

Hyonam Kim

# Salvation by Faith

Faith, Covenant and the Order of Salvation  
in Thomas Goodwin (1600–1680)



# Reformed Historical Theology

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Statement of Thesis

By providing a contextual examination of the nature and function of faith in the theology of a representative Puritan and Reformed theologian, Thomas Goodwin, this dissertation will show how faith could serve as a unifying concept in the soteriology of the confessionally Reformed strand of the English Puritans.<sup>1</sup> In their doctrine of faith, Puritans like Goodwin drew together their themes of covenant and the order of salvation and reconciled God's sovereignty with human responsibility in salvation. Contrary to the line of scholarship that argues that the Reformed orthodox understanding of faith as a condition compromised God's sovereignty and was one of the elements which spurred them to depart from the emphasis on grace alone that characterized the thought of their theological forefathers in the early sixteenth century,<sup>2</sup> I will argue that Goodwin's understanding of faith offers a foundation upon which he built up his whole

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1 The terms "Puritan" and "Puritanism" have been subject to much debate. But the vast majority of Puritans theologically belonged to the theological movement called Reformed orthodox. For more details of the term and the identity of "Puritanism," see Randall J. Pederson, *Unity in Diversity: English Puritans and the Puritan Reformation, 1603–1689* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 3–28 on the extensive literature; and 29–37 on the understanding of the primary theological strand Puritanism as Reformed. See also Joel R. Beeke and Mark Jones, *A Puritan Theology: Doctrine for Life* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2012), 1–5; Peter Lake, "Defining Puritanism – again?" in *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives in a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith*, ed. Francis J. Bremer (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1993): 3–29; Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580–1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 10–16; Patrick Collinson, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1983); Patrick Collinson, *The Puritan Character: Polemics and Polarities in Early Seventeenth-Century English Culture* (Los Angeles: William Andrew Clark Memorial Library, 1989).

2 See e.g., R. T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 210; M. C. Bell, *Calvin and Scottish Theology: The Doctrine of Assurance* (Edinburgh: The Handsel Press Ltd., 1985), 8; Norman Pettit, *The Heart Prepared* (New Haven, Conn. and London: Yale University Press, 1966), 218.

theological project, that in the theology of Goodwin, faith plays a significant role for salvation both in the covenant of grace and throughout the various steps of the order of salvation. Moreover, the study will show that since Goodwin understood faith not only as a condition, but also as an instrument, that his view of faith serves to maintain both God's sovereignty and human responsibility in the process of salvation. The study will, therefore, also demonstrate that the claims of previous scholarship concerning strict temporal arrangements of the various aspects of the Reformed *ordo salutis* have neglected the central function of the doctrine of faith.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

From the beginning of the Reformation onward, the doctrine of faith occupied a significant place in Protestant theology, specifically in relation to justification. With the rise of interest in covenant that led to the development of a Reformed "covenant theology" and early worries, particularly among the Lutherans over the antinomian implications of justification by faith alone, various Reformed theologians paid closer attention to the relationship of faith and salvation extending from initial calling to final glorification. In the seventeenth century, English Reformed writers needed to formulate their understanding of faith, not only in terms of these earlier issues and pressures, but also with a view to problems raised by Antinomianism in Puritan circles: Arminianism and Socinianism.<sup>3</sup>

In this situation, the Reformed Puritans in the seventeenth century, such as Richard Sibbes, John Rogers, John Ball, John Preston, John Downe, and Jeremiah Burroughs,<sup>4</sup> wrote many works dealing mainly, or as an important element, with

3 Joel R. Beeke, *The Quest for Full Assurance: The Legacy of Calvin and His Successors* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth, 1999), 274. Beeke writes here that the Reformers' emphasis on God's free grace has brought about among subsequent generations a pretext for cheap grace as a side-effect, and that this led the Puritans to look more deeply into the nature and acts of faith. See also Richard Lovelace, "Evangelicalism: Recovering a Tradition of Spiritual Depth," *The Reformed Journal* 40, no. 7 (September 1990): 21.

4 John Rogers, *The Doctrine of Faith Wherein are Practically Handled Ten Principall Points, which Explain the Nature of Vse of It* (London: Printed for N.N. and William Sheffard, 1627); John Ball, *A treatise of Faith Divided into Two Parts the First Shewing the Nature, the Second, the Life of Faith: Both Tending to Direct the Weak Christian* (London: Printed for Edward Brewster, 1657); John Downe, *A Treatise of the True Nature and Definition of Justifying Faith : Together with a Defence of the Same, against the Answere of N. Baxter* (Oxford: Printed by Iohn Lichfield for Edward Forrest, 1635); John Preston, *The breast-plate of Faith and Love a Treatise Wherein the Ground and Exercise of Faith and Love, as They are Set upon Christ Their Object, and as They are Expressed in Good Works, is Explained* (London : Printed by George Purslow, 1651); Jeremiah Burroughs, *The ninth, tenth, and eleventh books of Mr Jeremiah*

the doctrine of faith since such problems, they thought, were the results of the ignorance of a biblical understanding of faith. Additionally, new controversies relating to faith in the Reformed circles, particularly in England, developed. Among them were controversies over eternal justification and preparation for faith. This aroused the Reformed Puritans to investigate how Scripture explained the nature and acts of saving faith.

Rather than focusing directly on the nature of faith itself, however, their main attention was given to faith in relation to its role in the course of salvation. They took notice of the functions of faith both in the covenant relationship with God and throughout God's application of salvation to the elect as it unfolded in time; in other words, the order of salvation.

The concept of the covenant of grace, adopted by them to explain the relationship between God and the elect, is already found in the theology of the early Reformers such as Zwingli, Bullinger, and Calvin. It was, however, among the Reformed orthodox, including the Reformed Puritans, that the covenant concept came to prominence playing a key role in Reformed soteriology.<sup>5</sup> Contrary to the claim that there were two different approaches to the covenant of grace among the Reformed, one viewing it as absolute and the other viewing it as conditional, Reformed theologians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries commonly held that, although bestowed unconditionally or absolutely, the covenant of grace required conditions, one of which is faith. In England in the early seventeenth century, William Perkins, who laid the theological foundation for the following Puritans, and John Preston, whom Thomas Goodwin succeeded as Lecturer at Holy Trinity Church,<sup>6</sup> developed their covenant concept which included conditions required of the elect and mutual obligation from both God and the elect. Moreover, in the early seventeenth century, a group of the Reformed Puritans who had moved to New England also developed a concept of preparation for conversion based on the strong conditionality and mutuality of the covenant of grace. Faith plays a key role in all of this because faith is a condition required of humanity, and it is also faith which leads the elect to fulfill the obligation for the consummation of the covenant.

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*Burroughs: containing three treatises: I. Of precious faith. II. Of hope. III. The saints walk by faith on earth; by sight in heaven. Being the last sermons that the author preached at Stepney, neer London* (London: Printed by Peter Cole, 1655); Thomas Goodwin, *The Object and Acts of Justifying Faith* (Edinburgh; Carlisle, PA : Banner of Truth Trust, 1985).

5 Victor Lewis Priebe, "The Covenant Theology of William Perkins" (Ph.D. diss., Drew University), 33.

6 Francis J. Bremer, *Congregational Communion* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994), 34.

As far as the order of salvation is concerned, the phrase *ordo salutis*, though found in works written in the sixteenth century,<sup>7</sup> was not yet confirmed as a technical term in the seventeenth century; however, the concept of the application of Christ's work to the elect "belonging to the decree that establishes and constitutes the temporal order of salvation" had already appeared in the Reformed tradition as a result of the exegesis of such biblical passages as Romans 8:28–30 "as early as 1527 by Zwingli."<sup>8</sup> Not only the word, *ordo salutis*, but also the language of *gradus* (grades), *gradationes* (degrees), or *ordo* (order), which implies a series of steps, or a sequence, logically or causally interconnected with each other, was also used by the Reformers and their Reformed successors so as "exegetically to distinguish Protestant expressions from Roman Catholic ones" particularly in the doctrine of redemption.<sup>9</sup>

Therefore, unlike some modern scholars who argue that the Reformed orthodox so undermined the doctrine of the union with Christ central to Calvin and replaced it with "the imposition of federalism" and "the *ordo salutis*"<sup>10</sup> that they chronologically separated justification from sanctification, by examining the broad use of faith throughout his works, and its relation to other doctrines, the dissertation will show, as illustrated by the thought of Goodwin and various of his contemporaries, that Reformed theologians in the seventeenth century, including the Reformed Puritans, also regarded both the covenant of grace and believer's union with Christ as the sources of God's application of redemption to His elect in time which is often expressed as the *ordo salutis*. We will see that the Reformed made a distinction between justification and sanctification and that logical priority should be given to the former over the latter in that sanctification is the fruit of justification.<sup>11</sup> Accordingly, the Reformed Puritans regarded faith as required not only for the beginning of the salvation process, but also that faith was considered to play a key role throughout the whole order of salvation.

Despite such an importance of faith in Reformed soteriology, however, it is striking to see the paucity of research which uncovers the Reformed understanding of the relationship between faith and God's whole economy of salvation applied to the elect, expressed as divine covenants and the order of salvation.

7 Heinrich Bullinger, *In divinum Iesu Christi domini nostri evangelium secundum Ioannem* (Zurich: Apud Frosch, 1543), 4. 8; Pietro Martire Vermigli, *In primum librum Mosis, qui vulgo Genesis dicitur* (1569; Zurich: Excudebat Christophorus Froschouerus, 1579), 31–32; Hieronymi Zanchii, *De tribus Elohim, aeterno Patre, Pilio, et Spiritu Sancto, uno eodemque Iehova* (Neustadt an der Weinstrasse: Typis Matthaei Harnisii, 1589), 4.3.4.

8 Richard A. Muller, *Calvin and the Reformed Tradition: On the Work of Christ and the Order of Salvation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 167–68.

9 John V. Fesko, *Beyond Calvin: Union with Christ and Justification in Early Modern Reformed Theology (1517–1700)* (Bristol, CT: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 82.

10 Fesko, *Beyond Calvin*, 252. See also Muller, *Calvin and the Reformed Tradition*, 202–43.

11 Fesko, *Beyond Calvin*, 287.

Rather than focusing on the Puritan understanding of faith, which covers the whole series of the order of salvation,<sup>12</sup> scholars have mostly paid attention to some specific topics relating to faith. Besides the scarcity of studies on the Puritan doctrine of faith, which are examined in relation to both the covenant of grace and the whole series of the order of salvation, previous scholarship's interpretations of the Reformed understanding of faith are problematic. In their treatment of this theme, some scholars have set Calvin "against the Calvinists."<sup>13</sup> Arguably, they have not considered Reformed teaching on faith in its own intellectual context, and they have relied too much on secondary literature to criticize the Reformed orthodox understanding of faith. Consequently, the older scholarship separates the teachings of the Reformers on soteriology too sharply from that of their theological successors in the seventeenth century.

Notably, Thomas Goodwin stands out as one of the leading Puritans, as evidenced in intellectual ability, religious piety, and voluminous literary output on the topic. Goodwin contributed to drawing up two important Reformed confessions in the seventeenth century, the Westminster Confession and the Savoy Declaration of Faith, and was widely admired by many other contemporary Puritans, together with John Owen, as one of "the two Atlases and Patriarchs" of independency.<sup>14</sup> Praising Goodwin's piety and intellectual ability, J. I. Packer writes, "John Owen saw into the mind of Paul as clearly as Goodwin – sometimes, on points of detail, more clearly – but not even Owen ever saw so deep into Paul's heart."<sup>15</sup>

When it comes to the doctrine of faith, no other Puritan showed more comprehensive interest in the functions of faith than Goodwin. Not only is Goodwin's idea of faith embedded in most of his works, but he also penned a book of almost six hundred pages focused solely on the doctrine of faith.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, his great

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12 There are few works focusing on the Reformed doctrine of faith. One of them is written by Victor A. Shepherd. He presents Calvin's doctrine of faith comprehensively (*The Nature and Function of Faith in the Theology of John Calvin* [Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983]). See also Richard Muller, "'Fides and Cognitio' in Relation to the Problem of Intellect and Will in the Theology of John Calvin," *Calvin Theological Journal* 25/2 (1990): 207–224.

13 Specific scholars belonging to this line will be presented and briefly discussed in the next section.

14 Anthony a Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (London, 1721), 2:738. Quoted by Anthony Dallison, "The Latter-day Glory in the Thought of Thomas Goodwin," in *The Gospel Magazine* (1969): 316–331.

15 J. I. Packer, "The Witness of the Spirit: The Puritan Teaching," in *The Wisdom of Our Fathers* (London: Puritan Conference, 1956), 14.

16 Thomas Goodwin, *The Object and Acts of Justifying Faith, The Works of Thomas Goodwin*, 12 vols. (James Nichol, 1861–1866; reprint, Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2006).



interest in soteriology led him to write several books on topics closely related to the doctrine of faith.<sup>17</sup>

### 1.3 Present State of the Problem

There are three issues belonging to the present state of the problem. First, the role of faith in seventeenth-century Puritan and Reformed theology has not been studied in detail, and the few extant studies that touch on Puritan and Reformed views of faith belong to the older “Calvin against the Calvinists” school of thought. Second, the fairly large body of scholarship on Reformed and Puritan covenant thought has not typically looked at either the role of faith in covenant or the relationship of covenant thought to the order of salvation. Third, the thought of representative Puritan theologians like Thomas Goodwin has only recently been the subject of intensive examination and neither with reference to his understanding of faith nor to the relation of faith to other aspects of doctrine in the broader soteriological complex of Puritan and Reformed theology.

Thus, first, besides the scarcity of studies of the doctrine of faith, its relation to the covenant of grace, and its place in the order of salvation, a large part of the previous scholarship on the subject has continued to set Calvin “against the Calvinists.” According to this argument, beginning with the works of Norman Pettit and R. T. Kendall, the Reformed orthodox, particularly the Puritans, departed from Calvin’s view of faith. Pettit regarded the Puritan preparationism as a deviation from Calvin’s doctrine of faith, because he assumed that any act of faith on the human side must be considered as diminishing God’s sovereignty, which Calvin never compromised.<sup>18</sup> Kendall took his argument still further, claiming that Perkins taught a “crypto-Arminian doctrine of faith” grounded on human willing. In Kendall’s view, this occurred because of the influence of Theodore Beza, who was wrongly considered to be “an extension of Calvin” by Perkins.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, M. C. Bell sets Calvin’s view of faith against that of his Scottish theological successors by arguing that the federal theology they accepted in the seventeenth-century caused them to replace Calvin’s passive faith with active

17 Mark Jones points out that Goodwin sought to “defend Reformed soteriology against the rising influence of Roman Catholicism, Socinianism, Arminianism, and the Quakers.” Mark Jones, *Why Heaven Kissed Earth: The Christology of the Puritan Reformed Orthodox Theologian, Thomas Goodwin (1600–1680)*, 18.

18 Norman Pettit, *The Heart Prepared* (New Haven, Conn. and London: Yale University Press, 1966), 218.

19 Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 210. See also Richard A. Muller, “‘Fides and Cognition’ in Relation to the Problem of Intellect and Will in the Theology of John Calvin” *Calvin Theological Journal* 25/2 (1990): 207–224; idem, “The Priority of the Intellect in the Soteriology of Jacob Arminius” *The Westminster Theological Journal* 55 (1993): 55–72.

faith and to find assurance not “*extra nos*,” as Calvin did, but “*intra nos*.”<sup>20</sup> Kendall’s understanding of Calvin’s and of Arminians’ doctrines of faith has been contested by Muller,<sup>21</sup> but he does not address the larger question of the place of faith in the seventeenth-century Puritan thought.

Second, many scholars have written books or articles dealing with the Reformed covenant theology, but few have elaborated on the nature and the role of faith in the covenant relationship between God and the elect. One of the most controversial issues, in regard to the Reformed covenant theology, was the question of continuity or discontinuity between the covenant concept of the Reformers and their successors. Such scholars as Perry Miller, Basil Hall, Holmes Rolston III, R. T. Kendall, and J. B. Torrance<sup>22</sup> argue for the so-called “Calvin against the Calvinists” thesis, which claims that the seventeenth-century Reformed orthodox, or the Reformed Puritans, significantly deviated from Calvin’s understanding of divine covenant. There is another group of scholars who assume two different covenant traditions in the covenant theology of the Reformed orthodox theologians. Leonard J. Trinterud, Jens G. Møller, Richard L. Greaves, J. Wayne Baker, and Charles S. McCoy may all be considered members of this third group.<sup>23</sup> Over against these positions, there are some other scholars who not only

20 M. C. Bell, *Calvin and Scottish Theology*, 8.

21 Muller, “*Fides and Cognition*,” 207–224; idem, “The Priority of the Intellect,” 55–72.

22 Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1956; reprint, New York: Harper & Row, 1964); Basil Hall, “Calvin against the Calvinists” and “The Calvin Legend,” in *John Calvin*, ed. G. E. Duffield (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1966); R. T. Kendall, “The Puritan Modification of Calvin’s Theology,” in *John Calvin: His Influence in the Western World*, ed. W. Standford Reid (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1982); idem, *Calvin and English Calvinism*; Holmes Rolston III, “Responsible Man in Reformed Theology: Calvin versus the Westminster Confession,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 23 (1970): 129–156; idem, *John Calvin versus the Westminster Confession* (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1972); James B. Torrance, “Strengths and Weaknesses of the Westminster Theology,” in *The Westminster Confession in the Church Today*, ed. Alasdair I. C. Heron (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1982), 48–50; idem, “Covenant or Contract? A Study of the Theological Background of Worship in Seventeenth-Century Scotland,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 23 (1970): 57–71; idem, “Calvin and Puritanism in England and Scotland – Some Basic Concepts in the Development of ‘Federal Theology’,” in *Calvinus Reformator* (Potchefstroom: Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, 1982), 269–277; idem, “The Concept of Federal Theology – Was Calvin a Federal Theologian?,” in *Calvinus Sacrae Scripturae Professor*, ed. Wilhelm H. Neuser (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1994).

23 Leonard J. Trinterud, “The Origins of Puritanism,” *Church History* 20 (1951): 37–57; Jens G. Møller, “The Beginnings of Puritan Covenant Theology,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 14 (1963): 46–67; Richard L. Greaves, “John Bunyan and Covenant Thought in the Seventeenth Century,” *Church History* 36 (1967): 151–169; idem, “The Origins and Early Development of English Covenant Thought,” *The Historian* 31 (1968): 21–35; Wayne Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and Covenant: The Other Reformed Tradition* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1980); idem, “Heinrich Bullinger, the Covenant, and the Reformed Tradition in Retrospect,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998): 359–376; Charles S. McCoy and J. Wayne Baker, *Fountain*

uphold the unity of Reformed covenant theology, but argue for the continuity between the theologies of the Reformers and the Reformed orthodox theologians. To this group belong Everett H. Emerson, John von Rohr, Anthony A. Hoekema, George M. Marsden, Richard A. Muller, Lyle Bierma, Andrew A. Woolsey, and Won Taek Lim.<sup>24</sup> In particular, Woolsey's book successfully examines covenant thought in the Reformed tradition emphasizing its unity and continuity "between the early Reformers and their seventeenth-century successors."<sup>25</sup> Although Reformed covenant theology has been actively researched by a number of scholars and the concept of covenant has been crucial in Reformed orthodox theology, particularly in soteriology, there are few scholars who focus on the role of faith, not only as an antecedent condition for the covenant of grace, but also as an instrument through which other conditions of the covenant, namely, evangelical obedience and good works, are made possible. As described above, most of the studies on Reformed covenant theology are conducted in terms of continuity and discontinuity, or unity and diversity, within the Reformed covenant tradition. The one exception in the scholarship is Van Asselt's study of Johannes Cocceius, where he argues that Cocceius conjoined two patterns in covenant theology, one relating covenant to the *ordo temporum*, the other using covenant as a foundation of an *ordo salutis*, into a more comprehensive whole.<sup>26</sup> This study of Goodwin's doctrine of faith will find an approach to these issues that has significant parallels in Cocceius.

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*Head of Federalism: Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenantal Tradition* (Louisville: Westminster / John Knox Press, 1991); Charles S. McCoy, "The Covenant Theology of Johannes Cocceius" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1956).

- 24 Everett H. Emerson, "Calvin and Covenant Theology," *Church History* 25 (1956): 136–144; John von Rohr, *The Covenant of Grace in Puritan Thought* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986); Anthony A. Hoekema, "The Covenant of Grace in Calvin's Teaching," *Calvin Theological Journal* 2 (1967): 133–161; George M. Marsden, "Perry Miller's Rehabilitation of the Puritans: A Critique," *Church History* 39 (1970): 91–105; Richard A. Muller, *Christ and the Decree: Christology and Predestination in Reformed Theology from Calvin to Perkins* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008); Lyle D. Bierma, *German Calvinism in the Confessional Age: The Covenant Theology of Caspar Olevianus* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1996); idem, "Federal Theology in the Sixteenth Century: Two Traditions?," *Westminster Theological Journal* 45 (1983): 304–321; Andrew A. Woolsey, *Unity and Continuity in Covenantal Thought* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2012); Won Taek Lim, "The Covenant Theology of Francis Roberts" (Ph.D. diss., Calvin Theological Seminary, 2000).
- 25 Andrew A. Woolsey, *Unity and Continuity in Covenant Thought: A Study in the Reformed Tradition to the Westminster Assembly* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2012), 1.
- 26 Van Asselt, *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius (1603–1669)* (Köln: Brill, 2001), 292–302.

Third, Goodwin has recently received a bit more attention by modern scholarship in the twenty-first century than before,<sup>27</sup> but considering his prominence in seventeenth-century Puritan theology, there is still lacking secondary literature on Goodwin's theology. Early Goodwin scholarship focused on two particular areas, ecclesiology<sup>28</sup> and soteriology,<sup>29</sup> but scholars have recently paid attention to more variegated areas such as pneumatology,<sup>30</sup> eschatology,<sup>31</sup> Christology,<sup>32</sup> and biblical hermeneutics,<sup>33</sup> though each area is inevitably interwoven with another. In addition, there is also significant research done in a primarily historical perspective by Michael T. Lawrence.<sup>34</sup> Among these studies, we can particularly choose two works that are closely related to Goodwin's doctrine of faith. Michael Horton looks into Goodwin's doctrine of assurance in light of the "Calvin against the Calvinists" debate. He devotes three chapters to dealing with Goodwin's doctrine of faith, but much of his treatment simply summarizes what Goodwin teaches concerning the object and acts of faith. As the title, "Thomas Goodwin on the Christian life," of his dissertation intimates, Ling-Ji Chang approaches Goodwin's understanding of Christian life according to the order of salvation. In so doing, however, he devotes just one chapter to the doctrine of faith. In other words, his main concern is not to explain comprehensively how faith works for salvation, but, as Jones notes, he seeks to "look at the *ordo salutis* in the context of Goodwin's eschatological implications" so that he may prove that Goodwin's eschatology played a decisive role in his soteriology.<sup>35</sup> Likewise, as briefly mentioned above, there is also a significant lack of

27 Paul R. Blackham writes that Goodwin is little read and there is an almost complete absence of secondary literature. Paul R. Blackham, "The Pneumatology of Thomas Goodwin" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1995), 6.

28 Stanley P. Fienberg, "Thomas Goodwin, Puritan Pastor and Independent Divine" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1974); D. J. Walker, "Thomas Goodwin and the Debate on Church Government," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 34, no. 1 (1983): 85–99; Rembert B. Carter, "The Presbyterian-Independent Controversy with Special Reference to Dr. Thomas Goodwin and the Years 1640–1660" (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1961).

29 Paul E. Brown, "The Principle of the Covenant in the Theology of Thomas Goodwin" (Ph.D. diss., Drew University, 1950); Michael S. Horton, "Thomas Goodwin and the Puritan Doctrine of Assurance: Continuity and Discontinuity in the Reformed Tradition, 1600–1680" (Ph.D. diss., Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, and Coventry University, 1995); Beeke, *Quest for Full Assurance*, 245–269.

30 Blackham, "Pneumatology of Thomas Goodwin."

31 A. R. Dallison, "The Latter-Day Glory in the Thought of Thomas Goodwin," *Evangelical Quarterly* 58 (1986): 53–68; Paul Ling-Ji Chang, "Thomas Goodwin on the Christian Life" (Ph.D. diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 2001).

32 Jones, *Why Heaven Kissed Earth*.

33 Stanley P. Fienberg, "Thomas Goodwin's Scriptural Hermeneutics and the Dissolution of Puritan Unity," *Journal of Religious History* 10 (1978): 32–49.

34 Michael T. Lawrence, "Transmission and Transformation: Thomas Goodwin and the Puritan Project" (Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University, 2002).

35 Jones, *Why Heaven Kissed Earth*, 31.

scholarship on the doctrine of faith in other Reformed Puritans, since the Reformed Puritan doctrine of faith itself has not attracted scholars' attention as a main topic, but has been studied as an auxiliary element of some specific doctrines.<sup>36</sup> Rather than focusing on the Puritan Reformed understanding of faith in relation to the whole order of salvation,<sup>37</sup> scholars have mostly paid attention to some specific topics related to faith, such as the assurance of faith,<sup>38</sup> Puritan preparationism,<sup>39</sup> or the nature and the role of faith in particular relation to certain doctrines, typically the doctrine of justification.<sup>40</sup>

In general agreement with scholars who emphasize the continuity in the Reformed understanding of faith, by examining Thomas Goodwin who is a Puritan, Reformed orthodox theologian, I intend first to present the Puritan understanding of faith which works in the covenant relationship between God and the elect; second, to show how, according to the Puritans, faith plays its role in each stage of the order of salvation for the completion of salvation initiated by the Holy Spirit; and third, thereby to prove that faith is a key means by which God manifests His grace and sovereignty in human salvation without getting rid of the

36 See Carl R. Trueman, *John Owen: Reformed Catholic Renaissance Man* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007); Hans Boersma, *A Hot Pepper Corn: Richard Baxter's Doctrine of Justification in Its Seventeenth-Century Context of Controversy* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 2004).

37 One of few works focusing on the Reformed doctrine of faith is written by Victor A. Shepherd. He presents Calvin's doctrine of faith comprehensively. Victor A. Shepherd, *The Nature and Function of Faith in the Theology of John Calvin* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983).

38 Joel R. Beeke, *The Quest for Full Assurance: The Legacy of Calvin and His Successors* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 2000); M. Charles Bell, *Calvin and Scottish Theology: The Doctrine of Assurance* (Edinburgh: Handsel, 1985); Beeke and Jones, *Puritan Theology*.

39 Perry Miller, "Preparation for Salvation in Seventeenth-Century New England," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 4, no. 3 (1943); Norman Pettit, *The Heart Prepared* (New Haven, Conn. and London: Yale University Press, 1966); R. T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); James William Jones, "The Beginnings of American Theology: John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, Thomas Shepard and Peter Bulkeley" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1971); Richard A. Humphrey, "The Concept of Conversion in the Theology of Thomas Shepard," (Ph.D. diss., Drew University, 1967); Martyn McGeown, "The Notion of Preparatory Grace in the Puritans," *Protestant Reformed Theological Journal* 41, no. 1 (2007); Lynn Baird Tipson, "The Development of a Puritan Understanding of Conversion," (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1972); John H. Ball, *Chronicling the Soul's Windings: Thomas Hooker and His Morphology of Conversion* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1992); Beeke and Jones, *A Puritan Theology*.

40 Boersma, *Hot Pepper Corn*; G. C. Berkouwer, *Faith and Justification*, trans. Lewis B. Smedes (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1954); Alan C. Clifford, *Atonement and Justification: English Evangelical Theology 1640–1790: An Evaluation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990); Alister E. McGrath, "The Emergence of the Anglican Tradition of Justification 1600–1700," *Churchman* 98 (1984); James I. Packer, "The Doctrine of Justification in Development and Decline among the Puritans," in *By Schisms Rent Asunder* (Proc. Of the Puritan and Reformed Studies Conference, 1969, n.p.: n.p., [1970]), 18–30.

role and responsibility of humanity. Accordingly, the primary contribution provided by this dissertation, by way of the study of Goodwin's doctrine of faith, is a case study of the Reformed understanding of the soteriological role of faith.

## 1.4 Scope of Study

In order to reconstruct Goodwin's understanding of the relationship between faith, covenant, and the order of salvation, I will investigate the writings of Thomas Goodwin – not only the book *Object and Acts of Justifying Faith*, which is exclusively concerned with faith, but also his other writings dealing with topics that pertain to soteriology. In so doing, we will understand his ideas of the functions of faith in all steps of salvation.

We will also examine the writings of his contemporary Reformed orthodox theologians on the doctrines of faith, covenants, and the order of salvation to show that there had been diverse understandings of faith among the Reformed Puritans, though within the bounds of Reformed theology, and present the contribution Goodwin could make in relation to our topic. This comparative study will help contextualize Goodwin's view of faith, and thereby will lead me to discern the *loci* of faith, covenant, and the order of salvation and the soteriological function of faith in the theology of the late seventeenth-century English Reformed orthodox theologians.

The uniqueness of this study lies in dealing with the two main frameworks of salvation and their relation to faith. Salvation is the work of God to deliver His elect sinners from the fallen state under the wrath and judgment of God. However, Reformed theology explored the principle lying behind this simple expression of salvation and has explained salvation in two ways: by covenant theology and by the *ordo salutis*. These are the frameworks. Covenant theology comprehends all about salvation from the eternal decree of salvation to the personal application of the decree, while the *ordo salutis* mainly describes the blessings flowing out of the covenant of grace and thus is deeply related to the application of salvation ranging from the first moment of the saving work of God on the elect to the last moment of life. Of the requirements for humanity both in the covenant of grace and in the *ordo salutis*, faith is the only one that is required in every moment of salvation. Goodwin is one of the Reformed theologians whose theology most clearly reflects these elements. Although in the seventeenth century the term "*ordo salutis*" was not a technically fixed term, Goodwin had a similar concept of a sequential causality of salvation, and Goodwin's whole theology was firmly rooted in the covenantal structure. This study will be done on this conceptual ground.

The main task of chapter 2 is to introduce a Reformed Puritan, Thomas Goodwin. For this purpose, we will first take a look at Goodwin's life with a focus on his spiritual experiences. We will also explore all of Goodwin's works so that we may draw some significant characteristics of his theology.

The third and fourth chapters will deal with Goodwin's covenant theology. Goodwin seems to divide God's covenant with us into three kinds: the covenant of works, the covenant of redemption, and the covenant of grace. Each covenant will be analyzed in terms of its relationship with faith. In so doing, we will first see the nature of the first relationship between God and Adam based on the covenant of works and the cause which broke this covenant. Second, we will turn our eyes to the eternal covenant of redemption between the three Persons of the Trinity in which all the stipulations, including faith as a means and the condition of the covenant of grace, and blessings were agreed upon by them. Third and last, the covenant of grace will be examined and the conditionality and instrumentality of faith will be discussed.

The following three chapters will explore the order of salvation as the series of blessings of the covenant of grace. In chapter five, we will try reconstructing Goodwin's version of an *ordo salutis* because neither did many seventeenth-century Reformed theologians have a definite order of salvation in mind nor was the term *ordo salutis* a technically fixed term. In so doing, the blessings included in his *ordo salutis* will be distinguished as of two kinds: whether each blessing is the result of God's work upon us or in us. In addition, we are also going to examine the doctrine of the *unio cum Christi* as a source of all blessing in his *ordo*.

The sixth chapter will deal with the relationship between each of the blessings belonging to God's work upon us and faith. The general description of Goodwin's doctrines of regeneration, justification, and adoption will first be offered, and the role of faith for each blessing will also be demonstrated in detail.

The seventh and last chapter of this study will follow the same pattern as the sixth chapter. In this chapter, we will examine the other three divine blessings of the covenant of grace, that is, God's work in us: sanctification, the perseverance of the saints, and glorification. Unlike the former three blessings that change the believer's status or title once-and-for-all, these blessings signify a gradual and real change in us. Therefore, we will first look into Goodwin's general understanding of each doctrine and then demonstrate how faith helps the regenerate to conform to Christ's image, to persevere in grace, and finally to be glorified.

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## 2. Goodwin in Context

### 2.1 Introduction

Among the Puritans who are as a whole regarded as worldly saints<sup>1</sup>, compared to giant Redwoods in Christian history overtopping other trees<sup>2</sup>, and called “godly ministers” in a “godly community,”<sup>3</sup> Thomas Goodwin, whose autobiography, according to Haller, is “worthy to be compared to the most notable self-revelation of the Puritan soul,”<sup>4</sup> may be called the Puritan of the Puritans who “represents the cream of Puritanism, capturing the intellect, will, and heart of his readers.”<sup>5</sup> Joel R. Beeke goes on to introduce him as an author whose treatises “join the vigor of the earlier Puritans such as William Perkins and Richard Sibbes,” who laid the theological, spiritual foundation for the later Puritan movement to “the matured thought of later Puritans” such as John Owen.<sup>6</sup> This means that his sermons and treatises may best delineate the heart of Puritanism as Alexander Whyte considers his sermons to be “noble examples of the height to which the Puritan pulpit could rise.” Whyte thought that “not even Luther on the Galatians is such an expositor of Paul’s *mind and heart* as is Goodwin on the Ephesians”<sup>7</sup> (Italics mine) and, as J. I. Packer writes, his “Biblical expositions are quite unique,

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1 Leland Ryken, *Worldly Saints: The Puritans As They Really Were* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990). As the title of this book shows, Ryken called the Puritans “Worldly Saints.”

2 James I. Packer, *A Quest for Godliness: The Puritan Vision of the Christian Life* (Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway Books, 1990), 11.

3 Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement c. 1620–1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3.

4 William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1957), 75.

5 Joel R. Beeke, “Introduction.” in *The Works of Thomas Goodwin*, 12 vols., edited by John C. Miller (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1861–67; reprint by Tanski Publications, 1996; reprint by Reformation Heritage Books, 2006), 1:1

6 Beeke, “Introduction,” 1:1.

7 Alexander Whyte, *Thirteen Appreciations* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1913), 169.



even among the Puritans, in the degree to which they combine theological breadth with experimental depth.”<sup>8</sup>

All ideas and academic achievements, including one’s theology, have not been made in a vacuum, but rather they are the products of all that surrounds the person combined with his own intellectual, spiritual activities. This is also true of Thomas Goodwin. Considering his unusual longevity in his time and his public prominence in the church and politics of England in the second half of the seventeenth century, he may be regarded as one of the few figures who can offer “an opportunity to view nearly the entire Stuart age,” one of the most important periods in the history of England in which there happened many theological, ecclesiastically, and politically significant events.<sup>9</sup> In this sense Lawrence introduces Goodwin as providing “an apt lens through which to view the religious history of seventeenth-century Britain.”<sup>10</sup> There is no doubt, therefore, that his theology and faith were more or less influenced by his historical context as well as his personal experiences, particularly his conversion experience and the many political, social, ecclesiastical upheavals in the British isles in the seventeenth century. In order to appreciate Goodwin’s theology properly, therefore, we need to know his life first, especially his spiritual life, and then need to appreciate both how his writings are organized and on what basis they are built.

## 2.2 Goodwin’s Spiritual Pilgrimage

### 2.2.1 His Birth and Early Religious Experience

Thomas Goodwin was born as the eldest son to Richard and Catherine Goodwin in Rollesby, Norfolk, on 5 October 1600. Robert Halley sheds light on several elements that might have influenced Goodwin’s religious consciousness in his early years. One of them which Halley reports is related to the many Dutch Protestant exiles “in the city and neighbourhood of Norwich.”<sup>11</sup> They formed a Presbyterian community that actually influenced and caused some English people such as Robert Brown and Barrow to take action against the established Church of England.

Goodwin does not give much information about the religious life of his parents but in his reference to his mother on his deathbed, he said, “[M]y mother

8 J. I. Packer, “The Witness of the Spirit: The Puritan Teaching,” in *The Wisdom of Our Fathers* (London: Puritan Conference, 1956), 14.

9 Brian Freer, “Thomas Goodwin The Peaceable Puritan 1600–1680,” in *Diversities of Gifts, Westminster Conference Reports*, 1980 (London: The Westminster Conference, 1981), 7.

10 Lawrence, “Transmission and Transformation,” 2.

11 Robert Halley, “Memoir of Thomas Goodwin, D.D.,” in Goodwin, *Works*, 2:ix–x.

was a holy woman; she spake nothing diminishing of it (the covenant of grace).”<sup>12</sup> His father, Richard, seems to have been a devoted Christian, seeing that he was a churchwarden of St. Nicholas. However, his nonconformist tendency was manifested when he allowed nonconformist preachers to deliver the Word of God on the pulpit without the surplice.<sup>13</sup> Although there is no affirmative information that Goodwin's parents avowedly confessed Reformed faith and belonged to the Puritan party, it seems quite sure that they were influenced by the evangelical principles which so generally prevailed in their neighborhood. Thus, Halley calls them “pious” parents who “piously educated their son, after the manner of the Puritans of that age, dedicating him in his early boyhood to the work of the ministry.”<sup>14</sup>

In his early years, Goodwin had a sickly constitution and was “a source of anxiety to his pious parents.”<sup>15</sup> But his soul was neither weak nor senseless. When he was six years old, he underwent a mysterious religious experience. Goodwin confesses that the Holy Spirit began to work slightly upon him at that time.<sup>16</sup> He wept for his sin, while his thoughts on godly things brought to him flashes of joy. He goes on to say that when the love of God and Christ was revealed to him, he could see within himself love to God and Christ working together with sincere grief for sin as displeasing them.<sup>17</sup> In his seventh year, when rebuked by a godly servant of his grandfather, he wept for his sins, and afterwards frequently wept for them. As Halley testifies, this clear consciousness of his sinfulness and the deep sorrow for sins became an important subject to deal with in later life. Goodwin considered this experience to be a true conversion at the moment because he did not give any doubt to the sincerity of his experience and concluded that it was far from hypocrisy.<sup>18</sup> However, he later came to confess that these early religious emotions of grief for sin, joy of salvation, and confidence and love were not the evidence of “true godliness implanted in his heart by the Holy Spirit.”<sup>19</sup> He regarded this as an evidence that showed how similar could goodness of those who had never received true sanctifying grace be to that of those who are under that grace.<sup>20</sup> Goodwin likens this experience to God's visiting him “as a wayfaring man, who came and dwelt for a night, and made me religious for a fit, but then departed from me.” But it was such a shocking event for a young child that it

12 Thomas Goodwin Jr., “Memoir of Thomas Goodwin, D.D.,” in Goodwin, *Works*, 2:lxxv.

13 Jones, *Why Heaven Kissed Earth*, 38.

14 Halley, “Memoir of Thomas Goodwin,” xi.

15 Halley, “Memoir of Thomas Goodwin,” xi.

16 Halley, “Memoir of Thomas Goodwin,” xi.

17 Halley, “Memoir of Thomas Goodwin,” xi.

18 Halley, “Memoir of Thomas Goodwin,” xii.

19 Halley, “Memoir of Thomas Goodwin,” xii.

20 Goodwin Jr., “Memoir of Thomas Goodwin,” lii.