²³⁹Ibid., 441.

Sabbatarian doctrines in 1595, Rogers sensed an opportunity to uphold Anglican orthodoxy against a new-fangled notion and at the same time to avenge himself on the Suffolk ministers and recommend himself to those in authority.²⁴⁰ Sabbath controversy began as much as a personal clash as it was a doctrinal one.

As the seventeenth century wore on, Sabbath doctrine became the point of conflict between pro- and anti-Laudians. Ecclesiastical authority was a stake. The central question was whether the church had the right to establish the day and practices for worship or whether they were already given by divine authority in the Scriptures.²⁴¹ Puritans argued for the authority and the sufficiency of Scripture in determining both the day and practices of Christian worship while Laud and his followers believed these issues to be *adiaphora* left to the Church's discretion. To the Laudians, the puritan unwillingness to submit to the Church was a rejection of the Church's authority and thus a rejection of the monarch who was the Church's head. Thus, Sabbatarianism amounts to treason. For the puritans, the Laudians represented a rejection of *sola scriptura* and, therefore, a return to medieval Catholicism.

For his part, Greenham's views on the Sabbath predated the political controversy that followed, and he saw the proper observance of this day as a means of grace for the whole person. Keeping the Sabbath holy entailed honoring God with body and soul throughout the day. Greenham taught his catechumens that the fourth commandment demanded, "I am to make it my whole delight, to sanctifie the holie Sabbath of the Lord from morning to night."²⁴² Sanctifying the Sabbath began with worshipping God in soul as well as body. "We must especially rejoyce," he declared, "in our sinnes pardoned, in the world curcified, in our hearts, bodies, and soules renewed."²⁴³

²⁴⁰Collinson, "The Beginnings of English Sabbatarianism," 442.

²⁴¹Parker, *The English Sabbath*, 178-216; Primus, *Holy Time*, 83-99.

²⁴²Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 75.

²⁴³Richard Greenham, *The Seventeenth Sermon*, WRG, 375.

This renewal of the whole person would result in using both body and soul to worship the Lord. The redemption won by Christ through his person and work required a holistic honoring of God. Accordingly Greenham asserted, “It is a gracious thing to use all our members to Gods worship; for that will comfort our conscience, when we cannot use them.”²⁴⁴

“God requireth the body to worship him as well as the soule,” proclaimed Greenham.²⁴⁵ The Sabbath was a day to hear and to read the Lord’s Word. From the discussion above on the Word of God as a means of grace, the importance Greenham placed on the intake of Scripture should be clear. However, hearing sermons and reading scripture remained only parts of the Christian’s Sabbath duty. As the whole body had been redeemed, so the whole body had to engage in worship.

God as creator and redeemer of the body and the soul of the believer required worship in both body and soul. Greenham elaborated on his reasoning, “The right & title whereby God chalengeth this service of our members, is because wee are his, and when we were not his, hee redeemed us with a price.”²⁴⁶ This ownership began at creation: “First, the clay whereof we are made was his, by creation of right he may claime us: he findeth us here at his own charge, cost, and expences, and so by the testimony of the booke of his providence we are his.”²⁴⁷ Second, God’s people were his through redemption. He bought them at a price. “The LORD by bleeding from his heart by the speare, from his hands & feete by the nailes, from his head by the Thornes purchased us to his service, and therefore his title to the bodie is good.”²⁴⁸ The Lord had a right to the

²⁴⁴Greenham, *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, WRG, 47.

²⁴⁵Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 801.

²⁴⁶Ibid.

²⁴⁷Ibid.

²⁴⁸Ibid.

believer's body because he formed it as creator and purchased it by the blood of Christ as redeemer. The body was his and was to be used to worship him. God's sovereignty was not limited to the spiritual world but extended over the physical as well. "As God is the God of the spirit, so he is the God of all flesh; and though he will be worshipped in spirit, yet not in spirit only, but in truth also, which truth (being his word) requireth service of the bodie."²⁴⁹ Thus, Greenham encouraged, "Let him that hath eare to heare, heire: he that hath a tongue to speake, let him speake; hee that hath hands to lifte up, let him lift them up: and hee that hath knees to bow, let him bow them."²⁵⁰ The body was to be employed to worship God.²⁵¹

Physical posture in prayer formed one way that the godly were to use their bodies in worship. "In offering our prayers," Greenham instructed, "we have the use both of the soule and bodie. For we lift up pure hands, and kneele with our knees, we elevate our eyes, we crie with our voyces, we prostrate our whole bodies: and therefore as God

²⁴⁹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 801.

²⁵⁰Ibid.

²⁵¹Greenham was far from alone in his call to use the body in the worship of God. Godly rectors argued that the Lord should be worshipped with the entire being he created and redeemed. Perkins exhorted, "We are commanded to love God with all our strength: and therefore love must not onely be conceived in minde, but also testified in the actions of the bodie. God created as well the bodie as the soule: Christ redeemed both bodie and soule." William Perkins, *A Warning against the Idolatrie of the Last Times and an Instruction Touching Religious or Divine Worship* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1601), 224. Cartwright addressed the objection that the body had no role in worship since God "is a spirit and searcheth the heart." Thomas Cartwright, *A Treatise of Christian Religion* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1616), 80. To this concern, he answered, "First the body it selfe oweth a dutie unto God: Secondly, it is a glasse to shew the affections of the mind. Thirdly, the mind is the better holden in the thing affected, when both body and mind goe together" (ibid.). These instructions reflected the Lord as creator of body and soul as well as the strong interconnection puritans posited between all aspects of humanity. Perkins made clear that true worship is holistic: "It may here be demaunded, in what part the man regenerate worships god. I answer, in the whole man both bodie and soule." Perkins, *A Warning against the Idolatrie of the Last Times*, 189. Perkins acknowledged that worship was first and foremost in spirit and in truth (ibid., 189-90). Yet, the body had a key, albeit secondary, role to play in worship (ibid.). When the proper function of the body was not maintained, worship, Perkins warned, became purely physical without any spiritual reality. He argued that such had been the fate of Catholicism: "By this, we may discerne the vanitie of Popish religion. For it consists for the most part, upon externall and bodily rites, gestures, and ceremonies borrowed partly from the Jews and partly from the heathen: whereas the true religion of the newe testament, hath but fewe prescribed ceremonies, and for the most part is divine and spiritual" (ibid.). The physicality of worship must be controlled by the greater spiritual realities at play. Believers could not determine what bodily elements they desired in worship; instead, their worship had to conform to God's will as revealed in his word.

hath made both for his glory in this life, so hath he appointed to glorifie both in the life to come.”²⁵² Prayer engaged so much more than the mind and the soul; it was a total body experience. The Christian prayed not only with words but also with actions. The body glorified the Lord in prayer through a posture of humility. Greenham grounded the importance of the body in prayer both in creation and in consummation. God created the body for his glory, and in the eschaton, he would glorify the body to the praise of his glorious grace.²⁵³

Posture maintained particular importance in prayers of repentance. “There must bee reverence in bowing of the knees, for thou must give thy body and thy heart also.”²⁵⁴ The publican in Jesus’s parable demonstrated the connection between the attitude of the heart and the posture of the person. “The Publican,” Greenham indicated, “needeth not to be taught to cast downe his eyes, for the humble heart will bring downe thy looke.”²⁵⁵ Body and soul were connected and influenced each other. The effect the body could have on the soul meant, for Greenham, that posture in worship was not just for one’s personal benefit. Rather, he encouraged the godly to consider also the sway their posture could have on others. Thus, he encouraged Christians, “Wee must give good example in our outward gesture to provoke others to come reverently before the Lord.”²⁵⁶

²⁵²Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 186.

²⁵³Puritans made much of the body’s posture in prayer. Ames outlined the importance of the body in prayer, explaining, “Because in every Prayer there is required singular humility, therefore the common gesture of solemne Prayer ought to be agreeable to this demension, as the uncovering the head, and for the most part, bending the knee, bowing the body, or standing upright.” Ames, *Conscience*, 48. However, he cautioned, “Sitting by it selfe is not a gesture of praying, because it expresseth no reverence, nor is approved in Scripture” (ibid.). The body was to express humility and reverence in prayer. During prayer, Cartwright advised “kneeling, and thereby to witnes our humility, by casting down our eyes, our confidence by casting them up; or with the Publican to knocke our breasts.” Cartwright, *Christian Religion*, 80. More generally, though it certainly included prayer, Perkins elaborated on the role of the body in adoration, describing, “the bowing of the knee, the bending or prostrating of the bodie, the lifting up of hands or eyes,” which are postures of “reverence and subjection” to be employed in worship and in prayer. Perkins, *Warning against the Idolatrie of the Last Times*, 224. Praying was a holistic endeavor that necessarily involved both body and soul.

²⁵⁴Richard Greenham, *The Fifteenth Sermon*, WRG, 361.

²⁵⁵Ibid.

²⁵⁶Ibid.

In corporate worship, one's physical stance did not merely influence one's own soul but could also aid others in their worship.

As with prayer, "in the Sacraments," Greenham explained, "there are actions of the body as well as of the soule."²⁵⁷ When it came to the initiatory rite of the Church, "the body is dipped into the water and taken out againe in the sacrament of Baptisme."²⁵⁸ Baptism necessarily involved the body. From this action Greenham averred, "If Baptisme be a token of our resurrection to grace, and that in bodie and soule, we are not to doubt, but that the bodie shall rise againe as well as the soule."²⁵⁹ Baptism served as a pledge to the believer that body and soul would rise again just as the whole person arose from the water.

Likewise, in Communion, Greenham saw both spiritual and physical dimensions. He unambiguously stated, "In the Eucharist also we are solemnly occupied in both parts."²⁶⁰ Elaborating on this rite, he explained, "For as the soule in beleeving, so the eies in beholding the bread broken, and wine powred out, the eares in hearing the word, the hands in handling the outward elements, the mouth in tasting them, are devoutly occupied."²⁶¹ The soul believed and nearly the entire body engaged in celebrating the Lord's Supper. Eyes see, ears hear, hands feel, and the mouth tastes. The blessing of this sacrament would be holistic as well, for "the fruite of it must appeare as well in the bodie,

²⁵⁷Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 186. For all Greenham had to say about posture in prayer, he was willing to do as the Church of England required when it came to receiving the Eucharist. A 1582 saying in REM recorded, "After one had asked his advice for sitting and kneeling at the lords table hee said, As for such things, Let us do as much as wee can with the peace of the church lest wee make the remedy of the evil wors then the evil it self." Greenham, REM fol. 10v; cf. Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 30. His emphasis on the peace of the church highlighted the narrow line he tried to walk within the church while pushing for further reform.

²⁵⁸Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 186.

²⁵⁹Ibid.

²⁶⁰Ibid.

²⁶¹Ibid.

as in the soule.”²⁶² Once again, Greenham’s expectation with this rite was that the fruit would be manifest in body and in soul, both in this life and in the world to come.

With concerns over people abstaining from the Lord’s Table, Greenham continued further with his discussion of the Eucharist by elaborating on how it was a transforming means of grace. “Here note a thing contrarie to our common diet. Though in our ordinary foode our meate is changed into us, and be commeth of our substance, not we are changed into it: here in this meate, I say, it is contrarie, we are transformed into it, not it into us.”²⁶³ The bread and wine of communion were a means of grace to make the believer more like Christ. Partaking of the meal helped conform the Christian into the image of the Son. Thus, Greenham encouraged Christians to partake of the meal in order that they might be sanctified in both body and soul. Through the sacraments, the body and soul that would be glorified in the life to come were sanctified for life in this world.

Greenham’s unified vision of body and soul also could be seen in his instructions to care for those in need on the Sabbath. These duties of love highlighted the importance he placed upon both the spiritual growth and the physical well being of those under his pastoral care. For Greenham, caring for those in needs was an essential part of the Sunday worship. As he explained, “The Lord his Sabbath is not a day of knowledge alone, but of love; not onely of hearing the word by preaching, but also of doing the word by practising.”²⁶⁴ Believers were to be both hearers and doers of the Word. He divided this practicing of the Word into the two categories: duties of love for their souls and duties of love for their bodies.

“The duties unto the soules of our brethren,” Greenham enumerated, “are to teach the ignorant, to bring sinners to repentance, to bind up the wounds of them that are

²⁶²Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 186.

²⁶³Ibid., 191.

²⁶⁴Greenham, *A Treatise of the Sabbath*, WRG, 160.

afflicted in spirit, to comfort the weak, to strengthen the hands that fall downe.”²⁶⁵ On the Sabbath, Christians needed to sanctify their rest by offering godly nourishment to the spiritually deprived. Greenham envisioned the godly spending part of their Sunday visiting the discouraged and the unrepentant. Parents were to teach their children, and householders had a duty to aid the spiritual growth of all their servants as well. For his part, Greenham used Sunday afternoons between the services to instruct the children of the parish through catechesis. Christians put God’s Word into practice and love their neighbors by contributing to their spiritual well-being.

Additionally, the Lord’s Day was to be used to care for the physical needs of the parishioners. Greenham urged believers to engage in “the duties of love required to the bodies of our brethren.”²⁶⁶ He identified these deeds as “the visiting of the sicke, the relieving of the imprisoned, the helping of the poore and miserable, the feeding of the hungrie, the cloathing of the naked, the comforting of the distressed, the bestowing of our goods on them that are needie.”²⁶⁷ Helping alleviate the physical plight of those in their community was a Sabbath duty for all Christians. Certainly, Greenham had in mind individuals and families taking time on Sunday to do the things he cited. Additionally, he advocated making the relief of the poor part of the weekly corporate worship of the church. He encouraged the godly, “In the primitive Church as they did every Sabbath receive the Sacrament, so they laide something downe to the use of the poore, which they did both to give some thankfull testimonie how the Lord the weeke before had blessed them, as also to shew some godly token of their pittie to their afflicted brethren.”²⁶⁸ Love of God and love for neighbor were to be united in Christian worship on the Sabbath.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁵Greenham, *A Treatise of the Sabbath*, WRG, 160.

²⁶⁶Ibid.

²⁶⁷Ibid., 160-61.

²⁶⁸Ibid., 161.

²⁶⁹Perkins’s teaching on this subject demonstrated puritanism’s shared concern with Greenham

For Greenham, the Sabbath was kept in both body and soul through the worship of God and duties of love practiced toward neighbor. True worship by the gathered congregation holistically engaged believers. Spurred on by the hearing of the Scriptures, Christians sought to put God's Word into practice by loving their neighbors in soul and body.

Conclusion

Greenham said much about life in the body. From everyday concerns like diet, clothing, and work to the major life events of marriage and death to the worship of God, he counseled the godly on how to use their bodies. His anthropology and Christology drove such concerns. He understood each person to be a unity of body and soul, and thus he encouraged believers to make use of the physical in order to develop in godliness. Additionally, Greenham's view of the person and work of Christ compelled him to care for the body. Jesus Christ redeemed his people in body and soul by suffering for them both physically and spiritually. The redeemed were to strive to be sanctified in their whole person in this life, for they would one day be glorified in soul and in body when Christ returned. Despite this glorious future for the believer, sin still infected this world and affected people in body and soul. To care for people in this life required Greenham to address the afflictions that surely would come.

that corporate worship on the Lord's Day be accompanied by providing for the physical needs of the community. Part of the public worship of God was the "collection and giving of almes for the reliefe of the poore, whether they be captives and strangers, or those that dwell amongs us, the sicke, the needie, orphanes and widowes, and such like." Perkins, *Cases of Conscience*, 463. Perkins listed this provision for those in need alongside the preaching and reading of God's Word, the administration of the Sacraments, and public prayer as one of the principal ways to keep the Sabbath (ibid., 462-63). Furthermore, puritans implored their parishioners to employ their time away from divine service on the Sabbath to practice "workes of charitie and mercie; as in visiting the sicke, in making peace between those that are at discord, in relieving the poore" (ibid., 464). True worship of God was always marked by love for those in need.

CHAPTER 4

CARING FOR THE AFFLICTED BODY

Greenham spent much of his ministry caring for the afflicted. Whether suffering from a physical malady or spiritual anguish, many sought relief from the pastor of Dry Drayton. Given the unity he saw between body and soul, Greenham did not distinguish greatly between physical and spiritual afflictions. Both were rooted in the spiritual conflict of this world between God and Satan, but at the same time, both were to be used for the spiritual benefit of the believer. The fact that bodily suffering had a spiritual origin further revealed the strong interconnection Greenham posited between body and soul. Not just the origin but also the purpose of physical hardships revealed this link. Somatic suffering yielded spiritual growth. Indeed, Greenham cited affliction as a means of grace that God used to increase faith.¹ Together with such activities as prayer, hearing God's Word preached, and the sacraments, adversity could serve as a conduit for the Lord's blessing. Yet, Greenham did not delve into severe asceticism, seeking physical trials. Rather, in the presence of affliction, he ministered to whole persons, caring for them in both the body and the soul.

The next two chapters explicate Greenham's understanding of affliction as a means of grace. This chapter looks more broadly at his view of suffering, addressing the expectedness, origin, purpose, and proper response to affliction. The next chapter examines three specific cases of affliction that Greenham addresses: poverty, prosperity, and sickness. In both these chapters, Greenham's christologically-rooted concern for the body, that is for people's physical well being, will be evident. Additionally, these

¹Richard Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 88.

chapters serve to provide more insight into Greenham's anthropology as he addressed the effects of sin on the body and elucidated the spiritual benefits of suffering.

Afflictions: An Expected Part of the Christian Life

For Greenham, afflictions were an expected part of the Christian life. He warned the godly, "As God his children have the greatest electing, so have they oft the greatest crosses."² Believers were not to be surprised when suffering came their way. The example of their Savior would free them from any notion that life in this world would be all comfort and ease. Just as Christ Jesus first suffered and then was glorified, so the godly could expect suffering before being glorified with their Lord in the life to come. The more one sought after Christ, the more suffering one would encounter.

Greenham advised Christians that following Jesus would lead to suffering. Just as he had his cross to bear, so would his children. Cautioning a believer, Greenham pointed out, "Wheresoever he purposed to live as a Christian, the crosse would follow him, because that Christ would follow him."³ Christians followed one who was crucified as a criminal. The one they looked to as Lord and Savior suffered, bled, and died. Believers could not hope to share in his reward if they would not share in his suffering. "If wee will be glorified with him," Greenham contended, "wee must also suffer with him; and if we will rise againe with him, we must first die with him, and if we will partake of his benefits, we must also drinke of his cup."⁴ Plenty of people desired the benefits Christ offered, but they proved unwilling to tread the path he trod. "Many would willingly have in Christ forgiveness of sinne, yet would they not beare his crosse."⁵ Affliction

²Richard Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 66.

³Richard Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 4.

⁴Richard Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 639.

⁵Ibid.

accompanied the blessings Christ freely offered. The Savior entered glory through suffering, and his followers were not to expect a different course. “Christ hath now a Crowne of glorie,” but Greenham continued, emphasizing how he got there, “but hee had another crowne before, even a crowne of thornes.”⁶ Elsewhere, Greenham elaborated on how Jesus came into his glory through suffering, “It is not to be doubted that Christ is in the kingdome of heaven, but how came he to it? Luk. 24. He suffered all things, & so entred into glorie.”⁷ For Greenham, the implications of Christ’s suffering for Christian living were clear: “No man then must looke to be Dixes all his life time, and Lazarus after death too. Christ himselfe entered not on this condition, the Apostles entered not on this condition, for Act. 14. they knewe that through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdome of God.”⁸ As Christ their Lord was a man of sorrows, so believers could expect affliction to accompany them in this life.

Adversity necessarily accompanied the benefits Christ offered. Some adversity came for the maturation of the believer, while other resulted from opposition to the gospel. The Lord did not leave his children after justification but worked through their whole lives to grow them in godliness. “Whosoever is joyned to Christ for his justification,” Greenham averred, “must also be joyned to him for his sanctification.”⁹ Such sanctification did not necessarily come easily and, as will be seen later in this chapter, was one of the primary functions of affliction. Likewise, opposition to the gospel would follow believers wherever they went. In this regard, Greenham cautioned believers, “Wheresoever the Gospell is sincerely and purely taught, there bee alwayes adversaties seeking to overthrowe thereof, by persecuting such as professe the same, to the great

⁶Richard Greenham, *A Treatise of Examination before and after the Lords Supper*, WRG, 193.

⁷Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 640.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., 682.

dismaying of the children of God.”¹⁰ The afflictions arrived “soone as they take upon them the profession of Jesus Christ in truth with a good conscience” and proved so great as to be “able to make them forsake the faith of Jesus Christ, and the profession of the Gospell, if the Lord should not hold them upright in distresse.”¹¹ The examples of the apostles further revealed that Christians should expect suffering in their lives. Greenham reminded the godly how “Paul was sore afflicted, much troubled, and often imprisoned,” and in spite of all his sufferings, “did nothing grieve him, so long as the Gospell had good successe, and the Churches flourished.”¹² If the example of Christ were not enough, the Christian was to heed the example of Paul who “willingly suffered all kinde of afflictions, thereby to confirme and to strengthen the faith of Gods children, and did rejoyce in that hee suffered for the Churches sake.”¹³

The life of Christ revealed that the path of godliness would be plagued with adversity. He entered his kingdom through suffering, and if his people were to be glorified with him, they would also suffer with him. Hardships followed Christ, they followed the apostles, and they would follow the gospel wherever it was proclaimed.

Origins of Affliction

Christians were to expect affliction, but to understand and prepare for it, Greenham believed they needed to know whence it came. He identified three sources of suffering: sin, Satan, and God. The spiritual origins of physical suffering revealed the bond between the immaterial and material worlds generally, and particularly the body and soul. While the first two causes had degrees of responsibility, ultimately Greenham

¹⁰Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 647.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Richard Greenham, *Meditations on Prov. 4*, WRG, 620.

¹³Richard Greenham, *The Fourteenth Sermon*, WRG, 347.

established the Lord working through his good providence as the final cause of all afflictions. God was, in Greenham's thinking, "our mercifull Lord and only Physition of our soule" who orchestrated all suffering for the good of his people.¹⁴

Greenham pointed to human sin as one cause of affliction. Sin wreaked havoc globally and personally. On the cosmic level, Greenham explained how sin had ruined the world, "The world was made good by creation, but degenerated to evill by corruption."¹⁵ God created the world as good, but the sin of Adam and Eve infected the earth and brought affliction to it. Their rebellion against the Divine contaminated all of life, including the physical world. Suffering found its root in the disobedience of humanity's first parents. However, affliction also flowed from a much more personal source. Each person earned punishment for his or her own sin. Greenham asked in his

¹⁴Richard Greenham, *The Thirteenth Sermon*, WRG, 335.

¹⁵Richard Greenham, *The Eleventh Sermon*, WRG, 310. Puritans agreed with Greenham that the Lord created the world as good, and they averred that sin infected both body and soul and that, ultimately, sin resulted in death. William Perkins declared that sin was "in every part of both body and soul, like a leprosy that runneth from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot." William Perkins, *The Foundation of Christian Religion Gathered into Six Principles*, in *The Work of William Perkins*, ed. Ian Breward (Appleford: Sutton Courtenay, 1970), 151. Sin contaminated the whole person including the mind, conscience, will, affections, and body. Ibid. From Adam and Eve's "former transgression ariseth another, namely original sin, which is corruption engendered in our first conception, whereby every faculty of soul and body is prone and disposed to evil." William Perkins, *A Golden Chain*, in *The Work of William Perkins*, ed. Ian Breward (Appleford: Sutton Courtenay, 1970), 192. Every subsequent generation inherited this original sin, which corrupted the whole person. John Owen warned of the effects of inherited sin, "Upon the body also, it hath such an influence, in disposing it to corruption and mortality, as it is the original of all those infirmities, sicknesses, and diseases, which make us nothing but a shop of such miseries for death itself." John Owen, *A Display of Arminiansim*, in *The Works of John Owen*, vol. 10, ed. William H. Goold (Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter, 1850-1853; repr., Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, 1965), 79. Physical pain and illness arose from the blight of sin upon this world. Perkins elaborated, "In the body, diseases, aches, pains: in the soul, blindness, hardness of heart, horrors of conscience: in goods, hindrances and losses: in name, ignominy and reproach: lastly, in the whole man, bondage under Satan the prince of darkness." Perkins, *Six Principles*, in *The Work of William Perkins*, 152. Sin infected both body and soul.

Sin finally resulted in death. "The punishment inflicted on man for sin is death," William Ames declared. William Ames, *The Marrow of Theology*, trans. and ed. John D. Eusden (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1968), 118. "Death is a miserable deprivation of life," and he elaborated, "By the life of man is understood both the joining of the soul with the whole body and the perfection which belonged to man in that state, whether actually communicated or to be communicated upon a condition" (ibid.). Thus, death was both spiritual and physical. Physically, "mortality is a dissolving or loosening of that bond by which the soul was joined with the body" (ibid., 124). While sin was disobedience to a God who was an infinite, eternal, and unchangeable spirit, it affected the physical components of humans as well. The union of body and soul necessitated that they suffered the consequences of sin together. Sin infected the whole person, and the final ramification of sin in this life was death

catechism, “What punishment is due to the breaker of Gods Law?”¹⁶ The catechumen responded, “In this life the curse of God, and death, with manifold miseries both of body or soule or both.”¹⁷ Additionally, if unrepentant, the sinner would face “everlasting death and damnation both of bodie and soule in the world to come.”¹⁸ Sin earned physical and spiritual suffering. Disobedience to God infected all of creation, including the lives of individual sinners.

Even with such suffering, Greenham recognized the mercy of God, for “your afflictions are farre inferiour to your sinnes.”¹⁹ Speaking of his own suffering, he remarked, “Blessed be God that I suffer no more: for the Lord that in mercie laieth this affliction upon me, might justly punish me in my soule and bodie, and cast me into hell, and as soone have taken away the life of my soule and bodie, as this thing.”²⁰ Sinners were objects of God’s righteous wrath, and so they earned any affliction they suffered. Moreover, human sin corrupted all of creation. Only in God’s mercy did people experience freedom from the tribulations they deserved.

Sin, however, was not the sole cause of suffering. Affliction also resulted from the activity of Satan in this world. Greenham pictured the believer in battle against Satan, who was “the god of this world.”²¹ The devil worked actively throughout the earth to oppose the people of God. Much of his work caused physical suffering, as was the case with Job. Greenham also warned against his spiritual afflictions, “Behold, besides his

¹⁶Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 80. William Perkins agreed with Greenham that physical affliction resulted from sin, writing, “Consider for what cause the Lord should afflict his body with any sicknes or disease. And he shall find by Gods word, that sicknesse comes ordinarily and usually of sinne.” William Perkins, *A Salve for a Sicke Man* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1600), 95.

¹⁷Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 80.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 2.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Greenham, *The Eleventh Sermon*, WRG, 310.

strength, Satan is spirituall, invisible, not to be discerened, and therefore more dangerous.”²² In fact, some of the devil’s most dangerous work had been his deception: “Satan hath bene mighty, powerfull in deluding mens minds, in hardening mens hearts, so that no word can pierce them.”²³ When it came to affliction, one of the devil’s great lies was that the Christian should have a life of ease rather than of suffering. Greenham cautioned, “It is the policie of Sathan, to lay before us the great benefits which we want, to cause us to murmur for them, and to disgrace the present benefits which we have, least we should be thankfull.”²⁴ Rather than long for suffering to end, “We must not desire to come out of the fire of affliction, until the Lord thereby have purified us, as fine as gold, for his owne use: but still thinke that the continuing of the crosse, is the continuing of scouring away of some corruption.”²⁵ Though physical suffering might come from demonic attacks, Satan’s lies are the chief affliction with which he harmed believers. He deceived in an attempt to undercut the good purposes of God in affliction.

While suffering might arise from sin or result from satanic attack, Greenham focused on the Lord as the ultimate cause of all afflictions. The devil only acted where God allowed. Greenham explained, “Satans power is all by derivation and limitation; it cannot touch the bodie without permission, much lesse the soule.”²⁶ Indeed, “Satan is the instrument” while the Lord was “the supreme worker.”²⁷ Expounding on this idea, Greenham noted, “The Lord commeth by the messenger of Satan, the pricke of the flesh, to try us, whether wee will sticke to the word preached, or such suggestions ministred, to

²²Greenham, *The Eleventh Sermon*, WRG, 311.

²³Ibid., 312.

²⁴Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 26.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Greenham, *The Eleventh Sermon*, WRG, 313-14.

²⁷Ibid., 312.

tri our faith, to confirme us in the favour of God.”²⁸ God used Satan as his tool to accomplish his will. Greenham recognized that many would find unseemly the notion that the Lord used affliction and the devil to accomplish his ends. He responded to such complaints, “And howsoever flesh and blood counteth this but a paradoxe, yet sure it is, that our case is worse when the Lord ceaseth by such meanes to lift & fanne us, than when he holdeth us from some profitable temptation for our exercise.”²⁹ God worked good even through the most unlikely means, whether suffering or Satan.

God exercised sovereignty over all things. “God hath time, and all things that in time come to passe be in his hands.”³⁰ He directed all of life in this world. The Christian’s hope rested not in God’s power alone but in that power combined with his goodness. “The Lord will doe what is good & can do what he wil,” proclaimed Greenham.³¹ God possessed the strength and authority to command what he will, and what he willed came from his perfectly good character. Greenham identified God’s righteous governance of all things as his providence.³² What some would describe as

²⁸Richard Greenham, *The Fifth Sermon*, WRG, 274.

²⁹Ibid. The question of how a good God could work through suffering was a common one for puritan pastors. John Flavel, for example, attempted to answer how the Lord who is merciful could bring suffering: “And if the reasons be demanded why the Lord who is inclined to mercy, doth often hedge in his own people, by his providence, in a suffering path; let us know, that in so doing, he doth both, 1. Illustrate his own glory. And, 2. Promote his people’s happiness.” John Flavel, *Preparations for Suffering or the Best Work in the Worst Times*, in *The Works of John Flavel*, vol. 6 (London: W. Baynes and Sons, 1820; repr., Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1968), 9. Like Greenham, Flavel saw the sufferings themselves as the Lord’s merciful working to help his people.

³⁰Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 731. Standing firmly in the Reformed Tradition at this point, puritans understood all of life to be controlled by God’s gracious providence. Thus, when it came to physical suffering, Perkins counseled, “Soone as a man shall feele any manner of sicknes to seaze upon his body, he must consider with himselfe whence it ariseth: & after serious consideration, he shall finde that it comes not by chance or fortune, but by the providence of God.” Perkins, *A Salve for a Sicke Man*, 95.

³¹Richard Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 184.

³²Alexandra Walsham provides an excellent study of providential thought in post-reformation England. She argues that Protestantism did not rid the world of its supernatural elements, but it provided a new framework for interpreting the moral significance of such events. Protestants, like Greenham did, decried attributing any events to magic or fortune. Rather all happenings fall under the guidance of God, and with such an origin, people were to seek to interpret the religious and moral significance of such incidents. *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

happenance, Greenham viewed as the work of God. As he articulated, “When we have any crosse it is hard lucke say we. Well, that lucke, as you call it, and providence as I judge it, is often more worth unto us than all our substance.”³³ The Christian’s hope lay in the goodness of the one who exercised this providence. The value of any affliction came from God who purposed it to bring about a good effect.

The Almighty used his providence in one of two ways: either to bless or to curse. Greenham explained, “God hath two hands; in the one he holdeth a hammer to breake the proud in peeces, and to pray them to powder; in the other hand he hath a horne, to powre Gods blessing upon the humble.”³⁴ The Lord exercised his power like a loving parent, disciplining or blessing as needed. “It hath pleased the Lord,” Greenham reported, “to deale with us as parents deale with their young children, who when their children be tender, they put the teate into their mouthes, put on their cloaths upon their backes, and feede them with milke: but when they waxe elder and grow to some yeeres of discretion, then if they offend they are rebuked and scourged.”³⁵ Differing stages in development called for different parental responses, and so too in the Christian life, God worked his providence according to the needs of his children. Early in their spiritual lives, “The Lord at the first beginning of our regeneration, he offered his graces most plentifully unto us, he sent his watchmen to call us unto him.”³⁶ When his people matured and were expected to know better, God’s tactics changed: “Now whether for omission of duties, correction of our sinnes, or triall of our patience, it pleaseth him to withdraw his merciful countenance from us, and as it were to be gone from us, to the intent that now we might

³³Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 63.

³⁴Richard Greenham, *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, WRG, 50.

³⁵Richard Greenham, *The Ninth Sermon*, WRG, 296.

³⁶*Ibid.*

seeke him, now wee must fast and mourne, or he will not returne to us againe.”³⁷ The Lord worked by his providence to grow his children in godliness.

Greenham cautioned against viewing affliction as ultimately bad, for God worked in his providence to bring good from all trials. Therefore, Greenham found comfort in acknowledging, “It is the Lord which sendeth crosses to his children to save them.”³⁸ No matter how much succor could be found in knowing the source of suffering, the Christian still needed to heed the divine reproach found in affliction. As Greenham warned, “If the Lord lift up his rod against us, we shall be brought to dust; if a little rod will not serve to doe it, he will take a crow of iron and fling at us.”³⁹ He continued this exhortation by reminding the godly that divine justice was much more to be feared than civil punishment, for “Princes can only seaze on the bodie, and all their wrath can goe no further than this life: but the Lord attacheth as well the soule as the body, and his anger is as hot and hotter in the life to come, as it is in this life.”⁴⁰ For Christians, however, suffering under providential affliction proved finally to be for their good because the Lord worked like a loving parent to rescue them.

The Almighty brought suffering upon his children for their good. Sin and Satan might have a part to play in the cause of afflictions, but ultimately, God ordained all hardships for his good purposes. Driven by such an understanding of trials, Greenham reminded believers, “When we are in affliction we are not so wise of ourselves, as to see the cause of it: or if we see the cause, we cannot see the mercy of God, that his hand

³⁷Greenham, *The Ninth Sermon*, WRG, 296.

³⁸Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 639.

³⁹Richard Greenham, *A Treatise of Gods Feare*, WRG, 198.

⁴⁰Ibid.

which is upon us, is not a destroying hand, but a delivering hand.”⁴¹ In affliction, God worked by his providence for the good of his people.

Purpose of Affliction

Greenham’s confidence in the goodness of God remained unwavering in the face of hardship. With assurance he asserted, “Affliction is a necessarie thing to bring us to God. And here wee may note the great love and care that the Lord God hath over us, and his infinite goodness towards us in using al meanes for our salvation.”⁴² God brought about his good purposes through trials. “In affliction,” Greenham explained, “the spirit sheweth us the hand of God both humbling and comforting us, revealeth our sinnes, worketh in us the contempt of this life, the desire of the life to come, and so sanctifieth our crosse by wisdom, repentance, and patience.”⁴³ Believers could trust that all they suffered was for their good because God has redeemed them. They were not their own; they were bought at a price. Greenham reminded them, “Your body is the Lords, and the Lords loving hand is upon your body; all shall be for your good, if you make use of all.”⁴⁴

Greenham identified two main goals the Lord had for the godly in affliction: First, affliction humbled God’s children. Second, suffering increased the elect’s dependence on God. These good purposes, however, were not for everyone. The

⁴¹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 638.

⁴²Greenham, *The Thirteenth Sermon*, WRG, 334.

⁴³Richard Greenham, *Of the Sending of the Holy Ghost*, WRG, 223. Puritan pastors echoed Greenham’s belief that physical suffering brought about spiritual good. They believed that affliction alerted the godly to their sin and worked to cleanse them of it. To the end, Flavel wrote, “Adversity kills those corruptions which prosperity bred.” Flavel, *Preparations for Suffering*, in *Works*, 6.10. Thomas Watson, likewise, found numerous benefits in physical hardships: “Afflictions do both exercise and encrease grace.” Thomas Watson, *AYTAPKEIA: or The Art of Divine Contentment* (London: T. R. & E. M., Raph Smith, 1653), 158. He described how afflictions cleanse the person of pride, teach repentance, increase prayer, expunge sin from one’s life, bring God’s presence more immediately to the believer, and come with evidence of God’s love (ibid., 151-62). Physical afflictions worked spiritual good in believers.

⁴⁴Greenham, *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, WRG, 50.

goodness of suffering depended upon God's electing grace. The reprobate found not comfort but judgment in affliction.

Predestined Purpose

Before addressing the benefits of suffering for Christians, Greenham clearly distinguished different goals for the elect and for the reprobate in affliction. The purpose of adversity depended upon the person. God used suffering as a judgment for the condemned but as a help to his people.

Greenham divided sufferers into two broad categories: "the persons afflicted are either the reprobate, or Gods elect, the children of wrath, or the children of God."⁴⁵ People suffered as children of God or as objects of wrath. For those under the Lord's condemnation, hardships came as judgments for their sins. Greenham described them as a down payment of sorts on their future suffering, "The afflictions of the reprobate are the punishments of their sinnes: here they suffer some, in hell they shall suffer all torments; here for a time, there for ever; here a little, there unmeasurable."⁴⁶ The wicked's suffering on earth provided a foretaste of what awaited them after death. This preview was meant to serve as a warning to the ungodly. Greenham related how unbelievers should be awakened to their need of God through suffering, and how these afflictions "leave them without excuse."⁴⁷ In their despair, they were to be alerted to their need for the Divine. If the ungodly would not repent and turn in faith, then these trials served "to roote out the wicked, & to consume them from the face of the earth."⁴⁸ Affliction would remove the wicked either by changing their ways or ending their lives. The reprobate who heard the

⁴⁵Greenham, *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, WRG, 45.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Greenham, *Of the Sending of the Holy Ghost*, WRG, 234.

⁴⁸Ibid.

gospel and rejected it would encounter the harshest judgment. The gospel was God's "greatest mercie & treasure, if it be received; so the unnaturall refusall of it doth cause the greatest judgements."⁴⁹ Spurning the greatest grace earned the greatest judgment. The Lord would afflict the ungodly for the just punishment of their sin.⁵⁰

However, for the godly, God used suffering for the their good. Greenham highlighted biblical examples of affliction to demonstrate God's good purpose in trials. Neither Job nor Lazarus was under the Lord's wrath, but, rather, they suffered "for the trial of their faith."⁵¹ Picking up on the scriptural metaphor of refining gold, Greenham expounded the Almighty's purpose behind suffering, "For as it hurts not the gold to be put into the fire, both because it is thereby tried, and also made more pure: so is it not evil for the children of God to have their faith tried."⁵² Trials purified and fortified the faith of believers: "If it be a strong faith it will beare the fire, if it bee weake, it will yet shine brighter."⁵³ However, even "if there appeare no faith, but all drosse," there was still benefit to be had, for "then the partie tried must more seriously seeke after Christ and the meanes of salvation, that he may attaine that faith that may goe through the fire of affliction."⁵⁴ Affliction did not hurt believers; it refined them and strengthened their faith. Suffering benefited them. Given the good that came from trials, Greenham advised believers not to run from suffering but to embrace it, for, as he explained, "If affliction

⁴⁹Greenham, *Of the Sending of the Holy Ghost*, WRG, 234.

⁵⁰Greenham, however, did not expect God to mete out his justice completely in this life. Like the psalmist, he addressed the question, "Why do the wicked prosper?" See particularly Greenham, *Godly Instructions for the Due Examination and Direction of Al Men*, WRG, 766. The wicked would not get their full punishment until the world to come. This eschatological lens allowed Christians to suffer without calling into question the righteousness of God. For more on the everlasting judgment of the reprobate, see Greenham, *Treatise of the Resurrection*, WRG, 183-84; Greenham, *The Seventh Sermon*, WRG, 285; Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 689.

⁵¹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 640.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid.

bee such a notable thing, and the Lord worketh even eternall life thereby oftentimes to those whom hee hath elected and called to bee his, how lovingly ought they to embrace it to whom the Lord so fatherly doth offer it?”⁵⁵ Knowing God’s good purpose, suffering was to be faithfully endured as Greenham exhorted, “How patiently and chearefully ought they to beare it, in asmuch as they thereby may assure themselves that God hath severed them from the world, and from those on whom he meaneth to shew no mercie in the day of his wrath?”⁵⁶ Adversity would encourage believers because it demonstrated God’s fatherly care and concern for his children. He worked good in them through their suffering. Affliction came for the good of believers.

Nevertheless, even for God’s children, suffering sometimes came as judgment. Although such affliction proved ultimately for their good, driving them back to Christ, Greenham described it as punishment for their sin. Not all the elect are equal. Greenham distinguished between two main groups of the elect, “Gods children are either his children onely by election, and not by effectuall vocation: or else such as are called in Christ.”⁵⁷ God’s chosen people had either been effectually called or were awaiting that calling. For those who had been elected before the foundation of the world, but who had not yet been called in their lives, Greenham argued that afflictions “are punishments of sinne: God will have them under the rigor of his justice to make them meet to receive the grace of his mercy.”⁵⁸ Their afflictions resulted from their sin, but this suffering served to drive them to Christ for his mercy.⁵⁹

⁵⁵Greenham, *The Thirteenth Sermon*, WRG, 335.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Greenham, *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, WRG, 45.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹See later in this chapter for how Greenham envisioned suffering as part of God’s preparing people for salvation.

Greenham continued on to subdivide the effectually called: “Gods children not onely by election, but also by effectuall vocation, are of two sorts: they are either such as are not sufficiently called, which are more out of Christ then in Christ, or else they are sufficiently called, in whome Christ liveth.”⁶⁰ He did not take time to explain how one could be effectually called and at the same time “not sufficiently called,” but Greenham spoke of this group as those who are either “babes in Christ” or those “in whom the spirit is quenched,” seemingly envisioning new and worldly Christians, respectively.⁶¹ For this group, “their afflictions are punishments of sinne: because they will not be governed by the rule of Gods spirite.”⁶² The goal, however, was not finally justice but to drive them back to Christ. Greenham saw that this “rigorous government of his justice in the law” will only last “till Christ be formed anew in them againe.”⁶³ For the elect who had been effectually called and were found to be sufficiently in Christ, “their afflictions are no punishment of sinne: but Christ suffers with them when they are medicines against sinne, much more when they are trialls of Faith and most of all when they are for well doing.”⁶⁴ Suffering came to this final group as a result of their good works and in order to try their faith. For the elect, God had a good purpose for their suffering: he humbled them and increased their dependence on him.

⁶⁰Greenham, *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, WRG, 45.

⁶¹Ibid. Additionally, for all the subsets of the elect Greenham failed to explain how suffering as punishment for sin was not double jeopardy. If Christ bore the punishment for their sin, then his people would not have to bear that punishment as well. Certainly, afflictions came as consequences to sin and to draw attention to sin, but if they were to be punished for their sins, it would call into question the effectiveness of Christ’s atoning sacrifice.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid.

Humbles the Elect

Greenham highlighted how affliction benefited the elect by humbling them through the revelation of sin. Suffering shone a light into the dark recesses of the soul to display what otherwise would have been hidden areas of disobedience. Adversity uncovered sin, but it did not stop there. The true benefit behind the revelation of wrongdoing was that it drove the person to Christ. For the elect who had not yet been effectually called, suffering prepared them for saving faith. As for the elect who had been effectually called, affliction renewed their faith.

For Greenham, affliction served a similar function as the law; it humbled people in preparation for salvation.⁶⁵ “The use is,” he explained, “to bring us to a sound perswasion and feeling of our sinnes, because they have deserved so greivous punishment, as either the death of the sonne of God, or hell fire.”⁶⁶ Greenham identified the law and affliction as the Lord’s two means of humbling people to prepare them for salvation.⁶⁷ “Now those which see and feele their sinnes,” he pointed out, “are humbled either by preaching of the law unto them, or else by affliction.”⁶⁸ God used one means or the other to bring sin to light, and it proved to be in a person’s best interest to heed the warnings of the law.

Greenham described affliction as a means God used to prepare people for salvation. Before people would believe, they had to be humbled. Greenham recognized that salvation was the work of God. He explained in his catechism that the gospel “worketh in us a true and lively faith in Jesus Christ, whereby wee lay holde of the free

⁶⁵In the next generation of puritans, Richard Sibbes would speak of affliction as serving the same purpose of preparing people for salvation in his sermon *The Bruised Reed and the Smoking Flax* (London: M. Flesher, 1630); for Greenham’s comments on the same text see, Greenham, *The Second Treatise Belonging to the Comfort of an Afflicted Conscience*, WRG, 114-15.

⁶⁶Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 81.

⁶⁷Greenham, *The Thirteenth Sermon*, WRG, 338.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 335.

remission of our sinnes in him, and the true repentance of them.”⁶⁹ The Lord’s promises in the gospel brought faith that leads to salvation. However, God’s sovereign work in salvation was not intended to lead people to sit by idly. For Greenham then asked, “What is required for our right and sound entrance to our slvation?”⁷⁰ He enumerated three responses: “1. First, to know and to be perswaded of the greatnes of our sinnes, and the miserie due to the same. 2. Secondly, to know and be perswaded, how we may be delievered from them. 3. Thirdly, to know and bee perswaded what thankes wee owe to God for our deliverance.”⁷¹ Next, Greenham enquired, “How shall wee come to the right sight of our sinnes, and a sound perswasion of the greatnesse of them?”⁷² He answered, “By the spirit of God leading us into the true understanding of the Law, and a due examination of ourselves thereby”⁷³ The law awoke people to their sin, so that they felt their need for Christ. When the law was not enough, Greenham argued that the Lord would send affliction to accomplish the same goal of preparing sinners for salvation.

Preparing for salvation, also known as preparationism, has been the subject of debate within puritan studies. Perry Miller posits a contradiction between salvation by grace alone and preparationism.⁷⁴ He argues that puritans conceived of regeneration as a process while Calvin, with his understanding of divine sovereignty, pictured salvation as “a forcible seizure, a holy rape of the surprised will.”⁷⁵ For Miller, preparationism turned salvation from an act of God to something humans accomplished so long as the right

⁶⁹Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 72.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Perry Miller, “‘Preparation for Salvation’ in Seventeenth Century New England,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 4, no. 3 (June 1943): 253-86.

⁷⁵Ibid., 261.

steps were taken. Norman Pettit enters this discussion on preparationism and helpfully corrects Miller's understanding of a covenant as a contract, but he follows Miller in seeing puritan theology as a departure from Reformed thought.⁷⁶ Pettit argues, "Both the gradual workings of the Holy Spirit and the extreme emphasis on covenant ideals were fundamentally opposed to the basic tenets of Reformed theology. Both contradicted the dogmatic stand that anything done on man's part diminishes God's sovereignty. Yet the ultimate convictions behind Reformed dogmatics remained at the core of Puritan thought."⁷⁷ William K. B. Stoever offers a more thoroughgoing critique of Miller's assertions, particularly as they relate to the antinomian controversy in New England.⁷⁸ According to Stoever, puritans found no contradiction between divine sovereignty and the call to human action. His summary is worth quoting in full:

The Reformed doctrine of divine sovereignty was not regarded in the orthodox period as excluding human activity from regeneration. That a person was predestined to a certain end, and saved by grace alone did not affect his nature as a rational, willing agent, nor did it mean he could "do nothing" morally significant in daily life, but only that he was impotent to effect his own salvation. Denial of such efficacy to individuals, however, was not regarded as inconsistent with the assertion that human activity, in the context of the ordained means for dispensing grace, is instrumental in the application of redemption. The command to believe, Puritan divines insisted, is incumbent upon everyone, and though only the elect receive the ability to fulfill it, everyone is obliged to consider himself susceptible of regeneration and to attend diligently upon the means.⁷⁹

Stoever's reassessment of Miller does not settle the question of the level of continuity between Calvin and his successor. The year after Stoever's work, R. T. Kendall reasserts the notion that the puritans departed theologically from Calvin in regards to their teaching on the atonement, preparation for salvation, and assurance.⁸⁰ More recently, Mark Dever

⁷⁶Norman Pettit, *The Heart Prepared: Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual Life*, 2nd ed. (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1989).

⁷⁷Ibid., 218.

⁷⁸William K. B. Stoever, *'A Faire and Easie Way to Heaven': Covenant Theology and Antinomianism in Early Massachusetts* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1978).

⁷⁹Ibid., 195.

⁸⁰R. T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

refutes Pettit's claim that Sibbes was the most extreme preparationist, and instead, Dever demonstrates how Sibbes's understanding of preparing for salvation was in line with Reformed theology.⁸¹ In line with Stoever and Dever, Joel R. Beeke and Paul M. Smalley argue that, in regards to preparing for salvation, the puritans did not teach that sinners could merit God's favor.⁸² Rather, the Lord worked through his pre-ordained means to awaken people to their need for salvation; even preparation, while it called on sinners to seek God, was by grace alone.⁸³

Greenham found no contradiction between God's sovereignty in salvation and the call for people to prepare for salvation, for the Lord worked in both. Whatever the means of grace employed, it was God's labor. He worked through the preaching of his Word, the reading of the law, and afflictions to humble sinners in order to bring them to faith and repentance. People were to employ these means of grace and to make the most of them through self-examination, not because these works merited salvation, but because God had ordained these as the means he used to alert people to their need for him. Pettit rightly noted, "Nowhere, however, does Greenham attempt to reconcile the biblical exhortations with divine constraint. As in Calvin, God's 'ways' are not to be questioned."⁸⁴ Greenham did not seek to reconcile God's sovereignty in salvation and human responsibility because he did not believe the two to be in opposition. Humans could not merit God's favor. God alone saved by his sovereign grace, and a key component of that grace was his work of humbling people through the law and through

1979; new ed. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1997). For more on assurance, see below, chap. 5.

⁸¹Mark Dever, *Richard Sibbes: Puritanism and Calvinism in Late Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2000), 125-32.

⁸²Joel R. Beeke and Paul M. Smalley, *Prepared by Grace: The Puritans on God's Ordinary Way of Leading Sinners to Christ* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage, 2013).

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Pettit, *The Heart Prepared*, 51.

affliction. To humble oneself in self-examination was not, for Greenham, earning one's salvation; rather, it was recognizing one's need for divine salvation, which proved a necessary precursor to trusting in Christ alone.

Greenham found in both affliction and the law means provided by God to prepare his people for the salvation won for them by Christ. When the law did not humble, Greenham explained how the Lord reacted, "When as he seeth by reason of the corruption of our nature, that the preaching of the law is not sufficient to humble us, & to strike that terror into our hearts which might make us duely prepared to receive into our hearts the sweete and comfortable promises made to us in Christ."⁸⁵ God did not forsake his people but continued to pursue them. He would humble them and draw them to himself even if that meant they suffered for a while in their bodies. As Greenham made clear, such affliction was actually God's mercy, "Our loving father seeth that the law will not suffice us, therefore it pleaseth him in mercie, who will leave no way unassayed for the salvation of his children, to prepare us by afflicting us, which can not by the hearing of his law be truly prepared."⁸⁶ If the Lord would not be heard through the law, he would speak through affliction. Greenham exhorted his hearers to heed the law by comparing the preaching of the law to a healthy diet that would bring humility whereas affliction was like a purging that a doctor would prescribe. "Purgation is good, but it is more wisdom to observe diet: and affliction is profitable; but if the law might take place effectually that were needlesse."⁸⁷ Surely, it was better to be humbled by the preaching of the law than by suffering, but Greenham accepted, "Better by affliction than not at all."⁸⁸

⁸⁵Greenham, *Observations on These Verses Following, Being Part of the 42 Chapter of Genesis*, WRG, 335.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Ibid., 335-36.

⁸⁸Ibid., 335.

The pastor of Dry Drayton saw in the history of Israel the principle that if people would not be humbled by the law then God would send affliction. Commenting on Psalm 119:89, Greenham wrote concerning Israel, “When they would not looke to cure their soules, the Lord sent famine, warre, and pestilence to consume their bodies: and as they would find no place in their soules for his word; so the Lord would leave them no place in that good land.”⁸⁹ He continued with a similar theme when he expounded upon verse 126 of the same Psalm, “We are here to learne, that when the law of God is once brought into contempt, whether it be in a nation, in a countrie, in a citie, or particular person, let that nation, countrie, citie, or particular person know, that the wrath of God is not farre off either to their amendment, or to their further and more speedie destruction.”⁹⁰ If the law of the Lord would not be heeded, God would awaken his people to their sins by other means.

The law was meant to humble and to drive people to Christ, but when it did not, the Lord sent suffering to bring sin to light and to alert people to their need for the Savior. Greenham believed, “How necessarie afflictions are to make us call upon God,” for, as he went on to explain, “By afflictions we feele our sinne: now without we feele our sinnes we call not upon God. For till we feele the burthen of our sinnes lying upon our conscience, as it were a weight to presse us downe into hell, we forget God.”⁹¹ Specifically, Greenham envisioned trials causing people to call out to the Lord for deliverance through Christ. “We shall never be brought hungerly to seeke Christ,” he averred, “untill we can in the last precept, see and feele our naturall corruption.”⁹² Suffering, as Greenham had shown, alerted people to their sin, and so proved an

⁸⁹Richard Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 443.

⁹⁰Ibid., 513.

⁹¹Greenham, *The Thirteenth Sermon*, WRG, 334.

⁹²Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 54.

important step in bringing people to saving faith. He summarized the journey to faith that began with affliction: “Men must first bee made, by feeling of their sinnes, to seeke after Christ; then by an holy faith to finde Christ; and then by newnes of life to dwell with Christ.”⁹³ Affliction brought sin to light and thus proved a means by which the Lord drew people to Christ.

Suffering’s role in awakening people to sin was not just for the unconverted. Greenham identified disobedience to the revealed will of God as a major cause of suffering. “Because we are not displeased with our selves for our sinnes,” he warned, “God is displeased with us; because we mislike not our courrptions, God sheweth his misliking of them; because we are not angrie with our selves, God is angrie with us. Sinne deserveth wrath, and sinne must have wrath, either at our hands or at the Lords hands.”⁹⁴ Such affliction, however, was not only punitive but also redemptive. In fact, Greenham described affliction as a particular grace for God’s people as it humbled them while restraining and purging the sin in their lives.

In humbling the afflicted, suffering also sanctified them. Tribulations shattered pride. They rid the sufferer of this toxic characteristic. Pride destroyed faith, and so God sent tribulations to counteract arrogance. In affliction, the Lord reminded people that they depended on him not just for salvation unto eternal life but for life in this world as well. Affliction sanctified believers by humbling them. When it came to pride, Greenham boldly asserted, “There is no greater enemie to faith then pride is.”⁹⁵ Pride proved so dangerous because “it poysoneth the heart, and maketh it incapable of that grace, so long as it beareth any sway.”⁹⁶ Pride opposed faith. Faith was utter dependence upon God, but

⁹³Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 803.

⁹⁴Greenham, *A Treatise of Gods Feare*, WRG, 197.

⁹⁵Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 401.

⁹⁶Ibid.

pride trusted in self. Greenham saw faith as the complete abrogation of self-reliance. “He that will beleve in Christ, must be annihilated, that is, he must be brused and battered to a flat nothing, in regard of any liking or affection to himselfe.”⁹⁷ True faith necessitated the loss of all confidence in personal ability to justify oneself before God. Only in humility could one know God as Lord and Savior. Greenham recognized that “naturall self-love & self-liking” greatly hinder “this blessed condition of a beleaving heart.”⁹⁸ Therefore out of his love, God acted to humble people. Greenham described how the Lord “in great mercy to remedie this dangerous corruption, lets his elect servants fal into trouble of minde & conscience.”⁹⁹ The Lord was pleased “against his mercy to bring them to his mercy, and by sin to save them from sin. By this meanes the Lord, who can bring light out of darknesse, makes a remedy of sin to slay pride that invisible monster of many heads, which would slay the soule.”¹⁰⁰ Since pride would slay the soul, God afflicted the body in order that he might ultimately save both soul and body.

Greenham wanted Christians to know that a little physical adversity was well worth the final reward, and so time and again, he highlighted how affliction brought about humility for the betterment of the person. For example, he explained, “The end of affliction and of threatening both is to humble us,” and then later, he specified the form these sufferings could take, “He sendeth sicknes, reproches and hearts grieffe to humble us.”¹⁰¹ Whether by bodily illness or mental anguish, God humbled his people through affliction. Greenham’s view of human nature did not provide for a neat division between the physical and spiritual aspects of a person, and so while bodily suffering might be the

⁹⁷Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 401.

⁹⁸Ibid.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹Greenham, *The Thirteenth Sermon*, WRG, 336; Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 657.

most visible to the outside world, Greenham discounted neither the power nor the purpose of inner torments. He described such anguish, “Wee shall sometime feele by experience a terror suddenly come upon us when we are alone, or vehemently to strike us in the night, which is sent to humble us, the Physition will say it is a melancholy passion.”¹⁰² Greenham did not find the physician’s diagnosis sufficient. Rather, he added, “It is the power of God presence, preparing us to prayer, or some such service of God: which when we feele, if wee fall downe before God in prayer, we shall finde an unspeakable joy following it.”¹⁰³ Like any physical suffering, such inner affliction humbled people and drove them to the Lord in prayer. Pain and adversity undercut any notion of self-reliance and pride.

Suffering also developed humility in God’s people by bringing their sin to light. Hardships exposed disobedience in order that it might be mortified. Affliction was the Lord’s medicine for fighting sin. As Greenham declared, “Gods children have their faith so tried by the crosse, as alwaies some drosse of sinne is purged away thereby.”¹⁰⁴ Suffering alerted Christians to the reality of their sin and calls them back to Christ. “It is the great goodnes of God,” the pastor of Dry Drayton proclaimed, “to curbe us by affliction, & not to let us goe forward in sinne: as to diminish the health of our bodies, because we are carelesse of our soules; and to pull away outward things, that wee may learne to seeke heavenly things.”¹⁰⁵ The Lord used bodily suffering to engender spiritual growth. For Greenham, such outward adversity was not God’s punishment but his grace. In fact, “it is his great punishment to leave us to our selves.”¹⁰⁶ Health, then, might not be

¹⁰²Greenham, *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, WRG, 48.

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 38.

¹⁰⁵Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 640.

¹⁰⁶Ibid.

a sign of God's favor but of his rejection. Consequently, Greenham advised believers concerning suffering, "Let us marke this, that the crosses of God may be sweete unto us, & that we may the sooner profit by them."¹⁰⁷ He then elucidated how one could handle pain in this manner: "For it is certaine, God scoureth away the infirmities of his Saints by many afflictions, yet never breaketh his holy covenant with them, albeit they have many tribulations which they deserve and pul upon themselves."¹⁰⁸ God's afflictions were a grace to his people to cleanse them of sin and to increase their dependence upon him. Their sin deserved punishment, but the Lord would not forget his covenant promises to them in Christ. He drove them through their pain back to himself.

God's people were to keep a proper perspective on their suffering. Greenham reminded believers that they were blessed far beyond what they had earned, and they suffered far less than they deserved. Even if in the midst of suffering, one needed to see the grace of God in purging sin and in drawing one closer to Christ. Greenham prompted believers to consider the Lord's goodness in limiting the affliction: "We shall not accuse God of hard dealing, if we consider how many waies he blesseth us, and in how few things he humbleth us."¹⁰⁹ In contrast to the Lord's goodness, Greenham exhorted the godly to consider their own lives, "Thinke how many sinnes we commit, and how few he punisheth, how few duties we doe, and how many blessings he giveth us."¹¹⁰ On balance, God's blessings far outweighed the trials his people endured. Therefore, Greenham urged, "Let us never marvell why we are often or much afflicted, why we have not Gods promises fulfilled unto us: nay rather let us for ever marvell at the goodnesse of God,

¹⁰⁷Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 640.

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 690.

¹¹⁰Ibid.

which so plenteously rewardeth our small obedience.”¹¹¹ By the Lord’s grace, suffering in this life was far less than anyone deserved. People needed to heed the good purposes of God in affliction; they were to see their sin and their need for the Savior. If they observed the purpose of the pain, it would prove God’s grace to them. If not, their affliction would be merely a foretaste of what was in store.

Affliction proved a channel of grace through which God saved and sanctified his people. Suffering humbled. It humbled those who had not been effectually called as it awoke them to their sin in preparation for saving faith. To those who believed, the Lord grew them in godliness through trials by humbling them and mortifying their sin.

Increases Dependence on God

Greenham saw affliction as a means to purge the believer of sin and pride. However, suffering did much more than remove evil; it also added good to the Christian’s life. As affliction humbled the elect, it served to increase their dependence upon God. Suffering revealed physical and spiritual weakness and drove the godly to the throne of grace. Greenham taught that tribulations loosened believers’ grip on this world, grew their longing for a life in God’s presence in the new creation, and caused them to seek the Lord in this life through the means of grace.

Suffering increased dependence on God by first shattering the hold of this world on believers. Wealth and prestige created the illusion of security; trials came along to alert Christians to the insufficiency of these supposed supports. Greenham warned how necessary trials were to spiritual growth, “Neither can we truly repent, until by some crosse we know this world to be a place of sorrow, and not of mirth and delight.”¹¹²

¹¹¹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 690.

¹¹²Richard Greenham, *The Second Treatise Belonging to the Comfort of an Afflicted Conscience*, WRG, 116.

Hardships exposed the vanity of this world. Self-reliance, Greenham cautioned, invited tribulations: “For so long as we make our prosperitie a bulwarke to beate downe all harmes, we are to looke for adversitie to beate downe the high saile of our proud hearts, whereby we gad after our own lusts, and leave the anchor of peace, which is our trust in God.”¹¹³ Trials destroyed the lie of self-sufficiency. Adversity respected neither wealth nor status. It shattered any sense that life could be lived apart from divine aid. Greenham elaborated, “Againe, the Lord often by inward temptations and outward crosses draweth us from the stake of securitie and untowardnes to good workes; least in time we should loose the experience of our knowledge and faith in Christ, and seeke some easier kinde of life for flesh and blood.”¹¹⁴ There could be no security in this world apart from dependence on the Lord. All else passed away while God alone proved a sure foundation. Hardships made this truth a reality for believers. Health failed and wealth eroded, but the Lord safeguarded his people.

An abundance of blessings on earth could prove detrimental to the godly. The Christian’s joy was to be found in heaven, not in this world. To this end Greenham argued, “The more one tasteth of heavenly things, the lesse is his joy in earthly things: the more one feeleth earthlie things pleasant, the lesse joy can hee have in heavnelie.”¹¹⁵ Afflictions lessened the joy of earthly life and thus freed the Christian to focus on heavenly joys. The decrease of worldly joys tested believers’ love for the Lord. It was one thing to love God when things went well, but quite another to continue in that love when life took a turn for the worse. “We must learne to love the Lord for himself, & not for our good,”¹¹⁶ Greenham counseled. He saw in painful experiences an opportunity to

¹¹³Richard Greenham, *The Second Treatise Belonging to the Comfort of an Afflicted Conscience*, WRG, 116.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁵Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 19; cf. Richard Greenham, REM fol. 64r.

¹¹⁶Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG,

deepen one's love for God. Many sought to bargain with God, asking "if he will give us riches, or health, or power, then we will serve him or else not."¹¹⁷ Thus, suffering served as a crucible that purified the Christian's love for God. The Lord could not be sought merely for his good gifts when those gifts go missing. Deliverance from suffering, Greenham taught, should not be sought for bodily health but in order that with health one could "the better and more freely. . . serve the Lord."¹¹⁸

Not only did afflictions test and strengthen believers' love for God, but they also served to increase the godly's longing for life with him in the new creation. Suffering awoke Christians to the thoroughgoing effects of sin and made them yearn for the Lord to come and to make all things right. Greenham testified, "I know that the diminishing of my body, goods, friends, or any other thing is a calling of me to that which never shall diminish nor decay, I beleeve that my Lord and my God allureth me daily thither."¹¹⁹ The deterioration of the body, the wearing out of possessions, and the death of friends served to increase believers' longing for the world that would know no corruption. Though the body proved weak and broke down in this life, Greenham's hope for the new creation was a physical resurrection. He confessed that in Christ, "I might not doubt that when my body is laid in the grave, and there consumed as it were to nothing, yet notwithstanding my soule resting in the bosome of the Lord, shall returne unto me and shall rise to glory: even as it (resting in this life, in the mercies of Christ) did rise to grace."¹²⁰ Death and disease did not mean the physical body had to be forsaken, but

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¹¹⁷Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 691.

¹¹⁸Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 531.

¹¹⁹Greenham, *The Second Treatise Belonging to the Comfort of an Afflicted Conscience*, WRG, 115.

¹²⁰Ibid.

rather that it needed to be redeemed. Affliction brought the necessity of the bodily resurrection to light, and for Greenham it was the hope of this resurrection that allowed joy in suffering. For, as he made clear, the body needed to die in order for it to rise:

Verily I see, & that with joy, that my flesh must goe to decay. . . for I feele not so small an infirmitie in my body, but the same is unto me a messenger of dissolution. Yet for all this I shall see my God, and when I am covered in the belly of the grave with mouldes, I am assured that he will reach me his hand to lift me up againe to the beautie of his inheritance: so that this small cottage and shed of leaves, being brought to the grave shall be caried into an incorruptible tabernacle.¹²¹

The body would decay before it would rise incorruptible. All afflictions reminded Christians of the hope that they would be raised like Christ. Thus, Greenham concluded that suffering strengthened love for the Lord and increased faith as it pointed believers toward the resurrection. “Concerning our outward sufferings,” he wrote, “we shall finde that the Lord by his fatherly & loving chastisements, intendeth nothing more than to prove our obedience, as good reason it is that he should, and to confirme our faith, as also is most necessarie.”¹²² Physical suffering was a means of grace, for it took the believer’s gaze off this world and put it on God and on the world to come.

As Christians longed for the new creation, the renewed dependence on God that came from suffering was to manifest itself in this life as a reinvigorated pursuit of the Lord through the means of grace. “Under the cross,” Greenham explained, “we are made more zealous in the meanes of our salvation.”¹²³ For instance, tribulations pushed people to seek the Lord in prayer. “Therefore is the Church often afflicted that it may often pray, that often praying it may pull downe many benefits from the Lord, that pulling downe many benefits from God, it may returne many praises unto him.”¹²⁴ Additionally,

¹²¹Greenham, *The Second Treatise Belonging to the Comfort of an Afflicted Conscience*, WRG, 115.

¹²²Ibid., 115-16.

¹²³Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 687.

¹²⁴Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 56.

Christians responded to trials by longing to hear from God in his Word. “These things may serve to stirre us up, to hunger and thirst after righteousnesse, & the hearing of Gods word.”¹²⁵ Ordeals reminded people of their need for God, and so they sought him through the means he had ordained.

Such dependence not only manifested itself in what believers did but also in their changed attitudes. Suffering reminded Christians of their utter dependence upon the Lord, and as they recognized their reliance upon him for all things, they came to see the need to be thankful for all he had done. Tribulations bred thankfulness. Greenham submitted, “We are taught in affliction how hainous unthankfulness” it was to impose upon the Lord “at whose gate we receive all our maintenance” and who “giveth of his free liberalitie.”¹²⁶ As suffering stripped away any illusion of self-sufficiency, it reminded believers that they have nothing that they did not receive as a gift from God. For Greenham, this thankfulness should be for all things. Christians even were to be thankful for afflictions because they knew God purposed their good in them. In the face of being wronged by another, he recommended, “When an injurie is offered thee, the Lord doth trie thee, what love, patience, and meekenesse is in thee to blesse them that curse thee, which will followe if thou be the childe of God.”¹²⁷ Believers could be thankful in the midst of difficulties, even being personally mistreated, because they knew that God had a good purpose in it. The recognition of complete dependence on God led to gratitude filling believers as they appreciated how the Lord worked all things for their good and his glory.

¹²⁵Richard Greenham, *The Eighth Sermon*, WRG, 291.

¹²⁶Greenham, *The Second Treatise Belonging to the Comfort of an Afflicted Conscience*, WRG, 116.

¹²⁷Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 727.

Suffering humbled the elect and alerted them to their need to depend on God for all things. Affliction grew believers' desire for life in the Lord's presence in the new creation, and it caused the faithful to seek him in this life through his ordained means of grace.

Spiritual Response to Bodily Affliction

The great advantages offered by God in affliction could only be gained with the proper human response. The Lord, in his wisdom and mercy, brought tribulation, but the believer had to react in faith. Greenham offered the suffering Christian five key steps to gain spiritual benefits from bodily affliction: reflect, repent, read, pray, and wait.

Reflect

The godly would begin to experience the grace available in afflictions when they reflected upon their suffering. Every thought about their trials was to be directed by sound biblical teaching. In calling upon the afflicted to reflect, Greenham did not want to paralyze them in introspection. Rather, he intended for them to make the most of their tribulations. Contemplation served to maximize the good available in affliction. Self-examination proved a key component of this reflection, but it by no means was the only aspect of it. Greenham identified rejoicing as another central element of contemplation during suffering, and then finally, he called on believers to remember God's greater purpose in their trials.

Theodore Dwight Bozeman identifies Greenham's introspection as the seminal turn toward pietism within puritanism.¹²⁸ Bozeman argues that American Antinomianism of the 1630s arose in reaction to the stringent precisianist religion of the puritans. The focus on disciplinary religion had roots in the English Reformation as the emphasis on

¹²⁸Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *The Precisianist Strain: Disciplinary Religion and Antinomian Backlash in Puritanism to 1638* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

justification by faith alone developed in a context concerned with morality and social order.¹²⁹ Bozeman avers that the covenant theology of the Presbyterian movement further strengthened presbyterianist morality as it linked salvation by faith alone to discipline. Furthermore, the instability of late sixteenth-century England pushed puritans to embrace disciplinary religion as a means of control. Bozeman contends that as the structural reforms of puritanism failed, these three strands come to a head in Greenham who “illustrates the shift of emphasis from structural reform to experiential piety.”¹³⁰ Greenham marked the completion of puritanism’s inward turn. Introspection was the preferred means for self-control and assurance of salvation. The godly’s introspective pursuit of assurance through the examination of evidence in their lives furthered the disciplinary reformation. As people sought assurance, anxiety grew over their eternal fate. The recommended disciplinary measures morphed a message of free grace into a burdensome religious practice, which gave rise to an antinomian backlash. Antinomians argued that disciplinary religion threatened the doctrine of free grace. They considered puritan piety as a renewed struggle with sin and fear from which the Reformation supposedly freed Christians. Antinomians desired to ease the Christian life; they wanted to make it more hopeful.

Given the significant role he assigned Greenham, Bozeman spends much time outlining his thought. Introspection and the use of means to regulate behavior and provide assurance defined Greenham’s pietism. His writings concerned managing the “interior life.”¹³¹ Bozeman elaborates, “His was not merely an active piety but an overarching practice of piety, an extensively theorized and practically implemented plan of life rooted

¹²⁹Margaret Spufford challenges this emphasis on puritanism as a means of social control and the maintaining of order. See her essay: “Puritanism and Social Control?” chap. 1 in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 41-57.

¹³⁰Bozeman, *Puritanist Strain*, 69.

¹³¹Ibid., 71.

in highly programmed introversion, bathed in abject emotion, and effectively transmitted to a corps of followers.”¹³² Bozeman identifies two key marks of Greenham’s piety: First, it consisted of “an elaborate preoccupation with the self and its conflicted passage through a lifelong, often anxious venture of transformation, self-reproach and – control.”¹³³ Second, his piety employed “methodical self-analysis and other ‘exercises’ both private and social designed to purify and regulate behavior and to provide religious assurance.”¹³⁴

In his discussion of Greenham, Bozeman rightly identifies and helpfully explains Greenham’s focus on introspection. The need for self-reflection and evaluation were hallmarks of his thought. However, a few caveats should be made concerning Bozeman’s analysis of Greenham. He argues that Greenham’s piety “had a strongly individualizing thrust.”¹³⁵ Bozeman might well be right in terms of the consequences of Greenham’s piety in the next generation, but for his part, the pastor of Dry Drayton adamantly emphasized the communal nature of the Christian life. Particularly, Greenham showed the necessity of public worship, conferencing, and the doing of good deeds for others. Yes, the godly were to reflect on their lives, but they could not live in isolation from others. Godly living necessitated community.

Furthermore, this personal spirituality would form the basis for broader reforms in the church. Greenham envisioned the practice of piety as the groundwork from which further reform could more easily develop. The church could more easily be brought in line with the standards of Scripture when individuals were living in a godly manner. This would be a reformation from the bottom up rather than from the top down.

¹³²Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 71-72.

¹³³Ibid., 72.

¹³⁴Ibid.

¹³⁵Ibid., 106.

Thus, the piety Greenham promoted should not be seen as an alternative to structural reform in the English church; rather, it was an alternative means to that reform.¹³⁶

One more stipulation needs to be made concerning Bozeman's discussion. He claims that the piety Greenham represented was based upon a "selective Christian Platonism."¹³⁷ He argues that belief in the radical effects of sin on human nature led to a negative assessment of the body. Such a claim does not necessarily follow. In Greenham's case, his belief in total depravity did not lead to a platonic disdain for the body. Yes, sin infected the body, but Christ redeemed the body as much as the soul. Admittedly, Greenham's language surrounding sin and the body could be confusing. At times, he did not distinguish clearly between the biblical language of body (*soma*) and flesh (*sarx*).¹³⁸ However, in his clearest writing, Greenham denoted the flesh as a person's sinful nature, which needed to be controlled. Restraining the flesh did not necessitate a hatred of the body.¹³⁹ Since God through Christ redeemed his people in both body and soul, Christians were to care for themselves and others in both body and soul.

Self-examination in the midst of suffering formed an essential part of that holistic care. Apart from introspection, hardships offered little benefit to the believer. Greenham warned of the dangers of not being mindful during afflictions, "If when God doth crosse us with punishments, we doe not examine the whole processe of our proceedings and imaginations, wee profite not."¹⁴⁰ Additionally, he exhorted his readers,

¹³⁶See above, chap. 1.

¹³⁷Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 91.

¹³⁸For a thoroughgoing discussion of *soma* and *sarx* in biblical literature, see Robert H. Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology with an Emphasis on Pauline Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976). Gundry argues for a physical definition of *soma* against Rudolf Bultmann's and John A. T. Robinson's defining of *soma* as the whole person. Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, trans. Kendrick Grobel, 2 vols. (New York: Scribner's, 1951); John A. T. Robinson, *The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology*, Studies in Biblical Theology No. 5 (Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1957).

¹³⁹For more on Greenham's definition of "flesh," see above, chap. 2.

¹⁴⁰Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 671.

“In our afflictions we must search the cause: first by ascending to God, then by descending into our selves.”¹⁴¹ First and foremost, the godly were to recognize the divine origin of their sufferings. Their sovereign Lord controlled all things. After considering God’s role, Christians were to assess what in their lives precipitated such affliction. Without such reflection, the pain would bring no benefit. Greenham explained that “afflictions and temptations” provided an opportunity to “make some triall of our hearts whereby we may be truly humbled if we finde them corrupted.”¹⁴² He particularly mentioned how sin was to be a central object of self-investigation. This inward search for sin needed to be supplemented “by earnest prayer that God would reveale us the sinne [and] by oft hearing and reading the word.”¹⁴³

Greenham highlighted two opposing dangers in this introspective search for sin. First, people could deceive themselves as to the true cause of their grief. The godly person needed to ask, “Whether his remorse be of the loathsomnes of sin, or for the feare of death, & whether he be humbled before the Lord, or before sicknes.”¹⁴⁴ Remorse was to grow from a hatred of sin and a love for God, not from regret over the consequences of wrongdoing. Fear of punishment did not produce sorrow that led to repentance. Grief over sin needed a righteous foundation. Whereas the first peril entailed not being properly grieved, the second involved too much grief. Believers had to tread carefully as they searched themselves for sin lest they became overwhelmed by their sin. People were slow to first realize the depths of their sin. Greenham noted, “By nature we are long and hard to be brought to be grieved for sinne.”¹⁴⁵ However, once grieved by sin, the danger

¹⁴¹Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 2.

¹⁴²Greenham, *Meditations on Prov. 4*, WRG, 618.

¹⁴³Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 5.

¹⁴⁴Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 691.

¹⁴⁵Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 16.

became that “being once downe, we are hard to get up, and to rise out of our grieffe againe.”¹⁴⁶ Greenham desired people to grieve over their sin, but sin could not become “feared too much” lest the person became “dead and dull.”¹⁴⁷

Introspection over sin needed to be tempered by reflection on the mercy of God. Greenham recommended Christians consider the Lord’s past mercies and trust in his promises for future mercies: “In time of humbling we are to consider what mercies we have received, and what mercies are stored up, and tarrie for us againe.”¹⁴⁸ The godly remembered God’s grace in the past and looked forward to his promises bearing fruit in the future. The fresh recollection of the Lord’s mercies alleviated the anguish over sin.

Recounting God’s mercies would do more than re-establish a person’s emotional status quo. Thinking on what the Lord had done and looking forward to what he would do delighted believers. God’s role in their suffering led Christians to rejoice. Even in the midst of tribulations, the Lord’s people were to be joyful because of God’s good character and the good he was working in their lives. Greenham cited David as the biblical model for such hope in the midst of pain, “The vertue and power of grace is such, that it maketh Gods children to rejoyce, even in affliction, as was verified in David, who when hee had many malicious adversaries against him, and many troubles beset him round about, yet hee had more joy of heart then they had, when their wheat & their wine did abound.”¹⁴⁹ Believers, Greenham contended, were to follow David’s example: “And so it is with Gods servants: as their sufferings are manie, so are they refreshed with manifold consolations. And when outward matters of rejoycing are furtherest remooved from them, then are they driven neerer to God, the fountaine of all true comfort, and by

¹⁴⁶Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 16.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

¹⁴⁸Ibid.

¹⁴⁹Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 382.

that means their hearts are exceedingly revived.”¹⁵⁰ The people of God rejoiced in their sufferings because their afflictions drove them closer to their Lord.

The physical pleasures of this world could never truly produce joy, and so when those recreations passed away, believers found all the more comfort in God. In their sufferings, the godly were to see their Almighty Father’s loving hand conforming them into the image of Christ. Of even greater joy to Christians were trials that they underwent for the sake of their Lord. Greenham insisted that believers especially “may rejoyce in those afflictions which we suffer for Christ his sake.”¹⁵¹ Such trials placed the faithful firmly in the footsteps of their suffering Savior. They were to be honored and overjoyed to be treated as Christ was.

In reflecting on affliction, Christians could rejoice because they knew God’s will would be done. Greenham implored the godly to look to the goal of these trials and to consider what the Lord is doing through these tribulations. He reminded his readers, “Faith teacheth us to judge things not according to the shew, but according to the end: for it seeth what kinde of pleasure bringeth sorrow, and what kinde of sorrow bringeth joy in the end.”¹⁵² Christians needed to take the long view, considering the end God had in store for them. Hoping for things unseen was the essence of faith. The godly hoped not for pleasure in this life but for the final redemption and re-creation of the world when all would be made right. Greenham cited Moses as an example of faith, and yet he said that God had revealed more to Christians in the Bible than Moses ever had. If Moses could trust in the Lord with this limited revelation, new covenant believers had all the more reason to hope. “If Moses having the word in Ægypt but by traditions, yet had a cleere judgement of things by faith, how much more ought we to strive to this end, which have

¹⁵⁰Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 382.

¹⁵¹Ibid., 368.

¹⁵²Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 679.

the word cleerly revealed unto us?”¹⁵³ The future hope for God’s people had been plainly revealed through Jesus Christ and then through the New Testament. Christians had far more on which to base their hope than Moses ever had. Knowing what was to come would propel believers to rejoice in the face of all adversity.

People began to gain spiritually from their physical afflictions when they reflected on their trials. They had to consider the cause of their problems, God’s purpose in these hardships, his good character, and their own future hope as those who have trusted in Christ. Reflection allowed spiritual good to come from corporeal tribulations.

Repent

Reflecting upon affliction led believers to recognize sin’s role in their troubles but also to rejoice in God’s good plan. In order to gain from these trials, believers could not stop with contemplation; they had to act. Such action began with turning from their sins and turning to Christ. Faced with adversity, the godly needed to repent and to look for God’s mercy in Christ.

Suffering, Greenham believed, came from the Lord’s hand for the good of his people, but if these people would benefit from it, the hardship had to spur them to work. Fools, he warned, faltered before trials, but the godly gained by them. “We must not like fooles stumble at the crosse,” admonishes Greenham, “but profit by the grace offered to us in it.”¹⁵⁴ One key way Christians profited from afflictions was “by repenting our former state past.”¹⁵⁵ Grace existed within tribulations because these hardships came from the Almighty’s loving hand to drive his people back to himself.¹⁵⁶ Greenham did

¹⁵³Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 679.

¹⁵⁴Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 2.

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

¹⁵⁶Greenham reiterated time and again that adversity came from God. He railed against any who would attribute their suffering to chance or to any other force. He declared, “[In] their blindnes they attribute the cause of their paine either to Witches, or to naturall causes, or fortune, or some such thing; and

not hesitate to highlight that “the transgression of Gods law” caused such suffering.¹⁵⁷ Certainly, “it is sinne for which God is angry, and that which hee punisheth in them,” but in his wrath there was mercy for the purpose of these trials that “the Lord hath set downe. . . is to humble us.”¹⁵⁸ Affliction awoke people to their sin and drove them to repentance.

Turning from sin, however, was only part of the process. People were to turn away from sin and turn toward Christ. If tribulations were not to drive people to look for God’s mercy in Christ, then the grace Greenham saw in hardships would be incomplete. Trials humbled in order to drive people to Christ. Afflictions enabled believers to become “fully acquainted with the dulnesse of our hearts,” and then, “he that seeth the blindness of his minde, and corruptions of his heart, and desireth nothing more than to become a new man in Jesus Christ, and to learne nothing more than Jesus Christ crucified.”¹⁵⁹ The Lord’s purpose in misery was not complete when someone was brought low, but this humbling accomplished its purpose when it drove one to Christ.

The pattern of God’s people throughout the ages had been to patiently suffer while they awaited deliverance from the Lord. In his exposition of Psalm 119, Greenham cited the example of the godly sufferer in verse 157 as the model for believers to follow. He highlighted this man as the pattern of faithful suffering, writing, “Hee did not dispaire

hereupon to be released of their grief they goe and runne and rise to wise men as they call them, to Witches, yea oftentimes to the Divell himselfe, and use all unlawfull meanes that they can devise.” Greenham, *The Thirteenth Sermon*, WRG, 336. Elsewhere he added, “We must faithfully remember Gods corrections, and though our trouble be past, yet still with feare to remember the hand of the Lord, not to attribute our crosses to Fortune, complexions, or humours, nor health to Physicke; but only to God, glorifying him continually, and making our daily profite by all his loving chastisements upon us.” Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 639. For more on belief in magic and fortune in early modern England, see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971); Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*.

¹⁵⁷Greenham, *The Thirteenth Sermon*, WRG, 336.

¹⁵⁸Ibid.

¹⁵⁹Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 511.

in God his promises, he did not thinke himselfe, that the Lord would defend his enemies cause, and forsake him; but hoped still in God, his good and appointed time to receive helpe: wherein the man of God is set before us for our imitation, in that neither his faith could bee shaken, nor his obedience slaked nor daunted.”¹⁶⁰ The people of God needed to keep their faith in the midst of suffering as they longed for the Lord’s mercy. They had to continue to hope in God. For New Testament believers, this meant clinging to their Savior in the midst of trials. Afflictions awoke people to their sin and their own unworthiness. Those who suffered responded biblically not by losing hope but by turning from a sense of self-sufficiency to full-fledged dependence on Jesus. Thus Greenham exhorted his readers, “Therefore fear in regard of yourself, fight boldly in christ: tremble for your own corruption, but rest and trust in christ your salvation.”¹⁶¹ The Lord sent adversity to drive people to Christ. Spiritual benefit came from physical affliction when sufferers responded properly by turning from their sin and turning to Christ.

Read

The Christ in whom people should trust in the midst of tribulations revealed himself in the Scriptures. Those who would find comfort in him must first find him in God’s Word. The Bible spiritually sustained physical sufferers because it highlighted past examples of faith and recalled all the promises of God made true in Christ.

Greenham had much to say about the value of Scripture for those in the midst of adversity. Time and again he called on those who suffered to find comfort in God’s Word. “Afflictions worke much in men,” he counseled, “but most when they come with the word of God, to give us a more lively sight of sinne, and to manifest the rich mercies of God in Jesus Christ to deliver us from sinne.”¹⁶² Scripture provided the proper

¹⁶⁰Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 573.

¹⁶¹Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG; cf. Greenham, REM fol. 7r.

¹⁶²Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG,

perspective on suffering. It was the interpretative lens through which all tribulations were to be viewed, for the Bible brought the Lord's mercies in Christ to the fore. God's Word was the means by which people could benefit from suffering. Greenham pointed to Scripture as the only way to gain from afflictions, "This is the cause that any of Gods children doe profit in humilitie before God by afflictions, because they first gave some credit to the word."¹⁶³

The Bible comforted the afflicted. Apart from the Word, no benefit would be gained from trials. "No judgement from heaven, no trouble from earth can humble us, no blessing from above, no benefit from beneath can profit us, untill the word of God commeth."¹⁶⁴ The necessity of God's Word led Greenham to continue extolling its value, saying, "Howsoever men might deale with outward matters, yet when griefs and fancies grew in the minde and grieved it, nothing could surely cure them, but onely the word of God."¹⁶⁵ The Scriptures proved such a value because they would comfort even when all else had faded. "When our strength shal faile, our breath draw short, our friends depart, our goods, countrie, and life shall forsake us; the word will be so sweete, so deare, so pretious, that when all these are gone, this will yeeld us great comfort."¹⁶⁶ God gave his Word as the source of comfort for the afflicted.

One reason the Scriptures supplied so much comfort was that they provided examples of godly sufferers remaining faithful. Thus in discussing Psalm 119:124, Greenham presented the godly man as an example to follow: "Let us then looke on this man, who being in trouble, desireth nothing more than the word, and wisheth not so much

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¹⁶³Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 679.

¹⁶⁴Greenham, *The Seventh Sermon*, WRG, 282.

¹⁶⁵Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 5.

¹⁶⁶Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 502.

the ease of the flesh, as hee desired to be delievered from unbeleefe.”¹⁶⁷ Believers were to look to God’s Word for comfort, and in it they would find examples of people taking comfort in God’s Word. The Scriptures not only showed how to find comfort in their words but also pointed to the basis of that comfort in the faithfulness of God. The examples within the pages of the Bible revealed the faithful remaining steadfast because the Lord proved true to his Word and delivered them. The God who faithfully protected his people as recorded in his Word was the same God actively protecting his people in the present. As Greenham explained, “The deliverance of the people of Israell is often repeated in the Scripture. . . for it serves notably for the comfort of the godly, and the terrour of the wicked.”¹⁶⁸ The past accounts of the Lord’s faithfulness provided present comfort. Greenham urged people to recall God’s mighty works in the midst of their pain, “If we would thinke that hee were not able to help us; we see that he divided the mighty Seas: If we should think our selves unworthy of helpe, he then did mightily deliver the unworthie. So that if wee being in any danger can be perswaded, that the Lord is able to helpe us, and that he will helpe them that are unworthie.”¹⁶⁹ The Lord’s deliverance of his people in ages past comforted present day believers. He proved time and again that he was able and willing to help. The Word of God comforted the people of God because it revealed the faithfulness of God.

The Lord always kept his promises. The saints of old could have faith because God proved himself faithful. Scripture also comforted because it brought to mind God’s promises and his faithfulness to them. Christians found an added measure of comfort in what the Almighty spoke because all of these promises are yes and amen in Christ. Greenham advised, “We must remember the promises & the commandements in all our

¹⁶⁷Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 509.

¹⁶⁸Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 639.

¹⁶⁹Ibid.

troubles, and they will sustaine us.”¹⁷⁰ Particular comfort could be found in looking to the work of Christ. “If we will be sure then that no affliction shall hurt us, but helpe us, and turne to our good, and to assure us of life everlasting, and to be delievered out of them in Gods good time; then let us looke to all the promises made to us in Christ.”¹⁷¹ God’s faithfulness to his people through Christ comforted those who trusted in him. Eternal glory awaited those who endured. The faithful follower of the Lord Jesus would cling to God’s promises and find comfort in them. “When we are in miserie,” Greenham advised, “even then hearing and recording Gods promises, we must beleeve them and rest in them, though we feele not present comfort.”¹⁷² He further explained, “This is true faith when we yeeld to the word and beleeve it, though we feele not the effect.”¹⁷³ Believers would find comfort in God’s Word during afflictions when they clung to his promises, particularly his promises in Christ that offered a future hope free from pain and suffering in body and in soul.

Pray

In addition to seeking God in his Word, those who suffered would gain spiritually when they sought him in prayer. Greenham began by assuring his readers that the Lord heard their prayers. He then proceeded to articulate how one should pray during trials and the requests one should make in the midst of tribulations.

Believers who suffered could approach God with the confidence that he heard their prayers. Greenham encouraged Christians, “God doth alwaies heare the prayers of his children, though not according to their desires it may be, yet certainly for their good

¹⁷⁰Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 440.

¹⁷¹Ibid.

¹⁷²Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 679.

¹⁷³Ibid., 678.

and salvation.”¹⁷⁴ The Almighty was a gracious heavenly Father who heard his children and supplied all their needs. Like a good father, the Lord did not necessarily give what his children desired. However, Greenham assured, without fail, he gave what was best for them. In the midst of tribulations, people were not to hesitate to present their requests to God. One did not need to be perfect in order for God answer. Greenham drew attention to the thief on the cross as a clear demonstration that the Lord did not require perfection from those who brought their requests before him. He asked, “If the wretched man was so helped of CHRIST, even when he was on the crosse; what comfort may afflicted consciences hope for in him, being advanced to the Throne & Kingdome?”¹⁷⁵ To the thief’s example, Greenham added, “Even very hypocrites by Prayer, have escaped outward perils. . . . Yea, and marke them that are in warres or in some distresse, how praying to the LORD, they are helped.”¹⁷⁶ Answered prayer did not depend upon the goodness of the one who prayed but on the goodness of the God who heard. Those who suffered were to present their requests to the God who listened and delighted to answer their prayers.

Greenham encouraged prayer and explained the manner in which it should be done. He advised that prayer be made “with reverence and fear.”¹⁷⁷ Respect and honor had to characterize bringing requests before the creator and sustainer of the world. Next, he counseled, “Doe not so much dispute with God, as powre out our supplications before him.”¹⁷⁸ Part of the respect required was not to contend with the Lord. Prayer was not the place to argue with God over one’s afflictions. Rather, prayer was to be used to present

¹⁷⁴Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 19.

¹⁷⁵Richard Greenham, *A Short Treatise of Prayer*, WRG, 240. See Luke 23:39-43.

¹⁷⁶Ibid.

¹⁷⁷Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 680.

¹⁷⁸Ibid.

requests to the Almighty. Greenham urged believers to continue in faith, but he warned “neither must we looke for miracles.”¹⁷⁹ Instead, Christians needed to “be content that the Lord will give us by his word the certaintie of his most holy will.”¹⁸⁰ Greenham encouraged the godly not to seek miraculous healings and relief from their suffering, but rather, they were to pray for God’s will to be done.¹⁸¹

Additionally, Greenham elaborated on what Christians should seek in prayer when they suffered. First, they needed to pray for guidance.¹⁸² The one under affliction “prayeth to be taught in the statutes of the Lord, whereby he might learn to behave himselfe well in the time of trouble.”¹⁸³ The nature of suffering necessitated such a prayer because affliction was “so violent a storme. . . that unlesse the Lord guide us, we may soone take hurt.”¹⁸⁴ Believers also needed to pray in their trials to be satisfied in God. True and lasting relief did not come from the cessation of pain but from finding rest in God. “If we in sicknes,” Greenham began, “delight most in the sweete face and gracious countenance of the Lord, it is happinesse.”¹⁸⁵ On the other hand, those who were not satisfied in God were “truly in miserie.”¹⁸⁶ Finally, he advised those who suffered to “pray to see the cause of their affliction, and that they might profit thereby.”¹⁸⁷ The godly were to ask the Lord to make plain to them why they suffered, and then they were to beseech him that they might benefit from their tribulations.

¹⁷⁹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 680.

¹⁸⁰Ibid.

¹⁸¹Ibid.

¹⁸²Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 533.

¹⁸³Ibid.

¹⁸⁴Ibid.

¹⁸⁵Ibid.

¹⁸⁶Ibid.

¹⁸⁷Ibid.

Spiritual benefit came from affliction when those who suffered went to the Lord in prayer. When they prayed, they could be confident, knowing God would hear and answer their prayers as a gracious heavenly Father. Sufferers might not get what they wanted, but they would get what the Lord willed. Therefore, they needed to pray to be guided by God's wisdom, to be satisfied in the Lord, and to see the cause of their afflictions. When they sought God through prayer, their faith would grow from these trials.

Wait

Wait on the Lord. In the midst of suffering, people needed to exercise patience, expecting God to act in his own time. Reflect on the afflictions, repent of sin, turn to Christ, seek God in his Word, pray to him, but ultimately, the decision of whether or not suffering continued rested firmly in the hands of the creator, not the creature. In his encouragement to wait on God, Greenham reminded Christians that they were to expect to suffer. Furthermore, he explained that the way to honor the Almighty in afflictions was to patiently endure them as God's will was done. Such patience revealed true faith. With his counsel, Greenham offered four ways the godly should wait on the Lord, and he concluded with an exhortation to patiently endure suffering.

Greenham urged his readers to recall the challenges inherent to the Christian life. He pointed to 2 Timothy 3:12, where Paul reminded Timothy, "Yea, & all that wil live godly in Christ Jesus, shal suffer persecution." In light of these instructions, Greenham affirmed, "All that wil live godly must beare his crosse, and in his time and measure drinke of the cup."¹⁸⁸ As Christ Jesus suffered so those who sought to follow him would suffer. Trials were part and parcel of the Christian life. Believers did not need to fret because the Lord worked in afflictions to accomplish his will for his people, which

¹⁸⁸Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 640.

chiefly was “to conforme us unto Christ.”¹⁸⁹ God worked all things to make his people like his Son. Transformation from hardened sinner to Christ-likeness took time, and so the one who suffered needed to be patient.

Such waiting on the Lord was worship. “The service and worship of God in affliction is patience.”¹⁹⁰ In whatever pain and grief might come, Christians honored God by their patience. Waiting on the Lord exhibited faith that he was who he had revealed himself to be. Greenham testified, “The Lord never forsaketh his, but in all dangers he will provide though all meanes faile, onely let us believe his providence, and so will he give us our hearts desire. . . . Yet let us believe that he is our FATHER in CHRIST, and he will recompence the outward wants with a spirituall blessing.”¹⁹¹ The Almighty would prove himself faithful. His loving providence guided all things, and what was more, God through Christ had become the believer’s Father. Waiting on the Lord was both worship and an exercise of faith. Impatience marked unbelief as Greenham argued when he wrote, “Nothing more bewrayes unbelief, then not to stay the Lords leisure.”¹⁹² On the other hand, “Watching and waiting on the Lord shewes Faith.”¹⁹³ Thus Greenham encouraged, “In adversitie, this is a pleasant pledge of our patience, when wee can waite and attend on the Lorde, for the time, and the manner, and the measure of deliverance.”¹⁹⁴ God would in his own time deliver his people; they honored him by patiently waiting for him to act.

Since it was both an act of worship and an exercise of faith, waiting on the Lord received extended treatment from Greenham. He offered four principles for how to

¹⁸⁹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 640. See Rom 8:25.

¹⁹⁰Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 640.

¹⁹¹*Ibid.*, 774.

¹⁹²Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 17.

¹⁹³*Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴*Ibid.*

exercise patience for God. First, he explained, believers must “waite in our selves.”¹⁹⁵ Many found themselves so concerned with outward appearances that they focused solely on their actions, “yet inwardly they boyle and fret in themselves.”¹⁹⁶ Greenham advised those who suffer to begin with a “looke to the inward estate of their hearts,” for when the inner person gained peace with what the Lord was working, the outward actions would soon follow.¹⁹⁷ “If there bee a quietnes of the heart, there cannot be any great disquietnes in the tongue, or in the hand.”¹⁹⁸

Second, he argued that patience came when the godly “waite on the Worde.”¹⁹⁹ Reiterating his frequent instructions to seek refuge in the Scriptures during affliction, Greenham indicated that there would be no patience “unlesse it be taught out of the Word.”²⁰⁰ People did not wait naturally; they had to receive divine instruction through the Bible in order to exercise patience.

Third, the godly had to keep waiting. Greenham explained this principle, “The third property is to continue in it.”²⁰¹ True faith required waiting for the Lord’s deliverance. If the length of the trial were known, anyone could endure, but Greenham counseled, “To offer our obedience is waiting, and not know for how long or how little we shall waite.”²⁰² To these instructions he added, “If it were determined to us how many dayes, or moneths, or houres we should waite, the hope of the profit drawing neare, and of a terme drawing out, would sustaine us: but to leave all moments and conditions to the

¹⁹⁵Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 17.

¹⁹⁶Ibid.

¹⁹⁷Ibid.

¹⁹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹⁹Ibid.

²⁰⁰Ibid.

²⁰¹Ibid., 18.

²⁰²Ibid.

Lord, and to bee in a continuall service and expectation, that is hard for flesh and blood.”²⁰³ Patience proved much easier when the length of trial was known, but true faith demonstrated itself by the ability to trust in God during the uncertainty of affliction.

Greenham’s fourth principle amplified the third, “The fourth and last propertie is to continue waiting with a kind of vehemencie.”²⁰⁴ The godly exercised a fierce patience, knowing their Lord would hear and answer their prayers. “Though it be long ere our suite be answered, or our danger be helped,” Christians were not to falter or faint in their hope in God.²⁰⁵

Even if all his counsel were followed perfectly, Greenham acknowledged that some suffering would continue for an extended period of time. In fact, he clearly did not offer his advice on responding to affliction as a formula to end suffering. Rather, the human response to divinely ordained tribulations was for the betterment of that person. Greenham’s goal with his counsel was not to end pain quickly; his goal was the sanctification of believers. He made plain that hardships might last for a long time. The biblical example of Job testified to this reality. As afflictions continued, Christians needed to continue to trust in God, to evaluate their own lives, and to hope for their final redemption in Christ.

Greenham warned that people should heed prolonged affliction. The Lord worked for his people’s good, and so his people were to continue to seek to gain from their adversity. Suffering might continue, Greenham cautioned, because of a failure to learn from the trial. “When our afflictions do not drive us to God,” he admonished, “nor cause us more humbly to heare and seeke his word, but rather to stoppe our eares, and to runne from it, and to seeke unlawfull meanes, let us then mourne secretly and heartily

²⁰³Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 18.

²⁰⁴Ibid.

²⁰⁵Ibid.

unto God, for the direction of Gods spirit: for that case is dangerous.”²⁰⁶ The true danger lay not in the current pain but in the future torment that awaited those who would not submit to God. Protracted troubles were to drive the Christian all the more to seek the Lord’s lesson in them. Greenham counseled, “But if they afflictions continue, and thou findest not that profit that should be in thee, reason thus with thy selfe: I am the child of God, and am afflicted, and yet profit not as I ought: therefore God doth continue the same upon me, that I may reape due profit by it. Therefore I willing yeelde to the crosse, and take it up.”²⁰⁷ The sufferer found hope in being God’s child and, therefore, sought to gain by these providential trials. Knowing God as Father invigorated the believer to persevere under even the heaviest of burdens.

However, as afflictions continued, doubts could appear. Greenham did little to address doubts about God’s character. Instead, he judged doubts about one’s status before the Lord to be worthy of more attention. One particular manifestation of this uncertainty was fear over hardness of heart. Sufferers feared that their continued difficulties had come about because God had given them over to their sins. Like Pharaoh with Moses, their hearts had grown calloused toward the Lord. Addressing this fear, Greenham explained, “He that feareth hardnes of heart if he can but sigh and groane, because he feeleth his hardnes of heart, it is so much comfort unto him, as it is a testimonie that his heart is not altogether hardened.”²⁰⁸ Concern over hardness of heart revealed an unhardened heart. Such worry demonstrated a sensitivity, however small, to the Lord. Greenham continued this line of encouragment, “Though they prayers be dull and full of wearisomenes. . . . Yet if thou feelest this in thy selfe, that thou wantest feare, and yet desirest to love the Lord and to be better, being wearied and tired with sinne, and desirest

²⁰⁶Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 639.

²⁰⁷Ibid., 796.

²⁰⁸Ibid., 681.

to please God in a simple obedience of faith, then comfort they selfe.”²⁰⁹ Any desire to please God could be a source of comfort, for “he looketh not on the quantitie, but on the quality of our faith.”²¹⁰ Greenham reassured his reader with the Isaiaic image picked up by Jesus, “Comfort thy selfe, the Lord will not quench the smoking flaxe, nor breake the bruised reede.”²¹¹ The smallest dose of saving faith would truly save.

For further solace, Greenham reminded the afflicted that God acted as both a loving mother and father to his children. The Lord, like “a good mother doth not reject her childe because through some infirmitie is weake, feeble, and not able to goe alone, but rather doth pitie and supporte it, least peradventure it should fall, and recompenseth that with motherly affection, which in her childe is wanting by occasion.”²¹² Greenham continued this parental metaphor, explaining, “God our most gracious father doth not cast us off, because through our imperfections we are unable or afraid to draw neerer to the throne of grace; but rather pitieth us, and seeing us a farre off desirous to come unto him, meeteth us by the way, and by grace and strength of his owne hand, directheth our steppes unto his kingdome.”²¹³ The Lord would never forsake his children. Rather, he desired to make them whole. He did not look upon failure as reasons to cast out his people, but instead, he saw hurting children who needed to be brought near in order to be healed. The Almighty proved a loving Father to his children and would not cast them aside.

681. ²⁰⁹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG,

114. ²¹⁰Greenham, *The Second Treatise Belonging to the Comfort of an Afflicted Conscience*, WRG,

²¹¹Ibid.; Isa 42:3; Matt 12:20.

114. ²¹²Greenham, *The Second Treatise Belonging to the Comfort of an Afflicted Conscience*, WRG,

²¹³Ibid., 114-15.

When afflictions continued and no relief was in sight, Greenham's advice remained the same as it was from the beginning: hope in Christ. For, as he explained, their savior stood willing and able to help: "Christ giveth relief to those that want, righteousnesse to them that feele themselves sinners, ease to them which are burthened, light to them which are in darkenesse, life to them which are dead, and salvation to them which condemne themselves."²¹⁴ The certainty and severity of afflictions drove Greenham to spend much time counseling people through their trials. He urged them to reflect upon the source of their trials and to rejoice in God's good purpose in them. He exhorted those who suffered to repent and to seek the Lord through Christ, through the Scriptures, and through prayer. All of these pieces of advice culminated in his twin admonitions to wait upon the Lord and to hope in Christ with the faith that God would accomplish his good purpose in all suffering.

Conclusion

Affliction would come in this life. The spiritual conflict between God and the devil would manifest itself at the personal level as people suffered both spiritual anguish and physical pain. As tribulations came upon Christ and his apostles, they would come upon all who sought after God. Suffering arose from the influence of sin and Satan, but the Almighty God ultimately controlled it all. The Lord superintended all things for the good of his people. The godly needed to take great comfort in his providence, knowing that he employed afflictions for their spiritual benefit. Even physical trials could serve to draw people to God and to make them more like Christ. Christians, then, were to respond to trials by fleeing sin and running to God in Christ. The godly would find spiritual benefit in their bodily afflictions when they reflected upon their trials, repented of their sin, read the Scriptures, prayed, and waited upon the Lord. The next chapter considers

²¹⁴Greenham, *The Seventh Sermon*, WRG, 283.

how Greenham applied this counsel to a series of specific hardships in order that those who suffered might grow in their faith through their trials.

CHAPTER 5

SPECIFIC COUNSEL FOR BODILY AFFLICTIONS

Greenham did far more than theorize about the role of affliction as a means of grace; he sought to bring spiritual and physical aid to those who suffered in order that they might benefit from their trials and gain relief from them. He put his theology into practice by caring for those facing troubles. Specifically, he outlined how to personally handle poverty, prosperity, and sickness and advised how to appropriately care for those under these dangers. All these afflictions were means of grace that God ordained in people's lives to deepen their love for him and to grow their faith in him. "Trust in the Lord" proved to be the final answer in all circumstances.

The spiritual goals of suffering did not negate the need to care for the body. Greenham's response to these various trials reflected his anthropology built upon the person and work of Christ. The body had value because Christ took on a body, suffered and died in the body, rose bodily from the dead, and sits at Father's right hand as the perfected God-man. The body as well as the soul needed to receive aid. In many cases, physical care prepared the body to receive the spiritual benefit offered in suffering. Nevertheless, care for the body was to be kept in proper perspective. The final glorification of the whole person in soul and resurrected body depended on faith in Christ in this life. Thus, suffering could be endured, knowing that it developed greater faith in the Lord. Physical pain paled in comparison to the glory of knowing God in Christ. While care for the body was important, the eschatological destiny of the whole person, in both body and soul, demanded that the spiritual benefit of affliction take priority over physical healing.

Poverty

Poverty was one of the great afflictions facing people in late sixteenth-century England. Dramatic population increases and a changing economic landscape combined with the dissolution of traditional medieval mechanisms of poor relief to leave many in dire need. As seen in chapter one, Greenham's own ministry revealed he was no stranger to these problems. Rather, he acutely sensed these needs and actively worked to address them. Even as he sought to provide physically for the poor, he recognized the spiritual benefits to be gained from their struggles. While wealth might seem a great blessing, it possessed the potential to curse its holder with a false sense of God's favor. Christians were to respond to their physical needs, not by longing for more material goods, but by trusting God to supply all their needs. Such faith allowed for contentment in all circumstances. Greenham cautioned those with material wealth against seeing these spiritual benefits of poverty as an excuse not to help those in need. He implored the godly to care for those in need, citing the essential nature of good works in the Christian life.

Sixteenth-Century Poverty

Poverty presented a severe crisis in sixteenth-century England. Population growth combined with a changing economy and the ending of traditional means for poor relief to make poverty a critical challenge in this period. By the end of the century, Parliament had enacted new legislation, known as "poor laws," to mitigate these problems, but in Greenham's day, providing for those in need remained a difficult task.

The rapidly increasing English population during the sixteenth century was a major cause of poverty. In terms of food and resources, demand far outstripped supply. In 1520, the population was around 2,400,000, and by 1601, it had grown to 4,109,981.¹ Notably for Greenham, the most significant growth occurred during the 1560s to 1580s

¹E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 528.

when he was in Dry Drayton.² This data were for the whole of England, not Greenham's parish in particular, but the pressure the rising population created would have been felt across the country. Children created a particular challenge during precipitous population increases. Rapid growth meant more young people who were unable to work but still must be fed.³ Keith Wrightson, however, argues that births are not the main cause of growth: "Renewal of population growth was primarily triggered by declining levels of mortality," which could be attributed partially to "a decline in the incidence and virulence of the bubonic plague."⁴ Even if the growth were more dependent on fewer deaths than more births, the dramatic increase in population strained the country's resources.

Economic changes exacerbated the stress created by the country's growing population. During this period, England was moving from a feudal economy to a market economy, and such a change had consequences. One result was the enclosure system, which allowed the common lands of a community to be purchased by private individuals or corporations. What had been communal lands for grazing and subsistence farming were privatized and often put to use for raising sheep in order to profit from the booming wool trade. Enclosures meant those on the lower end of the economic spectrum no longer had access to land, thus straining their supply of food and income. Furthermore, often sheep, not humans, became the recipients of the sustenance from those enclosed lands. Additionally, Keith Thomas identifies a consequence of this move from a feudal economy as a growing sense of private property, which he averred, made people less willing to give away food and money.⁵ The high levels of inflation furthered the

²Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History*, 183.

³Paul Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (New York: Longman, 1988), 43-44.

⁴Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 127; Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1560-1680* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1982), 123.

⁵Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 536.

economic problems of this period. Between the 1520s and the 1570s, the cost of basic necessities tripled.⁶ Part of the problem was the debasing of the currency; that was, the lessening of the amount of silver in the coinage in order for the government to make more coins. However, the greater issue was that the supply of goods could not keep up with growing demand.⁷ Landowners responded to inflation with more enclosures, increases in fines and rents, and threatening the tenure of those on their lands who will not or cannot pay the higher fees.⁸ While prices rose quickly during this period of inflation, wages did not.⁹ In fact, real wages decreased drastically during the sixteenth century.¹⁰

Population increases and economic changes led to more poverty, and at the same time, the crown suppressed the traditional means of poor relief found in religious orders. The monarchy claimed spiritual motivations, but royal self-interest seemed the more likely cause. Protestantism strongly denounced the voluntary poverty of monks and nuns, arguing that this asceticism prevented aid from getting to those truly in need. Additionally, monasteries and nunneries gained the reputation of being bastions of idleness and sinfulness. Henry VIII leveraged these feelings against religious orders and began commandeering their land and resources.¹¹ While claiming pious motivations, the dissolution of these religious orders buoyed the king's exchequer and provided lands to award political allies. Along with the closing of monasteries and convents in 1536 and

⁶Wrightson, *Earthy Necessities*, 116-17.

⁷Ibid., 130

⁸Ibid., 137.

⁹Ibid., 146.

¹⁰Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History*, 642. For a look specifically at the economic changes in London, see Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth Century London* (1989, repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), esp. chap. 5, "Standard of Living," 123-61.

¹¹G. W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), esp. chap. 5, "The Final Suppression of the Monasteries," 433-74.

1539, chantries and religious fraternities were dissolved in the second half of the 1540s, and these same two decades witnessed the closing of a great number of almshouses and hospitals for the poor.¹² During the sixteenth century, the crown closed all the medieval avenues for poor relief.

However, Majorie Keniston McIntosh contends that an emphasis on caring for those in need by both Protestants and Christian humanists mitigated these harsh conditions.¹³ Additionally, she notes Parliament's willingness to legislate in an attempt to fix these problems.¹⁴ "Early Protestant thinkers," she explains, "strove vigorously to marshal strong arguments in favor of almsgiving, for they were eager to demonstrate that their new church could promote Christian charity at least as effectively as its doctrinally flawed and functionally corrupt predecessor."¹⁵ The Poor Laws of 1536, 1552, 1563, 1598, and 1601 demonstrated Parliament's readiness to legislate a solution to poverty in their country. Many questioned the effectiveness of this legislation and even cited it as a cause of the lack of charity within this century and beyond.¹⁶ Whatever their effectiveness, these laws manifested a national awareness of the poverty crisis during this century.

¹²Majorie Keniston McIntosh, *Poor Relief in England, 1350-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 115, 303.

¹³*Ibid.*, 115-16.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁶For examples, see Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1964), 270; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 563-64. For more on the challenges of sixteenth-century life in England, see Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974); Anne M. Scott, ed., *Experiences of Poverty in Late Medieval and Early Modern England and France* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012).

Danger of Wealth

In this context, Greenham began his teaching on poverty by alerting people to the dangers of wealth. Both hardship and prosperity had to be kept in the proper biblical perspective. Riches might afford the owner luxury and ease in this life, all the while blinding the wealthy to their own spiritual poverty. Riches deceived, and the godly did well to ignore the lies of wealth.

One danger of wealth was that its possessors assumed that God was pleased with their lives. Greenham, however, quickly countered that wealth did not indicate the Lord's approval. "Riches are no sure signes of Gods favour," for as Greenham explained by calling to mind the words of Jesus, the Almighty "doth let the Sunne shine upon the wicked and upon the good."¹⁷ Therefore, "the having of riches is no argument that he loveth us; nor the want of them is any argument of his displeasure toward us."¹⁸ The Lord's favor could not be so closely tied to outward blessings.

Thus, Greenham urged people to strive for holiness rather than wealth. He admonished his readers not to be like those for whom "the want of riches doth vexe & trouble them, more then the want of spirituall and heavenly graces: and the having of riches doth more rejoyce their hearts, than the burthen of sinne, which procureth Gods wrath, doth worke their grief."¹⁹ The amassing of a material fortune paled in comparison to the all-surpassing riches of knowing the one, true, and living God. Rather than exerting all of one's energy in gaining wealth, the godly were to seek the Lord's favor through a righteous life. Therefore, Greenham counseled, "Wee may not aske earthly blessings as

¹⁷Richard Greenham, *The Second Sermon, WRG*, 251.

¹⁸Ibid. Greenham did not fit the mold of one who distinguished strongly between the "deserving" and "undeserving" poor. The Lord's providence and his good purposes behind it were not so easily seen in this life. Wealth did not prove his favor, nor poverty his cursing. See below for discussion of "deserving" poor.

¹⁹Greenham, *The Second Sermon, WRG*, 251.

signes of Gods favour: neither must wee esteeme the wants of these things as tokens of his displeasure.”²⁰

People were to refrain from interpreting their outward wealth as an indication of their spiritual health. God had his reasons for giving riches to some and keeping them from others that most will not comprehend. “The Lord,” Greenham explained, “often keepeth these things from us, for that wee would abuse them, and set more by them than by spirituall things: yea the Lord holdeth us without these, that wee might esteeme his spirituall graces the more, that so in his good time we may have both together.”²¹ God desired his people to value more greatly his spiritual blessings than the wealth of this world. The godly needed to hold their possessions loosely and seek holiness rather than riches.

Second, in addition to being a poor gauge of God’s favor, “earthly riches,” Greenham warned, “doe deceive our hearts.”²² Wealth deluded its possessors. Greenham repeated his previous warning at this point: riches wrongly convinced some that the Lord approved of their lives. For, as Greenham made plain, “Many are outwardly well and rich in this world, which are inwardly poore in godlines.”²³ In the Scriptures as in life, wealth seemed to have a way of finding the wicked. “It is the common complaint,” Greenham noted concerning riches, “that the worst men doe most abound with them.”²⁴ He pointed to the way Nabal had so much while David was on the run, and the way in which “Esau

²⁰Richard Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 645.

²¹Ibid.

²²Richard Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 29.

²³Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 643. However, Greenham balanced this statement, acknowledging, “Many hate outward evil things, which for want of spirituall knowledge see not the corruptions of the heart” (ibid.). The love or hatred of outward things was only half the equation. Deeper realities were at play and had to be recognized. True religion arose in the affections and flowed outward into the rest of a person’s life.

²⁴Ibid.

had foure hundred men; when Jacob lay downe his feet with a few.”²⁵ Riches deceived by creating a false sense of God’s blessing.

Wealth also misled by the illusion of security it brings. People found a sense of safety and self-sufficiency in their material goods. With an abundance of possessions, they saw little need for God. They believed they were protected from all troubles in this life and had few concerns for the next. Greenham warned such an audience of the “uncertainty of riches.”²⁶ Wealth could pass away far more quickly than it was earned. Indeed, it certainly would pass away, for “riches [are] of this world, and therefore like the world; now here & now gone.”²⁷ Riches possessed no eternal value. “They make no man good, but they are even like a penie purse which is worth as much as the money that is in it.”²⁸ Wealth was only as good as its possessor. Financial gain and the accumulation of possessions provided little security in this life and none in the next. Riches made no provision for the life to come, but the false peace of mind they brought lulled many away from adequately preparing for eternity.

Greenham explained that all people desired to be both rich and to inherit eternal life. Humanity heard Jesus’s account of the rich man and Lazarus and desired during this life to be the rich man as long as “we might be Lazarus when we be dead.”²⁹ He elaborated, “Wee would willingly goe to heaven, but it would bee in a conveient broad way.”³⁰ The sinful nature wanted to be indulged in this life while still hoping for the eternal life to come. As Greenham astutely pointed out, “Flesh loveth ease, and it

²⁵Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 643.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid., 748.

³⁰Ibid.

grieveth her that God and Mammon are not better friends.”³¹ People desired earthly and eternal blessings, but these two rarely went together.

The first step in handling poverty was realizing the dangers of wealth. Riches deceived. They deluded the wicked into believing they had God’s favor, and they created the illusion of security in this world, all while distracting from the inescapable eternal consequences.

Contentment in All Circumstances

Rather than wealth, people were to pursue contentment in all circumstances. “Browne bread and the peace of the Gospell is good cheere,”³² declared Greenham. Having the basic necessities of life and the hope of eternal life were all one needed. Whether rich or poor, everyone who knew the Lord could have peace, trusting in his good character and the hope he offered in the gospel. True blessedness was not worldly wealth but knowing God in Christ.

Good theology formed the basis for contentment in poverty and in wealth. Greenham pointed people to God’s power as creator and his goodness as redeemer to encourage them that they could trust his provision. He would supply their needs. Greenham asked, “If we beleeve that hee hath made our bodies, shall wee not also beleeve that he will provide for them, seeing the creation thereof is more wonderfull, than the preservation is? as appeareth, Psalm 29, 139.”³³ By speaking, the Lord created the world out of nothing; he certainly had the power to sustain what he created. Moreover, God also desired to preserve his creation. Greenham continued to make his point with a series of rhetorical questions that demonstrated the Almighty’s kindness in caring for the

³¹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 748.

³²Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 28.

³³Greenham, *The Second Sermon*, WRG, 253.

needs of his creatures: “Hath he care over the wicked to doe them good, and will he not much more rejoyce over his children to doe them good? If the Lord loved us when we were his enemies, will he not provide for us being redeemed by the blood of his sonne?”³⁴ Continuing to think of God’s gift of salvation Greenham asked, “Did hee good unto us when we sought him not, and will he not much more when we seeke him by prayer in the blood of his Sonne, as he hath commanded?”³⁵ If God cared for those who hated him, he would care all the more for those whom he had purchased with the death of Christ. Additionally, Christians were to be encouraged in their times of need because the Lord now heard their prayers on the basis of the shed blood of his Son. Christ sat at God’s right hand interceding for his people. Physical provision might be slow in coming or might not come in the manner desired, but the twin truths of God as creator and redeemer reassured his people that he would provide. The Lord had given ample evidence of his goodness. His character and his actions substantiated his care for his people. Greenham encouraged people to recall what God had already done for them, “If we doubt whether the Lord will helpe us in earthly things, we must needs much more doubt of his favour in spirituall benefits.”³⁶ The Lord was the sovereign ruler of the spiritual as well as the physical world, and his children could trust their creator and redeemer to be the loving heavenly Father he promised to be.

God promised to care for his people, but he did not guarantee great wealth or a life of ease. Rather, as Greenham taught, “The Lord oftentimes giveth his children no other riches, but his promise made unto them.”³⁷ The Almighty would provide, but the only treasure most of his people would ever possess in this life was his gospel. God had

³⁴Greenham, *The Second Sermon*, WRG, 253.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid., 251.

³⁷Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 26.

not ordained great wealth for many, and so his children had to learn satisfaction in him. Elaborating on Paul's instruction to Timothy, Greenham explained how the Lord showed grace to his children by not giving them worldly riches, "Have wee not these outward things? Godlinesse will make a supply in stead of all: for that is great gaine with contentment, in comparison of which, all the promises of contentedesse that other thinges make unto us, will bee found to bee but meere illusions."³⁸ Greenham continued, insisting that godliness was great gain "because it certifieth our soules that God will provide sufficiently for us, which perswasion alone is able to stay the restlesse and unsetled mindes of the sonnes of men, from pursuing after the unprofitable, deceitfull, and lying vanities of this present evill world."³⁹ Godliness with contentment was great gain because it prevented believers from putting their hope in the illusory security of wealth. Furthermore, satisfaction came when the godly trusted their Lord to give them all they needed. Then, they would not seek after the useless things of this life.

Contentment would develop further as believers recognized the nature of true blessedness. In his catechism, Greenham asked, "What is the true path of blessedness?"⁴⁰ The given response revealed his views on what the life favored by God looked like: "To know God to bee my Father in Jesus Christ, by the revelation of the spirit according to his word, & therefore to serve him according to his will, and to set forth his glorie."⁴¹ From this knowledge, the believer could then confess, "I shall want nothing that is good for mee in this life, and that I shall enjoy everlasting blessednes in the world to come."⁴² True blessedness was not a life of luxury here but the path to eternal joy in the life to

³⁸Richard Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 383-84. See 1 Tim 6:6.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Richard Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 71.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

come. Greenham elaborated on his definition of a genuinely happy life: “He may bee saide to have tasted true blessednesse, whom the Lorde before all beginnings hath chosen to salvation; whose salvation purposed by God the father, is performed by God the sonne: to whom the election by God the father, and redemption by God the sonne is ratified by God the holy Ghost.”⁴³ Greenham continued with this explanation, stating how this joy was not merely for the world to come. Rather, the one who had been redeemed and was therefore truly blessed had “this assurance of faith is wrought by the word preached: faith breeding peace of minde; this peace causeth joy, joy being accompanied with securitie.”⁴⁴ God’s grace did not stop with the mind and emotions, but the grace overflowed from peace of mind and joy into outward actions. The blessedness from the Lord manifested itself as “securitie working in love, love labouring in care to please God, with a feare to displease God from whence issueth a desire of weldoing to others, indeavouring to bring them to the peace with God and man, which he tasteth of himself.”⁴⁵ The truly blessed one looked outward, striving to care for the needs of others. Greenham concluded his definition, proposing, “Lastly, he is truely blessed, who besides all the former things, knoweth how to use prosperitie moderately, and adversitie patiently, wayting and looking for the accomplishment of God his promise in the kingdome of heaven.”⁴⁶ Blessedness led to contentment in any circumstance, knowing the one who redeemed his people through Christ would provide all their needs.

Greenham identified contentment in all circumstances as the key for handling poverty in faith. This contentment came by trusting in God’s provision and keeping an

⁴³Richard Greenham, *A Treatise of Blessedness*, WRG, 207.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid.

eternal perspective. The godly might be poor on earth, but true riches awaited them in the next life.

Caring for Those in Need

While those in need had to learn contentment in all circumstances, Christians were to care for the poor and needy.⁴⁷ The Lord might be using poverty for the good of the one in need, but he clearly called on his people to do all they could to alleviate suffering. Greenham articulated four reasons to care for the needy: God commanded it; it was the proper response to divine love; Christians were united as the body of Christ; and the future necessitated it. He buttressed his call to care for those in need by reminding the godly of the necessity of good works for all who had been saved by faith through Christ.

⁴⁷Greenham's call to care for the poor did not arise in a vacuum. The Tudor period saw dramatic changes in the way poor relief was handled in England. Opportunistic royal policies took advantage of the change of religion to the shut down many traditional forms of poor relief such as monasteries, chantries, almshouses, and hospitals. In their place, a series of poor laws was passed that placed the burden of poor relief on the local parish while at the same time creating severe punishments for vagrancy and unlicensed begging. Two recent studies on this topic should be consulted by anyone interested in the topic: Paul Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement: Public Welfare in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999); McIntosh, *Poor Relief in England*. As the changes coincided with the rise of Protestantism in England, the connection between protestant belief and the changing modes of poor relief has been the subject of much discussion. A key point of contention among historians is how protestant theology, and in particular puritan thought, shaped poor relief. The idea that some poor people are worthy of help while others are not has proven to be of particular interest. Space constraints and the scope of this presentation prohibit an in-depth review of this historiography, but it is worth noting a more recent trend that argues that discrimination between "deserving" and "undeserving" poor did not change dramatically between the late medieval and early modern periods. Margo Todd suggests that the distinction between deserving and undeserving poor finds its intellectual roots in Christian humanism and that movement's classical forbearers rather than in Protestantism. Margo Tood, *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 136-39. Eamon Duffy also recognizes increasing discrimination in gifts to the poor at funerals, but he argues that this had its root in changes in popular Catholic piety of this time. "By the early 1500s, then, popular works such as the *Kalender of Shepherdes* were teaching very emphatically that the recipients as well as the dispensers of funeral alms, or the clergy who conducted intercession and Masses, must be in a state of grace and motivated by charity, if the soul for whom these things were offered were to benefit." Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 366. Furthermore, Michel Mollat finds discrimination between types of poor already occurring in the late Middle Ages. Michel Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), esp. chap. 12, "From Charity to Policing of the Poor," 251-94. Likewise, in her study of the monks of Westminster Abbey, Barbara Harvey notes that separating of poor into two classes had begun already in the fourteenth century. Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 30-33. Following these two authors, McIntosh further supports the claim that discrimination did not increase dramatically from the late medieval period through the sixteenth century. McIntosh, *Poor Relief in England*, 10-11.

Greenham himself earned a reputation for generosity to the poor.⁴⁸ He gave no indication that poor relief should be connected with social control, nor did he seem to display discrimination in his own charity.⁴⁹ He was known for giving to those in prison, whom most would not classify as “deserving.” Though the Lord might be teaching a person through the affliction of poverty, Greenham recognized it as the duty of all believers to help those in need. God’s providence accomplished its sanctifying mission

⁴⁸See, for example, Samuel Clarke, *Lives of Thirty-Two English Divines*, 3rd ed. (London: William Birch, 1677), 12; Richard Greenham, *A Letter for the Relieving of Poore Students*, WRG, 863-64.

⁴⁹There existed within puritanism a spectrum concerning discrimination in poor relief. Greenham stood on one end of the range, offering no counsel on who “deserved” charity. Likewise, his practice displayed magnanimity toward all. In a similar vein, Richard Rogers counseled, “And as we should shew our helpe, chiefly to the needie and poore, so ought we ever to be readie to helpe all other with whom we live, as they shall stand in neede of it.” Richard Rogers, *Seven Treatises Containing Such Direction as Is Gathered out of the Holie Scriptures* (London: Humfrey Lownes, 1605), 182. However, Thomas Watson advised more care in giving to the poor: “Dispose your Almes prudentially. . . . There is a great deale of wisdom in distinguishing between them that have sinned themselves into poverty, and who by the hand of God are brought into poverty.” Thomas Watson, *A Plea for Almes* (London: Thomas Parkurst, 1658), 65. William Ames cautioned that it was better to help the good rather than the bad, “yet wee must not therefore bee curiously inquisitive into the hidden faults of the poore: for charity doth not easily thinke evill, 1 Cor. 13.5.” William Ames, *Conscience with the Power and Cases Thereof* (London, 1639), 257. William Perkins offered the most detailed guidance on caring for the needy. He called on Christians to give to all those in need, but in the particulars of his counsel, he urged only giving to those who are truly in need. William Perkins, *The Whole Treatise of the Cases of Conscience* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1606), 601. See *ibid.*, 601-606 for his rules on giving. See also William Perkins, *A Warning against the Idolatrie of the Last Times and an Instruction Touching Religious or Divine Worship* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1601), 247-54. According to Perkins, “They which can labour, must be forced to labour, and if they will not, they must not be releevd” (*ibid.*, 249). In all his advice on giving, Perkins did not account for those able and willing to work who could not find work. He, however, should not be seen as callous toward the poor. In fact, he urged that in a time of great need it was appropriate to sell what one had to provide for those in need. *Cases of Conscience*, 532-33. The most charitable way to read Perkins’s advice on poor relief is that the idea of a willing and able laborer who could not find work did not cross his mind. He seemed to believe that if one wanted to work employment would be found. This attitude itself is an indictment, revealing a lack of understanding of those in need, but his approach to poor relief was neither heartless nor uncaring. Like Greenham, John Owen seemed more attuned to the need of addressing systemic causes of poverty along with helping individuals in need. See John Owen, *Eschol: A Cluster of the Fruit of Canaan Brought to the Borders for the Encouragement of the Saints Travelling Thitherward*, in *The Works of John Owen*, vol. 13, ed. William H. Goold (Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter, 1850-1853; repr., Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, 1967), 75.

From the above discussion, it is clear that caring for the poor received particular attention from puritans. “True compassion,” Richard Rogers averred, “will shew it selfe by releeving in time of neede.” Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 182. Owen called upon believers to participate in the “free contribution and communication of temporal things to them that are poor indeed, suitable to their necessities, wants, and afflictions.” Owen, *Eschol*, in *Works*, 13:74. Ames extolled generosity that included giving freely, forgiving debts, lending freely, hospitality, and “taking pity on the calamity of our neighbor.” William Ames, *The Marrow of Theology*, trans. and ed. John D. Eusden (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1968), 324. Perkins commended giving to those in need as a mark that one had received God’s free gift of salvation, for mercy shown by the godly flows from the mercy God in Christ shows them. Perkins, *A Warning Against the Idolatrie of the Last Times*, 256. Thus, Perkins urged, “Practice Charitie in giving of your almes, let your outward good actions, proceede from the inward syncere affection of your hearts towards your brethren.” Perkins, *Cases of Conscience*, 597.

while at the same time the Lord worked through his people to care for the needy.

Arguments that predestination and justification by faith alone disincentivize caring for the needy rely on caricatures of protestant theology. Protestants, such as Greenham, drew a strong connection between justification by faith and the necessity of good works.⁵⁰

The Lord's command was the first reason Greenham offered why the people of God were to care for the poor. Greenham found admonitions to aid the needy permeating God's Word. "Surely," he offered, "if that which is spoken of mercy in the word should be cut off, a great part of the Scriptures shuld be don away."⁵¹ When examining the Ten Commandments, he inferred several calls to care for the needy. The Decalogue did not merely cordon off illicit behavior, but it highlighted how the people of God should live. The prohibitions pointed to positive commands. From the injunction against murder, Greenham posited, "Wee are commanded in thought, word, and deede, to seeke the preservation of the health of our brother."⁵² Likewise with the command not to steal, he explained that Christians must "labour faithfully in a lawful calling, to be sparing of that wee get, and to helpe others as their neede requireth."⁵³ Those redeemed by God were to work hard at their vocation and exercise thrift in order to help those in need.

In addressing the two greatest commandments, Christ himself reiterated in the New Testament the need to care for the afflicted as he called on his followers to love their neighbors as themselves. The double love that Jesus commanded in these instructions proved central to Greenham's ethic. Dry Drayton's pastor explained how the Christian life revolved around these two loves, "The love of God is the ground of the love of our neighbour. . . none can rightly love his neighbour except he first love God. . . . The

⁵⁰See later in this chapter for more on Greenham's understanding of good works.

⁵¹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 699.

⁵²Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 77.

⁵³Ibid., 78.

love of our neighbour is the prooffe of our love towards God. . . . None can love God aright, except he also love his neighbor.”⁵⁴ Love of neighbor testified to a true love for God. Those who claimed to love God were to care for their neighbors. Like Christ before him, Greenham answered those who would try to escape their duty by limiting who should be identified as “neighbor.” He adamantly affirmed a broad definition of neighbor: “Everyone that is neere mee, and standeth in neede of my helpe, and it lieth in me to helpe him, though otherwise he be a stranger unto me, or my foe.”⁵⁵ Neighbor was the one in need. Christians had to care for the poor because God commanded it.⁵⁶

Second, as the recipients of the Lord’s love, the godly were to love others in response. Greenham drew such a connection in his discussion of Jesus’s teaching on the first and second greatest commandments, as noted above. He further averred, “Christ is meate and drinke to us, so we should be meate and drinke as it were to others. . . . whatsoever we have in outward things, we should communicate it to others, according to the quantity of their wants & our abundance.”⁵⁷ Abundance was to be shared in accordance with the needs of others. The proper response to the love the Lord Jesus had shown was to care for those in need.

⁵⁴Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 73.

⁵⁵Ibid., 80.

⁵⁶In addition to exhorting believers to care for those in need, Greenham vehemently denounced usury, which he saw as the antithesis of the care Christians were to have for those in need. He roundly rejected the practice of lending money at interest as an immoral taking advantage of those in need. While those redeemed by Christ were to be caring for those in need, they were exploiting them. Greenham condemned these actions: “Usurie is the devils Alchymistrie to turne silver into golde; it is lucre by lending, and they that use it be a gracious kinde of theeves.” Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 41. A usurer who seemed convicted by Greenham’s teaching asked how he was to use his money. Greenham responded, “Occupie it in some trade of life, and when you can lend to the poore, do it freely & willingly, and that you may henceforth labour as well against covetousnes in occupying that trade, as before you desired to strive against usury: especially use prayer, the word of God, and the companie and conference of his children: and whatsoever you get by lawfull gaine, give evermore the tenth to the poore” (ibid., 41-42). He had no patience for those who took advantage of ones in need when they were to be giving freely to them. The background to his condemnation of usury might be the Usury Act of 1571 which permitted lending at a rate of 10 percent. Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, 156.

⁵⁷Richard Greenham, *A Treatise of Examination before and after the Lords Supper*, WRG, 193.

Greenham highlighted believers' union in the body of Christ as the third motivator toward charity. Christians owed a special responsibility to their fellow believers because of the nature of their community. Christians, together, formed one body. By his work, Christ redeemed the individual believer and incorporated that person into the body of Christ. This body had to work for the good of all its members. "And so by the law of members," Greenham argued, "if wee have any thing, wee must bestow it on the whole body, and as well on the foote as on the head."⁵⁸ The whole of the believing community worked as one for the sake of all its members. No room existed for partiality; the head as well as the foot needed assistance. From the lowliest member to the most prominent, all needed the support of the community of faith. "All should labour in common," Greenham urged, "that one should helpe another, where wee see that all the giftes of God are common."⁵⁹ It was, according to Greenham, God's prerogative to command how his provision was used: "When the Lord gave Manna to his people, hee gave them rules to use it, teaching us that all the creatures and gifts of God, are given man with rules to use them, that all may serve to his glorie."⁶⁰ God was the giver of all wealth, and so he could tell his people how to use it.

Christians were to work so that they might give to the needs of others. The Lord ordained such a plan in order that "what gifts then soever wee have received, wee may not seeke our owne glorie by them, but the profit of our brethren, and Gods glorie."⁶¹ No room existed for pride in the earning of material wealth because all riches came from the Lord. He prospered some in order that those who had might help those who had not. Thus, Greenham exhorted his readers concerning riches, "Wee may not

⁵⁸Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 699.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid., 712.

⁶¹Ibid.

seeke our owne glorie by them, but the profit of our brethren, and Gods glorie.”⁶² Wealth came from God in order that believers might bless others. “Wee may not,” Greenham confirmed, “bee proude of Gods graces, for God is not indebted unto us, but wee must remember wee have received them for our brethrens sake, to whom wee be debtors.”⁶³ The Lord owed nothing to his people, but “God hath so provided that they which have lesse, by them which have more, may not want the things they have.”⁶⁴

Physical blessings put the godly in the debt of the needy. The rich were the God-ordained means to sustain the poor, and they, therefore, had to heed this duty for the good of those in need. “Whatsoever good gift then I have,” Greenham implored his fellow believers to echo, “I must not by it take occasion of pride, and contemning of others which want the same, but rather I must so applie the same to others, as they may become rich in our riches, learned in our learning, strong in our strength, and alwaies find helpe in our abundance.”⁶⁵ Christians together made up the one body of Christ, and as members of the same body they needed to work to care for all who were part of the community of faith.

Finally, Greenham exhorted the godly to be generous toward those in need because of what the future held. Speaking of worldly wealth, he reminded people to be generous “because we cannot retaine it.”⁶⁶ He reiterated, “It is good to shew mercy, because otherwise wee cannot long keepe that we have.”⁶⁷ Riches would not accompany their earthly possessors to the next life. Elaborating further, he added, “We cannot carrie

712. ⁶²Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG,

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Ibid., 698.

⁶⁷Ibid., 699.

any thing with us from hence, have we never so much: here it is gotten, and here it is gone.”⁶⁸ Even if people could take riches with them, they would prove useless there. “That which is currant here will stand us in no stead, for it will not go for currant there.”⁶⁹ In light of this reality, Greenham advised, “It is therefore a good policie to give, and to make us friends of the wicked Mammon.”⁷⁰ Give generously in order to exchange what was temporal for what was eternal. He drew a metaphor from the world of travel to emphasize the need for generosity:

There are many robbers wil meet us in the way, & therefore we must follow the manner of them, that go by pirats, they carry not all they have with them, but commit all to others of their friends by writings and bils, which we see used of our exchangers: So then wee must carry with us only our bills, which will stand the spoilers in little steed, though they light upon them. And surely the Lord hath made the rich his factors and exchangers here on earth, and seeing the Lord hath given us a bill of his hand for that we commit to the poore, we may safely make our claime to all, for this bill will goe with us.⁷¹

With this image, he called on the rich to trade their worldly wealth for munificence, which could not be stolen by death. In doing so, the wealthy exchanged what was of no value in the life to come for what was of ultimate value. Greenham continued his analogy, “This bill will goe with us, and shall be reade even at the judgement seate, when Christ himselfe shall say, Looke what ye have done to one of these, ye have done it to me.”⁷² He found in these words of Jesus a prime motivation to give: “But among many reasons this may move us to mercy, that in the time of judgement the Lord will be content to leave off all other actions of knowldge, and truth, &c. and come to this one of mercy. And albeit

⁶⁸Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 698.

⁶⁹Ibid., 699.

⁷⁰Ibid., 698.

⁷¹Ibid., 699. As mentioned above in chap. 2, John Calvin employed a similar metaphor in discussing giving to the poor. See *Inst.* 3.18.6.

⁷²Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 699. See Matt 25:40.

the Lord may challenge the other too, yet because the special clause of judgement shall be concerning mercy, we must specially looke to this.”⁷³ Money and possessions would not cross into the next life, but they could be spent in this life in a manner that secured blessings from the Lord. Christ emphasized the importance of mercy in his judgment, and so his people were to be motivated to acts of mercy in their lives. Generosity with what would not last produced a harvest of everlasting rewards for the faithful.

Greenham reinforced the urgency of caring for the poor and needy by reminding Christians that those who had been saved by grace had to live a life filled with good works. “Good workes,” he made clear, “are commanded, not to merit, but for Gods glorie, as to be signes and seales of righeousness.”⁷⁴ He reiterated that salvation was by grace, not works: “It must indeed be confessed, that our owne workes will doe nothing in the matter of justification, which from Christ, and in Christ is freely given unto us.”⁷⁵ The religious opponents Greenham faced led him to emphasize the importance of good works flowing from salvation freely given by grace. He considered the two great challenges to true Christianity in his day, Roman Catholicism and the Family of Love, to be motivated by works righteousness.⁷⁶ He accused these two groups of believing they could earn their salvation through good deeds.

In defense of his position, Greenham focused on the necessity of good works in an attempt to answer the charge that salvation by grace alone necessarily led to licentiousness. He vindicated his beliefs, “We are slandered to denie good workes, because we would supplant and depose them out of the chaire of Christ, and denie them

⁷³Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 699.

⁷⁴Richard Greenham, *The Markes of a Righteous Man*, WRG, 119-20.

⁷⁵Richard Greenham, *The Second Treatise Belonging to the Comfort of an Afflicted Conscience*, WRG, 114.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 119.

to have the prerogative of salvation. But we defend good workes.”⁷⁷ If salvation were by grace alone, the question naturally arose, “Why is it needful that they should doe good workes?”⁷⁸ Greenham answered in defense of good works, “1. First, that wee may by them shew our selves thankfull unto God for all his benefites. 2. That we may be assured of our Faith and election by good workes. 3. That by our good workes wee may edifie others.”⁷⁹ Good works expressed thanksgiving, brought assurance, and edified others.

For his part, Greenham found no contradiction between at once declaring that salvation was by grace alone and telling believers that part of their assurance of salvation could be found in good works because assurance was the work of the Holy Spirit.⁸⁰ As a

⁷⁷Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 827. At this point, Greenham proceeded to identify twelve reasons Christians saved by grace do good works: “First, we affirme good workes out of Ephes.5.1 Be ye followers of God as deare children, because as God hath called us to be his children, so herein we ought to resemble his image by doing good both to just & unjust. Secondly, where it is said, Tit.2.12. that Christ gave himselfe for us to this end, that he might redeeme us from all iniquitie, and purge us to be a peculiar people to himselfe, zealous of good workes, we also say that we are debtors to doe good. And surely this commends all the paines of Christ, if we be zealous of good workes: for not to be given to good workes doth in some sort crucifie him again. But it is enough that we have once grieved him on earth, & therefore let us not grieve him in heaven also. Thirdly, being the temples of the holy Ghost, 1.Cor.6.19 it were a despite against the Lord, if we make the house of God the stye of Sathan, and sincke of sinne. Fourthly, the Angels rejoyce to see a sinner repent, as also there is a great sorrow, when a Professor falleth away, the heavens seem to be clothed with blacke theat, and the Angels weare mourning attire. But to come down from heaven to earth. Fiftly, whereas the rankest heretikes have had often great feelings (whereby this is no good way to salvation, to thinke of our selves sure in a carnall securitie) Peter teacheth us another way: Make your election sure by good workes. 2. Pet. 1.10. as by a signe consequent, not as by a cause antecedent. Sixtly, we must by good workes avoyd the offending of our brethren, least that as Lot was vexed among the Sodomites, we grieve the hearts of Saints. Seventhly, as we are not to grieve strong Lot, so we must not offend the weake ones for whose sakes we must abridge somewhat from our libertie in things lawfull: and much more cut off our licentiousnesse in things that be unlawfull. Eightly, we must do good even for the wicked. Wherefore the Apostle, I Pet.3.2, admonishes wives so to live, that even they which obey not the word, may without the word be wonne by the conversation of the wives. If women are thus charged, then men much more. Ninthly, because the Divell not barred out by good workes, doth make us his pallace, or rather his paunch, or his stable; and at the fall of a righteous man, the damned doe (as it were) make great bonfires in hell, let us bring forth the fruit of righteousness, which may make the Divell to some in fretting, and worke more madnes and melancholie in the damned. Tenthly: for the confusion of the wicked in the last day, it shalbe good by wello-doing to redeeme some comfortable confidence of our being in CHRIST, against that day, when the sides wicked shall be in paine. Now to make up the number of a douzen, wee may be mouved to good workes, by considering the ende of the godly, and the end of the wicked, Mat. 25. These reasons many and waighty, shall redeeme us from this reproch, wherewith our enemies doe charge us” (ibid., 827-28).

⁷⁸Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 87.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 36; cf. Richard Greenham, REM fol 8v. The relationship between assurance and good works in puritan thought has received much attention in scholarly discussion; see above, chap. 1. While good works played a major role in the assurance of salvation, they were far from the only means. Elsewhere, Greenham identified affliction and “the word preached” as key means of assurance. Suffering and hearing God’s promises also served to assure the

means of assurance, the Spirit brought about good works in those who had trusted in Christ alone for their salvation. Quite clearly, Greenham stated that God's children "are sure of their vocation by good workes, which are the fruites of sanctification."⁸¹ God's children knew they were called because of the good works they performed. The reason that there was no dissonance here with a protestant understanding of salvation as a free gift of God was that the Holy Spirit brought about these good works in the believer. Greenham described the inability of those without the Spirit to do good works, "Except a man be borne againe of God, hee cannot see the kingdome of heaven, nor enter therein, neither can hee keepe the commaundments of God: moreover, all men by nature being borne and conceived in sinne, are not only insufficient to any good thing, but also disposed to all vice and wickednes."⁸² In his catechism, he asked, "Can everyone doe good workes?"⁸³ To which the student responded, "None can doe good workes [sic] but they that are borne againe."⁸⁴ To follow up, he questioned, "How can they that are thus borne againe doe good workes?"⁸⁵ The response showed that the ability to obey originated in God: "They that are thus borne againe, and carrie in them the Image of God, have repentance wrought in them; from whence good workes doe proceede."⁸⁶ Good works came from the Holy Spirit transforming the believer. Faithful actions evidenced the Holy Spirit's work in a person's life. Thus, good works were never a cause of self-assurance; they could only assure that God was at work in a person's life. In another

believer of salvation. Greenham, *The Thirteenth Sermon*, WRG, 334; Greenham, *A Treatise of Blessedness*, WRG, 207; Greenham, *The Fourteenth Sermon*, WRG, 342.

⁸¹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 761.

⁸²Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 80.

⁸³Ibid., 87.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Ibid.

series of catechism questions, Greenham emphasized that good works could never justify a person before God. “Cannot our good workes in some part justifie us before God? No: for the rightesounes which is able to stand in the judgements of God, must be perfect in all respects.”⁸⁷ Good works were the result of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit and, thus, only testified to a person’s salvation; they did not merit salvation.

However, good works were a necessary consequence of salvation. In his catechism, Greenham also posed the question of the necessity of good works for salvation. He answered, “Yea: for although good workes doe not worke our salvation in any part, yet because they are justified are also sanctified; they that doe no good workes, declare that they neither are justified nor sanctified, and therefore cannot be saved.”⁸⁸ Good works accompanied justification, not as a cause but as a consequence. The Lord who justified his people would sanctify them in order that they would bear righteous fruit. Only those justified in Christ could do good works, for “they that are thus borne againe, and carrie in them the Image of God, have repentance wrought in them; from whence good workes doe proceede.”⁸⁹ Good deeds flowed from the salvation freely given through Christ, and so the godly responded in charity to those in need.

Greenham recognized poverty as a pervasive problem in his day. He encouraged the poor by calling on them to trust in God’s good promises to them in Christ. The Lord who cared for their spiritual needs could certainly meet all their physical needs. Echoing the words of Paul, Greenham reminded them that godliness with contentment was great gain. To meet the needs of the poor, he exhorted Christians whom God had blessed with resources to care for the needy.

⁸⁷Greenham, *A Short Forme of Catechising*, WRG, 87.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹Ibid.

Prosperity

“Povertie,” Greenham warned, “hath bene the decay of many, but riches of a farre greater number.”⁹⁰ Prosperity proved as dire of a situation as poverty because of the way it so easily drew people away from God. Greenham counseled his readers to use their affluence well and cautions that if they would not, the Lord would bring adversity. As with poverty, the way to handle prosperity was in faith. Whether poor or rich, true believers would continue trusting God.

Danger of Prosperity

Everyone acknowledged the challenges evident in poverty, but few recognized how perilous prosperity could be. Poverty oppressed by deprivation, but prosperity afflicted by abundance. As a bounty of food could lead to gluttony so material success could easily harm the prosperous. Unknowingly, the rich faced as grave of a peril as those in need. The subtlety of wealth’s risk proved part of its great danger. The ease of riches blinded people to the far greater spiritual realities, and in their blindness, they began to love their material possessions more than God. As wealth turned the affections from the Lord, it corrupted the person. The godly had to be on guard with riches because they hurt not only the possessors but also the beholder, and so made an individual’s wealth dangerous for the whole community.

Prosperity ran the danger of producing spiritual blindness. In their wealth, people forgot about God. Greenham compared riches to a veil between humans and their creator. “It is harder to believe,” he averred, “in the abundance of worldly things, than it is in the want of them: for these things are, as it were, vailes set betwixt God and us, they stay our sight in them that it cannot pearce to God.”⁹¹ Abundance hindered faith as it

⁹⁰Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 643.

⁹¹Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 11.

caused people to forget the Almighty and their need for him. Elsewhere, Greenham employed a different metaphor to explain how riches impaired belief: “Prosperitie is a drunkennes, to cast ourselves into a dead sleepe, and when the Lord letteth us alone, we cease to sooth up ourselves, bearing ourselves in hand, that we are in Gods favour, and that he loveth us, because he scourgeth us not.”⁹² Wealth intoxicated its possessors with the lie that their affluence indicated God’s pleasure with their lives. They stopped seeking the Lord, or at least sought him with less fervor, because they believed he was pleased with them. In affliction, people became desperate for God, but when times were going well, they forgot him. Greenham expounded on this phenomenon, “Many there be, who will say they feare God, whilst sicknesse, povertie, or some crosse lieth upon them: but when affliction is past over, and prosperitie commeth, let the Lord strike upon their hearts never so hardly, and they will not feare.”⁹³ While physical hardships alerted people to their need for God, luxury and ease hindered sight of the Divine.

As prosperity blinded people to spiritual realities, their love for God waned. Their affections turned from the Lord to the things of this world. People could not serve two masters, for as Greenham made clear, “Where there is an immoderate care of outward things, there commonly is little care of inward good things.”⁹⁴ People’s affection would be for God or for this world. Where their affections went, their attention would follow. Individuals who forsook the Lord for the things of this world filled the biblical record, and Greenham cited two of them in particular as warnings for his readers. “We seeke as Demas, being more loth to forgoe the world than the Lord, or as Lots wife, who caried away her body from Sodom, but left her soule and affections behind.”⁹⁵ Unlike

⁹²Richard Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 64.

⁹³Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 580.

⁹⁴Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 4.

⁹⁵Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 67. See 2 Tim 4:10; Gen 19:23-26; Luke 17:32-33.

these two examples, the godly had to love God more than they loved the riches of this world, for eternity hung in the balance. “If wee love not Chirst more than his benefites,” Greenham warned, “even than our owne salvation, wee are not worthie of him.”⁹⁶

Prosperity proved treacherous because it turned the affections from the Lord.

Prosperity corrupted as it shifted a person’s love from God to riches. Virtue declined and iniquity rose. Wealth led to pride. “The greater gifts we have, the flesh is the prouder, and Sathan the readier to assault us,”⁹⁷ cautioned Greenham. The more people gained the less they felt their need for the Lord. Prosperity convinced people of their own self-sufficiency and blinded them to their dependence on God. Such arrogance bred ingratitude. People offered no thanksgiving to the Lord when they believed he played no part in blessing them. When counseling one afflicted in body and mind, Greenham alerted the individual to the danger of unthankfulness that could arise after recovery: “I feare not the time of the vilitation of them, that thereby doe grow in the gifts and graces of God: but rather I feare least the time of their deliverance should be tainted with unthankfulnes, and so woefully they should loose the fruite of that good which so dearly they purchased of the Lord.”⁹⁸ Affliction in all its forms, including poverty, proved a great teacher of divine truth and a strong motivator to growth in the fruit of the Spirit. When blessing and prosperity replaced these dangers, individuals stopped depending on and thanking God. Many, Greenham admonished, might retain “a generall knowledge of the Truth, but when it comes to particular practice, they are hindred with profites, pleasures, and selfelove.”⁹⁹ Prosperity stunted growth in godliness.

⁹⁶Richard Greenham, *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, WRG, 45.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, 44.

⁹⁸Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 813; cf. Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG 41.

⁹⁹Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 20.

Riches not only hurt their possessor but also the beholder. Greenham spent most of his time outlining how wealth harmed those who had it, but he also made clear that material belongings could spiritually injure others. Envy could well up inside of one who saw the goods of another even if those possessions did not harm the one who had them. “Sometimes,” he remarked, “good outward gifts hurt the beholders, when they hurt not the possessors.”¹⁰⁰ He offered “the beautie of Sara and Joseph” as examples of this phenomenon.¹⁰¹ Their beauty resulted in a tremendous amount of jealousy and sin from those around them. Similarly, the danger of wealth engendering envy in others needed “to humble us in the desire of outward things, and to make us thankfull for a mediocritie.”¹⁰² Out of concern for others, Greenham counseled the godly to temper their pursuit of material wealth and focus on thankfulness for what God had already given them.

Use Prosperity for Good

The risks inherent in material blessings were to cause the godly to guard vigilantly against these dangers. Instead of being captivated by their wealth, they needed to use prosperity for good. Greenham encouraged believers, “The love of the creatures hindreth us in good things, but the use of them furthereth us therein. Gods children looke to the spiritual use of those things, which the worldlings use carnally.”¹⁰³ While it had the propensity to hinder, prosperity also had the potential to help. Spiritual advantage was to be sought in all the Lord’s blessings. Worldly wealth, when used in accordance with God’s Word, would become a spiritual blessing to its possessor.

As previously discussed, one way Greenham envisioned wealth being properly used was by caring for those in need. Additionally, Christians needed to use the freedom

¹⁰⁰Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 29.

¹⁰¹Ibid. See Gen 12:10-20, 20:1-18, 37:3-4, 39:6-20.

¹⁰²Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 29.

¹⁰³Greenham, REM, fol. 59v.

provided by material blessings to pursue the means of grace. Despite the difficulties of seeing God through affluence, Greenham exhorted believers, “We must therefore still use the meanes, in hope of that fruite and comfort that commeth in time of trouble, unto which time God often reserves our greatest feeling, because it is the most needfull time of helpe.”¹⁰⁴ Even when everything seemed to be going well, the godly needed to remain attentive to the means of grace. They were to seek the Lord through public and private worship. The goal was to be content in God, to realize that he was the believer’s true wealth and inheritance. As the poor were to learn contentment in poverty through trusting the Lord so too the wealthy needed to learn contentment in prosperity. Only, Greenham explained, “when we are at peace and at a point for outward things, when being content with that we have we can say, O Lord, thou art my portion, thy word have I chosen as mine inheritance for ever, thy kingdome is my principall labour, thy face is the chiefest thing I seeke for, thy favour is the joy of mine heart.”¹⁰⁵ Christians were to leverage the outward comfort that prosperity brought to seek the Lord in order that they might find true peace and contentment in him alone.

Warning for the Prosperous

The affluent were to make the most of their prosperity for such blessings typically foreran adversity. Trials would surely come if the wealthy did not make use of their luxury and ease to seek the Lord. Greenham noted that God often blessed a person or a land before he cursed it: “What common wealth, county, town or family the lord purposeth notably to plague, the same hee before notably blesseth with many benefits.”¹⁰⁶ He added, “Securitie is a forerunner of some grosse sinne, or of some great

¹⁰⁴Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 27.

¹⁰⁵Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 64.

¹⁰⁶Greenham, REM, fol. 63f.

crosse,” and thus, he warned, “The Church is to feare and expect some notable affliction, when long ease and prosperitie have bred either superstition or prophanenesse.”¹⁰⁷ The predicted adversity would most certainly come when those God had blessed let those blessings distract them from the Lord. If they would not heed him in prosperity, he would bring adversity to awaken them. Greenham cautioned,

In corporall blessings, if we have not the spirit to teach us, that by the word, and by prayer they are sanctified unto our use, if we cannot receive even every morsel of meate at Gods hands, as tokens and pledges of his favour, surely we shall either as the last be brought to loathe them, or to set our hearts too much upon them: so that the Lord shall be constrained to take them from from us, to make them rot, melt, and stinke, so that we shall not finde them, nor have any good, holy and profitable use of them.¹⁰⁸

He admonished the prosperous to bear this warning in mind and to make good use of the blessings the Lord had given them. They needed to hear God in his Word and by his Spirit in order that they could sanctify these blessings. He exhorted them, “In the time of prosperitie and quietnes, cut off all headie affections, as grieffe, sorrow, and such like.”¹⁰⁹ They were to use the means of grace to grow in their love for God and to develop godliness. Otherwise, the Lord would bring adversity to draw them nearer to himself.¹¹⁰

Handle Prosperity in Faith

Ultimately, the way to make the most of wealth was to continue trusting in the Lord. Though the blessings of affluence could lead to a prideful self-sufficiency, the godly were to fight this temptation and handle prosperity in faith. They needed to

¹⁰⁷Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 30; Greenham, *An Other Addition of an Hundred Grave Counsels or Divine Aphorismes*, WRG, 44.

¹⁰⁸Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 795.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 639.

¹¹⁰Greenham wrote on the value of affliction, “It is a most certaine thing in Gods children, that the more their afflictions grow, the more their faith groweth: the more Sathan striveth to draw them from God, the more they draw neer to God: although indeed in feeling that cannot see so much.” Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 1. For Greenham’s understanding of the value of affliction, see chap. 4.

continue to rely on God and find their sure foundation in him, not in riches. As Greenham counseled the poor, so he counseled the rich: be content in all circumstances. Whether in poverty or prosperity, the godly were to continue to trust in the Lord, knowing that he ordained all things and worked them all for their good. The sure sign of God's blessing was thriving faith no matter the circumstance.

Adversity and affluence could both be handled in faith because they both came from the Lord. Greenham encouraged his fellow Christians to join him in acknowledging God's role in their circumstances: "Let us then both in ordinarie and extraordinarie meanes of blessings and punishments alwayes confesse, that the hand of the Lord hath wrought it."¹¹¹ The Almighty orchestrated all the conditions of people's lives, but Greenham assured his readers that God was in no way capricious in his rule. All things stemmed from his love and care for his children. "The outward effects are prosperitie, as a signe of God his love; and adversitie as a thing sanctified unto us in the crosse of Christ."¹¹² Both adversity and prosperity came from the Lord for the sake of the elect. God carefully selected what would best serve his people so "that neither flesh and blood shall weigh us downe with securitie in time of prosperitie, nor overlode us with desperate terrours in time of adversitie."¹¹³ Greenham depicted God as carefully measuring what he sent his children; he gave neither too much comfort nor too many hardships. "Surely," he offered, "the Lord would so governe us, that hee would not suffer either prosperitie to quench and carrie away our zeale, to bee buried in the grave of securitie; or adversitie too much to dismay and discourage us."¹¹⁴ The Lord would provide what his people needed.

¹¹¹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 796.

¹¹²Greenham, *A Treatise of Blessedness*, WRG, 209.

¹¹³Richard Greenham, *The Twelfth Sermon*, WRG, 331.

¹¹⁴Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 543.

The godly would be content in all conditions when they trusted that the Lord, out of his love for them, worked all things for their good. Greenham reminded Christians, “In what estate soever we are, we may be assured that we have the testimonie of Gods favour; if we be in afflicition, that the Lord is not angrie with us; if we be in prosperitie (because the Sunne shineth on the just and the unjust) that we may see withall the mercies of God, and his loving favour in Christ given unto us.”¹¹⁵ A person’s circumstances did not change God’s character. The sacrificial death of Christ testified that the Lord acted mercifully toward his people. The promises given in Christ assured the saints of God’s love. With the Lord’s loving kindness in mind, the godly were able to follow Greenham’s counsel: “We see where Gods spirit is, there we are thankfull in prosperitie and patient in adversitie.”¹¹⁶ When guided by his Spirit, the Lord’s people offered the proper response of faith and thanksgiving in all circumstances.

This trust in God would manifest itself in seeking the divinely ordained profit available in whatever situation life brings. Poverty and prosperity could spiritually bless the godly. Greenham advised believers to examine themselves in both adversity and prosperity, to seek the grace offered, and to look toward the needs of others. Whether in poverty or wealth, he counseled, “We keep a right course & tenour of zeale in both estates.”¹¹⁷

Greenham called on people to examine how they handle both conditions: “We must especially look to that, whereunto we are most ready, that is, whether we be more zealous in prosperitie, and fall away in adversitie.”¹¹⁸ He continued, urging people to examine “whether we are more fervent in affliction, and overwhelmed in abundance:

¹¹⁵Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 534.

¹¹⁶Ibid.

¹¹⁷Ibid., 543

¹¹⁸Ibid.

whether by the one wee are not puffed up with securitie and secret pride; or whether with the other we be not too farre humbled and abased.”¹¹⁹ He exhorted the godly to reflect, to examine their own lives to see how they handle what God has given them. Some handled adversity well and fell away with prosperity. Others happily served the Lord while his good gifts were flowing but could not stand up under the least challenge. “Therefore,” Greenham declared, “if thou wilt have thy heart pure, looke unto thy profession in prosperitie, and diligently trie thine heart when thou art in trouble.”¹²⁰

All circumstances called for self-examination, and that reflection was to lead to action. No matter their station, believers needed to “desire Gods countenance in the forgiveness of sinne, in the beholdings of us in Christ, in giving the graces of his holy spirit, which are the pledges of his love.”¹²¹ The Lord ordained these benefits for his people, and they had to seek them.

The great measure of truly trusting the Lord in all circumstances was how one treated others in the opposite condition. Greenham identified interactions with people as the true test of faith in prosperity and adversity: “This is then our triall herein: if when we are in greatest prosperitie, we can mourne with them that mourne in the Lord, and when we are in greatest adversitie, if wee can rejoyce with them that rejoyce in Christ.”¹²² God-honoring faith in wealth and poverty, in affliction and in health, would enable the believer to truly empathize with others.

While prosperity might seem the affliction with which all the world would hope to be cursed, Greenham argued that wealth was as dangerous as poverty. Christians were to be cautious with their material blessings, making sure to use them for their

¹¹⁹Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 543.

¹²⁰Richard Greenham, *Meditations on Prov. 4*, WRG, 621.

¹²¹Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 534.

¹²²*Ibid.*, 543-44.

spiritual good. Misused wealth would bring God's judgment, but when the godly learned to be content in prosperity and in poverty, they could rest assured in their true riches of a lasting faith in Christ. The proper use of material blessings would result in spiritual gain.

Sickness

Prosperity and poverty were far from the only afflictions facing people in early modern England. Living conditions were less than hygienic and adequate medical care was difficult to find.¹²³ In fact, people regularly sought help from magic rather than from medicine.¹²⁴ Poor living conditions and a lack of effective treatment meant that diseases spread easily. Influenza and typhus claimed thousands of English victims during the sixteenth century, but by far the most feared disease was the bubonic plague.¹²⁵ During Greenham's life, London experienced major outbreaks of the plague in 1563, 1578, 1582, and 1593.¹²⁶ The 1563 plague alone claimed an estimated 23,412 lives, which was about one quarter of the city's population.¹²⁷ Even if one escaped unscathed from the bubonic plague, life expectancy in the second half of the sixteenth century remained relatively low at 36 years.¹²⁸ Health and long life were not staples of sixteenth-century England.

In this context, Greenham addressed sickness in both body and mind, offering remedies for both. However, there existed for Greenham no neat division between the physical and the psycho-spiritual aspects of a person. Humans lived as a unity of body

¹²³Thomas, "Environment," chap. 1 in *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 3-21.

¹²⁴Thomas, "Magical Healing," chap. 7 in *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 177-211.

¹²⁵Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 7; cf. Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, 69.

¹²⁶Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, 72. For more on the plague, see Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), esp. pp. 47-48 for puritan views of the plague.

¹²⁷Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, 72; Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History*, 82.

¹²⁸Based on Wrigley and Scholfield's Table A3.1, "Quinquennial demographic data produced by back production," in *Population History*, 528, the average life expectancy from 1541 to 1601 was 36.19 years.

and soul, and their afflictions found their roots in both the physical and spiritual worlds. Thus, whatever the symptoms, he proposed treating the whole person. Physical and spiritual needs had to be addressed.

Types of Sickness

Greenham recognized that people could experience sickness in both their minds and bodies, but more often than not, these two types of illness were related. “Many being much diseased in bodie, are the more thereby distempered in their mindes,” and likewise he offered, “so manie troubled in minde being a disorder of nature, even upon their bodies.”¹²⁹ When affliction came, it rarely limited itself to one part of a person. It might begin in the body, but then it would spread to the mind. Or, it might begin in the mind and spread to the body. The unity of a person meant that sickness affected the whole person.

The physio-spiritual nature of affliction was evident in the case of a young woman that Greenham counseled. She suffered from what he identified as a “fits” during which it would be necessary for two or three people to hold her.¹³⁰ Greenham’s answer was to address the spiritual component as a means to provide healing for her. He “charged her in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, that when the agonie came, she should not willingly yeeld to it, but in the Lord resist it.”¹³¹ He explained his rationale, “Both experience teacheth, that the over much fearing of temptation before it commeth, and little purpose to resist it when it commeth, mightily encourageth Sathan: and also the holy Ghost bideth us to resist the divell, and he will flie from us; to draw neere to God, and he will draw neere to us.”¹³² Her afflictions did not begin in the mind or in the body but

¹²⁹Greenham, *A Third Addition of Grave Counsels and Divine Directions*, WRG, 57.

¹³⁰Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 40.

¹³¹Ibid.

¹³²Ibid.

arose from a spiritual battle. Thus, the solution was to spiritually resist such an onslaught. Following his advice, “the maide,” Greenham recounted, “was never after afflicted.”¹³³

Some who fell sick during the plague further revealed the connection between the spiritual and the physical worlds when it came to illness. Greenham described how a lack of spiritual discernment during such an epidemic might lead to physical disease and even death. “In the time of a plague,” he warned, “we shall see some will be so bold, that without any lawfull calling or godly warrant, they will rush into places infected; and then falling sicke, their conscience prickes them for their tempting of God by an unadvised boldness, in the houre of their death.”¹³⁴ As a result of not heeding godly wisdom, these people would fall sick in their bodies, but they would also suffer in their souls for tempting God.¹³⁵ Disease and even death could be prevented if people would seek the Lord before hand.

One of the most heartbreaking connections Greenham drew between physical and spiritual suffering was the case of a man whose son died.¹³⁶ Suffering “in great anguish of minde,” the man asked the pastor, “Whether such strange corrections were not alwaies tokens of strange sinnes?” Greenham comforted him by pointing to the example of Job, “Albeit God did severely correct sinne in it, yet it was not necessarie that God should chiefly respect the punishment of sinne in this thing; as might appeare in the like dealing with Job and other of his children.” He directed the grieving father to Ecclesiastes

¹³³Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 40.

¹³⁴Richard Greenam, *The First Treatise for an Afflicted Conscience upon This Scripture: Proverbs 18.14*, WRG, 104.

¹³⁵Greenham himself did seek to minister to victims of the plague, which he believed this to be part of his calling as a pastor. Parker and Carlson, *Practical Divinity*, 28. He counseled churches during contagious epidemics to have one minister for the healthy and another for the sick. The physically ill needed spiritual succor as well, but clearly, precautions needed to be taken to prevent the spread of disease. Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 795; cf. Greenham, REM, fol. 19r, fol. 26r.

¹³⁶This following account was relayed in Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 35; cf. Greenham, REM fol. 41r-41v.

9, “Such things happen oftner to the good, &c.” However, Greenham cautioned, that the son’s death “might correct your immoderate love of him; or your unthankfulness for what measure he was reformed, or your not praying for him.” Or perhaps, Greenham continued, “The Lord might take away this consolation, and withdraw wholie your minde from the world, and more thoroughly sanctifie you to himselfe. Or he might prevent some worldliness which you might have fallen into, or some sinne which your sonne might have fallen into, which would have been a sorer trouble than his death.” Though the Lord’s wisdom could not be fully grasped, Greenham counseled, “You must stay yourself on the love of God in all.” Physical tragedy clearly led to spiritual anguish, but Greenham pressed further, suggesting the father search for the spiritual cause and benefit of his son’s death. The father’s only hope was to cling to the love of his heavenly Father and trust in his good purpose.

Another case reflected this same strong connection between suffering physically and spiritually. In this instance, Greenham recalled, “A certain man labouring greevously of the pleurisy felt such torments in conscience that hee was senceles of the pains of the body.”¹³⁷ He was so overcome by his spiritual misery that he did not even notice the suffering in his body. When consolation came to his conscience, the relief proved so great that he continued not to notice the physical pain of his pleurisy. Greenham relayed, “The lord afterward changeing his mourning to rejoycing, gave him such abounding comfort of his spirit, that as before through extream anguish of his spirit, so now through most woonderful passions, of heavenly joies and assurance of his sins pardoned, hee felt no outward pains of his body though dangerously it was pained.”¹³⁸ Physical and spiritual suffering were so intertwined that any healing had to address both body and soul.

¹³⁷Greenham, REM, fol. 60r.

¹³⁸Ibid.

Remedies of Sickness

Remedying any affliction required attention to the body and to the soul, for in addition to their unity, their affliction arose from a common source. The fountainhead of all suffering was humanity's rebellion against God that began in Eden. "At the Creation," Greenham explained, "all was good, GOD saw it so, therefore all the evill which we see, is of sinne, as confusion in the World, distemperature in the Bodie, maladies in the Soule; all disorders of the House, Towne, Common-wealth, come hence."¹³⁹ All the troubles of the world, including sickness, stemmed from sin. While illness might not necessarily be a punishment for a person's specific sin, the godly were to take into account their corruption by original sin and so seek spiritual benefit from their affliction. Greenham cited the example of Job as a model of repentance, "Job was a very Lazar, for the triall of his faith, yet the way for him to reover (saith Elihu) was thus to humbled for sinned; and Elihu for this was not reproved, but the Lord confirmed his words from heaven."¹⁴⁰ The lesson from Job was that "though Gods children be not chiefly punished for sinne, yet because they have sinne in them, therefore they must take this way also."¹⁴¹ He concluded with Job, noting, "We see Job confessed his sinnes before he was restored."¹⁴² The Lord did not afflict Job primarily for his sin, but his afflictions purged sin from him. Greenham then quoted the book of Hebrews as further proof of sin as the root of illness: "So Hebrew. 12.3. You have not fought to blood: meaning that though God might justly punish, yet he will use affliction for our triall, and withall will kill our corruption."¹⁴³ Sickness could be a punishment for sin, or it could come as means to cleanse God's

¹³⁹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 847.

¹⁴⁰Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 440.

¹⁴¹Ibid.

¹⁴²Ibid.

¹⁴³Ibid.

people of their sin. From such a cause, Greenham extrapolated the following principle for a cure: “What cause soever, yea though it be for the triall of faith; yet the way to come out of it, is to looke to our soules, and to clense them: for if they be once purified, then the body will be easily cured.”¹⁴⁴ In other words, “The way to cure the body is to cure the soule first.”¹⁴⁵

The emphasis on a spiritual cure did not preclude caring for the body. In fact, Greenham’s understanding of psychosomatic unity led him to counsel people to seek physical care in addition to spiritual succor. He advised, “I denie not Physicke to be ministered, if it in part proceed from a naturall cause: so I require the word especially to shew the principall and originall cause to begin in the soule.”¹⁴⁶ The original source of sickness was sin, but there existed natural causes that had to be treated as well. Greenham elaborated on why he counseled care for both body and soul, “And this I doe the rather, because I would have wisdom both in considering the state of the body if neede so require; & in looking chiefly to the soule, which so few thinke of.”¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴Greenham, *An Exposition of the 119 Psalme*, WRG, 440.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., 439.

¹⁴⁶Greenham, *The First Treatise for an Afflicted Conscience upon this Scripture: Proverbs 18.14*, WRG, 106-107. Like Greenham, his fellow puritans offered counsel on how to care for the physical needs of the sick. Richard Sibbes exhorted believers to consider the future of the body and to come to the aid of those who were ill: “If this body shall be glorious, how base soever it be in this world, then again let us honour poor Christians, though we see them vile and base, and honour aged Christians and deformed. Alas! look not on them as they are, but as they shall be... Let us not despise weak or old or deformed persons. These vile bodies shall be glorious.” Richard Sibbes, *The Redemption of Bodies*, in *The Works of Richard Sibbes*, vol. 5, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (1862-1864; repr., Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, 1973), 167. The glorious destiny of the body in the new creation was to inspire Christians to care for the sick. For his part, Perkins aimed to help the sick through his counsel. He, for example, urged wisdom in choosing a doctor: “Furthermore, that physicke may be wel applied to the maintenance of health, speciall care must be had to make choise of such physitians as are knowne to be well learned, and men of experience, as also of good conscience and good religin.” William Perkins, *A Salve for a Sicke Man* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1600), 127. Additionally, Perkins cautioned against some traditional measures taken for healing. He warned, “Judgment by the urine is most deceitfull,” and he spoke out against superstitious charms and spells. Ibid., 128-33. Concerning seeking medical treatment, Baxter added his own counsel: “But choose a physician who is specially skilled in this disease, and hath cured many others. Meddle not with women, and ignorant boasters, nor with young, inexperienced men, nor with hasty, busy, over-doing, venturous men, who cannot have time to study the patient’s temper and disease, but choose experienced, cautelous men.” Richard Baxter, *The Cure of Melancholy and Overmuch Sorrow by Faith and Physic*, in *The Practical Works of Richard Baxter*, vol. 23, ed. William Orme (London: James Duncan, 1830), 276. Wisdom was to be exercised in the treatment and healer chosen.

¹⁴⁷Greenham, *The First Treatise for an Afflicted Conscience upon this Scripture: Proverbs*

Wisdom called for treatment of the whole person, but so few thought holistically because they focused only on their field of expertise. “If a man troubled in conscience come to a Minister, it may be he will looke all to the soule and nothing to the body: if he come to a Physition, he only considereth of the body and neglecteth the soule.”¹⁴⁸ The unity of body and soul demanded that the whole person be treated. Greenham recognized that even “trouble in conscience” was not merely a mental or spiritual problem; it was an affliction of the whole person, and thus required a remedy that incorporated spiritual and physical healing. To this end, he aimed to care for both body and soul, as he explained, “For my part, I would never have the Physitions counsel severed, nor the Ministers labour neglected; because the soule and body dwelling together, it is convenient, that as the soule should be cured by the word, by prayer, by fastings, by threatening, or by comforting.”¹⁴⁹ Greenham advised combining the work of both, “The body also should be brought into some temperature by Physicke, by purging, by diet, by restoring, by musicke, and by such like meanes; providing alwaies that it be done so in the feare of God, and wisdom of his spirit.”¹⁵⁰

These physical means were not meant “to smother or smoke out our troubles,” but instead they were to be used “as preparatives, whereby both our soules and bodies may be made more capable of the spirituall meanes to follow after.”¹⁵¹ People lived as a combination of body and soul, and so they needed to be cared for as such. Here, the pastor of Dry Drayton called on people to care for their souls through the means of grace, but additionally, he recognized the need to salve the body. Medicine, music, diet, and the

18.14, *WRG*, 107.

¹⁴⁸Greenham, *The First Treatise for an Afflicted Conscience upon this Scripture: Proverbs 18.14*, *WRG*, 107.

¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*

like were to be used to help the person. Even these actions needed to be done with a proper trust in the Lord, or as Greenham described it, “In the feare of God, and wisdom of his spirit.” These outward means did not work independently of the spiritual means; they worked together to heal the whole person. Physical care served to prepare the person to make the most benefit of the spiritual measures the Lord provided. Both body and soul were to be healed.

Greenham offered other practical advice for caring for the body. When it came to a person “inflamed with cholera,” he encouraged them to eat because “abstinence nourisheth cholera, and a moderate receiving of gods gifts, alayed it,” but he warned them “to beware also of immoderate eating for that also doth increase the humor, and so wee abuse the good remedy of our infirmity, to embrace our infirmity.”¹⁵² For Greenham, an improved diet was the key to much relief, as he encouraged people to “refresh themselves with kitchen physicke, and a thankfull using of the creatures of God.”¹⁵³ Additionally,

¹⁵²Greenham, REM, fol. 28r. This advice was derived from humoral medicine. See above, chap. 2.

¹⁵³Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 34; cf. Greenham, REM, 8v. For more on the role of diet in healing, see above, chap. 2. Richard Baxter and, possibly, Thomas Cartwright (1553-1603) offered a substantial number of medicinal remedies to their readers. Cartwright might have authored *An Hospitall for the Diseased. Wherein Are To Be Found Moste Excellent and Approved Medicines, aswell Emplaisters of Speciall Vertue, as Also Notable Potions* (London: Thomas Man and William Hoskins, 1578), which is attributed to “T. C.” In his examination of sixteenth-century English medical treatises, Paul Slack notes that this work could have been by Cartwright or possibly by Thomas Cooper who had studied medicine at Oxford before becoming a bishop. Paul Slack, “Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men: the Uses of the Vernacular Medical Literature of Tudor England,” in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 252. This 1578 treatise offered a variety of treatments for diseases. For example, in case of “a Sciatica or ache,” this work counseled, “Take oyle of Nets feete, and Aquacomposita and annoit the same place where the paine is, then take wolfe newly plucked from the sheepes backe, and lay thereon, and wrap it well with warme cloathes.” T. C., *An Hospitall for the Diseased*, 9. Whether or not Cartwright wrote this particular work, Baxter provided numerous remedies for those suffering from melancholy. As common for this time, the particular medicine depended upon the humoral makeup of the individual combined with the symptoms suffered. Some of Baxter’s cures required a good bit of work to produce: “Take of good beer, ready to drink, three gallons, put it into a wooden or earthen vessel, as aforesaid, and hang in it a bag that hath wormwood, agrimony, and wild marjoram each two handfuls; of centaury, one handful; of senna, three ounces; of liquorice and aniseed, of each an ounce; of steel, three gads. At two days end, drink it as before. If it be a weak thin body, he may take it with intermission, as he is able and forbear every third to fourth day.” Baxter, *The Cure of Melancholy*, 281. Of further interest is Baxter’s *Short Instructions for the Sick* (London: Robert White, 1665). Baxter’s counsel and recipes shared much in common with Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford: John Lichfield and James Short, 1621). See esp. part 2, “The Cure of Melancholy,” 287-486. Numerous recipes of this nature supplemented the advice of the rector from Kidderminster on the spiritual means of dealing with melancholy. The whole person was to be treated when part of it suffered.

his writings mentioned a few other home remedies: “A certain woman said by experience that a plaistar which is made with venegar is good for ach in some part of the body. Also another said by experience that the bottom of a whyt loaf sod with a quart of running water was good for the bloody-flux.”¹⁵⁴ His advice on cholera and the noted home remedies demonstrated his concern for the proper care of the body.

The use of physical means was to be kept in proper perspective. Medicine and diet proved a poor replacement for trusting the Lord. Greenham found in the example of King Asa of Judah a prime example of improper dependence on outward means. “Asa was reprovved,” Greenham explained, “when he sought not the Lord when he was sicke of the gowte.”¹⁵⁵ According to the pastor of Dry Drayton, Asa’s misguided approach was still followed in his own time by many who forgot the Lord in the midst of their sickness. He recounted, “Many now adaiies in sicknesse goe to the Physitions with Asa, never considering their sins, the just cause thereof.”¹⁵⁶ He had no quarrel with seeking medical help; the problem occurred when people did not seek the Lord in conjunction with physical care. “It is good to seeke to the Physitions,” Greenham agreed, as long as “God be first sought to by repentance of that sinne, which we thinke to be the cause of the same.”¹⁵⁷ Medicine would prove no help if God did not ordain its benefit, for he who controlled the sickness also controlled the remedy. The godly first needed to seek the Almighty before running to the local doctor. Learning from Asa’s mistake, Greenham advised, “Let us then both in ordinarie and extraordinarie meanes of blessings and punishments alwayes confesse, that the hand of the Lord hath wrought it.”¹⁵⁸ With God’s

¹⁵⁴Greenham, REM, fol. 68r.

¹⁵⁵Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 795. See 2 Chr 16.

¹⁵⁶Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 795.

¹⁵⁷Ibid.

¹⁵⁸Ibid, 796.

role acknowledged, the godly needed to “seeke to bee cured of him by whom we have been wounded. And let us so looke to the meanes, as that wee first reconcile ourselves to God for our sinnes, and pacifie him, in that hee may blesse, and not curse the meanes of Physicke.”¹⁵⁹ Greenham called on people to recognize that God brought both blessing and sickness, and so first and foremost, help had to be sought from the Lord. When the sick looked first to God and trusted in him, he then blessed the physical means of healing.

Physical healing, however, was never an end in and of itself. Spiritual healing – the restoration of a person to God through the redemption won by Christ – always took precedence. Greenham made his priorities clear when he proclaimed, “It is a greater miracle that a man should become a new creature, than a man should be cured of never so strange a disease.”¹⁶⁰ The fact that sin often proved to be the cause of physical maladies reflected the primacy of spiritual healing.

To strengthen this point, Greenham cited the example of a doctor who brought physical healing by calling attention to the sin in his patients’ lives: “A godly Physition in the time of persecution having three patients resorting unto him, to be cured of great evill, said: this strange disease and sicknesse betokeneth some strange sinnes and corruptions to be in you, and therefore if you will by me be freed from the sicknesse, reconcile yourselves to God that he may free you from your sinnes.”¹⁶¹ Greenham, then, recounted, “The Physition unripped their lives, and at the first inquired of them, if they did not frequent the Masse. They could not plainely denie it.”¹⁶² To this confession, the doctor replied, “Have you so highly displeased God, and know not of any sinne to be in you?

¹⁵⁹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 796.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., 803.

¹⁶¹Ibid., 796; cf. Greenham, REM, fol. 61r.

¹⁶²Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 796.

goe your wayes, and first learne how grievous your sinne is, before God: for the Lord having laide his rod upon you, I dare not take it off, unlesse yee shew fruites of repentance.”¹⁶³ Greenham concluded with a report of their repentance and healing: “And thus he dismissed them, untill they knowing and acknowledging thier sinne, with griefe returned, and afterward were healed.”¹⁶⁴

While the purpose of this account was more anti-Catholic polemic than instruction on handling sickness, the story demonstrated Greenham’s understanding of the interconnectedness of the spiritual and physical realms while retaining the primacy of the spiritual. In this case, addressing the spiritual problem brought physical healing. Affliction served to draw people near to God, and those who suffered were wise to heed the spiritual benefits available.

In the Old Testament, Greenham also found evidence of the priority of spiritual concerns. “The children of Israel lived fortie yeeres with Manna, and Moses and Elias lived fortie daies without meate: all these teach us, that man liveth not by bread.”¹⁶⁵ From their example he concluded, “The want of the creatures doth not necessarily cast us into diseases, but that it is our sinne which casteth us into them. Meate doth not nourish us, Physick doth not heale us, and the creatures doe not strengthen us, but the Lord doth all in all, as it pleaseth him, to trie his children, or to punish the wicked.”¹⁶⁶ Bodily needs took second place to the needs of the soul. The Lord could sustain his people without food for many days or with bread from heaven for many years, but without God, all people would surely falter and fail. Spiritual needs took precedence over physical needs.

¹⁶³Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 796.

¹⁶⁴Ibid.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., 795.

¹⁶⁶Ibid.

The primacy of spiritual healing over physical required the afflicted to employ means of grace alongside the ordinary means of bodily succor. Greenham counseled the afflicted to assess their own faith, trust that God was in control, and look for the Lord's purpose in suffering. The spiritual side of healing began with personal assessment. The first step was "the searching of our sinnes, and then the examining of our faith."¹⁶⁷ As Greenham understood much illness to come as a result of sin, it only made sense that those who suffered began their treatment by searching their own lives for sin. They must seek where they disobeyed and where their faith fell short. Such reflection had to be guided by the Scriptures as God's holy standard. Greenham exhorted his readers, "We must meditate deeply of the Law and of the Gospel, together with the appurtenances of them both, that finding ourselves neere to the curses due to the breakers of the law, we may raise up some sense of sin in our selves."¹⁶⁸ The afflicted needed to meditate on God's Word in order to gain a better understanding of their sin.

This call to look inward stemmed from the great danger of not realizing one's standing before God. As Greenham explained, "If we be often touched and amend not, we are in danger of Gods wrath. Many indeede are pricked with povertie, many with sicknes, and some with other like afflictions, but few with their sinnes, which is the cause of their povertie, sicknes, and other afflictions."¹⁶⁹ The outward afflictions were merely symptoms of a deeper cause. God used these physical problems to draw attention to the condition of the heart.

If people would not judge themselves, then the Lord would be forced to judge them. "Whilst we lie in our sinnes, we lie in our owne blood; if wee judge not our selves,

¹⁶⁷Greenham, *The First Treatise for an Afflicted Conscience upon this Scripture: Proverbs 18.14*, WRG, 100.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., 105.

¹⁶⁹Richard Greenham, *The Seventh Sermon*, WRG, 284.

God will both judge us, and bee revenged of our sinne.”¹⁷⁰ The Lord, Greenham warned, would use whatever means necessary: “He will set our house on fire, he will send enemies, hee will send earthquakes, he will send famines to consume our goods, he wil make friends foes, he wil send sicknes and sorenesse upon our bodies & a troubled spirit into our soules, he will send us an ill name.”¹⁷¹ God would continue and “bring plague upon plague untill we repent, and come to a feeling of our sins.”¹⁷²

Greenham reminded his hearers why these afflictions came, “And why doth God all this? because we will not come to judge our selves.”¹⁷³ All this physical pain resulted from not heeding God’s spiritual counsel. Introspection and the search for personal sin were necessary if one were to avoid God’s judgment. Greenham counseled people to use sickness and all physical affliction as an alarm to awaken them to their own sin. If they would not heed the warnings, God’s judgment would come in this life and the next. The spiritual remedies began with an inward look for sin and faith.

Healing of the soul could not stop with introspection. True spiritual healing would only come if the afflicted turned from self to God. All those who suffered needed to remember that the Lord controlled all their trials. While there existed any number of proximate causes for illness, the godly did well to remember that it was ultimately their God who controlled all. Greenham exhorted the godly, “Beware that you doe not often alter your judgement of your estate, as saying, sometimes it is God his worke, sometimes Melancholie, sometimes your weaknes and simplicitie, somtimes witcherie, sometimes Satan.”¹⁷⁴ Instead, the pastor of Dry Drayton urged, “Looke steadfastly to the hand of

¹⁷⁰Greenham, *The Seventh Sermon*, WRG, 285.

¹⁷¹Ibid.

¹⁷²Ibid.

¹⁷³Ibid.

¹⁷⁴Richard Greenham, *Ceratine Rules for an Afflicted Minde*, WRG, 856.

God, surely resting on this, that hee not onely knoweth thereof, but that whatsoever is done, directly, or indirectly, by meanes or immediately, al is done and governed by him.”¹⁷⁵ The Lord’s loving governance of all things was the message of hope for the sufferer. God controlled all their afflictions, not for their harm but for their good. The sick had to remember that the Lord governed all their lives by his gracious providence. His sovereign control was total. “There is no sinne which we should not fall into if the Lord leave us; so is there no disease which should not come upon us, unlesse he preserve us.”¹⁷⁶

Greenham offered the totality of God’s care as a means of comfort for the afflicted. The good and loving Lord watched over everything. He would care for his people even when they did not feel his presence. This truth comforted those who suffered, knowing that God controlled all things for their good. Greenham reminded his readers, “Man liveth not by bread onely, neither is it care can make us rich, nor our owne devices bring quietnes to our mindes.”¹⁷⁷ Instead, he made plain, “It is the Lord, who in his providence worketh all in all.”¹⁷⁸ God’s providence should comfort his people, and they were to respond in thankfulness with the desire to “make use of all things in any estate, to the glory of his name, and the good of our brethren.”¹⁷⁹

The realization of God’s sovereign control should have inspired his people to benefit from whatever situation he ordained. In order to gain from affliction, sufferers had to look for the Lord’s purpose in their illness. “To one complaining of sudden gripes and nips of the bodie, of sudden feares in the minde,” Greenham counseled him to make

¹⁷⁵Greenham, *Ceratine Rules for an Afflicted Minde*, WRG, 856.

¹⁷⁶Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 773.

¹⁷⁷Ibid.

¹⁷⁸Ibid.

¹⁷⁹Ibid.

“use of them.”¹⁸⁰ In his own life, he rejoiced in his own stomach problems, and he did “not wish to be utterly freed from often infirmities, because the Lord had very much by them provoked him often to examine himself.”¹⁸¹ He encouraged others to follow his personal example and allow God’s work in their lives to take its course through their suffering. To a friend, he offered, “Sir your physick may ease you of some paine, but I hope it shall not purge you of the favour of God.”¹⁸² Medicine could bring physical relief, but Greenham cautioned that such comfort might come at the cost of the Lord’s good purpose in suffering. He warned this same friend, “Although you be eased in this, yet for that God loveth you, he will meete with you in some other thing.”¹⁸³ If God’s will were not accomplished through this illness, then another would come to accomplish all he desires. Thus, the godly needed to seek to benefit spiritually from what they suffer physically. Greenham counseled all who suffer “to profit by whatsoever is laid upon us.”¹⁸⁴ The goodness to be sought in affliction was to “see the Lord.”¹⁸⁵ Such an encounter led sufferers to “bee humbled” and then prompted them to “live righteously.”¹⁸⁶ All afflictions came from God for the sake of his people, and they would do well to seek his will in them.

The divinely ordained benefits of suffering were not just for the one who suffered. Those who truly made use of their affliction would help others to benefit from

¹⁸⁰Greenham, *Grave Counsels and Godly Observations*, WRG, 2; cf. Greenham, REM, fol. 28v.

¹⁸¹Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 795; cf. Greenham, REM, fol. 37r.

¹⁸²Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 795; cf. Greenham, REM, fol. 37v.

¹⁸³Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 795.

¹⁸⁴Ibid., 794.

¹⁸⁵Ibid.

¹⁸⁶Ibid.

their personal trials. To this end, Greenham called on those who suffered, “Let us learne to see it in the example of the theefe on the crosse, who fled unto God, profited by the crosse, and would that others also should so do.”¹⁸⁷ Affliction truly brought forth fruit in the life of a believer when it not only helped the one who suffered but also benefited others. “If wee desire,” Greenham proposed, “to amend our life, and that others also should amend by our example; by these frutes we may see that our sicknes is sanctified in Christ, and all other our troubles are also sanctified in him.”¹⁸⁸ God’s good purpose in suffering would come to fruition when the godly trusted faithfully in the Lord through all their trials and became examples to the world.

Even when people heeded God’s good purpose in their suffering, the danger remained of their returning to their old ways once relief had come. Greenham compared such people to those who were “fallen into the hands of the Magistrate, or of the discipline of the Church.”¹⁸⁹ These, he cautioned, “will shew great repentance for the time. But when the time of their examination and course of Justice is past, then also is their pietie past, they are never the better.”¹⁹⁰ Such a response “sheweth that they were not truly humbled, neither received any profit by their present correction.”¹⁹¹ Rather than following this example, Greenham exhorted, “Let us learne to profit by both, namely, by the immediate, or mediate hand of God upon us, and know that if the Lord forgive our sinnes they shall be forgotten of men, and if we shame our selves, and be truly humbled under his hand for them, then the Lord will take away our shame, and whatsoever

¹⁸⁷Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 794.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., 794-95.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., 794.

¹⁹⁰Ibid.

¹⁹¹Ibid.

affliction in his due time.”¹⁹² The good plan the Lord had for those who suffered required them to remain faithful even when the tribulation had passed. True repentance bore lasting fruit.

Conclusion

In this world will, people encountered suffering, and as a pastor, Greenham considered it his duty to care for people. His Christology and anthropology did not allow him to limit his care to merely spiritual counsel. Rather, he viewed each person as a unity of body and soul that must be helped both physically and spiritually. People facing poverty, prosperity, and sickness needed tangible help, which he strongly desired to provide. However, physical care alone would never prove sufficient. Those who suffer needed spiritual succor as well. They needed to see the grace available to them in their divinely ordained suffering. They needed to trust in the Lord and wholly depend on him.

¹⁹²Greenham, *Godly Instructions For The Due Examination And Direction Of Al Men*, WRG, 794.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This dissertation demonstrates the important role of the body in Greenham's pastoral practice and argues that his care for the body arose from his theology. His biblical anthropology established his view of a person as the unity of body and soul, and he derived the value of the body from his Christology. The body had significance because the Son of God took on a complete human nature, including a body, in order to redeem his people in body and in soul. Psychosomatic unity combined with the person and work of Christ to form the basis for the importance of the body in Greenham's pastoral work.

Chapter 1 shows how Greenham fulfilled the typical picture of a puritan minister. He preached frequently and at length, catechized the children of his parish, and expended much energy counseling people on the assurance of salvation. However, his work did not end with these practices. He also prioritized caring for others' physical needs. For example, he gave generously to the poor and imprisoned, and he established a co-operative to keep prices affordable in his community. Additionally, he incorporated the body into his spirituality. He counseled people as embodied beings and encouraged Christians to honor God with their bodies in their worship and daily lives. In short, Greenham cared for the body and soul.

Chapter 2 describes Greenham's anthropology in its intellectual context. He believed that a person consisted of a body and a soul that was joined together in this life, separated at death, and would be reunited in the new creation. He grounded the worth of the body in the fact that God created and redeemed the body. He particularly focused on how the person and work of Christ revealed the value of the body. The far reaching effects of sin in both body and soul meant that for Christ's redemption of humanity to be

complete, he had to redeem the physical and spiritual. To accomplish this goal, the Son of God assumed a complete human nature, including a body. He lived his life on earth, died his atoning death, was resurrected, and ascended to heaven in this body. Christ accomplished his work in the fullness of his human nature in order to redeem his people in body and soul.

Following upon this explanation of Greenham's views, chapter 2 seeks to place his understanding of the body within his sixteenth-century context. Analogs for his views can be found in philosophy, medicine, and theology of this time. In philosophy, particularly natural philosophy, the question of the connection of the body with the soul arose. Greenham likely would have been familiar with these discussions through his time at Cambridge and the study of Aristotle's *De Anima*. Velcurio's *Commentariorum libri III in universam Aristotelis Physicen*, which was used within the university's curriculum, provided a Christian corrective to Aristotle's soul-body hylomorphism. Opposed to Aristotle, Velcurio posited the unity of the body and soul. Greenham's views aligned with Velcurio's. In medicine, Galen remained the dominant figure, and his system supported belief in the union of body and soul. The proliferation of popular medical literature in the sixteenth-century meant that Greenham was more than likely familiar with Galen's views. Similarities with Greenham's views abounded in protestant theology of this time. Many within Protestantism shared both Greenham's understanding of psychosomatic unity as well as his desire to care for people's physical well-being. In addition to those who shared his views, Greenham's conception of the body also took shape against the backdrop of his religious opponents. In particular, Greenham articulated the value of the body in contrast to the spiritualizing Family of Love that had a number of followers in his Diocese of Ely.

In chapter 3, the influence of Greenham's understanding of the body on his pastoral counseling is considered. This chapter begins by examining his vision for embodied spirituality. He called upon Christians to live as faithful followers of their

Savior in this physical world by appreciating the status as pilgrims in this world, the importance of thanksgiving, and the value of introspection. Then, the chapter turns to Greenham's care for the body in the mundane, outlining his counsel on diet, clothing, work, and rest. In this advice, he demonstrated a genuine concern for the body and a belief that the physical could benefit a person's spiritual growth. Next, his views on marriage and death are explored to show the importance of the body in these major life events. The chapter concludes with Greenham's instructions on the role of the body in specific spiritual activities such as sanctification and employing the means of grace.

Chapters 4 and 5 explicate Greenham's understanding of affliction as a means of grace. Physical suffering could grow the believer in their spiritual lives. The first of these two chapters addresses his teaching on suffering in general, discussing the expectedness, origin, purpose, and proper response to affliction. Ultimately, God exercised his sovereign care over his people, even in affliction, and those who followed Christ were to respond to all hardship by trusting in their Lord. Chapter 5 examines three specific cases of affliction that Greenham addressed: poverty, prosperity, and sickness. In all of these troubles, people needed to continue to trust the Lord and to seek him. Greenham's concern for the body was evident in all his advice. While the spiritual goals took priority, he did not neglect caring for physical needs.

Areas for Further Research

The holistic nature of Greenham's pastoral practice deserves further study. In particular, more work should be done examining the role of the affections in his theology and practice. Despite his emphasis on preaching and catechesis, he did not hold an intellectualist view of faith. Faith was about more than knowledge. It needed to reach the heart. Fruitful work could be done examining the connection between the affections and assurance in his ministry. His understanding of affections should also be considered within the broader Reformed Tradition. His work should be compared both with the

reformers who preceded him as well as those who came after in his tradition. Of particular interest would be a study that compares Greenham with Jonathan Edwards's *Religious Affections*.

In addition to Greenham, much work remains to be done on the role of the body in puritan pastoral practice generally. The body played a central, yet largely ignored role, in puritan practical divinity. The godly wrote a great deal on physical affliction and its role in the spiritual life, and these works deserve more study. Additionally, the detailed instructions many of the godly offer on life in the body need more attention to help complete our understanding of their pastoral practice. Finally, the role of the body in puritan worship needs further study. For a movement that began, in part, over a desire to reform the worship of the English church, this aspect of their thought and practice has not received sufficient attention. A worthwhile place to begin rectifying this deficiency is in a study of the role of the body in puritan worship.

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ABSTRACT

MINISTER TO THE BODY: RICHARD GREENHAM AND THE OTHER SIDE OF PURITAN PASTORAL PRACTICE

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This dissertation examines the role of the body in the theology and pastoral practice of Richard Greenham (c. 1540-1594). Contrary to those who find in puritanism a Platonizing disdain for the body, Greenham highly values the physical aspect of human nature. He spends much of his time and resources caring for corporeal needs. He gives generously to the poor, establishes a community co-operative to regulate the price of grain, and advises on the best ways to treat physical ailments. Furthermore, the body plays an integral role in his spirituality. In his renowned counseling, he ministers to both soul and body, and in his sermons and writings, he urges Christians to glorify God with their bodies in daily life and in corporate worship on the Sabbath. His understanding of the worth of the body arises from a theological basis. God creates and redeems whole people. God creates people as unions of bodies and souls, and Christ took on a complete human nature, including a body, in order to redeem his people in both body and soul. While death separates body from soul, the Son of God will resurrect the bodies of the dead, reuniting them with their souls, when he comes again. He will raise the godly to an everlasting, embodied, and glorified existence in the presence of God, but he will raise the ungodly to unceasing physical and spiritual torment. Greenham ministers holistically because he understands the Christian faith to concern not just the salvation of souls but the redemption of whole people.

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