Why heaven kissed earth : the christology of Thomas Goodwin (1600-1680)

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WHY HEAVEN KISSED EARTH:

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF

THOMAS GOODWIN (1600-1680)

Proefschrift

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CONTENTS

One God, Three Persons

Summary of Argument

    Introduction

Goodwin's Contribution to Reformed Orthodoxy

    Goodwin's British Context
    Goodwin's Christology
    Goodwin in Wider Perspective
    Conclusion

INTRODUCTION

'Heaven and Earth met and kissed one another, namely, God and Man.'[1]

General Scope of this Study

Fundamental to historic Christian doctrine is a correct understanding of the Jesus Christ. Given the claims that are made about the person of Christ and his work it is not surprising that the topic of Christology has been a much-vexed issue over the course of the centuries, both inside and outside the Christian tradition. In the seventeenth century the polemical situation bore important similarities to that of the fifth century when the Christology of the Chalcedonian Creed (451 A.D) was received as orthodox Christian doctrine amidst several competing Christologies. As in the fifth century, the output of literature on the person and work of Christ in the seventeenth century, particularly in England, was prodigious. In the same way that we find a number of important studies on Christology during the Early Church, and even during the sixteenth century, we should naturally expect to find a great deal of secondary literature addressing the various trinitarian and Christological controversies that erupted during the seventeenth century. However, for various reasons, that is not the case. This study on the Christology of the Puritan and Reformed orthodox theologian, Thomas Goodwin (1600-1680), intends to fill an important gap in the area of seventeenth-century Protestant orthodoxy.

With perhaps the exception of John Owen (1616-1683), Goodwin's corpus contains a greater amount of literary output on the person and work of Christ than that of any other English Puritan theologian. This study would need to be three or four times its current length in order to capture all of the various emphases and nuances of Goodwin's Christology. The goal, however,

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[1] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 82.

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is to answer a hugely important question framed in the eleventh century by Anselm of Canterbury: *Cur Deus Homo?* The answer to the question 'Why did God become man?' has not always met with the same response. This study attempts to answer this question with particular reference to Goodwin, and how he relates to the broader Reformed interpretive tradition.

In short, the central argument of this study posits that Goodwin's Christology is grounded in, and flows out of, the eternal covenant of redemption, also known as the *pactum salutis* or 'counsel of peace'. That is to say, his Christology does not begin in the temporal realm at the incarnation, but stretches back into eternity when the persons of the Trinity covenanted to bring about the salvation of fallen mankind. Goodwin's Christology moves from the pretemporal realm to the temporal realm with a decidedly eschatological thrust, that is, with a view to the glory of the God-man, Jesus Christ. What this study does is connect two vital aspects of Reformed theology, namely, the doctrine of Christ and the concept of the covenant. The findings of this study show that, for Goodwin, Christ is the Christ of the covenant.

Because this is a study in historical theology, the first few chapters attempt to take seriously the context in which Goodwin wrote. His theology did not, of course, occur in a vacuum. Rather, both his concerns and emphases reflect the social, political, and theological climate of seventeenth-century England. More than that, the approach of the study focuses on descriptive-historical analysis in terms of understanding his theology, but not to the exclusion of advancing the aforementioned thesis that his Christology is the outworking of the *pactum salutis*. Whether he is right or wrong about his understanding of the person and work of Christ is beyond the scope of the present work. Questions of that nature are left to studies in systematic theology. The main point, rather, is to understand what Goodwin said about Christology and why he said it in the way he did. The conclusion will show that besides being part of an ongoing Western

theological tradition, with a particular dependence upon the Reformed tradition in the sixteenth century, his Christology is distinctively Reformed. That is to say, if one understands Christology to incorporate both the person and work of Christ, there is no doubt that a distinct Reformed Christology exists. Those who would agree with this basic approach to Christology understand that the person and work of Christ bear an organic relation to one another. This is particularly the case in Goodwin's own thought. Like Anselm, Goodwin understands that the debt owed by fallen man is so large that, although no one but man owed it, only God is capable of repaying it. The hypostatic union allows the worth of the person (i.e. the God-man) to give value to the work. However, even if one understands Christology to refer only to the person of Christ, the evidence suggests that the Reformed orthodox, particularly in the seventeenth century, had a view of Christ's person – if all of the particulars are included – unique to their own theological tradition, but nevertheless firmly rooted in Chalcedonian orthodoxy.

Consequently, this work, besides arguing for a specific thesis, has a number of goals in mind. First, to show that those Puritans whose theology is best characterized as Reformed orthodoxy gave a prominent place to Christ in their theological writings, especially in the case of Goodwin. As noted above, Christology and covenant theology cannot be separated in his thought. Therefore, this study incorporates two of the most significant doctrinal loci in Reformed orthodoxy. Second, because there are so few studies on seventeenth-century British Christology, this work will evaluate one of the leading English theologians of the seventeenth century. A serious attempt has been made to incorporate a number of the leading Reformed theologians and their own thoughts on certain points of doctrine. This has the added value of bringing out the Christology of not only Goodwin, but his predecessors (e.g. John Calvin) and contemporaries (e.g. John Owen). For the most part, their inclusion signifies that Goodwin was

not inventing his own theology, but instead was part of the ongoing Western Christian tradition, particularly that of Reformed orthodoxy. Where he does depart from his Reformed orthodox contemporaries will be made clear in the text. Finally, many of the historical-theological studies in British Puritanism have focused on dispelling the 'Calvin against the Calvinists' thesis, to the point that such a thesis is not as significant as it was five years ago.[2] Current historiography has shown many of the presuppositions behind the 'Calvin against the Calvinists' thesis to be false.[3] As a result of these studies, the focus can now shift towards understanding – in this case Goodwin – what the seventeenth-century Reformed orthodox said and why. Consequently, this work will show why he has been justly remembered as one of the most significant Reformed theologians in the seventeenth century.

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[2] A few representative works that advance this thesis are: Alan C. Clifford, *Atonement and Justification: English Evangelical Theology 1640-1790, An Evaluation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Basil Hall, 'Calvin Against the Calvinists' in G.E. Duffield, ed., *John Calvin* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 19-37; Brian Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy: Protestant Scholasticism and Humanism in Seventeenth Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969); R.T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1997).

[3] For example, see: Carl Trueman and R. Scott Clark, eds., *Protestant Scholasticism: Essays in Reassessment* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999); Richard Muller, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); idem, *Christ and the Decree: Christology and Predestination in Reformed Theology from Calvin to Perkins* (Durham: Labyrinth Press, 1986); Carl Trueman, *The Claims of Truth: John Owen's Trinitarian Theology* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1998).

CHAPTER ONE: *STATUS QUAESTIONIS*

The State of Goodwin Research

Introduction

Despite his stature in the Civil War period, and his ongoing significance within Nonconformity and British Evangelicalism, Thomas Goodwin (1600-1680) has received relatively little attention in the secondary literature. Indeed, there is not a single published monograph devoted to this leading Puritan thinker. In 1998 Carl Trueman described John Owen (1616-1683) as the 'forgotten man of English theology'.[1] With the publication of Trueman's book on Owen, which in large part precipitated the subsequent renaissance of interest in Owen studies, Owen has quickly become unforgotten.[2] The title of the 'forgotten man of English theology' is now more appropriately spoken of Thomas Goodwin, the seventeenth-century Reformed orthodox Congregationalist theologian.

There are, however, a number of unpublished doctoral theses and journal articles that address some of the more noteworthy aspects of Goodwin's life and thought. Among the theses, only two attempt to address the state of Goodwin research, and they do so without going into significant detail. This chapter will, therefore, give what is believed to be the first detailed account of the secondary literature on Goodwin, assessing both the relative strengths and

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[1] C. Trueman, *The Claims of Truth: John Owen's Trinitarian Theology* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998), 1.

[2] For example, S. Rehnman, *Divine Discourse: The Theological Methodology of John Owen* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002); R. Daniels, *The Christology of John Owen* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2004); A. Spence, *Incarnation and Inspiration: John Owen and the Coherence of Christology* (London: T.T Clark, 2007); K. Kapic, *Communion with God: The Divine and the Human in the Theology of John Owen* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007); C. Trueman, *John Owen: Reformed Catholic, Renaissance Man* (Ashgate, 2007); J. Payne, *John Owen on the Lord's Supper* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 2004); B. Kay, *When Doctrine Informs Devotion: John Owen and Trinitarian Spirituality in the West* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2007).

weaknesses of each study. In doing this, the present thesis will find both its justification and trajectory of argument.

'Transmission and Transformation'

Since Goodwin has not attracted the same interest as some of his contemporaries, like John Owen (1616-1683), Richard Baxter (1615-1691) and John Bunyan (1628-1688), there are no significant competing interpretations in the secondary literature. However, a recent work by Michael Lawrence attempts to give the first comprehensive re-assessment of Goodwin's life and work.[3] The work succeeds where others failed in appreciating the historical context in which Goodwin wrote. For the most part, the theological and political agendas that confronted Goodwin the theologian had either been totally ignored or misunderstood among his interpreters. Lawrence's work, however, makes significant inroads into the ecclesiastical and political context in which Goodwin lived, thus heightening the importance of why Goodwin wrote what he did. Lawrence remarks, '[t]he salutary effect of this recovery is to reconnect Goodwin's theology with his life and times in such a way that each illuminates the other.'[4]

The provenance and contents of Goodwin's collected *Works*, published posthumously between 1681 and 1704, in five large folio volumes, is one of the key areas that Lawrence seeks to address. Christopher Hill has suggested that Goodwin's posthumous writings, which dwarf the amount that appeared during his lifetime, were written during the last twenty years of his

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[3] Michael T. Lawrence, 'Transmission and Transformation: Thomas Goodwin and the Puritan Project' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 2002).
[4] Lawrence, 'Transmission and Transformation', 4.

life.[5] Such an assumption is understandable given the passing of the Act of Uniformity (1662) which meant that all public pulpits and Universities were closed to men like Goodwin who, as a result, would have had significant time to devote to writing. Furthermore, Goodwin's son, Thomas [junior] (*c.*1650–1708?), recorded, 'It was now he liv'd a retir'd Life, spent in Prayer, Reading and Meditation, between which he divided his time.'[6] 'The result', says Lawrence, 'was a firm placement of Goodwin and his *Works* within the context of Restoration nonconformity and its emergent denominational character.'[7] It is precisely this contention that Lawrence challenges: he is convinced that Goodwin's posthumous *Works* are not essentially the result of the Restoration. Rather, 'the available evidence suggests that the *Works* were largely written, though perhaps not edited, prior to 1660.'[8] That much of Goodwin's writing took place before the Restoration is based on the internal evidence in his own writings which includes, among other things, his detailed response to the rising influence of Socinianism in the 1640s. What they reveal is 'the thought of a puritan divine across the span of his career, and not simply at the end of it.'[9]

Importantly, in attempting to date Goodwin's writings, Lawrence demonstrates that Goodwin maintained a theological consistency in his thought over the course of both his public and private career.[10] Moreover, Lawrence argues that the internal evidence shows that Goodwin's writings, considered against the backdrop of the threats of Socinianism,

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[5] Christopher Hill, *The Experience of Defeat: Milton and Some Contemporaries* (New York: Viking, 1984), 179. This contention has been subsequently repeated, see Robert Halley, 'Memoir of Thomas Goodwin, D.D.', *The Works of Thomas Goodwin* (12 vols, Edinburgh, 1861-66, repr. Eureka, CA, 1996), II, xxxix; Joel Beeke, 'Introduction', *The Works of Thomas Goodwin* (12 vols, Edinburgh, 1861-66, repr. Grand Rapids, 2006), 11.

[6] Thomas Goodwin [junior], 'The Life of Dr. Thomas Goodwin; Compos'd from his own Papers and Memoirs', *The Works of Thomas Goodwin D.D. Sometime President of Magdalen College in Oxford* (5 vols, 1681-1704), V (1704), xviii. Hereafter cited 'Life'.

[7] Lawrence, 'Transmission and Transformation', 13.

[8] Lawrence, 'Transmission and Transformation', 16.

[9] Lawrence, 'Transmission and Transformation', 51.

[10] Contra Owen. See Carl Trueman, 'John Owen's *Dissertation on Divine Justice*: an Exercise in Christocentric Scholasticism', *Calvin Theological Journal* 33 (1998), 87-103.

Arminianism, Roman Catholicism, Quakerism, and Pantheism, to Calvinism, displayed a non-polemical character. In other words, Goodwin 'evidenced a pastoral emphasis on winning the consciences of heretics, rather than binding them.'[11] Resulting from the rising anti-Calvinist influence in England, his theological effort was principally taken up with the promulgation of a thoroughly Calvinistic soteriology rather than, though not to the exclusion of, Congregationalist ecclesiology, 'just at the time one might have expected a principled Congregationalist to have pressed his advantage.'[12]

Lawrence's goal of historical contextualization is further developed as he provides the first modern intellectual biography of a man whose unusually long life 'offers an opportunity to view nearly the entire Stuart age.'[13] Goodwin's theological training in Jacobean Norfolk and Cambridge is examined before Lawrence describes at some length Goodwin's conversion to Congregationalism during the 1630s. Goodwin's millenarianism was actually decisive for his understanding of church polity. Central to Lawrence's discussion of Goodwin's ecclesiology is his contention that 'Goodwin's understanding of the nature of the church was directly impacted by his reading of Revelation 11.'[14] While Lawrence's work is principally a historical biography, the aforementioned insight is indicative of the strong theological subtext that pervades his account of the life of Goodwin. In fact, among the most important discoveries made by Lawrence is Goodwin's participation, with fellow Congregationalists and Presbyterians such as Owen, Philip Nye (*bap.* 1595, *d.* 1672), Sidrach Simpson (1600-1655), Richard Vines (1600-1656), Thomas Manton (1620-1677) and Thomas Jacomb (1624-1687), in two attempts to provide a confession of faith for the Interregnum church. The documents that resulted from

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[11] Lawrence, 'Transmission and Transformation', 51.
[12] Lawrence, 'Transmission and Transformation', 52.
[13] Lawrence, 'Transmission and Transformation', 2. Most of Lawrence's work, however, focuses on the first fifty years of Goodwin's life. More work needs to be done on the later years.
[14] Lawrence, 'Transmission and Transformation', 141.

these consultations show that '[f]ar from being either narrowly Congregationalist or rigidly Calvinist, Goodwin's platform for the Church of England was both orthodox and inclusive, and sought … to safeguard a recognizably puritan understanding of salvation against its critics both new and old. Ultimately, the survey of Goodwin's career suggests that he was as much one of the last of the puritans as the first of the Congregationalists.'[15]

The editorial process behind Goodwin's posthumous *Works* has, until Lawrence's work, received little attention. Edited by Goodwin's son, Thomas [junior], in five large folio volumes these *Works*, including the writing of his 'Life', have 'proved to be the foundation of almost all subsequent historical reflection on Goodwin and his career.'[16] The editing process, however, left much to be desired. Lawrence argues that Goodwin's son arranged the *Works* haphazardly, not taking into account his father's plan and also arranging the *Works* so as to fight contemporary battles that Goodwin [junior] faced. As Lawrence notes:

> … what is clear is that Goodwin's son was not following the plan his father had left, but was instead moulding his father's treatises into a well-established pattern within the Reformed tradition. Beginning with the Knowledge of God, the Works would lead the reader from 'the firm Foundation' of the Trinity into 'the beautiful and uniform Structure of all other Truths'. While this did not oblige him to change the content of his father's writings, it did mean the abandonment of his father's project.[17]

The internal evidence in Goodwin's writings seem to suggest that rather than aiming to write a Reformed systematic theology, as his son seems to imply, Goodwin, especially during the 1630s-1650s, sought to defend Reformed soteriology against the rising influence of Roman Catholicism, Socinianism, Arminianism, and the Quakers. We should, therefore, understand that

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[15] Lawrence, 'Transmission and Transformation', 7.
[16] Lawrence, 'Transmission and Transformation', 192. The 'Life' of Goodwin, regarding both its shortcomings and subsequent influence on Goodwin scholars, will be referenced below in chapter one where Goodwin is placed in his seventeenth-century context.
[17] Lawrence, 'Transmission and Transformation', 201.

the ordering of Goodwin's *Works* by his son does not reflect the order in which they were written, but rather reflects the dogmatic concerns of Restoration dissent. Despite the questionable editorial activity of Goodwin's son, the historical theologian, while appreciating these complexities raised by Lawrence, should still be able to accurately assess Goodwin the theologian. After all, there is no evidence that Goodwin underwent any significant changes in his theology as his contemporary John Owen did. The key, then, is to appreciate Lawrence's more nuanced approach to the details surrounding the life of Goodwin and the work of his son. In connection with this, Lawrence aptly remarks, '[t]o the extent that previous historical work on Goodwin has adopted either the 'Life' or the *Works* as an unmediated source into the life and thought of the man, that work has run the risk of anachronism.'[18] The Restoration construction, handed down to us by Goodwin's son, should be understood, indeed re-evaluated, in light of the Caroline and Interregnum reality and to that end Lawrence's work provides a helpful breakthrough in Goodwin studies that other Goodwin scholars had been unaware of.

Printed Editions of Goodwin's Works (1861-66 or 1691-1704?)

Arising from the above considerations, the question over which particular edition of Goodwin's *Works* will be used in the present study needs to be addressed.[19] Except for Lawrence, and occasionally R.B. Carter,[20] the secondary literature on Goodwin references the twelve-volume

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[18] Lawrence, 'Transmission and Transformation', 222.

[19] Cf. Thomas Goodwin, *The Works of Thomas Goodwin D.D. Sometime President of Magdalen College in Oxford* (5 vols, 1681-1704); Thomas Goodwin, *The Works of Thomas Goodwin* (12 vols, Edinburgh: Nichols ed., 1861-66).

[20] See below.

(1861-66) re-print edition instead of the older five-volume (1681-1704) edition.[21] While the text

is largely similar, it is not identical. The later twelve-volume edition is missing a lot of the

marginalia. Moreover, the twelve-volume edition re-orders the *Works*, further obscuring not

only Goodwin's original program, but the revised program of his son that Lawrence attempted to

elucidate. Nevertheless, Lawrence has provided an outline that attempts to place Goodwin's

Works chronologically, thus doing justice to the Puritan project which Goodwin found himself

engaged in over the course of his long career.[22] The twelve-volume edition has been recently

lauded by Joel Beeke as 'superior' to the original five-volume edition.[23] However, a closer look

at the differences between the 1861-66 Nichols edition and the 1691-1704 posthumous *Works*

will show that the 1861-66 editors took too much license, thus obscuring not only Goodwin's

theological project in the reordering of the *Works*, but also omitting and adding words, sentences

and paragraphs. For example, note the following comparison:

> *Works*, V, *Glory of the Gospel*, 39 (1691-1704)
>
> USE, My Exhortation shall be unto all, to procure and heap up to themselves what of
> spiritual Knowledge possibly they can, in these Mysteries of the Gospel, for you
> encrease your Riches: The Truth which by it, I speak unto all, but especially unto you
> that are Scholars, who come hither to furnish your selves, as Scribes fitted for the
> Kingdom of Heaven, to bring forth out of your Treasures and Store acquired here
> both New and Old, as Christ speaks, to buy the truth as Solomon, so as to be able to
> teach it to others; you come as Whole-sale Men to buy by the Great. Therefore

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[21] Besides the PhD theses on Goodwin, other scholars that reference the 1861-66 edition are G.F. Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 38-41; Trueman, *Claims of Truth*, 28; Muller, *PRRD*, IV, 114; M. Dever, *Richard Sibbes: Puritanism and Calvinism in Late Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2000), 66,83,90-93; J.R. Beeke, *The Quest for Full Assurance: The Legacy of Calvin and His Successors* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1999), passim;

[22] Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 228.

[23] For example, Beeke argues: 'The first collection of Goodwin's works was published in five folio volumes in London from 1681 to 1704 under the editorship of Thankful Owen, Thomas Baron, and Thomas Goodwin, Jr. .... The presently reprinted twelve-volume authoritative edition was printed by James Nichol (Edinburgh, 1861-66) as his first choice in what would become known as the well-edited and highly regarded *Nichol's Series of Standard Divines*; not surprisingly, it is far superior to the original five folio volumes.' J. Beeke, 'Introduction' In *The Works of Thomas Goodwin* (12 vols, Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2006), I.11.

Treasure up as much, and as many precious Truths as you can, and Grace withal to vent by Retail in the Country, where you are sent Abroad.

First, Enquire and Learn where these Treasures are to be had, even in the Scriptures. The Merchant who knew the Pearl, was fain to buy the Field, there the Peal lay: Timothy from a Child had read the Scriptures, and so should you do .... Do as Merchants, who travel from Place to Place, so do you from Scripture to Scripture, comparing one with another, and Knowledge will be increased.

Secondly, Go to the Markets and Ware-houses, of those that have laid in, or discovered much of this Treasure (that is) use the Helps of Godly Mens Writings and Conferences: The Help of Saints both Dead and Alive, why? Because it is made manifest to the Saints. The Angels do learn of the Church, and why not we?

Works, IV, *The Glory of the Gospel*, 246-7 (1861-66)

Use First, If the gospel and the riches of it be thus great, then buy it, Prov. Xxiii. 23, 'Buy the truth, and sell it not;' he names no price, for you are not like to lose by it, cost what it will. This place hath been the greatest mart of truth, and of the mystery of the gospel, that I know under heaven. Wisdom hath as it were cried all her wares at this great cross.

This truth has been purchased for you, and that dearly; it cost the blood of many martyrs to derive it to you, the sweat of many preachers, the prayers of many saints, and cost God the riches of his patience to see it contemned. Buy it therefore at any rate.

Especially you who are scholars, you come hither and live under those who are wholesale men, and you should, whilst you are here, treasure up as much and as many precious truths as you can, and grace withal to vent by retail in the country, when you are sent abroad.

First, Inquire and learn where these treasures are to be had, even in the Scriptures. The merchant who knew the pearl, was fain to buy the field; Timothy, from a child had known the Scriptures, and so should you do .... That is, by doing as merchants do, travelling from place to place, comparing one with another, knowledge will be increased.

Secondly, Go to the markets and warehouses of those who have laid in or discovered much of this treasure; that is, use the help of godly men's writings and conferences. The angels do learn of the church, and why not we?

The above shows a number of interpolations by the nineteenth-century editors as well as a number of omissions from Goodwin's original writings.[24] As a result, the edition used in this study will be the five-volume 1691-1704 edition.[25] References to Goodwin's *Works* will use the 1691-1704 edition titles. Some of the posthumous *Works*, like *Exposition of Ephesians* and *Of the Object and Acts of Justifying Faith* are divided up into parts. Therefore, references to Goodwin's comments on Ephesians will have the part before the page number.[26] In an attempt to avoid historical anachronism, any work published during his lifetime will be looked at separately.[27]

Early Scholarship

Besides Lawrence's historical work, Goodwin has attracted attention in two particular areas, ecclesiology and soteriology, though one should be careful not to posit a sharp dichotomy between the two, as will be seen below. The dissertations and published journal articles vary in quality and the dissertations especially suffer from a lack of historical contextualization. The focus of this chapter will predominantly center on how scholars have understood Goodwin's theology and the relative strengths and weaknesses of each work. This will show where, if any, there is need for further historical-theological reflection and what distinctive contribution can be made to studies on Goodwin.

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[24] Lawrence shows how a marginal note in the 1681-1704 edition is not reproduced in later editions. The missing marginal note is actually decisive in terms of dating Goodwin's *Exposition of Revelation*, another reason why the 1681-1704 edition is superior to the Nichols edition. See Lawrence, 'Transmission and Transformation', 125.

[25] The use of italics will be retained since copies of Goodwin's written MSS show that he underlined the words he wished to have italicized by the printer. I am thankful to Hunter Powell for this information.

[26] E.g. *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 25; *Works*, IV, *Of the Object and Acts of Justifying Faith*, Pt. 3, 21.

[27] For example, Goodwin, *Christ Set Forth in his Death, Resurrection, Ascension, Sitting at Gods Right Hand, Intercession, as the Cause of Iustification, Object of Iustifying Faith Together with a Treatise Discovering the Affectionate Tendernesse of Christ's Heart now in Heaven, unto Sinners on Earth* (London, 1642).

The earliest dissertation on Goodwin is Paul Brown's work, 'The principle of the covenant in the theology of Thomas Goodwin'.[28] This work suffers from a number of methodological and interpretive flaws, some of which are so serious that the work can hardly be used for serious scholarly reference. Brown attempts to analyze Goodwin's theology in light of the doctrine of the covenant and its relationship to Puritanism and Calvinism. His thesis rests on an assumption that Jacob Arminius 'is responsible for the development of the covenant theology.'[29] According to Brown, covenant theology developed, particularly in England, in order to meet the arguments posed by Arminius. Further, '[t]his movement in England is a definite effort to offer a compromise between the two positions of Calvinism and Arminianism …. Covenant theology came into being with English Puritanism.'[30] Contrary to Brown's thesis, a thoroughgoing covenant theology was clearly present in the sixteenth century and so did not originate as 'the Puritan' response to Arminianism in the seventeenth century.[31] More

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[28] Paul E. Brown, 'The principle of the covenant in the theology of Thomas Goodwin' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Drew University, 1950).

[29] Brown, 'The Principle of the Covenant', 74.

[30] Brown, 'The Principle of the Covenant', 77-78. Elsewhere he argues: 'We have previously endeavored to point out that Covenant Theology is a compromise theology arising out of the Arminian Theology', 122.

[31] The literature on the covenant theology in the sixteenth century is vast. See W. J. Van Asselt, *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius (1603-1669)*, trans. Raymond A. Blacketer (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 325-32; P. Lillback, *The Binding of God: Calvin's Role in the Development of Covenant Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001), passim; R.S. Clark, *Caspar Olevian and the Substance of the Covenant: The Double Benefit of Christ. Rutherford Studies in Historical Theology*, ed., David F. Wright (Edinburgh: Rutherford House, 2005), passim; L. Bierma, *German Calvinism in the Confessional Age: The Covenant Theology of Caspar Olevianus* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1997), passim; G. Schrenk, *Gottesreich und Bund im älteren Protestantismus vornehmlich bei Johannes Cocceius* (Gütersloh, 1923) passim; J. von Rohr, *The Covenant of Grace in Puritan Thought* (Atlanta:Scholars Press, 1986), 1-37; C.S. McCoy & J.W. Baker, *Fountainhead of Federalism: Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenantal Tradition* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991), 11-44; C. Graafland, *Van Calvijn tot Comrie*, 3 vols. (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 1992-1996), passim; S. Strehle, *Calvinism, Federalism, and the Covenant: A Study of the Reformed Doctrine of the Covenant* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1998); H. Heppe, *Geschichte des Pietismus und der Mystik in der Reformirten Kirche, Namentlich der Niederlande* (Leiden: Brill, 1879), passim; B. Lee, 'Biblical exegesis, federal theology, and Johannes Cocceius : developments in the interpretation of Hebrews 7:1-10:18' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Calvin Theological Seminary, 2003), 15-85; C. Williams, 'The Decree of Redemption is in Effect a Covenant: David Dickson and the Covenant of Redemption' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Calvin Theological Seminary, 2005), 14-18; A.A. Woolsey, 'Unity and Continuity in Covenantal Thought: A Study in the Reformed Tradition to the Westminster Assembly' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1998), passim; D. Stoute, 'The Origin and Early Development of the Reformed Idea of the Covenant' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Kings College, Cambridge, 1979), passim.

specifically, Brown's historiography shows further weaknesses as he argues that the Puritans,[32] like Goodwin, attempted to overcome Calvin's unconditional predestination through Federal theology.[33] However, not only did Goodwin hold to 'unconditional predestination', he, unlike many of his Calvinistic contemporaries, adopted a supralapsarian order of the divine decrees.[34]

Notwithstanding Brown's failure to understand the history of Reformed covenant theology in the sixteenth century, he rightly draws attention to the centrality of the pretemporal covenant of redemption (*pactum salutis*) between the Father and the Son and the significance it has in Goodwin's theology for the history of redemption.[35] Unfortunately, Brown does very little with this important insight. Moreover, there is no significant formal analysis of Goodwin's thought and there are serious omissions from his *Works* that would have added both clarity and substance to his discussion.[36] The remainder of Brown's thesis discusses various theological loci, such as justification, assurance, and the atonement, all of which are understood in the broader context of the covenants of works and grace. Here again, the criticisms already stated apply equally to this part of Brown's analysis. The need, then, still exists for a thorough evaluation of Goodwin's doctrine of the covenant, especially the pretemporal covenant of redemption and its significance for the history of redemption.

Following from Brown's work on Goodwin's covenant theology are studies in what Lawrence believes to be two distinct areas in Goodwin's thought, namely, his theology and

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[32] The nomenclature 'Puritan' will be discussed below.
[33] Brown, 'The Principal of the Covenant', 89.
[34] See Goodwin, *Works*, II, *Of Election*; Trueman, *Claims of Truth*, 127.
[35] Brown, 'The Principal of the Covenant', 94-95.
[36] For example, Brown quotes extensively from Goodwin's work, *Of The Knowledge of God the Father, and His Son Jesus Christ*. However, in his discussion of the covenant of redemption, he would have been helped by referencing: *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*; and *Works*, III, *Man's Restoration by Grace*.

ecclesiology.[37] As noted above, this line of demarcation has its problems. While it is true that Goodwin's ecclesiology has attracted a fair amount of attention, it is always in the context of historical theology. For example, the most significant work on Goodwin's ecclesiology, Stanley Fienberg's dissertation, 'Thomas Goodwin, Puritan Pastor and Independent Divine', spends a considerable amount of time looking at several doctrines, besides Goodwin's ecclesiology, such as justification and sanctification.[38] His thesis represents the first meaningful contribution to Goodwin scholarship.

Fienberg's stated intention is to look at Goodwin's theology and its significance for 'Puritanism, Independency, and English History' in the seventeenth century.[39] The work divides into three parts respectively. The first part considers Goodwin's doctrine of salvation with particular reference to justification and sanctification. In the second part, Fienberg discusses Goodwin's ecclesiology and, here too, there is a decisive theological focus, especially in terms of the impact of Goodwin's eschatological views on his commitment to Independency. In the final part, he draws attention to Goodwin's political and ecclesiastical involvement during the Interregnum. Fienberg's study leaves a number of issues that require further attention, especially as the trajectory of argument in this present study is narrowed.

Importantly, Fienberg spends a good deal of time attempting to understand the scope of Goodwin's writings. He succeeds where Brown failed by quoting widely from the vast corpus of Goodwin's *Works*. In doing this, Fienberg rightly stresses the strong Christocentrism of

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[37] Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 3-4.
[38] Stanley P. Fienberg, 'Thomas Goodwin, Puritan Pastor and Independent Divine' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1974).
[39] Fienberg, 'Puritan Pastor and Independent Divine', ii.

Goodwin's thought.[40] And while his discussion of the eternal character of salvation is brief, he does highlight its significance for the temporal aspect of redemption. However, though the pretemporal doctrines of election and predestination are referenced, there is no discussion of the pretemporal covenant of redemption.[41] This fact is especially significant given that Goodwin spends the first part of his work on *Of Christ the Mediator* discussing the covenant between the Father and the Son.[42] Furthermore, while certain studies have focussed on comparing Goodwin to certain Reformed theologians, particularly John Calvin, in the sixteenth century, there are few who contextualize Goodwin among divines in the seventeenth century. Fienberg's study is no exception to this trend. In fact, in his discussion of Goodwin's soteriology, there is almost no interaction with some of Goodwin's seventeenth-century contemporaries, whether orthodox or heretical. So while the question of what Goodwin said has been adequately addressed by Fienberg, with regards to his particular emphases, the equally important question of why he wrote what he did and in what context is altogether missing from his study. In other words, the broader ongoing Christian intellectual tradition of Goodwin's time appears to be relatively unimportant.

Central to Fienberg's thesis is his attempt to understand Goodwin's Congregationalist ecclesiology.[43] Most of his discussion has reference to the Independent-Presbyterian controversy

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[40] Fienberg, 'Puritan Pastor and Independent Divine', 13-15, 41. The term 'Christocentrism' can be infelicitous given that so many theologians from different traditions could be described as 'Christocentric'. Theologians such as Beza, Arminius, Goodwin, Baxter, John Wesley, and Cornelius Ellebogius have all been described as 'Christocentric.' That said, Goodwin's theology is nevertheless Christocentric. How that looks will be shown in this study. On the problematic nature of this term, see Richard A. Muller, 'A Note on "Christocentrism" and the Impudent Use of Such Terminology,' *Westminster Theological Journal* 68.2 (2006), 253-60.

[41] Fienberg, 'Puritan Pastor and Independent Divine', 12-21.

[42] See *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*.

[43] For a summary of Fienberg's evaluation of Goodwin's ecclesiology, see S. Fienberg, 'Thomas Goodwin's Scriptural Hermeneutics and the Dissolution of Puritan Unity', *Journal of Religious History* 10 (1978), 32-49.

in the 1640s.[44]   In connection with this, he rightly calls attention to Rembert Carter's work

devoted specifically to Goodwin and the Independent-Presbyterian debates of the mid-

seventeenth century.[45]   Fienberg agrees with Carter's contention that the main difference

between the Independents and the Presbyterians at the Westminster Assembly lay principally in a

contrasting hermeneutical approach. For example, Fienberg, basing his contention on Carter's

earlier work, argues that 'Independents at Westminster interpreted Scripture more literally than

did Presbyterians', the Independents employing a hermeneutic that Carter calls 'Eschatological-

Dispensational Exegesis'.[46] Certainly, Goodwin's eschatology had a significant impact on his

ecclesiology. However, to argue, as Fienberg does, that the Independents believed in a golden

age for the church on earth whereas the Presbyterians did not cannot be sustained.[47] But the fact

of Goodwin's optimistic outlook, grounded in his 'historicist' reading of the book of Revelation,

should not be understated, as Fienberg correctly argues. Regrettably for Goodwin, in light of his

long life-span, his bold predictions never materialized as he had hoped. Indeed, they proved to

be somewhat of an embarrassment to him in his later years. He did, however, remain firmly

entrenched in his Congregationalist convictions despite the gradual dissipation of his 'Puritan

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[44] Cf. D.J. Walker, 'Thomas Goodwin and the Debate on Church Government', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 34, no. 1 (1983), 85-99.

[45] See R.B. Carter, 'The Presbyterian-Independent Controversy with Special Reference to Dr. Thomas Goodwin and the Years 1640-1660' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1961). Incidentally, Goodwin was not an 'Independent'; he was, more precisely, a Congregationalist. 'Independency' has sectarian connotations, and Goodwin was no separatist; at least, he did not view himself that way. In fact, Goodwin was against 'Independents' whose heretical views threatened the body politic.

[46] Fienberg, 'Puritan Pastor and Independent Divine', 134-35. Cf. Carter, 'The Presbyterian-Independent Controversy', chs. 3-4.

[47] Fienberg, 'Puritan Pastor and Independent Divine', 168-171. For recent re-evaluations concerning the complexities of Puritan eschatology, see C. Gribben, *The Puritan Millennium: Literature & Theology, 1550-1682* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2008); J.K. Jue, *Heaven Upon Earth: Joseph Mede (1586-1638) and the Legacy of Millenarianism* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006).

hope'.[48] And for that reason, it would be unfair to overemphasize the place of eschatology in his ecclesiology.

As noted above, Carter's work looks at the Presbyterian-Independent ecclesiological controversies in the seventeenth century with particular reference to Goodwin. Carter's thesis argues that the differences between Presbyterians and Independents were exacerbated by differing hermeneutical and exegetical approaches to Scripture. For example, the independents interpreted the Scriptures more literally than the Presbyterians. The Presbyterians also 'had a keener sense of the unity of Scripture' according to Fienberg, hence the charge of 'dispensationalism' aimed at the Independents.[49] Moreover, Goodwin's eschatology, as an Independent, also shaped his ecclesiology in a different direction than many of the Presbyterians. These factors are, according to Carter, the key to unlocking the reasons why such a controversy took place in the seventeenth century. Many of Carter's contentions are, however, forced and do not take into account the broad diversity within both the Independent and Presbyterian traditions. The lines are not as neatly divided on the issues Carter addresses as he would like – or, need – them to be. Moreover, the term 'dispensational' to describe Goodwin's hermeneutical approach, besides being anachronistic, is somewhat unfortunate given his strong emphasis on the soteric unity of the old and new testaments.

The strength in Carter's work is his use of the primary sources, though at times his citations are hard to locate. He also interchangeably uses the 1681-1704 edition and the 1861-66 edition, again with certain problems in his citation method. His use of the *Minutes* of the Westminster Assembly is particularly helpful, especially given Goodwin's prominence at the

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[48] For an overview of the eschatological optimism of the Puritans, see I.H. Murray, *The Puritan Hope; A Study in Revival and the Interpretation of Prophecy* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1971).
[49] Carter, 'Presbyterian-Independent Controversy', 103.

Assembly. However, in describing Goodwin's actions at the Westminster Assembly, Carter

focuses more on ecclesiological debates than specific theological doctrines, such as Christology

and justification. Following from Fienberg's and Carter's studies on Goodwin's ecclesiology,

subsequent dissertations on Goodwin would look more closely at specific aspects of his

theology.

Later Scholarship

While Goodwin's ecclesiology has received a good deal of attention in the secondary literature,

it is his doctrine of assurance that has been the most significant subject of recent historical

reflection. Michael Horton's thesis, 'Thomas Goodwin and the Puritan Doctrine of Assurance',

represents the most detailed assessment of Goodwin's theology to date.[50] Goodwin's doctrine of

assurance is considered by Horton in light of twentieth-century 'Calvin against the Calvinists'

debates. The discontinuity thesis, promulgated by scholars such as R.T. Kendall,[51] Basil Hall,[52]

Holmes Rolston III,[53] and Alan Clifford,[54] is assessed by Horton as seriously deficient in a

number of areas, specifically in terms of methodological rationales.[55] Horton's goal, instead of

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[50] M.S. Horton, 'Thomas Goodwin and the Puritan Doctrine of Assurance: Continuity and Discontinuity in the Reformed Tradition, 1600-1680' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, and Coventry University, 1995).

[51] R.T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

[52] B. Hall, 'Calvin against the Calvinists,' in G.E. Duffield, ed., *John Calvin* (Appleford, 1966), 12-37.

[53] H. Rolston III, *John Calvin versus the Westminster Confession* (Richmond: John Knox, 1972).

[54] A.C. Clifford, *Atonement and Justification: English Evangelical Theology, 1640-1790: an Evaluation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

[55] For literature critiquing the 'Calvin against the Calvinists' thesis, see C.R. Trueman, and R.S. Clark, *Protestant Scholasticism: Essays in Reassessment* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999); W.J. van Asselt, and E. Dekker, *Reformation and Scholasticism: An Ecumenical Enterprise*. Texts and studies in Reformation and post-Reformation thought (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001); P. Helm, *Calvin and the Calvinists* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1982); J. Von Rohr, *The Covenant of Grace in Puritan Thought* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986); R.A. Muller, *Christ and the Decree: Christology and Predestination in Reformed Theology from Calvin to Perkins* (Durham, N.C.: Labyrinth Press, 1986/ Grand Rapids: Baker, 1988); R.A. Muller, 'Calvin and the "Calvinists": Assessing

pitting Calvin against the Calvinists, is to recognize a variety of theological perspectives within Reformed continental traditions and the way they subsequently shaped English Calvinism and more specifically Thomas Goodwin.

Central to Horton's thesis is Goodwin's emphasis on the objective work of Christ as the primary ground of assurance instead of subjective evidences. The differing 'theologies' on the Continent and in England are a fruit of what Horton perceives to be a combination of factors regarding the origins and development of Federal theology. The Zwingli-Bullinger hypothesis, first propounded by Gottlob Schrenk in 1923, explains the rise of covenant theology in Zurich as a reaction to the Anabaptists.[56] The development of covenant theology, however, is perhaps more complex than the origins.[57] The 'two parallel traditions' thesis offered by J. Wayne Baker traces covenant theology back to Calvin in Geneva and Bullinger in Zurich.[58]

These two traditions, while similar, run parallel to one another; the Genevan school emphasizing the unilateral (unconditional) nature of the covenant and the Rhineland theologians emphasizing the bilateral (conditional) nature of the promises.[59] Horton suggests that the human (bilateral) side of the covenant had become more prominent in English Puritanism instead of the divine (unilateral). What Goodwin and Owen sought to restore was the emphasis on the divine nature of the covenant. In doing this, Goodwin's theology made significant – albeit unique – contributions to English Puritanism. For example, his priority of a *syllogismus mysticus* over the

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Continuities and Discontinuities between the Reformation and Orthodoxy', *Calvin Theological Journal* 30 (1995), 345-75, and 31 (1996), 125-60.

[56] See G. Schrenk, *Gottesreich und Bund im älteren Protestantismus, vornehmlich bei Johannes Coccejus* (Basle, 1965), 36-44.

[57] This is not to say that covenant theology was a sixteenth-century invention. Certainly the elements of covenant theology can be found in the Early Church. See L.J. Duncan, 'The Covenant Idea in Ante-Nicene Theology' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, New College, 1995).

[58] J.W. Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant: The Other Reformed Tradition* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1980).

[59] For a good rebuttal of this thesis, see Von Rohr, *The Covenant of Grace in Puritan Thought*, 1-33.

more traditionally Puritan *syllogismus practicus*[60] represents an attempt to give assurance to the people of God.[61] The *syllogismus mysticus*, separate from the traditional aspects of the *ordo salutis*, is a direct work of the Spirit whereupon true believers are assured of eternal life. The result, for Goodwin, was a separation of faith, always subject to doubt, and assurance, now possessed through the sealing work of the Spirit. The decisive separation of the two led, so argued Goodwin, to greater objectivity for the believer.[62] So while both Goodwin and Calvin may be described as Christocentric theologians, they differed on the doctrine of assurance. For Goodwin, 'as faith and assurance are distinct, so regeneration and sealing are not always co-existent.'[63] However, in Calvin's case, 'the sealing of the Spirit is identical to regeneration and union with Christ.'[64]

Horton is not uncritical of Goodwin's doctrine of assurance, however. 'Fight as he may against the effects, Goodwin cannot sufficiently explain how the separation of assurance from faith does not lead to anxiety and despair.'[65] Furthermore, Horton argues:

> One wonders why, if in principle he was opposed to the role given to 'conditional promises' and the *syllogismus practicus*, Goodwin did not simply adopt Calvin's emphasis on the unity of faith and assurance, rather than distinguishing these as separate acts of faith. Federal theology did not require this distinction (viz., in the Heidelberg tradition), but perhaps Goodwin was simply too committed to the tradition of the 'spiritual brotherhood' to see how the question could be solved in this way. It is more likely, however, that the Independent divine was convinced that Calvin's argument was essentially circular, and therefore, the believer would be

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[60] A *syllogismus practicus* may be understood in the following way: A) Saving faith produces love to God and love to neighbour. B) I have love to God and love to neighbour. C) Therefore, I possess saving faith.

[61] Horton, 'Assurance', 85.

[62] Horton, 'Assurance', 265-300.

[63] Horton, 'Assurance', 298.

[64] Horton, 'Assurance', 298. Goodwin's view should not be understood as representative of his fellow Independents. Certainly, Owen saw a distinction between faith and assurance. He affirmed with Calvin that the Spirit's sealing is to be identified with regeneration and not some 'second conversion experience'. For a detailed study on the Reformation and Puritan doctrine of assurance, see Joel Beeke, *The Quest for Full Assurance*. On Calvin equating the sealing of the Spirit with regeneration, see *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), III.ii.1.

[65] Horton, 'Assurance', 438.

turned back on himself or herself eventually unless faith and assurance were clearly distinguished. Goodwin himself does not seem to answer this question for us.[66]

The question of personal assurance, then, was surely an acute one. And considered against the background of the covenant, the intricacies are only heightened. But it is not only the doctrine of the covenant that receives attention by Horton.   Justification, regeneration, predestination, election, conversion, preparationism, perseverance, ecclesiology, and sanctification are all considered insofar as they pertain to Goodwin's doctrine of assurance. Notwithstanding Horton's treatment of these theological loci, his conscious emphasis on both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (in an attempt to shed light on the 'Calvin against the Calvinists' debate) leaves his analysis of Goodwin's theology quite limited in places. In fact, the thesis is as much about Calvin as it is about Goodwin.[67] This is not to be overly critical of Horton's work; rather, it is to suggest that Horton's thesis is by no means the definitive word on each particular doctrine in Goodwin's theology, with the possible exception of the doctrine of assurance.[68] In the case of Goodwin's covenant theology, Horton devotes a whole chapter to the relation between the covenant and assurance.   However, his discussion of the covenant of redemption lacks substance and other related areas (e.g. covenants of grace and works; unconditionality and conditionality) receive relatively little attention.   The doctrine of the covenant does act, however, as noted above, to bring assurance into the broader theological context in which Goodwin and his sixteenth-century predecessors wrote.

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[66] Horton, 'Assurance', 439.

[67] Horton's frequent use of Calvin in the thesis is somewhat understandable, especially since he seeks to address the issue of continuity and discontinuity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, as Carl Trueman has accurately pointed out, '[e]ven in the sixteenth century, Calvin was at best first among equals; his theology did not represent the entire Reformed tradition and was not the only model available to subsequent theologians.' *Claims of Truth*, 10-11.

[68] For example, Horton seems to have misread Goodwin by judging him to be an infralapsarian instead of a supralapsarian. See 'Assurance', 66. Cf. Goodwin, *Works*, II, *Of Election*; Trueman, *Claims of Truth*, 127.

Paul Blackham, in his work 'The Pneumatology of Thomas Goodwin', remarks that Goodwin 'is little read and there is an almost complete absence of secondary literature.'[69] The previous works by Fienberg and Brown are missing from Blackham's work, but these omissions are not surprising given Blackham's stated intention.[70] He aims to examine Goodwin's pneumatology under four headings: the Trinity; epistemology; soteriology; and ecclesiology. He notes, moreover, that his work is 'self-consciously under the discipline of systematic theology rather than historical theology or history of doctrine.'[71] Blackham does this in order to bring Goodwin's theology into 'conversation with the contemporary Pneumatological debates.'[72]

Blackham's self-conscious decision to use Goodwin as a reference point for contemporary debates in systematic theology led him to produce a work devoid of seventeenth-century contextualization. For example, there is almost no interaction with Goodwin's contemporaries. Negatively, this method fails to address the question of why Goodwin wrote the things he did and how his writings related to his contemporaries, both orthodox and heretical. Positively, because Blackham is not concerned with seventeenth-century contextualization or the 'Calvin against the Calvinist' debates as Horton was, he spends a good deal of time analyzing Goodwin's various *Works*, specifically those which relate to Pneumatology. This approach may not satisfy the historical theologian, but those wishing to understand what Goodwin said are helped by Blackham's analysis of the primary sources.[73] Blackham addresses the role of the Spirit in Goodwin's Trinitarianism, epistemology, soteriology, and ecclesiology. In doing this,

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[69] P.R. Blackham, 'The Pneumatology of Thomas Goodwin' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1995), 6.

[70] However, while Fienberg's Ph.D thesis is missing from Blackham's bibliography, he does cite S.P. Fienberg, 'Thomas Goodwin's Scriptural Hermeneutics and the Dissolution of Puritan Unity', 32-49.

[71] Blackham, 'Pneumatology', 2.

[72] Blackham, 'Pneumatology', 2.

[73] For a detailed account of Pneumatology in the seventeenth century, see G.F. Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Blackham shows how the person and work of the Spirit are integrated into the person and work of Christ. However, the 'Spirit-Christology'[74] that Blackham alludes to is not to be considered apart from Christ as the eternal Son of God. He observes Goodwin's insistence that Christ as Mediator should be God and notes Goodwin's contention that the Son had to be God in order to be present at the covenant of redemption.[75]

Blackham remarks, though only briefly, that the person and work of Christ must be considered in the context of the eternal covenant of redemption and the soteric blessings of the covenant. In the context of the covenant, where Christ acts as Mediator on behalf of the elect, 'Goodwin is able to deepen and strengthen the place of the Spirit in the work of salvation. However, he does not make the Spirit the centre of his soteriology. The Spirit's work is totally focussed on the prior work of Christ.'[76] Blackham, then, focuses specifically upon the Spirit's work on Christ. And he, like other Goodwin scholars, notes the centrality given to Christ in the theology of Goodwin. In analysing the work of the Spirit in relation to Christ, Blackham provides the first, though by no means extensive, study of Goodwin's view of the person of Christ whereas others had typically focused upon the work of Christ to the exclusion of his person.[77]

Paul Ling-Ji Chang's thesis, 'Thomas Goodwin on the Christian Life', covers much of the same ground as the previous work on Goodwin.[78] While he cites Brown's 1950 work in the

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[74] Addressing 'Spirit-Christology' in the seventeenth century is Alan Spence's work on John Owen, *Incarnation and Inspiration.* See also Blackham, 'Pneumatology', 300.
[75] Blackham, 'Pneumatology', 38.
[76] Blackham, 'Pneumatology', 236.
[77] Blackham, 'Pneumatology', 43-66.
[78] P. Ling-Ji Chang, 'Thomas Goodwin on the Christian Life' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Westminster Theological Seminary, 2001).

bibliography, he only addresses Fienberg's thesis in his review of Goodwin scholarship.[79] Though completed six years after the work of Horton (1995) and Blackham (1995), there is no mention of either dissertation. Despite looking at areas of previous enquiry by Goodwin scholars (e.g. assurance and the sealing of the Spirit), Chang focuses his thesis around Goodwin's eschatology. Indeed, Chang's study leads him to the conclusion that Goodwin is 'a theologian of the latter-day glory.'[80] Chang's thesis looks at the *ordo salutis* in the context of Goodwin's eschatology, suggesting that every aspect of Goodwin's soteriology has eschatological implications.[81] Chang argues specifically that Goodwin's millenarianism modified his covenant theology because 'he added a millennial dispensation to the covenant of grace'.[82] By departing from the early federal theologians on this point, Goodwin 'had to re-adjust his version of the *ordo salutis* accordingly.'[83] As a result, not just Goodwin's eschatology, but, perhaps more importantly, his millenarianism played a decisive role in his soteriology.

The strength of Chang's thesis is his wide-ranging analysis of Goodwin's major theological emphases. Goodwin's life is followed by chapters on the latter-day glory, covenant theology, effectual calling, saving faith, repentance, justification, adoption, sanctification, perseverance, assurance, and the sealing of the Spirit. Those wanting a basic introduction to Goodwin's theology will no doubt find Chang's work helpful. Like Horton, Chang interacts well with Goodwin's contemporaries and the major Reformed theologians of the sixteenth century. However, Chang's thesis suffers from being too wide in its scope. Rigorous formal analysis of

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[79] P. Ling-Ji Chang, 'Christian Life', xiii-xiv. Interestingly, on page two, Chang claims that Fienberg is by far the best interpreter of Goodwin. Because he is aware of Brown's work, his comment is further evidence that Brown's work is rather poor. The one place he refers to Brown's work is on page 269. Chang does not reference either Horton's or Blackham's studies on Goodwin.
[80] P. Ling-Ji Chang, 'Christian Life', 353.
[81] P. Ling-Ji Chang, 'Christian Life', 117, 143, 167, 184, 211, 224, 256, 280, 320.
[82] P. Ling-Ji Chang, 'Christian Life', 117.
[83] P. Ling-Ji Chang, 'Christian Life', 117.

the aforementioned doctrines is almost non-existent. Chang's work, then, provides a basic –
though at times problematic – introduction to Puritan theology with particular reference to
Goodwin as a theologian of the latter-day glory.

The works above represent the significant studies on Goodwin to date. Besides those
already noted, there are a number of other less substantial works, mostly journal articles, that
look at the more prominent themes in Goodwin's writings such as latter-day glory,[84] church
government,[85] scriptural hermeneutics,[86] and assurance in relation to pneumatology.[87] These
works will be interacted with only insofar as they relate to the scope of the present thesis.[88]

Trajectory of Argument

Statement of the Problem

The theses examined so far permit a formulation of a thesis statement along with other related
topics such as methodology and outline. Because Goodwin scholars have generally not cited
pre-existing work on Goodwin, there is almost no criticism of past interpretations. This is partly
a result of the dearth of secondary literature on Goodwin. This introduction has been primarily
concerned to address the main scope of each respective thesis. Detailed critical interaction will

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[84] A.R. Dallison, 'The Latter-Day Glory in the Thought of Thomas Goodwin'.
[85] D.J. Walker, 'Thomas Goodwin and the Debate on Church Government'.
[86] S.P. Fienberg, 'Thomas Goodwin's Scriptural Hermeneutics and the Dissolution of Puritan'.
[87] K-S. Cha, 'Thomas Goodwin's view of the Holy Ghost in relation to assurance' (unpublished M.Th. thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1989).
[88] There was one other doctoral thesis on Goodwin due to be completed in 2003 by David Ian Childs through Cardiff University. Sadly, however, Childs died of cancer before his *viva voce*. Significant revisions were suggested by the examiners that Childs could not complete due to his death. The doctorate was, in fact, awarded posthumously (2004) by Cardiff University. However, the thesis has not been made public due to the complicated circumstances. Neither the Cardiff University Library nor the British Library carries a copy of the thesis. As a result, it has not been possible to review the work. I am thankful to Professor Geoffrey Samuel of Cardiff University for providing the above information.

be left for subsequent chapters as the conclusions of previous research are tested against Goodwin's own writings.

This review of the secondary literature reveals certain emphases. Apart from Lawrence's primarily historical work, the other theses have made contributions to Goodwin's theology, particularly his soteriology, ecclesiology, Pneumatology, and eschatology. The doctrine of the covenant features in each study and acts, to varying degrees, as a point of reference for the work of Christ. Moreover, scholarship on Goodwin has accurately noted the Christocentric focus of his writings. However, while Christological questions have been raised with respect to the work of Christ, relatively little has been done on the person of Christ. These two areas of interest will provide the substance of this study. The need for a detailed analysis of Goodwin's doctrine of the covenant in relation to Christology arises out of the above considerations.

Further justification for the present work arises from the fact that while there has been a renaissance of interest in Puritan studies in the last part of the twentieth century and beginning of the twenty-first, there are few studies devoted specifically to Puritan Christology, especially with regards to Christ's person, as noted above.[89] Indeed, because of the lack of studies in Puritan Christology, Marshall Knappen appears correct – at least on the surface – to suggest in his classic, if somewhat misleading, account of *Tudor Puritanism* that the Puritans showed a 'surprising lack of Christological thought.'[90] John Eusden, in his introduction to William Ames' *Marrow of Theology*, buttresses Knappen's point by arguing that the 'Christo-centrism of Martin Luther is not shared by most English Puritans.'[91] The evidence – that is, the primary sources –

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[89] John Owen has received the most attention, however, with two studies devoted specifically to his Christology. See R. Daniels, *The Christology of John Owen*; A. Spence, *Incarnation and Inspiration*.

[90] M.M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 376.

[91] J.D. Eusden, *Introduction to The Marrow of Theology, by William Ames* (Durham: Labyrinth Press, 1968), 20.

does not, however, support the contentions made by Knappen and Eusden. In fact, quite to the contrary, this study will show that the Christocentrism of Martin Luther is indeed shared by most English Puritans, especially Thomas Goodwin. Far from being lost on the Puritans, the Christocentric focus of the sixteenth-century Reformers was alive and well among their seventeenth-century descendents. For both, soteriological concerns were dealt with by consideration of the fundamental doctrines of Christ's person and work in a covenantal context.

The focus of this thesis results from both the failures and successes of past studies. Brown's generally unreliable study on Goodwin's doctrine of the covenant stands in need of revision. Furthermore, others who have addressed the covenant besides Brown have not engaged in a lot of rigorous formal analysis of Goodwin's theology. Too often they have tried to understand the history of covenant theology to the neglect of Goodwin himself. Second, Goodwin's Christology has been a prominent focus of almost all the secondary literature. However, with the exception of Blackham, there has been an emphasis on the work of Christ to the neglect of his person. The person of Christ is, however, central to his work and so the need exists for a thorough analysis of Goodwin's theology of Christ's person. Third, Lawrence's recent work makes important contributions to our understanding of the life of Goodwin. All too often Goodwin has been divorced from his historical context. The result, as noted, has been studies in historical theology that are a-historical. This problem will be addressed by understanding not only the historical context in which Goodwin lived, but also his theological context.

Methodologically, the theoretical work of 'the Cambridge School', particularly the work of the Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Cambridge, Quentin Skinner, is important for this study.[92] Without suggesting that 'the Cambridge School' invented these ideas – though, Skinner in particular has articulated these ideas better than others – John Coffey has accurately noted that this 'school' criticizes 'both the "idealist" tendency to study the Great Books without reference to the circumstances in which they were written, and the "realist" approach which sees ideas as the causally determined offspring of their social, economic or psychological context. They argue for a method of reading historical texts which respects the intention of the author and is aware of the linguistic, political or ecclesiastical context in which he was working.'[93] The methodology of this study, then, takes seriously the historical situation in which Goodwin wrote. Puritan works are not, as Trueman has noted, 'abstract dogmatic treatises, written in isolation from the historical context'.[94] Therefore, where most studies on Goodwin have failed in being sensitive to the seventeenth-century context in which he wrote, this study hopes to address not only what he said but why he said it and thus focus on authorial intent.

This study will be narrowly defined. Goodwin's writings are vast and represent the very best Reformed theology of the seventeenth century. The temptation exists, then, to collect a

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[92] See J. Tully, *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics* (Cambridge, 1988); J. Dunn, 'The identity of the history of ideas', in P. Laslett, Q. Skinner, and W.G. Runciman, eds., *Philosophy, Politics and Society*, Fourth Series (Oxford, 1982), 158-73; Q. Skinner, *Liberty Before Realism* (Cambridge, 1997); idem, 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas,' *History and Theory* 8 (1969), 3-53.

[93] J. Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge, 1997), 26. See also Skinner, 'Meaning and Understanding,' 48-49; M. Goldie, 'Obligations, Utopias and their Historical Context', *Historical Journal* 26 (1983), 727-46.

[94] C. Trueman, 'Puritan Theology as Historical Event: A Linguistic Approach to the Ecumenical Context' in W.J. van Asselt, and E. Dekker, *Reformation and Scholasticism: An Ecumenical Enterprise* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), 258.

large amount of material that may very well be of interest for its own sake. However, the focus will be on identifying the dogmatic relationship between the covenant concept and the person and work of Christ. Specifically, this study will show that the pretemporal covenant of redemption (*pactum salutis*) is decisive for Goodwin's Christology. At the heart of this study is Anselm's famous question, *Cur Deus Homo?*[95] The answer, for Goodwin, lies in the eternal intratrinitarian covenant between the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. The temporal covenant of grace, the context in which Christ acts as Mediator, is merely the outworking of intra-trinitarian transactions (the covenant of redemption) before the creation of the world. This is not only true for Goodwin but for many of his contemporaries, both on the Continent and in Britain. Consequently, theologians from the Continent and Britain will be cited in this study to show that Goodwin was part of the Reformed interpretive tradition.

Outline

The literature review in this first chapter has provided a justification for a study on Goodwin's Christology. In addition, it has highlighted not only the need for a fresh assessment of Goodwin the theologian, but the fact that this should be done with reference to the 1691-1704 edition of his *Works*, as well as his writings published during his life-time, in order to reduce potential anachronisms. Chapter two is a brief biography of Goodwin's life. His unusually long life span of eighty years enables readers to view his life through the lenses of the most significant events of seventeenth-century England, in many of which he was intimately involved. Chapter three looks at Goodwin's theological formation – which shows him to be firmly rooted in the tradition

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[95] See Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo* (La Salle, Ill: Open Court, 1962).

of Reformed orthodoxy – as well as his major theological opponents, namely, the Socinians, 'Papists', and Arminians.   This chapter is followed with a discussion of Goodwin's hermeneutical and exegetical method in the hope of providing the reader with a much needed analysis of 'Goodwin the interpreter'.   In light of Alexander Whyte's comment that Goodwin was 'the greatest pulpit exegete of Paul that has ever lived', an analysis of Goodwin's exegetical and hermeneutical method is long overdue.[96]   This chapter will show that his hermeneutical method is essentially the consistent outworking of his Federal (covenant) theology.

These chapters provide the necessary background to chapter five, which looks at Goodwin's doctrine of the Trinity.   This section structures his doctrine of God and provides the ontological base for the following chapter (six) on the pretemporal covenant of redemption (i.e. *pactum salutis*).   Chapter six is perhaps the most significant for the present thesis insofar as it provides the reason for Goodwin's Christology.   For Goodwin, a discussion of the person and work of Christ cannot be abstracted from the *pactum salutis*.   In other words, the covenant of redemption answers the question of why God – specifically, the Son – became man.   Following from an analysis of the *pactum salutis*, chapter seven will focus on the person of Christ. Goodwin's own writings on Christology necessitate a person-work schema.   Thus, the following chapter will address his understanding of the work of Christ.

These two chapters on the person and work of Christ will show, among many things, that who Christ is and what Christ does are inextricably intertwined.   Moreover, because of Christ's person and work, which flow out of the *pactum salutis*, Goodwin spends a good deal of time in his writings on Christ's glory.   Chapter nine, then, considers Christ's glory.   Quite apart from the Son's glory as the second person, Goodwin contends that Christ possessed a twofold glory:

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[96] G.F. Barbour, *The Life of Alexander Whyte, D.D.* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1924), 97.

First, a native glory peculiar to his person as the God-man; second, a mediatorial glory that resulted from his work of mediation on behalf of his people. These two glories have an important relation to Christ's person and work and represent the fitting climax to the promise of the covenant of redemption.

The conclusion will summarize the argument of this study and make a number of contentions about the significance of Goodwin's Christology in not only the seventeenth century, but over the course of Christian history. The trajectory of argument in this thesis sheds important light on Goodwin's Christ of the covenant. And in so doing, this study will hopefully make a further contribution to understanding the various theological dynamics of Reformed orthodox Christology in the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER TWO: THE LIFE OF GOODWIN IN THE CONTEXT OF HIS TIMES

Introduction

Considering Thomas Goodwin's theological and political influence in seventeenth-century England, it is a remarkable fact that he is little known today, even within conservative Reformed evangelical circles. The reasons for his relative obscurity today are several. First, Goodwin was a Puritan and champion of ecclesiastical Congregationalism.   Therefore, as a result of the political and religious upheaval in England during the 1640s and 1650s, culminating in the Great Ejection of 1662, he found himself on the 'losing side'. And, as Trueman has noted, 'non-conformists were not simply expelled from the Church of England, but excluded from the establishment, political, cultural, and intellectual, with all of the later impotence with regard to influence and the writing of history which that implies.'[1] Second, in connection to the Great Ejection of 1662, the paucity of secondary literature on Goodwin can be explained in part because of the Anglican monopoly of higher education that has continued into the twentieth century. The Puritans, especially Goodwin, 'suffered the neglect which their separation from the Church made inevitable.'[2] Third, Goodwin was profoundly learned. Consequently, his writings reflect his learning, revealing a degree of intellectual sophistication and philosophical acumen that were not easily matched by his contemporaries. The content of his vast corpus, addressing varied theological concerns, at times makes for difficult reading. His first editors, in the preface to his *Works*, remark: 'He had a Genius to dive into the bottom of Points ... to study them down

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[1] Trueman, *John Owen*, 1.
[2] Trueman, *Claims of Truth*, 2.

... His way was to consult the weightiest, if not all the Authors that had written upon the Subject he was upon ... he had the advantage of intimate Converse with the greatest Christians of his Age, those living and walking Bibles.'[3] Goodwin's 'diving' into 'the bottom of points' may help to explain the dearth of studies devoted to this leading seventeenth-century Reformed orthodox theologian.

In connection with the above, this chapter will situate Goodwin in the context of his times. Previous historical-theological studies on him have not given due attention to the historical climate in which he wrote. Moreover, his attempts at reforming the national church at the Westminster Assembly have been largely overlooked, thus neglecting one of the most important aspects of his life. In addressing these issues this chapter will seek to help understand the life of Goodwin and why he was such a prolific writer in his highly-charged historical-political context.

His Life

Education and Conversion

Thomas Goodwin was born on 5 October 1600 in Rollesby, Norfolk to Richard (*d*. 1632), and Katherine Goodwin (1577-1645).[4] Richard was a churchwarden of St Nicholas from 1615 who,

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[3] *Works*, I, preface.
[4] For biographical material on Goodwin, see: Goodwin [junior], *Life*; Robert Halley, 'Memoir of Thomas Goodwin, D.D.' in vol II, *The Works of Thomas Goodwin* (12 vols, Edinburgh, 1861-66). Cited henceforth throughout the thesis as Halley, 'Memoir'; Edmund Calamy, *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, ed. Samuel Palmer (London: Alex. Hogg, 1778), 1:183-87; James Reid, 'Life of Thomas Goodwin,' in *Memoirs of the Westminster Divines* (1811; reprint Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1982), 319-43; Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography* [DNB], vol. 22 (1890; reprint Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922), 148-50; Alexander Whyte, *Thirteen Appreciations* (London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrierr, 1913), 157-76; Joel Beeke, 'Introduction', in vol I, *The Works of Thomas Goodwin* (12 vols, Edinburgh, 1861-66, repr. Reformation Heritage Books, 2006), 1-23; P. Ling-Ji Chang, 'Christian Life', 1-34; T. M. Lawrence, 'Goodwin, Thomas (1600–

in 1627, was reprimanded by Samuel Harsnett, bishop of Norwich, for allowing nonconformist preachers to preach without the surplice. His parents' nonconformist sympathies geared Goodwin's education towards future ecclesiastical involvement. On 25 August 1613 Goodwin entered Christ's College, Cambridge, which at that time was a 'nest of Puritans'.[5] Upon his arriving at Christ's College, 'there remain'd still in the College six Fellows that were great Tutors, who professed Religion after the strictest sort, then called Puritans'.[6] At Cambridge, Goodwin would have had a thorough training in humanism and scholasticism. Logic, rhetoric, metaphysics, mathematics, physics, and linguistics formed the substance of his undergraduate curriculum.[7]

At this time, the legacies of William Perkins (1558-1602) and William Ames (1576-1633) were 'still fresh in most Men's Memories'.[8] At Cambridge, Goodwin became acquainted with Zacharias Ursinus' *Heidelberg Catechism* and followed the Arminian-Calvinist debates at Dort closely. Goodwin 'judged [the Calvinists] to be in the right ... and the Arminians in the wrong'.[9] Moreover, as a student of theology, he came under the 'plain and wholesom' preaching of Richard Sibbes (1577?–1635) at Holy Trinity, Cambridge; this, coupled with the reading of Calvin's *Institutes*, was decisive in both the spiritual and theological formation of Goodwin. The

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1680)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008); Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation'; Brown, 'The principle of the covenant', 5-29; Fienberg, 'Puritan Pastor and Independent Divine', 266-360.

[5] Benjamin Brook, *The Lives of the Puritans: Containing a Biographical Account of Those Divines Who Distinguished Themselves in the Cause of Religious Liberty, from the Reformation Under Queen Elizabeth, to the Act of Uniformity in 1662* (London, 1813), 113.

[6] 'Life', ix.

[7] John Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning, and Education, 1560-1640* (Cambridge, 1986), 36-106.

[8] 'Life', ix. Patrick Collinson argues that Perkins was 'the prince of puritan theologians and the most eagerly read.' See Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement (*Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 125. For a discussion of Ames' and Perkins' influence at Cambridge, see Paul R. Schaeffer Jr. 'The Spiritual Brotherhood on the Habits of the Heart: Cambridge Protestants and the Doctrine of Sanctification from William Perkins to Thomas Shepherd' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University, 1994).

[9] 'Life', x.

preaching of Sibbes and John Preston (1587-1628) sought, according to Paul Schaeffer Jr., 'a revitalization and reformation of piety in the lives of those within a Protestant established church.'[10] Moreover, they favoured a decidedly Reformed approach to theology and they urged their hearers to 'live according to the Reformation principles which they had already achieved legally.'[11] Jonathan Moore argues that Preston's preaching was 'on occasions militantly anti-Papist and anti-Arminian'.[12] Moreover, not only did the content impact Preston's hearers, but so too did the style. Goodwin credits Preston as the individual who transformed his own preaching style, known as the 'plain style'.[13] Goodwin's chief influences, then, were men who advocated a distinctly Reformed theological position on theology, the Scriptures, and the Church's creeds and confessions as well as being overtly anti-Papist and anti-Arminian.

While still a student at Cambridge, having prepared to receive Communion for the first time, Goodwin's hopes of participation were dashed by his only tutor at Cambridge, William Power, who refused to allow him to receive the Sacrament. There is little information on Power. He did not publish any books that give clues about his theological leanings, but both extreme Puritanism and popery seem unlikely.[14] Power did, however, take his duties seriously, enough so that his reason for forbidding the sacrament of Holy Communion to Goodwin was most likely due to Goodwin's age.[15] Discouraged by this, Goodwin 'left off private Prayer ... and went constantly to St. Maries' to hear the 'flaunting Sermons' of Richard Senhouse (*d.* 1626) whose

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[10] Schaeffer, 'The Spiritual Brotherhood', 34.
[11] Schaeffer, 'The Spiritual Brotherhood', 34. For a study of Preston's view on the atonement – a position that Goodwin would not adopt – see Jonathan D. Moore, *English Hypothetical Universalism: John Preston and the Softening of Reformed Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007).
[12] Moore, *English Hypothetical Universalism*, 20.
[13] See 'Life', xiii.
[14] Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 70.
[15] Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 68.

'eloquent tongue and honest heart were capable to *over-awe a Court*'.[16] Goodwin, under the influence of Senhouse, resolved to preach against the godly at King's Lynn.

In 1617 Goodwin graduated BA and by 21 March 1620, having received his MA from St Catharine's College, he was elected fellow and college lecturer. That year, on 2 October, while listening to a funeral sermon by Thomas Bainbridge (*bap.* 1574, *d.* 1646), he underwent a conversion experience that he described as 'a true work of Grace'.[17] Goodwin continues:

> And no Eye pitied me or could help me, but as God there (in Ezek. 16) on the sudden (for 'tis spoken as a speedy Word, as well as a vehement earnest Word, for 'tis doubled twice) yea I said unto you Live: So God was pleased on the sudden, and as it were in an instant, to alter the whole Course of his former Dispensation towards me, and so of and to my Soul, Yea live, yea live I say, said God: and as he created the World and the Matter of all things by a Word, so he created and put a new Life and Spirit into my Soul, and so great an Alteration was strange to me.
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> God took me aside, and ... privately said unto me, do you now turn to me, and I will pardon all your Sins tho never so many .... I about a Year after did expressly tell Mr Price, in declaring to him my Conversion .... and I have since repeated them to others I know not how often, for they have ever stuck in my Mind.[18]

His conversion at Cambridge marked the beginning of what is surely one of the most interesting – and longest – ecclesiastical careers in the history of English Puritanism, rivalled only by that of his fellow Congregationalist and friend, John Owen.

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[16] J. Gauden, *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Suspiria* (London, 1659), 614. Goodwin, speaking after his conversion, provides a fascinating comparison between the preaching of Senhouse and John Preston. See 'Life', xiii.

[17] 'Life', xi.

[18] 'Life', xi. Goodwin refers to Mr [Nicholas] Price as 'the greatest and most famous Convert .... and who was the holiest Man that ever I knew ...'. See 'Life', xii. Referring to Goodwin's conversion, William Haller described it as one of 'the most notable revelations of the Puritan soul'. See Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York, 1957), 75.

On 2 March 1622 Goodwin was ordained a deacon at Peterborough. Three years later, in 1625, having been licensed as a university preacher, he began preaching at St Andrew's the Great. A year later in 1626 Goodwin was influential in bringing Sibbes, 'that holy and reverend Man', to be Master of St Catherine's Hall.[19] Goodwin eventually became curate at St Andrew's and in 1628 he was elected to succeed John Preston, who had died that year, as lecturer at Trinity Church. Preston chose Goodwin, along with Sibbes, John Davenport (*bap.* 1597, *d.* 1670), and John Ball (1585–1640) to edit his sermons.[20] While at Trinity, John Buckeridge (*d.* 1631), bishop of Ely, 'in pursuance of the King's Proclamation', attempted to impose an oath on Goodwin 'not to preach about any controverted Points in Divinity.'[21] Goodwin responded, arguing that he would be left with little to preach on given that almost all points of divinity are disputed. Specifically, he made no mention of refuting Arminianism to Buckeridge, but only the gross errors of popery. Because Goodwin subscribed to the Three Articles of Canon 36, he was admitted as lecturer and continued till 1634 at Trinity Church, where he served as vicar from 1632-34.[22] His resignation from Trinity Church is explained by Tom Webster in terms of Goodwin's scruples over popish ceremonies. Webster notes that Samuel Hartlib 'reported only that Goodwin had resigned his place at Cambridge because of his changed views on ceremonies.'[23] In connection with this, and based upon his exegesis of Revelation 11,

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[19] 'Life', xiv. For a modern treatment of Sibbes' theology in the seventeenth-century context, see Mark E. Dever, *Richard Sibbes*.

[20] Besides editing Preston's sermons, Goodwin was an editor or publisher of the works of Sibbes, Jeremiah Burroughs (*bap.* 1601?, *d.* 1646), John Cotton, (1585–1652) and Thomas Hooker (1586?–1647).

[21] 'Life', xvii. Lawrence notes that it 'is not clear to what Buckeridge was referring as "the King's proclamation"'. See Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 88-94. If the proclamation spoken of is the royal Declaration, issued by Charles I, prefaced to the Thirty-Nine Articles, it would have had particularly negative implications for Goodwin's Calvinistic doctrines.

[22] Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 95; see also Halley, 'Memoir', xxiv.

[23] Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: the Caroline Puritan Movement, 1620-1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 306.

Goodwin's vision for the church was to purify it in light of the eschatological age in which he lived.[24] In his opposition against Rome, Goodwin, the Puritan, saw himself as a reformer of what he hoped would become a pure Church of England.

Goodwin, now convinced from his exegesis of Revelation 11 of the necessity of a second reformation, hoped to organize the Church of England 'around particular congregations composed of true, or visible, saints.'[25] His ecclesiology had also been re-thought in light of the influence of the Congregationalist, John Cotton (1585-1652).[26] In 1644 Cotton entrusted Goodwin and Nye with the printing of his work, *The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven* (1644). In the preface, Goodwin and Nye describe Congregationalism as the 'middle-way' between Brownism and Presbyterianism. Goodwin, then, became a Congregationalist in England, not in Holland. However, Holland, specifically Arnhem, allowed him to put into practise what he had come to believe many years before while in England. Goodwin originally settled in Amsterdam along with the other 'dissenting brethren'. They agreed to separate and Goodwin ministered to a congregation along with Philip Nye (*bap*. 1595, *d*. 1672), who had been settled in Arnhem for some time, to about one hundred people.

These facts have caused historians to view Goodwin as the founder of Congregationalism.[27] However, his views on church government must be understood in the context of his eschatology. The evidence from his exegetical work on Revelation suggests that

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[24] See *Works*, II, *Revelation*.

[25] Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 113.

[26] Cotton Mather records that prior to his departure for New England in 1633, John Cotton convinced Goodwin and others of Congregationalism. See Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), I, 264-65.

[27] It is important to note that terms such as 'Congregationalism' and 'Presbyterianism' are somewhat anachronistic prior to 1640. See Webster, *Godly Clergy*, 310-332. 'Congregationalism', however, as a theological term, is useful in terms of understanding the trajectory of Goodwin's ecclesiological convictions.

he viewed himself as a reformer of the Church of England, not a rigid separatist.[28] If the Church

of England was going to undergo a thorough reformation, the type prophesied in Revelation 11,

it would need to be done around particular, godly congregations.

Robert Halley remarks that after Goodwin left Cambridge in 1634, due to his refusal to

submit to Archbishop William Laud's articles of conformity, 'little more is known of him for the

next five years than his marriage in 1638 to Elizabeth [Prescott]' (*d.* 1648?), a marriage that

would bring him significant financial benefits and social connections.[29] Sometime in November

1638 Goodwin fled to the Netherlands and settled in Arnhem, 'where he might exercise his

Ministry in the Gospel, and enjoy the ordinances of Christ, according to his Conscience' which

he was unable to do in England.[30] While there may be some truth that Goodwin was unwilling

'to live wholly upon his wives meanes, and so needed a Church to allow him maintenance',[31]

there were other forces at play. Matthew Wren's determined opposition to Puritanism, as the

newly appointed bishop of Ely, on 20 March 1638, and desire to ensure conformity, thus aligning

himself with Charles I and William Laud, meant that Goodwin had little choice but to flee

potential pursuivants. At this time, debate over the practises in worship in the Church of

England intensified, leading ultimately to the civil war in 1642.[32] Not only did the anti-

Calvinists attack the Reformed doctrine of predestination, but they replaced 'the Calvinist

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[28] For a discussion of the relationship between Goodwin's ecclesiology and eschatology, see Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 95-141. Goodwin's exegesis of Revelation 11 will be discussed below.

[29] Halley, 'Memoir', xxiv.

[30] 'Life', xviii.

[31] Thomas Edwards, *Antapologia* (London, 1644), 25. Edwards' Antapologia was the most controversial reply to the 'Dissenting Brethren's' An Apologeticall Narration (1644). Goodwin, Nye, Sydrach Simpson (1600–1655), William Bridge (1601–1671), and Burroughs were the five Independent ministers who presented *An Apologeticall Narration*, concerning matters of church government, to the Westminster Assembly.

[32] As Peter Lake, Anthony Milton and Kenneth Fincham have demonstrated, besides predestination, there were other religio-political causes that led to the first civil war in England during the seventeenth century. Their goal has been to 'nudge the current historigraphical debate away from an obsessive preoccupation with one doctrine – predestination – and towards an appreciation of a range of contentious issues: conformity, order, worship, clerical authority and wealth ...' Kenneth Fincham, ed., *The Early Stuart Church: 1603-1642* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 1-2.

emphasis on internal piety with an elaborate public worship service based on the prayer book and canons ...'[33] Goodwin's departure to Holland, then, not only kept him safe but allowed him to worship according to his conscience.

In Arnhem, along with Philip Nye, Goodwin served in his first congregational church from 1639-41, a congregation described by Keith Sprunger as 'small but vigorous'.[34] Sprunger adds that the church was 'organized on the basis of a church covenant'.[35] That is, only the 'truly godly' were admitted, and only after being thoroughly scrutinized by the whole congregation.[36] The Scottish Presbyterian, Robert Baillie (1602–1662), noted for his opposition to Congregationalism, refers to the discipline carried 'in the best ruled Congregations that ever they had; that of Arnheim' as overly excessive.[37] He argues that church discipline was unnecessarily tedious: 'the whole Congregation ... have been forced to lay aside the works of their ordinary calling for many dayes of the week, to attend the judging of these causes which on the Sabbath dayes could not be ended.'[38] This is consistent with Goodwin's desire for purity in the church, a purity that was required by the command of Scriptures.[39]

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[33] Esther Gilman Richey, *The Politics of Revelation in the English Renaissance* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998), 9.

[34] Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* Studies in the history of Christian thought, v. 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1982), 226. Goodwin's ecclesiology has been the subject of a good deal of enquiry. Besides Sprunger, see Carter, 'The Presbyterian – Independent controversy'; Lawrence, 'Transmission and Transformation'; David R. Ehalt, 'The development of early congregational theory of the church with special reference to the five "Dissenting Brethren" at the Westminster Assembly' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Claremont University, 1969); J.P. Burgess, 'The problem of Scripture and political affairs as reflected in the puritan revolution: Samuel Rutherford, Thomas Goodwin, John Goodwin and Gerrard Winstanley' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1986); Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *Visible Saints: the Congregational Way, 1640-1660* (2nd ed., Weston Rhyn, 2001); Murray Tolmie, *The Triumph of the Saints: the Separate Churches of London 1616-1649* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 85-106; Webster, *Godly Clergy,* 305-9.

[35] Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 228-29.

[36] Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 229. Similarly, Nuttall describes the concern for godliness as the 'first principle underlying what was distinctive in Congregational thought and practise'. See Nuttall, *Visible Saints*, 131.

[37] Robert Baillie, *A Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time* (London, 1645), 122.

[38] Baillie, *Dissuasive*, 122-23. See also Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 229.

[39] See *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 122.

Halley is surely correct in arguing that during this time Goodwin and Nye appear to have arrived at their definitive convictions about church order and discipline, convictions 'which they afterwards clearly stated, and ably defended, in the *Apologetical Narration.*'[40] Goodwin's plan for reformation was not yet realized, but the next two decades would see him involved in ongoing attempts to reform the Church of England along more thoroughly biblical lines in terms of ecclesiology (i.e. Congregationalism) and soteriology (i.e. Reformed orthodoxy) in fulfillment of the eschatological promises of Revelation 11 where the Scriptures would be 'alone a sufficient Rule to square Churches (both Worshippers and Worship) ...'[41]

The Westminster Assembly

Goodwin returned to England, sometime in 1641, to be a Pastor of a church in London. In 1643, 'by an ordinance of Parliament', he was 'appointed to be a Member of the venerable Assembly of Divines at Westminster.'[42] His son evidently did not feel that Goodwin's role at the Westminster assembly was particularly noteworthy to readers of the 'Life' and so proceeds to speak about John Cotton's (1585–1652) invitation to Goodwin, in 1647, to come to New England.[43] Goodwin's involvement at the Westminster Assembly is, however, particularly important in terms of understanding him in his seventeenth-century context. The onset of the

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[40] Halley, 'Memoir', xxvi.
[41] Goodwin, *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 118.
[42] 'Life', xviii.
[43] Lawrence provides a fascinating analysis of the 'editorial sins of omission' by Goodwin's son in the 'Life'. See Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 215-17.

Civil War saw him engaged at the Westminster Assembly, in what proved to be a failed attempt to reform the Church of England.[44]

What little is known from Goodwin's son about his father's time at the Assembly is that Goodwin, in the debates on church government, argued 'with such Modesty and Christian Meekness, that it procur'd the Esteem of those who differ'd from him, and the other dissenting Brethren in their Judgment.'[45] However, despite the passing reference to Goodwin's irenicism in debates on church government, the recent work of Chad Van Dixhoorn, that includes the *Minutes* of the Westminster Assembly, sheds important light on Goodwin's activities during the 1640s.[46] Except for Lawrence, and occasional references by Carter,[47] none of the secondary literature on Goodwin has explored in detail his activities at the Assembly. This is significant insofar as Goodwin plays a major role at the Assembly not only in ecclesiological debates but theological ones too.

Historiography on the Assembly, up until Van Dixhoorn's thesis, has focussed almost exclusively on ecclesiological debates without giving due attention to other important theological disputes. As such, Van Dixhoorn has persuasively argued that theology 'is the most neglected area in Assembly historiography.'[48] In fact, while many have assumed that ecclesiological debates slowed the Assembly down as opposed to other doctrinal matters, which did not receive

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[44] Among the best treatments of the English Civil War and the events leading up to it are Peter Gaunt, *The English Civil War The Essential Readings* (Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000); John S. Morrill, *The Impact of the English Civil War* (London: Collins & Brown, 1991); Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists The Rise of English Arminianism, C. 1590-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[45] 'Life', xviii.

[46] See Chad Van Dixhoorn, 'Reforming the Reformation: Theological Debate at the Westminster Assembly 1643-1652, Volumes 1-7' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 2004).

[47] See Carter, 'Presbyterian-Independent Controversy', passim.

[48] Van Dixhoorn, 'Reforming the Reformation', I.8. Chapters Seven and Eight will show how Goodwin's prominence in theological debates at the Westminster Assembly shed further light on his Christology.

extended discussion, Van Dixhoorn has shown that the opposite is true. Certainly, many of the Presbyterians at the Assembly were concerned about Congregationalist ecclesiology and its close relation to schismatics, 'but', notes Van Dixhoorn, 'only when debating Christology did the divines call each other heretics. In a similar vein, while some divines thought that Presbyterianism was only a small step away from prelacy and Romanism, only when debating justification did they accuse one another of popery.'[49]

Goodwin's role at the Assembly was not limited, then, to debates on ecclesiology, but included other controverted areas of theology, especially the doctrine of justification by faith.[50] In line with the goals of the Assembly, Goodwin saw himself carrying on his life project, the reformation of the Church of England along godly lines with respect to both ecclesiology and Reformed orthodoxy. In connection with Goodwin's ecclesiological convictions, the *Minutes* of the Westminster Assembly indicate that despite Goodwin's best efforts along with fellow Congregationalists in composing an *Apollogeticall Narration* (1644) and *A Copy of a Remonstrance Lately Delivered in the Assembly* (1645), Presbyterianism triumphed. Consequently, Goodwin's role at the Assembly decreased markedly thereafter; though, in 1647, along with Jeremiah Walker, he oversaw the printing of the assembly's papers.

The Interregnum

With the regicide of Charles I in 1649, Goodwin, along with Owen and Nye, became a principal architect of the Cromwellian church. That year Goodwin preached on 7 June before the House of Commons. On 8 January 1650 parliament appointed him to the presidency of Magdalen

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[49] Van Dixhoorn, 'Reforming the Reformation', I.348.
[50] For example, see Van Dixhoorn, 'Reforming the Reformation', I.270-344; II.passim; III.passim.

College, Oxford where he preached every second week, alternating with Owen, at St Mary's.[51]

Towards the end of the year he was made D.D. of Oxford. Goodwin also pastored a church at this time that included 'good Men tho of different Persuasions' such as Congregationalists Thankful Owen (1620–1681), Theophilus Gale (1628–1679), Stephen Charnock (1628–1680), the Presbyterian John Howe (1630–1705),[52] and Zachary Mayne (1631–1694), who struggled with Arian and Socinian views, though he is later reported to have renounced these heretical positions in The Snare Broken (1692) and Sanctification by Faith Vindicated (1693).

Goodwin's labours at Oxford during the 1650s marked a time of blessing for students who would later become Protestant nonconformists. Philip Henry (1631–1696), according to his son, Matthew Henry (1662–1714), often spoke of the 'great helps and advantages he had then in the University, not only for learning, but for religion and piety.'[53] Moreover, since godliness was at stake, there were public opportunities that enabled scholars to 'meet together for prayer, and Christian conference to the great confirmation of one another's hearts in the fear and love of God and the preparing of them for the service of the Church in their generation.'[54] The 1650s, then, were a unique time in Oxford's history. Oxford has been noted as a center of Anglicanism since the days of Henry VIII, and, the brief rule of the Cromwells notwithstanding, the University has been Anglican since the Restoration period. However, at the time, Goodwin surely hoped that his vision for true reformation in the English church was taking place. That context explains his actions during the Interregnum period, a period that saw him at the height of his ecclesiastical and political activity.

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[51] Halley, 'Memoir', xxvii-xxxiv.

[52] Halley records that Howe had initially prevented himself from uniting himself to the church where Goodwin pastored. However, 'Goodwin ... readily agreed to admit him upon liberal and catholic grounds to the privileges of their society. This is one of many proofs that Goodwin was not that narrow and bigoted sectary which he has been often represented.' Halley, 'Memoir', xxxv.

[53] Matthew Henry, *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Philip Henry* (London, 1699), 19.

[54] *An Account*, 19.

With the passing of the Act of Oblivion – an act which granted pardon for acts of treason against the Commonwealth committed before 3 September 1651 – the Socinian, John Biddle (1616–1662), was released on 10 February 1652 from prison. Goodwin was among the fifteen Congregationalist ministers that appeared before the House of Commons with a petition in an attempt to thwart the threat posed by Biddle's doctrines that included a denial of 'the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, [and] the divinity of the Holy Spirit'.[55] Biddle, according to Lawrence, 'was the motivation for the first of three confessions of faith which Goodwin helped draft in the 1650s.'[56] Sometime in March 1651, Biddle was certainly involved in publishing the *Catechesis Ecclesiarum*, known as the *Racovian Catechism*. This Socinian document was countered by *The Humble Proposals of Mr. Owen, Mr. Tho. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr Sympson, and other Ministers* (31 March 1652).[57] The *Proposals* were followed by the *Principles of Christian religion*, published later that year.   Baxter charged the Congregationalists with extreme factionalism given the content of the *Proposals* and *Principles*. However, Lawrence has argued that the *Proposals*, for example, 'gives every indication of being a compromise document.'[58] For example, the *Proposals* granted more authority to extra-congregational authorities than had been previously allowed. And, as Lawrence has noted, the *Proposals* were formulated in such a way that both Presbyterians and Congregationalists were agreed that the *Proposals* could potentially

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[55] John H. McLachlan, *Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951), 188.

[56] 'Transmission and transformation', 144.

[57] An English version of the *Racovian Catechism* appeared the following year. While there is no explicit evidence that Biddle was the translator, Nigel Smith has argued that 'there are certainly similarities between the *Catechism's* phrasings, that of the preface, and Biddle's own writing. This is a strong indicator that Biddle was the translator ...' Nigel Smith, '"And if God was one of us": Paul Best, John Biddle, and anti-Trinitarian heresy in seventeenth-century England' In *Heresy, Literature, and Politics in Early Modern English Culture*, eds., David Loewenstein and John Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 168

[58] 'Transmission and transformation', 150.

'bring the sects firmly to heel'; thus, the *Proposals* had the effect of uniting both Presbyterians and Congregationalists against radical and heretical groups.[59]

Notwithstanding this fact, however, the goal of these documents, while ecumenical in terms of the Congregational-Presbyterian divide, was to safeguard the orthodoxy of the Christian faith. Hence, the Socinians, Quakers, Pantheists, and Antinomians were excluded on grounds of heresy.[60] Not surprisingly, the *Proposals* and *Principles* were met with strong opposition by those condemned and the Rump Parliament only managed to approve three of the proposals before its dissolution. With the establishment of the Protectorate, February 1654, Cromwell made Goodwin, along with a mixed group of Congregationalists and Presbyterians such as Baxter, Owen, Francis Cheynell (1608-1665), Manton, Nye, and Simpson, a participant in a parliamentary conference designed to write a confession of faith for the Cromwellian church.[61] The result was *A New Confession of Faith, or the first Principles of the Christian Religion necessary to bee laid as a Foundation by all such as desire to build on unto Perfection* (1654).[62] *A New Confession*, like the *Principles* (1652), followed the outline of the Apostles' Creed.

The content of the outline followed Nicene trinitarianism, Chalcedonian Christology, and Calvinistic soteriology. However, while similarities between the two aforementioned confessions are obvious, there are some important differences. The confession made it more difficult for Arminians to subscribe and also 'those whose understanding of justification strayed from the standard laid out by the Westminster Divines', such as Richard Baxter.[63] *A New*

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[59] 'Transmission and transformation', 150-51.
[60] Lawrence notes that the language towards the antinomians is stronger in the *Principles* than in the *Westminster Confession of Faith*. 'Transmission and Transformation', 161.
[61] For an excellent discussion of this conference, see Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 166-182.
[62] Lawrence notes that the 'sole extant copy is in the Thomason Collection .... Thomason noted that it was presented to parliament on 12 December 1654.' 'Transmission and transformation', 170.
[63] Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 172.

Confession, containing twenty articles of faith, was presented to Parliament on 12 December 1654.[64] Unfortunately for Goodwin, as in 1652, parliament was dissolved before it could discuss the merits of *A New Confession* and its proposed consequences for these groups.

No doubt Goodwin would have been disappointed with the dissolution of Parliament that would seem to frustrate further attempts to reform the church during the Interregnum. However, the era of the Protectorate represented a time of prosperity for the Congregationalists. Having spent the preceding years perfecting some of his writings, Goodwin, along with fellow Congregationalists, secured Cromwell's (reluctant) permission to convene a Synod and draft the *Savoy Declaration* (1658). On 29 September 1658 Goodwin, along with Owen, Nye, Bridge, and William Greenhill (1598–1671), all of whom, except for Owen, had participated at the Westminster Assembly, drew up a statement of faith almost identical to the *Westminster Confession of Faith* except in the area of ecclesiology.[65] The *Savoy Declaration* was immensely influential in both British and American congregationalism, becoming the confessional standard for Independent churches on both continents. Though the *Savoy Declaration* is almost identical to the *Westminster Confession*, there are several differences which on the surface seem minor, but, as this study will show, are important in understanding certain nuances of Goodwin's Christology.

On 3 September 1658, the anniversary of the 'eminent mercy' at Dunbar (1650) and the 'crowning mercy' of Worcester (1651), Goodwin attended Cromwell's death-bed. Cromwell had a moment of misgiving, perhaps due to his various life experiences, and asked Goodwin if the doctrine of the saints' perseverance were true (i.e. the elect could never fall away from the

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[64] Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 181.
[65] There are some other, more subtle, differences that will be discussed in later chapters.

faith). 'Nothing could be more certain' was Goodwin's response. 'Then I am safe', said Cromwell, 'for I am sure that once I was in a state of grace.'[66] Cromwell knew that his hour had come to depart out of the world, but Goodwin did not seem to think so.[67] Cromwell, however, died minutes later and so too, in some respects, did Goodwin's Puritan vision for the Church of England. Cromwell was succeeded as Lord Protector by his son Richard (1626–1712). Richard lacked the necessary power base in both Parliament and the Army to continue as Lord Protector. He was forced to resign in May 1659, thus bringing the Protectorate to an end. This was not only the end for the Cromwellian church, but the end of both Goodwin's public career and his efforts to reform and defend the Church of England.

The Restoration

King Charles II was restored to the throne on 8 May 1660. Parliament, consisting of both Lords and Commons, insisted that Charles II became King on 30 January 1649; 'they were only now finding opportunity to proclaim that fact.'[68] The 'Puritan revolution' did not, in fact, displace religion as an important issue in the political sphere. Religion, as in the Cromwellian church, remained very much at the forefront in the Restoration period.[69] Goodwin's public career, however, had ended.[70]

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[66] Eliakim Littell and Robert S. Littell, *The Living Age* (New York: Living Age Co., 1845), 112.
[67] Halley, 'Memoir', xxxvii.
[68] Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 9.
[69] Diana Newton, *Papists, Protestants, and Puritans, 1559-1714* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 62.
[70] 'Thomas Goodwin, SS. Theol. Bac., creatus est Praesidens Collegii Magd. In Oxonio autoritate residuae partis inferioris domus Parliamenti, quo munere postquam defunctus fuerat per decennium, et quod excurrit, recedebat Maii nono, anno 1660.' Quoted in Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 9. See also W.D. Macray, *A Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford: From the Foundation of the College* (new series, 8 vols, Oxford, 1894-1915), IV (1904), 7. See also 'Life', xviii.

Goodwin's resignation from Magdalen ushered in a 'retir'd Life, spent in Prayer, Reading and Meditation ...'[71] Goodwin, however, hoped to secure religious toleration as he ministered to his Oxford congregation in London where he now lived. The Act of Uniformity (1662) imposed upon Puritans like Goodwin 'unequivocal acceptance of its content ...'[72] Moreover, public pulpits and both Universities were no longer open to them.[73] Lawrence rightly notes the psychological impact of the Act of Uniformity on nonconformists, such as Goodwin.

> Men who had been trained to preach and teach, men who had spent a lifetime developing the rhetorical tools necessary to persuade a nation to godliness, were by this act forbidden to do the very thing for which they lived. Adding injury to insult, the harsh sanctions of the Clarendon Code were soon enacted to enforce their silence. Cut off from both public life and public worship, Goodwin did not simply withdraw to the tranquil world of the pastor's study. Rather, he was forced into the quietly furtive life of the nonconformist minister, managing his affairs in order to avoid confrontation with the authorities.[74]

The Restoration settlement of the church, begun in 1660, was followed by almost thirty years of persecution; Goodwin, therefore, for the remainder of his life, would never enjoy the religious liberty he had during the Interregnum.

In light of the changing circumstances in Goodwin's life, historians have argued that most of Goodwin's collected *Works* were written within the context of the Restoration.[75] Among such historians is Christopher Hill, who has argued that Goodwin's writings are the response to the bitter experience of defeat. Lawrence's work, on the other hand, clearly demonstrates that

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[71] 'Life', xviii.
[72] Newton, *Papists, Protestants, and Puritans*, 63.
[73] Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 11.
[74] Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 11.
[75] For example, see Christopher Hill, *Defeat*, 65.

the *Works* are representative of 'the thought of a puritan divine across the span of his career, and not simply at the end of it.'[76]

The persecution of nonconformists sparked an exodus to New England. As noted previously, Goodwin was reported to have been invited by John Cotton to immigrate to New England, but Goodwin's second wife, Mary (1632-1693), whom he married in 1649 shortly after the death of his first wife, Elizabeth, convinced him to stay, according to John Davenport. Goodwin, like Owen, because of his former ecclesiastical and political prominence and various social connections, does not appear to have suffered to the same degree under the Clarendon code as other nonconformists. Goodwin, unlike Thomas Jollie (1629–1703), who had been imprisoned five times, and John Bunyan, did not spend time inside a jail. Nonconformists in London seem to have benefited from a general reluctance to enforce the Clarendon code.[77] On 27 February 1663 Goodwin spoke on behalf of congregational ministers before Charles II. Goodwin appears to have taken the King's advice to meet inconspicuously in order to avoid the various penalties enforced on nonconformists at the time.

Goodwin, then, continued to minister to his congregation in London, even through the great plague (1665-66). Nearly 70,000 deaths resulted from the plague and there would have been more if thousands had not fled London. Among those who fled was Owen, who left London for Stoke Newington. Baxter surmises that Owen deliberately left London, and his gathered church, during the plague. The implication seems to be that, from Baxter's perspective, Owen should have stayed and cared for his people during this time like the other heroic

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[76] Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 51. See the discussion in Chapter One regarding Lawrence's findings on the dating of Goodwin's *Works*.
[77] Fienberg, 'Puritan Pastor and Independent Divine', 343.

nonconformist ministers.[78] Regardless of the propriety or lack thereof of Owen's actions, there was a growing sentiment among nonconformists that the plague and great fire were signs of God's judgment upon England for the oppressive attitude towards Nonconformity. Thomas [junior] as the inheritor of his father's great library laments the consequences of the second disaster in London that year.

> In that deplorable Calamity of the dreadful Fire at London, 1666, which laid in Ashes a considerable part of that City, he lost above half his Library, to the value of five hundred Pounds. There was this remarkable, that part of it, which was lodg'd very near the Place where the Fire began, and which he accounted irrecoverably lost, were by the good Providence of God, and the Care and Diligence of his very good and faithful Friend Mr. Moses Lowman, tho with extreme hazard, preserv'd from the Flames.[79]

Goodwin, according to his son, admitted that God had 'struck him in a very sensible Place' because he loved his library too much. Fortunately for Goodwin his Divinity books, 'which were chiefly of use to him', were preserved in the fire.[80]

In the years between 1662 and 1672 Goodwin appears to have lived quietly. He only published *Patience and its Perfect Work* (1666), and that anonymously. From about 1672 to the end of his life, Goodwin, licensed as a congregational minister, remained in poor health. For example, in a letter to Robert Asty, sometime around May 1675, Goodwin excuses himself for not responding sooner due to being 'weak and sickish'.[81] In February 1680 'a Fever seiz'd him, which in a few Days put an end to his Life'.[82] Goodwin died on the 18th day of that month

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[78] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, or, Mr. Richard Baxter's Narrative of the Most Memorable Passages of His Life and Times* (London, 1696), Pt. III, 19. Baxter confirms that Goodwin, along with Nye, were the Nonconformist leaders in London at this time.

[79] 'Life', xix.

[80] 'Life', xix. See also Halley, 'Memoir', xxxix.

[81] *Works*, IV, *Some Letters which Pass'd Between the Author and Others Concerning Church-Government*, 51.

[82] 'Life', xix.

having lived almost eighty years amidst some of the most remarkable events in England's ecclesiastical and political history. His closing exhortation to his two sons was to 'value the Privilege of the Covenant'.[83] The following chapters will show that those closing words are not without significance.

Puritan, Calvinist, or Reformed?

Statement of the Problem

This chapter has argued, in connection with the findings of Lawrence, that Goodwin 'was as much one of the last of the puritans as the first of the Congregationalists.' Goodwin's repeated efforts to reform the Church of England along godly lines in the form of Congregationalist church government came to a definitive end with the restoration of King Charles II to the throne on 8 May 1660. In that respect, Goodwin was a Puritan turned nonconformist.[84] The term 'puritan', however, can be problematic in terms of understanding Goodwin's theology. There was a broad spectrum of different religious views before the civil war 'running from crypto-popish "Arminian" zealots ... through to die-hard puritan nonconformists on the other.'[85] In that spectrum you have, for example, the moderate Puritan and 'cautious reformer', Richard Sibbes,[86] and those who adopted 'the extreme ceremonialism of divines such as William Laud and Richard Montagu.'[87] If Anthony Milton, Patrick Collinson and Peter Lake are correct in identifying

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[83] 'Life', xix.

[84] For literature debating the definition of Puritanism, see Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*; B. Hall, 'Puritanism: The Problem of Definition' in G.J. Cumming, ed., *Studies in Church History* 2 (London: Nelson, 1965), 283-96; W. Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York: Columbia, 1955); Trueman, *John Owen*, 5-12; idem, *Claims of Truth*, 9-13;

[85] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 5.

[86] Dever, *Sibbes*, 48.

[87] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 8.

Puritans as Protestants who were 'distinctive in their enthusiasm and zeal for the cause of true religion in a way in which both they themselves (regarding themselves as a "godly" elite) and their hostile opponents (seeing them as overprecise hypocrites) could and did recognize', then surely Goodwin was a Puritan.[88] However, in connection with the definition above, to simply refer to Goodwin as a 'Puritan' is to say very little about his theology.[89]

In understanding Goodwin's theology, the term 'Reformed orthodoxy' is, as Trueman has argued, 'more easily defined and less limiting than the category of Puritanism.'[90] The term 'Calvinist' is only slightly more helpful than 'puritan' in understanding the theology of Goodwin. In calling Goodwin a 'Calvinist' the implication is that he was generally sympathetic with the continental Reformed tradition in terms of its theological doctrine. Certainly he was. However, not all scholars are happy with the term 'Calvinist'. Julian Davies prefers instead the term 'reformed'.[91] Certainly, both terms can be used to describe Goodwin's theology, but 'Reformed orthodoxy' is far less limiting and problematic than the term 'Calvinist'. Richard Muller has also argued that the terms 'Calvinist' and 'Calvinism' are potentially misleading. After all, those who followed Calvin, and were sympathetic to his theology, did not simply echo Calvin's theology without at the same time making unique contributions of their own. Furthermore, 'if by "Calvinist"', says Muller, 'one means a later exponent of a theology standing within the confessional boundaries described by such documents as the Gallican Confession, the

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[88] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 8.

[89] For other various problems in identifying someone like Goodwin as a Puritan to describe his theology, see Trueman, *John Owen*, 5. The theological fluidity of the term 'Puritan' is evidenced by the fact that Benjamin Brook includes the Socinian, John Biddle, in his work, *Lives of the Puritans* (Printed for James Black, 1813), III.411-17.

[90] Trueman, *John Owen*, 6. John Coffey has argued similarly in the case of Samuel Rutherford: 'Yet, contrary to the common assumption, Calvin did not tower above all other Reformed theologians in importance ... Rutherford never called himself a 'Calvinist', and the tendency of historians to prefer 'Calvinist' to the more accurate 'Reformed', suggests a movement dominated by a single man, rather than one shaped by a group of like-minded theologians as was in fact the case.' *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 75.

[91] Julian Davies, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism, 1625-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 298.

Belgic Confession, the Second Helvetic Confession, and the Heidelberg Catechism, then one will have the problem of accounting for the many ways in which such thinkers – notably, Amandus Polanus ... William Perkins, Franciscus Junius, and Gulielmus Bucanus, just to name a few – differ from Calvin both doctrinally and methodologically.'[92] The term 'Reformed', then, allows for Goodwin to be identified with a tradition that was diverse enough to embrace several important confessional documents as well as a number of theologians who, while united for the most part in their theology, differed on certain points of doctrine. The Presbyterian, John Flavel (1630-1691), explicitly refers to the 'Reformed Orthodox Divines' in his attempt to safeguard Reformed orthodoxy from various critics outside that tradition.[93] More appropriately, then, Goodwin's theology is best described as 'Reformed orthodoxy', though this by no means diminishes the important role that Calvin played through his writings in Goodwin's theological formation.[94]

In analyzing the Reformed theological tradition, Muller has divided the history into four periods. Following the Reformation period (1523-1563), he identifies three subsequent periods: early, high, and late orthodoxy. Early orthodoxy had two distinct phases (1565-1618-1640). 'It was,' according to Muller, 'the era of the confessional solidification of Protestantism.'[95] The confessions were written and solidified, in part, due to the 'increasingly complex polemical

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[92] *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics* (4 vols, Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), I, 30. Hereafter cited *PRRD*. Trueman echoes similar thoughts: 'the term Calvinism is profoundly unhelpful. It was coined as a polemical tool for tarnishing the reputation of the Reformed, and it is of no real use to modern intellectual history. Far better are the terms "Reformed theology" and "Reformed Orthodoxy" as these actually reflect the fact that so-called Calvinists were not those who looked to Calvin as the major theological authority but rather those who looked to the tradition of Reformed confessions.' 'Calvin and Calvinism' in *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin*. Ed. Donald K. McKim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 226.

[93] *Planelogia, a succinct and seasonable discourse of the occasions, causes, nature, rise, growth, and remedies of mental errors written some months since, and now made publick, both for the healing and prevention of the sins and calamities which have broken in this way upon the churches of Christ, to the great scandal of religion, hardening of the wicked, and obstruction of Reformation* (London, 1691), 332.

[94] Besides Muller's *PRRD*, useful treatments of Reformed Orthodoxy include: Carl R Trueman and R S Clark, eds., *Protestant Scholasticism*; Willem J Van Asselt and Eef Dekker, eds., *Reformation and Scholasticism*.

[95] Muller, *PRRD*, I, 31.

environment'.[96] Apologists from the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Arminian and Socinian traditions 'called for theological work of growing complexity in order to defend and refine the Reformed theological heritage in the face of such novel threats.'[97] This was the theological context in which Goodwin was educated. However, Muller's third period, that of high orthodoxy (1640-1685-1725), particularly the first part, also encompasses the second half of Goodwin's life, especially his role as a churchman in attempting to reform the Church of England. This period was characterized by various theological controversies, 'such as the broader Amyraldian controversy and the debate over Cocceian federal theology as well as the vast expansion of debate with the Socinians over the doctrine of the Trinity.'[98]

Goodwin fits well in both periods, that of the second phase of early orthodoxy (1618-1640) and the first phase of high orthodoxy (1640-1685). The content of Goodwin's *Works* – particularly his anti-Socinian writings – begun in the late 1620s and largely completed though not edited by 1657 suggest that he falls into both categories of Reformed orthodoxy. The advantage of Reformed over the term Puritan to describe Goodwin's theology is further strengthened when one considers the various theologians Goodwin read and interacted with. He was in constant dialogue with the wider European theological movement. Puritanism was a British phenomenon. Thus, as a Reformed theologian, he interacted with and challenged Roman Catholicism, Arminianism, and Socinianism, all of which cannot be limited to England. With Goodwin now defined as Reformed in terms of his theology, the theological context in which he was educated and wrote are better understood. His sources, influences, and interests are all, in large part, contingent upon the fact that he is working in the context of Reformed orthodoxy,

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[96] Trueman, *John Owen*, 6.
[97] Trueman, *John Owen*, 6.
[98] Muller, *PRRD*, I, 31-32.

specifically the latter part of early orthodoxy and the early part of high orthodoxy. With the historical and political background of Goodwin's life now addressed, the following chapter will examine, in more detail, the theological context that shaped Goodwin's writings.

Conclusion

Was Goodwin, then, a Puritan? If a Puritan was someone who attempted ecclesiastical reform in the Church of England during the seventeenth century then certainly Goodwin was a Puritan. The life of Goodwin in the context of his times has attempted to better understand the context in which he wrote as a Puritan. But, while Goodwin was a Puritan, the content of his writings indicate that his theology is better described as Reformed orthodoxy. The following chapter will, therefore, consider Goodwin not only as a Puritan, but as a Reformed theologian whose theology was decisively shaped by the context in which he was educated and lived. As such, his influences, opponents and theological method will be looked at in detail in order to provide the necessary context for his theology.

CHAPTER THREE: INFLUENCES AND OPPONENTS

Introduction

Upon Goodwin's resignation as President of Magdalen College in 1660 he spent the remaining

twenty years of his life ministering as a nonconformist to his congregation in London at his

house in the parish of St. Giles Cripplegate. During this time, according to his son, Goodwin

> read much, and the Authors which he most valued and studied were Augustin, Calvin, Musculus, Zanchius, Paraeus, Waleus, Gomarus, Altingius, and Amesius; among the Schoolmen Suarez and Estius. But the Scriptures were what he most studied; and as he had furnish'd his Library with a very good Collection of Commentators, he made good use of them. And as the Scriptures are an inexhaustible Treasure of Divine Knowledge, so by an eager search into them, and comparing one with another, he discover'd those Truths which are not to be found in other Authors.[1]

Any attempt to understand the theological context of Goodwin must take into consideration

and evaluate the details listed above by Goodwin's son. Though these details have reference to

the latter twenty years of Goodwin's life, the internal evidence from his writings suggests that he

continued, during the Restoration, the same basic reading habits he had developed during his

earlier theological education and career. In understanding his theological context a number of

questions will be asked. First, who were his influences? Second, if he identified himself with a

particular theological tradition – namely, Reformed orthodoxy – who, if any, were his chief

theological opponents? And, third, in engaging his opponents, what was his exegetical method as

an interpreter of Scripture, the thing 'he most studied'? These questions will be answered in this

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[1] 'Life', xviii.

chapter and the next in order to understand the purpose, content, and framework of Goodwin's writings.

Influences

One of the Westminster divines, William Lyford (1597?–1653), wrote of the importance of the learning of others, 'for they dig deep to search out the hidden Knowledge, they hunt and catch the Venison, which we so readily dresse, and dish out to our Hearers .... It is the work of an Age to breed a sound learned man, and none but dung-hill-spirits will undervalue such precious Jewels.'[2] Goodwin, likewise, urges scholars to 'Go to the Markets and Ware-houses of those that have laid in, or discovered much of this Treasure [i.e. 'The Glory of the Gospel'] ... use the Helps of Godly Mens Writings and Conferences: The Help of Saints both Dead and Alive .... we may have a great deal of Knowledge from their Writings.'[3] He does, however, speak negatively of 'those scholars who adore Learning too much ... to gain Reputation and Esteem.'[4] Elsewhere, Goodwin, commenting on Ecclesiastes 12:12,[5] argues that Solomon does not condemn the reading of other books altogether, but rather insists upon the superiority and lasting value of the Scriptures.[6] With that in mind, it is important to understand that Goodwin was influenced by many different writers from various backgrounds. Yet, these writers were useful only insofar as they enabled him to engage in the exegetical task of setting forth the truth of the 'Holy Scriptures', the principal authority in all theological debates.

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[2] *The Plain Mans Senses Exercised to Discern both Good and Evil* (London, 1655), 'preface' (p. 3).
[3] *Works*, V, *Glory of the Gospel*, 39.
[4] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 103.
[5] Ecclesiastes 12:12 'And further, by these, my son, be admonished: of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness to the flesh.'
[6] *Works*, IV, *Of the Constitution of the Churches of Christ*, 321.

The most obvious influence on Goodwin's theology is that of his own theological tradition, Reformed orthodoxy. As a student at Cambridge, Goodwin read Ursinus' *Heidelberg Catechism* (1563) 'which was in use among the Puritans in the College'.[7] Goodwin also read John Calvin's *Institutes of Christian Religion* (1559), remarking, 'O how sweet was the reading of some Parts of that Book to me! How pleasing was the Delivery of Truths in a solid manner then to me.'[8] Calvin, judging by Goodwin's *Works*, appears to have influenced Goodwin more than any other theologian.[9] He is referred to as 'that holy and greatest Light of the Reformed Churches.'[10] Theodore Beza (1516-1605) is also frequently referenced by Goodwin – almost always positively – when he is attempting to buttress specific exegetical points, especially when addressing the Greek text.[11] Wolfgang Musculus (1497-1563), one of the 'important second-generation codifiers of the Reformed faith'[12] also occupies an important place in Goodwin's thought, often being placed alongside Calvin on settling theological questions.[13] The Italian Protestant Reformer, Jerome Zanchius (1516-1590), whom Goodwin describes as 'a great Divine', 'the best of Protestant Writers',[14] also figures prominently, especially in Goodwin's

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[7] 'Life', v.

[8] 'Life', vi.

[9] For example, see *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 42, 135, 149, 227, 296, 299; *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 2, 128; *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 70, 89, 129; *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 2, 32, 35, 43, 44, 47, 100-103, 139; *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 3; *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 88, 151, 169, 177, 200, 361, 365, 371, 392; *Works*, III, *An Unregenerate Mans Guilt*, 349, 351, 353, 375; *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 226, 310, 395; *Works*, IV, *Object and Acts of Justifying Faith*, Pt. 1, 1, 14, 15, 18, 30, 42, 48, 54, 56, 192; *Works*, IV, *Object and Acts of Justifying Faith*, Pt. 2, 30, 154; *Works*, IV, *Churches of Christ*, 141, 307, 371, 372.

[10] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 100. Elsewhere, Calvin is referred to as 'Holy and most Judicious'. See *Works*, V, *Of the Blessed State of Glory*, 18.

[11] For example, see *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 127, 177, 193, 220, 227, 255, 374, 436, 443, 468; *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 189, 220, 255, 335, 392, 412.

[12] Muller, *PRRD*, I, 31.

[13] See *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 227, 236; *Works*, IV, *Object and Acts of Justifying Faith*, Pt. 1, 48, 54.

[14] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 2, 32.

exposition of Ephesians.[15]   Furthermore, Lawrence's work has also uncovered valuable

information regarding Goodwin's favourite authors.   Goodwin often recommended certain

authors and their works to Samuel Hartlib. For example,

> In the first six months of 1634 alone, Hartlib recorded Goodwin's approval or commendation of 'the Saints' safety in judgment' by Richard Sibbes ... Henry Ainsworth's sermons which 'set forth highly the excellencies of Christ' and which he preferred over any of his commentaries ... Robert 'Harris of the Beatitudes'. He thought all Paul Baynes's works 'Extraordinary', and he especially commended the works of John Randall. But the highest recommendation Goodwin reserved for Ames' Medulla theological, which he thought 'one of the best books that had beene written since the Apostles times.'[16]

To this list of Reformed divines many more names could be added such as the 'most

Learned, Perspicuous, and Candid Author [John] Davenant,'[17] 'the learned [John] Forbes,' 'the

learned [John] Cameron,'[18] the 'Learned Mr. [William] Pemble,'[19] 'That excellent Man, in his

Age, Bishop Usher',[20] and 'That Judicious and Good Divine [Bartholomaus] Keckermann.'[21]

Not only does Goodwin reference individuals, but he often writes 'our Divines say', meaning the

Reformed orthodox.[22] His vast understanding of Continental authors suggests there is not a little

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[15] See *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 58, 74, 91, 197, 263, 374; *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 2, 16, 23, 32, 203, 211; *Works*, I, *A Sermon on Eph. 3.17*, 40, 56.

[16] Lawrence, 'Transmission and Transformation', 131.

[17] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 82. See also *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 135; *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 88. Goodwin's appreciation for Davenant is significant because Davenant had argued at the Synod of Dordt for a form of 'hypothetical universalism', a doctrine that Goodwin rejected. Regarding Davenant's views on the atonement, see John Davenant, *A Dissertation on the Death of Christ, as to the Extent of its Benefits*, trans., Josiah Allport (London: Hamilton, Adams and Co., 1832). See also W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 271; Jue, *Heaven Upon Earth*, 50-51; Moore, *Hypothetical Universalism*, 173-223. Moore distinguishes Davenant's view from the Amyraldian view, a distinction not always appreciated – or even agreed upon – by scholars.

[18] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 440. See also *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 182; *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 54.

[19] *Works*, III, *Mans Restauration By Grace*, 16.

[20] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 16.

[21] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 81.

[22] For example, see *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 56, 85, 166, 296, 298.

truth in Muller's contention that English theologians engaged in an 'omnivorous reading of continental works.'[23] This explains the international flavour of Goodwin's writings.

In unlocking the theological mind of Goodwin it is important to understand, however, that the intellectual culture in which he lived was highly diverse. His education at Cambridge would have been thoroughly medieval in nature, though with substantial revisions to pedagogy in light of the impact of the Renaissance.[24] As such, he would have been trained not only in Early, Medieval and Reformation Church theology, but logic and metaphysics. Moreover, the study of Greek philosophy, and hence a solid grounding in the Classics, constituted an important aspect of learning at Cambridge in the seventeenth century. As a result, Trueman appears to be justified in arguing that 'theology [in the seventeenth century] was not to be pursued in isolation but to be studied in the context of intellectual engagement with the wider culture of learning and scholarship.'[25] The evidence in Goodwin's *Works* suggests that not only did he have a firm grasp on Early, Medieval, and Reformation Church theology, but he was well read in the Classics and ancient Philosophy.

Early Church Fathers

The frequent use of patristic literature is prominent in Goodwin's writings. His acquaintance with the church fathers is especially important since it identifies him as working within not only

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[23] Muller, *PRRD*, I, 66.

[24] For a study of the seventeenth-century curriculum at Cambridge, see William T. Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958). For a study of the revisions to the medieval model, in light of various new insights, see Mordechai Feingold, 'The Humanities,' In Tyacke, *The History of the University of Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), IV.211-357.

[25] Trueman, *John Owen*, 15. The recently edited work by Paul Lim and John Coffey, *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), tends on the whole to minimize this aspect of Puritan intellectual culture.

the Reformed interpretive tradition, but the wider Christian tradition. Augustine (354-430), whom Goodwin refers to as 'Austin',[26] is by far his favourite early church father. As he highlights certain details about the Donatist controversy in relation to his own present-day ecclesiastical debates, Goodwin remarks that he had 'examined diligently the writings of Austin.'[27] Often Goodwin will add 'as Austin says' in an attempt to add historical and theological credibility to various theological points of doctrine that he espouses.[28] Besides Augustine, Goodwin quotes Irenaeus (2nd century),[29] Tertullian (160-235),[30] Cyprian (*d*. 258),[31] Basil of Caesarea (329-379),[32] John Chrysostom (347-407),[33] Cyril of Alexandria (378-444), 'that most Auncient and Grave Author',[34] Gregory Nazianzen (329-389),[35] and Jerome (347-420).[36] The place of these authors in Goodwin's theology is significant. As will become clear, his theology is in continuity with the classic trinitarian and Christological formulations of the early church. For example, Goodwin quotes Nazianzen's famous saying '*Bonum unitatis a Trinitate originem ducit*: That this good blessing of Unity draws and derives its Rise and Original from the Trinity.'[37] The unity of the three persons subsisting, and being one in the Godhead, is absolutely foundational for Goodwin's understanding of revelation, creation and

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[26] See *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 469.

[27] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 476.

[28] For example, see *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 341. Not surprisingly, Augustine figures prominently in Goodwin's work on original sin. See *Works*, III, *An Unregenerate Mans Guiltiness Before God*, 1, 4, 12, 23, 39, 88, 312, 360, 430.

[29] *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 68; *Works*, II, Of *the Knowledge of God the Father*, 92.

[30] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 240, 458; *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 2, 55, 213; *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 30, 34, 35, 37; *Works*, III, *Of the Constitution of the Churches of Christ*, 46, 67.

[31] *Works*, IV, *Of the Constitution of the Churches of Christ*, 130, 202, 227, 289.

[32] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 180;

[33] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 2, 104, 301; *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 2, 212, 237.

[34] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 104.

[35] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 2, 143; *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 126.

[36] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 2, 128, 211; *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 69; *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 233.

[37] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 126. Goodwin is quoting from a Latin edition of Nazianzen's *Works* and translates rather freely.

redemption.[38]   Therefore, the Fathers were strategic aids to Goodwin as he worked within the boundaries of orthodoxy set by the ecumenical creeds.

'The Schoolmen'

The influence of scholasticism on seventeenth-century authors was typical of the time.[39] However, the scholasticism appropriated by the Reformed orthodox, such as Goodwin, is not identical to the scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas.[40] Moreover, as Trueman has noted, the word scholasticism 'possessed a certain elasticity of meaning for the seventeenth-century Reformed orthodox which it has tended to lose in modern scholarship.'[41] What is important for this study, however, is Goodwin's familiarity with the medieval scholastics such as Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) with whose writings he came into contact while at Cambridge. That his theology exhibits scholastic traits is obvious. A number of references in Goodwin's commentary on Ephesians make his familiarity with the scholastics clear: 'as Aquinas well speaks,'[42] 'it is the comparison that Aquinas hath, and it is an exceeding good one,'[43] 'It is a good saying of Aquinas,'[44] and 'Aquinas saith well.'[45]

His was no blind allegiance to the medieval scholastics, for, as Goodwin's comments on Ephesians 2:7 ('in the ages to come') reveal, he was well aware of those whom Samuel

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[38] See *Works*, III, *Mans Restauration by Grace*.

[39] Some of the standard works on Protestant orthodoxy and scholasticism are: Willem J. van Asselt, P.L. Rouwendal, *et al. Inleiding in de Gereformeerde Scholastiek* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 1998); Carl R. Trueman and R. Scott Clark, eds., *Protestant Scholasticism;* Willem J. van Asselt and Eef Dekker, eds., *Reformation and Scholasticism: An Ecumenical Enterprise.*

[40] Richard Muller provides a brief discussion of the relationship of Protestant scholasticism to medieval scholasticism in *PRRD*, I, 34-37

[41] *Claims of Truth*, 31-32.

[42] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 92.

[43] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 188.

[44] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 317.

[45] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 329.

Rutherford (1600-1661) called, the 'needle-headed schoole-men.'[46] Goodwin argues, 'It is a foolish Dispute the Schoolmen have, that there shall be no such Succession in Eternity; the wisest of them, Scotus, and the holiest of them, Bonadventure, are of another mind ...'[47] The term 'schoolmen', referring to the likes of Aquinas, Gerard (980-1046),[48] Duns Scotus (1266-1308), Alexander Hales (1186-1245),[49] and Boetius (1230-1285),[50] for example, occurs repeatedly in Goodwin's writings, both positively – 'Therefore the Schoolmen do rightly say'[51] – and negatively.[52] He also contrasts the 'schoolmen' with 'our divines'.[53]

Goodwin's scholastic orientation is also evident from his use of leading Jesuit and Dominican philosophers and theologians, referred to by him as 'Popish Divines.'[54] Francisco Suárez (*d*. 1617) is identified as the 'best of the School-men.'[55] However, Goodwin, though appreciative of Suárez, accuses him, along with Estius (1542-1613), Bellarmine (1542-1621), and Bonadventure, of holding to a defective view of original sin.[56] Even so, Estius is called an 'ingenious Papist'[57] and 'learned expositor.'[58] Moreover, though the references to Bellarmine are usually negative, Goodwin can write, in a suitable context, 'Bellarmine well says.'[59] All of this

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[46] *Christ Dying and Drawing Sinners to Himselfe* (London, 1647), Introduction (page 2).
[47] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 2, 241. On Scotus, see *Works*, I, *The Glory of the Gospel*, Pt. 3, 72. Elsewhere, Goodwin calls Bonadventure 'the best of all the Ancient schoolmen.' See *Works*, III, *An Unregenerate Mans Guiltiness Before God*, 342.
[48] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 2, 91. Goodwin refers often to Gerard, an Italian bishop who operated in Hungary, in his work on election. See *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 189, 192, 201, 331, 332, 339, 361, 365.
[49] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 184.
[50] *Works*, IV, *Of the Constitution of the Churches of Christ*, 287. Boetius of Dacia was a Swedish Dominican Philosopher.
[51] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 154. See also, *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 468.
[52] See *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 483; *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 2, 196; *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 44.
[53] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 289. Goodwin also distinguishes between 'the Fathers and Schoolmen.' *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 59.
[54] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 55.
[55] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 2, 32. Goodwin also refers to Suárez as 'one of our acutest new Schoolmen.' See *Works*, III, *An Unregenerate Mans Guiltiness Before God*, 343.
[56] *Works*, III, *An Unregenerate Mans Guiltiness Before God*, 341-344.
[57] *Works*, V, *Of the Blessed State*, 18.
[58] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 2, 91.
[59] *Works*, III, *An Unregenerate Mans Guiltiness Before God*, 372.

suggests that Goodwin was not only well-versed in scholastic literature, but he freely drew from these various authors, even complimenting the 'Popish Divines' on occasion, as he articulated his theological points.

Pagan Philosophers

Not only was Goodwin well-read in divinity, but his writings evince a strong acquaintance with a number of pagan philosophers. Aristotle (384-322 BCE), referred to by Owen as 'the philosopher',[60] appears to be Goodwin's favourite 'Heathen philosopher.'[61] Almost always, he uses Aristotle positively, principally in an attempt to reinforce a theological point. For example, Goodwin notes Paul's use of philosophical speech, which has similarities with Aristotle.

> But if a man have never so good an Eye, if he be in the dark, he can see nothing: therefore the second thing that concurreth to Spiritual Knowledge here, is, *To give you eyes enlightened*; as to give you a new Eye, so to give you a new Light: For Ephes. 5.13. it is Light that makes all things manifest: it is a Philosophical speech the Apostle there useth, it agreeth with what Aristotle saith, *Lumen*, it is *actus perspicui*, it is that which putteth life into colours and acts them.[62]

Here, Goodwin uses Aristotle as he defends the idea that believers depend upon the Holy Spirit, alluded to in Ephesians 1:18, to understand spiritual things by 'enlightening the eyes'.

Though the references to Aristotle are, in the main, positive, Goodwin has less kind words to say about Plato (427-347 BCE). He accuses Plato of stealing his knowledge from the Jews

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[60] Owen, *Works*, X, *A Display of Arminianism*, 5.
[61] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 60.
[62] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 261. See also *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 350, 356, 460; *Works*, III, *An Unregenerate Mans Guiltiness Before God*, 102, 183, 316, 420, 517, 524.

and vending it as his own.[63] Commenting on Colossians 2:8 ('Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy'), he speaks of the heretical Christologies that resulted from the influence of Plato, Hesiod (c. 740-670 BCE), and Pythagoras (c. 569-475 BCE).[64] Not only that, but for all the value in heathen philosophy, it ultimately fails in providing answers to life's most difficult questions. Goodwin argues that the great scholars of the world have tried to attain true knowledge. However, attaining true knowledge belongs to those who possess and enjoy God's Word. So, regarding the corruption of man's nature, Goodwin insists that the great philosophers were aware of the 'universal Confusion in Man's Nature, and of the Misery all are exposed unto.'[65] The wisest men among the heathens, 'as Plato in the second Book of his *Common-wealth* complains', recognized that man's nature is evil, but they could not explain why this is so. Some, according to Goodwin, attributed man's corrupt nature to destiny or fate. Others attributed man's debased condition to an evil planet or an evil Angel; whatever the case, all come short of the truth.[66]

Still, Goodwin argues that the light of nature still shines in the heathen philosophers. Indeed, he refers to Seneca (*d*. 65) as the 'highest instance among them for Moral Knowledge that ever was.'[67] Moreover, the 'highest instance' of the power of the 'light of nature' working on a heathen 'was Socrates, who suffered for that Truth of God manifested to him.'[68] If Aristotle, Plato, or Seneca, by virtue of the 'light of nature', can help Goodwin make a salient point, he

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[63] *Works*, III, *An Unregenerate Mans Guiltiness Before God*, 62.
[64] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 92.
[65] *Works*, III, *An Unregenerate Mans Guiltiness Before God*, 4.
[66] *Works*, III, *An Unregenerate Mans Guiltiness Before God*, 4.
[67] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 333. See also *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 209, 220, 226. Owen refers to Seneca as one who belonged to 'the more refined paganism.' See *The Works of John Owen, D.D* (24 vols, London: Johnstone and Hunter, 1850), X, *A Display of Arminianism*, 30.
[68] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 333.

seems to have no hesitation in using their genius, even if they are 'heathen.'[69] At the same time, what is clear is that Goodwin makes a fundamental distinction between the 'light of nature' and the 'plain Revelation of Christ and the way of Salvation in him (which is eminently called the Truth),' which is not natural to all men, including the great pagan scholars of the world.[70]

Goodwin referenced many other theologians, philosophers and intellectuals in his writings, using them to defend and safeguard Reformed orthodoxy. This even extended to those with whom he has serious disagreements, like Jacob Arminius and Hugo Grotius. For example, he could say, 'the learned Grotius'[71] and 'Arminius said true.'[72] So, not only did Goodwin pursue his theological work in the context of Reformed orthodoxy, but he read – and freely drew from – authors of diverse backgrounds in an attempt to defend Reformed orthodoxy.[73] But to 'defend Reformed orthodoxy' implies that there were opponents of Reformed orthodoxy; and, if so, who were they?

Goodwin's Theology within the Historical Context of the Seventeenth Century

Any attempt to understand Goodwin's theology must be done in the context of seventeenth-century theological debate. The Marxist historian, Christopher Hill, identified only two opposing theological parties, conservative Anglicans and radical puritans, in revolutionary

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[69] Platonic patterns of thought are especially discernible in Arminian theologians in the seventeenth century. See William Twisse, *A Discovery of D. Jacksons vanitie* (London, 1631); Trueman, *Claims of Truth*, 37.
    [70] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 333.
    [71] *Works*, III, *An Unregenerate Mans Guiltiness Before God*, 444.
    [72] *The Heart of Christ in Heaven Towards Sinner on Earth* (London, 1642), 32.
    [73] Perry Miller understates the matter by arguing that Puritans 'derived their ideas from the Bible, from Augustine and Calvin, Petrus Ramus and William Perkins.' See Perry Miller, *New England Mind* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1954), 7. Besides the fact that I have been unable to locate any specific reference to Ramus (1515-1572) in Goodwin's writings, the evidence suggests that Goodwin 'derived his ideas' from a much wider field of authors than Miller gives credit for.

England during the seventeenth century.[74] However, as noted in the previous chapter, Anthony Milton has shown that there was a broad spectrum of views in the seventeenth century 'running from crypto-popish "Arminian" zealots on the one hand, through to die-hard puritan nonconformists on the other.'[75] Add to that the rising influence of Socinianism, which insisted on an aberrant form of *sola scriptura*, and the nexus of theological positions becomes more varied and intricate. For Goodwin, as a defender of Reformed orthodoxy, his principal theological concerns included the refutation of the errors of Roman Catholicism, Arminianism, and Socinianism.[76]

Anti-Papist

The seventeenth century witnessed the height of 'anti-popery.' Milton writes, 'hatred of popery was seen as a manifestation of true religion, a testimony of the individual's commitment to God. This was not just the view of extreme puritans, but was also strongly maintained by establishment divines.'[77] Goodwin frequently speaks of the 'gross Errors of Popery' in his writings.[78] He refers to the 'Pope' as Satan's 'eldest son'.[79] As a Protestant, he gloried in the fact that he could make known to all men the glories of the gospel, whereas 'the Papists ... keep things from people,'[80] they are idolaters[81] who corrupt free grace.[82] Moreover, despite their

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[74] Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1964), passim.

[75] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 5.

[76] See *Works*, V, *Glory of the Gospel*, 16-18.

[77] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 35.

[78] 'Life', xvii.

[79] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 298.

[80] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 122. See also *Works*, III, *An Unregenerate Mans Guiltiness Before God*, 162.

[81] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 2, 65.

assent to the ecumenical creeds, papists are 'Antichrists, and to be justly called so, yea, and as justly as the Jews are: for they do strip [Christ] of all the ends he came into the World for ...'[83] These quotes from Goodwin serve to confirm Milton's statement above concerning the anti-papal sentiments of Puritan divines. However, Goodwin's view of 'Popery' is perhaps best understood in his *Exposition of Revelation*.[84]

As in all of his writings, Goodwin interacted with a number of writers from various ecclesiastical backgrounds. Two especially stand out, however, in his *Exposition of Revelation*: Thomas Brightman (1562-1607)[85] and Joseph Mede (1586-1638).[86] Because of the influence of Brightman and Mede, Goodwin approached the book of Revelation with specific – what modern-day theologians would call 'historicist' – hermeneutical presuppositions.[87] Consequently, by adopting Mede's method of synchronisms, he saw the book of Revelation as a prediction of the major events in Christian history. Those who adopt such a view of Revelation have typically viewed their own age as decisive in terms of the unfolding of the events prophesied.[88] Not surprisingly, then, given Goodwin's ecclesiastical and political context, the role of the Catholic Church figures prominently in his exposition.   The value in his exposition lies not in his exegesis of Revelation 11 – it would prove to be somewhat of an embarrassment to him later on

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[82] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 2, 196. For more polemical statements on Catholicism, see *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 132, 140, 203, 210, 262, 266, 340 424; Pt. 2, 65, 237, 268, 269, 274, 282, 283, 286, 290; *Works*, III, *An Unregenerate Mans Guiltiness Before God*, 13, 35,

[83] *Works*, III, *An Unregenerate Mans Guiltiness Before God*, 221.

[84] The use of the inelegant word 'popery' is not meant as a pejorative term. Rather, it is the term used by Goodwin to refer to the Catholic Church that sees the Pope as her earthly authority.

[85] See *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 90, 130, 144, 146, 187, 188.

[86] See *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 34, 35, 75, 99, 100, 103, 126, 128, 130, 165, 171, 174, 188. The best studies on British apocalypyptic thoughts are Jue, *Heaven Upon Earth*; Gribben, *The Puritan Millennium*; Richard Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse: Sixteenth Century Apocalypticism, Millennarianism, and the English Reformation, from John Bale to John Foxe and Thomas Brightman* (Oxford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1978).

[87] A number of scholars have given attention to Goodwin's eschatology, especially his exegesis of Revelation 11. See Rodney L. Petersen, *Preaching in the last days: the theme of 'Two Witnesses' in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 212-16; Jue, *Heaven Upon Earth*, 177-80; Gribben, *Puritan millennium*, 45-9; Chang, 'Christian Life', 48-86; Fienberg, 'Puritan Pastor and Independent Divine', 168-234; Lawrence, 'Transmission and Transformation', 116-30.

[88] *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 165.

in life – but in identifying the nature of the ever-increasing gulf between Protestants and Catholics in the seventeenth century. Though Goodwin would ultimately disagree with Mede's ecclesiology, there is some truth in Jeffrey Jue's contention that 'Mede's anti-Catholic position was admired by most puritans who easily adapted and redirected his criticism toward Archbishop Laud and the English Church.'[89] However, not only did Goodwin adapt and redirect Mede's anti-Catholic position toward the carnal Protestants in the Church of England, he also directed his criticism towards the Catholic Church.

According to Goodwin's exegesis of Revelation, the millennium was still regarded as a future glorious event, a time on Earth when all Nations will come to know Jesus Christ. This age was 'yet to come', an age in which the church would 'continue for a Thousand years, during which time the Jews shall have it, and the Gentiles together with them.'[90] In his mind, writing in the seventeenth century, the church had been for the most part under the influence of Antichrist, 'namely, the Pope.'[91] These ages he identified in Revelation under two divisions, the seal prophecy (Revelation 6-11) and the book prophecy (Revelation 12-22). Therefore, he saw chapter twelve of Revelation as having reference to the 'primitive times', the state of the church during its first four hundred years of existence after Christ's ascension. Chapters thirteen and fourteen, then, were said to highlight the state of the church during the reign of popery (Antichrist). Goodwin described the pope in Revelation thirteen as the 'Beast with ten horns', possessing both a temporal and ecclesiastical power whereby he, along with his clergy, would 'mould the Christian Religion ... and the Worship thereof, into a true likeness and conformity to

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[89] Jue, *Heaven Upon Earth*, 177.
[90] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 455-56.
[91] *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 61.

the Heathenish Religion.'[92]   Goodwin believed, however, that he was living in an age on the verge of millennial glory. The fall of popery, and thus the expiration of Antichrist's kingdom, was thought to be imminent.

Instead of following Mede's date of 1736 as the end of the Beast's reign,[93] Goodwin based his date-setting upon Daniel 12:11-12, in which two numbers, 1290 and 1335, representing prophetic years, were given to Daniel. These dates were 'to be counted from the ceasing of the daily Sacrifice; that is, ... from Julian's Time' (360-365 A.D).[94] Goodwin, by adding 1290 and 1335 to Julian's time, obtained two dates, 1650-56 and 1690-1700. He thought of these two periods as 'set as posts'; that is, between 1650 and 1700 would mark the end of Popery with 1700 consummating all and thus ushering in 'the glorious Kingdom of Christ.'[95] Goodwin felt that the final defeat of Antichrist would result not only because of the various reformations over the latter course of church history, but especially because of the 'third' reformation that he was part of.

For Goodwin, opposition to Popery would not be limited to the years 1650-1700. Chapter fourteen of Revelation has reference to the various reformations. The first Reformation, of which there are three degrees, represented by three different angels, was carried out by believers in opposition to the 'False Church.' Pierre Waldo (*d*. 1218) and his followers were the first to separate from 'Popish Doctrine and Worship.'[96] They were conspicuous by the fact that they preached the gospel and called men to turn from idolatrous worship. John Wycliffe (*d*. 1384), John Hus (1372–1415), Jerome of Prague (1379-1416), and their followers, furthered the

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[92] *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 64
[93] See Jue, *Heaven Upon Earth*, 179.
[94] *Works*, II, *Revelation* 184.
[95] *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 185.
[96] *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 84.

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cause of Reformation in the church, much in the same way that the Waldensians had through their preaching and translation of the Scriptures.[97] 'But then follows', says Goodwin, 'a Third Angel, more vehement than the rest, and that was Luther and his Followers .... [Luther] showing that her Worship and Doctrine ... was a damned Doctrine ... laying open the Falsehood and Errors of it manifestly, that now under so clear a Light of the Gospel as this age held forth, it could never stand with Salvation to live therein.'[98] Luther's followers included the Swiss reformers, especially Calvin.

Calvin and others were chiefly responsible for the aforementioned 'Reformation', both in terms of doctrine and worship. This reformation was a time of 'glorious Peace and Sunshine of the Gospel.'[99] For Goodwin, these reformations marked the process by which popery would be overthrown; indeed, he was convinced that 'the Light which hath broken forth in many of our Reformed Churches, since Calvin's Time, and which still increaseth, and shall, until Antichrist be consumed, is both in Matter of Doctrine, Interpretation of Scriptures, Worship, Church-Government, &c. much purer ... than what shines in the Story and Writings of those three latter Primitive Ages.'[100] Despite the advances made by Calvin and others, Goodwin was convinced that the Church was in need of 'a New Reformation,' or 'a second Reformation.'[101] Based upon his dating system, and detailed exegetical analysis of Revelation 11, he believed that he was living in an age that would include heightened persecution of Reformed ministers. The problem of popery was, of course, not limited to the Catholic Church. Goodwin felt that popish worship, ceremonies, and doctrine had infiltrated the Church of England, especially with the growing influence of Archbishop Laud. Lawrence notes that '[w]ithout doubt, Goodwin thought Laud

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[97] *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 85.
[98] *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 85.
[99] *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 86.
[100] *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 129.
[101] *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 78-9.

and his fellow–travellers, men such as White, Cosin, and Montagu, were the Pope's last champions. These men and their policies would in time either literally or figuratively slaughter the godly ministers and magistrates of England. That time had not yet come.'[102]

These events would, of course, serve as the precursor to 'the glorious Kingdom of Christ', the millennial age where 'both East and West, Jew and Gentile, and the fullness of both, do come in, and become one Fold under one Shepherd *for a thousand years*' (emphasis added).[103] Thus, the prophecy of Christ's kingdom (Isa. 59:19) is fulfilled, 'where, after the final destruction of all Christ's Enemies ... They shall fear his Name ... and the Redeemer shall come unto Sion ...'[104] Goodwin had clearly identified popery as the great enemy of the Christian faith; both its doctrine and worship were constantly criticized by him as he sought to make plain the soteric and ecclesiological differences that separated Catholics and Protestants. His opposition to popery was, however, heightened by his eschatology; that is, his conviction that he was living in an age of reformation, where the threat of popery was still very real, meant that the content of his writings was no doubt shaped by the context in which he lived.

Anti-Socinian

Not only was Goodwin engaged in anti-papal polemics, but his theological concerns were driven by the rising influence of Socinianism in the seventeenth century.[105] Among his *Works*, Goodwin's *Of the Creatures* has a particularly anti-Socinian polemic about it. However,

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[102] Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 124-25.
[103] *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 28.
[104] *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 28.
[105] On Goodwin's personal connection to Socinianism in the seventeenth century, see Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 41-51.

Lawrence has argued that Goodwin's desire to refute Socinianism should not be limited to this particular work. Rather, '[i]t could also have been the motivation behind the entire theological project'.[106] The evidence in Goodwin's writings confirms Lawrence's contention. In Goodwin's *Of the Creatures*, for example, he argues against the Socinian rejection of Adam's natural holiness and defends a Reformed orthodox view of the incarnation. *Of the Knowledge of God the Father* addresses the deity of both the Father and the Son and seeks to prove the doctrine of the Trinity from Old Testament texts such as Genesis 1:26. *An Unregenerate Mans Guiltiness* counters the Socinian denial of original sin and eternal punishment. *Mans Restauration by Grace* gives a trinitarian account of redemption. *Of the Work of the Holy Ghost* contains a defence of the deity of the Holy Spirit. And finally, *An Immediate State of Glory* aims to refute the Socinian contention that the soul slept in the grave until the resurrection. Of course, many of Goodwin's writings also evince a strong reaction against Arminianism and Roman Catholicism, but the bulk of his polemical and pastoral efforts seem to be taken up with a self-conscious desire to counter the rising influence of Socinianism in the seventeenth century.

Socinianism derives its name from Laelius (1525-1562) and Faustus Socinus (1539-1604). Faustus was an Italian whose work *De Jesu Christo Servatore* (1594) represented a significant attack upon Reformed orthodoxy, especially in the area of Christology.[107] Francis Cheynell (*bap.* 1608, *d.* 1665), an anti-Socinian theologian who served on several committees at the Westminster Assembly, is best known for his attack on Socinianism in his work, The Rise,

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[106] Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 44.

[107] On the history and theology of Socinianism, see E.M. Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945); McLachlan, *Socinianism in Seventeenth Century England*; Trueman, *Claims of Truth*, 152-98; idem, *John Owen*, 26-31. See also Edwin Rabbie's fascinating 'Introduction' to Hugo Grotius's anti-Socinian work, *Defensio Fidei Catholicae De Satisfactione Christi Ad Versus Faustum Socinum Senensem* (Lugduni Batavorum, excudit Joannes Patius, 1617). In his introduction, he charges Grotius with misrepresenting Socinus's opinions. Indeed, Rabbie suggests: 'One might even conclude that Grotius is not really interested in what Socinus had to say: he just wanted to expound his own theory, and only referred to Socinus and attacked him when this seemed useful for some reason.' 'Introduction', 3.

Growth and Danger of Socinianisme (London, 1643). In this work he highlights, among other things, the basic sentiments of the Reformed orthodox towards the Socinians in the seventeenth century. According to Cheynell, Laelio, Faustus' uncle and tutor, 'contribute[d] materials,' but 'Faustus added Form and method to that monstrous body of errours and blasphemies which we call Socinianisme.'[108] Similarly, Goodwin explicitly calls Faustus Socinus '[t]hat wicked Heretick'[109] for shadowing out 'the Eternity of Christ's Person and Priesthood.'[110] Not surprisingly, Goodwin's polemics towards Socinianism are often made in the context of Christology. Elsewhere he affirms that Christ, considered as the second person in the Trinity, is 'one God with the Father; as our Divines ... do affirm against the Socinian Objection.'[111]

These claims against the Socinians are particularly noteworthy for this study because much of Goodwin's Christology is a self-conscious refutation of Socinian claims about Christ. Goodwin also makes reference to – and then subsequently refutes – the Socinian tendency to anti-metaphysical biblicism.[112] With that in mind, Lawrence's contention that 'For the most part Goodwin neither named his theological opponents, nor ridiculed their ideas, but rather constructively and winsomely presented his theological framework' is perhaps overstated.[113] He may not have risen to the polemic heights of his friend Owen, but Goodwin certainly did not shy away from naming his opponents as he sought to defend Reformed orthodoxy.

The previous chapter showed Goodwin's political involvement in suppressing the theology of John Biddle. Biddle's *Twofold Catechism* (1654) provoked strong opposition from

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[108] *The Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinianisme* (London, 1643), 13.
[109] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 401.
[110] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 56.
[111] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 180. See also *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 156-60; *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 133-35.
[112] See *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 106; *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 2, 136; *Works*, V, *Of the Glory of the Gospel*, 17, 41.
[113] Lawrence, 'Transmission and transformation', 49-50.

the orthodox, including Goodwin, and was countered by Owen's monumental 700-page work,

Vindiciae Evangelicae (1655). Several aspects of Biddle's *Twofold Catechism* are worth noting.

First, references to Scripture abound. Biddle appears to have had a powerful grasp of Scripture;

in fact, he is reported to have memorized almost the entire New Testament in English and

Greek.[114] Unlike the Catholic Church who rejected what she called the 'Protestant invention' of

sola Scriptura, Socinians were happy to appeal to the Scriptures alone. As a result, Socinians

like Biddle posed a unique threat insofar as they held to the 'Scripture-principle' in theological

polemics. Second, the biblicism of Biddle is evidenced by the fact that the answers to his

various catechetical questions are simply verses of Scripture. There is no apparent attempt to

explain the meaning of each Scripture; but it seems there is no need to because the questions are

framed in such a way that the 'question' is in actual fact the 'answer'. For example, Biddle asks,

'What saith the Son himself concerning the prerogative of God the Father above him?'[115] He

answers by quoting John 14:28; Mark 13:32; Matthew 24:36.[116] On the basis of these Scriptures,

and others, Socinian theology rejected the Trinity because, in their view, these passages were not

consistent with the doctrine that the Son and the Holy Spirit are coeternal, coequal, and

consubstantial with the Father.[117] Consequently, their Christology was decidedly different than

that of the Reformed orthodox. As one who held to an orthodox understanding of the Trinity,

Goodwin's answer to this thorny theological problem lay in his covenant theology, specifically

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[114] Stephen D. Snobelen, 'Biddle, John (1615/16–1662)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/view/article/2361, accessed 16 May 2008]

[115] Biddle, *Twofold Catechism*, 31-32.

[116] John 14:28 '... for my Father is greater than I'; Mark 13:32 'But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father'; Matthew 24:36 'But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.'

[117] One of Owen's main polemics against Biddle was that the root of their error lay in their faulty handling of the scriptural text. See Owen, *Works*, XII, *Vindiciae Evangelicae*, 50-84.

his doctrine of the pretemporal covenant between the Father and the Son. This covenant lies at the heart of this study and represents an answer to claims of the Socinians.

Anti-Arminian

A third group that was a particular target for Goodwin's polemical writings was the Arminians. Besides the threats of popery and Socinianism, the most immediate threat to Reformed theology in the seventeenth century, especially for those who sought to reform the Church of England both in doctrine and worship, was Arminian theology. Arminianism derives its name from Jacob Arminius (1560-1609). His followers petitioned a 'remonstrance' shortly after his death asking for toleration in the Dutch Reformed Church because they dissented from certain Calvinistic doctrines. Because of their remonstrance, which was drawn up in 1611, setting out their ideas in the 'five points', the Arminians have, over the course of history, been described as the Remonstrants. In opposition to the Arminians were the Gomarists, a name derived from the Dutch Calvinist theologian, Franciscus Gomarus (1563-1641), who formally judged the Synod of Dort. The Gomarists became known as the contra-Remonstrants because of their Counter-Remonstrance (1613). Finally, in 1618-1619 the Synod of Dort produced a document countering the original 'five points' of the Arminians.[118]

The Canons of Dort established doctrines that would become a standard of Reformed orthodoxy.[119] Goodwin's theology is almost entirely consistent with the 'five points'. Indeed,

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[118] The Canon dealt with doctrines related to man's free will, or lack thereof, predestination, regeneration, perseverance, and the extent of the atonement.

[119] The Synod of Dort has been thoroughly evaluated by scholars. Some of the more important studies are J. van den Berg, 'The Synod of Dort in the Balance', in J. De Bruijn, P. Holtrop and E.G.E. van der Wall, eds., *Johannes van den Berg, Religious Currents and Cross-Currents: Essays on Early Modern Protestantism and the Protestant Enlightenment* (Leiden, 1999), 1-17; W. Robert Godfrey, 'Tensions Within International Calvinism: The

regarding the 'five points', the Canons of Dort are in fundamental agreement with Ussher's *Irish Articles* (1615), the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (1647), and the *Savoy Declaration* (1658). The major difference was that the Canons of Dort were more narrowly polemical than the aforementioned documents and were open to some degree of interpretation on various points. Peter White has noted that while the Canons have been usually interpreted as the 'pinnacle of an uncompromising predestinarianism ... The truth is much more complex.'[120] That explains why, as Trueman has noted, theologians from different theological perspectives, like William Twisse and Richard Baxter, claimed to faithfully represent the teachings of Dort.[121] Despite the various tensions in the Canon (i.e. the infra- supralapsarian debate[122]), the Calvinists clearly triumphed over the Arminians. The decisive verdict of the Synod at Dort marked a low point for the Remonstrants. Indeed, Jan Rohls has argued that the contra-Remonstrants 'falsely accused Arminius and his followers of Pelagianism and Socinianism.'[123] The Reformed orthodox had argued that Socinianism was the consistent outworking of Arminian theology.[124] For example, John McLachlan, in his account of Socinianism in England, suggests that Arminianism and Socinianism 'had close affinities and were born of a similar tendency of mind.'[125] Not only,

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Debate on the Atonement at the Synod of Dort, 1618-1619' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1974); J.V. Fesko, *Diversity within the Reformed Tradition: Supra and Infralapsarianism in Calvin, Dort and Westminster* (Greenville: Reformed Academic Press, 2001; A.W. Harrison, *The Beginnings of Arminianism to the Synod of Dort* (London: University of London Press, 1926); W. Van't Spijker, et al., *De Synode van Dordrecht in 1618 en 1619* (Houten, 1987).

[120] *Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 183.

[121] *Claims of Truth*, 17, fn. 37. Twisse was a 'high Calvinist' and Baxter defied classification; Baxter was *sui generis* in his own day.

[122] See Fesko, *Diversity within the Reformed Tradition*.

[123] 'Calvinism, Arminianism and Socinianism in the Netherlands until the Synod of Dort', in, eds., Martin Mulsow and Jan Rohls, *Socinianism and Arminianism: Antitrinitarians, Calvinists, and Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 32.

[124] For example, Trueman has noted that for John Owen both Arminianism and Socinianism were 'intimately related. This arose from the fact that he understood both as arguing for doctrinal positions which granted human beings a level of autonomy and self-sufficiency which he regarded as unbiblical.' *Claims of Truth*, 23.

[125] *Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England*, 50. See also Thomas Edwards, *The First and Second Part of Gangraena, or, A Catalogue and Discovery of Many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies and Pernicious*

then, did the Remonstrants have to deal with the rejection of much of their theology, but they were accused in both Holland and England of being dangerously close to heresy.

However, despite the success of Calvinism on the continent, the ascendency of Charles I to the throne in 1625, coupled with the appointment of William Laud as the Archbishop of Cantebury, meant that Arminianism was still very much alive in England. David Como has argued that during the 1620s there 'was a shift away from a Pre-Caroline Calvinist consensus.'[126] He notes further that this shift from Calvinism included the presence of both Arminian and Popish elements in the Laudian program.[127] Hence the late 1620s witnessed a distinctive ideological group come to power in the Church of England, a group that may be called 'Laudian'. Besides rejecting the Reformed doctrine of predestination, the Laudians emphasized, instead of the sermon, a more 'liturgical' way of worship.[128] To the Puritans, the shift was away from Protestantism towards Popery. Consequently, the anti-Calvinist influence of Arminianism, coupled with popish elements, in the Church of England, were contributing factors to the outbreak of the civil war.[129] Given the seriousness of its theological and political threats, Goodwin's rejection of Arminianism is not surprising.[130] His arguments against the Remonstrants touch on all of the major points of divinity. For example, he upholds the Reformed doctrines of 'the bondage of the will',[131] and the grace of God in saving sinners apart from their own initiatory act of faith. For, 'nothing hath been more corrupted in all Ages, than

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Practices of the Sectaries of this Time (London, 1646). In his usual vituperative style, Edwards expressed his fear that Socinianism lurked among the Arminians.

[126] David R. Como, *Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in Pre-Civil-War England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 75.

[127] Milton has noted the relationship in the Laudian church between Arminianism and popery. See *Catholic and Reformed*, 494-503. See also Trueman*, John Owen*, 27-28.

[128] Como, *Blown by the Spirit*, 75.

[129] See Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*.

[130] See 'Life', vi.

[131] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 2, 181.

the causation that free Grace hath, in the Salvation of Men; by Papists, and by Remonstrants, and by Legalists ...'[132] Moreover, 'The Arminians indeed are justly charged with incomplete Decrees of Election .... this kind of ... Election ... we utterly deny.'[133] Besides the specific references to Arminianism, the evidence suggests that Goodwin's theological project was not only a preoccupation with Socinianism, but also Arminianism. Arminian theology not only differed from Reformed orthodoxy with regards to original sin and predestination, but it also differed from the Reformed understanding of trinitarian and Christological doctrines. As a result, the points of difference were immense, for they struck at the very heart of the doctrine of God.

Conclusion

Goodwin's soteriological concern to defend Reformed orthodoxy must be understood against the threefold threat of popery, Socinianism, and Arminianism. These groups with which Goodwin was engaged were, as has been noted above, significant not only for theological reasons, but for political ones too. Therefore, the complexity of the cultural situation in which Goodwin wrote has been noted. Moreover, a number of influences on Goodwin have been discussed, showing that he read widely not only in his own tradition – Reformed orthodoxy – but in other traditions and eras, including the 'pagan' writers. In defending Reformed orthodoxy, he clearly felt the need to draw upon an array of writers to advance his theological cause, namely, pure Reformed Congregationalist churches dedicated to the worship of the triune God. With that in mind, the theological method that Goodwin adopts in order to arrive at his conclusions still needs to be discussed. Before an attempt is made to understand the specific details of Goodwin's theology,

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[132] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 2, 196.
[133] *Works*, II, *Election*, 86.

it is prudent to consider his exegetical and hermeneutical tools of analysis. Since Socinians and

Arminians both claimed to derive their teachings from the Scriptures, why, in the end, do they

arrive at different conclusions than Goodwin and his Reformed orthodox contemporaries?

CHAPTER FOUR: THE TIE THAT BINDS

'Reformed theology is covenant theology'[1]

Introduction

James Baron and Thankful Owen, in the preface to Goodwin's work, *A Discourse of the Punishment of Sin in Hell* (1680), published separately from his collected *Works* (1681-1704), make reference to Goodwin's abilities as an expositor of Scripture. They attest:

> Tho we judg it needless to speak much of this eminent Author, *whose Praise is in the Gospel throughout all the Churches*; yet we could not but give some account of the publishing of these small Tracts at this time. Many, who well knew how mighty this Man of God was in the Scriptures, and how skilful, from his great Abilities, and long Experience in the interpreting of them, have impatiently desired the publishing of his Labours; but that being a Work of time, it was thought fit to gratify them in the *interim* with this short Treatise.[2]

Goodwin's son makes a similar point by suggesting that 'the Scriptures were what he most studied .... And as the Scriptures are an inexhaustible Treasure of Divine Knowledge, so by an eager search into them, and comparing one with another, he discover'd those Truths which are not to be found in other Authors.'[3] Perhaps the most important point to make about Goodwin's theological context is that he saw himself, as others did, as a biblical exegete. In defending Reformed orthodoxy against various heretical doctrines, not only did he read widely and interact with authors from many different backgrounds, but he sought to ascertain the truth of God's

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[1] John Hesselink, *On Being Reformed* (Ann Arbor: Servant Books, 1983), 57.

[2] James Baron and Thankful Owen, 'To the Reader', in Thomas Goodwin, *A Discourse of the Punishment of Sin in Hell; Demonstrating the Wrath of God to be the Immediate Cause thereof. To which is Added A Sermon, Proving a State of Glory for the Spirits of Just Men upon Dissolution* (London, 1680), 2.

[3] 'Life', xviii.

word as the ultimate source of authority in ecclesiastical debates.[4] In understanding Goodwin's

approach to theology a number of general observations must be made before the specifics of his

interpretive method can be explained. This chapter will therefore move from a discussion of

Goodwin as a covenant theologian to an analysis of more specific interpretive principles such as

his view of Scripture, his use of typology, and his critique of 'reason'.

A Covenant Theologian

Brown has suggested that 'in the technical sense of the word Covenant Theology came into

being with English Puritanism.'[5] As noted in the *Status Quaestionis* – where Brown's work is

evaluated – covenant theology is not in fact a Puritan invention; rather, the doctrine of the

covenant played a central role in the Reformed tradition from the time of the early Reformers

such as Oecolampadius, Zwingli, Bullinger, and Calvin.[6] Goodwin is part of this rich tradition.

Of course, Goodwin will formulate his covenant theology in slightly different ways than his

predecessors, but the basic elements of federalism are shared by most of the Reformed orthodox

in an attempt to understand the central message of the Bible.

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[4] Hughes Oliphant Old, speaking of Goodwin the exegete, writes: 'Goodwin is a marvelous exegete. His sermons are filled with tightly stitched expositions of the Greek text ... careful study of the text must have stood behind the preached sermons .... Goodwin obviously studied a wide variety of theologians ranging from Augustine and Thomas Aquinas to Girolamo Zanchi and William Ames .... One might call Goodwin seventeenth-century Gerhard Kittel. Goodwin has studied his Hebrew Old Testament and his Greek New Testament. He has made diligent use of his commentaries and other lexical aids.' *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church, Vol. 4: The Age of the Reformation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 288-90.
[5] 'The Principle of the Covenant', 78.
[6] Mark Beach has provided an excellent overview of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century federal theology and its interpreters. Against the 'discontinuity thesis', Beach shows that the same basic elements that belonged to federalism in the sixteenth century were also present in the seventeenth century. *Christ and the Covenant: Francis Turretin's Federal Theology as a Defense of the Doctrine of Grace* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 19-67.

In fact, Reformed theology is essentially synonymous with covenant theology. The use of the concept of covenant (*foedus*) in Protestant orthodox theology is primarily a Reformed phenomenon. Muller has argued that 'the Lutherans do not deny the importance of the concept to biblical theology and history, but neither do they develop a doctrine of the covenant as such. The Reformed scholastics, by contrast, develop the structure of *pactum salutis*, *foedus operum*, and *foedus gratiae* as one of the central architectonic patterns of their systems.'[7] The covenant concept, then, has been so significant for the Reformed tradition that Reformed theology would be unintelligible apart from it. In connection with Muller's statement, the Princeton theologian, B.B. Warfield (1851-1921), has maintained that 'the architectonic principle of the *Westminster Confession of Faith* is supplied by the schematization of Federal theology, which had obtained ... a dominant position as the most commodious mode of presenting the corpus of Reformed doctrine.'[8] The divines at Westminster saw their theology rooted in this prominent biblical concept and so their theology was decidedly covenantal. With regard to Goodwin, Horton has likewise noted that Goodwin 'is simply working out his covenant theology as a means of being faithful to a major biblical motif.'[9]

In chapter seven of both the *Westminster Confession* and *Savoy Declaration*, redemptive history is divided up into two covenants, the covenants of works and grace. These two covenants not only form the basic framework for Goodwin's understanding of salvation, but they also provide an interpretive grid for him in understanding God's dealings with man in his various states (i.e. innocence and guilt). This 'dichotomous' understanding of redemptive history –

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[7] *Dictionary of Latin and Greek Theological Terms: Drawn Principally from Protestant Scholastic Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1985), 119-20.
[8] *The Westminster Assembly and Its Work* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1931), 56.
[9] 'Assurance', 108.

works and grace – has decisive implications for Goodwin's law-gospel hermeneutic, which will be addressed below in more detail.

The Covenant of Works

Goodwin spends a good deal of time on the 'first estate of man' in his work, *Of the Creatures*. He calls the first estate the 'Estate of pure Nature by Creation Law' and notes that Reformed theologians have called this a covenant of nature (*foedus naturae*), 'which is founded upon an equitable entercourse set up betwixt God the Creator, and his intelligent unfaln Creatures, by virtue of the Law of his creating them.'[10] While divines prefer to speak of a *foedus naturae*, Goodwin prefers instead to call it '[t]he Creation Law, *Jus Creationis*'.[11] This law between the Creator (God) and creatures (Adam and Eve) 'lay in an *equitable* transaction between God and them, a congruity, dueness, meetness, on either part.'[12]

The 'dueness' on God's part stems from his relationship to provide for them 'what was worthy of such a Relation', though 'not yet exceeding what that Relation of a Creator ... required'.[13] However, if God provided for his creatures what exceeded the required 'dueness', 'it was ... an Overplus, as his assisting them, in causing them to stand so long as they did; otherwise God himself condescended to make an Equity the Rule of his Will in that Covenant of Works.'[14] Equity is, then, God giving what is 'due' for humans to attain happiness in order to share communion with the triune God. Thus, while God is free to create or not create his

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[10] *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 20.
[11] *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 20. Willem van Asselt has noted the various designations that Reformed theologians have used in describing the covenant of works. They are: 1) *Foedus naturae*; 2) *Foedus naturale*; 3) *Foedus creationis*; 4) *Foedus legale*; 5) *Amicitia cum Deo*; and 6) *Foedus operum*. Van Asselt provides a helpful analysis of the various nuances behind each term. *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius*, 254-57
[12] *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 20.
[13] *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 21.
[14] *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 21.

creatures, his will regulated that his creatures should receive from him whatever is necessary to attain happiness (i.e. communion with God).

Resulting from the above, Goodwin addresses a number of requisites on God's part in creating intelligent creatures. First, against the Socinian denial of natural holiness, Goodwin argues that 'it became [God] to endow them with his own Image of Holiness ... whereby they might be able to know, to love, and to enjoy a Communion with him ... as their chiefest Good.'[15] Second, as Creator, on God's part 'it was requisite to continue his favour and goodness to them.'[16] As Adam kept God's commandments he would continue to live – 'If you do these things you shall live' – in accordance with 'Creation dues, and an Equity by Creation Law.'[17] Goodwin is giving expression to what is summarized in both the *Westminster Confession* and the *Savoy Declaration*. The *Savoy Declaration*, which slightly changes the *Westminster Confession* in this section, reads:

> The distance between God and the creature is so great, that although reasonable creatures do owe obedience unto him as their Creator, yet they could never have attained the *reward of life*, but by some voluntary condescension on God's part, which he hath been pleased to express by way of covenant (emphasis added).[18]

And, further, '[t]he first covenant made with man, was a covenant of works, wherein life was promised to Adam, and in him to his posterity, upon condition of perfect and personal obedience.'[19] This, in its most basic form, is the covenant of works. But even in summary form a

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[15] *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 22.
[16] *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 22.
[17] *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 22.
[18] *Savoy Declaration*, 7.1. The words in the *Savoy Declaration*, 'attained the reward of life', were added and the words from the *Westminster Confession*, 'any fruition of him, as their blessedness and reward', were omitted. This appears to be Goodwin's influence since he, as will be noted below, argued that Adam's reward was continued 'life' in the garden, whereas other Reformed theologians argued that Adam's reward was 'heaven'.
[19] *Savoy Declaration*, 7.2.

number of theological questions arise, specifically related to what *Savoy* terms as Adam's 'reward of life'.

Goodwin asserts that while God was obliged to allow Adam to live – thus enjoying communion with God – on condition of perfect obedience, he was not obliged to preserve Adam in his state of innocence. Thus, God must not be blamed for the Fall (Jas. 1:13-14). God stands free, that is, not upon prerogative; yet, on equity is God a 'debtor' to man. As a result, God was at perfect liberty to give or not to give what he had not compacted for. Adam's justification was by virtue of his natural righteousness, which was preserved by continuing in holiness according to the principles of holiness which were at first implanted in him.[20] There is, therefore, a justification that is natural and due to Adam for obedience.[21] Goodwin is, however, careful to define how Adam's justification can be 'due'. He argues that God does not owe man anything. Moreover, Adam's holiness, like the holiness of believers in the New Covenant, is the gift of God. However, on account of 'Natural justice, or rather dueness, such as is by the law of creation to be between a just creator and holy creature, there is an approbation due unto him from God whilst that creature obeys him, and that, as a *Debitum Naturale*, a Debt of Nature, and not a Debt of Retribution in a Mercenary way …' (Rom. 11:35).[22] The concept of natural justice undergirds Goodwin's conception that Adam's life in the garden was covenantal, an agreement between the Creator and the creature that promised life.

Goodwin's concept of Adam's eschatological reward, or lack thereof, naturally arises from his discussion of Adam's justification. Even among the Reformed orthodox this issue was

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[20] *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 44-45.
[21] *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 45.
[22] *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 45.

variously understood.[23] For example, the Reformed orthodox theologian Francis Turretin (1623-

1687) asks 'whether Adam had the promise of eternal and heavenly life so that (his course of

obedience being finished) he would have been carried to heaven.'[24] Turretin answers

affirmatively in opposition to both the Socinians and the Amyraldian theologians.[25] On the other

hand, Goodwin argues that only life in the garden was promised 'and not the translating him, in

the end, unto that Spiritual Life in Heaven'.[26] Goodwin seems to be aware that this was an area

of disagreement among the seventeenth-century Reformed orthodox.

In defending his position, Goodwin gives remarkable insight into his Christology, which

also highlights the relative similarities and differences between Adam and Christ. For example,

the first reason Goodwin gives why Adam's reward was only continued life on earth is that

Christ is the heavenly man (1 Cor. 15:47) whereas Adam is the earthly man. Moreover, Christ

was the first and only author of heavenly life which Christ's elect enjoy. Coming down from

heaven, Christ raises his earthly saints into the heavenly places, and so 'the Apostle doth put our

carrying to Heaven ... not so much upon the merit of Christ's Death, as upon his being the Lord

from Heaven.'[27] Furthermore, because Adam was a man from the Earth he could never have

come to Heaven (John 3:13). The going of believers into heaven is based upon Christ who is the

only one to have come down from heaven. In this way, Christ secures far greater eschatological

blessings than Adam ever could have. The paradise that Adam enjoyed 'was but the Type of the

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[23] Rowland S. Ward writes: 'Some considered the life promised in the covenant of works to be merely the continuation of the earthly life Adam already enjoyed. Others were specific that the ultimately heavenly glorification was intended. There was no agreement at the time of the Westminster Assembly, hence the question is not decided in the documents produced by it.' *God & Adam: Reformed Theology and The Creation Covenant* (Wantirna: New Melbourne Press, 2003), 108. Ward then lists a number of quotes from Reformed theologians who were either in favour of earthly life only (John Ball) or heavenly life (Turretin) or agnostic (Owen). See also: Beach, *Christ and the Covenant*, 128-39.

[24] *Institutes of Elenctic Theology* (Phillipsburg: P&R Publishing, 1992), VIII.vi.1.

[25] *Institutes*, VIII.vi.1.

[26] *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 46.

[27] *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 46.

Paradise above, and his Sabbath a Type of Heaven, as himself was of Christ.'[28] Therefore, 'he was not to have entered into the heavenly paradise, except by this Second Adam, Christ, whose paradise alone it was .... take away the Second Adam that was to come, and there had been no Second paradise for Adam, to come into, which that Paradise of his was the type of.'[29] The second Adam, Jesus Christ, is the Mediator of the second covenant, the covenant of grace. This covenant far exceeded the promised rewards of the covenant of works on the basis that Christ's person and work far exceeded the person and work of the first Adam.

The Covenant of Grace

The covenant of grace (*foedus gratiae*) occupies a central place in Goodwin's writings. Both the term and the concept were well-established in the Reformed tradition and enjoyed confessional status. The *Savoy Declaration* describes the dichotomous nature of the history of redemption in the following manner:

> Man by his fall having made himself incapable of life by that covenant, the Lord was pleased to make a second, commonly called the Covenant of Grace; wherein he freely offereth unto sinners life and salvation by Jesus Christ, requiring of them faith in him that they may be saved, and promising to give unto all those that are ordained unto life, his Holy Spirit, to make them willing and able to believe.[30]

The covenant of grace is God's gracious response to the Fall. As such, God's response is immediately grounded in the *protoevangelium*. Luther appears to have coined this term (though Irenaeus hinted at it), meaning 'first gospel promise' for Genesis 3:15. This verse proved to be

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[28] *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 46.
[29] *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 46.
[30] *Savoy Declaration*, 7.3.

crucial for the Reformed orthodox who argued that God's saving purposes were established at this point and in successive ages more clarity was added until finally in the New Covenant all is made clear in the person and work of Jesus Christ.[31] For example, the Presbyterian theologian, Isaac Ambrose (1604-1664), describes the various periods in redemptive history (e.g. from Adam till Abraham) as 'further discoveries of God's mercy in Christ'.[32] Beginning with Adam in Genesis 3:15 'further discoveries of God's mercy in Christ' will manifest God's covenant of grace with fallen mankind.[33] Like Ambrose and the vast majority of the Reformed orthodox, Goodwin's understanding of redemptive history is decisively shaped by his approach to Genesis 3:15.

This verse will receive more detailed attention in chapter eight, but for now it is important to note how this verse affects Goodwin's interpretive approach to Scripture. He calls Genesis 3:15 'the first promise', which is a promise of the Messiah; 'And this is also the fundamental promise upon which the faith of the whole Church lived before the Flood, and after for Two Thousand Years, till it was in Isaack and his seed renewed to Abraham in other terms.'[34] Owen, similarly, argues that the substance of the *protoevangelium*, 'wherein the whole covenant of grace was virtually comprised', explicitly refers to Christ as the one who would recover mankind from sin and misery by his death.[35] Despite various disagreements on the finer details of the *protoevangelium*, Genesis 3:15 was uniformly recognized by the Reformed orthodox as the beginning of redemptive history, which promised a victory to the righteous one (i.e. Christ), and in some cases, his 'seed' as well (i.e. his people).

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[31] Perhaps the clearest example of this approach is Owen. See *Works*, XVII, *Theologoumena*.
[32] *Looking unto Jesus a View of the Everlasting Gospel* (London, 1658), 133.
[33] *Looking unto Jesus*, 133.
[34] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 313.
[35] *Works*, V, *Justification by Faith*, 192.

For Goodwin, this verse speaks of Christ, as the representative of his people, who will 'crush' Satan. Christ's 'heel' will be 'bruised' (i.e. his crucifixion), but the 'bruising' of Christ's 'heel' is, at the same time, his victory over Satan. Goodwin is aware that *zera* (seed) is *nomen collectivum* and can signify a race or generation of many. But, *zera* can also refer to a singular person (Gen. 4:25). This promise is highlights that enmity has been established not only between Christ and the devil, but between believers and unbelievers. Thus, the biblical narrative is the testimony of the enmity between the righteous and the wicked, which culminates in Christ's victory over Satan by virtue of his death and resurrection.[36]

The covenant of grace, grounded in the *protoevangelium*, is further confirmed in the promises to Noah. The words in Isaiah 54:7-11, Goodwin argues, suggest that the story of Noah refers to 'the pure Covenant of Grace, and the everlastingness and perpetuity of that Grace.'[37] Noah himself is an heir of the covenant of grace; he is one who lived by faith. But, more than that, the circumstances of his life have particular significance for God's redemptive purposes. Goodwin explains that Noah understood that since the Ark represented salvation, a further salvation was thereby signified, 'another manner of Ark than that of Gopher-wood', namely, 'Christ the promised Seed, to save him from a more dreadful Inundation of wrath to come ....'[38] Goodwin adds that Noah was a prophet and preached about the righteousness of Christ, which is by faith. Noah believed this message himself and so called people not only to the righteousness of a holy life, but to receive the imputed righteousness which comes by faith and has Christ as its object. Indeed, Noah was the first prophet to whom God ever explicitly spoke of a covenant; 'there was Promise indeed of Christ, the Woman's Seed, uttered before; Which all the Patriarchs

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[36] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 313-16.
[37] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 38.
[38] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 40.

before the Flood lived upon: But under the Title of a Covenant, never no mention; no, nor of the word Grace, till now: Noah had the first honour of both these Gospel expressions, Grace and Covenant.'[39]   The covenant made with Noah was, then, the covenant of grace; it represented advancement on Genesis 3:15 in terms of the content and clarity of God's redemptive purposes. Christ is the object of faith and salvation is not by works but by grace.

The covenant of grace is further advanced with Abraham in a number of ways. God's declaration to Abraham that he is his 'exceeding great reward' (Gen. 15:1) is, according to Goodwin, 'the deepest and most comprehensive expression of love, that God ever made unto any man; and Abraham takes the advantage of this, and improves it'.[40]   Moreover, the connection between the first promise to Adam and Eve and Abraham highlights the unity and gradual expression of the covenant of grace. For example, Abraham is given the honour to be the father of those who believe just as Eve had the honour of being the mother of all the living, a promise spoken to her by her husband Adam after the *protoevangelium*. Goodwin argues, then, that Eve was the '*Mother of all living*, that is, that live spiritually, and by faith, as Abraham was *Father of all the Faithful*.'[41]   The covenant of grace was first expressed in Eve's name and them subsequently in Abraham's. Abraham also received the promise that he would be the Father of many nations, which speaks of Gentile inclusion into the covenant of grace (Rom. 11). In fact, even Abraham's Gentile servants and their children would have been circumcised 'as fore-running pledges and Types that both we and our Children, who are Gentiles and strangers, [would be] engrafted into this covenant.'[42]   The covenant of grace made with Abraham

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[39] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 40-41.
[40] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 387.
[41] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 388.
[42] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 391.

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inaugurated a number of advancements in God's soteric purposes especially in the example of Gentile inclusion into the covenant.

Goodwin's position on the unfolding nature of the covenant of grace is, so far, fairly reflective of Reformed orthodoxy. However, among the Reformed orthodox the role of Sinai in the history of redemption has been variously understood.[43] While almost all Federal theologians agreed on the distinction between the covenant of works (*foedus operum*) and covenant of grace (*foedus gratiae*), the relationship between the 'old' and 'new' covenants, which is described in Hebrews 8 and elsewhere (e.g. 2 Cor. 3; Gal. 3-4), proved to be a source of contention between Reformed theologians, especially when the Salmurian theologians are included.[44] Part of the problem was the sheer complexity of the issue. John Ball (1585-1640) speaks not a little truth when he writes that '[m]ost Divines hold the old and new Covenant to be one in substance and kind, to differ only in degrees: but in setting down the differences they speake so obscurely, that it is hard to find how they consent with themselves.'[45] Owen similarly concedes 'that this is a subject wrapped up in much obscurity, and attended with many difficulties'.[46] Moreover, Samuel Petto (1624-1711) refers to the issues surrounding this subject as a 'knotty puzling Question in Divinity.'[47] Those who tackled this issue were keenly aware of the difficulty of the subject, and,

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[43] See Sebastian Rehnman, 'Is the Narrative of Redemptive History Trichotomous or Dichotomous? A Problem for Federal Theology.' *Nederlands archief voor kergeschiedenis* 80 (2000), 296-308; Mark J. Beach, *Christ and the Covenant*, 264-65, 301-16.

[44] Richard Muller argues that that the Salmurian theologians (e.g. John Cameron) were in essential continuity with the Reformed orthodox, see: 'Divine Covenants, Absolute and Conditional: John Cameron and the Early Orthodox Development of Reformed Covenant Theology,' *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 17 (2006), 11-56.

[45] *A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace wherein the Graduall Breakings out of Gospel Grace from Adam to Christ are Clearly Discovered, the Differences Betwixt the Old and New Testament are Laid Open* (London, 1645), 95.

[46] *Works*, XXIII, *Exposition of Hebrews*, 60.

[47] *The Difference Between the Old and New Covenant Stated and Explained with an Exposition of the Covenant of Grace in the Principal Concernments of it* (London, 1674), 102. See also Anthony Burgess, *A Vindication of the Morall Law and Covenants* (London, 1647), 229.

hence, the various interpretations, even among those who belonged to the broader Reformed interpretive tradition.

Goodwin's understanding of the role of Sinai is reflective of the Salmurian position. In describing the Salmurian position, Cameron argues that there are three covenants. He makes the typical distinction between the covenant of works and the covenant of grace, the 'dichotomous' position. But, Cameron also speaks of the third covenant: 'one subservient to the covenant of grace (which in Scripture is called the 'old covenant') and therefore we will deal with that in the last instance, giving the first instance to the covenant of nature and of grace, since they are the chief and since they do not refer to any other covenant.[48] This is the standard 'trichotomist' position, which Goodwin appears to embrace. Thus, he says that the Mosaic covenant was '*Foedus subserviens* to the Gospel, (as Learned Cameron calls it) [and] had many scopes and Aspects'.[49] In other words, the Mosaic covenant operated alongside, not in, the covenant of grace; '[i]t was truly the promulgation of the Covenant of Nature made with Adam in Paradise, in the moral part of the Ten Commandments.'[50] The function of the Mosaic covenant was to convince man of his inability to fulfill the moral law and thus Sinai acted pedagogically (*usus pedagogicus*) in driving men to Christ. Therefore, while Sinai is technically called a 'subservient covenant', it nevertheless functions pedagogically in driving the Israelites to seek one who could fulfill the terms of the covenant. Horton has noted, in connection with the above, that, for

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[48] *De Triplici Dei Cum Homine Foedere Theses* (Heidelberg, 1608), VII. Samuel Bolton (1606-1654) provides an English translation of Cameron's work in *The True Bounds of Christian Freedome. Or a treatise wherein the rights of the law are vindicated, the liberties of grace maintained; and the several late opinions against the law are examined and confuted. Whereunto is annexed a discourse of the learned John Camerons, touching the three-fold covenant of God with man, faithfully translated* (London, 1656), 351-401. Petto also adopts a 'trichotomist' structure. He argues that 'It is in no way incongruous to speak of three Covenants, seeing that with Adam is generally acknowledged to be One, and here [i.e. Gal. 4:24] the Scripture expressly speaketh of two Covenants and that with Adam is none of them.' *The Difference Between the Old and New Covenant*, 94. Flavel shows that the majority of the Reformed orthodox viewed Sinai not as a distinct covenant, but as an administration of the covenant of grace. See *Planelogia*, 204ff.

[49] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 330.

[50] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 330.

Goodwin, 'human beings are saved by works – that is, by the works of Christ in fulfilling the covenant of nature.'[51] Christ fulfilled not only the covenant of nature, but the Sinai covenant – the two are not exactly the same – on behalf of his people.

Despite the redemptive-historical significance of Sinai, the *Savoy Declaration* makes clear that the covenant of grace did not cease to function in terms of its saving efficacy during the time of the law: 'Although this covenant hath been differently and variously administered in respect of ordinances and institutions in the time of the law, and since the coming of Christ in the flesh; yet for the substance and efficacy of it, to all its spiritual and saving ends, it is one and the same; upon the account of which various dispensations, it is called the Old and New Testament.'[52] Sinai, considered as the 'old' covenant, did not suspend the covenant of grace. For most of the English Reformed orthodox the 'old' covenant was either an administration of the covenant of grace or superadded to the covenant of grace. But whatever may be said of Sinai – and admittedly this is a thorny question – the covenant of grace constitutes primary significance in the history of redemption for Goodwin and his Reformed predecessors and contemporaries.

The goal of the covenant of grace is the eventual full manifestation of its glory in the New Covenant era. Owen notes that the promises, which at times were obscure, were now brought to light; 'and that covenant which had invisibly, in the way of a promise, put forth its efficacy under types and shadows, was now solemnly sealed, ratified, and confirmed, in the death and resurrection of Christ.'[53] For Goodwin, the New Covenant ushers in a number of heightened spiritual blessings. First, a greater and clearer manifestation of God's attributes, namely, his justice and mercy, are evidenced in the crucifixion of his Son; that is, the types and shadows of

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[51] 'Assurance', 113.
[52] *Savoy Declaration*, 7.5.
[53] *Works*, XXIII, *Exposition of Hebrews*, 64.

the Old Testament are fulfilled in Christ. Second, Christ himself displayed 'a greater and far more Transcendent Righteousness than ever appeared either in the Law, or inherent in [the Israelites].'[54] Third, besides the open display of God's attributes, the mystery of the Trinity was more clearly unfolded. Not only are the three persons revealed in the works of creation and law, but they are now revealed as 'Three Witnesses ... to our Salvation. And their several witnessing comes to be known by their ... Hand-works ... to our *Salvation*, bearing the stamp ... of their Three several Subsistences'.[55] All of this is to show that the progressive unfolding of God's saving purposes in the covenant of grace comes to full expression in the person and work of Jesus Christ – which was only prefigured obscurely in the Old Testament – and thus the New Covenant era, which included the millennium, is the last stage in the history of revelation until the final judgment.

Goodwin is therefore a covenant theologian. Soteriologically speaking, he divides up redemptive history into the covenant of works (*foedus naturae*), which he refers to as *Jus Creationis*, and the covenant of grace (*foedus gratiae*). As a result, salvation before the Fall is according to works whereas salvation after the Fall is by grace, hence the dichotomous covenant schema. The covenant of grace is inaugurated immediately after the Fall in the *protoevangelium* where Christ's victory over the devil is prefigured. During the course of redemptive history the covenant of grace receives added clarification to the point that finally in the New Covenant dispensation Christ is 'set forth' plainly in his person and work. With Goodwin's basic approach to understanding redemptive history outlined, the specific details of his hermeneutical and exegetical method can now be evaluated. As will be shown below, the details of Goodwin's interpretation of Scripture are the consistent outworking of his covenant theology.

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[54] *Works*, V, *Glory of the Gospel*, 4.
[55] *Works*, V, *Glory of the Gospel*, 4.

Principles of Interpretation

The Authority of Scripture

The sixteenth-century adherence to the principle of *sola scriptura*, the so-called scriptural principle, had decisive ramifications for Protestantism in general. Henry Knapp argues that this 'led to an outpouring of material, exegetical and dogmatic, positive and polemical, in the post-Reformation era on the doctrine of Scripture.'[56] Knapp remarks further that the canon was defined as consisting of 66 books, thus excluding the Apocrypha, and 'its integrity defended, the divinity and properties of Scripture were asserted, and its role as *principium cognoscendi theologiae* was clearly affirmed.'[57] These views of Scripture were upheld by the Reformed orthodox in the seventeenth century, as evidenced in the first chapter of the *Westminster Confession of Faith*. Moreover, Henry Burton (*bap.* 1578, *d.* 1648), a Congregationalist preacher, argued that 'the Rules and Principles whereof are all of them layd downe in the Scripture, unto which alone all Questions about faith and Religion are so reducible, and finally determinable, as who so denieth this, denieth the faith, and is not to be disputed with, as a denier of Principles'.[58] For the Reformed, the authority of Scripture was essential to true Christian religion.

As chapter one of the *Westminster Confession of Faith* makes plain, while in all controversies of religion the original languages must be appealed to, the Scriptures in the vulgar

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[56] Henry M. Knapp, 'Understanding the Mind of God: John Owen and Seventeenth-Century Exegetical Methodology' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Calvin Theological Seminary, 2002), 40. For a briefer treatment of Owen's exegetical methodology, see Barry H. Howson, 'The Puritan Hermeneutics of John Owen: A Recommendation', *Westminster Theological Journal* 63 (2001), 351-376. For the most thorough treatment of the role of Scripture in the Reformed tradition, see Muller, *PRRD*, II.

[57] Knapp, 'Understanding the Mind of God', 40. One of the most thorough treatments on this subject is Edward Leigh's work, *A Treatise of Divinity Consisting of Three Books* (London, 1647).

[58] Henry Burton, *A Vindication of Churches, Commonly Called Independent* (London, 1644), 3-4.

tongue are still the word of God.[59] The Presbyterian, Richard Vines (1600-1656), echoes this

point:

> I could easily demonstrate that the Scripture calls the originall translated, *Scripture*, & not without just reason: for the Scripture stands not in *cortice verborum* but in *medulla sensus*, its the same wine in this vessel which was drawn out of that. Translations are but vessels or taps ... to set Scriptures abroach, ... The *Scriptures exprest in English are the word of God*. The deficiency of exact translation of this or that particular word doth not invalidate the canon or bodie of the Scriptures.[60]

Vines' declarations suggest that the infallibility of Scripture in the late 1640s could not be taken

for granted.[61]

Rutherford also evinces a high view of the Scriptures as the Word of God. Indeed, neither

the Apostles nor Prophets wrote 'Canonick Scripture of their own head'.[62] Rather, the writings

of Scripture are by 'immediate inspiration, which essentially did include every syllable and word

that the Apostles and Prophets were to write.'[63] He adds that every word of Scripture (i.e. jot

and tittle) was 'immediately inspired, as touching the matter, words, phrases, expression, order,

method, majesty, stile and all: So I think they were but Organs, the mouth, pen and Amanuenses;

God as it were, immediately ... leading their hand at the pen.'[64] And the Presbyterian minister,

John Howes (1613-1685), similarly insists that 'It is the honour and priviledge due to the Word

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[59] See *WCF* 1.8.

[60] Richard Vines, *The Authours, Nature, and Danger of Haeresie Laid Open in a Sermon Preached Before the Honorable House of Commons at Margarets Westminster, upon Wednesday the tenth of March, 1646: Being Set Apart as a Solemne Day of Publike Humiliation to Seeke Gods Assistance for the Suppressing and Preventing of the Growth and Spreading of Errours, Heresies, and Blasphemies* (London, 1647), 68-69. See also Owen, *Works*, XVI, *The Divine Original of the Scripture*, 300ff.

[61] In 1648 the London Presbyterian laypeople noted that 'the Doctrine of the Gospell is, now adayes, not onely more endangered through the increase of Popery and Arminianisme, but of most blasphemous Antiscripturismes.' *An Apologeticall Declaration of the Conscientious Presbyterians of the Province of London* (1648), 4.

[62] *The Divine Right of Church-Government and Excommunication* (London, 1646), 66. Rutherford also spends a good deal of time defending the authority of Scripture in *A Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience* (London, 1649), passim.

[63] *The Divine Right*, 66.

[64] *The Divine Right*, 66.

of God, the Holy Scripture, ... that there are no Errata's annexed to it.'[65] Finally, Jeremiah

Burroughs suggests that the Scriptures are divine because they reveal things that man could

never have made up. For example, the incarnation of the Son of God 'is too high a thing to have

entered into the thought of a creature ... this argues the Scripture to bee from God.'[66] Clearly,

then, the Reformed orthodox tradition, to which Goodwin belonged, insisted that the Scriptures

were by immediate inspiration. They are nothing but the very words of God.

Goodwin's own doctrine of Scripture is typical of the time in which he lived. The opening

to *The Principles of Faith* (1654), a work co-written by Goodwin, reads: 'First, That the holy

Scripture is that rule of knowing God, and living unto him, which who so doth not believe, but

betakes himself to any other way of discovering truth, and the minde of God instead thereof,

cannot be saved.'[67] Goodwin commonly refers to the Scriptures as the 'Word of God'.[68] In fact,

no part of Scripture was written unless the writer was moved by the Holy Spirit.[69] As a result,

they possess 'Divine Authority'.[70] And, while he is not as explicit as Vines on the authority of

translations, his frequent use of the English translation to set forth his arguments shows that he

no doubt viewed the translation as an authoritative, faithful representation of the inspired original

manuscripts.[71]

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[65] *Christ, God-Man Set Out in a Sermon Preached at Northampton on the Lecture, Being Christmas-day, 1656* (London, 1657), 22. Howes studied at Cambridge and preached the funeral sermon of Thomas Ball (1590-1659). Ball collaborated with Goodwin and Sibbes to produce a posthumous edition of John Preston's sermons. Howes would likely have known Goodwin personally; at the very least, he would have known of Goodwin and his writings.

[66] *Gospel-Revelation in Three Treatises, viz, 1 The nature of God. 2 The excellencies of Christ. And, 3 The Excellency of mans immortal soul* (London, 1660), 58.

[67] *The Principles of Faith, Presented by Mr. Tho. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Sydrach Simson, and Other Ministers, to the Committee of Parliament for Religion, by way of Explanation to the Proposals for Propagating of the Gospel* (London, 1654), 1.

[68] For example, see *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 309, 333, 346, 349-350, 353.

[69] *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 83; *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 157.

[70] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 2.

[71] See also *WCF* 1.8; Lawrence Clarkson and John Goodwin, *A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ* (London, 1648), 5.

Despite the widespread view regarding the authority of Scripture, a problem still remained for the Reformed orthodox. Two of their main theological opponents, the Socinians and Arminians, held to the same view of the authority of Scripture in both the original and vulgar tongues.[72] The differences between the Reformed orthodox and the Socinians and Arminians thus lay in differing hermeneutical and exegetical approaches to Scripture.

Analogia Fidei

The analogy of faith, as a hermeneutical method, was crucial to the Reformed orthodox.[73] According to this fundamental principle, the meaning of Scripture is to be found in the Scriptures by comparing passages with each other. Yet, as Knapp notes, '[t]he analogy of faith did not dictate the interpretation of any particular text; what it did was limit the options which the exegete would consider as appropriate explanations of a passage.'[74] Muller elaborates on the point made by Knapp by suggesting that 'the *analogia fidei* permitted the orthodox to approach Scripture creedally and confessionally on the assumption that the creeds and confessions had arisen out of a churchly meditation on Scripture.'[75] Both Knapp's and Muller's contentions can be substantiated in the seventeenth-century examples of Owen and Goodwin.

Owen argues that the interpretation of Scripture is '[p]artly through the express words of Scripture and partly by the revelation of God's will contained in the wider context, which may be understood by a comparison of text with text, so that which seems to have been more obscurely

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[72] The Arminian, and friend of Thomas Goodwin, John Goodwin (1594–1665) wrote an extended defence on the authority of Scripture. See John Goodwin, *The Divine Authority of the Scriptures Asserted* (London, 1648).
[73] See Jue, *Heaven Upon Earth*, 102.
[74] Knapp, 'Understanding the Mind of God', 63.
[75] Muller, *PRRD*, II, 503

spoken may be illuminated by what is plainer until an overall understanding of the divine will is gained.'[76] Goodwin's son speaks of his father's approach of 'comparing one with another' and Thankful Owen and James Baron mention, in the preface to Goodwin's *Exposition of Ephesians*, that 'if at any time he steps out of the Road, he doth it with a due regard to the Analogy of Faith, and a just veneration for the Reformed Religion ...'[77] Goodwin himself makes explicit mention of the 'analogy of faith' in a number of places. He argues, for example, 'it being a Rule I have always measured the Interpretation of Scripture by, (as I have oft professed,) to take Scripture phrases and words in the most comprehensive sense; yea, and in two senses, or more, that will stand together with the Context and Analogy of Faith.'[78] Elsewhere, Goodwin amplifies a comment on Matt. 18:17, as he speaks of ecclesiastical excommunication, by adducing 1 Cor. 5 in support because 'One place expounds another'.[79]

Moreover, besides the specific examples of Owen and Goodwin, the *Westminster Confession of Faith* addresses this very issue: 'The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself: and therefore, when there is a question about the true and full sense of any Scripture (which is not manifold, but one), it must be searched and known by other places that speak more clearly.'[80] The analogy of faith stems from the nature of Scripture. Because the Holy Spirit communicates the mind of God to men the Scriptures cannot contradict themselves.

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[76] This English translation is taken from *A Defense of Sacred Scripture Against Modern Fanaticism* in *Biblical Theology*. Translated by Stephen P. Westcot (Pittsburgh: Soli Deo Gloria, 1994), 797. Wescott's translation is from Owen's original work, *Pro Sacra Scripturis adversus hujus tempom Fanaticos exercitaliones apologeticae Quatuor* (London, 1658). The original reads: 'Partita in ipsis Scripturis loquentem, mentemque suam clarè & dilucidè exponentem, eamque per totius divinae doctrinae, seu veritatis in illis traditae *analogiam, in* omnibus partibus seu locis, ubi eum obscurius locutum fuisse videri possit, revelantem, partim, lucem spiritualem in mentes nostras *immitentem,* quâ in omnem necessariam veritatem in verbo patefactam ducamur.' *Pro Sacris*, 31.

[77] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, preface.

[78] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 76. Elsewhere, Goodwin writes, 'It is, I say, a meaning agreeable to the Analogy of Faith ...' *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 258. See also *Works*, IV, *Of the Constitution of the Churches of Christ*, 280, 288; *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 87; *Works*, III, *An Unregenerate Mans Guiltiness Before God*, 354.

[79] *Works*, IV, *Of the Constitution of the Churches of Christ*, 38. See also, *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 472.

[80] *WCF* 1.9.

Turretin summarizes the consequences of the Reformed orthodox view of scripture: 'as the Spirit is always undoubtedly self-consistent, we cannot consider that to be his sense which is opposed to other truths delivered by him.'[81] This rule of exegesis was a necessary consequence of Goodwin's view of Scripture as internally coherent because God is its principal author.

Sensus Literalis

The interpretation of Scripture in the Christian tradition has been vigorously debated. Medieval exegesis was characterized by the *quadriga* (fourfold exegesis). The four senses of any given text are *historia*, *allegoria*, *tropologia*, and *anagoge*. Aquinas moved towards the predominant use of the literal sense, which he identified as the *fundamentum historiae*. As Muller has noted, 'Aquinas commented with some frequency that the *primus sensus* and *prima exposito* of Scripture was *magis literalis*, and that the purpose of exegesis was to identify the "intention" of the words, of the book, or of the writer.'[82] In the Reformation period Calvin, for example, emphasized the literal, grammatical exegesis.[83] Following from Calvin, the Reformed orthodox

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[81] Turretin, *Institutes*, II.xix.19. Owen, similarly, maintains that 'What sense soever any man supposeth or judgeth this or that particular place of Scripture to yield and give out to the best of his rational intelligence is immediately to give place unto the *analogy of faith* – that is, the Scripture's own declaration of its sense in other places to another purpose, or contrary thereunto.' *Works*, IV, *Causes, Ways, and Means*, 224.

[82] Muller, *PRRD*, II, 36.

[83] On Calvin's exegesis see David L. Puckett, *John Calvin's Exegesis of the Old Testament* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995); Richard C. Gamble, 'Brevitas et Facilitas: Toward an Understanding of Calvin's Hermeneutic', *Westminster Theological Journal* 47 (1985), 1-17; idem, 'Calvin as Theologian and Exegete – Is there Anything New?', *Calvin Theological Journal* 23 (1988), 178-94; William McKane, 'Calvin as an Old Testament Commentator', *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Teologiese Tydskrif* 25 (1984), 250-59; Richard A. Muller, 'The Foundation of Calvin's Theology: Scripture as Revealing God's Word', *Duke Divinity School Review* 44 (1979), 14-23; Roger Nicole, 'John Calvin and Inerrancy', *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 25 (1982), 425-44; S.H. Russell, 'Calvin and the Messianic Interpretation of the Psalms', *Scottish Journal of Theology* 21 (1968), 37-47; Thomas F. Torrance, *The Hermeneutics of John Calvin* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1988); J.P. Newport, 'An Investigation of the Factors Influencing John Calvin's Use of the Linguistic and Historical Principles of Biblical Exegesis' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1953).

insisted on 'a single, literal and grammatical meaning of the text of Scripture.'[84] But that does not mean, of course, that the literal meaning was always literalistic. Goodwin argues for one rule: that all texts must be understood literally, 'except they make against some other Scriptures, or except the very Coherence and Dependence of the Scripture shewes it otherwise, or it makes against the Analogy of Faith.'[85] For example, he looks at Matthew 26:29 ('But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom') and argues: 'It is true, this is likewise interpreted in a mystical sense; but there is no reason, why wee may not take it literally'.[86]

Thus, Goodwin is not arguing for a crass literalism. He recognizes that certain factors will militate against a purely literalistic interpretation, including the necessity of upholding the analogy of faith and the coherence of Scripture.[87] But, like Aquinas and Calvin before him, Goodwin's preference is for the literal interpretation of the text, an interpretation that is perhaps best described – if one looks at the nature of his exegesis throughout his writings – as historical-grammatical exegesis.[88] Moreover, his preference for a literal understanding of the text is proved by his aversion to 'allegorical senses'. Commenting on Psalms 49 and 149, in reference to the

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[84] Muller, *PRRD*, II, 474.

[85] *A Glimpse of Sions Glory* (London, 1640), 13. There has been some debate over whether Goodwin wrote this work. Lawrence remains unpersuaded that Goodwin was the author. However, Baillie attributes the work to Goodwin. He writes: 'They are not content with some few little touches of Chiliasm, which yet Master Cotton tells us are but fleshly imaginations (A A): But they run themselves over head and ears in the deepest gulph of that old Heresie. The glimpse of Sions glory Preached at a Fast in Holland by T.G. (which common report without any contradiction that I have heard declared to be Thomas Goodwin) avers'. See *Dissuasive* (London, 1640), 79-80. For a defence of Goodwinian authorship of Syons Glory, see John F. Wilson, 'A Glimpse of Syons Glory', *Church History*, 31 (1962), 66-73. Gribben assumes Goodwinian authorship in *Puritan Millennium*. Like Lawrence, Jue does not believe Goodwin is the author. See *Heaven Upon Earth*, 222

[86] *A Glimpse of Sions Glory* (London, 1640), 13-14.

[87] Goodwin's literalism has been the subject of a good deal of enquiry. While I disagree with some of their conclusions, both Carter and Fienberg make some interesting points regarding the hermeneutical differences between Presbyterians and Independents. See Carter, 'Presbyterian-Independent Controversy'; Fienberg, 'Puritan Pastor and Independent Divine', 132-67; idem, 'Thomas Goodwin's Scriptural Hermeneutics and the Dissolution of Puritan Unity', *Journal of Religious History,* 10 (1978), 32-49.

[88] Puckett notes that Philip Schaff designated Calvin as the founder of modern historical-grammatical exegesis. *John Calvin's Exegesis of the Old Testament*, 56. Goodwin's own approach has many similarities to that of Calvin's.

millennial age of the church, he asks 'What shall we make of these Scriptures?'[89] He answers

that 'if we be put upon Allegorical senses, we may put off any Scripture; but if we take them

literally, why should we not?'[90] Goodwin's interpretive grid is grounded on his preference for

the literal meaning of the text, but in order to understand why Alexander Whyte called Goodwin

'the greatest pulpit exegete of Paul that has ever lived' certain other factors must be taken into

account.[91]

Typology

Perry Miller's claim that the Puritans condemned the use of typology in their hermeneutic[92] does

not square with the evidence. A central concept, in fact, of Goodwin's hermeneutic is the use of

typology. Because the literal sense, with due regard for the *analogia fidei*, dominated his

interpretation of biblical texts, and because, as he argued, the 'Right Context of Scripture is half

the Interpretation',[93] he was able to make use of the hermeneutical principle of typology. Knapp

defines typology as 'a method of interpretation where one explains Old Testament events,

persons, and practices, as prefiguring the coming person and ministry of the Messiah and his

covenant people.'[94] On the surface, this may seem to be a denial of Goodwin's preference for a

literal approach to Scripture.[95] However, Knapp has persuasively argued that '[w]hile the

Protestants disagreed with the typical medieval exegetes in finding a distinct *sensus spiritualis*,

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[89] *Sions Glory*, 17.
[90] *Sions Glory*, 17.
[91] G.F. Barbour, *Life of Alexander Whyte*, 97
[92] *Roger Williams: His Contribution to the American Tradition* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953), 34-35.
[93] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 346.
[94] Knapp, 'Understanding the Mind of God', 264.
[95] Some have picked up on this apparent contradiction. For example, see Kemper Fullerton, *Prophecy and Authority* (New York: Macmillan, 1919), 179-85. Knapp provides both a response to Fullerton and a detailed analysis of typology in the seventeenth century. See 'Understanding the Mind of God', 262-334.

the Reformed exegetes held that a figurative or spiritual meaning was often an integral dimension of the literal text itself.'[96] To interpret a text literally often meant interpreting it typologically.

Typology plays a significant role in Goodwin's *Works*.[97] The covenant of grace is the context for the story of Christ. And because this story begins with the 'first promise of the Messiah' in Genesis 3:15, where 'seed' refers to Christ and his victory over Satan, the whole history of redemption is centered on the person and work of Jesus Christ.[98] Typologies necessarily resulted from Goodwin's desire to understand the Christological motif of the Scriptures which were written to 'bring down and lay before us the Heart of God and of Christ ... and so the maine thing they hold forth, is, the full intent and purpose of God and of Christ ...'[99] As a result, Goodwin argues that the eminent Old Testament saints were types of Jesus Christ.

Goodwin works within a general rule that 'what is attributed to the Type his Shadow, must needs be in a more divine and supereminent manner, ascribed to him the Substance: For if so excellent Persons in their highest Excellency were but his Types, then what are those Excellencies in him a Person so Divine?'[100] Moreover, the Apostles taught that 'whatever eminent and extraordinary Excellency was found in any of their Ancestours renowned in the Old Testamet, or in the Ceremonial Law; that all such fore-signified the Messiah to come as the perfection and centre of them.'[101] Adam, Noah, Melchizedek, Joseph, Moses, Samson, David, and Solomon, for example, were all types of Jesus Christ; Adam being the 'most eminent Type of Christ, so he is called, Rom. 5.13. and in 1 Cor. 15.' The details of the relationship between

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[96] Knapp, 'Understanding the Mind of God', 266.
[97] See *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 38-51.
[98] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 313.
[99] Goodwin, *Encouragements to Faith* (London, 1645), 2.
[100] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 146.
[101] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 147.

the type (e.g. Adam, Moses, David, etc.) and the antitype (i.e. Christ) receive detailed attention in Goodwin's comparison between the first and second Adams. For Goodwin, typology has reference to the particulars of the types in question if it is suitable. In the case of Adam, his fall was in a garden after being tempted by Satan. Satan overcame Adam and as a result mankind was led into death. Christ, as the second Adam, mirrors Adam's temptation in his own life, but succeeds where the first Adam failed. Goodwin highlights this in the following way:

> God now singleth out the place where the Great Redeemer of the World, the second Adam, should first encounter with his Fathers wrath, to be in a garden, and that there he should be bound and led away Captive as Adam was .... Thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy Brows, that was part of Adams curse, Christ he sweat drops of blood for this, it was the force of that Curse that caused it. The ground shall bring forth Thorns to thee; Christ he was crucified with a Crown of Thorns. Adam his disobedience was acted in a Garden, and Christ both his active and passive Obedience also, much of it was in a Garden, and at the last as the first beginning of his Humiliation was in a Garden, so the last step was too, he was buried, though not in this, yet in another Garden. Thus the Type and the thing Typified answer one another.[102]

Goodwin draws numerous parallels between the type (Adam) and the antitype (Christ) on the basis of one parallel (i.e. 1 Cor. 15) because this explicit analogy opens up the rest of the less obvious parallels. Commenting on 1 Peter 3:21, where the word *antitypos* is used explicitly, he

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[102] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 208. Besides Goodwin, a number of seventeenth-century authors wrote on typology. For example, see Thomas Taylor, *Christ Revealed: or The Old Testament explained A treatise of the types and shadowes of our Saviour contained throughout the whole Scripture: all opened and made usefull for the benefit of Gods Church* (London, 1635); William Guild, *Moses Unveiled, or, Those figures which served unto the pattern and shadow of heavenly things, pointing out the Messiah Christ Jesus, briefly explained whereunto is added The harmony of all the Prophets* (London, 1658); Henry Lukin, *An Introduction to the Holy Scripture Containing the Several Tropes, Figures, Proprieties of Speech used Therein: With Other Observations Necessary for the Right Understanding Thereof* (London, 1669); Thomas Worden, *The Types Unvail'd, or, The Gospel Pick'd out of the Legal Ceremonies Whereby we may Compare the Substance with the Shadow: written for the information of the ignorant, for their help in reading of the Old Testament* (London, 1670); Benjamin Keach, *Tropologia; A Key to Open Scripture Metaphors* (London, 1682); Samuel Mather, *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament by which Christ and the Heavenly things of the Gospel were Preached and Shadowed to the People of God of Old: Explained and Improved in Sundry Sermons* (Dublin, 1683); James Durham, *Clavis Cantici, or, An Exposition of the Song of Solomon* (Glasgow, 1688), 23-61; John Bunyan, *Solomon's Temple Spiritualiz'd* (London, 1688); Thomas Beverley *A Brief View of the State of Mankind in the First Adam and the Second Adam Being the Sum of Many Larger Discourses Upon that Great Context of the Redemption and Mediation of Jesus Christ* (London, 1690).

argues that Peter's reference to the ark being a type of gospel salvation means that the ark is also a type of Christ.[103] The implicit type is drawn from the explicit type. This typological example helpfully summarizes Goodwin's understanding that Christ is the fulfillment of the types that prefigured him under the old covenant. Not only does typology shed light on the nature of his literal approach to Scripture, but it undergirds the oneness of the purpose of Scripture, that is, the revelation of Jesus Christ.

Distinctio Sed Non Separatio

The strong emphasis on typology in Goodwin's theology is intricately related to his understanding of redemption. The soteric unity of the Old and New Testaments is a hallmark of Reformed orthodoxy particularly because of the central concept of the covenant of grace in Reformed theology. Reformed theologians were careful to maintain both distinctiveness as well as unity in the covenant of grace. For example, Calvin speaks briefly, but pointedly, to this issue.

> What then? You will ask: will no difference remain between the Old and New Testaments? What is to become of the many passages of Scripture wherein they are contrasted as utterly different?
>
> I freely admit the differences in Scripture, to which attention is called, but in such a way as not to detract from its established unity.[104]

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[103] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 44-48.
[104] *Institutes*, II.xi.1.

This principle, with some variation, was still insisted upon by the Reformed orthodox in the seventeenth century. Lyford relates well the Christological focus of the covenant of grace and the essential unity of the Old and New Testaments in his catechism.

> Q. Then the Old and New Testament be all one for substance?
>
> A. They are so: Christ is the substance of both: and they are but severall waies of setting down the Covenant of Grace: the one teaching to believe in Christ that *was to come*: the other shewing more clearly all things fulfilled in Christ *now come*, [according as was promised and prefigured.][105]

Goodwin, similarly, conceives the relationship between the Old and New Testaments Christologically in order to maintain their unity. In the post-fall context of redemption Christ's person and work are prefigured in Genesis 3:15, the first gospel promise of the Messiah. This promise of Christ's victory over Satan, culminating at the cross and resurrection, is what believers in all ages, as part of the church, have made the object of their faith. In successive ages there would be clarifications in the covenant of grace, but the substance of the covenant and Christ as the object of faith would remain the same.[106] Goodwin does, however, recognize that the New Covenant represents a greater manifestation of God's grace to his church. Though believers in the Old Testament possessed the Spirit, the gospel was mingled with the law, it was *foedus mixtum*, and thus the Spirit was in the old covenant in a lesser measure.[107] And because the dispensation of the Spirit in the new covenant is greater, 'Old-Testament-Grace rose not up higher, than now New-Testament-Grace will be found in some Christians to have done ....'[108] The covenant of grace in its various dispensations, centering on the person and work of Christ,

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[105] William Lyford, *Principles of Faith & Good Conscience Digested into a Catecheticall Form* (Oxford, 1658), 32. See also John Ball, *The Covenant of Grace*, 69ff.; *WCF* 7.5-6.

[106] On Goodwin's exposition of Genesis 3:15, see *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 313-16. This text will be discussed below and in Chapter Eight.

[107] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 46-49.

[108] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 25.

will be addressed in fuller detail below. The important point, in terms of Goodwin's hermeneutical approach to the Scriptures, is to note his Christocentric focus that views God's revelation to man as including principally the revelation of Christ.

The Spirit and Reason

Reformed exegetes employed the use of reason only insofar as it was helpful to the exegetical task. They recognized both the usefulness and limitation of reason and its use was always subject to the *analogia fidei*. Knapp notes that reason 'was consistently denied the status of being the standard; rather, it functioned in a supportive role, subservient to Scripture, the *principium cognoscendi theologiae*.'[109] The use of reason was a particularly sensitive issue in the seventeenth-century context.[110] The Reformed orthodox accused the Socinians of giving reason the pre-eminence above Scripture. As Goodwin argues, 'they would have human reason to be the judge'.[111] Moreover, the regius professor of divinity at Oxford during the post-Restoration church, Richard Allestree (1622-1681), notes that the Socinians reject Christ's satisfaction because 'it does not consist with right reason.'[112] He adds that the Socinus argued from 'human principles', that is, when faced with texts that countered his own 'reason', Socinus strained texts beyond their clear meaning because 'his principles requires it.'[113] For Goodwin, not only the Socinians, but the Arians, Antinomians, Arminians, and Papists, err because they

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[109] 'Understanding the Mind of God', 108.

[110] Francis Cheynell deals with this particular issue in his work, *The Christian Belief wherein is Asserted and Proved, that as there is Nothing in the Gospel Contrary to Reason, Yet there are Some Doctrines in it Above Reason, and these Being Necessarily Enjoyn'd us to Believe, are Properly Call'd Mysteries: in Answer to a Book Intituled, Christianity not Mysterious* (London, 1696).

[111] *Works*, V, *Glory of the Gospel*, 41.

[112] *The Divine Authority and Usefulness of the Holy Scripture Asserted in a Sermon on the 2 Timothy 3,15* (Oxford, 1673), 32. Edward Leigh also argues that the Socinians 'reject all things in Religion which they cannot comprehend by Reason.' *A Treatise of Divinity*, 14.

[113] *The Divine Authority and Usefulness of the Holy Scripture*, 31.

make human reason to be the judge of attempting to reconcile the mysteries of the gospel.[114]

Those whom Goodwin opposed 'would bring all the Scripture to the Bar of Humane Reason, and would have the Holy Ghosts meaning, in all the Places of Scripture concluded within the Circle of a Syllogism, and believe no more than the Power of Reason can convince them of.'[115] Reason is not, however, altogether wrong according to Goodwin. Rather its misapplication, as evidenced, for example, by the Socinians and Arminians, is what he criticizes. He argues that reason 'subserveth', for, by faith the saints apprehend spiritual truths, and then they see the 'greatest Reason, from the Harmony of one Truth with another.'[116] He adds that passages 'suit … with another, and one Theological Truth so with another'; thus, 'there is nothing more agreeable to spiritual Reason, than what in the Mysteries of the Gospel are held forth. But my Brethren, Reason will never alone work out these Mysteries.'[117] In the first place, then, the use of reason in interpreting Scripture must take place in the context of the *analogia fidei*.

Moreover, the legitimate use of reason must take place with the help of the Spirit, especially in the interpretation of the Scriptures.[118] In fact, Goodwin argues for the superiority of the Spirit over – though not against – reason. In connecting one passage with another (i.e. *analogia fidei*) reason will unquestionably help the interpreter. However, in this process of interpretation, 'there comes often a Light of the Spirit, beyond the height of Reason; which by that Observation of the Connexion, seals up this to be the Holy Ghost's meaning.'[119] The Spirit, working in connection with the faith of believers, is his own interpreter, otherwise Scripture would be of private interpretation, which it is not (2 Pet. 1:20). Goodwin adds: 'For such is

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[114] *Works*, V, *Glory of the Gospel*, 17.
[115] *Works*, V, *Glory of the Gospel*, 42.
[116] *Works*, V, *Glory of the Gospel*, 41.
[117] *Works*, V, *Glory of the Gospel*, 41-42.
[118] See *Works*, V, *Glory of the Gospel*, 42-44.
[119] *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 60.

Ratio humana to the Spirit. Yet as the Holy Ghost, in writing the Scriptures, writ them in a Rational way, because unto Men Reasonable; so in giving us Light to Understand them, he useth Reason, but joyns a Light beyond it ... That this Light of Faith is above that of Reason ... it depends not on the natural way of Man's Understanding necessarily, but often proceeds above it.'[120] The light of faith, then, is above reason and the full understanding of the Scriptures depends upon the work of the Spirit which illuminates and seals the meaning of Scripture to the believer.

Non-believers, by virtue of the fact that they are without the Spirit, cannot rise to the same heights of understanding as believers. In this sense, Goodwin is advocating a pneumatological-ecclesiastical hermeneutic. The interpretive grid set up by Goodwin – one that takes into consideration many hermeneutical rules – is only fully appreciated against the backdrop of the Spirit's work to enable man to proceed above his natural reason. So, when faced with an apparent contradiction – for example, that the redeemed man is both ungodly and righteous – human reason cannot accept certain apparently contradictory truths but with the help of the Spirit.[121] The errors of the papists, Arminians, and Socinians is that they place reason above the clear teaching of Scripture and thus many of their doctrines are fashioned in an attempt to satisfy human reason.[122]

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[120] *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 60.
[121] *Works*, V, *Glory of the Gospel*, 17.
[122] For example, Goodwin argues that the '*Arians* found great Things spoken of the Manhood of Christ, as of a Divine Man, and therefore they denied that he was God. They could not reconcile these Two, how God should be Man, and Man should be God, that both should be joined together; therefore taking Part with one, they Exclude the other .... As for the *Socinians*, They say, there is no Satisfaction for Sin, for if God Pardon freely, how can he Pardon for a Satisfaction? Whereas the Scripture is clear, that there may be the freest Grace in it and yet Satisfaction too, and the Truth of the Gospel lies in reconciling these Two, and that's the Depth of it; but they take Part with one Truth to exclude another.' *Works*, V, *Glory of the Gospel*, 17.

Conclusion

This sketch of Goodwin's theological background and hermeneutical perspectives has revealed a number of important facts. First, Goodwin was clearly a sophisticated theologian. Educated at Cambridge, he was well-versed in literature, both theological and philosophical. His education had exposed him to medieval and Renaissance pedagogy so that he could be described as one who dialogued with classical, patristic, medieval and contemporary writers from within and even outside the broader Christian interpretive tradition. Second, his wide learning enabled him to engage in theological polemic. More so than the Reformers, theologians in the seventeenth century faced a variety of problems. Not only did Goodwin focus his energies on refuting the papists, but within the broader Protestant tradition he found himself having to engage Arminianism and its close – at least in his mind – theological partner, Socinianism.

Third, the content of Goodwin's writings should be seen as both an attempt to set forth, even clarify and enlarge upon, Reformed theology and a self-conscious resistance to various theologies that sought to undermine many of the foundational truths of Christianity. As one who belonged to the Reformed theological tradition, he had a distinctly defined exegetical approach to the Scriptures, the source of his authority. Like most Reformed theologians, he held to 1) the literal sense of Scripture, that it had one meaning; 2) the analogy of faith, which requires one to compare one Scripture with others so as to preserve the harmony of the whole of Scripture; 3) a typological focus that placed an emphasis on bringing out the Christology of the Scriptures; 4) the basic unity of the Old and New Testaments with regard to soteriology, though appreciating certain redemptive-historical shifts and emphases in the covenant of grace; and 5) the necessity of the Holy Spirit to enable believers to receive certain truths of Scripture that ordinarily would be impossible if reason were the only tool of interpretation.

With Goodwin's historical, political, and theological context now more clearly defined, the framework for understanding why he wrote what he did is now firmly in place. His doctrine of the pretemporal covenant of redemption and his Christology must be understood against the background of the seventeenth century and the period's various threats to Reformed orthodoxy. Moreover, amidst the complexity of theological debates in his time, he was able to make a number of positive contributions to theology, contributions that provide an answer to the all-important theological question of *Cur Deus Homo*?

CHAPTER FIVE: KNOWLEDGE OF THE TRIUNE GOD

'A historical case can be made that wherever the covenant of redemption remained firmly in place not only as a tacit affirmation but also as an organizing principle, a robust Trinitarian faith flourished in Reformed circles, and where this rubric was lost, ignored, or rejected, rigor mortis set in, and eventually the Trinity itself was either marginalized or rejected ...'[1]

Introduction

Of the theological dogmas that characterize ecumenical orthodoxy, the doctrine of the Trinity is the most carefully defined.[2] The Reformed orthodox defended and clarified their teaching on the Trinity in conscious dialogue with the ecumenical creeds and councils. These clarifications arose from more robust exegesis of Scripture that was employed to combat a rising antitrinitarian influence – particularly from the Socinians – in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As such, polemics surrounding the doctrine of the Trinity in the seventeenth century were no less fierce than they were in the Patristic period.

Thomas Goodwin wrote a great deal on the Trinity, and his work, *The Knowledge of God the Father, And His Son Jesus Christ*, represents one of the most detailed expositions of the doctrine of the Trinity in the seventeenth century.[3] His writings on the Trinity should be understood both as a defence of Christian orthodoxy, as formulated in the major ecumenical creeds, and as a refutation of the highly biblicistic antitrinitarianism of the Socinians. However, Goodwin's writings on the Trinity are not a simple restatement of Patristic trinitarianism. His

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[1] Michael Horton, *Covenant and Salvation: Union with Christ* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), 132.

[2] The term 'ecumenical orthodoxy' has reference to the Creeds of the Christian church before the split in 1054. This would include, for example, the Apostles', Nicene, and Chalcedonian Creeds.

[3] On Goodwin's Trinitarianism, see also *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 18-32; *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*; *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 130-144; *Works*, III, *Man's Restauration by Grace*; *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*.

defence of the Trinity is exegetically rigorous and his emphasis on the union and communion of the three persons among themselves, and the practical implications this has for how Christians commune with God, figures prominently.[4]

This chapter will demonstrate that the Trinity lies at the heart of Goodwin's doctrine of God. Indeed, the triunity of God constitutes the necessary ground for Goodwin's theology, particularly in terms of the soteric role of the Trinity in the redemption and restoration of fallen humanity. As noted, the overall aim of this dissertation is to understand Goodwin's Christology with particular reference to the eternal covenant (i.e. *pactum salutis*) between the Father and the Son and to show that Goodwin's Christology must be understood as the outworking of the pretemporal covenant of redemption. Foundational to any discussion of a pretemporal covenant is a discussion of the ontological Trinity since the covenant of redemption involves the persons of the Trinity. The question, then, of how the Trinity relates to Christology will prove to be significant for the present study since the Trinity represents the necessary ontological framework for Goodwin's soteriology. With that in mind, because of the sheer complexity of this doctrine, a number of aspects of trinitarian doctrine warrant a study in their own right. However, in this chapter, the focus will be on the major elements in Goodwin's trinitarianism, elements that are germane to the overall scope of this study.

It is noteworthy that while the doctrine of the Trinity, including its development and the challenges to it during the Patristic period, has been the subject of a great deal of scholarly discussion, there is very little extended scholarly investigation on trinitarian thought in the

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[4] See *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 140-144; *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*.

Reformation and post-Reformation eras, especially in the seventeenth century.[5] As Muller notes, 'the heresies have received significant analysis in monograph and scholarly essays, but the orthodoxy, with few exceptions, has been neglected.'[6] And, likewise, Philip Dixon has noted in his recent work on the Trinity that 'the neglect of the seventeenth century is a serious lacuna in contemporary studies of the history of Trinitarian doctrine. Most investigations leap over this period.'[7] This lacuna is unfortunate.

In part, the dearth of studies can be explained by the fact that the seventeenth-century Reformed orthodox do not depart from orthodox trinitarianism, but instead elaborate on and exegetically substantiate both the ecumenical creeds and the insights of the Reformers, especially John Calvin's trinitarian contributions.[8] Furthermore, the general neglect of Puritan theology in the secondary literature – a point highlighted in the first chapter – inevitably means that topics like seventeenth-century trinitarian theology are under-researched.[9] Hence, while a discussion of the broader history of trinitarianism might helpfully provide the wider context for understanding Goodwin's trinitarianism, the central focus of this chapter will be on Goodwin's formulations as a seventeenth-century Reformed orthodox theologian.[10] Of course, his trinitarian formulations are not unique to the seventeenth century; they are rooted in ecumenical orthodoxy. But the

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[5] See Muller, *PRRD*, IV, 22-25. Robert Letham, in his work, *The Holy Trinity: In Scripture, History, Theology and Worship* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian & Reformed, 2004), moves from the sixteenth century straight into the twentieth century, thus completely omitting any developments in the seventeenth century.

[6] Muller, *PRRD*, IV, 24.

[7] *Nice and Hot Disputes: The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Seventeenth Century* (London: T & T Clark, 2003). 208.

[8] On Calvin's contribution to trinitarian doctrine, with particular reference to the '*autotheos*' debate at the Assembly, see van Dixhoorn, 'Reforming the Reformation', 242-249. B.B. Warfield gives an extended discussion of 'autotheos' language in the Reformed tradition in *Calvin and Calvinism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1931), 189-284. Not all scholars are agreed that Calvin made significant contributions. For a summary of the debate, see Robert Letham, The *Holy Trinity*, 252-68.

[9] Most of the literature on seventeenth-century trinitarianism in England focuses on John Owen. See Daniels, *The Christology of John Owen*, 94-116; Alan Spence, 'John Owen and Trinitarian Agency.' *Scottish Journal of Theology* 43 (1990), 157-173; Spence, *Incarnation and Inspiration*; Trueman, *Claims of Truth*. Paul Blackham discusses Goodwin's Trinitarianism in some detail, but the emphasis is on the work of the Spirit. See 'Pneumatology', 14-73.

[10] For a history of the development of trinitarian doctrine up to ca. 1725, see Muller, *PRRD*, IV.

concerns of this chapter will relate to his own specific context, and how his trinitarian theology provides the basis for his theological approach.

The Godhead

One God, Three Persons

Monotheism is fundamental to Goodwin's doctrine of God. Besides the Scriptural evidence (e.g. 1 Cor. 8:6; Deut. 6:4; Deut 32:39; Isa. 44:8), the very nature of God demands that he alone, in order to maintain his unique glory, can have no rival (Isa. 42:8).[11] Like the ecumenical creeds, Goodwin employs the one noun – 'God' or 'Godhead' – with the numeral 'one' and the second noun – 'Persons' – with the numeral 'three'. Thus, '[w]e may safely say of each Person, as of the Father, that *He is God*, and likewise of the Son, that *He is God*, and of the Holy Ghost, that *He is God*.'[12] Conscious of the Socinian objection that this was 'repugnant to sound reason'[13] because it seemed to indicate that there are three Gods, Goodwin suggests 'that would sound at least too much as if there were one God diverse from the other .... that there are three Gods sounds harsh and is condemned by Scripture-Language, yea by the text' (1 Cor. 8:5).[14] Here Goodwin defends the distinction between essence-appropriate and persons-appropriate language (essential versus relative predication). In other words, in relation to their persons, the Son and the Spirit are *a Patre*, but in relation to their essence they are *a se*. This means that a unity of

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[11] All Scriptural references in brackets are those which Goodwin adduces in support of his argument.

[12] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 2. Inevitably arising out of such a statement is the Son's aseity. This will be discussed in some detail below.

[13] On the Socinian rejection of Christ's divinity see *Racovian Catechism*. Translated by T. Rees (London: Longman, 1818), 51-56.

[14] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 2.

essence is maintained (*una essentia*) – hence, co-equality – with a relational order in terms of the three persons (*tres personae*).

Besides the Socinian objections to the Trinity, Goodwin's exposition, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, includes another polemical target, the pantheists, who affirm the 'whole Creation to be but emanations of the Godhead ... to be materially God himself.'[15] Goodwin may have had in mind the Ranter, Jacob Bauthumley (1613–1692), whose pantheistic views, as well as a number of unorthodox doctrines, were the source of some controversy in the seventeenth century.[16] In response to pantheistic claims that humans, as well as beasts, share in the deity – that is, they are regarded as part of the deity – Goodwin makes an important Christological point. Jesus, as a man, and one whom God loved above all his saints and angels, could not be God in essence. Christ could be one person with God, but it was impossible to turn his human nature into God. The idea that man could 'communicate of the Godhead' is so repugnant to Goodwin that he calls the pride of the Devil 'modest in comparison to these Men's Pride, which usurps upon the whole of the three Persons at once'.[17] As a result, the threat of pantheistic claims about God and creation drove Goodwin to a more thorough study of the Scriptures and their teaching on the Trinity. To what Scriptural texts, then, did Goodwin turn as he sought to defend the doctrine under attack in the seventeenth century?

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[15] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 3.

[16] See Jacob Bauthumley, *The light and dark sides of God* (London, 1650), passim. On Bauthumley, see Nigel Smith, 'Bothumley, Jacob (1613–1692)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/view/article/37163, accessed 1 April 2009]

[17] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 4. See also *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 175.

Exegetical Considerations

'Let us make man'

That God has revealed himself as one essence and three persons is, as noted above, axiomatic to Goodwin's doctrine of God. An exegetical defence of the Trinity pervades his writings. However, his most detailed exegesis of the Trinity is to be found not in his comments on the New Testament passages, but in those in the book of Genesis. If God is triune, then he must have been so from the beginning. According to Goodwin, the scriptural foundation for the doctrine of the Trinity was laid – though 'darkly and obscurely' – by Moses in Genesis 1, though he is aware that many of the Reformed orthodox did not always agree in the exegetical details with reference to so-called trinitarian texts, especially in Genesis 1.

Calvin, commenting on Genesis 1, notes that the use of *Elohim* as an argument for the doctrine of the Trinity 'appears to ... have little solidity.'[18] Like Calvin, Goodwin does not argue that the word *Elohim* can be used as an argument for the Trinity. Though many 'judicious and holy Divines' argue that because *Elohim* is plural and *bara* is in the singular there must be a plurality of persons in the Godhead, Goodwin recognizes that there are 'many exceptions against this'.[19] Hence, he refrains from referring to the persons as Gods in the plural. While it is true that each of the persons is God, it is wrong to say they are Gods. Goodwin adds: 'It sounds a Diversity of the Godhead, as well as Distinction of the Persons. The Word *Elohim* therefore, tho in the Declension of it it be of the Plural number, yet in the sense of it 'tis a Singular, sometimes

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[18] Calvin, *Commentary on Genesis*, 1:1. Moreover, he cautions readers who derive the Trinity from *Elohim* because it is a noun of the plural number to 'beware of violent glosses of this kind. They think that they have testimony against the Arians to prove the Deity of the Son and of the Spirit, but in the meantime they involve themselves in the error or Sabellius .... If we suppose three persons to be here denoted, there will be no distinction between them.' Sabellius taught that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one hypostasis and one Person with three names.
[19] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 5.

used to signify the Godhead, sometimes applied to each of the Persons singly, and so no Argument can be fetch'd from it.'[20] Despite Calvin's and Goodwin's cautions against seeing too much in *Elohim* to prove the doctrine of the Trinity, the Reformed orthodox, against both the Socinians and the Arminians, argued that the plurality of the persons in the Godhead can be proved from the Old Testament. Turretin shares Goodwin's approach to the progressive revelation of the Trinity in the Old Testament and argues that the plurality of persons can be proved from Genesis 1:26.[21] In fact, the two divines approach the exegesis of Genesis 1:26 nearly identically.[22]

Goodwin posits that the 'us' in Genesis 1:26 'imports a plurality of Persons to have been with God when he created Man.'[23] For, there is no instance in the Hebrew that 'us' is used of one person. Therefore, when God says 'let us make man', all the persons join in the work of creating man.[24] Turretin, in exegeting the same text, argues that 'No reason can be assigned why God (who elsewhere so frequently speaks of himself in the singular) should use the plural verb, unless to intimate a certain (at least) plurality of persons in the unity of essence.'[25] Moreover, Goodwin suggests that because God calls upon 'us' to join in the work of creation, the 'us' referred to cannot be angels since they are never called our Creators; only God is said to create

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[20] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 5. Contra the millenarian, John Brayne (*d.* 1654), who, in his defence of the Trinity against Biddle, sees evidence for the Trinity in the name for God, *Elohim*. *The divinity of the Trinity cleared, by wiping off the false glosses put upon several places of Scripture by Mr. John Biddle* (London, 1654), 3.

[21] *Institutes*, III.xxvi.1-8.

[22] James Ussher (1581–1656) also sees evidence for the Trinity in Genesis 1:26. *A Body of Divinitie, or, The Summe and Substance of Christian Religion Catechistically Propounded, and Explained, by way of Question and Answer: Methodically and Familiarly Handled* (London, 1647), 87.

[23] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 4.

[24] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 6.

[25] *Institutes*, III.xxvi.4.

(Job 9:8; Isa. 45:18). Turretin, similarly, writes that 'angels neither assisted in the least in the creation of man nor is he anywhere said to have been formed in their image.'[26]

In support of a trinitarian understanding of Genesis 1:26, Goodwin argues on the basis of God's creating activity in Genesis 1:1-3 in connection with the *analogia fidei*, thus providing the larger context for 'let us make man'. Creation is generally attributed to the Father, hence Goodwin quotes 'our Creed' (i.e. Apostles' Creed), 'I believe in God, the Father almighty, Maker of heaven and earth.' But, based on John 1:1ff., creation is also attributed to the Son, '[a]nd if all things were made and nothing made without him, then Man certainly ...'[27] And finally, 'another Person, the Spirit of God, [is said] to have been with God at the Creation, Moving and upholding the Waters' (Gen. 1:2; Ps. 33:6).[28] According to Turretin, the 'spirit of God' (Gen 1:2) cannot refer to the 'air' or the 'wind' because they had not yet been created. As a result, 'by the Spirit must necessarily be meant some suppositum or person concurring to this work; to wit, the same Spirit who is elsewhere termed the author of creation (Ps. 33:6).'[29] If Genesis 1:1-3 provides the initial impetus for understanding the 'us' of Genesis 1:26 as trinitarian, then the remaining chapters in Genesis, where 'us' is used, only serve to confirm Goodwin's argument. Besides with regard to creation, so too in governing and judging is 'us' used (Gen. 11:7ff.; 18:1ff.). Just as Christ's work is prefigured in Genesis (3:15), albeit obscurely compared to the fuller revelation of the New Testament, in the same way the Trinity is prefigured in Genesis by use of the 'us' language used throughout the book, which, for Goodwin, can refer to none other than the persons in the Godhead. The exegetical arguments from Genesis 1 are evidence of Goodwin's adherence to the idea that the external works of the Trinity are

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[26] *Institutes*, III.xxvi.4.
[27] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 6.
[28] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 7.
[29] *Institutes*, III.xxvi.6.

undivided (*opera Trinitatis ad extra sunt indivisa*). Since God is the creator, the Father, Son, and Spirit together do the one work of creation according to their unique personal ways.

Essential Unity

Substance, Essence and Subsistence

Having looked at Goodwin's exegetical defence of the Trinity – i.e. the fact that God has revealed himself as one essence and three persons – the essential unity of God is defended by Goodwin on the grounds that God possesses one essence (*una essentia*). The persons of the Trinity possess the same 'substance' and 'nature', for, 'as Man begets his like, so God begets his like, and he [Christ] is his only begotten Son.'[30] Elsewhere, Goodwin speaks of 'essence' and 'nature'.[31] He also equates 'being' with 'essence'[32] and 'essence' with 'substance'.[33] And in one place, he equates 'substance', 'essence', and 'being' as practically synonymous terms when speaking of Christ's divine nature.[34]   Muller has likewise noted that the terms 'substance' and 'essence' are 'roughly equivalent in their application to God: the individual being (substance) of God is inseparable from the identity or whatness (essence) that God is.'[35] This appears to be the case in Goodwin.

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[30] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 16.
[31] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 3, 29.
[32] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 61, 72; *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 112; *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 176.
[33] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 147.
[34] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 76. Calvin highlights how these words were of some contention for the Early Church Fathers: 'When the Latins wished to translate the word homoousios they said "consubstantial," indicating that the substance of Father and Son is one, thus employing "substance" instead of "essence." Hence, likewise, Jerome in a letter to Damasus calls it a sacrilege to predicate three substances in God. Yet you will find more than a hundred times in Hilary that there are three "substances" in God.' *Institutes*, I.xiii.5.
[35] *PRRD*, IV, 173

However, Trueman has suggested that Owen argues for a subtle nuance between 'substance' and 'essence'. Trueman contends that 'Essence as a term strictly indicates *quiddity* or the "whatness" of a thing, while substance indicates more the concretion or actual being. Thus, when a substance or concrete being is finite, it does not permit of more than one person; but when infinite and spiritual, Owen does not regard this as interfering with the presence of more than one person or hypostasis.'[36] While Goodwin does not make any fine distinctions between 'essence' and 'substance', his use of the terms is not altogether inconsistent with Owen's. Moreover, in connection with the above, while the persons of the Trinity are distinguished from each other, they possess the same essence. Thus, Goodwin resists any tendency towards subordinationism in the Godhead. Essence cannot beget essence, but the Father – as the first person in order of subsistence – eternally begets the Son (*essentia non gignit essentiam, persona gignit personam*).[37]

Aware that the words 'essence' and 'person' are not found in the Scriptures, Thomas Manton argues that they are the 'best that we can use in so deep a matter, and serve to prevent the errors and mistakes of those who would either multiply the essence, or abolish the persons.'[38] He, therefore, makes a distinction between 'essence' and 'existence': 'Whatever is said of the essence is true of every person .... But ... whatever is said of the existence ... cannot be said of the essence; every one that is God is not Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.'[39] Manton is responding to Sabellianism which posits that the Son is of the same hypostasis as the Father. Early antitrinitarians suggested that if Christ is God, of the same substance with the Father, then the

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[36] *John Owen*, 49.
[37] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 401.
[38] *The Complete Works of Thomas Manton, D.D.* (London: J. Nisbet & Co, 1870), X, *Sermons Upon John XVII*, 159.
[39] *Works*, X, *Sermons Upon John XVII*, 159. Manton understands 'existence' and 'subsistence' as synonymous terms.

Father was incarnate too. However, Manton argues that though the persons share the same essence (*ousia*), they do not share the same subsistence.[40] Goodwin, like Manton, argues that though the persons have one essence, they have several subsistences, and this evidences itself in the works of God *ad extra*.[41] Because the persons have different subsistences, it would be wrong to suggest, for example, that the Father was incarnate. This is consistent with the early ecumenical witness of, for example, the definition of Chalcedon and the Athanasian Creed.

Union and Communion (circumincessio)

With the Trinity defined as one God who is three persons, all sharing in the same essence (*tres personae in una essentia divina*), Goodwin speaks of the enjoyment between themselves, described as an eternal communion and intercourse, an intercourse not communicable to humans (Jn. 17:5).[42] The persons of the deity are a 'society among themselves' whereby there is a complete happiness among, rejoicing in, glorifying of, and speaking to each other.[43] This communion – 'incommunicable to any meer Creature'[44] – lies at the very heart of not only Goodwin's doctrine of the Trinity, but his Creator-creature distinction. The communion among the three persons in eternity, described by Goodwin as 'Supreme and Independent', consists in mutual, corresponding interests that relate to the divine nature.[45]

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[40] *Works*, X, *Sermons Upon John XVII*, 159.
[41] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 401.
[42] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 14.
[43] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 141. Goodwin notes that 'Divines call [this] Circumcession' (Lat. *circumincessio*), which is used as a synonym of the Greek word *perichoresis* and refers to the coinherence of the persons in the Trinity. See also Ussher, *Body of Divinitie*, 87.
[44] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 15.
[45] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 15.

Goodwin favourably references Bishop James Ussher (1581–1656) who, in a sermon before King James (1566–1625), spoke of the supreme life of Christ who, considered as the second person in the Trinity, is '*Plenitudo Fontis*, *the fulness of the Fountain*' (Ps. 36:9).[46] The three persons possess life in and of themselves (Jn. 5:26); Christ is the son of the living God (Matt. 16:16) and 'that imports he is a Person of the same Substance and Nature with God'.[47] Likewise, the Spirit is called the 'Spirit of the living God' (2 Cor. 3:3) and therefore also shares in the same substance of the Father and the Son. Besides the innate possession of life, the persons share mutual interests because of their union with one another. Christ is in the Father and the Father is in Christ; therefore, they have an equal mutual interest in things because of their oneness (Jn. 17:10-11). The 'things' of mutual interest consist in the full delight and knowledge of one another (Jn. 5:20).[48] Goodwin appeals to Proverbs 8:30 in order to highlight the nature of the delight between the Father and the Son in eternity, a joy that consisted in rejoicing always before each other.[49] In particular, the Father delighted that he could beget such a Son as the Son of God, one coeternal with him.[50] Not only is there a complete delight in and knowledge of one another, but the persons of the Trinity share in the same glory that is theirs by divine right (Rev. 3:21). This communion between the three persons has reference to the co-indwelling, co-inhering, and mutual interpenetration of the three persons (*circumincessio*); each person shares in the life of the other two persons.

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[46] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 16. The precise date of Ussher's meeting with the King is unknown, but it appears to have marked Ussher's rise to prominence. On Ussher's Trinitarianism, see *Body of Divinitie*, 78-88.
[47] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 16.
[48] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 16-19.
[49] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 141. Proverbs 8:30 'Then I was by him, as one brought up with him: and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him.'
[50] *Works*, I, *A Sermon on Hebrews 10:4-7*, 94.

Opera Trinitatis ad extra sunt indivisa

Goodwin's doctrine of the Trinity – that the Godhead is one in essence – has implications for the divine will. In opposing Socinus, who denied that Christ had the power to raise himself from the dead, Goodwin holds that the external works of the Trinity are undivided, that is, that in all the works of the three persons, what one person does the other two are said to do. He adds: 'It is a certain Rule, that *Opera Trinitatis ad extra sunt indivisa*, all their works to us-ward of Creation and Redemption, and whatsoever else, they are all works of each Person concurring to them. As they have but one Being, one Essence, so they have but one work.'[51] However, because they have several subsistences (*modus subsistendi*), the persons have several manners of working. So, while the Father is said to raise Christ (Rom 4:24; Col. 2:12-13), it is also true that Christ raised himself (Jn. 2:19; 10:17-18) and the Spirit raised Christ (Rom. 8:11). Because 'all Three Persons concur in every work', the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are said to have raised Christ from the dead.[52] However, in raising Christ from the dead, his body 'concurred nothing to it, for that was dead, but the Son of God, the Second Person, concurred and raised up that Body and Soul.'[53]

In the same way, Goodwin's friend and fellow member of the Westminster Assembly, John Arrowsmith (1602-1659), sums up the nature of works *ad extra* in relation to the Trinity by insisting that these works are all common to the three persons. The Father, Son, and Spirit all create; the will of God is the same in all the three persons because they share in the same essence. However, 'because, they have different Subsistencies, the Father a distinct Person from

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[51] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 401. See also William Bucanus, *Body of Divinity*. Translated by Robert Hill (London, 1659), 13.
[52] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 401.
[53] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 402.

the Son, and the Son from the Holy Ghost, therefore, they have a distinct manner of working'.[54]

The unity of God is maintained as well the distinction of personhood based on the order of subsistence. Goodwin, likewise, suggests that though the persons share in the same essence, because they have distinct personalities, the operation of each person 'follows the distinction of their Existences and bears the resemblance of them'.[55] Therefore, the Father, as the fountain of the other two subsistencies, begins the work, the Son carries on the motion, and the Spirit, proceeding from both, 'perfects, consummates, and executes the work' (1 Cor. 8:6).[56]

Notwithstanding this basic principle of attributing *ad extra* works to all the persons of the Trinity, Goodwin argues that certain outward works – depending on what they are – are more peculiarly attributed to one of the persons.[57] That is to suggest that the persons all share a common prerogative, but often a certain work will be attributed to the Father, for example, in order to display his uniqueness. Both Goodwin and Owen wrestle with how this relates to the incarnation of the Son of God. So, for example, while some Divines attribute to the Spirit 'the special Honour of tying that Marriage knot, or Union, between the Son of God, and that Man Jesus', Goodwin believes that 'that Action is more peculiarly to be Attributed to the Son Himself; as Second Person; who took up into one Person with Himself that Humane Nature'

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[54] *Theanthropos, or, God-man Being an Exposition upon the First Eighteen Verses of the First Chapter of the Gospel According to St John* (London, 1660), 61. Arrowsmith and Goodwin studied at Cambridge at roughly the same time. Arrowsmith's work, *Theanthropos*, is one of the most detailed and impressive works on Christology in the seventeenth century.

[55] *Works*, III, *Mans Restauration*, 9. Ames, likewise, writes: 'As for the boundary of the action, that aspect in which one person's working or manner of working shines forth most clearly is chiefly attributed to that person.' *Marrow of Theology*, I.vi.31.

[56] *Works*, III, *Mans Restauration*, 9. Many theologians, including Goodwin, divide up the work of the three persons on account of the so-called 'differentiating prepositions' (i.e. *ek, dia, en)*, which have an ancient trinitarian pedigree.

[57] This is also referred to as the doctrine of appropriations. Goodwin echoes this principle elsewhere: 'In this will that common Axiome of Divines helps us, that what works all three Persons do towards us *Ad extra*, though they have all a joint hand in them, yet they are attributed more especially to one Person than to another; as Sanctification you know is attributed more especially to the Holy Ghost, Redemption to the Son, Creation to God the Father, though all Three Persons have a hand in it.' *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 439.

(Heb. 2:16).[58] Of course, Goodwin agrees that if they argue on the basis that the external works of the Trinity are undivided, there is no conflict. But, in Goodwin's mind, it was 'the Son's Special Act ... to assume [human nature]'.[59] Owen argues that it was an outward act (*ad extra*) of the triune God, 'As unto *original efficiency*'. However, 'As unto *authoritative designation*, it was the act of the Father .... As unto the *formation of the human nature*, it was the peculiar act of the Spirit .... As unto the *term of the assumption*, or the taking of our nature unto himself, it was the peculiar act of the person of the Son.'[60] Essentially, Goodwin and Owen are claiming that the undivided works *ad extra* often manifest one of the persons as their *terminus operationis*. In the above example, the incarnation terminates on the Son though the act is willed by the three persons of the Trinity.

Special Questions

With the basic elements of Goodwin's doctrine of God defined, a number of rather complex questions arise out of the idea that God is both one (regarding essence) and three (regarding persons) and that the three persons in the Godhead exist in each other and with each other. For example, does *circumincessio* rule out the idea that there is an origin of divinity? If there is an origin of divinity does that rule out, for example, the Son's aseity? Or, given Goodwin's view of the subsistences of each person, what implications does this have for the Spirit's procession? These questions will be addressed in order so as to better understand the finer points of

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[58] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 8. Goodwin may have had in mind Ussher who attributes the 'tying of the marriage knot' to the Spirit. Ussher writes: 'That blessed womb of hers was the Bride-chamber, wherein the holy Ghost did knit that indissoluble knot betwixt our humane nature and his Deity: the Son of God assuming into the unity of his person that which before he was not ...' *Immanuel, or, The Mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God* (London, 1647), 5.
[59] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 8.
[60] *Works*, I, *Of the Person of Christ*, 225.

Goodwin's trinitarianism. As noted in the introduction, many of these topics warrant a thesis in their own right. And given the dearth of literature on seventeenth-century trinitarianism in Britain, there remains a need for more work on the doctrine of the Trinity in order to understand better other related doctrines such as Christology, pneumatology, and soteriology.

Eternal Generation

Like the distinguished Dutch federal theologian, Johannes Cocceius (1603-1669), Goodwin also calls the Father the 'Fountain of the Deity' (*Fons Deitatis*),[61] though the Son is still '*very God of very God*'.[62] By referring to what Goodwin calls 'our Creed', he is explicitly adhering to Nicene orthodoxy. That is, he argues that the 'begottenness' or 'eternal generation' of the Son is based upon the Father communicating to him the whole indivisible substance of the Godhead.[63] As the English mathematician and theologian, John Wallis (1616-1703), noted, to be the Son by eternal generation implies the communication of the same essence.[64] Both the *Savoy Declaration of Faith* and *Westminster Confession of Faith* retain Nicene language in understanding the eternal generation of the Son: 'In the unity of the Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power and eternity. God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. The Father is of none, neither begotten, nor proceeding; *the Son is eternally begotten of the Father*; the Holy

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[61] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 285.

[62] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 137. In his study on Johannes Cocceius, Willem van Asselt, in giving a short distillation of Cocceius' doctrine of the Trinity, notes: '... the Father is the fountainhead of divinity (*fons deitatis*). This does not mean that the members of the Trinity are independent of each other, but it does imply a certain order of relationships among the Trinitarian persons (*ordo personarum sive relationum*).' *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 178.

[63] *Works*, I, *Sermons on Hebrews 1:1,2*, 145; *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt.1, 285; *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 110. Turretin provides a thorough discussion of the Reformed orthodox view of the eternal generation of the Son. *Institutes*, III.xxix.1-30. See also Owen, *Works*, XII, *Vindiciae Evangelicae*, 213-214.

[64] *Three Sermons Concerning the Sacred Trinity* (London, 1691), 22. See also Burroughs, *Gospel Revelation*, 107.

Ghost eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son ...'[65] Most of the Reformed orthodox interpreted Nicea - the phrase '*Theos ek Theou*' – as advancing essential communication and not simply a personal begottenness as Calvin wished.

The generation of the Son is both eternal and perpetual (*aeterna et perpetua*). By virtue of the fact that the Son's generation is *hyperphysica* (beyond physical), the Reformed orthodox could argue against the Socinians that eternal generation is not a movement from nonbeing (*non esse*) into existence (*esse*), but rather the consequence of an unchanging activity in the divine essence.[66] Goodwin argues that because they are 'one' (Jn. 17:11), the Father, Son and Spirit are co-equal in respect of essence. Elsewhere, speaking of the unity and oneness of Christ and his Father in the execution of salvation, he maintains that the Father and the Son, though two Persons, have one will and one power between them ('though the Son *ad extra* outwardly executes all'). Based on John 10:30 ('My Father and I are one') Goodwin suggests that Christ means he and the Father have 'one power to save [sinners], and one minde and will.'[67] Because Goodwin maintains that the Son and the Father are of the same essence by virtue of their 'oneness' (Jn. 17:11), they also, therefore, share the same power, mind and will.[68]

Therefore, the 'all things' that the Father has given to the Son 'leaves nothing excepted' (Jn. 17:7, 11; 16:15).[69] If the Father possesses omnipotence, immensity, and eternity, the Son and

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[65] *Savoy* 3.2. *WCF* 3.2. For a similar definition, see also Ussher, *Body of Divinitie*, 79.

[66] See James Durham, *A Commentarie upon the Book of the Revelation .... Together with some practical observations, and several digressions, necessary for vindicating, clearing, and confirming many weighty and important truths* (Edinburgh, 1658), 6-8.

[67] *Christ Set Forth* (London, Printed for Charles Greene, 1642), 252.

[68] Like Calvin, Goodwin appears to understand John 10:30 ('I and my Father are one') to be referring to the same purpose of will between the Son and the Father. Calvin writes: 'The ancients made a wrong use of this passage to prove that Christ is (*homoousion*) of the same essence with the Father. For Christ does not argue about the unity of substance, but about the agreement which he has with the Father, so that whatever is done by Christ will be confirmed by the power of his Father.' *Calvin's Commentaries* (22 vols, Translated by the Calvin Translation Society, 1843-1855; reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979), *Commentary on John*, 10:30.

[69] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 136.

the Spirit possess the same. That is to say, the internal acts of the Godhead (*opera Dei ad intra*) are common to the three persons. Only the distinction between the persons is not communicated between the Godhead. The Father, in his personhood, is not the Son nor is he the Spirit. Hence, eternal generation affirms that the person of the Son is 'from' the person of the Father and works from the Father (Jn. 5:17ff.).[70] Goodwin uses the economic context of John 5:17 to understand the immanent Trinity. In other words, the application of redemption, understood by the *ad extra* works of the divine persons, is a reflection of the *ad intra* 'workings' of the triune God. Moreover, the triune God is this way and did not become this way. Therefore, the Son 'depends' on the Father to be Son in the same way the Father 'depends' on the Son to be Father. The Father's act of begetting the Son is necessary, not voluntary. Besides the fact that the three persons are all essentially God, the act of the Father's begetting and the begottenness of the Son are necessary relations because of their personhood.

God-of-himself (Autotheos)

If the Son is eternally begotten and the Father is the *fons deitatis*, what implications does that have for the Son's aseity? The Reformed orthodox all held to the aseity (self-existence) of Christ's divinity, but with different nuances. Most of them argued that the Son, considered as the second person in the Trinity, is *Deus a se ipso*, not *divine a se ipso*; that is, he is *autotheos* (God-of-himself). In other words, the Son is self-existent God (*Deus a se ipso*), but he receives this from the Father.

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[70] Goodwin uses the economic context of John 5:17 to understand the immanent Trinity. In other words, the application of redemption, understood by the *ad extra* works of the divine persons, is a reflection of the *ad intra* 'workings' of the triune God.

The aseity of the Son had proven to be a contentious topic of debate in the sixteenth century, particularly Calvin's debate with Peter Caroli and Valentine Gentile. In the seventeenth century, the debate surfaced again at the Westminster Assembly.[71] Calvin argued that 'when we speak simply of the Son without regard to the Father, we well and properly declare him to be of himself; and for this reason we call him the sole beginning. But when we mark the relation that he has with the Father, we rightly make the Father the beginning of the Son.'[72] Elsewhere, Calvin contends that to say the Son has been 'given his essence from the Father denies that he has being from himself.'[73] Hence, for Calvin, the generation of the Son from the Father has reference to sonship and not divinity.[74] And even though Calvin speaks of the Father as the *fons deitatis*, he makes clear in his debate with Gentile that this must be understood in a strictly personal fashion.

Chad van Dixhoorn, commenting on Calvin's position on the aseity of the Son (i.e. that Christ's divinity was *a se ipso*), argues that Calvin's 'opponents believed that Christ's divinity or essence was of the Father by eternal generation.'[75] Muller has noted that Calvin's position is 'not echoed by all of the early orthodox Reformed theologians.'[76] For example, Muller refers to the sixteenth-century German theologian, Zacharias Ursinus, who argued that while the Son

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[71] On the debate at the Westminster Assembly, though beginning with Calvin, see van Dixhoorn, 'Reforming the Reformation', I.240-49.

[72] *Institutes*, I.xiii.19.

[73] *Institutes*, I.xiii.23.

[74] Calvin writes: 'For what is the point in disputing whether the Father always begets? Indeed, it is foolish to imagine a continuous act of begetting, since it is clear that the three persons have subsisted in God from eternity.' *Institutes*, I.xiii.29. Some argue, therefore, that Calvin rejects the 'eternal generation of the Son' because of this quote. However, Calvin affirmed eternal generation. His point in this section is to make sure it was understood as a personal generation and not an essential communication. In the quote above, Calvin sought to dissuade fruitless speculation into the 'mode' of it. In fact, Calvin's quote on continual begetting makes little sense apart from the original Latin distinctions of Augustine and the Augustinian tradition (distinctions between, for example, *semper natus*, *natus est*, *natum*), with whom Calvin was debating here. Eternal generation was not a big issue for Calvin; rather, he argued that modesty must be employed when speaking on the subject. I am thankful to Brannan Ellis for his insights on this matter. On Calvin and his view of eternal generation, see Paul Helm, *John Calvin's Ideas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 35-57.

[75] 'Reforming the Reformation', I.242.

[76] *PRRD*, IV, 326.

shares in the same essence as the Father, he is not God 'of himself, but of the Father.'[77] Between Calvin and Ursinus were a number of hybrid positions on the aseity of Christ (e.g. Beza, Turretin). The majority of Reformed orthodox theologians seem to have sided with Turretin's (and Beza's) position and not Calvin's. Warfield sums up the debate by arguing that 'despite the influence of Calvin, the great body of the Reformed teachers remained good Nicenists. But they were none the less, as they were fully entitled to be, good "Autotheanites" also'.[78]

On this point, Cheynell briefly defends both Calvin and Beza from what some had referred to as the 'new Heresie ... *Autotheanisme*.'[79] In fact, Cheynell adds: 'Genebrardus, Canisius ... Faber Fevardentius, and the rest are extremely mistaken, when they say that Calvin and Beza deny that the Father did beget his Son in the unity of his own divine essence.'[80] Thus, Cheynell, besides equating Calvin's position with Beza's, argues that the two were representative of the mainstream opinion among the Reformed orthodox on the aseity of the Son and his procession of his essence.[81] This question remained unclear at the Westminster Assembly where the religious controversialist Daniel Featley (1582–1645) was at the center of the debate over whether the Nicene Creed was compatible with Calvin's view of the Son's aseity.[82] According to van Dixhoorn, Featley did not always represent his case – he made a number of speeches on

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[77] *PRRD*, IV, 326.

[78] *Calvin and Calvinism*, 275.

[79] *The Divine Triunity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit* (London, 1650), 232. Cheynell's work is perhaps the classic defense of the Trinity among the English Puritans.

[80] *The Divine Triunity*, 232. Gilbertus Genebrardus (1537-1597) and Peter Canisius (1521-1597) were sixteenth-century Roman Catholic theologians.

[81] Cheynell adds that Calvin 'did not deny that the Godhead was from all eternity communicated to the Son by the Father.' In fact, all Calvin wished to do was argue that the Son is one God with his Father, 'and that the Godhead which is communicated to the Son by generation is an unbegotten Godhead, a self-Deity.' *The Divine Triunity*, 232. Cheynell's defense of Calvin, which he makes in the context of Calvin's debate with Gentile, seems to be the standard Reformed take on Calvin's intentions, namely, if Calvin appears to be denying essential communication it is because he was involved in a specific polemic with Gentile. Cheynell's interpretation of Calvin's position is unpersuasive, but fairly representative of how some have defended Calvin.

[82] On Featley's debate, with regard to the Son as *autotheos*, at the Westminster Assembly, see his work *Sacra Nemesis, the Levites Scourge, or, Mercurius [brace] Britan. Civicus [brace] Disciplin'd. Also Diverse Remarkable Disputes and Resolvs in the Assembly of Divines Related, Episcopacy Asserted, Truth Righted, Innocency Vindicated Against Detraction* (Oxford [i.e. London], 1644), 13-19.

the subject – clearly or convincingly.[83]   Though affirming Calvin's *autotheos* formulation as consistent with his own, Featley closed his speech with a quote from Augustine – *Christus ad se Deus, dicitur ad patrem filius* – that proved to be 'a statement broad enough for almost anyone in the debate to adopt as their own.'[84]   In the end, the details of the debate at the Westminster Assembly over Christ's aseity, with particular reference to the Son as *autotheos*, remain a mystery because of incomplete records.   But, where does Goodwin stand on this particularly thorny question?

The evidence suggests that Goodwin did not adopt the same position in all of the particulars on the aseity of the Son as Calvin.   The difficulty of the question centres on harmonizing the Son's aseity with the doctrine of eternal generation.   The answer is not immediately obvious, especially if the generation of the Son is not limited to personhood, but includes essence.[85]   As noted above, Goodwin argues that each person in the Trinity is God; 'thus we may safely say of each Person, as of the Father, that *He is God*, and likewise of the Son, that *He is God* ...'[86]   However, he also calls the Father the 'Fountain of the Deity' while at the same time insisting that the Son is still '*very God of very God*'.[87]   By quoting from the Nicene Creed, Goodwin is clearly affirming Nicene orthodoxy on this point.   But the Creed had been interpreted differently by theologians from various traditions.   For Goodwin, the Father gives to

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[83] In *Sacra Nemesis* Featley agrees that Christ is *Theos ek Theou* (God of God). But that does not mean that the deity of the Son is derived from the deity of the Father. True, as a person the Son is from the Father, but that has respect to personhood and not essence. Featley then refers to Calvin's position that Christ is *autotheos*, God-of-himself, that is, Christ is God of himself, *ratione essentiae*, but 'God of God', *ratione personae*. He notes the objection that if Christ is 'God of God' then 'he must have his essence communicated to him from the Father, and so be *essentiatus a patre*.' *Sacra Nemesis*, 15-16.

[84] van Dixhoorn, 'Reforming the Reformation', I.248.

[85] In Calvin's polemic with Valentine Gentile he understands the Father as the *fons divinitatis* in a strictly personal fashion.

[86] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 2.

[87] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 137.

the Son, by virtue of eternal generation, the fullness of the Deity.[88]   But, because the Son shares

in the same essence as the Father, there is no obvious subordination in Goodwin's trinitarianism.

Importantly, Goodwin affirms that the Father communicates the whole Godhead to the

Son, '... for *Essentiae communicatio facit omnia communia*; the Godhead being Communicated

by the Father, all things of the Godhead ... only the distinction of the Persons excepted.'[89] As

noted above, Goodwin's position on the eternal generation of the Son includes the

communication of the divine essence from the Father to the Son.   However, there is no

generation of a new essence.   Hence, the Son's deity, being communicated from the Father, is

not derived from another essence, but is identical to the Father's essence and therefore the Son is

a se.   On this point, while Goodwin's position differs from Calvin's, it does have much in

common with Turretin's, who argues that although the Son is from the Father, he may still be

called 'God-of-himself', that is, 'not with respect to his person, but essence; not relatively as Son

(for thus he is from the Father), but absolutely as God inasmuch as he has the divine essence

existing from itself and not divided or produced from another essence (but not as having that

essence from himself).   So the Son is God from himself although not the Son from himself.'[90]

Turretin is making the distinction between *aseitas personalis*, a trinitarian heresy, and *aseitas*

essentialis.   Howes likewise shares the basic position of Goodwin and Turretin since he

evidently sees no problem in asserting that the Son has the 'Divine Nature communicated to him

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[88] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 135.

[89] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 136. See also *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 285. Zanchi also defines the Son as equal
(i.e. *autotheos*) to the Father on account of the systematic distinction between the Son in his essential Godhead and
the Son as the second person in relation to the first Person (i.e. the Father). *De tribus Elohim aeterno Patre, Filio, et
Spiritu Sancto, uno eode mque Iohoua*, vol. 1 of *Operum Theologicorum D. Hieronymi* (Geneva: Excudebat
Stephanus Gamonetus, 1605), col. 540.

[90] *Institutes*, III.xxviii.40.   Besides Turretin, Goodwin appears to agree with other Reformed orthodox
theologians on this point such as William Perkins, Jerome Zanchi, and Henry Ainsworth. See Muller, *PRRD*,
IV.327.

(as he is *Filius* the Son) by eternal generation, and in regard of that Divine Nature he may in some sense be called *autotheos*, i.e. God of himself.'[91]

Goodwin's and Howes' doctrine of the Son's aseity reflects the position adopted by Turretin, and also the majority of Reformed theologians. This position attempts to answer the problem of harmonizing the Son's aseity with the doctrine of eternal generation. That most of the Reformed orthodox were both 'Nicenists' and 'Autotheanites' seems to be a fairly accurate description in light of the evidence above.

Double Procession

Goodwin's position on the procession of the Spirit must be understood in the broader context of his trinitarianism. With that done, his understanding of the procession of the Spirit will not suffer from a lack of contextualization. The procession of the Spirit is related to the *ad extra* works of the Godhead. In fact, Muller has argued that among the Reformed orthodox the '*ad intra* procession of the Spirit is mirrored and followed by the *ad extra* procession or "mission" of the Spirit.'[92] The procession of the Spirit has been variously understood by the Western and Eastern Church. The Western Church holds to the *filioque*, the idea that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son. The Eastern Church, however, holds that the Spirit proceeds

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[91] *Christ, God-Man*, 3. Ambrose similarly argues that 'Jesus Christ ... must be considered two ways, as he is a Sonne, and as he is a God. Now as he is a Sonne, he is the thing begotten, but not as he is a God. As he is God, he is of himself, neither begotten, nor proceeding; the God-head of the Father, and the God-head of the Sonne is but one and the same thing, and therefore * *the Sonne as he is God, he is God of himself*, without beginning even as the Father, *but as he is a Sonne, he is not of himself*, but the Sonne of the Father, begotten of him.' *Looking unto Jesus*, 56.

[92] *PRRD*, IV, 378. Elsewhere, Muller, speaking of the congruence between the *ad intra* life of the Godhead and the *ad extra* manifestation and work, writes: 'the relation between the Father and the Son is such that, given the character of the Father's primacy, the Son in unity with the Father is, with the Father, the *principium* of the Holy Spirit – and that this single *principium* in the inner life of the Godhead mirrors the way in which the *ad extra* work is also one, the three persons together being the sole *principium* of creation. *PRRD*, IV, 58.

from the Father only.[93] Again, Muller suggests that the Reformed orthodox 'not only argue the Augustinian doctrine of double procession they insist on it as a biblical point held over against the teachings of the Greek Orthodox'.[94] By insisting on the *filioque*, the Western Church sought to maintain the co-equality of the Father and the Son by arguing that the Spirit proceeds from both. To the Reformed orthodox in particular, the idea that the Spirit proceeded from the Father only would lead to an ontological subordination of the Son to the Father. However, despite the vigorous insistence by the Reformed in maintaining the *filioque*, van Asselt has shown that Cocceius was sympathetic to the position of the East.[95] In fact, 'had the Latin Church not behaved so autocratically, this doctrine would never have produced so much turmoil or trouble. For it is a remarkable fact that there have been innumerable teachers in the Greek Church who have agreed with the intention of the *filioque*.'[96] Moreover, Andreas Rivetus (1572-1651), professor at Leiden, hoped that the Western and Eastern Churches would join in union again.[97]

Despite Cocceius' sympathies and the (perhaps unrealistic?) desire on the part of Rivetus to unite the Western and Eastern Churches, the Reformed orthodox, especially in England, held to the *filioque*. In chapter two of the *Westminster Confession*, the *filioque* is upheld in the words '... the Holy Ghost eternally proceeding from the Father *and the Son* (emphasis added).'[98] Edward Leigh (1603–1671), commenting on John 15:26, a historically much-debated text regarding the procession of the Spirit, explains the controversy from his point of view.

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[93] For recent assessments of the *filioque*, see Bernd Oberdorfer, *Filioque*: *Geschichte und Theologie eines ökumenischen Problems* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001); Dennis Ngien, *Apologetic for Filioque in Medieval Theology* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2005).

[94] *PRRD*, IV, 374.

[95] *Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius*, 180-81.

[96] *Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius*, 182.

[97] *Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius*, 180.

[98] *WCF* 2.3; *Savoy* 2.3.

Hence arose the schism between the Westerne and the Easterne Churches, they affirming the procession from the Father and the Sonne, these from the Father alone.

   To deny the procession of the holy Ghost from the Sonne, is a grievous error in Divinity, and would have granted the foundation, if the Greeke Church had so denied the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Sonne, as that they had made an inequality between the Persons. But since their forme of speech is, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father by the Sonne, and is the Spirit of the Sonne, without making any difference in the consubstantiality of the Persons, it is a true though an erroneous Church in this particular ...[99]

Leigh's strong sentiments – even though he still recognizes the Eastern Church as 'true' – seem to reflect the general consensus of opinion among the English Reformed orthodox in the seventeenth century, hence the reception of the *filioque* into the Westminster and Savoy Confessions.

Goodwin appears to adopt the position taken by the majority of the Reformed orthodox, but as Blackham has noted, there is a degree of ambiguity in some of Goodwin's statements regarding the procession of the Spirit.[100] In fact, Blackham goes so far as to suggest that while it is historically improbable that Goodwin would reject the *filioque*, 'it does appear that Goodwin does understand the ontological Trinity in the Eastern sense. He writes of the Spirit proceeding from the Father through the Son.'[101] As a result, any discussion of Goodwin's understanding of the procession of the Spirit must be done carefully. In so doing, the question over whether the *ad extra* double procession of the Spirit mirrors the *ad intra* workings of the Trinity will also be evaluated in some detail.

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[99] *A Treatise of Divinity* (London, 1647), II.138. Turretin argues, in agreement with Leigh, 'Although the Greeks ought not to have been charged with heresy on account of their opinion, nor ought it to have been the occasion of a schism arising or continuing, still the opinion of the Latins may be properly retained as more agreeable to the words of Scripture and the truer.' *Institutes*, III.xxxi.5.

[100] 'Pneumatology', 15.

[101] 'Pneumatology', 20-21.

For Goodwin, the Father is the 'fountain of the Deity' (*fons Deitatis*).[102] As such, he eternally generates the Son.[103] Similarly, as Turretin writes, 'as generation (*gennēsis*) is ascribed to the Son, so procession (*ekporeusis*) is ascribed to the Holy Spirit.'[104] Goodwin, though affirming that the Spirit 'is a Person in the Godhead, equal with the Father and the Son',[105] argues that since in the order of the divine persons the Spirit is last, he necessarily proceeds from the other two persons.[106] As the *vinculum Trinitatis* he proceeds by way of love.[107] In fact, the Spirit acts as the bond of love between the Father and the Son (*vinculum caritatis*). Here, Goodwin echoes Augustine who argued that the Spirit is the bond of love between the Father and the Son (*patris et filii copula*).[108]

The matter is, however, somewhat complicated by Goodwin's statement that the Father is the bestower of the Spirit through Jesus Christ.[109] Since the Father is the 'fountain of Deity', the Spirit proceeds from the Father in terms of his subsistence. Goodwin's concern, in his treatment of John 15:26, is to show that in order of subsistence the Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son. The word 'through' must be understood in the context of how Goodwin uses the term 'fountain' and 'subsistence'. This point is fleshed out in some detail in Goodwin's work on election. Because the Son is before the Spirit in order of subsistence, he could represent Christ as saying:

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[102] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 285; *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 137; *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 45; *Works*, V, *A Discourse of the three several ages which Christians do run through in their course of faith and obedience*, 191.

[103] *Works*, I, Ephesians, Pt. 1, 62, 285; *Works*, I, *Sermons on Hebrews 1:1,2*, 145.

[104] *Institutes*, III.xxxi.1.

[105] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 1.

[106] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 2, 46.

[107] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 33, 43.

[108] Ambrose hints at this (i.e. the Spirit as the bond of love between the Father and the Son) in his defense of double procession. See *Looking unto Jesus*, 60.

[109] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 44-45. In connection with this, Cheynell writes: 'The Greek Church acknowledges that the Spirit doth proceed from the Father *by* the Son.' *The Divine Triunity*, 214. A lengthy defence of 'double procession' follows (see pp. 214-227).

Though the Spirit is God, and the third Person of the three, yet I am, in order of subsistence, afore him, and I am God likewise with the Father, and the Second next Person to the Father; and therefore he is to receive all from me .... and so of necessity, the Spirit must have all from me, as well as from the Father .... otherwise ... the Spirit else might have had all from the Father without [Christ]: For this is an assured Rule, that look in what order the Persons are in subsisting and dependence each of other for their personal subsistence in the Godhead; in the same order, they do depend upon each other for their Operations also.[110]

As a result of the order of subsistence and the oneness, in essence and in will, between the Father and the Son (Jn. 5:19-20; 8:28; 14:10), the Spirit cannot only proceed from the Father and 'pass by the Son of God'.[111] Goodwin continues by arguing that the Spirit must also proceed from the Son because of the order of subsistence in the Godhead, for, 'all the Father hath, is mine first, in order of Nature: For, my Generation by the Father, as his Son, is first, e're the Holy Ghost's Procession; for he is the third Person; and then, all that the Father hath, being Communicated to me, then it is, *that the Spirit proceeds from both*' (emphasis added).[112] What is somewhat ambiguous in Goodwin's statement that the Spirit proceeds 'through' the Son is made clear in the above statement. Goodwin's doctrine of the double procession of the Spirit is grounded in the nature of the ontological Trinity and the order of subsistence. However, he argues that John 15:26 speaks of a 'Dispensatory sending', that is, an economic sending: 'But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth ...' and a 'Substantial proceeding', '... which proceedeth from the Father ...'[113]

Two points are worth noting in connection with Goodwin's comments. First, there appears to be a distinguishing between ontological trinitarian operations (i.e. the substantial proceeding) and economic – or, functional – trinitarian operations (i.e. the dispensatory sending). Second, in

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[110] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 136-37.
[111] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 137.
[112] *Works*, II, *Of Election*, 137. See also *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 41.
[113] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 3.

142

connection with this, Goodwin's point is not that the Spirit proceeds only from the Father in terms of ontology, but that the Spirit must proceed from the Father because of the order of subsistence. But, because of the order of subsistence, the Spirit must then also proceed from the Father and the Son. This order is therefore reflected in the 'dispensatory' sending of the Spirit where the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son in the accomplishment of salvation.

Owen's comments on John 15:26 are almost identical to those made by Goodwin, except that Goodwin sees both ontology and economy in verse 26. For Owen, the Father is referred to as the 'fountain'. There is, however, a twofold procession of the Spirit; first, in respect of substance and personality and, second, dispensatory or economic.[114] The first has reference to the Spirit 'in which he is the Spirit of the Father and the Son, proceeding from both eternally ...'[115] But, the words in John 15:26, according to Owen, have reference to the Spirit's 'economical or dispensatory proceeding ...'[116] Similarly, van Asselt has argued that Cocceius also understood John 15:26 to refer to the economical procession of the Spirit and does not refer to ontology.[117] Turretin, while acknowledging that John 15:26 speaks of the Spirit proceeding from the Father, argues that 'it is not denied of the Son. Indeed it is implied because the mission of the Spirit is ascribed to him and whatever the Father has, the Son is said to have equally (Jn. 16:15).'[118] Ussher likewise notes that while the Spirit is explicitly said to proceed from the Father (Jn. 15:26), the fact that he proceeds from the Son 'is by necessary consequence implied because the Sonne is said to send him, as John 14.26. The Father is said to send him in the

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[114] *Works*, II, *Of Communion with the Holy Ghost*, 226.
[115] *Works*, II, *Of Communion with the Holy Ghost*, 227.
[116] *Works*, II, *Of Communion with the Holy Ghost*, 227
[117] *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius*, 184.
[118] *Institutes*, III.xxxi.7.

Sonne's name, by which sending the order of the persons of the Trinity is evidently designed.'[119] Cheynell agrees that a distinction must be made between ontology (i.e. the eternal procession of the Spirit) and economy (i.e. the temporal procession of the Spirit); 'but the Natural and Eternal Procession of the Spirit may be evinced by the Temporal Mission of the Spirit.'[120]

Goodwin, like many of the Reformed orthodox, argued for the *filioque* on the grounds that the *ad intra* procession of the Spirit is mirrored by the *ad extra* procession of the Spirit, thus identifying the important relationship between ontology and economy.[121] His ground for this lay chiefly in the order of subsistence among the persons of the Trinity and the fact that the Father as the 'fountain of Deity' eternally begets his Son who, along with the Father, are the persons from whom the Spirit proceeds. His comment that the Father is the bestower of the Spirit through Jesus Christ,[122] while potentially misleading, is not a sufficient reason for suggesting, as Blackham does, that Goodwin's ontological Trinity is more Eastern than Western.[123] In fact, while a brief concord was brought about at the Council of Florence (1439) by determining that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, the Eastern Church subsequently rejected the mediating position and so their position remains that the Spirit proceeds only from the Father. Finally, Goodwin also argues for the *filioque* on the grounds that Christ, as the second person in the Trinity, is a Mediator. Hence, 'he being the Middle Person of the Three, bears the best resemblance of the Work, to be a Mediator, to come between us, to the other Two.

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[119] *Body of Divinitie*, 85. Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499-1562) adopts the same position in arguing for the double procession of the Spirit. He writes: 'And that this third person proceedeth from the Father and the Sonne, it is evident enough in the same Gospel of John ... Seeing the Son saith, that he will send the Spirit, and (as we said before) affirmeth him to receive of his; no man doubteth, but that he proceedeth from the Son. And now he expressly addeth; Who proceedeth from the Father.' (Jn. 14:26; 15:26; 16:13). *The Common Places of Peter Martyr*. Translated by Anthony Marten (London, 1583), I.xii.7.
[120] *The Divine Triunity*, 225.
[121] See, for example, Ames, *Marrow of Theology*, I.vi.28-30.
[122] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 44-45.
[123] Blackham, 'Pneumatology', 20.

144

Herein the Work and the Person suit. He was from the Father, and the Holy Ghost from him ...'[124] Consequently, Goodwin falls within the mainstream of Reformed orthodoxy by advocating the *filioque*.

Conclusion

As a Reformed orthodox theologian, Goodwin saw himself rooted in an ongoing Western trinitarian trajectory, grounded in Nicene orthodoxy, which sought to refute the claims of the Socinians who represented a powerful rising antitrinitarian influence in Europe. For Goodwin, the Trinity is an essential doctrine, contra the Remonstrants. Indeed, it represents the necessary ontological framework for a consistent Christian theology. Because the Trinity is a necessary doctrine, its exegetical basis does not lie in the New Testament alone. Rather, even in Genesis 1:26 ('let us make man'), for example, the Trinity is foreshadowed, albeit darkly and obscurely.

Nothing particularly radical about Goodwin's trinitarianism distinguishes his thought from other Reformed orthodox theologians, except perhaps the various nuances surrounding the Son's aseity. He maintains the co-equality, co-eternality, and consubstantiality of the Father, Son and Spirit by virtue of the fact that they share in the same essence, thus resisting any form of subordinationism among the persons who all share in the same deity (*una essentia*). There is, however, an order of relationships among the persons (*ordo personarum sive relationum*). In order of subsistence, the Father is the first person in the Godhead, the *fons deitatis*, who eternally begets the Son, the second person. The Spirit, third in subsistence, proceeds from both the Father and the Son. These three persons, because they are distinct but not separate (*distinctio sed*

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[124] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 42.

non separatio), abide in and through each other (*circumincessio*). Furthermore, Blackham's suggestion that Goodwin does not adhere explicitly to the *filioque* is not based on any real, solid evidence. Thus, Goodwin is not only Nicene in his trinitarianism, but also Westminsterian in terms of the double procession of the Spirit (i.e. *filioque*).

The point of this chapter, in connection with the scope of this study, has been to provide the necessary ontological context for the covenants of redemption, works, and grace. Without understanding Goodwin's trinitarian formulations, his doctrine of the covenant of redemption, as well as his Christology, becomes unintelligible. This chapter has, therefore, provided an overview of the broader implications of what it means to believe that God is 'one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity'; that there is a unity of essence among the three persons, thus making them co-equal, co-eternal and co-substantial; and finally, that the Son is begotten from the Father, and the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.

CHAPTER SIX: THE *PACTUM SALUTIS*

'I will chuse him to Life, saith the Father, but he will fall, and so fall short of what my Love designed to him: but I will redeem him, says the Son, out of that lost Estate: but yet being fallen he will refuse that grace, and the offers of it, and despise it, therefore I will Sanctify him, said the Holy Ghost, and overcome his unrighteousness, and cause him to accept it.'[1]

Introduction

One of the most fascinating developments in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Reformed Dogmatics is the development of the *pactum salutis*, also known as the eternal covenant of redemption. The *pactum salutis* is a pretemporal, intratrinitarian covenant between the Father, Son and Spirit that provides the eternal, inviolable foundation of the temporal covenant of grace (*foedus gratiae*).[2] The Reformed orthodox in particular used the *pactum salutis* as an argument for the *ad intra* trinitarian grounding for the *ad extra* work of salvation. Therefore, this doctrine is the starting-point of any discussion of the person and work of the Mediator, Jesus Christ. This study will show that the *pactum salutis* is indeed the key to understanding Thomas Goodwin's Christology.

It should be noted at this point that the concept did not originate with Goodwin. In fact, he is clearly making use of a doctrine – one grounded in extensive exegetical reflection – that derives its origin primarily from the sixteenth century. While Carol Williams has argued that the term, 'the covenant of redemption', was first used by David Dickson (1583-1662) in 1638 as he addressed the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on the dangers of Arminian theology, the evidence suggests that the concept predated Dickson's address by as much as one hundred

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[1] Goodwin, *Works*, III, *Mans Restauration*, 19.
[2] The role, or lack thereof, of the Spirit in the *pactum salutis* will be discussed below.

years before.[3] In what follows, an attempt will be made to verify this early origin of the *pactum salutis*, and thereby show that Goodwin was making use of a widespread concept among the Reformed orthodox, a concept that had clear implications regarding Reformed polemics against Arminian and Socinian theologies.

Origins

Determining the origins of the *pactum salutis* has proved notoriously difficult.[4] Muller has suggested that 'hints of the concept may be discerned in Luther'.[5] Among Reformed theologians, the earliest occurrence appears in Johannes Oecolampadius (1482-1531), who, in his lectures on Isaiah (c. 1523), speaks of a *pactum* between the Father and the Son in the following way: '*Pactum cum filio suo domino nostro Ihesu Christo*.'[6] Moreover, in his lectures on Hebrews, Oecolampadius suggests that the pretemporal covenant between the Father and the Son provided the foundation for the covenant of grace, the context for Christology.[7] Following Oecolampadius, on the Continent the concept is then found in Calvin,[8] Caspar Olevianus (1536-1587),[9] Gulielmus Budaeus (1468-1540),[10] Arminius,[11] Johannes Cloppenburg (1592-1664),[12]

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[3] 'The Decree of Redemption', passim.

[4] For a discussion of the origins of the pactum salutis among the Reformed orthodox, see Bertus Loonstra, *Verkiezing-Verzoening-Verbond: Beschrijving en beoordeling van de leer van het pactum salutis in de gereformeerde theologie* (The Hague, 1990), 105-147.

[5] 'Toward the Pactum Salutis: Locating the Origins of a Concept', *Mid-America Journal of Theology*, 18 (2007), 11.

[6] *In Iesaiam Prophetam Hypomnematon* (Basle, 1525), 268b. Andrew Woolsey appears to be the first scholar to identify this concept in Oecolampadius. See 'Unity and Continuity in Covenantal Thought: A Study in the Reformed Tradition to the Westminster Assembly,' (2 vols., unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1988), I, 262.

[7] *In Epistolam Ad Hebraeos* (Strasbourg, 1534), 76-79.

[8] For example, Calvin writes: '... the efficient cause in our salvation consists in God the Father's love; the material cause in God the Son's obedience; the instrumental cause in the Spirit's illumination, that is, faith; the final cause, in the glory of God's great generosity.' *Institutes*, III.xiv.21. See also Lillback, *Binding of God*, 212-214; Paul Helm, *John Calvin's Ideas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 405.

[9] See Bierma, *German Calvinism*, 107-112.

Herman Witsius (1636-1708),[13] Cocceius,[14] and a number of other Reformed theologians. Among the British writers, the doctrine is found in Edward Fisher (*b.* 1612, *d.* c. 1656),[15] Peter Bulkeley (1583-1659),[16] Ames,[17] Dickson,[18] Owen,[19] Thomas Brooks (1608-1680),[20] and Patrick Gillespie (1617-1675),[21] to name but a few.[22] Not only did the vast majority of Reformed orthodox theologians in the seventeenth century make use of the *pactum salutis* in their theology, but Reformed divines in subsequent centuries continued to speak of an eternal intratrinitarian

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[10] See G.D. Henderson, 'The Idea of Covenant in Scotland', *Evangelical Quarterly*, 27 (1995), 7.

[11] See Peter Y. De Yong, *The Covenant Idea in New England Theology 1620-1847* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1945), 28-31; Loonstra, *Verkiezing-Verzoening-Verbond*, 21-31. Incidentally, Arminius was examined on the *pactum salutis* at his doctoral defence.

[12] See van Asselt, *Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius*, 228.

[13] See *De Oeconomia Foederum Dei Cum Hominibus, Libri Quatuor* (Leeuwarden: J. Hagenaar, 1677; second edition, 1685); trans. as *The Oeconomy of the Covenants Between God and Man* (3 vols, London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1763; second edition, revised and corrected, 1775), II.ii.16. See also: J. Mark Beach, 'The Doctrine of the Pactum Salutis in the Covenant Thought of Herman Witsius', *Mid-America Journal of Theology*, 13 (2002), 101-142.

[14] See van Asselt, *Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius*, 227-247. Amazingly, Wilhelm Gass has argued that Cocceius invented the concept. *Geschichte der Protestantischen Dogmatik in ihrem Zusammenhange mit der Theologie* (4 vols, Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1854-1867), II, 264. However, van Asselt has shown that Cocceius read Cloppenburg 'who treated this subject carefully and at length'. *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius*, 228.

[15] Fisher writes: '... there was a speciall Covenant, or mutual agreement made betwixt God and Christ, as is expressed Isa. 53.10. That if Christ would make himself a sacrifice for sinne, then he should see his seed .... So in Psal. 89.19. The mercies of this Covenant made betwixt Christ and God, under the type of Gods Covenant with David, are set forth ...' *Marrow of Modern Divinity* (London, 1645), 36.

[16] Bulkeley writes: 'That there is a covenant passed betwixt the Father and the Son, concerning our salvation, I willingly grant, and shall open and confirme by Scripture. The whole business of our salvation was first transacted between the Father and Christ, before it was revealed to us ...' *The Gospel-Covenant* (London, 1646), 31.

[17] See *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity, Drawne out of the Holy Scriptures, and the Interpreters Thereof, and Brought into Method* (London, 1642), I.xxiv.100; *Medulla, s.s. Theologiae, Ex Sacris Literis, Earumque Interpretibus Extracta, & Methodice Disposita per Guilelmum Amesium* (London, 1630), I.xxiii.118-20; Jan van Vliet, 'William Ames: Marrow of Theology and Piety of the Reformed Tradition' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Westminster Theological Seminary, 2002), 46-47.

[18] See Williams, 'The Decree of Redemption', passim.

[19] See for example *Works*, X, *Of the Death of Christ*, 168ff.

[20] *Paradice Opened, or, The secrets, mysteries, and rarities of divine love, of infinite wisdom, and of wonderful counsel laid open to publick view also, the covenant of grace, and the high and glorious transactions of the Father and the Son in the covenant of redemption opened and improved at large, with the resolution of divers important questions and cases concerning both covenants* (London, 1675), 67ff. Brooks' treatment of the covenant of redemption is one of the lengthiest among the English Reformed orthodox.

[21] See *The Ark of the Covenant Opened* (London, 1677), passim. Trueman calls this work the 'most elaborate work in the English language on the covenant of redemption.' *John Owen*, 83.

[22] Not surprisingly, then, Witsius writes: 'As the doctrine of the covenant between the Father and the Son is so expressly delivered in scripture, it is unjustly traduced as a new invention. Though I find few among the more ancient who have professedly handled this subject, yet some of the greatest divines have sometimes made mention of this covenant'. *The Oeconomy*, II.ii.16. Witsius names Ames, Gomarus, Cloppenburg, Voetius, and Owen as those who mention this covenant in their writings. *The Oeconomy*, II.ii.16.

covenant as the foundation for the temporal covenant of grace.[23] Thus, Witsius' argument that

the covenant between the Father and the Son 'is the foundation of the whole of our salvation'[24]

seems to be fairly representative of the importance of the *pactum salutis* among the Reformed

orthodox and the necessary Christological implications arising out of this doctrine.

In terms of Reformed confessional grounding, the *pactum salutis* is to be found either

implicitly or explicitly. Hints of a pretemporal foundation of the covenant of grace can be

located in both the *Belgic Confession* (1561) and *Heidelberg Catechism* (1563). For example, in

Article 26 of the *Belgic Confession*, Christ is said to have been appointed by the Father to be

Mediator. Likewise, the *Heidelberg Catechism* (Q. 31) suggests that Christ derives his title,

meaning 'anointed', from the Father who ordained him to be a prophet, priest, and king. The

Second Helvetic Confession (1566, *Confessio Helvetica posterior*), in chapter 11, speaks of

Christ as 'predestinated or foreordained from eternity by the Father to be the Savior of the

world.' While the aforementioned documents contain hints of the *pactum salutis*, the *Canons of*

Dordt (1619), *Westminster Confession of Faith* (1646), and *Savoy Declaration* (1658) present it

in much more explicit terms. In Article Seven, on election, the *Canons of Dordt* argue that

'before the foundation of the world, by sheer grace, according to the free good pleasure of his

will, [the Father] chose in Christ to salvation a definite number of particular people out of the

entire human race.' The article adds that the Father 'did this in Christ, whom he also appointed

from eternity to be the mediator, the head of all those chosen, and the foundation of their

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[23] Among some of the more notable Reformed theologians who wrote on the covenant of redemption are: John Gill (1697-1771), Charles Hodge (1797-1878), B.B Warfield (1851-1921), Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920), Herman Bavinck (1854-1921), and Geerhardus Vos (1862-1949). However, G.C. Berkouwer (1903-1996) criticized the *pactum salutis* for being speculative and lacking exegetical substance. *Divine Election*. Translated by Hugo Bekker. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1960), 162.

[24]*The Oeconomy*, II.iii.1.

salvation. And so he decided to give the chosen ones to Christ to be saved, and to call and draw them effectively into Christ's fellowship through his Word and Spirit.'[25]

Some of the key elements in the *pactum salutis* are found in the statement above concerning the nature of Christ's appointment as Mediator on behalf of the elect in eternity. However, the most explicit example – and perhaps the most interesting comparison – comes from the *Westminster Confession* and *Savoy Declaration*, particularly in chapter eight regarding the teaching on 'Christ the Mediator'. The wording of the chapter in these documents is identical, except for eight words that were added to the *Savoy Declaration* (which are italicized) in order to show the small – albeit, important – difference between the two confessions.

> It pleased God, in his eternal purpose, to choose and ordain the Lord Jesus his only begotten Son, *according to a covenant made between them both*, to be the Mediator between God and man; the Prophet, Priest, and King, the Head and Saviour of his Church, the Heir of all things and Judge of the world; unto whom he did from all eternity give a people to be his seed, and to be by him in time redeemed, called, justified, sanctified, and glorified.[26]

The added words, 'according to a covenant made between them', no doubt reflect the influence of both Goodwin and Owen who both made extensive use of the *pactum salutis* in their writings and therefore saw the need to make explicit in the *Savoy Declaration* what is only implicit in the *Westminster Confession*. Because of these types of important revisions, Goodwin referred to them as the 'latest and best'.[27] Nevertheless, the *Westminster Confession*, without using the terminology that is found in the *Savoy Declaration*, contains all of the necessary elements that belong to the *pactum salutis*.

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[25] Section 1, titled 'The First Main Point of Doctrine.'
[26] *Savoy* 8.1
[27] This information comes from a speech that Goodwin delivered to the newly appointed Lord Protector, Richard Cromwell (1626-1712), in the weekly newspaper, *Mercurius Politicus* 438 (1658), 924.

The doctrine of the covenant of redemption finds its roots in the Reformation and, while not explicit, in the major sixteenth-century Confessions of the Reformed churches. In the seventeenth century, Reformed theologians, both on the Continent and in Britain, almost always give attention to this doctrine in their writings. Hence, the explicit language, especially in the case of the *Savoy Declaration*, is not at all surprising given the trajectory of Reformed thought regarding the pretemporal nature of God's redemptive plan. The *pactum salutis* is, however, a theologically complex doctrine and this is especially evident in Goodwin's treatment in his work, *Of Christ the Mediator*.

The Eternal Covenant of Redemption

Goodwin's major exposition of the *pactum salutis* comes at the beginning of his significant treatise on Christology, *Of Christ the Mediator*.[28] This doctrine also shows up in other places in his writings, but not to the same degree.[29] His decision to place his exposition of the covenant of redemption at the beginning of *Of Christ the Mediator* is not without significance. In fact, the central theoretical argument of this study has reference to this very point, namely, that Goodwin's Christology, both in terms of Christ's person and work, are essentially the outworking of, and contingent upon, the *pactum salutis*. Thus, the pretemporal (covenant of redemption) provides the foundation for the temporal (covenant of grace). Or, in other words, the doctrine of the *pactum salutis* makes clear that redemptive history has its roots and foundation in eternity, and so did not originate within history. Dickson, understanding like Goodwin the significance of the covenant of redemption for the history of redemption, suggests

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[28] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, esp. 1-40.
[29] For example, see *Encouragements to Faith*, 14; *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, passim; *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 111, 384-392.

that 'since the whole Byble takes the denomination from this Covenant, it is recommended to us to studie it better.'[30]

Goodwin presents the work of redemption as a fully trinitarian endeavour. And while there is some ambiguity in Goodwin's work on election concerning his position on supralapsarianism and infralapsarianism, he suggests that the *pactum salutis* – that is, the eternal transactions between the Father and the Son – is considered in the context of man as fallen (2 Cor. 5:18-19).[31] In the eternal counsel between the Father and the Son, the Son promised to act as a surety for the elect and so 'satisfy his Father for all the Wrong ... done to him'.[32] Ames, likewise, argues that this transaction between God and Christ was 'a certaine fore-going application of our redemption, and deliverance to our surety'.[33] Goodwin refers to this agreement between the Father and the Son to save sinners as 'the greatest Affair, between Persons of the highest Sovereignty and Majesty, that ever was Transacted either in Heaven or Earth, or ever will be.'[34] Hence, Goodwin argues that knowledge of the eternal transactions between the Father and the Son is of the utmost importance to Christian theology.

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[30] Dickson, *Therapeutica Sacra* (Edinburgh, 1664), 22.

[31] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 1-4. Horton and Trueman come to what appears to be different conclusions on Goodwin's position on the order of God's decrees. Horton concludes that Goodwin 'is an infralapsarian Calvinist' and Trueman contrasts the infralapsarian Owen with the 'more vigorously supralapsarian theology of … Goodwin.' Horton, 'Assurance', 66; Trueman, *Claims of Truth*, 138. The problem may be that the usual taxonomies of infra- and supralapsarianism may need to be revised since Goodwin does not appear to fit nicely into either position.

[32] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 2.

[33] *Marrow of Sacred Divinity*, I.xxiv.100.

[34] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 4.

153

The covenant of redemption effects reconciliation between God the offended and man the offender. Christ brings reconciliation – hence, he is the termed 'the Mediator' – between man and God. Taking 2 Corinthians 5:18-19[35] as his point of departure, Goodwin argues that God and Christ are meant as distinct persons and so the Father is the person to whom reconciliation is made. Of course, in view of Goodwin's trinitarianism, if reconciliation is made to the Father, then it is also made to the Son and the Spirit. Notwithstanding this fact, however, because the Father is the first person in order of subsistence, 'the Suit against us turns in his Name especially, though it be the Quarrel of all the rest of the Persons'.[36] Since the operation of each person in the Trinity 'follows the distinction of their Existences and bears the resemblance of them'[37] – that is, the undivided works *ad extra* often manifest one of the persons as their *terminus operationis* – Goodwin can argue that reconciliation is attributed to the Father because just as creation is generally attributed to the Father, so too is the covenant of works. The law which Adam was created under is made especially with the Father in the name of the other persons. Thus, Adam's transgression in the covenant of works is against the Father since 'in the dispensation of that Covenant [the Father] ruled immediately.'[38] In other words, just as the sins against the covenant of grace are said to be 'in a more especial manner against Christ and the Holy Ghost, so those against the First which occasioned the performance of Reconciliation, are

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[35] 2 Cor. 5:18 And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation; 19To wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation.

[36] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 5. See also Ames, *Marrow of Sacred Divinity*, I.xxiv.100.

[37] *Works*, III, *Mans Restauration*, 9.

[38] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 6.

said to be against the Father.'[39]   As Mediator, then, Christ's duty was to reconcile alienated sinners to the Father.

The importance of Goodwin's trinitarianism in the role of redemption has not always received sufficient focus in the secondary literature. But, from what has been said above, he is clearly operating in a sophisticated manner in his discussion of the *pactum salutis*. Reconciliation is primarily to the Father because the work of Christ, in his mediatorial office, is based on the determined plan of the Father. Patrick Gillespie, who wrote the longest treatise in the English language on the *pactum salutis*, also speaks of the Father as the architect of Christ's work.   For example, the Father made the covenant with the Son (Ps. 89:3), appoints who shall be saved (Jn. 17:9) and what measure of glory each shall have (Eph. 4:7), and commits all authority to the Son (Isa. 9:6).[40]   Goodwin, like Gillespie[41] and Owen,[42] is also sensitive to the trinitarian nature of the *pactum salutis*. For example, Goodwin argues that the Father 'draws the platform of all the works that the other two Persons do put their hand to effect', thus doing justice to both the trinitarian nature of redemption and the relationship of the Spirit to the ministry of Christ on earth.[43]   There can be no argument that Goodwin's exposition of the *pactum salutis* has sub-trinitarian tendencies, namely, an exclusive Father-Son arrangement to the exclusion of the Spirit. In fact, the evidence in this chapter and subsequent chapters will show that Goodwin's Christology has a decidedly pneumatological emphasis, so much so that Christ's person and work would be unrecognizable apart from the work of the Spirit on Christ.

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[39] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 6.
[40] *The Ark of the Covenant*, 172.
[41] See *The Ark of the Covenant*, 172-74.
[42] *Works*, 10, *Of the Death of Christ*, 178-79.
[43] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 6.

If the Father plots the course of redemptive history, then Christ's mediatorial work is by the Father's appointment: 'whatsoever he is or hath as Mediator, is ordained to him by the Father.'[44] Similarly, Witsius speaks of the Son being appointed to the mediatorial office by the Father.[45] Therefore, according to Goodwin, Christ's work as a prophet (Deut. 18:15), priest (Heb. 3:1-2), and king (Ps. 2:6), is ordained by the Father.[46] Moreover, both Christ's humiliation (Acts 2:23) and exaltation (Jn. 17:22) are said to have been given him by the Father. This point cannot be over-emphasized in terms of the trajectory of this study. Goodwin explicitly ties Christ's person and work – as a prophet, priest, and king – to the ordination of the Father in eternity at the covenant of redemption.

Eternal Salvation

In light of what has been premised, namely, that the Father has undertaken to plan salvation with a view to the work of Christ and the Spirit, Goodwin discusses whether salvation can, in some sense, be described as eternal. An important distinction in his theology comes to the fore at this point, a distinction between the phrases of what God is said to do in Christ (*en Christo*) and by Christ (*dia Christo*). God's reconciliation in Christ has reference to immanent acts of God, those acts where soteric benefits are laid up for believers in Christ, 'as in our Head, in whom God lookt upon us, when we had no subsistence but in him; when God and he were alone plotting of all ... that was after to be done by Christ for us, and applyed to us.'[47] However, the particle, *dia*

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[44] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 8.
[45] *The Oeconomy*, II.iii.2.
[46] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 8.
[47] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 9.

(by/through), 'imports the actual performance of all this by Christ, and application of it to us.'[48]

Therefore, the phrase 'in Christ' has reference to him as a common head, while the phrase 'for Christ' speaks of him as the meritorious cause since he purchases the blessings, and 'through Christ' denotes out Christ as the efficient cause, the one who dispenses grace to his people.[49] Whatever is said to have been ordained 'in Christ' has particular reference to the *pactum salutis*. However, that which is 'through Christ' has reference to the temporal covenant of grace whereby Christ performs his work. These careful distinctions by Goodwin go a long way in answering the much-vexed question over whether Goodwin believed, as Trueman suggests, in eternal justification.[50] Goodwin actually rejected the Antinomian doctrine of eternal justification.[51] Though certain statements – at least, on the surface – may seem to imply the position Trueman attributes to him, the key to understanding Goodwin's views on the eternal basis of salvation rest in his distinction between the various stages in the application of redemption. Elsewhere Goodwin refers to them as immanent, transient, and applicatory.

> 1. *Immanent* in God towards us, as his *Eternal Love* set and past upon us; out of which he chose us, and designed this and all Blessings to us.
>
> 2. *Transient*, in Christ done *for us*; in all he did or suffered representing of us, and in our stead.
>
> 3. *Applicatory*, wrought in us, and upon us, in the endowing us with all those Blessings by the Spirit: As Calling, Justification, Sanctification, Glorification.[52]

The different stages of salvation, reflecting also the distinct acts of the persons in the Trinity, are intimately related to the *pactum salutis*, with the immanent works of God being the

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[48] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 9.
[49] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 9-10.
[50] See *Claims of Truth*, 28.
[51] See *Works*, V, *Glory of the Gospel*, 17.
[52] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 374.

first stage in the decree of redemption. In other words, what is true in the pretemporal realm (*in foro Dei*) becomes true in the temporal realm; the blessings in eternity are appropriated in time.

The Necessity of the Atonement

Keeping in mind Goodwin's view that man is considered as fallen at the striking of the *pactum salutis*, an important question arises over whether the Father, as the one who plots the course of redemption, may potentially have pardoned sin apart from the satisfaction of Christ. Put another way, the issue is whether God could have pardoned sin by a mere act of his will or whether his vindicatory justice, essential to his nature, demanded satisfaction for sinners to be forgiven. On this question there was a diversity of opinion among the Reformed orthodox.[53] In fact, the debate was exacerbated by the fact that Socinians held to the view that God could have pardoned apart from the satisfaction of Christ.[54] Hence, the guilt by association was a powerful tool in the arsenal of those who insisted on the necessity of the atonement.[55] Among the Reformed orthodox, theologians such as Calvin, Twisse, Rutherford, Manton, and Goodwin argued that

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[53] For a study on this issue as it relates to Owen, see Trueman, 'Dissertation on Divine Justice'. Also, the Cambridge educated and Doctor of Divinity, Thomas Jackson (1570–1646), discusses this issue in his work *The Humiliation of the Sonne of God by His Becomming the Son of Man* (London, 1635), 20ff.

[54] McLachlan, *Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England*, 14. Edwin Rabbie has argued that satisfaction did not play an important role in Socinianism. 'Introduction' to *Defensio Fidei*, 1. However, this is misleading since their rejection of the orthodox view of satisfaction is tied to their rejection of other orthodox doctrines. In other words, the Socinian rejection of satisfaction was the logical outcome of their basic theological approach. So, in one way or another, the doctrine of satisfaction did play an important role in Socinian theology.

[55] On the Socinian position regarding the necessity of the atonement, see Socinus, *De Iesu Christo Servatore* (1594), I.i; Alan Gomes, '*De Jesu Christo Servatore*: Faustos Socinus on the Satisfaction of Christ', *Westminster Theological Journal* 55 (1993), 209-31; Trueman, *John Owen's* Dissertation on Divine Justice. On the Socinian rejection of satisfaction, Goodwin writes: 'As for the Socinians, They say, there is no Satisfaction for Sin, for if God Pardon freely, how can he Pardon for a Satisfaction? Whereas the Scripture is clear, that there may be the freest Grace in it and yet Satisfaction too, and the Truth of the Gospel lies in reconciling these Two, and that's the Depth of it; but they take Part with one Truth to exclude another.' *Works*, V, *Glory of the Gospel*, 17.

God could have pardoned sin by a free act of his will.[56] Owen's 1647 work, *The Death of Death*, promotes the view of Calvin, Twisse, Rutherford, and Goodwin. However, his later work, *A Dissertation on Divine Justice* (1652), represents a change in his own thinking; he advances the position, in common with Franciscus Junius (1545-1602), Sibrandus Lubbertus (1566-1625), Johannes Maccovius (1588-1644), John Cameron (1579-1623), and Francis Turretin, that God's vindicatory justice is essential to his nature.[57] Hence, according to Owen's revised understanding, God's justice has priority over his will; to pardon sin God must pardon in a manner consistent with his nature. Turretin, aware that Augustine and some of the Reformers held that the atonement was not necessary in order pardon sin, argues that the 'common opinion of the orthodox (which we follow)' insists on the necessity of the atonement.[58] However, the evidence appears to suggest that Turretin has somewhat overstated the matter.

Goodwin argues that God's desire to forgive sin in the *pactum salutis* has reference to the free act of his will. In effecting his will, God manifests both his love and wisdom and satisfies his justice. However, though God's justice is satisfied through the death of Christ on behalf of the elect, '[t]here was one way indeed which was more obvious, and that was to pardon the Rebels, and make no more adoe of it'.[59] Goodwin argues for this position, though recognizing that some argue to the contrary, on the grounds that to punish sin is an act of God's will, in the same way that other works *ad extra* are, and not, as Owen argues, of his nature. For, if to punish

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[56] Rutherford's massive work (over 600 pages) in Latin on this issue represents the complexity of the debate, which was not confined to Reformed orthodoxy, but also among Roman Catholic theologians, for example. On Rutherford's position see *Disputatio Scholastica de Divina Providentia* (Edinburgh, 1649). On Twisse, see *Vindiciae Gratiae Potestatis ac Providentiae Diviniae* (Amsterdam, 1632), 198-207. On Manton, see *Works*, X, *Sermons Upon John XVII*, 213. Calvin argues that Christ's incarnation and subsequent death is not an 'absolutely necessity. Rather, it has stemmed from a heavenly decree, on which men's salvation depended.' *Institutes*, II.xii.1.

[57] For example, in 1647, Owen writes: 'The foundation of this whole assertion seems to me to be false and erroneous, - namely, that God could not have mercy on mankind unless satisfaction were made by his Son.' *Works*, X, *The Death of Death*, 205. But, several years later, Owen departs from the position that he held in common with Twisse. See *Works*, X, *A Dissertation on Divine Justice*, 495-624

[58] *Institutes*, II.xiv.10.

[59] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 13.

sin is an act of God's nature, then the sinner would die immediately. Thus, it must be an act of God's will in order for him to suspend the sentence of death. Goodwin insists that God's hatred of sin 'is an Act of his Nature, but to express his hatred by punishing, is an Act of his Will; and therefore might be wholly suspended.'[60] Moreover, when Christ prayed that the 'cup' be taken from him (Mk. 14:36), the preceding words, 'all things are possible unto thee', suggest the possibility for God to forgive apart from the death of Christ. Indeed, the 'impossibility lay only in Gods Will to have it done by Christs Satisfaction, and no way else'.[61] This debate was not, then, mere philosophical speculation; instead, it was derived from important exegetical concerns.

According to Goodwin's schema, the satisfaction of Christ's death, though ontologically unnecessary, is nevertheless God's chosen means of manifesting the fullness of God's attributes, especially love, because a bare pardon would not be 'adequate and answerable to all those ... Glorious Ends, and Purposes, and other Resolutions in this Plot.'[62] Moreover, the *pactum salutis* enables God to display all of his attributes, namely, his justice, mercy, and love. This 'plot', another term for the *pactum salutis*, is God's 'Master-piece, wherein he means to bring all his Attributes upon the Stage.'[63] In offering up his Son, the Father satisfies not only his justice, but also extends his mercy and love towards fallen creatures. But, again, this design – particularly the atonement – stems from a primary act of God's will and is not therefore necessary for God to forgive. So, not only does the *pactum salutis* provide the ground for the incarnation and work of Christ, but, more than that, it enables God to display all of his attributes in a manner consistent with his nature. In connection with this, Gillespie notes also that in the covenant of redemption

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[60] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 71.
[61] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 71.
[62] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 13.
[63] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 14.

God 'decreed eminently to glorifie himself in the way of justice and mercy.'[64] However, by desiring to manifest both his justice and mercy, God requires a full and adequate ransom (1 Tim. 2:6; Rom. 5:6-8) for sin. Because man, the recipient of mercy, cannot pay the price demanded by God, and so satisfy God's justice, Goodwin asks: 'who is there in Heaven and Earth [that] should be a fit Mediator, both able and willing to undertake it, and faithful to perform it?'[65] His answer to that is the God-man, Jesus Christ.

The Appointment of the Son

Exegetical considerations lead Goodwin to adopt the position that the Father chooses the Son. Among the Reformed orthodox, certain passages are particularly prominent in terms of substantiating the claims of this aspect of the *pactum salutis*. Goodwin,[66] Gillespie,[67] and Witsius[68] all reference 1 Peter 1:20, which speaks of Christ being 'foreordained before the foundation of the world.' This choice by the Father was free; that is, there were other ways he could have provided redemption apart from the death of Christ. However, the ordination of the Son by the Father displays the abundance of his love towards his people; for in giving his Son 'he cannot give greater.'[69]

David Wong has criticized Owen's formulation of the covenant of redemption on the grounds that Owen's strong contractualism in the *pactum salutis* makes the salvation of the elect not an outcome of the 'love' of the Father, but, rather, a 'debt' to be paid to the Son. Wong

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[64] *Ark of the Covenant*, 32.
[65] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 16.
[66] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 20.
[67] *Ark of the Covenant*, 51.
[68] *The Oeconomy*, II.iii.2
[69] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 20.

argues 'The pure, immediate love of the Father for the salvation of man is replaced by a mediate transaction between the Father and the Son. The picture of a loving and merciful Father is replaced by a commercial merchant God, who primarily honours the contract with His Son.'[70] Though Owen and Goodwin adopt different positions on the necessity of the atonement, both insist that the Father's appointment of his Son is the manifestation of his love. Owen maintains that the Father's '*love* sets all on work'; that is, love is primary in the designing of the *pactum salutis*.[71] The greatest instance of God's love centers in the giving of his Son. For, argues Goodwin, 'The pardon of Sin is a greater Gift than millions of Worlds, but to have Pardon through Christ, and Christ with the Pardon ... is more than the Pardon of worlds of Sins.'[72] Therefore, Wong's criticism that 'love' gets lost in the transactions between the Father and Son is not entirely accurate of Owen's position, which also happens to be Goodwin's position.

The Father, being the 'contriver and designer' of the *pactum salutis*, thus calling and electing Christ to the work of Mediator, was the person who informed Christ that his mediation would include death (Isa. 42:6).[73] Goodwin speaks of Bernard's (1090-1153) 'conceit' for advancing the view that Christ initiated his own act of mediation.[74] However, in redemption, as in all things he did, Christ only does what the Father ordains. Thus, by virtue of the order of subsistence, Christ's work begins and comes from the Father, who is the first person in the Godhead (Jn. 5:19-20; 8:42). Besides the evidence that relates to the order of subsistence in the

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[70] David Wai-Sing Wong, 'The Covenant Theology of John Owen' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Westminster Theological Seminary, 1998), 372.

[71] *Works*, XII, *Vindiciae Evangelicae*, 501.

[72] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 20.

[73] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 21. Gillespie, like Goodwin, distinguishes between calling and election. And, in speaking of the Father's appointment of Christ to mediator, he cites Isaiah 42:6, 'I the LORD have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people'. *Ark of the Covenant*, 52.

[74] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 21.

Trinity, including various passages that speak of the Father's ordination of Christ, Goodwin posits that since Christ was a priest he had to be appointed to the office (Heb. 5:4-5).[75]

Christ's Acceptance of the Terms

In the covenant of redemption, according to Owen, the Father was the 'prescriber, the promiser and lawgiver; the Son was the undertaker upon his prescription, law, and promises.'[76] Thomas Brooks provides a number of definitions of the covenant of redemption in his work *Paradice Opened*, one of which relates to Christ's acceptance of the terms: 'The Father Covenants to do thus and thus for fallen man; but first … the Son must covenant to take man's nature ….. Well he submits, assents to these demands … and covenants to make all good; and this was the substance of the Covenant of Redemption.'[77] Because the *pactum salutis*, as a covenant, involves distinct persons it must be voluntary.[78] Hence, Goodwin argues that if the Son did not undertake the work of redemption freely, then satisfaction was not made: 'For *Satisfactio est redditio voluntaria*'.[79] Christ's free acceptance of the terms in the pretemporal realm must, therefore, be executed freely in the temporal administration of the *foedus gratiae*, so much so that Goodwin could say if Christ makes but one objection his elect would perish.[80] The Son, then, offers

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[75] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 21. See also Ambrose, *Looking unto Jesus*, 65-66.
[76] *Works*, XIX, *Commentary on Hebrews*, 85.
[77] *Paradice Opened*, 67.
[78] See Goodwin, *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 23; Owen, *Works*, XII, *Vindiciae Evangelicae*, 497; Brooks, *Paradice Opened*, 67-68.
[79] *Works*, I, *Sermon on Hebrews X. 4-7*, 104; *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 23.
[80] *Works*, I, *Sermon on Hebrews X, 4-7*, 104.

himself freely on behalf of his people in such complete submission to his Father's will that they can be said to have one will between them (Ps. 40:8; Jn. 10:30).[81]

Christ's willingness to suffer death on the cross must first be conceived in terms of his love for his Father and then his love for his bride (Jn. 14:31). Moreover, those whom Christ died for first belonged to his Father (Jn. 17:6). So not only did the Father appoint the Son's work, but he also 'gave to him the Persons for who he should do it'; and those who are given to Christ, are given to him from everlasting.[82] As a result, the *pactum salutis* has obvious implications for the extent of the atonement. Thus, Manton argues, commenting on John 17:6, that the elect, 'and no other', are given to Christ who 'consented to all the articles of the eternal covenant; not only to take a body to die, but to take a particular charge of all the elect'.[83] The extent of the atonement – in this case limited to the elect, but nevertheless, as both Goodwin and Manton argue, efficacious in securing their salvation – is tied to the eternal transactions between the Father and the Son where the Father gives the Son a 'special charge to bring [the elect] to Salvation, to lose not one of his tale and number.'[84]

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[81] *Works*, I, *Sermon on Hebrews X, 4-7*, 104. Interestingly, Goodwin understands John 10:30 ('I and my Father are one') in a similar way to Calvin. Calvin writes: 'The ancients made a wrong use of this passage to prove that Christ is (*homoousion*) of the same essence with the Father. For Christ does not argue about the unity of substance, but about the agreement which he has with the Father, so that whatever is done by Christ will be confirmed by the power of his Father.' *Commentary on John 10:30*. In another place, Goodwin writes: 'This Father and this Sonne, though two Persons have yet but one will betweene them, (though the Son ad extra outwardly executes all) John 10:30. My Father and I are one; that is, have but one and the same power to save you, and one minde and will.' *Christ Set Forth*, 252.

[82] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 25.

[83] *Works*, X, *Sermons Upon John XVII*, 212. Gillespie, too, argues that Christ was 'not Surety ... for all Mankind, nor for all the visible Church .... he was Surety and undertaker only for the elect ... who were given to him by his Father.' *Ark of the Covenant*, 80-81.

[84] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 25. Durham likewise connects the extent of the atonement – an atonement of infinite value, but limited in extent – to the covenant of redemption. *A Commentarie on Revelation*, 299.

For Goodwin, Isaiah 49 portrays the dialogue – what he calls 'a most elegant Dialogue'[85] – between the Father and the Son in the covenant of redemption.[86] In alluding to this text, Goodwin makes a rather interesting point about the identity of the elect. The opening verses (Isa. 49:1-2) of the chapter have reference to Christ speaking to the Father about his calling, his fitness for the work of redemption, and what reward he would receive for his work. In verse three, God responds by offering to Christ the 'Elect of Israel.'[87] However, according to Goodwin, Christ bargained with the Father and was not satisfied with the reward of the Jews. His work demanded a greater payment (Isa. 49:4). Therefore, the Father 'comes off more freely'; he opens his heart more largely to Christ because Christ would undergo such humiliation, which culminated in his death. Goodwin adds: 'It is a light thing (sayes God to him) that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, that is not worth dying for, I value thy sufferings more then so, I will give thee for a salvation unto the ends of the earth. Upon this he made a promise to Christ, 1 Tit. 2. and a promise is more then a purpose.'[88] The Son's bargaining, in the form of dialogue with the Father, is particularly evident in Goodwin's exposition of the covenant of redemption.

Flavel, like Goodwin, sees in Isaiah 49 a covenantal dialogue between the Father and Son. Upon being declared 'fit' to save, Christ, after being offered only the elect of Israel, 'resolves his blood shall not be sold at low and cheap rates.'[89] So, by virtue of the worth of his blood, Christ

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[85] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 26.
[86] See also Gillespie, *Ark of the Covenant*, 81.
[87] *Encouragements to Faith*, 14.
[88] *Encouragements to Faith*, 14. Goodwin uses almost the exact same wording to describe Isaiah 49 in *Works*, III, *Christ the Mediator*, 27.
[89] *The Fountain of Life Opened, or, A Display of Christ in his Essential and Mediatorial Glory wherein the Impetration of our Redemption by Jesus Christ is Orderly Unfolded as it was Begun, Carryed on, and Finished by his Covenant-Transaction, Mysterious Incarnation, Solemn Call and Dedication* (London, 1673), 26-27.

also asks for the Gentiles, whom the Father is happy to grant to him.[90] All of this suggests that

not only is the work of Christ contingent upon the Father's will, but those for whom Christ

works, so to speak, are those who have been given to him by the Father, both Jews and Gentiles.

The bestowal of the nations implies, then, a reward for Christ as Mediator.

Christ's Reward

Upon Christ's acceptance of his role as Mediator, the Father promises to reward the Son by

bestowing the worth and value of Christ's obedience upon those whom Christ acted as surety for,

both Jews and Gentiles.[91] That is, the Father promises to justify, adopt, forgive, sanctify, and

glorify all for whom Christ died. These soteric blessings are purchased by Christ and then

applied to his elect (Isa. 53:10-12).[92] Not only, then, does Goodwin's Christology have a

significant reference point in the *pactum salutis*, but soteriology is grounded in the eternal

transactions between the Father and the Son, thus showing that for Goodwin, Christology is

bound up with soteriology.

Patrick Gillespie advances the same texts as Goodwin (e.g. Isa. 49; 53; Ps. 2) to speak of

Christ's reward, a threefold reward, which was his own asking (Ps. 2:8).[93] The principal reward

is the redemption of his people, the elect.[94] Goodwin's position agrees with Gillespie. However,

Goodwin argues that the salvation and justification of those the Father had given him is the only

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[90] *Fountain of Life*, 27. Ambrose makes similar comments in *Looking unto Jesus*, 80-81.
[91] Goodwin asks, concerning Christ's reward, 'what was his reward that he bargain'd for? Not for the Jews only, but also for the Gentiles' (Isa. 49:5-6). *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 173.
[92] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 26.
[93] See Gillespie, *Ark of the Covenant*, 84-85; Goodwin, *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 26-27. See also Brooks, *Paradice Opened*, 72-73.
[94] *Ark of the Covenant*, 84.

reward that Christ asks for.[95] In Gillespie's own exposition, he notes that Christ also asks for 'a

Crown to himself ... a peculiar glory of being Lord Mediator and Redeemer'.[96] While Goodwin

focuses more on the spiritual blessings that Christ bestows on his people in his exposition of the

pactum salutis in *Of Christ the Mediator*, he elsewhere argues that the peculiar glory due to

Christ as mediator be distinguished from the glory that the Son possesses in and of himself by

virtue of his deity. This aspect of Goodwin's thought will be addressed in some detail in chapter

nine. Suffice it to say, the glory that is promised to Christ has reference to his human nature

after having been raised from the dead and ascended into heaven. Besides the glory that belongs

inherently to Christ as God, the Father 'hath bestowed upon him another capacity of glory, and a

revenue of pleasure to come in another way ... namely, from his Church and Spouse, which is his

Body.'[97] In other words, as the Son of God, he possesses a complete glory, one that is personal.

However, as the Mediator, Christ possesses a glory that is 'acquired, purchased, and merited by

his having performed that great service and obedience.'[98] This glory is the promise of the eternal

covenant.[99]

Not only Christology, but soteriology is contingent upon the *pactum salutis*. For

Goodwin, Christology is almost synonymous with soteriology.   He makes a number of

particularly explicit statements to this effect. For example, he argues that all soteric benefits are

purchased by Christ. They are said to be 'by grace' because they are by Christ's merits. Indeed,

all soteric blessings are bestowed by the 'compact' (covenant) made with Christ; 'by virtue of

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[95] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 26.
[96] Gillespie, *Ark of the Covenant*, 84.
[97] *The Heart of Christ in Heaven Towards Sinners on Earth* (London: Charles Greene, 1642), 142.
[98] *Heart of Christ*, 143.
[99] In his exposition on Ephesians, Goodwin ties together merit and glory with the *pactum salutis*: 'And though I know Divines say, he merited nothing for himself, because all was his due as he was the Son of God, and it is a truth; but I cannot see but he might have a double title to Glory, and Resurrection, and all, and might purchase it and merit it; it was by the *Blood of the everlasting Covenant* (Heb. 13:20).' *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 402. Christ's twofold glory will be discussed in Chapter Nine.

which Compacts his Merits are accepted for us: So that though Christ layed down a Price worth all the Grace and Glory we shall have, yet that it should be accepted for us, and all that Grace bestowed on us, comes from this Compact and Covenant made by God with Christ, to accept it for us; and the acceptation of it for us, depends as much on that Covenant made with Christ as on his Merits.'[100] A number of important aspects about Goodwin's theology arise from the aforementioned quote.

First, as has been noted above, there can be no divorce between Christology and soteriology. Therefore, any discussion of the *pactum salutis* with regard to Christology will inevitably be bound up with Soteriological concerns. Second, while Christ has paid the price for the salvation of his people, thus satisfying the justice of the Father, God forgives his people by an act of Grace in the context of the covenant. Hence, the Reformed orthodox, against the Jesuits, according to Goodwin, have argued that Christ's merits are *ex compacto*, 'and not which absolutely could oblige God to us.'[101] So, far from rejecting the concept of merit, Calvin can argue that '[b]y his obedience ... Christ truly acquired and merited grace for us with his Father.'[102] This 'merit', however, must be understood in the context of 'covenant'; that is, the receiving of Christ's merits takes place in the context of the covenant of grace based upon the eternal covenant of redemption.[103]

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[100] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 29.
[101] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 29.
[102] *Institutes*, II.xvii.3. Witsius posits: 'The obedience of Christ bears to these blessings, not only the relation on antecedent to consequent, but of merit to reward: so that his obedience is the cause, and the condition now fulfilled, by virtue of which he has a right to the reward, as several express passages of scripture declare.' *The Oeconomy*, II.iii.32. The concept of merit, especially in the context of the covenant of works, will be discussed below in more detail.
[103] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 29.

Goodwin's emphasis on the role of the Spirit in the *pactum salutis* represents one of his significant contributions to Reformed orthodoxy. While the roles of the Father and Son are clearly defined in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century treatments on the *pactum salutis*, Trueman has suggested that Edward Fisher and Peter Bulkeley, by focussing exclusively on the Father-Son relationship, are 'arguably vulnerable to the accusation of developing a sub-Trinitarian foundation for the economy of salvation.'[104] According to Trueman, Owen's great contribution to the *pactum salutis* is his attention to the role of the Spirit in the eternal covenant.[105] However, whether the Spirit involves himself in the 'covenant-transactions', so to speak, is not all that clear in seventeenth-century formulations of the *pactum salutis*. For example, Rutherford clearly affirms a trinitarian economy of redemption wherein all the persons are involved in the salvation of sinners. However, he considers whether this necessarily means all three persons are actual covenanting partners at the *pactum salutis*. He asks:

> Did not the Holy Ghost also from eternity, say Amen, and agree to be sent by the Father and the Son, to lead the Saints in all truth, to sanctifie, to comfort them? And did not the Father and the Son from eternity decree to send the Spirit? And did not the Spirit also consent to the decree before the world was? And so shall there be also a Covenant between the Father and the Son sending the Spirit, Joh. 14.26. Joh. 16.13,14,15. And the Spirit who is sent?[106]

Rutherford's answer is an interesting one, which shows that the seventeenth-century Reformed orthodox did not all agree on the trinitarian nature of the *pactum salutis*. He argues

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[104] *John Owen*, 86. Van Asselt, likewise, mentions the charge – made by Karl Barth – that the *pactum salutis* is not sufficiently Trinitarian. *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius*, 233.

[105] *John Owen*, 86. The words of Owen that are particularly important are: 'the Holy Spirit, who is evidently concurring, in his own distinct operation, to all the several chief or grand parts of this work.' *Works*, X, *The Death of Death*, 178. Van Asselt has shown, as well, that Cocceius 'makes explicit comments regarding the role of the Holy Spirit in the *pactum salutis*.' *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius*, 223.

[106] *The Covenant of Life Opened* (Edinburgh, 1655), 304-05.

that not all mutual intratrinitarian agreements must be called 'covenants'. So, in reference to whether the Spirit is a covenanting party in the covenant of redemption, he suggests that only the Son is ordained (1 Pet. 1:20), with his own consent, to be the Mediator and thus be the 'Covenant-Obeyer'. Hence, in this agreement, what Rutherford calls a 'Covenant-transaction', 'the Holy Ghost comes not under.'[107] Moreover, Brooks defines the covenant of redemption as a 'compact, bargain and agreement between God the father, and God the son, designed Mediator; concerning the conversion, sanctification and salvation of the Elect.'[108] Finally, the *Savoy Declaration* seems to speak only of the Father and the Son in the covenant of redemption: 'It pleased God, in his eternal purpose, to choose and ordain the Lord Jesus his only begotten Son, according to a covenant made between them both ...' (8.1). Thus the role of the Spirit in the covenant of redemption was by no means obvious or taken for granted.

The above discussion serves as ample motive to consider Goodwin's perspective on the question of the active participation of the Holy Spirit as a party to the *pactum salutis*. In light of Goodwin's orthodox trinitarianism, the Spirit was present by an ontological necessity when the Father commissioned the Son and the Son accepted the proposal. Durham notes the ontological necessity of the three persons being present when he argues, speaking of the covenant of redemption, that there are two parties involved; on the one side, God essentially considered as all three persons, and on the other side, Christ. Durham notes: 'all the three persons ... give the command ... and concur as the infinitely wise orderers of the decree'.[109] Durham argues, then, for the Spirit's role as a contracting partner. For Goodwin, because there is a joint concurrence of

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[107] *The Covenant of Life*, 304-05.
[108] *Paradice Opened,* 68. While the bulk of his exposition is principally taken up with the transactions between the Father and the Son, Brooks does, however, mention the role of the Spirit in two places (see pages 88 & 169).
[109] *Christ Crucified: or, The marrow of the Gospel Evidently Holden Forth in LXXII Sermons, on the Whole 53 Chapter of Isaiah* (Edinburgh, 1683), 157.

170

all three persons in every action – *opera Trinitatis ad extra sunt indivisa* – the Spirit is also party to every divine work. The question, however, is whether Goodwin presents the person of the Spirit as a third contracting party in this covenant.

Reading only Goodwin's exposition of the *pactum salutis* in *Of Christ the Mediator* may indicate that Goodwin understood the covenant of redemption primarily in terms of a Father-Son agreement. At the same time, though, he does maintain in *Of Christ the Mediator* that the Father 'draws the platform of all the works that the other *two Persons do put their hand to effect*' (emphasis added).[110] This statement makes clear that Goodwin understood the eternal transactions as a trinitarian activity. The idea that the Spirit would not freely undertake the work the Father had set for him would have massive ramifications for Goodwin's doctrine of the Trinity. Moreover, in his work *Of the Holy Ghost*, he makes a number of comments on the role of the Spirit in those eternal intratrinitarian transactions.[111] He identifies the Spirit as the 'Recorder' of the transactions that took place in the eternal counsels (Heb. 10:7-15), for, the Spirit 'hears all that passeth' between the Father and the Son (Jn. 16:13). Furthermore, the Spirit did not only stand by 'as a bare Witness'; rather, 'he was sent down by both as a principal Actor'.[112] Goodwin is particularly explicit concerning the Spirit's role in the *pactum salutis* when he describes the essence of the dialogue between the three persons concerning man's restoration. Thus, he suggests a type of intra-trinitarian dialogue to convey this point.

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[110] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 6.

[111] Muller argues that early Reformed orthodox theologians – Perkins, Polanus, and Ussher, for example – 'paid remarkably close attention to the dictum of Christian doctrine that all activity of God *ad extra* is the common work of the entire Trinity and, in order to sustain this dictum, they paid strict attention to the necessarily trinitarian structures at the ground of all doctrine .... This was particularly true of the trinitarian motif, which ceased to function as prominently in the treatment of the eternal counsel. I know of only two thinkers prior to Gill who noted this problem and attempted a partial solution, Franz Burmann and Petrus van Mastricht.' 'The Spirit and the Covenant: John Gill's Critique of the *Pactum Salutis*,' *Foundations* 24 (1981), 5-6. The truth of Muller's contention rests on whether the evidence below, in both Goodwin and Owen, is strong enough to prove that the Spirit functions prominently in the eternal counsel, the *pactum salutis*.

[112] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 386.

I will chuse him to Life, saith the Father, but he will fall, and so fall short of what my Love designed to him: but I will redeem him, says the Son, out of that lost Estate: but yet being fallen he will refuse that grace, and the offers of it, and despise it, therefore *I will Sanctify him, said the Holy Ghost*, and overcome his unrighteousness, and cause him to accept it (emphasis added).[113]

Clearly, then, the Spirit has an important role in the eternal intratrinitarian transactions, a role not only confined to the temporal administration of the *foedus gratiae*, but one that speaks of his soteric activity.

Stemming from the explicit trinitarian nature of the *pactum salutis*, the work of the Spirit occupies a central place in Christological and soteriological discussions. For example, the trinitarian nature of redemption begins at the incarnation, 'the greatest work of wonder that ever God did',[114] which was effected according to the Father's appointment of a body for the Son (Heb. 10:5) by the Holy Spirit (Lk. 1:35). The Father declared his will in this matter to the Son and the Spirit. Moreover, the trinitarian nature of the incarnation 'began the New Testament'.[115] Goodwin calls intratrinitarian transactions 'secret' dealings; in the case of redemption, 'the Father giving and recommending, the Son apprehending, both sending the Holy Ghost into the Heart'.[116] Similarly, in his exposition of the *pactum salutis*, Owen notes the distinct actions of the Spirit by drawing attention to the Spirit's work in the incarnation. But, besides the incarnation, the Spirit equipped Christ for his public ministry, enabled Christ to offer himself in

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[113] *Works*, III, *Mans Restauration*, 19. Goodwin is also rather explicit about a triune conversation – 'there was the highest and freest mutual Converse held between the Three Persons amongst themselves from Everlasting …. They spake one to the other, and one of another' – in eternity concerning redemption. *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 130.

[114] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 385.

[115] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 387. Incidentally, Goodwin notes that Reformed divines have not given requisite attention to the trinitarian nature of the incarnation. Instead, they have focused on Christ's baptism and his transfiguration. Christ's baptism, argues Goodwin, makes public what had already been 'uttered and transacted between the three Persons in secret'. *Works*, V, *Holy Ghost*, 387.

[116] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 389.

his oblation, and raised him from the dead.[117] Gillespie, too, in his work on the covenant of redemption, makes reference to the Spirit's role in the incarnation (Lk. 1:35).[118] He also gives attention to the soteric aspect of the Spirit's work in, for example, regeneration, sanctification, and sealing the hearts of believers.[119]

Furthermore, Goodwin's work, *Man's Restauration by Grace*, represents the full-orbed nature of the distinct acts of the persons in the Godhead in the redemption of fallen sinners. Concerning the aim of this particular work, he writes: 'the work of Salvation as it hath been transacted by the three Persons is the subject before me.'[120] The word 'transactions' is particularly prominent in Goodwin's exposition of the *pactum salutis* in *Of Christ the Mediator*. That he uses the term here, in the context of redemption by the triune God, is further evidence that Goodwin resisted any sort of sub-trinitarian foundation for the history of redemption. Hence, the basic structure of Goodwin's soteriology is trinitarian. Though the three Persons share in the same essence, and thus have an equal hand in all *ad extra* operations, their order of subsistence and distinct personalities allows for various works – works that bear resemblance to their personalities – to follow the distinction of their existences ('if abstractly considered from the essence').[121] Thus, certain works bear the character of one Person more than of another. For example, election is attributed to the Father (2 Tim. 2:19); redemption, flowing from and depending on election is appropriated to the Son (Heb. 9:15-17); and the application of election and redemption is ascribed to the Spirit (Eph. 4:30) since his subsistence proceeds from the

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[117] *Works*, X, *The Death of Death*, 178-79. Owen's pneumatological concern to give attention to the Spirit's work on Christ during his public ministry is crucial to understanding seventeenth-century Reformed orthodox Christology. This concern was shared by Goodwin who wrote extensively on the work of the Spirit on Christ in his mediatorial role. The 'Spirit-Christology' of both Goodwin and Owen will receive detailed attention below.
[118] *Ark of the Covenant*, 173.
[119] *Ark of the Covenant*, 173.
[120] *Works*, III, *Mans Restauration*, 2.
[121] *Works*, III, *Mans Restauration*, 9.

Father and the Son.[122] As noted above, Goodwin calls these works immanent (i.e. God towards us), transient (Christ for us), and applicatory (Spirit in us).[123]

Van Asselt's comments regarding the role of the Holy Spirit in the *pactum salutis* in Cocceius' theology would therefore perhaps represent an understatement of Goodwin's own position. Van Asselt suggests that the Holy Spirit is involved in the *pactum salutis*, but not as a legal partner. In other words, the Spirit is 'not a negotiating subject, but an implementing subject in his role as *potentia Deitatis*.'[124] The reason for this in Cocceius, according to van Asselt, is that the Holy Spirit is not a legal partner in the *pactum salutis* and there is no functional subordination as there is for the Son. That is to say, the Spirit 'does not submit himself to the law (of works) in the way that the Son submits himself to the Father in the *pactum salutis*.'[125] Goodwin, however, seems to go beyond Cocceius in terms of the Spirit's legal role.

Because of the relative Scriptural silence on the Spirit as a negotiating partner, Goodwin spends a good deal of effort on understanding the roles of the Father and the Son as the principal partners at the covenant of redemption. That is not to say, however, that there is no place for the Spirit. After all, Goodwin argues that the Spirit was 'sent down by both as a principal Actor'[126] and received his work from the Father.[127] Thus, in the economy of redemption, the Spirit plays a significant role in the application of Christ's mediatorial work. Cocceius focuses his attention on the Spirit's role not in the *pactum salutis* – though, as van Asselt notes, his 'immanent-Trinitarian role within the *pactum salutis* can be assumed' – but in the history of redemption, the

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[122] *Works*, III, *Mans Restauration*, 12-13.
[123] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 374.
[124] *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius*, 235.
[125] *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius*, 235.
[126] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 386.
[127] *Works*, III, *Christ the Mediator*, 6.

covenant of grace.[128] Goodwin, likewise, gives more attention to the Spirit's role in the history of redemption than his role as a covenanting partner. But because the Spirit plays such a significant role in the redemption and restoration of man in Goodwin's theology, it would be unwise to conceive of the *pactum salutis* purely in terms of Father-Son transactions. After all, the *pactum salutis* is an argument for the *ad intra* trinitarian grounding for the *ad extra* work of salvation.

Subsequent chapters will bear this out, but for now the point that the eternal intratrinitarian transactions – understood in terms of the *pactum salutis* – acting as the foundation for the temporal administration of the *foedus gratiae* cannot be overstated. The *pactum salutis*, if understood broadly to include the Christological and soteric work of the Spirit, represents the necessary trinitarian framework for understanding the person and work of Christ in Goodwin's theology.

Concluding the Covenant

With the terms of the covenant set in order to secure the full redemption of fallen sinners, Goodwin argues that there 'was never such Joy in Heaven, as upon this happy Conclusion and Agreement. The whole Trinity rejoyced in it.'[129] In fact, the persons of the Godhead delighted more in this agreement than in all their works, *ad extra*. Based on Proverbs 8, besides the internal, essential, and personal delights each person shared with one another, the Father and the Son are said to delight in the 'sons of men' (Prov. 8:31).[130] Only because of the certainty of redemption – such is the efficacy of the *pactum salutis* – could the Father and the Son have such

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[128] *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius*, 235.
[129] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 30.
[130] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 30.

thoughts towards the 'sons of men'. The salvation of humankind was, therefore, in 'sure hands, even afore the World was' because the Father and Christ 'had engaged themselves by Covenant ... the one to dye, the other to accept it for us.'[131] Furthermore, 'what Christ hath done to the accomplishment of all this, and what fulness was in him for it ... makes up the Second Part of this Glorious Story.'[132] In a similar way to Goodwin, Brooks mentions that 'Christ takes a singular pleasure in the work of our Redemption', and both Christ and the Father, upon concluding the covenant, 'forget the hard labour [and] ... are so greatly refreshed, delighted ... and satisfied, that they forget their former pains and sorrow.'[133] For Goodwin and Brooks, the delight of the Father, Son, and Spirit rests upon the certainty and efficacy of the covenant of redemption in redeeming sinners, despite the fact that the temporal administration of the covenant of grace had not yet taken place in time, but only in the decree.

Conclusion

Reformed theologians in the seventeenth century, such as Goodwin, Owen, Gillespie, Cocceius, and Witsius, clarified and gave added attention to the doctrine known as the *pactum salutis* (covenant of redemption). This pretemporal covenant between the persons of the Trinity provides the inviolable foundation for God's acts in time, the temporal covenant of grace (*foedus gratiae*). As evidenced, this doctrine is foundational to Goodwin's Christology. Thus, the person and work of the Mediator, Jesus Christ, must be understood in the broader pretemporal context of the eternal covenant of redemption. As was previously noted, an example of this is that Christ's death as efficacious for only the elect of Jews and Gentiles is contingent upon his

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[131] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 31.
[132] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 31.
[133] *Paradice Opened*, 83.

agreement with the Father. Moreover, Christ's obedience to the Father is rewarded with a glory peculiar to Christ as Mediator, a glory distinct but not separate from the glory that is Christ's by virtue of his hypostatic union. Therefore, without properly understanding the eternal nature of salvation, Goodwin's Christology – thus, his soteriology – becomes unintelligible. The central thesis of this study, namely, that Goodwin's Christology is contingent upon his doctrine of the covenant of redemption, is becoming evident. *Cur Deus Homo?* is answered; Christ is the Christ of the covenant.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE PERSON OF CHRIST

How God, and Man did both embrace each other,
Yet in one person, heau'n, and earth did kiss,
And how a Virgin did become a Mother,
And bare that Sonne, who the worlds Father is,
And Maker of his mother, and how Bliss
Descended from the bosome of the High,
To cloath himselfe in naked miserie,
Wyling at length to heau'n, in earth, triumphantly![1]

Introduction

Goodwin's exposition of the pretemporal intratrinitarian covenant of redemption described in the previous chapter provides the ground for Christology. That is, the *pactum salutis* brings in to focus the person and work of the Mediator, Jesus Christ. Goodwin's principal work on Christology, *Of Christ the Mediator*, moves naturally from a discussion of the *pactum salutis* to a consideration of the person of the Mediator before finally discussing Christ's work. Therefore, Goodwin adopts a person-work schema in setting out his Christology.[2] This schema should not, however, be understood in an overly mechanical fashion. Indeed, for Goodwin, the relationship between the person and work of Christ, while logical, is nevertheless organic. In other words, just as one cannot speak of Christ's person without mentioning also his work, so too one cannot understand Christ's work unless one appreciates that it is his work. Thus, for example, Goodwin insists 'that which put the value on Christ's Satisfaction was the worth of his Person.'[3]

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[1] Giles Fletcher, *Christs Victorie, and Triumph in Heauen, and Earth, Ouer, and After Death* (Cambridge, 1610), A1.

[2] See also Burroughs, *Gospel Revelation*, 57ff.

[3] *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 8. See also *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 136.

In this respect, Goodwin follows a similar order as the *Racovian Catechism* though with very different presuppositions and conclusions.[4] The *Racovian Catechism* begins by rejecting an orthodox view of Christ's person, which necessarily leads to an altogether different understanding of his work compared to the Reformed orthodox person-work schema. This chapter will therefore address Goodwin's understanding of the person of the Mediator, Jesus Christ, in order to better understand his work in the following chapter. As noted in the *Status Quaestionis*, the secondary literature on Goodwin has generally, with the exception of Blackham, focused on Goodwin's understanding of the work of Christ without considering first – and more appropriately – his doctrine of Christ's person.

The Divine Son

The basic structure of Goodwin's trinitarianism has been set forth, especially with regards to the intra-trinitarian relations between the persons of the Godhead. While the three persons do have distinctions in terms of the economy of salvation, they do share in the same essence, and are therefore coequal, coeternal, and consubstantial. In the seventeenth century, the deity of the Father was granted by both the orthodox and unorthodox alike. However, the deity of the Son proved more difficult to defend exegetically on account of the functional (i.e. economic) subordination of the Son in the incarnation. Before addressing the particulars of the Son as Mediator more needs to be said about Goodwin's exegetical defence of the Son's divinity.

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[4] Trueman notes that Owen preferred the work-person schema, 'but his method in *Vindiciae Evangelicae* of answering his opponents line by line meant that this was not an option here.' *Claims of Truth*, 152-53.

In Goodwin's defence of the Son's deity he claims not to 'confute the Errors that are abroad', but rather to 'set forth that Person which the Glass of the Gospel holds forth.'[5] However, only a few paragraphs later he criticizes the Socinians for 'impudently' suggesting that 'Christ began but then to exist actually, when he was first conceived by the Holy Ghost in the Virgins Womb'.[6] The errors around (i.e. 'abroad') no doubt refer primarily to the Socinians who were Goodwin's chief polemical targets in his work, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ*. This particular work does not rise to the same polemical heights as Owen's response to Biddle in *Vindiciae Evangelicae*; nor is Goodwin as explicit. Yet, the same basic goal is in mind, namely, the promulgation of an orthodox view of the person of Jesus Christ. Thus, Goodwin, despite occasionally referencing Socinian theology, displays a more irenic tone than Owen in the defence of Reformed orthodoxy.

The Word

The divinity of Christ is proved, according to Goodwin, from the two 'eminent' titles given to him in the first chapter of John, the Word (*ho logos*, Jn. 1:1) and the Son of God (Jn. 1:14).[7] Not only for Goodwin, but for all of the Reformed orthodox, the first chapter of John's gospel was indisputable proof of the pre-existence of the Son of God as one coequal with the Father. The *Racovian Catechism* disputes the Reformed orthodox contention that the title of 'Word', applied to Christ, has reference to his divine nature. In fact, it is argued that quite the opposite is the case

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[5] *Works*, II, *Knowledge of God the Father*, 51.
[6] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 52. The phrase 'Son of God' is actually not in the text of John 1:14; Goodwin appears to have made a mistake, or he is deducing 'Son of God' by implication of the text ('the only begotten of the Father').
[7] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 59.

since because 'he is the Word of the one God it is evident that he is not that God.'[8] Rather, the 'Word' as the interpreter of God and the 'beginning', referred to in John 1, have reference not to eternity but to the beginning of the Gospel.[9] John Arrowsmith, in response to the claims of the Socinians, wrote an extended treatment of John 1 – over 300 pages – in an attempt to prove the eternity and divinity of the Son. Arrowsmith's tone suggests that, in his mind, the polemical situation in the seventeenth century was not altogether different than the occasion when John first penned this Gospel account. According to Arrowsmith, John wrote his gospel in response to 'evil inveterate Corrupt Hereticks' whose 'barking ... occasioned the taking notice of that truth of the Divinity of Christ.'[10] And, 'the same Hereticks are with us now: we have our own ... to this day, that deny the Divinity of Christ, and say, He had no being till he took it from the Virgin Mary.'[11] John's gospel provided the Reformed orthodox with their most powerful exegetical argument in their defence of the deity of Christ. How, then, did the Reformed maintain Christian orthodoxy, with particular reference to John 1, in the face of fresh assaults from Socinian literature such as the *Racovian Catechism*?

For Goodwin, the title of 'the Word' (*ho logos*) is not a reference to Christ being the thought or counsel of the Father's mind since this 'inclines too much unto the Notion of Plato, and other Heathen Philosophers.'[12] Goodwin is not unaware that the *logos* title had been used before John's time by various Greek philosophers. However, in his mind, John refers to Christ as 'the Word' not because of Greek influences but because of the evidence in the Old Testament itself. As a result, both Philo and Plato, by using the terminology of *ho logos*, are guilty of

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[8] *Racovian Catechism*, 139.
[9] *Racovian Catechism*, 63.
[10] *Theanthropos*, 5.
[11] *Theanthropos*, 5.
[12] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 60.

stealing 'their knowledge from the Jews, and vend[ing] it as their own.'[13] This has reference to the well-known theory about *prisca theologia* (ancient theology) – often in the context of Christian apologetics – that explains why vestiges of the truth can be found in the writings of 'pagans' (e.g. Plato).[14] For example, a number of Jewish Rabbis insisted that affinities between the thought of Plato and the Old Testament scriptures are a result of Plato either learning or borrowing from the Old Testament prophet Jeremiah.[15] Evidently, in the case of Goodwin, this view was very much alive in the seventeenth century.

Goodwin shows that the title, 'the Word', was used by the Jews as a reference to the Messiah in the Aramaic Targums, what Goodwin calls the 'Caldee Paraphrasts'.[16] So, for example, Goodwin quotes the Isaiah Targum (Isa. 45:17), which makes several references to the divine Word (*Memra*). Hence, 'Israel is saved by the *Memra* of the LORD with an everlasting salvation'.[17] Moreover, the Masoretic Text of Hosea 1:7 ('... and will save them by the LORD their God ...') is paraphrased by the Aramaic Targum as 'I will redeem them by the *Word* of the Lord their God.' Referring to Christ as 'the Word', then, is a virtual assertion of his divinity because of how the Aramaic Targums make use of the title, 'the Word'.[18] Not only, then, does the immediate context of John 1 show that Christ is the divine Word who existed in eternity, but the very fact that John calls Christ 'the Word' is evidence in itself for the deity of Christ because of how the Jews would have understood such terminology in their first-century context.

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[13] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 62.

[14] On the *prisca theologia*, see D.P. Walker, 'The *Prisca Theologia* in France', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 17, No. 3/4 (1954), 204-259; Fabrizio Lelli, '*Prisca Philosophia* and *Docta Religio*: The Boundaries of Rational Knowledge in Jewish and Christian Humanist Thought', *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 41 (July-October, 2000), 53-99.

[15] Moshe Ideal, 'Kabbalah, Platonism and Prisca Theologia: The Case of R. Menasseh Ben Israel' in Lenn E. Goodman, *Neoplatonism and Jewish Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 207-215.

[16] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 62.

[17] The KJV, based on the Masoretic Text (MT) in the OT, reads: 'But Israel shall be saved in the LORD with an everlasting salvation' (Isa. 45:17).

[18] Owen, too, makes use of the Aramaic Targums – what he calls the 'Syriac translation' – to prove the divinity of Christ. See *Works*, XII, *Vindiciae Evangelicae*, 218; *Works*, XXI, *Hebrews*, 354-56.

Besides the rich Old Testament background to the 'Word' title, Goodwin holds that it imports 'what God had afore all Worlds ordained Christ to be', hence the 'Word' terminology has an implicit reference to the pretemporal covenant agreement between the Father and the Son. The title is 'ordained' to Christ on account of his person and work.[19] Interestingly, Goodwin makes a connection between the 'Word' terminology and the relation it bears to redemptive history that is not too dissimilar to the claims of the Socinians. Goodwin argues that the title of 'Word' 'imports what he was to be when the World began, and after the World began, unto the World and to the Saints' (1 Jn. 1:1-2). Christ, as 'the Word, reveals eternal life, 'which was with the Father' (1 Jn. 1:2). Of course, Goodwin utterly rejects the claim of the Socinians that the Son only began to exist as the 'Word' during the revelation of the gospel. But, like the Socinians, he does see a connection between John 1 and 1 John 1 concerning the title, 'the Word' and its redemptive connotation.[20]

Unlike the Socinians, however, Goodwin sees the words, 'in the beginning' (Jn. 1:1), when compared with Hebrews 1, as clearly an allusion to Genesis 1:1, 'which notes ... Existence afore'.[21] Besides Goodwin, both Owen and Arrowsmith provide extended treatments of how 'in the beginning' ought not to be taken in John 1:1 as referring to the gospel dispensation but to Christ's existence before the time of the gospel.[22] Likewise, Turretin argues that 'in the beginning' (Jn. 1:1) does not refer to the 'beginning of the gospel or of the new creation (as the adversaries maintain), but in the beginning of time. For no other beginning can be meant here than that of which Moses speaks (Gen. 1:1) – to which John manifestly alludes.'[23] When it came to the defence of Christ's deity the Reformed orthodox had their favourite texts, such as John

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[19] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 62.
[20] *Racovian Catechism*, 63-65.
[21] *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*, 5.
[22] See Owen, *Works*, XII, *Vindiciae Evangelicae*, 216-23; Arrowsmith, *Theanthropos*, 21ff.
[23] *Institutes*, III.xxviii.14.

1:1, which almost invariably led them to the same conclusions. In referring to Christ as the 'Word', then, Goodwin brings out a richness of meaning in terms of not only the Son's deity, but also how the Son conveys, as 'the Word', the revelation of the Father's will concerning salvation. In terms of the Son's deity, while the 'Word' terminology is significant, Goodwin devotes more space to expounding the title whose use is more often found in the Scriptures, 'the Son of God.'

The Son of God

When speaking of Christ's divinity Goodwin prefers the term '*the* Son of God'.[24] This term, which describes the substance of Christ's person, 'is one of the great Foundations of the Gospel'.[25] Against the Reformed orthodox, the Socinians understood the term 'Son of God' – a term they used frequently – to refer to Christ's office as Mediator.[26] Hence, they argued that Christ, as the Son of God, began to exist actually when miraculously conceived in the virgin's womb, only existing beforehand by promise.[27] Goodwin is adamant, however, that Christ is called the Son of God not by virtue of the incarnation but because of who he was before the incarnation. His exegesis, then, focuses on passages that have reference to Christ's pre-incarnate sonship.

Goodwin's trajectory proceeds – at least, initially – along several lines of argument. First, John the Baptist's declaration that Christ was before him (Jn. 1:15, 30), though he was born

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[24] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 64. The definite article (*ho*) is important to Goodwin; whereas the title 'a Son of God' is common to others, the title 'the Son of God' is peculiar to Christ alone. See *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 69.

[25] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 65.

[26] See Muller, *PRRD*, IV, 275-78.

[27] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 52.

184

after him, is evidence of Christ's eternal sonship. Second, based on Hebrews 3:5-6, Christ is spoken of as being a Son over his house, even in the Old Testament (Num. 12:7). Third, in connection with Hebrews 1:1, Christ, as the Son, is said to have existed at the creation of the world. Fourth, on account of the concurrence of the work of the Father and the Son since the creation of the world (Jn. 5:17-19), the Son cannot only have begun to exist at the time of the incarnation. Fifth, in Hebrews 7:3, where Christ is expressly termed the Son of God, Melchizedek is said to be made like the Son of God, 'having neither beginning of days, nor end of life' (Heb 7:3). Hence, Melchizedek is likened to Christ whose pre-existence is 'in a real and substantial manner true of him', of which Melchizedek is only a shadow and type.[28] Thus, for Goodwin, Christ is not called a Son on the basis of his miraculous conception. Rather, the Son of God was sent and 'made of a Woman' (Gal. 4:4), proving that he existed before his conception.

After having given these reasons why the title 'Son of God' implies pre-existent divinity, Goodwin demonstrates that he is not unaware of Socinian interpretations of this title. Psalm 2:7 ('Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee.') proved to be a much disputed text in the seventeenth-century. The *Racovian Catechism* asks: 'What reply do you make to the second testimony from Psalm ii.7?'[29] The answer declares that Psalm 2:7 'asserts nothing concerning the generation of Christ out of the essence of the Father .... for since the words THIS DAY denote a fixed period of time, they cannot imply eternity.'[30] Goodwin answers, however:

> God's to Day, is the stile of Eternity. *Verbs* and *Adverbs* of the present Time do best express Eternity. *Before Abraham was, I am, John 8:58. And I AM hath sent thee, Exod. 3.14.* So, *to Day have I begotten thee.* To Day with God is no to Morrow, nor Yesterday. As God was always God, so always a Father .... And although this

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[28] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 65.
[29] *Racovian Catechism*, 72.
[30] *Racovian Catechism*, 72.

Scripture of Psal. 2. is applied to the Resurrection of Christ, Acts 13.32, 33. yet 'tis evident, by Paul's quotation of it, Heb. 1.4. and his denying, unto all the Angels, that so transcendent a Generation intended in that second Psalm by the Psalmist.[31]

Goodwin's argument against the Socinians is echoed by the Dutch Reformed scholastic theologian Johann Hoornbeeck (1617-1666). Hoornbeeck argues, against the Socinian claims, that Psalm 2:7 should not be understood in a strictly temporal way, but rather in a manner fit for God (*theoprepos*), that is, this Psalm attributes a temporal moment to God, though God by his very nature is outside of time.[32] Both Goodwin's and Hoornbeeck's arguments are fairly representative of the Reformed orthodox tradition on this point. Thus, for the Father to say 'today' is to speak accommodatingly, that is, to express the temporal nature of the incarnation, and not to make an ontological statement concerning the Son. The Socinian interpretation of Psalm 2:7 is a further example of their anti-metaphysical presuppositions which inevitably lead to different conclusions than the Reformed orthodox. So, for Goodwin, when the Father says 'today I have begotten thee', eternity is meant, not the present only. The past and the future are included in God's 'today'. Thus Christ is the eternal Son of God, not merely the Son of the eternal God. Goodwin concludes that a person who existed before the world was formed, and is thus divine, must possess an eminent title, 'the import of which should be to speak his Relation unto God. And if so, then surely it must be this, which is thus afore given him by those Prophets, and as uttered by God, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*, *Psal. 2.7*.'[33] The temporal confirms what was true in eternity, namely, that a Father-Son relationship existed.

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[31] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 66.

[32] *Socinianismus Confutatus* (Utrecht, 1660), II.i. Regarding the concept of *theoprepos*, Turretin suggests that 'Repentance is attributed to God after the manner of men (*anthropopathos*) but must be understood after the manner of God (*theoprepos*): not with respect to his counsel, but to the event; not in reference to his will, but to the thing willed ...' *Institutes*, III.xi.11.

[33] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 68.

Goodwin's defence of Christ's divinity has important consequences for his understanding of the work of Christ. As noted above, the relationship between Christ's person and his work is organic and so any discussion of Goodwin's Christology must keep in mind both the person and the work of the Mediator. More than that, as this study argues, the *pactum salutis* plays an important role in Goodwin's exposition of *Christ the Mediator*. In fact, according to Goodwin, if Christ is not the eternal Son of God, 'very God of very God', then he could not have been present at the making of the *pactum salutis*. The one who was 'made a Covenant for us' needed to be present at the 'first striking of the bargain, and should be privy to the Plot, and know the bottom of Gods Counsel in it ... and should know for whom, and what he was to purchase, and upon what Conditions.'[34] Because this 'Plot' is as 'Ancient as Eternity' no creature could have been present. Goodwin argues that since Christ is, by virtue of his divinity, 'Mighty God', he must have had council with the Father from eternity. Thus, Christ was presents 'at the first pricking down our Names, and foreknew all Gods choice. He stood at Gods Elbow and consulted with him, whose Names to put in: (*Then I was by him*, saies he, Prov. 8.30). And so became their *Everlasting Father*: begetting them in the Womb of Eternal Election.'[35] An important Christological point is therefore confirmed by the nature of the *pactum salutis*.

Such is the nature of the covenant of redemption that only one who is God could have been present before the foundation of the world when the election of individuals to salvation was plotted. But, more than that, the very nature of the pretemporal covenant, that is, the conditions of the covenant, necessitated that 'no meer Creature was fit to undertake them'.[36] According to

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[34] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 37.
[35] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 37.
[36] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 37.

Goodwin, it was unfitting that a creature should execute or determine the plan of salvation, and thus leave 'such Legacies, as the Promises of Heaven, Pardon of Sin'.[37] Indeed, Christ is the mediator of the New Testament because he offered himself up by the eternal Spirit (Heb. 9:14), 'that is by his Godhead'. The covenant agreement includes the satisfactory death of Christ; in this respect Goodwin is connecting the covenant with the concept of testament, something that Owen does as well. Hebrews 8 speaks of a 'testament' (*diatheke*), and, for Owen, 'there can be no testament, but there must be death for the confirmation of it, Heb. ix.16.'[38] This testament, however, not only establishes God's 'legacies', but it also has the power to effect changes in the human heart (Heb. 8:10-11). 'And', asks Goodwin, 'what Creature could do this? .... God would not vouchsafe to Treat or Trade with any meer Creature, upon so high and deep engagements ... to share alike, as in that Covenant thus made.'[39] Thus, the Mediator must not only be man, but God.

Moreover, from the perspective of God's people, the object of their faith, especially as justifying, is an honour 'not fit to be put upon any Creature .... Any Creature had been too weak a foundation to build the Faith of the Church upon'.[40] Due to the fact that the Mediator (Jesus Christ), who is the object of justifying faith, is divine, the threat of 'miscarriage', as in the case of Adam, cannot exist. Pastorally, for God's people, their confidence in the Mediator – who fulfills the terms of the covenant – is in large part contingent upon the person of Christ, who is God. Again, in all of this, Goodwin's doctrine of Christ's person is explicitly connected to, and also defended on account of, the *pactum salutis*. But, in light of this, Goodwin asks why the Son of God is chosen to be the Mediator and not the Father or the Spirit.

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[37] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 37.
[38] *Works*, XXIII, *Exposition of Hebrews*, 61.
[39] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 38.
[40] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 39.

Of Christ the Mediator

Why the Son *Must be Mediator*

Goodwin's argument that the Mediator must be God necessitates that one of the three persons becomes the Mediator. For Goodwin, the reasons that the Son, and not the Father or the Spirit, must be appointed to the offices of prophet, priest, and king are several. The first, and most basic, reason has reference to Goodwin's doctrine of the Trinity. The *idiōmata* (proper qualities) and titles 'by which the Persons of the Trinity are distinguished, should be kept and preserved distinct'.[41] The Son of God is, by virtue of his title, more appropriately the Son of Man and the Son of a woman. In other words, it was not 'fit' that in the Trinity there should be two persons who both bear the title of 'Son.'[42] Turretin likewise argues that the Holy Spirit, for example, could not be sent to be Mediator because 'there would have been two sons, the second person by eternal generation and the third by an incarnation in time.'[43] Trinitarian implications factor into this theological question.

Therefore, the order of subsistence among the persons of the Trinity is decisive for both Goodwin and Turretin. The order between the three persons is maintained by the Son becoming the Mediator, 'for both the Son and the Holy Ghost being from the Father in subsisting, are not to send the Father, who is the First.'[44] Arrowsmith also argues that the Father should not be the Mediator; 'For who should send him? He is of none, and therefore could not be sent.'[45] Brooks echoes Arrowsmith almost identically: 'it agrees to reason, that the first Person in the Trinity should not be the Mediator; *for who should send him? He is of none, and therefore could not be*

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[41] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 41.
[42] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 41.
[43] *Institutes*, XIII.iv.5.
[44] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 41.
[45] *Theanthropos*, 214.

sent' (emphasis added).[46] Thus, for Goodwin, Arrowsmith, and Brooks, the order of subsistence among the persons of the Trinity reflects the order of their work. The Holy Spirit, then, as the third person in order of subsistence, cannot be the Mediator because the Spirit's work is contingent upon the Son's work (Jn. 5:19-20; 16:13-15). Therefore, the Son must be the Mediator so that he can send the Holy Spirit to apply his work, 'who being the last Person is to appear last in the World, and take the last Work.'[47]

Second, and again Goodwin is grounding his argument in the order of subsistence between the three persons, the Son, as the 'Middle Person ... bears the best resemblance of the Work, to be a Mediator, to come between for us, to the other Two.'[48] Turretin similarly insists that 'he who is between the Father and the Holy Spirit should be Mediator between God and men.'[49] Moreover, Arrowsmith gives an identical argument to the ones made by Goodwin and Turretin: 'That he that was the middle person in the Trinity, should become the Mediator between God, and man'.[50] Consequently, Goodwin and the Reformed orthodox maintained that the Son should be Mediator based on the order of subsistence. Moreover, in their arguments, it is clear that both the person and the work suit each other; the Son is from the Father and the Spirit is from the Son. Goodwin thus maintains: 'and it is he in whom as it were the other Two are united, and are One'.[51] His third reason why the Son was peculiarly fitted to be Mediator has reference to 'the main end of his being Mediator', that is, the adoption of his people into the family of God, which is 'made one of the greatest benefits of all other' (Eph. 1:5).[52] The Son is

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[46] *Paradice Opened*, 155.
[47] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 41. See also, Arrowsmith, *Theanthropos*, 214. Turretin also appeals to the order of subsistence to prove his point that the Son alone was able to be Mediator. See *Institutes*, XIII.iv.5.
[48] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 42.
[49] *Institutes*, XIII.iv.6.
[50] *Theanthropos*, 214.
[51] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 42. See also *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 82.
[52] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 42.

the most suitable person to convey this soteric blessing insofar that as a Son Christ conveys sonship upon his people by virtue of his union with them (Gal. 4:4-5). Again, in similar fashion, Turretin argues that it was fitting that 'he who was a Son by nature should make us adoptive sons by grace'.[53] Besides trinitarian reasons, soteric factors – i.e. the doctrine of adoption – explain why the Son should be Mediator. Interestingly, unlike Owen, Goodwin connects adoption to Christ's person and not his work.[54] In other words, by virtue of their union with Christ, believers are adopted as children of God because of who Christ is, whereas for Owen believers are children of God because of what Christ did in purchasing for them that right. Just because, for Goodwin, Christ's person and work are organically connected there is no reason why Goodwin cannot attribute certain blessings to Christ's person in distinction from his work. Indeed, Goodwin does this very thing when it comes to understanding the various glories of Christ and how they relate to both his person and work.

Finally, the offices of the Mediator, namely, priest, prophet, and king, necessitated that the Son of God take on the work of mediation. Regarding the office of priest, Goodwin argues that it is the birth-right of the eldest Son in the family to be the priest; 'Therefore to prove he was a Priest [Heb. 5], the Apostle presently cites that saying out of the second Psalm, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.*'[55] As an intercessory priest the Son is uniquely able to approach the Father, which is a function grounded both in ontology (i.e. their natural subsistence) and economy (Christ's work of mediation). As a prophet, the Son is especially fit to be Mediator because he is the 'Word and Wisdom of the Father' (Heb. 1:1; Jn. 1:18); in fact,

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[53] *Institutes*, XIII.iv.6.

[54] The Scottish theologian, Hugh Martin (1821-1855), references and adopts Goodwin's position. See 'Candlish's Cunningham Lectures', *The British and Foreign Evangelical Review 14* (1865), 720-787. On Owen's position, see *Works*, II, *Communion with God*, 207-22. I am thankful to John Charles Ferguson for alerting me to this information.

[55] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 43.

Goodwin asks: 'who so fit to break up Gods Counsels, as the Mighty Counsellour, and next in Counsel to himself?'[56] Finally, as a King, there is none so fit as the heir, 'as Sons use to be; none so fit to have all Judgment and the Kingdom committed to him as Gods Son.'[57] Not only for trinitarian and soteriological reasons, but also for Christological purposes does Goodwin develop his argument for the necessity of the Son of God becoming incarnate.

Why the Mediator Should be a Man

Before addressing the delicate issues regarding the incarnation, including the hypostatic union, Goodwin posits that the Mediator should, in addition to being God, be man, and not, for example, an angel. In the previous chapter on the *pactum salutis* the concept of reconciliation played an important role in his exposition. Goodwin is, of course, adopting a very Anselmic approach to redemption, namely, that God, as he manifests the glory of his attributes, requires satisfaction in order to pardon sin. During Goodwin's time the Socinian challenge was the most serious opposition to the doctrine of Christ's satisfaction. Socinus argued that satisfaction makes little sense because when a debt is paid it ceases to exist, thus there is no place for remission of sins.[58] For the Reformed orthodox the concepts of reconciliation, redemption, and satisfaction were all tightly bound up with one another, so much so that the separation of any one aspect would collapse their doctrine of the atonement, even if some of these concepts seemed – at least, on the surface – to be contradictory.

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[56] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 43.
[57] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 43. Goodwin also addresses this issue in *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 162-63.
[58] *De Jesu Christo Servatore*. 3.2, 240ff.

In connection with this, Goodwin relates the problem posed by the Socinians: 'As for the *Socinians*, They say, there is no Satisfaction for Sin, for if God Pardon freely, how can he Pardon for a Satisfaction? Whereas the Scripture is clear, that there may be the freest Grace in it and yet Satisfaction too, and the Truth of the Gospel lies in reconciling these Two, and that's the Depth of it; but they take Part with one Truth to exclude another.'[59] Goodwin's concern is to show that the Gospel alone has the power to reconcile 'a seeming Contradiction'.[60] Indeed, 'the Cause of all the Errours that have been in the World hath been the want of reconciling these Things together.'[61] Therefore, not surprisingly, his argument that the Mediator should be man is grounded in the necessity of satisfaction. For Christ to act as a priest – an office the Socinians had underemphasized – he must be a man.

As a priest, then, Christ was obligated, if he was to be the surety for his people according to the terms of the *pactum salutis*, to offer up something to make satisfaction to God (Heb. 8:3). What Christ offered must have sufficient efficacy to expiate sin, 'and therefore that which he offers must some way be himself, [but] something else than God. And therefore still it is said, *He offered himself*. But if he be God only, he cannot be sacrificed nor offered up.'[62] Consequently, he must also be man. That Christ must be man, if indeed he is to make satisfaction, has important implications for his relation to God. That is to say, in his office of Mediator, as one who reconciles his people to the Father, 'he must', argues Goodwin, 'become some way subject to God, and less than God *ratione Officii*.'[63] Here again, Goodwin's

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[59] *Works*, V, *Glory of the Gospel*, 17.
[60] *Works*, V, *Glory of the Gospel*, 17.
[61] *Works*, V, *Glory of the Gospel*, 17. Thus, for example, Goodwin also cites the Arians, who 'found great Things spoken of the Manhood of Christ, as of a Divine Man, and therefore they denied that he was God. They could not reconcile these Two, how God should be Man, and Man should be God, that both should be joined together; therefore taking Part with one, they Exclude the other.' *Works*, V, *Glory of Gospel*, 17.
[62] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 44.
[63] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 44.

Christology is the outworking of the pretemporal covenant of redemption where the Father appointed the Son to his mediatorial office. Therefore, when Christ says 'My Father is greater than I' (Jn. 14:28), he is speaking in terms of his office as Mediator, not in terms of an ontological subordination.[64]

The Incarnation

That the Mediator should be both God and man necessarily gives rise to Goodwin's discussion of the incarnation. The importance of this subject was not lost to him. Not only in *Of Christ the Mediator*, but also in *The Knowledge of God the Father* and *Of the Creatures* he gives detailed attention to the doctrine of the incarnation of the Son of God, which he calls the 'great Mystery of our Religion'.[65] Elsewhere he calls the incarnation the 'greatest work of wonder that ever God did in the World …. the greatest Adventure and Design that ever was.'[66] Likewise, Burroughs describes the incarnation as 'the greatest wonder that ever there was in the world.'[67] Ussher calls the incarnation the 'highest pitch … of [God's] Wisedome, Goodnesse, Power and Glory.'[68] Importantly, Goodwin explicitly notes that the assumption of the human nature 'was agreed on by Covenant'; that is, the Son of God became flesh because of the pretemporal covenant of redemption.[69] And Brooks likewise connects the incarnation to the covenant of redemption: 'It was agreed between the Father & Son, that Jesus Christ should be incarnate.'[70]

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[64] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 162-63.
[65] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 81.
[66] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 385.
[67] *Gospel Revelation*, 57.
[68] *Immanuel*; *The Mystery of the Incarnation,* 2. Ambrose also refers to the incarnation as the 'highest pitch of Gods wisdome.' *Looking unto Jesus*, 276.
[69] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 129.
[70] *Paradice Opened*, 120.

Goodwin was not alone, then, in stressing both the importance of the incarnation and its link to the pretemporal covenant of redemption.

In the formation of Christ's body the Holy Spirit 'dicovered his Workmanship in the dark place of the Virgin's Womb .... And to stop the flowings of Sin and Corruption, which by the Parents is done, himself performed the part of the Formative Virtue which is in the Seed of Men.'[71] In the incarnation, according to Goodwin, 'Heaven and Earth met and kissed one another, namely, God and Man.'[72] Goodwin does, however, make clear that the Son assumed human nature, and not a human person. He insists that the Son who became flesh did not become two sons, but remained one person: 'if they had been two Persons,' he writes, 'they had been two Sons; the Son of God one, and that Holy Thing born of the Woman, another: Whereas being now joined unto one Person, there is but one Son to God ...'[73] Elsewhere, Goodwin states that the 'Sonship of the Man Christ Jesus doth coalesce into one Sonship with the Son of God, even as in like manner the Man is taken up into One person with the Son of God.'[74] In other words, though Christ was a man, '*that Man was never a person of itself*, but subsisted from the first in the personality of the second Person: so that Son of Man was never called or accounted a Son of God, of himself, as such; but his Sonship was that of the Person, which he was taken up into.'[75] This understanding of personhood in relation to the incarnation was agreed upon by Goodwin's contemporaries.

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[71] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 81.
[72] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 82.
[73] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 50. See also Arrowsmith, *Theanthropos*, 212; Ussher, *Immanuel*; *The Mystery of the Incarnation*, 3; Burroughs, *Gospel Revelation*, 59; Ambrose, *Looking unto Jesus*, 280-85.
[74] *Works*, I, *Exposition of Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 26.
[75] *Works*, I, *Exposition of Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 26.

Francis Roberts (1609-1675), an English Reformed orthodox theologian, who happened to write the lengthiest treatise in English on covenant theology in the seventeenth century,[76] plainly describes the hypostatic union as a 'personal conjunction of two natures, not of two persons.'[77] For Arrowsmith, if Christ had taken the person of a man, there would have been two persons in Christ. The implications of such an assumption are actually quite significant for Arrowsmith who argues accordingly that only the person whom the Logos assumed would have been saved, 'and no other'.[78] Goodwin, Roberts, and Arrowsmith are making reference to what is termed *anhypostasis*, that is, the impersonality of the human nature of Christ. In other words, the human nature subsists in the person of the Son. Owen describes *anhypostasis* thus: 'In itself it is anhypostatos, – that which hath not a subsistence of its own, which should give it individuation and distinction from the same nature in any other person. But it hath its subsistence in the person of the Son, which thereby is its own.'[79] The Congregationalist minister, Thomas Beverley (*d.* 1702), speaks of the Son assuming an 'abstract' human nature. Thus, the human nature exists in the person of the Logos and is thereby 'personalized' (*hypostatized*) by the Logos. So, for the Reformed orthodox, both natures remain distinct, but the unity of the person is maintained because the Son of God, notes Goodwin, 'communicates his Personality, his subsistence to the Man Christ Jesus'.[80] Thus, as noted above, the hypostatical union of the two natures into the person of the Logos is personal. The union of the two natures in the one person was rejected by the Socinians, who regarded the hypostatical union as an absurdity largely because of their anti-

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[76] *The Mysterie and Marrow of the Bible: viz. God's Covenants with Man* (London: R.W. for George Calvert, 1657).
[77] *God's Covenants*, 1577. See also Howes, *Christ, God-Man*, 23.
[78] *Theanthropos*, 207.
[79] *Works*, I, *The Person of Christ*, 233.
[80] Goodwin, *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 51. For a more technical discussion of the issues surrounding the *anhypostasia* of the human nature of Christ, see Oliver Crisp, *Divinity and Humanity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 72-89.

metaphysical presuppositions.[81]   Of course, the union of the two natures inevitably raised a number of Christological questions that Goodwin and his Reformed orthodox contemporaries were keen to answer against the onslaught of Socinian challenges to orthodox Christology.

Communicatio Idiomatum

The doctrine of the 'communication of properties' (*communicatio idiomatum*) has its roots in the Christological debates leading up to Chalcedon (451 A.D).   Culminating in the council of Chalcedon were two main schools of Christology, Antiochene and Alexandrian.[82]   Some have argued that the Chalcedonian Creed is a compromise statement, which grants certain victories to the two competing schools.   Not surprisingly, Chalcedon did not completely satisfy the Antiochenes and the Alexandrians.   The differences between the two schools have often been over-simplified by suggesting that the Alexandrians emphasized the unity of the person whereas the Antiochenes emphasized the distinction between the two natures in the hypostatic union.   In connection with this, the basic criticism of each position is that the Antiochenes move in a Nestorian direction whereas the Alexandrians move in a Eutychian direction.   However, Oliver Crisp has noted that while there is some truth to this demarcation of the aforementioned positions, 'it may be a little too neat'.[83]   In fact, Crisp suggests that Cyril 'appears to use the term "nature" to refer to that which is united in the hypostatic union (what would now be called the

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[81] For example, the *Racovian Catechism* notes that 'two substances endued with opposite and discordant properties, such as are God and man, cannot be ascribed to one and the same individual, much less be predicated that one of the other.' *Racovian Catechism*, 56.

[82] For a summary of the two main schools of thought see Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*, I: *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), ch. 5.

[83] *Divinity and Humanity*, 39.

person of Christ) and, at other times, to mean the divine and human natures of Christ.'[84] Cyril, then, uses 'nature' in varied ways. As a result, Crisp argues that 'Cyril, usually taken to be the doyen of Alexandrian Christology, is not always *unambiguously* Alexandrian, in the way relevant to this theological story about the development of pre-Chalcedonian Christology.'[85] Therefore, pre-Chalcedonian Christology, and its development, was open to various lines of interpretation. What the Reformed orthodox attempted to do was bring coherence to Chalcedon and its two-nature Christology. In so doing, the Reformed orthodox, particularly the Puritans, developed a Christology unique to their own theological tradition.

Because both natures remain distinct the Reformed orthodox have historically disagreed with the Lutherans on this issue of the 'communication of properties'.[86] The Reformed orthodox firmly held, against the Lutherans, that the finite is incapable of the infinite (*finitum non capax infiniti*).[87] While insisting upon the unity of the person, Reformed theologians make a sharp distinction between the two natures of Christ, thus rejecting the Lutheran commingling of the divine and human. Calvin says: 'for we affirm his divinity so joined and united with his humanity that each retains its distinctive nature unimpaired, and yet these two natures constitute one Christ.'[88] Goodwin, too, argues that the two natures 'could not be changed into the other, for God was immutable; and it was impossible that the Nature of Man should become the Nature of

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[84] *Divinity and Humanity*, 39.

[85] *Divinity and Humanity*, 40.

[86] Anthony Burgess refers to the 'undeniable Rule, amongst the learned, that what doth belong to either of the Natures of Christ, is yet attributed to the whole person ... by communication of properties.' *The True Doctrine of Justification Asserted, and Vindicated, from the Errours of Papists, Arminians, Socinians, and More Especially Antinomians* (London, 1648), 386-87. This doctrine is discussed below in more detail under the topic of the 'communication of operations'.

[87] See Goodwin, *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 105; Burroughs, *Gospel Revelation*, 62. Closely associated with this concept is the *extra Calvinisticum* (the Calvinistic extra), which is a term used by Lutherans to refer to the Reformed understanding that the Logos, while fully united to the human nature, is also, at the same time, outside of (*extra*) the human nature.

[88] *Institutes*, II.xiv.1

God, since the Essence of the Godhead is incommunicable'.[89] Owen likewise insists that 'each

nature doth preserve its own natural ... properties ... without mixture ... or confusion, without

such a real communication of the one unto the other .... The Deity ... is not made the humanity,

nor on the contrary.'[90] This relation between the two natures of Christ is something about which

Goodwin and Owen cannot afford to be tentative. In fact, while Goodwin clearly has in mind the

Socinian assaults upon Christian orthodoxy, he explicitly attacks the Lutherans for their own

errors on this point.

Therefore, for Goodwin, the doctrine of the communication of properties, because of the

obvious intricacies involved, requires careful explanation, for, 'it is not that bare Communication

of Properties; so as only that which is said of the Godhead is predicated of the Manhood, and so

is omniscient with the Omnisciency of the Divine Nature, and omnipotent with his Omnipotency,

(as the *Lutherans* fondly do dream).'[91] Rather, by virtue of the hypostatical union, the image of

the divine attributes shines forth in the human nature of Christ in a way that 'no meer Creature is

capable of', and yet these perfections in Christ's human nature come infinitely 'short of the

Attributes that are essential to the Godhead.'[92] In connection with this point, Goodwin speaks of

three perfections that incommunicably dwell in the human nature of Christ, showing, among

other things, that the finite is not capable of the infinite.

In the first instance, Goodwin notes the wisdom in Christ's human nature that no human

could attain to. Therefore, while humans are called wise, Christ, as the God-man is called

wisdom (1 Cor. 1:24). However, the treasures of wisdom in Christ's human nature cannot reach

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[89] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 51.
[90] *Works*, I, *The Person of Christ*, 234.
[91] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 104.
[92] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 104.

the same level of the wisdom that belongs peculiarly to the deity. Moreover, against the Lutherans, Goodwin insists that Christ's human nature is not omniscient in the same way as the divine nature. However, on account of the union of the two natures, the human nature possesses knowledge in a 'transcendent fulness, as is *Omniscientia similitudinaria*, a similitudinary Omnisciency comparatively to what is in the Creatures, (as *Zanchy* from the Schoolmen calls it) and so is an Image (and that in a transcendent way) of God's Omnisciency.'[93] Christ's human nature does not know all that God knows. Rather, God, '*per simplicem intelligentiam*, by the Ideas of all he can make, knows all that his Power can do.'[94] Goodwin is arguing for a kind of human omniscience based on resemblance, by virtue of the union between the two natures, without, of course, making one equal to the other. This point is a commonplace of Reformed prolegomena, which distinguishes between *theologia archetypa* – the infinite knowledge of God that only he possesses – and *theologia ectypa* – finite theology, which is a reflection of the divine archetype.[95] Besides wisdom, Goodwin also makes similar comments regarding the power and sovereignty that belong to Christ's human nature. The implications of what Goodwin is advocating will be addressed in more detail in chapter nine on Christ's glory. But, for now, the point in all of this is to show that Goodwin's doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum* insists, against the Lutherans for example, on an explicit and necessary distinction between the two natures of Christ.

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[93] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 105.
[94] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 105.
[95] Rehnman provides a discussion of the distinction between *theologia archetypa* and *theologia ectypa* in *Divine Discourse*, 57-71.

Following from the Reformed emphasis on the integrity of the two natures is the doctrine of the

'communication of operations.'[96] Thus, when Christ acts as the God-man both natures are

involved in a way that protects their integrity. The *Westminster Confession of Faith* describes it

this way: 'Christ, in the work of mediation, acts according to both natures, by each nature doing

that which is proper to itself; yet, by reason of the unity of the person, that which is proper to one

nature is sometimes in Scripture attributed to the person denominated by the other nature.'[97]

That is to say, the 'person' does not act through his human nature as his instrument. Rather, the

God-man acts according to both natures. This doctrine was also a source of contention between

the Reformed orthodox and various Roman Catholic writers who held that Christ performed his

acts of mediation only as man. For example, Roberts sums up the issues at stake between the

Reformed and the Roman Catholic theologians, particularly the Italian Jesuit and Cardinal,

Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621):

> Bellarmine speaks plainly, thus distinguishing; the *principium quod*, the principle or
> beginning which did the works of mediatorship, was not God alone, nor man alone,
> but both together, viz. God-man; but the *principium quo*, the principle or beginning
> whereby these works were done of the mediator, was his humane nature, not his
> divine.

However, Roberts suggests that the Reformed orthodox resolve this tension better than

Bellarmine by arguing that Christ acts as Mediator according to both natures. His humanity does

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[96] The Reformed orthodox also place the 'communication of operations' in the category of the 'communication of properties'. For example, see Ambrose, *Looking unto Jesus*, 288. However, against the trend of most modern scholars, I prefer the term 'communication of operations' which has in view Christ's work as well as his person.

[97] *WCF*, 8.7. *Savoy* 8.7 retains the exact wording of the *WCF* 8.7. So, for example, Acts 20:28b reflects this principle: 'Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.'

what is 'properly humane' and his divinity what is 'properly divine' with both 'concurring unto one work of mediatorship.'[98] Because Christ is one person, so too is his work of mediation. In other words, the formal principles of Christ's work are the two natures in the person of the Mediator. Roberts adds:

> As the divine and humane natures concur to make one person of Christ the mediator: so the distinct acts of these two natures in Christ concur to make up one and the same compleat work of mediation. Christ did his *opera authoritatis* or *magisterii*, his works of authority from his God-head: but his *opera ministerii*, his works of ministery, from his man-hood: but as his natures are united in one person: so his acts and operations from his two principles, are conjoined in one mediation.[99]

Against Bellarmine, then, Roberts argues that Christ's works of mediation are not the works of his human nature only, but also his divine nature on account of his works of authority. The divine and human works of Christ are anchored in his person. Hence the communication of operations.

Based on the doctrine of the communication of operations, Goodwin argues that Christ, as the God-man, can refer and attribute to himself things that belong to '*the logos*' (John 1). Thus, when Christ speaks of his pre-existence in John 8:58 ('Before Abraham was, I am') he is referring to his person, even though he makes that comment 'in the flesh'.[100] Elsewhere, Goodwin notes that because of the unity of the person, 'what the one is said to do, the other is said to do also; and therefore Christs Obedience is called the Righteousness of God'.[101] Finally, in discussing Christ's exaltation, that is, his sitting at the Father's right hand, he argues that some

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[98] *God's Covenants*, 1594. On Bellarmine's doctrine of Christ's mediation see *Opera Omnia, ex Editione Veneta, Pluribus Tum Additis Tum Correctis, Iterum Edidit Justinus Fèvre* (12 vols, Paris, 1870; reprint, Frankfurt: Minerva, 1965), I.436ff.
[99] *God's Covenants*, 1594.
[100] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 83. See also Arrowsmith, *Theanthropos*, 221; Ambrose, *Looking unto Jesus*, 288.
[101] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 118.

restrain the exaltation of Christ – i.e. sitting at God's right hand – to the human nature alone since as the Son of God he always occupied such a position. However, this is unacceptable, according to Goodwin. He agrees that the Son, in his divine nature, possesses an equal power with the Father. However, that power is never understood in terms of the Son sitting at the Father's right hand. Therefore, sitting at God's right hand has reference to a power committed to Christ as the God-man in heaven. In relation to the communication of operations, Goodwin notes that 'we say that God and Man died, though the Manhood only did die, yet it is attributed to the whole, it is called the blood of God, and we say God-Man rose, though his Body only rose, yet it is attributed to the whole, *Totus Christus*, though not *Totum Christi*.'[102] Thus, the Son of God can be said to sit at the right hand of the Father on account of the communication of operations, even though 'sitting' clearly has reference to Christ's human nature.

Owen references John 8:58 in regard to this doctrine. He notes that 'Some things are spoken of the person of Christ, wherein the enunciation is verified with respect unto one nature only; as ... 'Before Abraham was, I am' [Jn. 8:58] .... These things are all spoken of the person of Christ, but belong unto [him] on account of his divine nature.'[103] The communication of operations has particular significance for the relationship between the person and work of Christ. Goodwin argues that the worth of Christ's satisfaction (i.e. his work) is contingent upon the worth of his person; 'And therefore, as the worth of Christ's Person was Infinite, so must the worth of his Actions be.'[104] Furthermore, Goodwin can argue that 'though the immediate Principle, the Human Nature be finite; yet the Radical Principle, the Person, is Infinite. And both Natures being one in Person, what the one is said to do or suffer, the other is said to do and

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[102] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 415.
[103] *Works*, I, *The Person of Christ*, 234.
[104] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 104. See also *Works*, II, *Revelation*, 8; Burroughs, *Gospel Revelation*, 61-62.

suffer; and therefore his Blood is called the *Blood of God*.'[105] Christ's divine nature could not

die on the cross, only his human nature could. However, because of the unity of the person, 'that

which is proper to one nature is sometimes in Scripture attributed to the person denominated by

the other nature.'[106] Owen, too, connects the person of Christ with his work by arguing that all

of Christ's work is not to be understood as the act of either the human or divine nature, but rather

the act of the whole person.[107] The point of what Goodwin and Owen are trying to do is to bring

coherence to orthodox Christology, namely, that Christ is one person who possesses two natures.

The Reformed doctrines of the communication of properties and the communication of

operations are an attempt to do just that.

The Work of the Spirit on Christ

Reformed Christology, particularly in the seventeenth century, was characterized by a strong

emphasis on the Holy Spirit's work upon Christ, which seemed to be the logical outworking of

the communication of properties and the communication of operations.[108] In other words, the

Reformed did not argue that the Logos acted through the human nature when, for example,

Christ performed miracles. Rather, it was the work of the Spirit that enabled Christ to raise the

dead. Of course, as noted already in chapter five, the Logos acted unilaterally in the assumption

of human nature (*assumptio carnis*), but that act does not have reference to the relation of the

two natures, which is the issue in question. Owen makes perhaps the most explicit comment

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[105] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 105. See also Calvin, *Institutes*, II.xiv.1-2; Owen, *Works*, I, *The Person of Christ*, 234-35; Ambrose, *Looking unto Jesus*, 285.

[106] *WCF*, 8.7.

[107] *Works*, I, *The Person of Christ*, 234.

[108] Alan Spence's work, *Incarnation and Inspiration*, is particularly helpful in understanding Owen's doctrine of the Spirit in relation to Christology. See also Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit*, 144-45.

among the seventeenth-century Reformed orthodox divines in regard to this question: 'The only singular immediate act of the person of the Son on the human nature was the assumption of it into subsistence with himself.'[109] The 'excellencies' or graces upon the human nature were, therefore, a result of the Spirit's work on Christ. This concept plays an important role in Goodwin's Christology. Like Owen, Goodwin can maintain that the Spirit sanctified the human nature and constituted him as the Christ. The Spirit anointed Christ with graces (Isa. 11:2). Thus, the graces of Christ with respect to his human nature are attributed to the Spirit as the 'immediate Author of them.'[110] Goodwin adds: 'for although the Son of God dwelt personally, in the humane Nature, and so advanc'd that Nature above the ordinary rank of Creatures, and raised it up to that dignity and worth; yet all his habitual Graces, which even his Soul was full of, were from the Holy Ghost ... And this inhabitation of the Holy Ghost did in some sense and degree concur to constitute him Christ.'[111] So, for Goodwin, in the hypostatic union, the divine nature acts not immediately, but mediately through the work of the Spirit. The Spirit is the immediate author of Christ's graces.

Goodwin and Owen are keenly aware that Scripture speaks of the role of the Spirit in the life of Christ. So, rather than arguing that there is no room for the Spirit on account of the hypostatic union, they both argue how little is necessarily the result of the Son's divine prerogatives as God. Rather than dismiss the obvious exegetical evidence that speaks of the Spirit's work on Christ, Owen and Goodwin develop their Christology positively in the broader context of other doctrines like the communication of properties, communication of operations,

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[109] *Works*, III, *Discourse on the Holy Spirit*, 160.
[110] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 43.
[111] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 43. See also Turretin, *Institutes*, XIII.xii.1-8.

and the so-called *extra Calvinisticum*. Owen argues, therefore, that the Spirit is the 'immediate, peculiar, efficient cause' of all ad extra divine works.[112]

Indeed, the same is true for Goodwin who notes that the Spirit's work on Christ can be traced to the major events of Christ's life, both on earth and in heaven. For example, it was the Spirit who 'over-shadowed [Christ's] mother, and ... knit that indissoluble knot between our Nature and the second Person.'[113] Again, at the beginning of Christ's public ministry (i.e. his baptism) the Spirit descended upon Christ as a Dove 'to shew those speciall gracious dispositions wherewith the holy Ghost fitted Jesus Christ to be a Mediator.'[114] The Spirit's descent upon Christ is the reason for Christ's title: 'Christ the anointed, is the Name that speaks all his Offices'.[115] Thus, the Spirit anointed him to his offices of prophet, priest, and king. The miracles Christ performed as Mediator were performed in the power of the Holy Spirit operating upon the person, Jesus Christ, in his human nature (Acts 10:38; Matt. 12:28). Concerning Christ's resurrection, Goodwin suggests that the Spirit was 'the immediate cause of [Christ's] new Advancement' (Rom. 8:11).[116] Christ's ascension, whereby he was filled with glory, was also a result of the Spirit's work (Ps. 45), which led to the Spirit anointing him further as the king in heaven (Acts 2:33). Sibbes also notes the role of the Spirit during the significant times of Christ's life:

> For hee was conceived by the Holy Ghost .... and he was graced by the Holy Ghost, and led by the Spirit in all things before his Baptisme, but afterward when he came to set upon his office, to be the Prophet, Priest, and King of his Church, that great office of saving mankind, which he did not solemly set upon till hee was thirty years old,

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[112] *Works*, III, *Pneumatologia*, 161.
[113] *The Heart of Christ in Heaven*, 87.
[114] *The Heart of Christ in Heaven*, 88.
[115] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 9.
[116] Works, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 10.

then God powred upon him a special portion of the Spirit answerable to that great calling ...[117]

For Sibbes, and his Puritan contemporaries, the Spirit plays an important role in the earthly ministry of Christ.

As noted above, Owen has maintained, in agreement with Goodwin, that the Spirit is the 'immediate operator of all divine acts of the Son himself, even on his own human nature. Whatever the Son of God wrought in, by, or upon the human nature, he did it by the Holy Ghost, who is his Spirit ...'[118] Sibbes anticipates that some will object that since Christ was both God and man the work of the Spirit is superfluous. He answers, however, that 'Christ as God gives the Spirit to his humane nature' so that 'whatsoever Christ did as man he did by the Spirit.'[119] These are important statements for understanding the relationship between Christology and pneumatology in these Puritan writers.

Goodwin and Owen, and to a lesser degree Sibbes, are attempting to bring coherence to the doctrine of the communication of operations, which, as noted above, maintains that both natures work in a manner consistent with itself. The Logos acts, therefore, by bestowing the Holy Spirit upon the person of Christ whose work of mediation is primarily the person acting according to the human nature in the power of the Holy Spirit. For example, Brooks notes that the work of the Spirit on Christ – a promise connected to the *pactum salutis* – has reference to his human

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[117] *Beames of Divine Light Breaking Forth from Severall Places of Holy Scripture, as they were learnedly opened, in XXI. sermons. The III. first being the fore-going sermons to that treatise called The bruised-reed, preached on the precedent words* (London, 1639), 32. Sibbes does not seem to go as far as Owen, however, and often speaks of Christ's divine nature 'operating' on the human nature.

[118] *Works*, III, *Discourse on the Holy Spirit*, 162.

[119] *Beames of Divine Light*, 38-39.

nature 'for the discharge of [his mediatorial] office.'[120] For Goodwin and many of his Reformed orthodox contemporaries, the relation between the two natures of Christ is symmetrical, not asymmetrical. In other words, an asymmetrical relation between the two natures would make the role of the Spirit in the life of Jesus superfluous. Goodwin understands this. He even asks that if Christ is both divine and human, 'What needed he then to have the Spirit above measure?'[121] He answers: 'The ground is, that where one Person is, there the other must needs be also: and therefore the Gifts and Graces in the Man Jesus *without measure*, are attributed to the Spirit.'[122] Thus, the role of the Spirit brings coherence to Chalcedon insofar as integrity of the two natures is preserved by means of the Spirit's work upon the human nature of the one person, Jesus Christ, in his mediatorial work.

Conclusion

Goodwin's answer to Anselm's question, *Cur Deus Homo?*, results from his exposition of the *pactum salutis*. The idea of God assuming flesh, repugnant to some, inevitably gives rise to a number of intricate issues. In this chapter, an attempt has been made to explore the implications of what it meant to Goodwin that God became man. In so doing, the person of the Mediator, Jesus Christ, has been the central focus.

One of the central aims of this chapter has been the demonstration of the organic relationship between the person and work of Christ. The evidence strongly favours the position that Goodwin's self-conscious desire to adopt a person-work schema is not without reason,

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[120] *Paradice Opened*, 130.
[121] *Works*, I, *A Sermon on Ephesians 3:17*, 35.
[122] *Works*, I, *A Sermon on Ephesians, 3:17*, 35.

simply because the person gives worth to the work. As noted, the person in question is the Son of God, the second person in the Trinity; and for Goodwin it was necessary that the Mediator should be God. Otherwise, he could not have been present at the making of the *pactum salutis*. The necessity of his divinity is a point that Goodwin is careful to highlight, and that he does so by making reference to the covenant of redemption should not be understated. Following from these observations, he addresses the question over which person of the Trinity should become flesh. By insisting on the *idiōmata* (proper qualities) or titles by which the Persons of the Trinity are distinguished, Goodwin maintains that these titles should be kept and preserved. The Son of God is, by virtue of his title, more appropriately suited to also be the Son of Man and the Son of a woman. Before looking at the intricacies of the incarnation and all that that involves, Goodwin, adopting an Anselmic direction, argues that the Mediator must also be man since God the Father, in order to pardon sin, requires satisfaction. In his office of priest, Christ was obligated to offer up himself to make satisfaction to God.

Goodwin's understanding of the incarnation naturally results from his argument that the Mediator should be both God and man. In becoming man, however, the person of the Son of God assumed an impersonal (*anhypostasis*) human nature, that is, the human nature subsists in the person of the Logos. The divine and human natures are joined together in the hypostatic union without mixture or confusion. In other words, Goodwin insists on a vigorous distinction between the two natures on the grounds that the finite is not capable of the infinite. This distinction between the two natures gives rise to the doctrine of the 'communication of operations', which posits that when Christ acts as the God-man both natures are involved in a way that protects their integrity. However, because Christ is one person, 'that which is proper to

one nature is sometimes in Scripture attributed to the person denominated by the other nature.'[123] This doctrine is, of course, crucial to understanding the relation between the person and work of Christ. The soteric efficacy of Christ's death on the cross – which necessarily is the death of the human nature and not the divine – is tied to the worth of his person.

Finally, the role of the Holy Spirit in the life of Christ is the consistent outworking of the communication of properties and communication of operations. For Goodwin and Owen, the only time the Logos acted unilaterally is in the assumption of the human nature, which was his special prerogative. However, in terms of the relation of the two natures, the Holy Spirit sanctified the human nature of Christ and anointed him with graces. Respecting Christ's manhood the Spirit is the immediate author of his graces. Therefore, Christ's conception, baptism, temptation, ministry, death, resurrection, and exaltation are all performed in the power of the Holy Spirit. The Logos, then, did not act through Christ's human nature. Rather, the Spirit was responsible for inaugurating, sustaining, and perfecting the person of Christ in his work. This shows, among other things, that Goodwin's trinitarian understanding of not only redemption, but the *pactum salutis*, remains consistent with his Christology. Moreover, in light of the evidence presented in this chapter, Stephen Holmes appears to be justified in positing that 'there was a novel and distinctly Reformed Christology developed within the Puritan tradition' because of this pneumatological emphasis.[124]

Having understood the basic contours of Goodwin's doctrine of Christ's person, the context for the work of Christ can now be understood. The following chapter will show – just as

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[123] *WCF*, 8.7.
[124] 'Reformed Varieties of the *Communicatio Idiomatum*' in Murray Rae and Stephen R. Holmes, eds., *The Person of Christ* (London: T & T Clark International, 2005), 70. With a specific focus on John Owen, Holmes highlights the basic thrust of Owen's Christology in relation to 1) the Holy Spirit; 2) Lutheran Christology; and 3) Cyril.

this chapter has done – that Goodwin's Christology, and specifically Christ's work, is the outworking of the terms of the *pactum salutis*. More than that, with this chapter in the background, the doctrine of Christ's work is just that, the work of the person of Christ.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE WORK OF CHRIST

'We are bound to acknowledge and confesse that Christ Jesus by his eternall Priest-hood is not only the sole meritorious cause of all grace or righteousness inherent ... but he is likewise the sole immediate cause of finall absolution or justification.'[1]

Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted the central argument of this study, namely, that Goodwin's Christology is the outworking of the pretemporal covenant of redemption (*pactum salutis*). In that chapter the person of Christ – the God-man, who is one person possessing both divine and human natures – was examined in some detail. Importantly, the organic connection between the person of Christ and his work was noted: 'the Dignity of the Person gave the value' to Christ's obedience.[2] Naturally, then, Goodwin adopts a person-work schema in his work, *Of Christ the Mediator*, and this organization flows out of the *pactum salutis*, which determined that the Son should assume flesh and perform the work of mediation for those the Father had given to him. Thus, the eternal agreement between the triune God has ramifications for both Christ's person and his work.

Goodwin's trajectory of thought in *Of Christ the Mediator* has many similarities to Anselm's famous work *Cur Deus Homo?* Anselm's work argues that Christ's incarnation was with a view to his satisfaction (i.e. his death). Christ, as the God-man, brings reconciliation between both God and man.[3] Here, the person (i.e. Christ) makes the work (i.e. atonement) possible. Goodwin's understanding of Christ's work, which is connected to his person, has close

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[1] John Ball, *A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace*, 69.
[2] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 136.
[3] See *Cur Deus Homo*. Goodwin does, however, depart from Anselm regarding whether Christ had to keep the law of God for himself first in the same way that other humans were bound to keep God's law. This issue will be discussed in detail below.

parallels with John Calvin, who argues: 'our Lord came forth as true man and took the person and the name of Adam in order to take Adam's place in obeying the Father, to present our flesh as the price of satisfaction to God's righteous judgment, and, in the same flesh, to pay the penalty that we had deserved.'[4] Calvin continues by noting that 'since neither as God alone could he feel death, nor as man alone could he overcome it, he coupled human nature with divine that to atone for sin he might submit the weakness of the one to death; and that, wrestling with death by the power of the other nature, he might win victory for us.'[5] In other words, Calvin is arguing that Christ's work is dependent on who he is, namely, both God and man. This chapter will show that Goodwin, besides arguing that Christ's work flows out of the terms of the *pactum salutis*, maintains Calvin's unity between the person and work of Christ. This point also has implications for Goodwin's polemics against the Socinians. As Trueman has noted, 'the Christ of the Racovian Catechism is simply not capable of performing the work of salvation as understood by the Reformed Orthodox.'[6] Thus, Goodwin's doctrine of Christ's work is the consistent outworking of his view of Christ's person; indeed, the work of Christ depends on his person. In other words, once his work has been understood there can be no other conclusion than Christ is no ordinary person, for, according to Goodwin, who could ever perform such a work?

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[4] *Institutes*, II.xii.3.
[5] *Institutes*, II.xii.3.
[6] *Claims of Truth*, 165.

The Eternal Basis for Christ's Work

For Goodwin, the work of Christ must be understood as a voluntary undertaking 'afore the World was.'[7] The terms of the *pactum salutis* were freely agreed upon by the persons of the Trinity before the creation of the world. Gillespie likewise notes, concerning the work of redemption, there is an '*agreement* betwixt God and Christ' that took place in the pretemporal realm (emphasis added).[8] Goodwin argues that it was necessary for the Son, who was 'privy to the first Design ... of our Salvation', to willingly consent to the Father's will because 'the performance and all the working ... part was to be his.'[9] Because Goodwin speaks of the eternal transactions between the Father and Son in covenantal terms, the consent of both parties is necessary, or 'it cannot be a covenant'.[10] Christ's 'perfect' consent made it a 'perfect' covenant.[11] Owen, based on Hebrews 10:6-7 – the text which provides the basis for Goodwin's own exposition on this matter – also speaks of the Son freely concurring 'in this great work'.[12] Interestingly, the reason Scripture seems to be sparse in speaking of the Son's will in the *pactum salutis*, according to Goodwin, is because his will 'is so necessarily and naturally resolved into his Fathers Will.'[13] Furthermore, 'as the Work of Redemption performed in time is attributed to the Son; so these Works from everlasting to the Father.'[14] The above suggests, then, that the work of Christ is based upon the Son willingly consenting to the work of redemption at the *pactum salutis*. Thus, both the person and work of Christ are to be linked to the pretemporal

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[7] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 136.
[8] *Ark of the Covenant*, 6.
[9] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 136.
[10] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 138.
[11] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 138.
[12] *Works*, X, *The Death of Death*, 174.
[13] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 137.
[14] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 137.

covenant of redemption, which provides the eternal, inviolable foundation for the triune God's recovery of fallen mankind.

Christ's Renewal of Consent

Besides consenting to the work of redemption in eternity, the Son, in his human nature, renewed his consent at the moment of his conception. Based on Hebrews 10:5-7 – 'but a body hast thou prepared me .... Then said I, Lo, I come ... to do thy will, O God.' – Goodwin maintains that the Son of God, at the incarnation, expressed his willingness to perform the work of Mediator, though the human nature, since it was being formed, 'was not capable as yet to give Consent'.[15] In fact, according to Hebrews 10, the Son speaks as one cognizant of the Father's decree and 'offers himself to perform every jot of it'.[16] While the human nature, unlike the divine nature, may not have been able to give consent at the moment of the incarnation, the fact of the incarnation still raises the issue as to when the human nature consented to the work of mediation. Because Goodwin insists upon an unambiguous distinction between the two natures the human nature possessed a distinct will. Since the human nature was 'made the subject of all the Sufferings', it was requisite that it gave consent too, 'when it is able to put forth an Act of Consent, and of a deliberate Will.'[17] Goodwin elaborates some more: 'The Fundamental Consent was the Divine Persons, and the Act of assuming our Nature, and coming into the World, and writing his Name among Creatures, was solely and singly the Act of the Divine Person: But yet there is to be an accessory Consent of the Humane Nature, now marryed into

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[15] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 140.
[16] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 140.
[17] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 140-41.

One Person with the Divine'.[18] For Goodwin, the precise timing of when the human nature gave consent is difficult to say, but not impossible.

For Goodwin, the seeds of Christ's obedience to his Father's will were being sown as soon as he was able to put forth acts of reason. The holy principles of Christ's heart directed all of his actions in a manner fitting to his age and capacity of reason; indeed, the 'special Law of his Office [was] written in his Heart.'[19] In other words, it was requisite to the performance of his office as mediator 'that all thoughts and acts of understanding ... should be directed to God by him from the first, as works and parts of his Mediation' so that what Christ did not only as a man, but also as a child, was meritorious for his people's salvation.[20] Thus, from the time of infancy to his public ministry, the words of Psalm 40:6ff – 'My Ear hast thou boared through' – are applicable to the human nature of Christ, which speak of Christ's willingness to do his Father's will. In fact, 'Christ was all Ear to shew he was all Obedience.'[21] The whole person, then, both in his divine and human natures, willingly consented to the work the Father had appointed him to do from all eternity at the making of the covenant of redemption.

'For he hath made him to be sin'

In the main, Goodwin follows the basic pattern of Reformed orthodoxy in his discussion of the work of Christ. Christ's two states of humiliation and exaltation and his threefold office (*munus triplex*) are pervasive in Goodwin's writings. With regard to Christ's state of humiliation, Goodwin focuses the bulk of his attention on Christ as priest. This is, of course, perfectly

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[18] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 141.
[19] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 141.
[20] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 141.
[21] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 141.

understandable given the context of the seventeenth century where the Socinians, in particular, vigorously attacked the Reformed orthodox understanding of Christ's priestly office. In the end, though the Socinians still referred to Christ in his threefold office, the priestly office was in actual fact an appendix to his kingly office, with the office of prophet receiving the most attention.[22] Of course, not only the Socinians, but the Roman Catholics – whose doctrine of the mass stands in stark contradistinction to Protestant orthodoxy regarding the finality of Christ's sacrifice – and the Arminians – whose rejection of penal substitution militated against the saving efficacy of Christ's atonement – were also polemical targets in Goodwin's writings. Therefore, his main concern in *Of Christ the Mediator* is to defend the Reformed orthodox understanding of Christ's atonement, and thus a good deal of attention is given to Christ in his priestly office.

Christ's free willingness to perform the work of redemption, which he agreed to both in eternity and in time, comes to full expression in his death on the cross. As noted already, Goodwin approaches redemption in an 'Anselmic' manner, that is, the concept of satisfaction plays an important role in his soteriology. The Socinians opposed the doctrine of satisfaction with the same vigour that they opposed the doctrine of the Trinity on the grounds that the doctrine of satisfaction is contrary to Scripture. Moreover, in their view satisfaction was not necessary because God's righteousness and mercy are not opposed to each other. Therefore, they strongly rejected the idea that Christ paid any debt for sin. Indeed, the very idea was described as 'false, erroneous, and exceedingly pernicious' because 'the Scriptures are silent concerning it, [and] also because it is repugnant to the Scriptures and to right reason.'[23] For Goodwin, however, the Scriptures were far from silent on this issue. And, as noted already,

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[22] See *Racovian Catechism*, 168-348; Biddle, *Twofold Catechism*, 42-52.
[23] *Racovian Catechism*, 304.

based on the terms of the *pactum salutis*, Christ is the means of reconciliation between God the offended – specifically, the Father[24] – and man the offender.

Vicarious Mediation

Goodwin's axiom that Christ had to be made whatever he redeemed his people from – 'redeeming us from it by being made it'[25] – is absolutely vital to his doctrine of Christ's work.[26] Thus, Christ was under the law; he was not born under it like his people, but made under it by a 'voluntary Covenant' (Gal. 4:4-5).[27] By virtue of the stipulations of the covenant Christ was subject to the totality of the law: 'And if Christ will be made under the Law for Sinners, the Law will have full as much to say to him, as unto Sinners themselves'.[28] The law accuses, curses and condemns sinners because it is 'backt with Gods Justice, and so will not respect or spare the greatness of Christ's Person, if he once come under it.'[29] Because of the curse of the law upon sinners, Manton argues: 'Better never born, than to be liable to that judgment, when the law shall take the sinner "by the throat," and say, "Pay me that thou owest."'[30] In connection with Manton's strong rhetoric, Goodwin suggests that man's only hope is that 'Christ was made all that we had made ourselves.'[31]

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[24] See *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 5-9.
[25] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 193.
[26] This principle is found in Gregory Nazianzus who coined the phrase: 'what is not assumed is not redeemed.' *Third Theological Oration*: 'On the Son' II in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 7:301.
[27] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 193.
[28] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 193.
[29] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 193.
[30] *Works*, V, *Man's Impotency To Help Himself Out of His Misery*, 477.
[31] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 193. The issue of Christ's vicarious obedience, and its relationship to justification by faith, will be discussed in some detail below.

Consequently, if Christ's people are sinners under the law, then Christ himself was 'made sin' for his people (2 Cor. 5:21) in order that sin might be imputed to Christ and not his people. More than that, if Christ's people are accursed on account of their transgressions, then Christ becomes a 'curse' on their behalf (Gal. 3:13). Because of the language used to describe God's own Son (i.e. 'made sin' & 'cursed'), Goodwin is adamant that they must be rightly understood, 'or else they will be blasphemy in our own thoughts still.'[32] Therefore, his exposition of these themes proceeds cautiously.

To be 'made sin' for his people (2 Cor. 5:21) Christ is made not only the punishment and curse that sin deserved, but even the guilt of sin. Thus, Goodwin suggests that Christ 'was made (as Luther boldly speaks) the greatest sinner that ever was.'[33] To be 'made sin', however, does not suggest that he knew sin in his own experience, as if he had committed a personal sin. In no way was he personally guilty of sin. Therefore, quoting 2 Corinthians 5:21, Brooks posits that Christ 'had no sin in him by inhesion, but he had a great deal of sin upon him by imputation.'[34] For Goodwin, Christ was 'made sin' in the same way that his people were 'made righteousness'. Goodwin explains: 'Now we are made his Righteousness meerly by imputation; That is, all his Obedience to the Law is accounted ours, is reckoned ours, even as if we had fulfilled it; Though we knew none of it .... So this making here is but Gods reckoning him as a Transgressor .... By imputation then he was counted as one that hath broken the Law.'[35] The doctrine of double imputation, a particularly thorny question in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, lies at the

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[32] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 194.
[33] *Christ Set Forth*, 9.
[34] *Paradice Opened*, 80.
[35] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 194.

219

very heart of Goodwin's soteriology.[36] This doctrine especially needs to be carefully defined in order to avoid misunderstanding.[37]

Goodwin makes what he believes to be an important distinction between Adam's sin being imputed to mankind and mankind's sin being imputed to Christ. The difference is whether imputation takes place by derivation or by a willing, free undertaking, or whether imputation is by a 'natural covenant' or 'voluntary covenant'. He explains that Adam's sin was imputed by derivation and a necessary covenant. However, the sins of Christ's people are not by derivation, but 'by a *willing*, *free* Undertaking or taking them off from us, and by a *voluntary* Covenant.'[38] Christ was 'made sin' not necessarily, but freely. Therefore, imputation did not stain him or his nature, 'but he remained holy, undefiled, and separate from Sinners; Whereas the Imputation of Adam's Sin stained and depraved us his Posterity.'[39] Goodwin concludes in his characteristic thoroughness arguing that Adam's sin pollutes his people because they are one with him by a natural headship, that is, they have truly sinned in him (Rom. 5:12). However, regarding Christ, Christians must abhor to think so; 'Nay, in this doth the Imputation of his Righteousness to us differ from the Imputation of our Sins to him .... It cannot be said in any sense, he was made Sin *in us*, but *for us* onely ...'[40] Thus, the imputation of sin to Christ is according to a voluntary covenant; as his obedience was free and willing, Christ freely and willingly received by

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[36] See Van Dixhoorn, 'Reforming the Reformation', I.270-331.

[37] Tobias Crisp's sermons in his work *Christ Alone Exalted* (London, 1644; volume II) may appear to go beyond the traditional Reformed understanding of imputation. Commenting on Christ being 'made sin' in 2 Corinthians 5:21, Crisp suggested that Paul was not referring to sin's pollution of Christ's essence. Nevertheless, Crisp insisted that Christ was a transgressor: 'the Apostle's meaning was, that no transgressor in the world was such a transgressor as Christ was. But still he was a transgressor as our transgressions were laid upon him.' *Christ Alone Exalted*, II.84. For a vindication of Crisp, see Samuel Crisp, *Christ made sin II Cor. V, xxi* (London, 1691). While, Owen qualifies his assertions on imputation, he nevertheless admits that the 'Greek scholiasts' and Luther 'affirmed that Christ was made the greatest sinner, – namely, by imputation ...' *Works*, V, *Justification by Faith*, 348.

[38] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 194.

[39] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 194.

[40] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 194-95. See also Manton, *Works*, XIII, *Sermons Upon 2 Corinthians V*, 180-82.

imputation the sins of his people. He was an *internuncius* between God the offended and man the offender, and only by imputation could peace be restored between the two parties. In so doing, Christ satisfied God's justice by taking on himself the guilt of his people's sins. But not 'sin in general'.[41] Rather, Christ bore 'every particular sin of his Elect for whom he dyed'.[42] Therefore, the nature of the atonement (i.e. the imputation of sin) and its application (i.e. for the elect only) are tied to the terms of the *pactum salutis*.

Having delineated in what manner Christ was 'made sin', Goodwin discusses what it means for Christ to be made a 'curse'. Whereas Christ was 'made sin' by imputation, he is made a 'curse' by infliction; that is, he was 'made sin' even though he never personally sinned in himself, but 'in being made a Curse, he knew it to his cost; it entered his Soul and Bowels.'[43] Christ, as the surety for his people, came under the curse of the moral law (Gal. 3:10, 13) and is thus made a 'curse'. Turretin likewise notes that Christ was 'not only "cursed" (*epikataratos*), but "a curse" (*katara*) – ... because he endured the whole curse which the law denounced against sinners.'[44] As a 'curse', Christ was therefore punished out of wrath. Indeed, for Goodwin, though the Father loves the Son, 'yet he punisheth sin in him, out of pure wrath, and lets Justice fly upon him to have its full Penniworths out of him, he lets wrath suck the blood of his Soul, till it falls off, as the Leech when it is filled, and breaks.'[45] Goodwin's strong language is an attempt to do justice to the term 'curse' to describe what Christ became.

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[41] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 198.
[42] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 198. See also *Christ Set Forth*, 12.
[43] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 200.
[44] *Institutes*, XIII.xiv.7.
[45] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 200. Goodwin deals with the subject of God's wrath in more detail in *A discourse of the punishment of sin in hell demonstrating the wrath of God to be the immediate cause thereof* (London, 1680). Referring to Christ's reception of his Father's wrath, Goodwin posits: 'We see when Sins were but laid upon Christ by Imputation, who in himself was separate from Sinners, and had no Conscience of Sin, how yet the Anger of God against Sin dealt with him, as undertaking to be a Surety for Sin.' *A Discourse*, 138.

Goodwin's earlier maxim, that Christ had to be made whatever he redeemed his people from, holds true insofar as his people were redeemed from what he was made, namely, a 'curse'. Indeed, Goodwin argues that 'Justice abated him nothing of that punishment which was due to us.'[46] In fact, not even the dignity of his person could spare him because 'Justice ... will have its full due, or nothing.'[47] While the dignity of Christ's person added infinite merit to his sufferings, nevertheless, 'it struck off no part of the Debt'.[48]

Christ's obedience results from his submission to his Father's will according to the terms of the *pactum salutis*. Because of the pretemporal agreement between the persons of the Trinity, the Son has become a surety for mankind considered as fallen. He is the mediator who brings reconciliation by his blood. In light of that reality he had to be made whatever he redeemed his people from. In redeeming his people from sin Christ had to be 'made sin'. Because Christ's people were under a curse, Christ, as surety, became a 'curse' for his people. His work is therefore the work of one who acts representatively. In acting representatively, Christ not only becomes what his people are, but his life of obedience merits the salvation of his people. In connection with this, Goodwin argues:

> Having largely proved and explained how Christ performed that part of our Redemption, which consists in freeing us from the Guilt, and Curse, and Punishment of Sin, which he did by himself being made Sin and a Curse for us; what remains is to prove that he fulfilled the Law, and performed all Righteousness for our Justification; and that he is the 'Lord our Righteousness,' as well as our Sacrifice and Ransom.[49]

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[46] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 201.
[47] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 202.
[48] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 202.
[49] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 335.

Not only the atonement, but Christ's life leading up to the atonement played a significant role in Goodwin's Christology.

The Obedience of Christ for Justification

Christ's Obedience

The question of Christ's obedience to the law has been the source of much contention not only in the history of Christendom, but also among Reformed theologians. At the Westminster Assembly this issue received a good deal of attention, mostly because of its implications for the doctrine of justification by faith. Christ's obedience to the law also raises profound Christological questions regarding the active and passive obedience of Christ for the justification of his people.

Anselm had argued that Christ was obligated to obey God's law first of all for himself because of his manhood. However, his satisfaction, that is, his suffering and death, were works of supererogation, which were added to his perfect, sinless life.[50] Lutheran theologians argued that the idea of Christ having to keep the law of God on account of his human nature tended towards Nestorianism. According to their Christology, the Lutherans argued that the person of Christ is Lord of the law in both his natures and hence cannot be subject to the law as a human being. Theologians at the Westminster Assembly were divided on this question. Van Dixhoorn notes that 'Gataker, Vines, Woodcock, and their supporters held that any reference to Christ's

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[50] On this debate at the Westminster Assembly, see Van Dixhoorn, 'Reforming the Reformation', I.297-99. On Anselm's Christology, see Dániel Deme, *The Christology of Anselm of Canterbury* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

obedience must be understood as his obedience to his part in the *pactum salutis*.'[51]   In fact, defenders of the imputation of the active obedience of Christ, such as Goodwin, argued that Christ was not bound to keep the whole law.[52]   Thus, when debating this doctrine, Goodwin argued that the Assembly must grant the Anselmian position that in his human nature Christ was obliged to fulfill the law. However, Goodwin maintained that Christ's divine nature altered his relationship to the law. As the divine Logos, Christ was not obliged to keep the whole law in the same way an ordinary man is.[53]   The *Minutes* of the Westminster Assembly reflects the substance of Goodwin's argument, particularly as this issue relates to the doctrine of justification. The *Minutes* read:

> Mr Goodwin undertooke to answer particularly: 1. That the very dignity of Christs person was qualification enough for his sacrifice without observing of the law to that end. 2. That the active obedience is meant chiefly ... 5. That Christs obedience though as a creature[,] yet may be imputed. 1. Considering he was equall with God[,] & yet by Covenant he came under obedience. 2. Many parts of the morall law to which as he was a man he was not bound to[,] no more then Angells. 3. 'Made' under the law[,] being Lord of the law and lord of grace. 4. The subject of his obedience is his person, & not humane nature onely. 5. The humane nature which the father and Holy Ghost had not.[54]

The *Minutes* seem to confirm Van Dixhoorn's interpretation that Goodwin departs from the standard Anselmian argument. However, Goodwin, like Gataker, Vines, and Woodcock, connects Christ's obedience to the covenant, which buttresses the central argument of this study that Goodwin's Christology must be understood as the outworking of the *pactum salutis*. The doctrine of Christ's obedience is addressed in more detail in Goodwin's writings than in the

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[51] 'Reforming the Reformation', I.298.
[52] 'Reforming the Reformation', I.298.
[53] 'Reforming the Reformation', I.298-99.
[54] 'Reforming the Reformation', II.51

Minutes and represents one of the most complex areas of his Christology. For that reason, further care must be taken in understanding this aspect of his Christology.

The Whole Righteousness Imputed

Central to Goodwin's soteriology is the proposition that the whole of Christ's righteousness is imputed to those who have faith in him. Strangely, this topic does not receive much treatment in the secondary literature on Goodwin; when it does, as in the case of Horton, more time is spent on Calvin than Goodwin. In fact, after asking whether justification is *Remissio* or *Iustitia*?, Horton simply says that Goodwin 'is in the company of Calvin and the entire subsequent Reformed tradition when he insists on justification as the imputation of the active obedience of Christ.'[55] But why Goodwin comes to this position is not spelled out in any detail by Horton.[56]

For Goodwin, 'becoming righteous' does not mean, contra Andreas Osiander (1498-1552), obtaining the essential holiness of the divine nature.[57] Rutherford, too, distinguishes between Christ's 'essential Righteousness, as God' and the 'perfect holiness of the Man Christ'. He suggests that only Christ's 'perfect holiness' is acquired.[58] Moreover, Goodwin notes, there is also a difference between the righteousness of the mediatorial office and the merits of the righteousness of Christ.[59] The former belongs to Christ alone whereas the latter is imputed to believers. Goodwin asserts: 'I assert the whole Righteousness of Christ the Mediator to be

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[55] 'Assurance', 199.
[56] Relying on the work of Van Dixhoorn, Jeffrey Jue gives a brief distillation of Goodwin's arguments – made at the Westminster Assembly – for the imputation of the active obedience of Christ. See K. Scott Oliphint, et al. *Justified in Christ: God's Plan for Us in Justification* (Ross-shire: Christian Focus Publications, 2007), 99-130.
[57] On Osiander and his theology see David C. Steinmetz, *Reformers in the Wings* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971); Mark A. Garcia, *Life in Christ: Union with Christ and Twofold Grace in Calvin's Theology* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2008), passim.
[58] *Covenant of Life*, 226.
[59] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 335.

communicated, but not the Mediatorial Righteousness.'[60] He also makes the distinction between the righteousness of Christ in his state of humiliation and the righteousness of Christ in his state of exaltation. Here, Goodwin is accepting the medieval Scotist terminology of *viator* and *possessor*, which distinguish Christ's state of humiliation and his state of exaltation. Only the righteousness acquired by Christ during his state of humiliation is imputed to believers since 'after his death he ceased to merit any thing, as he will also cease to make application of his Merits to us after the day of Judgment.'[61] Finally, the righteousness imputed to believers does not include his extraordinary works such as miracles because they 'transcend the predicaments of the Ten Commandments'.[62] Christ's miracles were proofs of his divinity and not duties of his office.[63]

With those caveats out of the way, Goodwin argues that the whole righteousness of Christ is imputed to believers, including both Christ's 'passive' and 'active' obedience.[64] Of course, Goodwin recognizes that this topic is variously understood by Reformed divines, and he would have been keenly aware of this source of contention at the Westminster Assembly since he was a central figure in the debate. The outcome of the debate over the imputation of the active obedience of Christ may not have fully satisfied any of the parties involved, but certainly Goodwin, along with his fellow Congregationalists, saw the need to make explicit in the *Savoy Declaration* what is perhaps only implicit in the *Westminster Confession* regarding this doctrine. Note the changes made by the authors of the *Savoy Declaration* to the *Westminster Confession*:

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[60] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 335.
[61] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 336. See also Owen, *Works*, I, *The Person of Christ*, 246.
[62] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 336.
[63] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 336.
[64] Interestingly, Owen, who also makes use of the distinction between 'active' and 'passive' obedience, argues that 'it cannot clearly be evinced that there is any such thing, in propriety of speech, as *passive obedience*; *obeying is doing …*' *Works*, II, *On Communion with God*, 163.

Westminster Confession (9.1): Those whom God effectually calleth, he also freely justifieth: not by infusing righteousness into them, but by pardoning their sins, and by accounting and accepting their persons as righteous; not for any thing wrought in them, or done by them, but for Christ's sake alone; not by imputing faith itself, the act of believing, or any other evangelical obedience to them, as their righteousness; but by imputing the obedience and satisfaction of Christ unto them, they receiving and resting on him and his righteousness by faith; which faith they have not of themselves, it is the gift of God.[65]

Savoy Declaration (9.1): Those whom God effectually calleth, he also freely justifieth; not by infusing righteousness into them, but by pardoning their sins, and by accounting and accepting their persons as righteous; not for anything wrought in them, or done by them, but for Christ's sake alone; nor by imputing faith itself, the act of believing, or any other evangelical obedience to them, as their righteousness; *but by imputing Christ's active obedience to the whole law, and passive obedience in his death for their whole and sole righteousness*, they receiving and resting on him and his righteousness by faith; which faith they have not of themselves, it is the gift of God (emphasis added).[66]

Among the changes made by the Congregationalists at Savoy to the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, the addition of the words, 'but by imputing Christ's active obedience to the whole law, and passive obedience in his death for their whole and sole righteousness', are perhaps one of the most significant, but not surprising, given Goodwin's arguments at the Westminster Assembly.[67]

With regard to this particular issue, Goodwin speaks of a twofold obedience in Christ during his state of humiliation. The first has respect to his conformity to the law of God during his life, the other in his suffering on the cross: 'the first is called in the Schools, Active, and the other Passive Obedience.'[68] However, Goodwin also notes that there are some – Vines, Gataker, and Twisse, for example – who exclude the active righteousness of his life from the

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[65] *WCF*, 9.1
[66] *Savoy*, 9.1
[67] See 'Reforming the Reformation', II.51-63.
[68] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 336. Elsewhere, Goodwin does make an interesting comment that Christ's obedience to the ceremonial law falls under his *passive* obedience (i.e. his sufferings), for 'what is more grievous than for him, who knew not Sin ... to act the part of a Sinner in the likeness of sinful flesh, not only in suffering, but in observing those Ceremonies of the Law, which were required of Men as Sinners to observe'. *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 341.

righteousness that is imputed to believers. In fact, Goodwin alludes explicitly to the Anselmian argument made by those who reject the imputation of the active obedience of Christ. According to Goodwin they argued that Christ's obedience was 'for his own sake, and on his own personal account, for Christ was bound to it as a Creature, and Son of Adam, born under the Moral Law, and as a Son of Abraham under the Ceremonial Law.'[69] Thus, because Christ was bound to the law for himself, only his passive obedience is imputed, 'both because Christ did undertake and perform it, not for himself, but purely for our sakes, and also because they esteem it an adequate and sufficient matter of our justification.'[70] On this 'Anselmian' assumption, Christ's death, then, was supererogatory; it was above and beyond what God required of him as a man under law.

However, Goodwin rejects this position and argues contrariwise that 'both the Holiness of Christs Nature, and all that work of Humiliation ... was ... accomplished for our sakes .... in a word, That all this Righteousness of Christ whatever, is imputed to us as a proportionate conformity to that Righteousness which the Law requires from us.'[71] Owen also highlights the importance of both the active and passive obedience of Christ by arguing that Christ's obedience to the law is no less necessary for the justification of his people than his suffering the penalty of the law; in other words, '[w]e have need of more than the mere sufferings of Christ, whereby we may be justified before God.'[72] Goodwin and Owen view the entire life of Christ as a unified whole; by virtue of the covenant made with the Father, Christ's work of obedience is a single work assigned to him from his conception to his death.

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[69] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 336.
[70] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 336.
[71] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 336.
[72] *Works*, V, *Justification by Faith*, 252-54.

Regarding the 'Anselmian argument', Goodwin is clear that Christ's obedience to the law is not 'wholly due from him'.[73] Even if it was, the righteousness of Christ would be sufficient both for himself and his elect.[74] Goodwin's reasons for his rejection of the Anselmic argument are several. First, Christ may have 'become flesh' so to speak 'and yet have lived alwaies in Heaven, and then he would have been free (as now glorified he is) from many Duties to be performed both to God, and Man in this Life.'[75] Second, as the Son of God, Christ has the prerogative of a Son. Thus, by calling himself 'Lord of the Sabbath' (Matt. 12:8), he is also the Lord of the Law.[76] Third, Goodwin argues for an emphasis upon the person of the Mediator, and not the natures of the mediator: 'What though we grant him to have been subject as a Creature, yet the Obedience is of the whole Person .... What therefore as a work would be entirely due from the Humane Nature, shall be called the Merit of the Mediator God-Man.'[77] Finally, since the 'Person assuming was before at his own dispose, and it was only to make satisfaction for us ... this service, though due, will be meritorious.'[78] In fact, Christ, though he was a Jew, was not bound to the ceremonial law because he was not a sinner. His fulfilling of the ceremonial law, then, was purely that his whole obedience may be imputed to his people.

Featley, who debated alongside Goodwin on this issue at the Westminster Assembly, argues that Christ was not a human person. Instead, he is the eternal Son of God who assumed a human nature, 'and the law is given to the person, not to the nature.'[79] Elsewhere, Featley contends that 'Every humane creature is *ratione naturae & personae*, that is, such a creature as hath not only humane nature but a humane person also, is bound to fulfill the morall Law for

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[73] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 341.
[74] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 341-42.
[75] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 342.
[76] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 342. See also Featley, *Sacra Nemesis*, 27.
[77] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 342.
[78] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 342.
[79] Featley, *Sacra nemesis*, 27. See also Ussher, *Immanuel, or, The Mystery of the Incarnation,* 11.

himself: but Christ was not so; he had a humane nature, but no humane person. Now we know, *Lex datur personae*, the Law is given to the person.'[80] The person of the mediator is above the law by virtue of the hypostatical union. So, if Christ was not bound to the law, because of the hypostatical union, but fulfilled it anyway, he must have been doing it for his elect.[81]

For Goodwin and Featley, because Christ is not bound to the law in the same way that humans are bound to the law, Christ's acts of obedience must have been not first for himself, as the Anselmians argued, but solely for his people. Christ's law-keeping was the law-keeping of the God-man according to the mandate of the eternal covenant. Because of the value of the person keeping the law, Christ's merits are infinite. In other words, Christ being made under the law was not an ontological necessity, but a functional necessity. Its necessity is tied to the pretemporal covenant agreement. Christ's law-keeping is, therefore, according to the terms of the covenant, which were entered into freely on the Son's part.

The Merit of Christ's Obedience

The Reformed orthodox have been careful to distinguish the different connotations of the word merit.[82] They have not hesitated to speak of Christ's redemptive work in terms of the language of merit. Calvin, for example, acknowledges that some – most probably Laelius Socinus – 'cannot bear to hear the word "merit," for they think that it obscures God's grace.'[83] But because God appointed Christ as mediator, Calvin argues that it would be 'absurd to set Christ's merit against

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[80] *Sacra nemesis*, 32.
[81] See Van Dixhoorn, 'Reforming the Reformation', I.299.
[82] For a good brief discussion of this issue among the Reformed orthodox, see Beach, *Christ and the Covenant*, 196-202.
[83] *Institutes*, II.xvii.1. The McNeill edition of Calvin's *Institutes* has a footnote that suggests Calvin is probably referring to Laelius Socinus because of Calvin's work: *Responsio Ad Aliquot Laelii Socini Quaestiones* (1555).

God's mercy.'[84] Of course, Calvin admits that '[a]part from God's good pleasure Christ could not merit anything',[85] but by Christ's obedience he 'truly acquired and merited grace for us with his Father … He acquired salvation for us by his righteousness, which is tantamount to deserving it.'[86] Owen candidly admits that the word merit is not found anywhere in Scripture; thus, he argues that the actual term is not important 'if the thing itself intended thereby be made apparent.'[87] Thus, Christ's death merited eternal life for all those for whom he died.[88]

For Goodwin, the merits of Christ's obedience, in light of the above statements on his relationship to the law, are sufficient to save and justify 'innumerable Millions'.[89] Thus, Christ's merits are intensively, not extensively, infinite. For Goodwin, both Christ's active and passive obedience are vital to the salvation of sinners. After all, while Christ's passive obedience is the ground for remission of sin and the sufferings due to the penalty of sin, yet his active obedience is necessary because of the requirements of the law. 'And so in like manner', Goodwin asserts, 'neither can the Active Righteousness of Christ avail to discharge the due parts of the Passive, and therefore though each of them is intensively Infinite, yet not extensively.'[90] Therefore, both Christ's active obedience and passive obedience cannot be separated from each other. Once abstracted from each other altogether, they fail to provide the necessary elements of a complete salvation.

In speaking of merit, Goodwin has made clear in his work, *Of Christ the Mediator*, what he means by the term. All of the soteric blessings purchased by Christ are granted on account of his

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[84] *Institutes*, II.xvii.1
[85] *Institutes*, II.xvii.1
[86] *Institutes*, II.xvii.3.
[87] *Works*, X, *The Death of Death*, 287.
[88] *Works*, X, *The Death of Death*, 287.
[89] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 343. See also Brooks, *Paradice Opened*, 89.
[90] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 343. On the merit of Christ's life and death, see Owen, *Works*, X, *The Death of Death*, 286-90; Turretin, *Institutes*, XVII.v.2-4.

merits *ex compacto*, that is, 'they are bestowed by a Compact with Christ; by vertue of which Compacts his Merits are accepted for us'.[91] Christ's work, which is the ground for the bestowing of grace upon his people, is rooted in the eternal covenant between the Father and the Son; indeed, the redemption of Christ's people 'depends as much on that Covenant made with Christ as on his Merits.'[92] Goodwin's statement above reveals some important aspects about his theology. As has been noted above, there can be no divorce between Christology and soteriology. Therefore, any discussion of the *pactum salutis* with regard to Christology will inevitably be bound up with soteriological concerns. While Christ has paid the price for the salvation of his people, thus satisfying the justice of the Father, God forgives his people by an act of grace in the context of the covenant. Hence, the Reformed orthodox, against the Jesuits, have argued that Christ's merits are *ex compacto*, 'and not which absolutely could oblige God to us.'[93]

Sufficiency and Efficiency

The merits of Christ's obedience cannot be abstracted from the sufficiency of his satisfaction. Trueman notes that the distinction between the sufficiency of Christ's work and its efficiency is a 'commonplace Western distinction', which was first provided by Peter Lombard (1100-1160) in his *Four Books of Sentences*.[94] In terms of the atonement, Lombard argued that Christ's death was sufficient for all but efficient for the elect alone.[95] So, as Trueman notes, this distinction

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[91] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 29. See also *Works*, IV, *Object and Acts of Justifying Faith*, Pt. 1, 104.
[92] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 29.
[93] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 29.
[94] *Claims of Truth*, 200.
[95] *IV Libri Sententiarum*, III.xx.3. Cited in Trueman, *Claims of Truth*, 200.

clarifies how a satisfaction – understood in Anselmic categories – of infinite value can be squared with the belief that not all men are saved.[96]

For Goodwin, because of the terms of the covenant of redemption, Christ makes satisfaction as the surety in order to bring reconciliation between the Father and his people. Moreover, in terms of understanding Christ's satisfaction, Goodwin always keeps in mind the worth of the person: 'And therefore, as the worth of Christs Person was Infinite, so must the worth of his Actions be.'[97] Thus, Christ's death brings together the doctrines of the 'communication of operations' and the 'communication of properties', as well as the maxim that the 'finite is not capable of the infinite.' Goodwin argues that the human nature, which is finite, is the '*Principium quo*', the instrument 'by which, and in which the Second Person doth all that he doth; and therefore answerably the Physical being of those Actions is but *finite in genere entis*.'[98] Yet, everything that the human nature did is attributed to the person, 'who is *Principium quod*, the Principle which doth, and unto which all is to be ascribed (for *Actiones sunt suppositorum*, Actions are attributed to the Persons, because that is said only to subsist).'[99] Therefore, the worth of the works done in the flesh, concerning their moral estimation, is tied to the worth of the person; 'and thus, though the immediate Principle, the Humane Nature be finite; yet the Radical Principle, the Person, is Infinite. And both Natures being one in Person, what the one is said to do or suffer, the other is said to do and suffer; and therefore his Blood is called the

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[96] *Claims of Truth*, 200. This is not to suggest that Lombard argued in an Anselmic manner; he did not. Rather, his distinction is useful for those like Goodwin who hold to a satisfaction theory that makes Christ's death infinitely sufficient, yet particularly efficient.

[97] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 104.

[98] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 105.

[99] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 105. Witsius similarly argues concerning Christ's death that his actions 'receive their value and denomination from the dignity of the person, as from the *principium quod* [the one from whom the actions arise], although with respect to their condition, they are to be attributed to the nature from which they take their rise, as the *principium quo* [the nature by which actions arise].' *Sacred Dissertations on What is Commonly Called the Apostles' Creed*, trans. D. Fraser (Glasgow, 1823), Vol. II, Dissertation XV.

Blood of God.'[100] Here, Goodwin's the organic relationship between the person and the work is crucial to his Christology. In other words, the 'moral estimation' is infinite, despite the 'immediate principle' being finite because of the human nature. However, the 'radical principle' is infinite because the person is infinite, 'and they being one in Person what the one is said to do, the other is said to do also; and therefore Christ's Obedience is called the *Righteousness of God*'.[101] The worth of Christ's person counters the Socinian argument that, as Edwin Rabbie puts it, 'if it were true that Christ satisfied God, he should have died as many eternal deaths as there were sinners.'[102] The reason Christ only needed to die once for many people is because of who he is. That is to suggest, the efficacy of his work depends on his person.

Christ's death, then, is infinite in value – that is, infinitely sufficient – on account of the worth of the person.[103] However, because of the terms of the *pactum salutis*, Christ is only mediator on behalf of his elect. Therefore, his atonement, while infinitely sufficient, is only particularly efficient. This point will be elaborated below in some detail when Goodwin's understanding of Christ's priestly office is considered. For now it should be noted that there is an unambiguous correlation between Christ's death on the cross and priestly intercession for his elect only, and the sufficiency-efficiency distinction. With regards to the efficiency of Christ's death, Goodwin posits that the 'immediate and direct end of Christ's Intercession, is the actuall salvation of Beleevers, Elect, and persons whom he dyed for.'[104] The 'actual salvation' of his people stems from the fact that Christ is the God-man, acting as a single person on behalf of his

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[100] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 105.
[101] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 118.
[102] 'Introduction' to *Defensio Fidei*, 6.
[103] *Works*, IV, *Object and Acts of Justifying Faith*, Pt. 1, 104.
[104] *Christ Set Forth*, 204. See also Brooks, *Paradice Opened*, 84-89.

people. Christ's work, then, considered in terms of the 'radical principle', is infinitely sufficient to effect reconciliation between God and man.

All of this is to suggest that the nature of Christ's obedience was indeed a complex theological problem for the Reformed orthodox. For example, the relatively simple question over whether Christ was obliged to keep the law was at the heart of the debate on the imputation of Christ's active obedience. Goodwin argued that the whole of Christ's righteousness – both his active and passive obedience – is imputed to those who have faith in Christ. For Goodwin, the entire life of Christ must be viewed as a single whole; that is, his obedience cannot be divided. Thus, his perfect law-keeping and his satisfaction are imputed to believers. The merits of Christ's obedience according to the terms of the covenant of redemption are of infinite value on account of the worth of his person. As noted above, because Christ is Mediator on behalf of his elect, the atonement, while infinitely sufficient, is only particularly efficient.

Christus Victor

That Christ died on a cross is a belief shared by all Christian theologians. However, the nature of Christ's atonement has proven to be a much-vexed issue over the course of the centuries. Reformed theologians have typically held to the doctrine of penal substitution. Indeed, as noted above, the idea that Christ is 'made sin' and 'made a curse' is the natural outworking of penal substitution. This particular understanding of the atonement has further implications, namely, that Christ, by virtue of his substitutionary death and resurrection, is victorious over the devil.[105]

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[105] In recent years, the emphasis on Christ's victory over the devil has become associated with the Swedith theologian Gustaf Aulén whose own position has been termed 'Christus Victor'. See Gustaf Aulén, *Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of Atonement* (New York: Macmillan, 1969). On page 20,

For the Reformed orthodox there is a close connection between penal substitution and Christ's victory over the devil. By virtue of Christ's vicarious sacrifice – understood, of course, in penal terms – a victory has been won over Satan, a victory that only a substitutionary death could make possible. Christ's substitutionary death necessarily entails his victory over the devil; these two aspects, therefore, cannot be separated any more than Christ's two natures can be separated.

In his work, *De Jesu Christo Servatore*, Socinus referred to the idea of Christ's undergoing of vicarious punishment on behalf of sinners as irrational, incoherent, immoral and impossible. For example, Socinus argued that penal substitution is incoherent because when a debt is paid it no longer exists; thus, remission is superfluous.[106] Socinus was not alone in rejecting the Reformed doctrine of penal substitution. With him were the Arminian theologians – though not Arminius himself[107] – who posited the Grotian theory of the atonement. Grotius' work, *A Defence of the Catholic Faith concerning the Satisfaction of Christ against Faustus Socinus* (*Defensio fidei catholicae de satisfactione Christi*, 1617), argued that in Christ's death there was no satisfaction of God's justice; Christ was not a penal substitute. Rather, Grotius argued that Christ's sufferings exhibited God's displeasure against sin.[108] So, for Grotius, Christ paid the debt for human sin by offering himself as an equivalent debt (*solutio tantidem*) owed by humanity. Thus, the lawgiver, God, was satisfied, but not in the same way that Reformed

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Aulén argues: 'The work of Christ is first and foremost a victory over the powers which hold mankind in bondage: sin, death, and the devil.'

[106] Socinus maintains: 'Neque enim illi remittitur, alius vero pro eo satisfacit; nihil dixeris. Nam quid opus est remissione, aut quomodo ea consistere potest, ubi nullum est amplius, ubi iam plene pro ipso satisfactum est.' *De Jesu Christo Servatore*, III.ii.

[107] See William Witt, 'Creation, Redemption and Grace in the Theology of Jacob Arminius' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, Notre Dame University, 1993), 555.

[108] *De Satisfactione*, IV, § 18.

theologians would argue that God was satisfied. Grotius had replaced the Reformed understanding of propitiation and substitution with the notion of governmental expediency.[109]

The Reformed doctrine of the atonement might be understood as a refinement of Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo?* Anselm understood the atonement in satisfaction terms, which Goodwin develops in some detail.[110] However, the Reformed orthodox emphasized the vicarious punishment (*poena*) aspect of the atonement.[111] Calvin proposes that 'the priestly office belongs to Christ alone because by the sacrifice of his death he blotted out our guilt and made satisfaction for our sins [Heb. 9:22].'[112] But he also argues that at every point Christ 'substituted himself in our place (*in vicem nostram ubique se supposuerit*) to pay the price of redemption.'[113] Not only satisfaction, but penal substitution characterizes Calvin's view of the atonement.

The above only tells half the story, however. T.H.L. Parker locates several different motifs in Calvin's doctrine of the atonement: 1) sacrifice; 2) satisfaction; 3) obedience; 4) expiation; and 5) victory.[114] While clearly affirming the so-called 'Latin' view of the atonement (satisfaction and substitution), Calvin also gives an important place to what Aulén has called the *Christus victor* motif. He argues that because we share in the same (human) nature with Christ, our union with the Son of God is 'the pledge of fellowship'.[115] Clothed with flesh, Christ 'vanquished sin and death together that the victory and triumph might be ours. He offered as a

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[109] John Owen spends a good deal of time interacting with Grotius' position on the nature of the payment made by Christ. See *Works*, X, *Of the Death of Christ*, 437ff.

[110] See *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 108-33.

[111] Van Asselt notes: 'The Reformed doctrine of satisfaction distinguishes itself from the Anselmian doctrine through its notion of *satisfactio poenalis* (satisfaction through punishment): instead of an either-or, it assumes a both-and: satisfaction *and* punishment. In the Reformed doctrine of satisfaction, then, the idea of substitution is worked out even more consistently than in the Anselmian scheme. Christ fully takes the place of fallen and rebellious humanity.' 'Christ's Atonement: A Multi-dimensional Approach', *Calvin Theological Journal 38* (2003) 60-61.

[112] *Institutes*, II.xv.6.

[113] *Institutes*, II.xvi.7.

[114] *The Oracles of God: An Introduction to the Preaching of John Calvin* (London: Lutterworth, 1947), 87ff.

[115] *Institutes*, II.xii.3.

sacrifice the flesh he received from us, that he might wipe out our guilt by his act of expiation and appease the Father's righteous wrath.'[116] The following will demonstrate that Goodwin's doctrine of the atonement has strong corollaries not only with Anselm, but Calvin as well, both in terms of affirming the satisfactory nature of Christ's death and the victory he gained over the devil by virtue of his satisfaction.[117]

Christ's Victory Over the Devil

The ground of Christ's quarrel against Satan is twofold: personal and on behalf of his people. Inasmuch as Satan advanced his own kingdom against the kingdom of God, Christ's quarrel with Satan is firstly personal, because Satan's kingdom 'stood in the way' of the kingdom to which Christ as the God-man was appointed (Heb. 1:2).[118] Consequently, Goodwin argues that Christ must 'win' his kingdom before he 'wears' it (Ps. 2; 110; 1 Cor. 15).[119] The second ground of Christ's quarrel with Satan is on behalf of his elect. Hebrews 2:13 ('Here am I and the children whom God has given Me') refers to those whom the Father had given to Christ at the making of the covenant of redemption. These 'children' have been committed to Christ's 'trust and charge by God'.[120] Since his children are under a curse, by virtue of their sinful nature, they are 'Vassals and slaves of Satan', and Christ therefore acts as their representative in order that 'through death He might destroy him who had the power of death, that is, the devil' (Heb

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[116] *Institutes*, II.xii.3. In connection with this, John F. Jansen has argued that 'the regal conquest of Christ over the devil, death, and sin … is Calvin's most recurrent theme.' *Calvin's Doctrine of the Work of Christ* (London: J. Clark, 1956), 88.

[117] See also Thomas Jackson's work,

[118] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 301.

[119] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 301.

[120] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 301.

2:14).[121] With these two grounds summarized, Goodwin elucidates in some detail the nature and consequences of Christ's victory over Satan.

While Christ's death on the cross is part of his humiliation, Goodwin argues, based upon an exhaustive study of Colossians 2:13-15, that Christ conquered the devil as he hung upon a tree. Satan's power over sinful man was not a 'Natural but an accidental judicial power', which was 'limited by Commission'; and his power was over sinful man only, not Christ.[122] Man's sin was the only ground for Satan's power, which was given by way of punishment and curse. Christ's death, then, pays the price and ransom for sin; as a result, when Christ receives the punishment due to sin, the power of Satan 'fall[s] *Instantly*, for it was wholly judicial, and but part of the Curse and punishment upon Man.'[123] The death of Christ, understood in part as a 'Ransom', abolishes both the condemning power of the law and that of the devil. Owen suggests that in the 'blood of his cross he conquered, and brake the power of the devil' (Col. 2:15).[124] Goodwin adds that because Christ acted not alone, but as a 'Common Person', Satan lost not only his kingdom, but his power over God's elect.[125] And, again, Owen notes that Satan's power over men and in men is 'cast down and destroyed' because 'Christ by his death cashiers the title and claim that Satan laid to the exercise of any such power, in reference unto the elect .... And this was really done in the cross'.[126] The death of Christ, then, for Goodwin and Owen, is really the death of Satan, including both his kingdom and his power over God's elect.

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[121] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 301. Owen adopts an argument almost identical argument to Goodwin and advances the same Scriptural texts. See *Works*, I, *The Person of Christ*, 197, 216-18; *Works*, XI, *The Doctrine of the Saints' Perseverance*, 304-08; *Works*, XX, *Exposition of Hebrews*, 447-53.

[122] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 304.

[123] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 304.

[124] *Works*, XI, *Saints' Perseverance*, 305.

[125] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 304.

[126] *Works*, XI, *Saints' Perseverance*, 306-07.

The death of Christ represented the first of his two victories against Satan; the one taking place on the cross, the other taking place at Christ's ascension. In the first, 'Christ dealt as a Redeemer with God as a Judge .... In the other he dealt ... as a Warriour against Satan.'[127] Christ's death was a conquest over Satan's works, weapons, and power; Christ's ascension was a victory over Satan's person, 'as an evidence God had given all his weapons, and power into [Christ's] hands.'[128] Notwithstanding these triumphs, Goodwin argues that Christ's ascension to heaven still left the Devil in 'actual possession of power' – possession of his power 'as god of this World, ruling in Mens hearts, both Elect and others ... and [Christ] suffers him to hold his possession still in the World, reserving him for a further Victory.'[129]

As noted above, despite Christ's victory on the cross and at his ascension, the Devil still remains in possession of men's hearts. However, by virtue of Christ's ascension, whereupon he received power over Satan's person, including his works and weapons, Satan is 'Christ's Prisoner, bound in Hand and Foot'.[130] Thus, Goodwin notes that the work of Christ in bringing men out of the power of darkness into his own kingdom is grounded in Christ's power – won by victory – over Satan (2 Tim. 2:25-26). The conversion of sinners is spoken of as Christ's 'Triumph'. Christ casts the devil out of men's hearts and takes possession of his own people. Besides defeating the devil personally at the cross and then subsequently receiving power to cast the devil out of men's hearts by virtue of the resurrection, Goodwin notes that Christ overcomes the devil not only in his people, but by his people.

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[127] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 307.
[128] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 307.
[129] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 307.
[130] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 309.

As noted already, Genesis 3:15 was a significant verse for the Reformed orthodox.[131] Goodwin calls Genesis 3:15 'the first promise' (the *protoevangelium*), the promise of the Messiah. Roberts likewise adds that Genesis 3:15 is 'the first and most ancient gospel recorded in the Bible.'[132] This (gospel) promise speaks of a victory over Satan. However, the words 'seed of the woman' have been understood in various ways, even among Protestant interpreters. Goodwin notes that the Papists understand the 'woman' to be Mary and the 'seed' to be Christ only.[133] In his comments on this passage, John Ball argues that it cannot refer to Mary: 'If the Virgin Mary may be said to bruise the Serpents head, because Christ was borne of her, by the same reason we may say, she was crucified and died for us'.[134] A correct interpretation of Genesis 3:15, then, was important for the Reformed orthodox for structuring their understanding of redemptive history and refuting the exegetical claims of the Roman Catholics concerning Mary's place in the *protoevangelium*. But even the Reformed disagreed on the exact details of how best to interpret Genesis 3:15.

Calvin admits that some interpreters understand the 'seed' to refer to Christ, and '[g]ladly would I give my suffrage in support of their opinion, but that I regard the word *seed* as too violently distorted by them; for who will concede that a *collective* noun is to be understood of one man *only*?'[135] Calvin identifies the woman's 'seed' in Genesis 3:15c (the enmity portion) to refer to 'the posterity of the woman generally' (i.e. the whole human race). However, the victory

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[131] For a historical and systematic study on Genesis 3:15, see John Ronning, 'The Curse on the Serpent (Genesis 3:15) in Biblical Theology and Hermeneutics' (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Westminster Theological Seminary, 1997). Ronning's discussion of Luther's view is particularly illuminating.
[132] *God's Covenants*, 192.
[133] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 310. Roberts also takes issue with the Roman Catholic interpretation which suggests that Mary, not Christ, bruises the serpents head. *God's Covenants*, 194.
[134] *A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace*, 38.
[135] *Commentary on Genesis 3:15*.

portion in Genesis 3:15d refers to Christ and the believing church, so that 'the whole Church of God, under its Head, will gloriously exult over [Satan].'[136] According to Goodwin, David Pareus (1548-1622) 'halves it; understanding by the *seed* in the former part of the Promise, *all Believers of Mankind*: But the [*It*] or [*He*] in the latter part prophetically to point out, and terminate on *Christ alone*'.[137] After considering the details of both the Septuagint and Aramaic Targums, Goodwin argues that 'both Christ in his Person, and Believers in their Persons as considered in and with him are directly intended in both *seed* and *it*.'[138] This seems to be the understanding of most of the Reformed orthodox in the seventeenth century.

Specifically, for Goodwin, based on Hebrews 2:10ff., Christ is the 'Champion in this Warfare and Victory'; and because 'children' are given to Christ in that passage, they are also intended in the word 'seed' in Genesis 3:15.[139] 'Seed' (Heb. *zera*), according to Goodwin, can either be '*Nomen collectivum*', which represents many (i.e. believers), or 'it signifies a sole and singular Person'.[140] Ball also argues that 'seed' may be taken either for a singular person or collectively; and this depends on the 'circumstances of the place.'[141] The pronoun, *hu*, in the latter part of the promise may be translated in the impersonal (i.e. 'it') or the personal (i.e. 'he'); 'the Original Word will comply with either.'[142] Therefore, if 'seed' is taken collectively 'then [It] in the impersonal doth fully answer thereunto as the pronoun to it.'[143] However, if 'seed' is taken in the singular (personally), 'then read [Hee] the Hebrew will bear both Fruits, so as you

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[136] *Commentary on Genesis 3:15.* Goodwin references Calvin's interpretation: 'Calvin understands by the *seed of the woman*, the whole spiritual Race of Believers *collectively* in all Ages, as more directly intended, and Christ only as the eminentest of that Seed, and by whom all the rest obtain the victory, and so principally intended.' *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 310.
[137] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 310.
[138] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 310.
[139] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 310.
[140] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 311.
[141] *A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace*, 38.
[142] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 311.
[143] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 311.

may veiw [sic] the words in either of these postures.'[144] Goodwin argues, therefore, that Genesis 3:15 may be translated in two different ways:

> *I will put enmity between thy seed and her seed, and It shall break thy head* ..., that is, Christ collectively taken, or together with the whole body of believers; He and they together shall crush thee, and *thou shalt bruise his, or its heel*; or again you may read it thus, *I will put enmity between thy seed, and the womans seed*, (taking the womans seed for that one single Person Christ as alone considered) and *he shall break thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel*, and so the Septuagint and others alledged have translated it.[145]

Consequently, for Goodwin, the *protoevangelium* speaks primarily to Christ's personal victory over the devil. Yet because Christ acts as a common person (i.e. the 'Head') 'the whole seed of Believers as represented in him, and so representatively in him, are to be understood in this promise, *He shall break thy head*.'[146] Roberts, too, understands the 'seed of the woman' to mean both Christ and his elect. The victory over Satan will take place by Christ 'originally and primitively, through his own power ... by them that are Christ's derivatively, through power derived and victory communicated from Christ unto them.'[147] Both Roberts and Goodwin, for example, include Christ's people in his victory over the devil.

What is prophesied in Genesis 3:15 is brought into clearer light in the New Testament; and this is consistent with Goodwin's approach to redemptive history which understands God's covenant unfolding over the ages and reaching its consummation in the New Covenant era by virtue of Christ's death and resurrection. Not only the devil but his offspring, the Pharisees, for example, are cursed in Genesis 3:15 so that Peter 'chargeth them, *whom ye slew and hanged on a*

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[144] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 311.
[145] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 311.
[146] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 312.
[147] *God's Covenants*, 197. On Ball's (identical) position, see *A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace*, 39-41.

Tree, Act 5.30. as well the Devil himself that set them on to crucify him.'[148] The devil's great

antagonist is Christ who crushes his head so that the promise of victory extends both to Christ

and his people by virtue of representation. Goodwin argues therefore that God has set enmity

between the devil's seed – his angels and all unbelievers – and the whole generation of the

righteous that came of the woman. So, as Christ is bruised in his death on the cross, believers are

also wounded; the war is between Christ and his seed and the devil and his seed. This is borne

out in the events immediately following Genesis 3:15 between Cain and Abel, 'and hath

continued ever since'.[149] For Goodwin, the New Testament confirms that Christ's people, in

their own persons, overcome Satan (1 Jn. 2:13; 4:3-4). The accomplishment of victory is further

attested in Romans 16:20.[150] And in Revelation 12 the victory of the church is spoken of in the

Song of triumph (Rev. 12:9-12). All of this is to suggest that the victory motif plays an

important role in Goodwin's understanding of Christ's work. In other words, not only from the

beginning of the world, but even from eternity (i.e. the *pactum salutis*), Christ had his heart set

upon this great work, the work of conquering the devil through his substitutionary death on the

cross. The Reformed orthodox, then, did not always exegete Genesis 3:15 in the exact same

way, but their basic point was shared, namely, Christ's victory over the devil in his death and

resurrection.

The motif of victory plays an important role in Goodwin's doctrine of Christ's work,

especially in connection with the atonement. For Goodwin, the satisfactory aspect of the

atonement, including its substitutionary character, cannot be divorced from Christ's victory over

Satan. They are both inextricably intertwined with one another. Victory is not possible until

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[148] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 312.
[149] *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 315.
[150] Goodwin actually writes 'Rev. 16.20', but he surely means 'Rom. 16:20', which reads: 'And the God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly.' See *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 315.

satisfaction is made; nor can satisfaction be argued apart from the larger context of Christ's triumph over the devil. Following from this, there is a further connection between the divine attributes and Goodwin's doctrine of the atonement. While Christ's death is ultimately an act of God's will, and thus not necessary in the same way that Owen would argue, there remains an order in which the divine attributes are manifested. God's justice is manifested in the satisfactory aspect of the atonement and God's power is exhibited insofar as the Son of God, as the God-man, defeats the devil at the cross. All of this is conceived by divine wisdom. Like Luther, Calvin, and Owen, Goodwin sees no need to pit these aspects of the atonement against each other. In other words, there is no one model of the atonement in Goodwin; rather, he brings into focus the full-orbed nature of Christ's work and what that means in terms of God's justice, power, and wisdom. The result is a doctrine of the atonement that displays God's justice, shows the power of his Son over evil, and exhibits the wisdom of his attributes in saving sinners in a manner consistent with his being.

Christ Set Forth

The traditional Reformed taxonomy of prophet, priest, and king plays a significant role in Goodwin's Christology. Just as Christ's person cannot be separated from his work, his offices cannot be separated from each other. After all, as noted above, Christ's death on the cross is not only a priestly function, but a kingly one insofar as he defeats Satan. That said, Goodwin focuses on Christ's priesthood more so than his offices of prophet and king in large part because this aspect of Christ's work was most assailed – particularly by the Socinians – in Goodwin's day. His work, *Christ Set Forth*, brings into focus the work of Christ in ways that his other

writings do not. Indeed, *Christ Set Forth* remains one of the most intricate of the Reformed orthodox treatments of Christ's priestly office, and includes discussion of the various doctrines flowing out of Christ's priestly work (e.g. justification by faith). Taking Romans 8:34 as his point of departure,[151] Goodwin looks at Christ in his death, resurrection, ascension, sitting at God's right hand, and intercession as the cause of justification and object of justifying faith. As Kelly Kapic has noted 'Goodwin believes that one must see the suffering, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ as one fluid movement. If any part of it were missing the whole would be undercut .... The cord that binds together Christ's death and resurrection with his heavenly ministry is his ascension, and in the ascension Goodwin highlights the priestly work of Christ.'[152] To understand the work of Christ, then, is to move from Christ's life and death to his resurrection, ascension, and priestly work in heaven on behalf of his church.

In His Resurrection

The maxims, 'whatever is true of Christ becomes true of his people' and 'whatever is true of Christ's people becomes true of Christ' are absolutely crucial to understanding the work of Christ in Goodwin's theology.[153] For Sibbes, too, this principle holds true: 'whatsoever we have that is good it is in Christ first ... Christ first rose and ascended and sits in Heaven, and then we

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[151] Rom. 8:34 'Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea, rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us.'

[152] 'Receiving Christ's Priestly Benediction: A Biblical, Historical, and Theological Exploration of Luke 24:50-53', *Westminster Theological Journal* 67 (2005), 258-59.

[153] Goodwin spells out this principle in these words: 'Now it is a certain rule, that whatsoever wee receive from Christ, that he himself first receives in himself for us.' *The Heart of Christ in Heaven*, 97.

rise and ascend and sit in the heavenly places with Christ.'[154] Likewise, Goodwin has demonstrated that Christ was, by imputation, 'made sin' and 'made a curse' at his death on the cross; he became what his people are. And his people became righteous because Christ himself was righteous. The justification of believers results not only from Christ's death, but his resurrection. Therefore, if believers are justified, Christ must first be justified (Isa. 50:8).[155] Moreover, since Christ's people live by faith, Christ must also have lived by faith. Believers receive grace answerable to his, and so they possess faith. But while Christ had a faith for justification like his people, he was not justified through faith. Goodwin contends that Christ 'went not, indeed, *out of himself*, to rely on another for righteousness ... yet he believes on God to justifie him.'[156] Christ's justification took place at his resurrection as he was there pronounced righteous.[157]

In justification the obedience and death of Christ is the ground. However, the act of pronouncing believers righteous depends on Christ's resurrection (1 Cor. 15:17; Rom. 4:25).[158] Goodwin's strong emphasis on imputation, whereby Christ is 'made sin', necessitates Christ's own vindication. If Christ was 'made sin' for his people, which included satisfaction, 'there must then some Act passe, whereby Christ should be pronounced acquit of our sinnes ... and so he himself formally justified.'[159] So, when Christ was raised from the dead his state of humiliation ended, thereby ushering in his state of exaltation. His condemnation on the cross led to his justification at the grave. In Christ's resurrection it was declared to the whole world that

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[154] *Beames of Light*, 157.
[155] *Christ Set Forth*, 2-3. Those justified before the Son assumed flesh were saved on Christ's 'bare word' that he would undertake for them; his life, death, and priestly intercession, act retroactively in terms of the soteric benefits given to believers before his atoning death. *Christ Set Forth*, 6.
[156] *Christ Set Forth*, 3.
[157] *Christ Set Forth*, 96.
[158] *Christ Set Forth*, 65.
[159] *Christ Set Forth*, 97.

he was justified from all the sins that had been imputed to him, that he really was the righteous one who received his public vindication (Isa. 50:10-11; 1 Tim. 3:16).[160]

Christ's justification at his resurrection was not only the vindication of himself, but also the vindication of his people. Goodwin's close friend, William Bridge, argues that Christ's resurrection is sure proof that Christ's satisfaction has been accepted on behalf of his people.[161] Goodwin argues that 'he was not raised as a particular person ... [rather] he was raised for our Justification, for the Justification of all that he died for.'[162] Thus, the elect were justified before God in Christ by representation at the resurrection. Similarly, as Christ's elect are said to be justified with Christ in his justification, they are also 'risen with Christ' (Rom. 6) in his resurrection.[163] This principle remains the same with regard to sanctification. God only sanctifies his people because he first sanctified Christ (Jn. 17:19). Believers are 'virtually and representatively sanctified in him'; this is a rule that 'holds in all blessings ... bestowed' (Eph. 1:3).[164] An important aspect of Goodwin's Christology results from a discussion of Christ's resurrection, namely, that because the works of mediation were Christ's own 'he was to borrow nothing.'[165] Goodwin continues: 'If there had not been some sense wherein what he did, and what he was, had been his own so as not his Father's, all his works had not been the works of Mediation.'[166] Therefore, in his satisfaction, Christ offered himself up by his own, not a

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[160] *Christ Set Forth*, 101-02.
[161] *Christ and the Covenant, the Work, and Way of Meditation Gods Return to the Soul, or Nation, Together With his Preventing Mercy* (London, 1667), 3.
[162] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 373. See also *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 378.
[163] *Christ Set Forth*, 100-02. See also *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 400.
[164] *Christ Set Forth*, 104-05. See also *Christ Set Forth*, 116-17.
[165] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 401.
[166] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 401.

borrowed, power. His resurrection, then, was by his own power, or else it would not have been the work of the Mediator (Jn. 2:19; 10:17-18).[167]

In His Ascension and Sitting at God's Right Hand

Calvin notes that Christ's ascension is 'quite appropriately' joined to his resurrection. Moreover, he contends that Christ's resurrection and ascension marks the transition from his state of humiliation to that of exaltation.[168] Goodwin follows this basic trajectory of Calvin's. Before beginning his priestly intercession in heaven, as the exalted priest-king, Goodwin suggests that Christ's final work on earth was to bless his people; 'this was the last thing that Christ did on earth' (Lk. 24:50-51).[169] Christ's blessing is not without significance, for, in blessing his people he is entitling them to all the spiritual blessings of heaven (Eph. 1:3-4).[170] Moreover, this blessing signified to his apostles that 'the curse was gone' and fellowship had been restored.[171] The connection between Christ's atonement and his ascension represents a military triumph; 'Christ, as the victorious warrior, demonstrates his victory by performing the two triumphal acts (*actus triumphales*): he binds his enemies (sin, death, and Satan) and then distributes gifts (the Holy Spirit).'[172] The blessing in Luke 24:50-51 finds its analogy with the first blessing given to Adam and Eve (Gen. 1:28). Indeed, Matthew 28 ('go into all nations') seems to represent the

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[167] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 401. Goodwin is aware, of course, that the Scriptures also attribute to the Father and the Spirit the power of raising Christ from the dead. Goodwin appeals to the principle: *Opera Trinitatis ad extra sunt indivisa*, that is, 'all the works of the Three Persons, what one doth the other two are said to do …. As they have but one Being, one Essence, so they have but one work … For all Three Persons concur in every work.' He continues, arguing against Socinus, explaining how it may be said that Christ raised himself from the dead. *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 401-03.
[168] *Institutes*, II.xvi.14.
[169] *Christ Set Forth*, 133.
[170] *Christ Set Forth*, 124.
[171] *Christ Set Forth*, 133.
[172] Kapic, 'Receiving Christ's Priestly Benediction', 259.

fulfillment of the original creation mandate (i.e. 'be fruitful and multiply').[173] Christ's ascension inevitably leads him to heaven, but in no ordinary manner. Christ was commissioned by the Father, according to the terms of the covenant, to conquer sin and death; 'God bade him look that he did it perfectly, or never see his face more.'[174] By virtue of his perfect obedience, and victory over the devil, Christ enters heaven a 'Conqueror'; God 'lets him stay there' because Christ's work has fully satisfied the Father's justice.[175]

Christ's posture in heaven leaves Goodwin somewhat perplexed. After all, Christ is said to both sit (Eph. 1:20) and stand (Acts 7:55). Calvin answers this problem by arguing that Acts 7:55 refers not to the disposition of Christ's body, but to the 'majesty of his authority'; 'to sit', then, 'means nothing else than to preside at the heavenly seat.'[176] Though Goodwin 'know[s] not well what to say' regarding the precise posture of Christ (i.e. sitting or standing), he argues that 'sitting' and 'standing' are being used promiscuously, 'the Holy Ghost varying the phrase.'[177] The important point remains: Christ's 'sitting' at his Father's right hand proves that he has done his work; 'and there is no more left for him to doe by way of satisfaction.'[178] In other words, Christ's 'sitting' does not bring to end his work as Mediator, but it does show that his work of mediation in his act of humiliation is now complete. His high priestly intercession takes place while he is seated at the right hand of the Father.[179]

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[173] *Christ Set Forth*, 124-25.
[174] *Christ Set Forth*, 140.
[175] *Christ Set Forth*, 141-42.
[176] *Institutes*, II.xvi.16.
[177] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 407.
[178] *Christ Set Forth*, 144.
[179] John Bunyan argues that Christ sits for his priestly work, but stands for his work of advocacy. See *The Advocateship of Jesus Christ Clearly Explained, and Largely Improved, for the Benefit of all Believers* (London, 1688).

In His Intercession

As noted above, a full discussion of Christ's work includes not only his work on earth, but his work in heaven, which is an 'excellent part of his priesthood.'[180] At his Father's right hand Christ is invested not only with the power and authority of a king, but his office of priest follows him (Heb. 8:1); for he carried his blood into heaven and there 'prays in the force of that blood' (Heb. 9:12, 24).[181] And because Christ is a priest in the order of Melchizedek he is a continual intercessor in heaven.[182] Indeed, Christ's heavenly intercession brings efficacy to his redemptive work. Bridge argues, for example, that Christ's going to the Father in his priestly role applied the merits of his mediatorial work to his people.[183] Goodwin adds that all of Christ's priesthood would have been ineffectual if he had not ascended to heaven and made intercession for his elect, 'for by his death he did but begin the execution of his office; in heaven he ends it.'[184] All of this shows that, for Goodwin, Christ's death cannot be separated from his priestly intercession in heaven.[185]

Because of the all-important connection between Christ's work of humiliation and his work of exaltation, Goodwin argues that the application of salvation is not finished at the cross, but rather depends on Christ's intercession. He maintains that all divines attribute the application of Christ's life and death to his intercession. But the difference between Christ's death and his intercession is that Reformed theologians call his death '*Medium impetrationis*, that is, the *meanes of procurement* or obtaining it for us; but his intercession, *Medium*

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[180] *Christ Set Forth*, 166. Owen makes a similar claim in *Works*, XI, *Saints' Perseverance*, 365ff.
[181] *Christ Set Forth*, 169.
[182] *Christ Set Forth*, 175.
[183] *Christ and the Covenant*, 3-4.
[184] *Christ Set Forth*, 177.
[185] See also Owen, *Works*, X, *The Death of Death*, 176-77.

Applicationis, the *meanes of applying all unto us*.'[186] Morever, adds Goodwin, 'Christ purchaseth salvation by the one, but possesseth us of it by the other. Some have attributed the *Application* of *Justification* to his *Resurrection*; but it is much more proper to ascribe it to his *Intercession*.'[187] Therefore, the justification of the ungodly depends on Christ's intercession. In fact, Goodwin argues that the continuation of his people's justification depends on the continuing of Christ's intercession since his intercession is the 'virtuall continuation of his Sacrifice'.[188] In other words, though Christ's death happened once, 'yet is it done over every moment, for it is continued by acts of *free* Grace, and so renewed actually every moment.'[189] For this reason Christ is called a *sponsio*, which divines have made 'a great part of his office.'[190]

Conclusion

Goodwin's doctrine of Christ's work incorporates both his state of humiliation and exaltation. Christ's death satisfies the Father's justice; it grants a right to eternal life to those for whom Christ died. Christ's resurrection – whereupon he rose as a common person – is a 'formall, legall, and irrevocable act of justification.'[191] Moving from Christ's resurrection to his ascension displays a 'further act of his taking possession of Heaven' for his people.[192] However, despite Christ's death, resurrection, and ascension, the salvation of his people in their own persons has not taken place. Therefore, as Christ sits at the Father's right hand, all that remains is his priestly

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[186] *Christ Set Forth*, 187.
[187] *Christ Set Forth*, 187.
[188] *Christ Set Forth*, 192.
[189] *Christ Set Forth*, 192.
[190] *Christ Set Forth*, 213.
[191] *Christ Set Forth*, 274.
[192] *Christ Set Forth*, 274.

intercession 'to finish and compleat' the salvation of his elect.[193] In arguing this way Goodwin is making a subtle, yet important, distinction between justification and salvation; that is, salvation includes justification, but it is not synonymous with it. Thus, he argues: 'And as Christ's *death* and *Resurrection* were to procure our *justification*: so his *sitting* at *God's right hand* are to procure *salvation*.'[194] Christ's work on earth, even from his mother's womb, cannot be divided from his work in heaven, where he sits at his Father's right hand making intercession for his people. Indeed, the two are inseparable since his intercession depends on his work on earth and his work on earth is only made efficacious because of his intercession.

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[193] *Christ Set Forth*, 275.
[194] *Christ Set Forth*, 275.

CHAPTER NINE: THE LORD OF GLORY

'Though I know Divines say, he merited nothing for himself, because all was his due as he was the Son of God, and it is a truth; but I cannot see but he might have a double title to Glory'[1]

Introduction

A thorough look at the glory of Christ represents a fitting and necessary climax to this study on Thomas Goodwin's Christology. As noted, the *pactum salutis* provides the ground for Christology, that is, the teaching concerning the person and work of Jesus Christ, the God-man, in his mediatorial role. The previous two chapters have shown that who Christ is, and what Christ does, flow out of the pretemporal intratrinitarian agreement between the persons of the Godhead, particularly the Father and the Son. More than that, the twofold glory of Christ in his theanthropic person and mediatorial work occupies a central place in Goodwin's writings. Indeed, not only Goodwin but his contemporaries wrote a good deal on the twofold glory of Christ.[2] Manton, for example, echoes Goodwin's basic trajectory by noting that 'Christ had a double glory – the glory of his person, and the glory of his office.'[3] The glory of Christ seems to have been a fundamental lens through which the seventeenth-century Reformed orthodox viewed their Christology. In fact, just as Christ's work is contingent upon his person, and vice versa, the glory of Christ is intimately bound up with those two facets of Goodwin's Christology. Thus, in order to complete the picture of Goodwin's Christ of the covenant, a discussion of both Christ's

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[1] Goodwin, *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 402.

[2] For example, see Owen, *Works*, I, *The Glory of Christ*; Arrowsmith, *Theanthropos*; Flavel, *The Fountain of Life*; Anthony Burgess, *Expository Sermons Upon the Whole 17th Chapter of the Gospel According to St. John* (London, 1656); Manton, *Works*, X, *Sermons Upon John XVII*; Bridge, *Christ and the Covenant*;

[3] *Works*, X, *Sermons Upon John XVII*, 188.

native glory and earned glory are requisite, especially given the dearth of secondary literature on this important aspect of seventeenth-century Christology.

Native Glory

The greater part of Goodwin's exposition of Christ's glory is taken up with his glory considered as the God-man. As noted above, this falls under a twofold consideration: of his person as the God-man, abstracted from his mediatorial office, and in his office of mediatorship, 'which latter was superadded, over and above, unto the Glory of his Person, as God-Man.'[4] The former glory has reference to Christ's relation to his Father; the latter glory has reference to his relation to his people, that is, what he did for his people considered as their Head. Herein the person and work of Christ come to full expression in his twofold glory. However, Goodwin also speaks of the threefold glory of Christ. To the twofold glory is added a third, essential glory, 'the same with God his Father.'[5] This glory belongs to the persons of the Godhead by virtue of the fact that they share in the same divine essence. This essential glory of the divine Son receives relatively little attention in Goodwin's expositions on Christ's glory compared to the twofold glory related to his person and work as the God-man. As a result, the following will focus on Christ's twofold glory as the Mediator.

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[4] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 131.
[5] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 131.

The union of the Son of God to human nature – not to a human person – is the highest manifestation of the Godhead that could have been communicated to creatures. From this union of the divine and the human flow the personal excellencies of the God-man, Jesus Christ. These excellencies are, according to Goodwin, attributed to Christ as God-man 'either as actually united, or to be united in one person, and not only, or simply considered as God, or second person.'[6] Goodwin references Calvin's comments on Colossians 1:15 with regard to this point. According to Calvin, in their fight against the Arians the 'ancients' focused on the essence alone in their exegesis of Colossians 1:15 ('the image of the invisible God'). The real scope of the Apostle, however, is to show that Christ 'makes God in a manner visible to us.'[7] The English Presbyterian theologian, Thomas Cartwright (c. 1535-1603), likewise notes that by Christ 'we see the God-head.'[8] Moreover, the incomprehensible God, which man cannot see, 'is yet seene and comprehended' because of the incarnation of the Son of God.[9] Paul Baynes (1573-1617), whose works Goodwin thought 'extraordinary',[10] argued that those 'who seeth this visible nature of God the Son, may be said to see God'.[11] And, Nicholas Byfield (1579-1622) similarly notes that Christ in his person, that is, in both natures, is the 'most perfect image of God.'[12] Thus, for Goodwin and the Reformed orthodox, Colossians 1:15-20 has reference to the Son of God made

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[6] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 100.
[7] *Commentary on Colossians 1:15*.
[8] *A Commentary upon the Epistle of Saint Paule Written to the Colossians* (Temple-barre, 1612), 57.
[9] Cartwright, *A Commentary upon Colossians*, 57.
[10] Lawrence, 'Transmission and Transformation', 131.
[11] *A Commentarie upon the First and Second Chapters of Saint Paul to the Colossians wherein, the Text is Cleerely Opened, Observations thence Perspicuously Deducted, Uses and Applications Succinctly and Briefely Inferred: Sundry Holy and Spirituall Meditations out of his More Ample Discourse Extracted, Together with Divers Places of Scripture Briefely Explained* (London, 1635), 76.
[12] *An Exposition upon the Epistle to the Colossians* (London, 1649), 110. Byfield's commentary on Colossians was the product of a seven-year weekly sermon series from Colossians.

man and not simply the Son in his divine nature abstracted from his humanity.[13] As the God-man, then, he is the image of the invisible God, which speaks of Christ's greatest excellence, for this provides the 'Foundation and the Key of Interpretation to all the [glories] that follow.'[14]

Because of the hypostatical union, there is a fullness of the divine perfections that manifest themselves in the humanity of Christ. Goodwin argues for this position on account of the language of 'image' (Col. 1:15).[15] The intent of an image is to make visible that which is not seen. Thus, the glory of the Godhead in the manhood of Christ is 'but the … Effect, and so inferior to that Essential Glory, which as Second Person he partakes of in common with his Father. Thus Beza, Cameron, and others, have understood it.'[16] The manifestation of Christ's divine glory is not to be understood in terms of the communication of properties, the idea that what is said of the Godhead is predicated of the manhood. On this point, both Goodwin and Owen are critical of Lutheran Christology with its adherence to the so-called *genus maiestaticum*, which insists that the communication of attributes is unidirectional, that is, only from the divine to the human nature.[17] In response to this Lutheran distinctive, Owen suggests that to 'affix unto the human nature divine properties, as ubiquity or immensity, is to deprive it of its own.'[18] Goodwin argues rather that though the perfections of the manhood come short of the attributes essential to the Godhead (i.e. *finitium non capax infiniti*), yet his humanity joined to the divine nature is the 'compleatest Image of them, and such as no meer Creature is capable of.'[19] That said, the union of the two natures in the Son of God cannot but mean that the human

[13] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 101.
[14] Goodwin, *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 103.
[15] See also John Davenant, *Expositio epistolae D. Pauli ad Colossenses* (Cambridge, 1627), 94-100.
[16] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 104.
[17] On this aspect of Lutheran Christology, see Crisp, *Divinity and Humanity*, 6-18.
[18] *Works*, I, *The Person of Christ*, 238.
[19] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 104.

nature should bring forth glories – though, not essential glories – that otherwise would be impossible.

Christ and the Decree

Having argued that Christ, as the God-man, is the subject of Colossians 1:15ff., Goodwin suggests that the language of 'firstborn' (Col. 1:18; Rom. 8:29) does not refer to Christ as the second person, nor his eternal generation, but rather in terms of his dignity and birth-right, for, because the Son was foreordained to be the God-man, he must be the 'chief' among the creatures. Thus, for Goodwin, Paul speaks of Christ in terms of predestination, not eternal generation, when he calls him the 'firstborn among many brethren' (Rom. 8:29).[20] Moreover, 1 Peter 1:20 ('Who verily was foreordained before the foundation of the world') confirms Goodwin's point. So, in handling Colossians 1:17 ('And he is before all things'), he argues that Christ is before all things 'in respect of the Order of God's Intention.'[21] The *ad extra* works of God are therefore aimed at Christ who is the end and perfection of all God's works. God possessed Christ 'in his Foreknowledge as the richest Treasure of all his Glory to be manifested in his Creation, without which he would not have proceeded to any other Work.'[22] As Cartwright notes, Christ is the 'end of all, for whom all things are ordained.'[23] Goodwin's and Cartwright's views on Christ and the decree are, of course, reflective of Reformed orthodoxy beginning in the sixteenth century. For example, Bullinger posits that 'we believe and we teach that the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, was from eternity predestined or foreordained by the

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[20] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 110.
[21] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 111.
[22] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 111.
[23] *A Commentary upon Colossians*, 65.

Father to be the saviour of the world.'[24] Following from this, Muller has noted, 'the theme of the predestination of Christ … serves to place the very traditional person/work Christology that follows into the context of the economy of salvation.'[25] So, for Goodwin, Christ's glory as the God-man results from his person and his work, and in that order, according to the ordination of God.

As the God-man, Christ was by predestination the 'Universal End of the whole Creation of God', which resulted in a glory peculiar to himself so that men and angels are subordinated to him on account of his absolute Lordship.[26] Besides that, as God's Son, Christ receives a natural inheritance, for 'the Heir is the End of the Inheritance, as well as he is the Lord of it.'[27] All of this follows from a free act of God's will. Goodwin notes that in some sense Christ need not have merited any glory for himself since by virtue of the hypostatical union all glory was his natural due. Though true, that does not 'exclude another Title unto this his own Glory, namely that of Purchase.'[28] Christ's native glory was ordained according to God's foreknowledge, which, according to Goodwin, is antecedent to his decrees. Therefore, Christ's glory is a consequence of God's foreknowledge to make him the God-man, which is realized in the decree of God. In other words, that Christ should be the 'Heir, the Lord, the End of all Things, [as] the Object of God's Will and Decree' means Christ claims these glories as his due by virtue of his being decreed God's Son. That is, by the union of the two natures 'that Man becomes the natural Son of God, and so this Right is natural unto him.'[29] Goodwin adds: 'But if God decree his Son to subsist in an Human nature once, then his being ever as a Man, and God for ever to dwell in

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[24] *Confessio Helvetica Posterior*, XI.1. Cited in Richard Muller, *Christ and the Decree*, 46. Muller's work remains the most thorough treatment of this issue among the sixteenth-century Reformed orthodox.
[25] *Christ and the Decree*, 46.
[26] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 113.
[27] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 113.
[28] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 114.
[29] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 115.

259

him, is the natural Consequent of the former; for the Union is indissoluble, he being thereby invested into the Prerogatives of God's Son' (Heb. 1:11-12).[30] In all of this, Goodwin is careful to suggest that there is no contradiction between Christ's royalties and prerogatives being his natural due and at the same time the result of God's decree.

The Glory Before the World Was

The glory that Christ manifests during his time on earth must also be considered against the glory he had before the foundation of the world and his eschatological glory in his state of exaltation (i.e. resurrection onwards). In the form of questions and answers Goodwin considers the words of John 17:5 that speak of Christ asking to be glorified with the glory which he had with the Father before the creation of the world. Based on the reality of the incarnation, whereupon the Son assumed flesh, the question of how Christ can make such a request naturally arises.

Manton's answer illustrates the complexity of Goodwin's question. He asks whether Christ is speaking according to his divine nature or his human nature, for, if he is speaking about his divine nature then no glory could be given, whereas the human nature 'cannot be said to have this glory which Christ had before the world was, for then it would remain no longer human.'[31] Manton answers that Christ's request is made in the person of the mediator since 'God-man is distinctly and separately to be applied to neither nature, but to the whole person.'[32]   In connection with Manton's question, Goodwin notes that most divines argue that this glory has

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[30] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 115.
[31] *Works*, X, *Sermons Upon John XVII*, 185.
[32] *Works*, X, *Sermons Upon John XVII*, 185.

reference to the 'Second Person, simply considered, as God.'[33] Like Manton, Goodwin argues

that Christ as the God-man – not simply the Son of God abstracted from his human nature – is

the subject of John 17:5. The man Jesus who speaks must necessarily be involved on account of

the unity of the person. Thus, Goodwin contends: 'Now presently, upon my Ascension (says the

Man) in respect of entring into an open actual Possession of that Glory, which I the Man had

with thee, in the *Idea* of this Glory, in thy Predestination of me, ordain'd unto me before the

World.'[34] The glory that Christ asks for implies that his glory was suspended, or veiled, which

means that his glory as the second person is not in view. More than that, Christ requests a glory

in time, 'and what is done in Time, concerns the Human Nature, not the Divine.'[35] Goodwin

also notes that while Augustine was involved in heated debates with the Arians over the divine

nature of Christ he nevertheless insisted that this glory (i.e. 'the glory which I had') meant the

glory which Christ had by predestination.[36]

So, in line with Augustine, Goodwin connects the glory that Christ prays for (Jn. 17:5)

with God's singular predestination of him to be the God-man, which is the consistent outworking

of Goodwin's view of the Christ and the decree. The glory Christ had before the world consisted

in God's idea or 'Portraiture' so that Christ 'out-shined' all of God's created glories and was thus

endowed with a natural inheritance.[37] Therefore, Christ asks for glory according to God's

pretemporal understanding, will, and purposes for him. Against many commentators, such as the

English Calvinistic Baptist, John Tombes (1602-1676), Goodwin insists that the glory Christ

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[33] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 123. The various interpretations of John 17:5 among the English Reformed orthodox, for example, reveal the complexity of the Christological issues surrounding the text. See Brooks, *Paradice Opened*, 151-52; Bridge, *Christ and the Covenant*, 7.

[34] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 124.

[35] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 124.

[36] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 124. Referring to the words, 'Which I had with thee before the world was', Manton notes that 'Grotius and others say, *Non reali possession, sed divina praedestinatione*, that is, by thy decree and predestination.' *Works*, X, *Sermons Upon John XVII*, 188.

[37] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 126.

prays for cannot have reference to the divine nature only (i.e. the essential glory of the God-head), for God's essential glory cannot be prayed for nor can it be laid aside.[38] Moreover, a man cannot pray for the essential glory of the God-head. After all, what Christ prays for cannot be predicated of either the man alone or the second person alone. So, for Goodwin, this particular glory cannot have reference to anything but Christ as the object of God's decrees by predestination. This glory, then, was given to Christ at the very moment that God predestined him to it, even though in his state of humiliation it was obscured to the eyes of men.[39]

The glory Christ has as the God-man, distinct from his essential glory as the Son of God, has obvious connections to the *pactum salutis*. Central to Goodwin's understanding of the pretemporal agreement between the Son and the Father is the Son's willing acceptance of the terms of the covenant.[40] Consequently, the Father's predestination of Christ to be the God-man was met with the Son's assent; and so the Son was 'absolutely and solemnly espoused by his own consent afore his Father, unto that individual Nature of Man, whom his Father had by that Act of Predestination.'[41] At that time the Son, as the predestined God-man, took to himself 'the Title, the Honour, and Glory, from that very instant of Eternity; He was thence-forward *God-Man* contracted.'[42] Not forgetting the trinitarian nature of redemption, Goodwin notes that the glory given to the Son from everlasting finds its basis in the 'mutual Converse held between the Three Persons amongst themselves from Everlasting' whereupon they 'carried on Designs of what was to come, and gave the Glory to one another, of what each of them was, or should be, or

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[38] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 127. Tombes discusses this verse and argues for the position that Christ's deity is in view. He writes: 'Two waies are conceived, one by actual possession, the other by predestination …. For the former, and against the latter are these Reasons …' *Emmanuel, or, God-man. A treatise wherein the doctrine of the first Nicene and Chalcedon councels, concerning the two natures in Christ, is asserted against the lately vented Socinian doctrine* (London, 1673), 69.
[39] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 127-28.
[40] See *Works*, I, *Sermon on Hebrews X. 4-7*, 104; *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 23.
[41] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 129.
[42] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 129.

do, in their several Activities, to all Eternity' (Heb. 10:5; Jn. 15:16).[43] Therefore, besides Goodwin's explicit trinitarian emphasis he also connects the glory of God to the *pactum salutis*.

The Highest Manifestation of Glory

With respect to his human nature Christ is the 'image of the invisible God'; he is the visible manifestation of the Godhead. Following from this is the divine (i.e. essential) glory of Christ, which is the highest manifestation of God's communication of himself to his creatures. In order for God to manifest his glories the Son agreed, according to the terms of the *pactum salutis*, to assume man's nature into personal union with himself. Goodwin therefore argues that 'More of God's Glory shall instantly shine forth in that small Model, the Man Christ Jesus, having the God-head dwelling in him personally, than by God's making Millions of Worlds … furnished with Glories.'[44] Owen likewise notes that the glory of God is seen in the face of Jesus Christ.[45] The evidence that God appears personally in the man, Christ Jesus, is Christ's appropriation of Isaiah 6:1-3 to himself in John 12:41. In that theophanic vision the emphasis is on the glory of God, but John 12:41 makes clear that Isaiah saw Christ's glory.[46] The divine nature that dwells in Christ makes the glory of the Godhead visible, which otherwise could not have been possible, for, there is a 'Sun behind that Vail, the Glory of which immediately shining, would have put out our Eyes.'[47] Also using the imagery of the Sun – a common analogy among Reformed divines

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[43] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 130.
[44] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 118.
[45] *Works*, V, *Justification by Faith*, 97.
[46] Isaiah 6:1-3 'In the year that king Uzziah died I saw also the LORD sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. 2Above it stood the seraphims: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly. 3And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is the LORD of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory.' John 12:41 'These things said Esaias , when he saw his glory, and spake of him.'
[47] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 118-19.

263

wishing to express divine glory – Arrowsmith adds: 'As God is invisible, so his glory is too dazzling for our weak eyes. But we that cannot behold the Sun in its sphear, may behold the Sun in a bason of water.'[48] The hypostatic union enables humans to see God's glory in the God-man, Jesus Christ.

The incarnation manifests a particular glory of God, namely, his power. In fact, Goodwin argues that 'knitting' together the Son of God with man's nature 'was the greatest Work of Power than God ever did'.[49] Therefore, in speaking of the uniting of the divine to the human the Scriptures speak of the 'power of God' overshadowing Mary (Luke 1:35).[50] He adds, moreover, that 'a greater Work than this could not have been done by God himself.'[51] Thus, in the person of the God-man, Jesus Christ, the power of God is revealed in a most unique and glorious way. Besides God's power, his goodness is also revealed in the person of Christ. Indeed, God's goodness is communicated in the highest way by virtue of the incarnation, for, God resolved to 'communicate himself to the utmost, or he would never create at all.'[52] Since, for Goodwin, communication depends on union, God's highest communication of himself must take place by a personal union. The 'nearer Union, the nearer Communication' of God's goodness to his creatures.[53] But Goodwin insists upon an important order of how Christ relates to his people, and in so doing he perhaps goes beyond – or even opposes – the German Reformer, Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560), who argued that 'to know Christ is to know his benefits, and not as they (the Scholastics) teach, to reflect upon his natures and the modes of his incarnation.'[54] In

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[48] *Theanthropos*, 236.
[49] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 119.
[50] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 119.
[51] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 119.
[52] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 119.
[53] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 120.
[54] *The Loci Communes*. Translated by Charles L. Hill (Boston: Meador, 1944), 69.

other words, having an interest in Christ's person, considered apart from his work, is of greater

worth than his redemptive benefits, however great they may be. For example, Goodwin insists:

> And although our Redemption by Christ, as we are Sinners, is an infinite Benefit; yet his Person thus given us, is more worth than all those his Benefits, *Est aliquid in Christo formosius Salvatore*. And then by our Interest in his Person, we come to inherit God with him, to be Heirs, and Coheirs with Christ of God, in such a way communicated, as but for this his Union with God first, we should never have attained.[55]

There is a priority of Christ's person over his work. Moreover, not only the power, but the

goodness of God is revealed in Christ who displays the glory of God unlike any creature since he

is the God-man.

One Universal Lord

The preceding glories all point to one particular glory, that of Christ as the Lord of the universe.

For Goodwin, all of God's works *ad extra* depend not only upon God being God, but also upon

Jesus Christ being constituted from eternity one universal Lord (1 Cor. 8:6). Here again,

Goodwin distinguishes between the essential glory of the Son as the second person in the Trinity

and the glory of the Son constituted as the God-man from eternity and realized in time. The

decree of God, which places Christ at the center, is contingent upon Christ being predestined as

Lord, a lordship distinct from his natural lordship as the eternal Son of God.[56] Both Owen and

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[55] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 121.
[56] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 154-55, 58.

Manton, along with Goodwin, also recognize Christ in his capacity as Lord by virtue of his deity and Lord by virtue of his being the God-man.[57]

Goodwin notes that 'Lord' is a frequent title of Christ's in both the Old and New Testaments, indeed, more so than the title 'Savior'.[58] This title, as it was used by the Jews, answers the objection of the Socinians, namely, 'That Christ being usually thus stiled the Lord, but the Father God; that therefore Christ is not God.'[59] Referencing 1 Corinthians 8:6, the *Racovian Catechism* maintains that the divine nature of Christ cannot be deduced from the title, 'one Lord', 'for [Paul] clearly distinguishes him from the one God, whom he calls the Father.'[60] Goodwin responds that 'Lord' is often used by the Jews as synonymous with Jehovah. In fact, 'Lord' is 'one of the Names of him that is God; for they ordinarily, in naming God, put it instead of God, or *Jehovah*.'[61] More than that, 'Lord' also 'signifies an Office of Lord … And in that respect distinguished from *Jehovah*; yet so … Christ Himself is also the true *Jehovah*.'[62] In response to this same claim made by the Socinians, particularly Biddle, Owen argues that while 1 Corinthians 8:6 has reference to Christ's lordship over the church and not his 'absolute, sovereign *lordship*', still, 'yet were he not Lord in that sense also, he could not be so in this.'[63] Thus, both Goodwin and Owen make reference to Thomas' confession, 'My Lord, and my God' (Jn. 20:28), which suggests that Christ is both Lord and God.[64]

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[57] See Owen, *Works*, XII, *Vindiciae Evangelicae*, 172; Manton, *Works*, XVIII, *Sermon Upon 1 Corinthians VIII.6*, 260-61.

[58] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 155. See also Manton, *Works*, XVIII, *Sermon Upon 1 Corinthians VIII.6*, 260.

[59] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 156.

[60] *Racovian Catechism*, 151-52.

[61] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 156.

[62] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 156.

[63] *Works*, XII, *Vindiciae Evangelicae*, 172.

[64] Goodwin, *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 156; Owen, *Works*, XII, *Vindiciae Evangelicae*, 172.

266

Having answered the Socinian objection to 1 Corinthians 8:6 – that Christ is Lord but not God – Goodwin returns again to his distinction between Christ's twofold lordship, the one, 'natural, absolute, and underived' belonging to him as the second person, the other, an '*Oeconimical Dispensatory* lordship, which is set up by Commission from God.'[65] The latter lordship belongs to Christ as the God-man, which is distinct from his natural lordship as the divine Son. This distinction is borne out by a number of passages, especially Psalm 110:8 ('The Lord said to my Lord'. Goodwin acknowledges that 'though our Translation took no notice of a Distinction in the Titles given … to each; yet in the Original it is, *Jehovah* said unto *Ladonai*, the *Lord*, that is, *God* the Father, said to the *Lord*, or *Christ* …'[66] Moreover, in 1 Corinthians 1:8, Christ's mediatorial lordship in respect of his office (*respectu Officii*) follows from the distinction between 'one God and one Lord'.[67] Thus, as Goodwin distinguishes between Christ's glories, and focuses the bulk of his attention on Christ's personal glory as the God-man, he also distinguishes between Christ's lordships, and again gives more attention to his lordship as the God-man.

As the God-man who is the universal Lord, Christ possesses a natural sufficiency in his person for this particular office. Indeed, the glory of his person must sustain the title of Lord in order that Christ may be sovereign over all creatures. A human nature alone cannot receive such eminency, according to Goodwin. So, as Lord, Christ must be God. But, if he is 'made a Lord', Goodwin recognizes that Christ must be in some sense 'lower than God' with the aim that God may show the infinite distance between God and his creatures by designing 'such a One as

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[65] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 158.
[66] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 159.
[67] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 160.

should be also under him, and yet God.'[68] The Son's assumption of a human nature, constituting him as the God-man, enables Christ to take his place 'in the midst, between God and all things.'[69] On this ground, Christ, who respecting his divine nature is equal with the Father and the Spirit, can say 'My Father is greater than I' (Jn. 14:28). There is no need, then, in Goodwin's Christology, to posit an ontological subordination concerning Christ and the Father.[70] The subordination of the God-man has reference to the economy of salvation, grounded in the *pactum salutis*.[71]

Christ's lordship is not confined to his role simply as Mediator. His glory as Mediator is heightened by his glory as the one through whom all things are created. In other words, while all of God's works *ad extra* are his immanent acts (i.e out of himself), nevertheless, God honoured Christ by making him the one on whom all things depend (Eph. 3:11). Christ, as Lord, occupies the center of God's works of creation, providence, and redemption. The honour given to Christ in the decrees of God finds its climax in his being made Lord (Acts 2:36). As Lord, then, Christ is able to serve the Father in the execution of his works; Christ is the 'Universal Agent or Instrument' (Heb. 1:1-2).[72] Owen buttresses Goodwin's point, namely, that the God-man is the agent of God's creation, by maintaining that the 'whole creation should be put *in subjection unto the Word incarnate*'.[73] Owen notes further that Christ's lordship over the whole creation, including angels and men, stems from the fact that he made them all.[74] Not surprisingly, the

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[68] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 161-62.

[69] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 162.

[70] The Socinians, of course, viewed John 14:28 as indisputable proof that Christ was not divine in the same way as the Father. See *Racovian Catechism*, 59-60.

[71] Owen makes a similar claim, but places more direct emphasis on the *pactum salutis* being the reason for the language of John 14:28 rather than the human nature. See *Works*, XIX, *Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 84-85.

[72] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 163-68.

[73] *Works*, XX, *Exposition of Hebrews*, 80.

[74] *Works*, XX, *Exposition of Hebrews*, 80.

Socinians objected to the idea that Christ is the agent of all creation. They argued that the usual passages adduced in favour of the orthodox position (e.g. Jn. 1:3; Col. 1:16; Heb. 1:1-2) speak not of the first creation of all things, 'but of a second creation', namely, the 'new creation effected under the gospel.'[75] Nevertheless, for Goodwin and Owen, Christ's lordship is twofold. Not only does he occupy an essential lordship by virtue of his deity, but he also exercises his lordship as the God-man constituted from eternity to be the agent of creation, providence, and redemption.

As noted above, with respect to Christ there is a threefold glory. The first glory is essential since he is the eternal Son of God. All three persons share in this glory since they are coequal, coeternal, and consubstantial. This glory can in no way be set aside or diminished. In addition, Christ in himself possesses a particular twofold glory apart from the essential glory of the divine Son. The preceding discussion has considered Christ's glory of his person simply considered (*personae simpliciter*) abstracted from his mediatorial office. As the God-man, Christ possesses a native glory on account of the hypostatical union. This glory was ordained by God according to the decree and realized at the incarnation when the Son assumed flesh. In the flesh Christ is the image of the invisible God. He is the highest possible communication of the glory of God to creatures. For Goodwin, then, Christ is the Lord of glory; his lordship extends over the spheres of creation, providence, and redemption. The final aspect of Christ's glory, to be considered below, has particular reference to his redemptive work. Thus, Goodwin can argue for a 'double Glory of Christ … considered as God-Man.'[76] Christ's glory in his mediatorial role was

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[75] *Racovian Catechism*, 86-87. Owen provides a detailed response to this particular Socinian claim. See *Works*, XX, *Exposition of Hebrews*, 70-76

[76] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 131.

'superadded, over and above, the Glory of his Person, as God-man.'[77] His glory as the God-man had reference to his relation to God whereas his glory as Mediator arises from his relation to his people; 'and from what he did or wrought for us as Sinners, influenceth us with, in the virtue of that other personal Glory, in being an Head to us.'[78] His mediatorial glory – a superadded glory to his native glory as the God-man – in terms of his reward for his obedience to the terms of the covenant will now come under consideration.

Mediatorial Glory

Having distinguished between Christ's personal glory as the God-man and his glory as the Mediator – another way of understanding the distinction between person and work – Goodwin makes clear that the differences between these two glories are 'many' and 'great'.[79] In fact, his personal glory, considered above, 'infinitely exceed[s] that of his Mediatory Glory, or of his Office'.[80] The intrinsic glory of his person gave rise to his acts of mediation so that the worth of his acts was a consequence of the worth of his person. In speaking of Christ's glory, his work is subservient to his person. Yet, as previous chapters have shown, Goodwin's conception of Christ's person and work are organically related in such a way that Christ's native and mediatorial glories are closely knitted together. Indeed, in his sermon, *A Discourse of Christ's Reward*, he connects these two glories in his exposition of Revelation 5:12 ('the Lamb that was slain'). Through Christ's death a 'redoubled Honour' was given to him, namely, 'That He who in Himself, and the Dignity of His Person, was worthy of all these, should moreover by the

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[77] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 131.
[78] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 131-32.
[79] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 134.
[80] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 135.

Merits of His Death, purchase thereby to be worthy of them also.'[81] Thus, both glories are due to him because of his person (i.e. the God-man) and because he was 'slain'.

All of this necessarily finds its basis in the terms of the *pactum salutis* where Christ receives a reward from the Father for his fulfillment of the terms of the covenant. As part of his exposition of the *pactum salutis* in *Encouragements to Faith*, Goodwin speaks of Christ's mediatorial reward. He also explicitly speaks of a glory 'given to Christ, which wholly relates to the Work of Redemption alone.'[82] Having satisfied the Father's justice through his death, Christ receives his reward, for, 'God never set any on work, but he gave them wages.'[83] Since Christ's own native glory as the God-man could not satisfy the Father, his death was necessary. His sacrifice was with a view that those whom he died for 'might see his glory' in heaven.[84] Consequently, 'God covenanted to give him the salvation of those he dyed for as his wages and reward'.[85] Elsewhere, Goodwin calls his mediatorial glory 'acquired, purchased, and merited by his having performed that great service and obedience: And certainely, besides the glory of his Person, there is the glory of his Office, of Mediatorship, and of Headship to his Church.'[86] Christ's superadded glory, then, has reference to his people for whom he provided redemption, and even his fuller reception of the Spirit, thus enhancing his knowledge to the highest degree possible as a man, is connected to his ability to be a merciful high priest to his people.[87]

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[81] *Works*, V, *A Discourse of Christ's Reward*, 130.
[82] *Works*, V, *A Discourse of Christ's Reward*, 130. See also *The Heart of Christ in Heaven*, 142.
[83] *Encouragements to Faith*, 15.
[84] *Encouragements to Faith*, 15.
[85] *Encouragements to Faith*, 19.
[86] *The Heart of Christ in Heaven*, 143.
[87] See *The Heart of Christ in Heaven*, passim.

As noted in the chapter on Christ's person, Goodwin's doctrine of the Spirit's work on Christ has important implications for his heavenly reward. The Spirit that equipped Christ for his work of mediation still remains on him upon his ascension to heaven. Bridge suggests that Christ received a double anointing of the Spirit, the first at the incarnation and the second at his exaltation when he was 'crowned with Glory and honour.'[88] Goodwin notes the role of the Spirit at the incarnation, but he also sees the importance of the Spirit descending on Christ at his baptism.[89] The same Spirit that was upon Christ during his public ministry 'doth abide upon him in heaven.'[90] However, while the Holy Spirit still remains on Christ in heaven as he did on earth, Goodwin points out that the Spirit 'rests more abundantly on him in heaven, then he did on earth …. he was anew anointed with this *oyle of gladnesse above his fellowes*' (Ps. 45:7).[91] This principle of an increased measure of the Spirit results from Reformed view that the finite cannot comprehend the infinite. Christ, in his manhood, is capable of receiving an even fuller measure of the Spirit at his exaltation. Brooks proposes that 'though Christ as man, hath not an infinite measure of the Spirit …. Yet the gifts and graces of the Spirit, are poured out upon the man Christ, in a measure far above all creatures.'[92] However, because of the unity of the person, Christ may be said to possess the Spirit infinitely.[93]

With regard to this principle, Goodwin states that upon his ascension into heaven Christ 'hath the Spirit in the utmost measure that the humane nature is capable of.'[94] Though Christ in

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[88] *Christ and the Covenant*, 7.
[89] *The Heart of Christ in Heaven*, 88.
[90] *The Heart of Christ in Heaven*, 94.
[91] *The Heart of Christ in Heaven*, 96.
[92] *Paradice Opened*, 130.
[93] *Paradice Opened*, 131.
[94] *The Heart of Christ in Heaven*, 99.

his human nature was ignorant of the Day of Judgment (Mark 13:32) during his life on earth, the reception of the Spirit in heaven increases his capacity for knowledge so that he becomes aware of what he did not know on earth. And since his knowledge 'was enlarged upon his entring into glory', his human affections, such as love and pity, are enlarged in 'solidity, strength, and reality.'[95] The gift of the Spirit, then, upon the human nature of Christ constitutes a part of his reward in heaven for his obedience accomplished. The result is twofold. First, Christ becomes Lord of the Spirit, that is, Christ purchased the Spirit for the Church as the Head of the Church, 'And therefore it is Ordinary in Scripture to term this Spirit as now dwelling in us, the *Spirit of Christ*' (Rom. 8:9).[96] Second, Christ's reception of the Spirit in glory heightens his capacity in his human nature to be a merciful high priest: 'For one great end and project of that personall union of our nature unto the Godhead in the second person for ever, was, that he might be a *mercifull High Priest*.'[97] The Spirit operating to its fullest measure on Christ's human nature enables Christ to exercise his affections – which are true human affections – 'as large as Gods purposes and decrees of mercy are.'[98]

The Glory of His Bride

Christ's reward also includes his bride (i.e. the church), those for whom he performed his work of mediation. His bride contributes to his 'superadded glory and happiness', for, the merits of Christ's work are applied to his people so that 'when their sins are pardoned, their hearts more sanctified ... then comes Hee to see the fruit of his Labour, and is comforted thereby, for he is the

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[95] *The Heart of Christ in Heaven*, 186.
[96] *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 47.
[97] *The Heart of Christ in Heaven*, 151.
[98] *The Heart of Christ in Heaven*, 187.

more glorified by it.'[99]   In fact, according to Goodwin, by conveying soteric benefits to his people, Christ is actually heightening his own glory. In loving his bride, Christ is loving himself (Eph. 5:28). If the church is glorified, Christ is much more glorified. After all, for Goodwin, the glory of the cause is greater than the glory of the effect.[100]   Importantly, then, Christ's mediatorial glory is connected to his saints, and in them he is glorified (2 Cor. 8:23; Jn. 17:10). Manton likewise argues that glorifying God in Christ is the 'great condition of the covenant of grace', that is, God 'made a bargain with believers to give them grace and by way of return he expecteth glory.'[101]   Manton adds that since God's great end is the glory of his Son, Christ must necessarily be glorified in those for whom he died.[102]   Owen, too, suggests that Christ's communication of himself to the church, thereby making the church pure, beautiful, and holy, means that the 'Lord Christ is, and will be, glorious unto all eternity.'[103]   For Goodwin, Manton, and Owen, the salvation of Christ's people, then, is primarily with a view to Christ's mediatorial glory.

Concerning the salvation of the elect, Goodwin argues that Christ's glory and lordship in the sphere of redemption is 'far higher, and momentous' than those of creation and providence.[104]   In this realm Christ is the 'founder of a new Supercreation-Being, which is the subject of all Benefits bestowed.'[105]   The soteric benefits of redemption, that is, those benefits peculiar to the 'new Creature', including a 'Supercreation-Existence' (i.e. heaven), are

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[99] *The Heart of Christ in Heaven*, 144.
[100] *The Heart of Christ in Heaven*, 144-45.
[101] *Works*, X, *Sermons Upon John XVII*, 260.
[102] *Works*, X, *Sermons Upon John XVII*, 258-61.
[103] *Works*, I, *The Glory of Christ*, 366.
[104] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 169.
[105] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 170. The term 'Supercreation-Being' seems unique to Goodwin, though in the eighteenth century the Congregationalist minister, Samuel Eyles Pierce (1746–1829), used the term in his work, *A Treatise Upon Growth in Grace* (London, 1804), 16. He applies the term in a similar way to Goodwin, which suggests that he may possibly have read Goodwin's writings.

contingent upon a 'Supercreation-Being' (2 Tim. 1:9).[106] And since God never considers his elect as single persons, abstracted from the person of Christ, all that belongs to Christ also belongs to his people (1 Cor. 1:30). The benefits that are wholly 'Supercreational' either have reference to the estate of man in innocence or in his fallen estate. Belonging to the former estate are blessings such as adoption and perfect holiness; to the latter estate belong 'Redemption-Blessings', namely, 'Pardon of Sin, Justification, and a Restauration of that Original Holiness we lost.'[107] Redemption, then, cannot be abstracted from Christ's lordship any more than creation and providence. Christ's lordship extends over all realms giving him a glory peculiar to his person as the God-man. Moreover, his members receive 'Supercreational' benefits from their head, and in so doing, they bring glory to Christ.

Christ's Kingdom

Christ's glory, over and above that of his native glory as the God-man, is most clearly manifested in the eschatological realm – what Goodwin calls the 'World to come' – of heaven and earth where the glory of his kingship comes to full expression.[108] Goodwin's sermons on Ephesians 1:21-22 are highly complex, but they provide an interesting account of his eschatology. The world to come, in which Christ exercises a particular rule as the exalted Mediator, includes heaven and earth. The resurrection and ascension of Christ usher in a new creation, 'a world to come' (Eph. 1:22). As a result, Goodwin suggests that Christians mark creation not from Genesis 1, but rather from Christ's resurrection: 'but we say *One thousand and six hundred ...* as

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[106] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 170.
[107] *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 172.
[108] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 421, 436.

reckoning from Christ, for then our New world began.'[109] The 'new world', then, has reference

to Christ's rule in heaven over the world since the time of his resurrection. At his resurrection he

had 'thrown down *Heathenism* and *Judaism* (which was his first daies work ...) then cometh a

Night of *Popery* .... He will have a second daies work, and he will not cease till he hath thrown

out every rag ... that *Antichrist* or *Popery*.'[110] This makes clear that Goodwin's Christology has

important ramifications for his ecclesiology and eschatology.

The goal in mind, for Goodwin, is the ushering in of the millennium: 'that this state of

Glory, of a glorious Church on Earth, shall continue for a Thousand years, during which time the

Jews shall have it, and the *Gentiles* together with them.'[111] In the new world Christ will 'bring

Heaven down' to earth, which means that Christ will not come down physically ('that is the old

Errour of some'[112]), but he will reign from heaven over the earth because the devil is 'shut up for

a Thousand years' (Rev. 20:1-3).[113] The means by which Christ reigns is through the resurrection

of martyrs. The souls of martyrs in heaven will return to earth, united to resurrection bodies, and

reign during the millennium until Christ returns on the Day of Judgment.[114] Before Goodwin,

Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588-1638) makes similar comments regarding the nature of the

millennium on earth. Alsted divides up the New Testament church into four periods. The third

period marks the thousand years spoken of in Revelation 20.[115] During this period martyrs will

rise. A 'double Conversion or calling of the Gentiles' will take place, and the Jews will be

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[109] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 454.
[110] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 455.
[111] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 456.
[112] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 456.
[113] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 456.
[114] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 457-59. Goodwin refers to Augustine's comments on the millennium, namely, that if only Spiritual delights come from heaven, then the opinion of the chiliasts may be tolerated. But, according to Augustine, the chiliasts were indulgent materialists. See also Jue, *Heaven Upon Earth*, 119-121.
[115] *The Beloved City, or, The Saints Reign on Earth a Thousand Yeares Asserted and Illustrated from LXV Places of Holy Scripture*. Translated by William Burton. (London, 1643), 7. On Alsted's eschatology, see Howard B. Hotson, *Paradise Postponed*: *Johann Heinrich Alsted and the Birth of Calvinist Millenarianism* (Dordrecht, 2000).

converted.[116]   After Goodwin, even after 1666, a significant date for millennialists, the fifth monarchist and Congregationalist minister, Samuel Petto (*c.* 1624-1711), argued the same emphases as Goodwin and Alsted, namely, the resurrection of the 'witnesses' (i.e. martyrs) and conversion of the Jews usher in the millennial age.[117]   In hopeful anticipation, He explains that 'the Conversion of the Jews, of multitudinous number of that Israel is to be expected.'[118]   Petto's work in 1693 shows that millennialism did not die out with the Restoration in 1662, but remained very much alive in the latter part of the seventeenth century, albeit with slightly different exegetical conclusions.[119]

As noted, the millennium represented for Alsted the third of four periods in the New Testament church.   The church in general included not only the four periods belonging to the New Testament church, but also the time before the Fall and after the Fall.   This is the church on earth.   Alsted also recognized the place of the church in Heaven where Christ reigns.[120]   This, too, is consistent with Goodwin's basic pattern of Christological and ecclesiastical glory. Remaining bodily in heaven, Christ is the king of kings; 'he is the King of Angels, the Head of all *Principalities* and *Powers*'.[121]   Owen notes that the Head, 'wherein God hath gathered up all things in heaven and earth into one, one body … is Jesus Christ.'[122]   This glory was 'reserved for

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[116] *The Beloved City*, 7-9. Jue provides a particularly illuminating discussion of English millenarianism and the various debates surrounding chiliasm. See *Heaven Upon Earth*, 141-74.

[117] *The Revelation Unvailed, or, An essay towards the discovering I. When many Scripture prophesies had their accomplishment, and turned into history, II. What are now fulfilling, III. What rest still to be fulfilled, with a guess at the time of them : with an appendix, proving that pagan Rome was not Babylon, Rev. 17, and that the Jews shall be converted* (London, 1693), 142-43. Petto recognizes that many had failed in their predictions of dates during the seventeenth century and writes a post-script addressing that issue. See *The revelation unvailed*, 161-64.

[118] *The Revelation Unvailed*, 157.

[119] See Ernestine van der Wall, '"Antichrist Stormed": The Glorious Revolution and the Dutch Prophetic Tradition', in Dale Hoak and Mordechai Feingold, eds., *The World of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688-89* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 152-64.

[120] *The beloved city*, 11.

[121] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 425.

[122] *Works*, I, *The Glory of Christ*, 371.

him' and only Christ alone 'could bear the weight of this glory.'[123] Like Goodwin, Owen understands the glory of Christ in the world to come to include both his glory as the God-man (i.e. his native glory) and his glory as the Mediator (superadded glory). Reconciliation between God and man could be achieved by no one but the God-man. Herein the organic relationship between Christ's person and work reaches its consummate expression in the 'new world', which includes heaven and earth.[124]

What Goodwin means by Christ's glory and reign in heaven must be carefully understood, especially in light of 1 Corinthians 15:24 which speaks of Christ handing over his kingdom to his Father.[125] According to Goodwin, Christ possesses a natural kingdom because he is God. Christ receives by natural inheritance a kingdom because, as man, he is united to the divine Son, 'for he inheriteth the priviledges of the Second Person.'[126] As the God-man, then, Christ retains many of the privileges he experiences in heaven such as the 'Fulness of Joy' and 'All that Personal Honour and Glory … which he was crowned with indeed when he came first to Heaven. All these remain to eternity … and they are natural due to him.'[127] Besides these natural inheritances, there is what Goodwin calls a 'Dispensatory Kingdom', which has reference to Christ as Mediator between God and the elect. This kingdom was not Christ's natural due. Rather, it was given to him by the Father as a reward for his obedience. Brooks refers to this glory as a debt due to Christ.[128] This highlights the distinction between Christ's native glory and his mediatorial glory. Until the Day of Judgment, Christ has been entrusted with the kingdom,

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[123] *Works*, I, *The Glory of Christ*, 371.
[124] See Owen, *Works*, I, *The Glory of Christ*, 371-74.
[125] On how Calvin understood this particularly difficult Christological passage, see Richard A. Muller, 'Christ in the Eschaton: Calvin and Moltmann on the Duration of the Munus Regium', *The Harvard Theological Review* 74.1 (Jan., 1998), 31-59.
[126] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 438.
[127] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 438.
[128] *Paradice Opened*, 166.

the kingdom of the 'new World'. However, after the Day of Judgment, the kingdom 'is appropriated more eminently unto God the Father.'[129]

The reason for this is twofold. First, the Father gave to Christ a dispensatory kingdom so that Christ would receive more glory and honour. Goodwin suggests 'that as for every work there is a season, so there should be for every Person and season wherein they shall be in a more especial manner more glorious.'[130] Second, Christ's reign in heaven was a reward that was due to him which consisted in him receiving 'all the glory and honour' because he 'vailed his Godhead in obedience to his Father.'[131] Thus, upon Christ's ascension into heaven, the Father withdraws himself and commits all judgment to the Son. After having 'made all his enemies his footstool', Christ honours his Father by handing over the kingdom to him and becomes subject to him (1 Cor. 15:28).[132] For Goodwin, Christ possesses a natural kingdom, which remains forever because he is the God-man. However, he hands over to his Father his mediatorial kingdom when the church is complete and lacking no imperfection. This kingdom 'ceaseth, for there will be no need of it'.[133] Though Christ's mediatorial kingdom ceases, Goodwin makes clear that Christ's glory does not since Christ will always possess his native glory as the God-man, which, as noted above, far exceeds the superadded glory of his mediatorial office.

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[129] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 439.
[130] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 439.
[131] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 439.
[132] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 439.
[133] *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 1, 440.

Conclusion

The person and work of the God-man, Jesus Christ, corresponds to his twofold glory. That is to say, as the God-man Christ possesses a native glory peculiar to himself. He is the image of the invisible God and will forever retain his glory as the God-man. But, more than that, Christ possesses a mediatorial glory that has reference to his fulfillment of the *pactum salutis*. The Father rewards the Son for obedience accomplished. Regarding his human nature, Christ receives the Holy Spirit to the highest possible measure. As such, he becomes the Lord of the Spirit. Christ bestows the Spirit on his church as an application of his redemptive work. The church, in turn, brings glory to Christ since he is the Head of the church. Christ's reign in what Goodwin calls 'the world to come' exists in heaven and on earth. Having ascended into heaven, Christ rules his dispensatory kingdom. This kingdom reaches its fulfillment in the millennium, whereupon Jews and Gentiles, as well as resurrected saints, rule the earth as Christ's representatives. The return of Christ on the Day of Judgment signals the end of his dispensatory kingdom and the handing over of the kingdom to his Father. Christ's glory as the God-man remains, as well as his glory as the divine Son, which can in no way be diminished. But his superadded glory, peculiar to his mediatorial work, is willingly relinquished so that the Father may usher in the new heavens and the new earth. Thus, the person and work of Jesus Christ, a result of the decision on God's part to save man according to the terms of the pretemporal covenant of redemption, reaches its fulfillment in the Lord of glory.

CONCLUSION: *CUR DEUS HOMO?*

And this question, both infidels are accustomed to bring up against us, ridiculing Christian simplicity as absurd; and many believers ponder it in their hearts; for what cause or necessity, in sooth, God became man, and by his own death, as we believe and affirm, restored life to the world. – Anselm[1]

Summary of Argument

Introduction

The aim of this study has been a focussed study on the Christology of the Puritan Reformed orthodox divine, Thomas Goodwin. The central question that has been asked relates to how he answers the question made popular by Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo*? The process of arriving at the answer to that question in the thought of Goodwin has incorporated a number of historical and theological concerns. Naturally the answer to 'why did God become man?' is Christological, for the very issues that surround the question of why God became man involves both the person and work of Christ. This study has therefore been on the Christology of Thomas Goodwin. The results have yielded a number of important conclusions about the nature of Reformed orthodox Christology and Goodwin himself as a theologian in that tradition.

The significance of this work on Goodwin's thought is threefold. First, as evidenced in the *Status Quaestionis*, an important gap in understanding his Christology needed to be filled.[2] Given that the majority of his corpus is taken up with themes directly and indirectly related to Christology, such a study on him is long overdue. Second, there are few published monographs

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[1] *Cur Deus Homo*, 178.
[2] See Chapter One.

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dedicated to understanding Christology in the Puritan tradition, and even fewer that locate any given individual among his contemporaries. There has therefore been a determined effort to show the character of Reformed orthodox Christology in the seventeenth century by citing from Goodwin's contemporary theologians. The Socinian theological tradition, among others, has also been highlighted to provide the polemical context for Goodwin's writings. Third, and as a result of the first two points, scholars are in a better position to understand the basic trajectory of Christological thought over the centuries. The evidence suggests that Reformed orthodox Christology in the seventeenth century aimed to advance on the work of theologians in previous centuries, despite being firmly rooted in the ecumenical creeds. Goodwin's doctrine of the person and work of Christ, taken as an organic whole, represents a unique contribution to Christological thought.[3] Whether he is right or wrong about his opinions is a question left for another time and another discipline of study. But, with that in mind, students of Christology can better understand where and why figures like Goodwin may differ from other theological luminaries in the Christian tradition. In this study a number of themes have stood out. They are discussed below in order to highlight the basic trajectory of Goodwin's thought on the person and work of Christ.

Goodwin's Contribution to Reformed Orthodoxy

Goodwin's British Context

In many ways, Goodwin's historical context forced him to not only continue the tradition of Protestant Reformed orthodoxy, but make positive contributions to the Reformed theological

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[3] See Chapters Seven and Eight.

tradition in a way that was no mere duplication of his sixteenth-century predecessors. While the term 'Puritan' can be infelicitous when attempting to understand his theology,[4] it nevertheless provides the context for his theology. Goodwin saw himself writing in and for the church against the backdrop of a highly-charged polemical situation, which included the rising influences of Popery, Arminianism, and Socinianism. These influences, all of which he believed were dangerous to true Christian religion, coupled with his belief that he was living on the verge of millennial glory, played a decisive role in shaping his theology. And while his ecclesiology may have been most affected by his eschatological vision for a pure Church of England made up of Congregational churches, there is no question that his Christology can and must be evaluated in light of his seventeenth-century context.

Goodwin's opposition to popery is undeniable in his writings. His Christological writings are, in part, reflective of his desire to make known to the people of God the glories of the gospel, something, he believed, the papists did not do.[5] The true knowledge of the gospel, which included a proper understanding of who Christ is and what he did for his people, was the burden of Goodwin's theological project. If popery was the major obstacle to millennial glory, then the preaching of the gospel would play a significant role in achieving that end.[6] Besides the threat of popery, he manifested a strong antipathy to Arminianism. The Church of England under Archbishop Laud's leadership was fraught with a number of problems, two of which were the influences of popery and Arminianism. Indeed, in some ways, Goodwin saw close affinities between these two traditions. Just as the papists had corrupted the free grace of God, so too did

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[4] See Chapter 2.
[5] See Chapter Three; *Works*, III, *An Unregenerate Mans Guiltiness Before God*, 221.
[6] See Chapter Nine.

the Arminians.[7]   Added to these polemical concerns were his anti-Socinian writings.   The

evidence suggests that the growing Socinian influence in Britain during the seventeenth century

may have been the chief motivation of Goodwin's theological project.[8]   Thus, the emphases,

structure, and content of his Christology grew out of these three major groups.

Goodwin's Christology

In this context, it was perfectly natural that Goodwin would defend the orthodox doctrine of the

Trinity. In fact, his thoroughgoing trinitarianism actually provides the ontological basis for his

entire theology.[9]   Without understanding his doctrine of the Trinity, his Christology would be

rather anaemic.   Because of the inter-relatedness of theological doctrines, a rejection of the

Trinity naturally leads to an unorthodox Christology, as is evident in the case of the Socinian

theologians.[10]   The significance of Goodwin's trinitarianism for understanding his Christology

cannot be overstated. The argument in this study suggests that the causal ground for the history

of redemption is found in the *pactum salutis*. Understanding his doctrine of the person and work

of Christ must take place against the background of the covenant of redemption. This covenant

provides the basis for Christology, that is, if there is no covenant of redemption, there is no

Christology. Indeed, there would also be no pneumatology in the sphere of redemptive history

since the work of the Spirit is intimately tied to Christology both in Christ's states of humiliation

and exaltation. This basic point highlights an important contribution of Goodwin's, namely, that

he understood the *pactum salutis* in explicitly trinitarian terms. While the preponderance of the

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[7] See Chapter Three; *Works*, I, *Ephesians*, Pt. 2, 196.
[8] See Chapter Three.
[9] See Chapter Five; *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*.
[10] See *Racovian Catechism*.

exegetical evidence refers to the Father-Son agreement, there is no doubt that for Goodwin the Spirit occupies an important role in this pact. Therefore, his doctrine of Christ's person has a strong pneumatological element, which reflects another important contribution to seventeenth-century Christology. Had it not been for the Socinian attacks on the Trinity, he might not have framed his doctrine of the covenant of redemption in explicitly trinitarian terms, which is to say, of course, that polemics can act to foster a more robust trinitarian theology in response to various opposing theologies.

Furthermore, one of the arguments of this study has been that the person and work of Christ bear an organic relation to one another; each informs the other. Goodwin's Christology posits that the divine nature acts not immediately, by virtue of the hypostatic union, but mediately through the work of the Spirit. The genius of this approach means that Goodwin, and many of his contemporaries (e.g. Owen), were able to do full justice to the humanity of Christ. Consequently, all of Christ's acts were performed in the power of the Spirit on the human nature. Some might object that this militates against an efficacious atonement. However, Goodwin argues that the efficacy of Christ's satisfaction – the death of his human nature – is tied to the worth of the person. The emphasis on the work of the Spirit on Christ, besides being firmly rooted in exegetical considerations, is the natural outworking of several Reformed distinctives: 1) the communication of properties (*communicatio idiomatum*); 2) the so-called *extra Calvinisticum* in relation to the maxim *finitum non capax infiniti*; and 3) the communication of operations.[11] For Goodwin, these principles attempt to bring coherence to Chalcedonian orthodoxy, which insists on the unity of the person as well as a distinction between the two natures.

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[11] See Chapter Seven.

As noted above, Goodwin's understanding of the person of Christ provides the basis for understanding the work of Christ. Just as the person of Christ results from the terms of the *pactum salutis*, so too does his work. Furthermore, the work of the God-man is the work of a representative; Christ, the second Adam, is constituted by the Father as Mediator on behalf of his people. Goodwin's doctrine of justification, the atonement – including Christ's priestly intercession – and eschatology, are all understood in light of one important fact: Christ in his work of mediation acts as a common person. Therefore, whatever Christ did he did for his people. More importantly, whatever is true of Christ becomes true of his people, and vice versa. Christ as the God-man was first predestined, and then his people 'in him' (Eph. 1). Moreover, before his people could be justified, sanctified, and glorified, Christ must first possess those soteric benefits in himself. This also means that Christ, by imputation only, was 'made sin' on account of the substitutionary nature of his death. Christ's person and work brings together his reward, an aspect of his glory.[12]

The picture of Goodwin's Christology would not be complete apart from a discussion of Christ's glory, which has important implications for Goodwin's eschatology.[13] The *pactum salutis* necessitates that the Son become man – hence the God-man – in order to satisfy the Father's justice. Because the Son takes on flesh, and acts as Mediator for his people, he possesses a threefold glory. The first glory has reference to the intrinsic glory of the divine Son. This glory cannot be added to nor diminished; it is essential to God. The second glory has reference to Christ's person constituted as the God-man. In Christ the fullness of the deity dwells bodily; he is the visible representation of God. The hypostatic union in the one person necessitates that Christ possesses a native glory, peculiar to himself, which he will retain forever.

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[12] See Chapters Eight and Nine.
[13] See Chapter Nine.

Finally, Christ receives a glory, a kingdom, related to his work as Mediator. This glory is superadded above his native glory as the God-man and has reference to the successful performance of the work given to him by the Father. The Father rewards the Son with a bride, who in turn brings him glory, and the Son becomes the Lord of heaven and earth. In this capacity, the Son comes into such complete possession of the Spirit that he becomes the distributor of the Spirit to the church. Thus, Christ is the Lord of heaven and earth, and especially Lord of the world to come, which, in Goodwin's mind, is the age of the millennium where his saints, even resurrected martyrs, will reign on earth as his representatives. For Goodwin, Christ's glory is the climax of the covenant; the *pactum salutis* finds its fulfillment in Christ receiving what is due to him on account of his mediatorial work.

Because there are so few published monographs addressing the person and work of Christ among Reformed theologians in England during the seventeenth century, very little has been written on the glory of Christ. Goodwin, even more than Owen, seems to have written more on this subject than any of his Puritan contemporaries, regardless of the specifics of their theological persuasion. Indeed, if there is an area in Goodwin where he can be said to have made a distinct contribution not only to the Reformed theological tradition, but the Christian tradition in general, it is his understanding of the glory of Christ. Likely, this has something to do with the fact that he believed he was living on the verge of Christ's millennial glory and so the subject occupied his mind and heart. Whatever the reason, few of the British writers in his time come close to the theological heights that he scales on this particular aspect of Christology. In fact, the glory of Christ represents the teleological thrust of Goodwin's Christology, all because the terms and promises of the *pactum salutis* demanded such an outcome.

In light of what has been written about Goodwin's theology, the question of where he fits in the broader picture of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Protestantism needs to be evaluated. Goodwin was clearly an heir of the Reformation and thus he held to the so-called 'five solas' of the Reformation: *sola fide*, *sola gratia*, *sola scriptura*, *solus Christus*, and *soli Deo Gloria*. However, though he stood in the Reformation tradition that rejected the authority and teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, it is more accurate to say that his theology is Reformed as well as Reformational. Goodwin clearly noted the difference between the Reformed and the Lutherans, often making strong comments against the Lutherans, especially in the area of Christology.[14] However, as Reformed Protestants such as Goodwin carried on the work of the Reformation, a number of intra-Reformed controversies developed. As noted in this study, these controversies are often highlighted in his writings and they show, among other things, the diversity of the broader Reformed interpretative tradition.

For example, was the Mosaic covenant an administration of the covenant of grace, as most of the Reformed orthodox maintained, or was it distinct from the covenant of grace, as Goodwin argued?[15] Second, was Adam's potential reward in the covenant of works eternal life in Eden or eternal life in heaven? Owen remained agnostic, whereas Turretin believed Adam's reward was heaven. Goodwin, however, maintained that only Christ, and not Adam, could merit heavenly life. This flows out of his exegesis of certain texts (1 Cor. 15) and his strong Christological supralapsarianism.[16] Third, could the Father have pardoned sin apart from the satisfaction of Christ? Whereas Owen – his later position, that is – argued that God's justice

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[14] See Chapter Seven.
[15] See Chapter Four; *Works*, V, *Of the Holy Ghost*, 330.
[16] See Chapter Four; *Works*, II, *Of the Creatures*; *Works*, II, *Election*.

demanded satisfaction in order for sin to be pardoned, Goodwin insisted that God could have pardoned sin by a mere act of his will. In holding to this position, as Calvin did, he had more in common with the Socinians than his friend, John Owen.[17] Fourth, was the Holy Spirit an active partner in the *pactum salutis*? Against Samuel Rutherford, Goodwin held that the Spirit was active in the implementation of the pretemporal intra-trinitarian agreement.[18] Before Owen, Goodwin gives a place to the Spirit in the *pactum salutis* in a manner that had not yet been seen in Reformed orthodoxy.[19] Along with the role of the Spirit on Christ during his earthly and heavenly ministry, this may be one of the most significant contributions made by Goodwin to Reformed orthodoxy. Fifth, among the Puritans, the doctrine of justification by faith was not agreed upon in all of its details, even by members present at the Westminster Assembly. Goodwin argued both at the Assembly and in his writings that Christ's active and passive obedience are imputed to believers. As noted in this study, especially in chapter eight on the work of Christ, Goodwin connects the doctrine of the imputation of the active obedience of Christ with the debate over whether Christ was, as Anselm maintained, under the law. Goodwin insisted, along with Daniel Featley, that Christ was not under the law (contra Anselm). Christ must therefore have kept it for others, namely, his people. Hence, the imputation of Christ's active and passive obedience.[20] Understanding the various intra-Reformed debates shows where Goodwin agreed and disagreed with his Reformed orthodox contemporaries.

Because Puritanism is a theologically diverse movement, incorporating, for example, Calvinists, Arminians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists, Goodwin's theology has been better described as Reformed orthodoxy. As noted above, to describe Goodwin's theology

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[17] See Chapter Six; *Works*, III, *Of Christ the Mediator*, 71.
[18] See Chapter Six; *Works*, III, *Mans Restauration*, 19.
[19] See Chapter Seven.
[20] See Chapter Eight.

in the category of Reformed orthodoxy does not remove all the difficulties, as noted above, since the Reformed theological tradition was anything but monolithic. Indeed, when all of the details are considered, Goodwin's theology is unlike that of any one of his peers. Of course, that could be said of every single major Christian theologian.[21] Yet, Goodwin's presence at the Westminster Assembly and his subsequent role in the drafting of the *Savoy Declaration* show that he cannot be placed in the category of Richard Baxter who was, when it came to theology, *sui generis*. Goodwin's role in the formulation of the *Westminster Confession of Faith* and the *Savoy Declaration* show that he is indeed a Reformed theologian who was Congregationalist in his ecclesiology. Moreover, he did not view his theology, in its basic content, as theologically innovative. While he clearly departed from Calvin, for example, in his understanding of church government, assurance, and the millennial reign of Christ, they both shared a common theology, which emphasizes several important points. In fact, in the areas of soteriology, pneumatology, and Christology, they share a basic common agreement.

Conclusion

Goodwin was not merely a follower of Reformed orthodoxy. As noted above, he made important contributions in several areas, particularly in the relationship between Christology and pneumatology. For the most part, his theology agrees with his Reformed orthodox contemporaries, such as John Owen. To be sure, there are differences between the two Congregationalists (e.g. necessity of the atonement), but their role in drafting the *Savoy Declaration* (1658) shows their theological affinity. Besides Owen, the other Congregationalists

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[21] Such as, for example, Augustine, Aquinas, Anselm, Luther, Calvin, Owen, Ellebogius, Cocceius, Edwards, and Bavinck.

at Savoy – for example, William Bridge, Philip Nye, Joseph Caryl and William Greenhill – were also theologically similar to Goodwin. And, as this study has shown, Goodwin's theological similarities with the Continental theologian, Francis Turretin, are at times rather striking.[22]

Moreover, much of Goodwin's theology must be understood in the context of his strong reaction to popery, Arminianism, and Socinianism. The trajectory of Reformed orthodoxy did not remain static, largely because of the fresh assaults coming from various groups both inside (e.g. Arminianism) and outside (e.g. Socinianism) the Christian tradition. Therefore, it is only natural that Goodwin's theology, though similar to Calvin's, differed in emphasis and content in several places. Though rooted in ecumenical orthodoxy – thus showing that Goodwin is in some senses unoriginal – the very fact that he wrote in the seventeenth century and not the sixteenth or even the sixth century explains why his theology, and more specifically his Christology, deserves to be considered carefully because of its unique contribution to the Christian tradition.

Seventeenth-century Reformed orthodox Christology in England finds its most erudite expression in the two Congregationalist theologians, John Owen and Thomas Goodwin. This study has focussed on the more neglected of the two – Goodwin. For him, because of the *pactum salutis*, the triune God has determined that through Christ's death and resurrection life has been restored to the world; God has been reconciled to man. This was possible because 'Heaven and Earth met and kissed one another, namely, God and Man.'[23]

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[22] See Chapter Five.
[23] Goodwin, *Works*, II, *Of the Knowledge of God the Father*, 82.

SUMMARY

The central thesis of this study is that the Christology of the prominent English Reformed theologian Thomas Goodwin (1600-1680) is grounded in, and flows out of, the eternal intra-trinitarian covenant of redemption, also known as the *pactum salutis*. In order to understand the dynamics of Goodwin's Christology, his trinitarianism must be appreciated in the context of his covenant theology. At the heart of Goodwin's theology is his robust trinitarianism. His Christology does not begin in the temporal realm at the incarnation, but stretches back into eternity when the persons of the Trinity covenanted to bring about the salvation of fallen mankind. Goodwin's Christology moves from the pretemporal realm to the temporal realm with a decidedly eschatological thrust, that is, with a view to the glory of the God-man, Jesus Christ. What this study does is connect two vital aspects of Reformed theology, namely, the doctrine of Christ and the concept of the covenant. The findings of this study show that Christ is the Christ of the covenant.

The first chapter of this dissertation (1) highlights not only the need for a fresh assessment of Goodwin the theologian, but the fact that this should be done with reference to the 1691-1704 edition of his *Works*, as well as his writings published during his life-time, in order to reduce potential anachronisms. Chapter two (2) is a brief biography of Goodwin's life. His unusually long life span of eighty years – a good portion of the Stuart age – enables readers to view his life through the lenses of the most significant events of seventeenth-century England, many of which he was intimately involved in. Chapter three (3) looks at Goodwin's theological formation – which shows him to be firmly rooted in the tradition of Reformed orthodoxy – as

well as his major theological opponents, namely, the Socinians, 'Papists', and Arminians. His Christology is in part a biblical response to those concerns. This chapter is followed with a discussion of Goodwin's hermeneutical and exegetical method in the hope of providing the reader with a much needed analysis of Goodwin the interpreter of Scripture. In light of Alexander Whyte's comment that Goodwin was 'the greatest pulpit exegete of Paul that has ever lived', an analysis of Goodwin's exegetical and hermeneutical method is long overdue. This chapter shows that Goodwin's hermeneutical method is essentially the consistent outworking of his Federal (covenant) theology.

These chapters provide the necessary background to chapter five (5), which looks at Goodwin's doctrine of the Trinity. This section structures Goodwin's doctrine of God and provides the ontological base for the following chapter (6) on the pretemporal covenant of redemption (i.e. *pactum salutis*). This chapter is perhaps the most significant for the present thesis insofar as it provides the reason for Goodwin's Christology. For Goodwin, a discussion of the person and work of Christ cannot be abstracted from the *pactum salutis*. In other words, the covenant of redemption answers the question of why God – specifically, the Son – became man. Following from an analysis of the *pactum salutis*, chapter seven (7) focuses on the person of Christ. Goodwin's own writings on Christology necessitate a person-work schema. Thus, the following chapter (8) addresses Goodwin's understanding of the work of Christ. These two chapters on the person and work of Christ show, among many things, that, for Goodwin, who Christ is and what Christ does are inextricably intertwined. In other words, the person gives the value to the work. Because of Christ's person and work, which flow out of the *pactum salutis*, Goodwin spends a good deal of time in his writings on Christ's glory.

Chapter nine (9), then, considers Christ's glory. Because of the covenantal aspect of Goodwin's Christology and soteriology, Christ receives a reward for his obedience. His glory as the God-man corresponds to his person. But, more than that, he has a superadded glory that relates to his mediatorial work. This glory belongs to Christ as his reward from the Father. His reward includes the reception of the Spirit and the title of Lord of the Church. Thus, to appreciate Goodwin's Christology, one must appreciate his constant trinitarian emphases as they relate to the *pactum salutis*. Chapter ten (10) summarizes the argument of this study and makes a number of contentions about the significance of Goodwin's Christology in not only the seventeenth century, but over the course of Christian history. The trajectory of argument in this thesis sheds important light on Goodwin's Christ of the covenant. And in so doing, this study aims at making a much-needed contribution to understanding the various theological dynamics of Reformed orthodox Christology.

SAMENVATTING

Dit proefschrift handelt over de christologie van de vooraanstaande Engelse gereformeerde theoloog Thomas Goodwin (1600-1680). Het poogt te laten zien dat Goodwin's christologie gegrond is in en voortkomt uit het eeuwig verbond dat vóór de schepping werd opgericht tussen de drie personen van de godheid, ook wel het *pactum salutis* genoemd. Dit voortijdelijke verbond is in het tijdelijke gerealiseerd in de context van het genadeverbond. In het verlossingsverbond komen de drie personen van de Drie-eenheid, in het bijzonder de Vader en de Zoon, overeen om de uitverkorenen te redden. Het resultaat is dat Gods zoon de gestalte van vlees aanneemt ofwel mens wordt.

Dat wil zeggen, in Goodwin's visie zet de christologie niet pas in bij Christus' incarnatie, maar gaat terug in de eeuwigheid tot het moment waarop de personen van de Drie-eenheid een verbond sloten om de mensheid die in zonde zou vallen te redden. In dit proefschrift worden twee wezenlijke dogmatische aspecten van de gereformeerde theologie met elkaar verbonden, namelijk de leer omtrent Christus en de verbondsleer. Duidelijk wordt dat in de optiek van Thomas Goodwin Christus de Christus van het verbond is.

Het eerste hoofdstuk van dit proefschrift (1) biedt een kort historiografisch overzicht en geeft aan waarom Goodwin's christologie een diepergaande analyse verdient. Nieuw onderzoek naar Goodwin als theoloog, zo wordt betoogd, dient vooral te worden verricht met behulp van de editie van Goodwin's *Works* die verscheen tussen 1691 en 1704, dit om eventuele anachronismen te voorkomen. Hoofdstuk twee (2) biedt een beknopte biografie van Goodwin wiens leven zich afspeelde in een roerige periode van de Engelse geschiedenis. Zijn leven dat een groot deel van de zeventiende eeuw omspant reflecteert de belangrijke historische en

theologische ontwikkelingen en gebeurtenissen in het zeventiende-eeuwse Groot-Brittannië, waarin hij vaak een prominente rol speelde.

Hoofdstuk drie (3) gaat in op de wijze waarop Goodwin's theologie zich heeft ontwikkeld. Hij was een geleerd theoloog die zijn werk niet alleen baseerde op de eigen gereformeerde traditie, maar die tevens andere bronnen putte. Geconfronteerd met een scala aan theologische polemieken rond het Arminianisme, het socinianisme en het rooms-katholicisme, zag Goodwin zich gedrongen een christologie te ontwerpen die gedeeltelijk als een reactie is te beschouwen op dergelijke belangrijke contemporaine controversen. Aan de hand van de hermeneutische en exegetische methoden die Goodwin hanteert, laat het daaropvolgende hoofdstuk (4) zien hoe zijn bijbelexegese tot stand is gekomen. Goodwin's hermeneutische methode blijkt in essentie een consistente uitwerking te zijn van zijn federale theologie.

In hoofdstuk vijf (5), waarin de triniteitsleer centraal staat, wordt Goodwin's leer aangaande God nader besproken. Daarmee wordt de basis gelegd voor hoofdstuk (6) aangaande het *pactum salutis*. Dit zesde hoofdstuk is wellicht het centrale hoofdstuk van het proefschrift omdat het hier gaat over de basis van Goodwin's christologie. Goodwin is van oordeel dat de persoon en het werk van Christus niet los kunnen worden gezien van het *pactum salutis*. Ofwel, het verbond van de verlossing beantwoordt de vraag waarom God – in het bijzonder de Zoon – mens is geworden. Na de analyse van het *pactum salutis* volgen in de hoofdstukken zeven (7) en acht (8) over de persoon respectievelijk het werk van Christus. Goodwin werkt namelijk zijn christologie uit door eerst naar de persoon en vervolgens naar het werk van Christus te kijken. Deze twee hoofdstukken laten onder meer zien dat niet scherp van elkaar te scheiden is wie Christus is en wat Hij doet, maar dat persoon en werk onmiskenbaar in elkaar overvloeien. De persoon geeft waarde aan het werk.

Goodwin's begrip van de persoon en het werk van Christus heeft tot gevolg dat een groot deel van wat hij geschreven heeft handelt over Christus' heerlijkheid, die het onderwerp vormt van hoofdstuk negen (9). Vanwege het verbondsaspect van Goodwin's christologie en soteriologie ontvangt Christus een beloning voor zijn gehoorzaamheid. Zijn heerlijkheid als de mens geworden Zoon van God komt overeen met zijn persoon. Maar daar bovenop komt nog eens de heerlijkheid die hij verkregen heeft door zijn bemiddelingswerk voor de uitverkorenen. Deze heerlijkheid, ontvangen als beloning van de Vader, omvat ook de gave van de Geest en de titel Hoofd der Kerk. Deze tweevoudige glorie is belangrijk in relatie tot Christus' persoon en werk en vormt de passende climax op de belofte van het verbond van de verlossing.

Ten slotte wordt in hoofdstuk tien (10) geconstateerd dat om Goodwin's christologie op zijn mérites te kunnen beoordelen, diens constante beklemtoning van de triniteit en van de wijze waarop deze verbonden is met het *pactum salutis* juist dient te worden verstaan. Goodwin's christologie blijkt niet alleen van grote invloed te zijn geweest in zijn eigen tijd maar is ook sindsdien van veel betekenis gebleken. Dit proefschrift beoogt dan ook in breder zin een bijdrage te leveren aan het begrip van de veelzijdigheid van de gereformeerde christologie.

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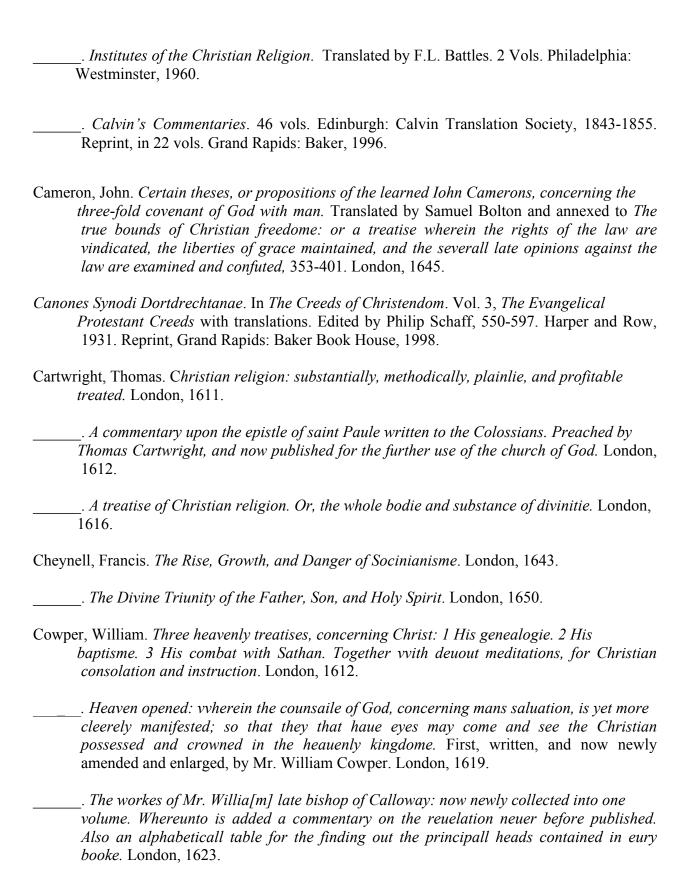
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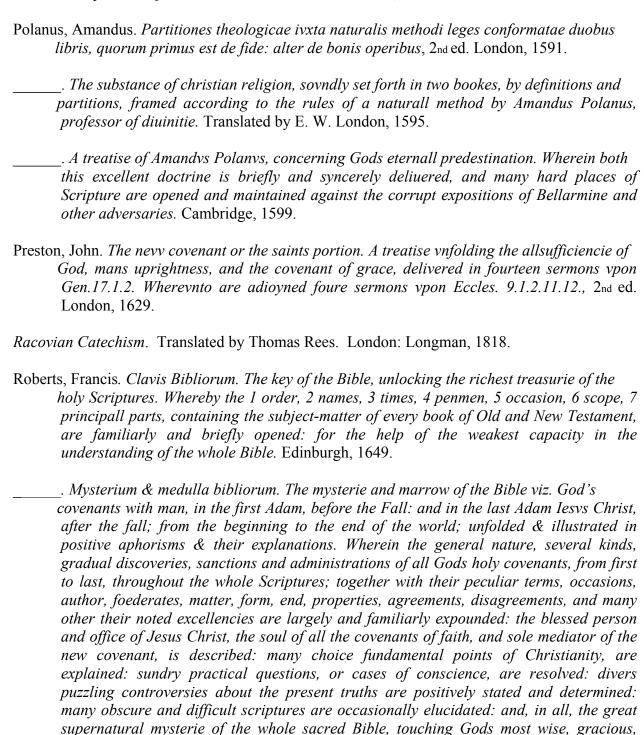Fletcher, Phineas. *Joy in tribulation. Or, consolations for afflicted spirits.* London, 1632.

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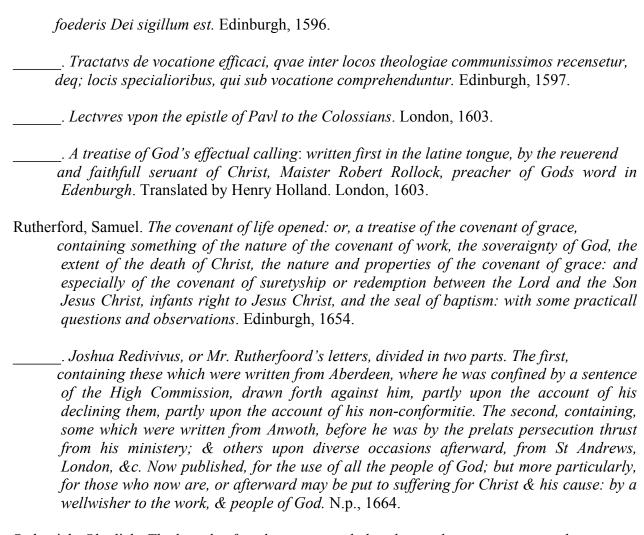Piscator, John. *A learned and profitable treatise of mans iustification. Two bookes. Opposed to*

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INDEX

Curriculum Vitae

Mark Jones was born on the 12th of August 1980 in Johannesburg, South Africa. For eight years he lived there until immigrating with his family to Canada. In 1999 he graduated from St. Michael's University School in Victoria, British Columbia. From there he attended the University of Wisconsin-Madison and finished his Bachelor of Arts (honors) at Mount Allison University (2004) in Religious Studies. Two years later (2006) he finished his Master's thesis (*cum laude*) at Potchefstroom University in South Africa. In 2007 he was ordained as the Senior Minister at Faith Vancouver Presbyterian Church (PCA). In that same year he started his research on this dissertation.