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William Goode – Polemicist of the Evangelical Middle Way

William Reimer

> Let your eyes look directly ahead,
> And let your gaze be fixed straight in front of you.
> Watch the path of your feet,
> And all your ways will be established.
> Do not turn to the right nor to the left...
>
> Proverbs 4

They went down to their graves in the 1830s; James Stephen in 1832, Hannah More and William Wilberforce in 1833, John Shore in 1834, Charles Simeon in 1836, and Zachary Macaulay in 1838. Together with John Newton (d. 1807), John Venn (d. 1813), Henry Thornton (d. 1815), Isaac Milner (d. 1820), and Thomas Scott (d. 1821), they had comprised the bulk of the leadership of the second generation Evangelical party[1] within the Church of England. Of the first generation John Wesley had scoffed that, 'They are a rope of sand, and such they will continue'.[2] Instead, on the eve of Victoria's reign, the party had been woven into a strong rope. Despite some fraying on the ends, Evangelicals were now the driving force in the Church of England and numerically may have counted for as many as 30% of its members.

While not monolithic, the Evangelicals were typified by the 'middle man' theology of John Newton. Newton had shunned religious controversy and sought to build a consensus among evangelicals of all stripes. His passions were of a pastoral nature with the accent on evangelism and spiritual counsel. He bequeathed a mild Calvinism which steered a course well away from both legalism and antinomianism. Conversion entailed both the beginning of spiritual life and the lifelong transformation of the life of the believer.[3]

1 'Party' is used advisedly as an Evangelical such as Wilberforce would have eschewed the label. See David Newsome, *The Parting of Friends: The Wilberforces and Henry Manning* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), p. 13. 'Evangelical' will only be capitalized when referring to those in the Church of England.

2 Quoted in G.R. Balleine, *A History of the Evangelical Party* (London: Longmans, 1911), p. vi.

3 Bruce Hindmarsh, *John Newton and the English Evangelical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 328-31.

A younger group of the second generation of Evangelicals, led by the Cambridge Vicar Charles Simeon, was able to project their growing influence into the political arena of the Church of England. Simeon planted himself firmly at Cambridge where he served at Holy Trinity for fifty-three years and influenced countless ordinands, often procuring advowsons for them in order to insure an Evangelical succession.[4] Simeon, Wilberforce, and other members of this trailing edge of the second generation evangelicals, continued to walk the middle way that Newton had blazed. They expected to transform the world through evangelization and social crusades, such as the fight against slavery that Wilberforce was a part of. Their mild Calvinism produced only a moderate anti-Catholicism which saw the threat posed by Rome as fading.[5] There had always been a certain aloofness on the part of the Evangelicals toward Dissenters, particularly during the Jacobin period on the Continent, but involvement in the pan-evangelical societies tended to undercut this distance.

The third generation of Evangelicals lacked the leadership of a Newton, Wilberforce, or a Simeon but there remained a solid core of leaders within the party who were committed to an Evangelical middle way. This leadership was headed by the social reformer Lord Shaftesbury, J.B. Sumner (the first evangelical Archbishop of Canterbury), Robert Inglis (the parliamentarian) and the theologians William Goode and Edward Bickersteth. Although there were a number of highly visible defections, for the most part the Evangelicals retained their children.[6]

By the end of the 1820s the Evangelical middle way had developed rough edges on both the right and the left.[7] Any burgeoning movement seeks better

4 *Ibid*, p. 326.

5 John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain: 1829-1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 30.

6 These include the following families: Alford, Buxton, Goode, Grant, Shore, Sumner, Thornton, and Stephen. See Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography: 1730-1860* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996). Also Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church* Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 446.

7 Left and right with respect to the Reformation and not with respect to theological liberalism which perhaps could be seen on the horizon but was not at this stage a key factor in theological debate. 'Right wing' is used by Owen Chadwick of the Tractarians in *The Victorian Church* Vol. 1, p. 175. 'Left wing' is used by David Newsome to refer to this apocalyptic strain of the Evangelical party in *The Parting of Friends*, p. 11.

definition for itself in subsequent generations and the Evangelicals were no exception. The resulting theological ferment is hard to define at this period in the 20s. On the left there tended to be a movement toward a more rigid Calvinism which was characterized by an increasing anti-Catholicism combined with various apocalyptic pronouncements and schemes which sought to make sense of history and current events.[8] As a result of Romanticism there was a new emphasis on emotion and drama which led to a heightened sense of the supernatural and of mystery. The aged Charles Simeon had a sense of deep foreboding when he, commenting on these developments, declared:

> They are led aside...from a doctrine which humbles, elevates, refines the soul...to a doctrine which fills only with vain conceits, intoxicates the imagination, alienates the brethren from each other, and by *being unduly urged upon the minds of humble Christians*, is doing the devil's work by wholesale.[9]

The other dynamic religious movement of this period was Catholicism, both within the Church of England and within the Roman Catholic Church. This rightward movement placed an emphasis on the authority of the visible church rather than on Scripture, and on salvation being derived from participation in the rites of the Church rather than an internal personal conversion.[10]

The present paper will argue that there was a discernible Evangelical middle way well beyond 1830, and that it was in continuity with the second generation Evangelicalism represented by Newton, Wilberforce, and Simeon. It will attempt to define the theology and ethos of this middle way by examining the thought of the evangelical Anglican theologian and churchman, William Goode, who wrote learned theology in response to both the apocalyptic/prophetic movement on the Evangelical left and the Tractarian movement on the right. Although there were few theologians among the Evangelicals, it is generally recognized that William Goode was

8 David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (Grand Rapids: Baker), pp. 75-86.

9 David Newsome, *The Parting of Friends: The Wilberforces and Henry Manning* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), p. 11.

10 John Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain: Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland 1843-1945*, (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 30-1.

their ranking theologian. Owen Chadwick rates Goode on the same level 'with that of any English divine'.[11] Much can be learned about a movement by examining the tone and content of a key representative of that movement. This essay will first examine Goode's response to Tractarianism through his major work, *The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice*, first published in 1842. Second, it will examine on the left, evangelical apocalyptic/prophetic thought through Goode's 1833 publication entitled, *The Modern Claims to the Possession of the Extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit Stated and Examined; And Compared with the Most Remarkable Cases of a Similar Kind that have Occurred in the Christian Church: With Some General Observations on the Subject.*

Biographical Sketch of William Goode[12]

William Goode was born into a prominent Evangelical family in 1802. His father, William Goode (Sr.), Rector of St. Ann's, Blackfriars, was a founder of the Church Missionary Society whose committee met in his study for its first twelve years. The senior Goode was active in a number of additional Evangelical societies including the British Foreign Bible Society. His biographer, William the son, described his piety as being 'of the most cheerful and rational kind, and quite free also from anything of a narrow or self-opinionated nature' and his theology as 'comprehensive, moderate, and scriptural' and not 'a religion of feelings and impulses'. It fit into 'a moderate Calvinist' classification.[13] This was quite in keeping with the Claphamite evangelical theology and outlook of Newton and Wilberforce.

William, the son, was the youngest of fourteen children. As the result of an accident at the age of four, which left him somewhat crippled, Goode was schooled until the age of eleven by his father. Eventually he entered Cambridge and received a First in Classics in 1822. While at Cambridge he was influenced by Simeon who encouraged him to seek Orders. He was

11 Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, p. 450.

12 There is no published biography of Goode. There is a helpful summary of his life, written by his daughter Anne Metcalfe, in the 1904 edition of *The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice* which was edited by Metcalfe. See also the entry on Goode by Grayson Carter in Donald Lewis (ed.), *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography* and in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.viii.

13 Goode as quoted by Arthur Pollard in, "William Goode (Sr.)" in Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, p. 454-5.

ordained a deacon and priest in 1825 and became a curate in that year in the parish of Christ Church, Newgate Street. Five years later he married the rector's daughter. His first book, a biography of his father, was published in 1828 followed by *Modern Claims to the Extraordinary Gifts* in 1833. In 1834 he published *A Reply to the Letters on the Voluntary Principle* which caught the notice of Sir Robert Peel and, as a result, Goode was appointed to the rectory of St. Antholin's, Watling Street. This afforded him more opportunities to write. However the course of the next ten years was a Job experience for Goode. His house was destroyed by fire followed several years later by the death of his oldest son at the age of eight. In September 1846 his other son died. That same year on Christmas Day, his wife died after giving birth to a baby boy who, compounding the tragedy, died two weeks later.

In 1842 *The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice* was published which was to prove Goode's most important work. From 1847-1849 Goode served as editor of *The Christian Observer*, the key periodical of the Evangelical moderates. In 1849 Goode's *The Effects of Infant Baptism* was published and in the same year he was presented by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Evangelical J.B. Sumner, to the rectory of Allhollows the Great and Less. In 1556 he moved to the rectory of St. Margaret's, Lothbury and also published a major work entitled *The Eucharist*. Finally in 1860 he was appointed to the Deanery of Ripon and in the same year he remarried. Dean Goode and his wife Katherine founded an Industrial Home for young servants and a Central Office in London for promoting Female Welfare, both of which were still in operation at the turn of the century.

Goode died in 1868. He was to have been appointed shortly to the bishopric of Peterborough. In what appears to be the few published words about his character his daughter,[14] Anne Metcalfe, wrote:

> Dr. Goode is known almost entirely by his theological works, acknowledged by all to be masterpieces of learning and lucidity, but the domestic aspect of his character is but little known.

14 The writer of the article on Goode in *Evangelical Dictionary of Biography* seems to be unaware of Goode's first marriage as he states that Goode 'seems to have died childless'. In fact he had at least two daughters in addition to the three sons who died.

> To be engaged in controversy was by no means his choice, and I believe he never preached a controversial sermon, and only engaged in it from a strong sense of duty. His loving watchfulness over his motherless children, interesting himself in their pursuits, guiding them in their reading, and whenever possible putting himself aside for their benefit, can only be touched upon here. He was beloved by all those under him, whether in his home or officially connected with him.[15]

Obviously the above is a very biased account but there is a dimension in the description which goes beyond obligatory words of affection. There is the added fact that it is Metcalfe, the daughter, who abridged the work of her father forty years after his death. In Anne Metcalfe we see three generations of an Evangelical family. In addition, Goode's brother Francis was an Evangelical of note who served in India with the CMS and later was evening lecturer at Clapham and morning preacher at the Female Orphan Asylum in London. In the two Goode brothers there is continuity with the earlier Claphamite dual tradition of evangelism and efforts at improving the lot of the poor.

While it is impossible to generalize, there are many examples of nineteenth century evangelicals with healthy family lives, in contrast to the portrait painted by Edmunde Gosse in *Father and Son*. Religion for children of evangelical families was not necessarily austere and many would have agreed with Wilberforce that parents 'should labour to render religion as congenial as possible'.[16]

Goode and Tractarianism

Tractarianism was a complex movement, originating from within a small group at Oriel College at Oxford, which sought to return the Church of England to the principle of the supreme authority of the Church. The original core consisted of a trio of young scholars who identified with the High Church: John Keble, Hurrell Froude, and Edward Pusey. They in turn attracted a group of young Evangelicals that included John Henry Newman,

15 Anne Metcalfe, "A Short Memoir" in William Goode, *The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice* (London: James Nisbet, 1906), p. vi.
16 Wilberforce as quoted in D. Newsome, *The Parting of Friends*, p. 35.

three of Wilberforce's sons, Henry, Robert and Samuel, and Henry Manning. From this group came most of the famous writings entitled *Tracts for Our Times*, published between 1833 and 1841. The tracts emphasized the independence of the Church from the State, apostolic succession, and the value of the Sacraments and rites of the Church. Newman became the driving force behind the Tracts and the movement.

Early Tractarianism had much in common with evangelicalism, particularly an emphasis on holiness. This emphasis on religious feeling could hardly be described as 'high and dry'.[17] Evangelicals such as Bishop Charles Sumner supported early numbers of the tracts and they shared in common an emphasis on the sacraments. Many Evangelicals were repelled by the apocalyptic Evangelical left which they labelled the 'noisy professors'.[18] In their view the Tracts emphasis on church order made some sense. Robert Wilberforce came to view the Oxford Movement as the logical extension of evangelicalism.[19]

Parallel to the dynamic force of evangelicalism within early nineteenth century Britain was a Catholic impulse that affected the Church of England as well as the Roman Catholic Church. This impulse stressed the divine authority of the visible Church over Scripture with the result that it elevated the clergy. From 1800-1850 the number of Roman Catholics in England increased from 1.2% of the population to 4.06%.[20] Newman was to see the era as a time of 'second spring' for Catholicism.[21] After a decline in anti-Catholic feeling the resurgence of Catholicism brought these feelings to the forefront and with it increased suspicions of Tractarians by Evangelicals and by some High Churchmen as well.

A third influence on the Tractarians was Romanticism. The romantics stirred the imagination creating a longing for the Middle Ages and an antipathy for the Reformation among many. This anti-Protestantism was particularly present in Hurrell Froude. After he died in 1836, Newman collected Froude's papers and published them in 1838 and 1839 as his *Remains*. In doing so

17 David Newsome, *The Parting of Friends*, pp. 14-15.
18 *Ibid*, pp. 14-15 and Peter Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 320-1. The Tractarian movement also had apocalyptic dimension which will be discussed later in the essay.
19 *Ibid*, p. 321.
20 John Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain*, p. 34.
21 *Ibid*, pp. 36-37.

Newman showed very poor judgement and the Protestant public was shocked and infuriated. In Owen Chadwick's words, 'Newman's *Tracts* disliked the word Protestant, Froude disliked Protestants. Newman wanted to reform the Reformation, Froude wanted to destroy the Reformation'.[22] The writings also revealed a vicious side to Froude. In response to a parliamentary speech by Thomas Fowell Buxton and the abolitionist efforts of the Evangelicals, Froude wrote, 'I cannot get over my prejudice against the niggers; every one I meet seems to me like an incarnation of the whole Anti-Slavery Society and Fowell Buxton at their head'.[23]

In February of 1841, Newman published *Tract XC* which became the 'barn-burner'. In it Newman contended that the Thirty-Nine Articles were not uncatholic but could be interpreted in a Catholic sense. At this point he was still arguing for Anglican legitimacy but his argument caused an uproar and was condemned by a chorus of bishops. Newman confided that 'we are like ducks on a pond, knocked over but not knocked out'.[24] In 1843 Newman left the Anglican Church and in 1845 he was received into the Roman Catholic Church. It was in this context that William Goode, towards the end of 1841, finished his major work *The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice* which was published in 1842.

Evangelical response to Tractarianism was unorganized and took the form mainly of pamphlets, book reviews, and articles in the Evangelical journals, of which the leading two were *The Record* and *The Christian Observer*. *The Record* and its unofficial editor, Alexander Haldane, were characterized by a strident Calvinism which strongly opposed Roman Catholicism and Tractarianism. *The Christian Observer* represented moderate Evangelicalism and has been described as 'in a polite way' being opposed to Roman Catholicism. It is with this second periodical that Goode is identified with, serving as its editor from 1847-1849.

Goode begins *The Divine Rule* with reference to Froude's *Remains* which Goode views as a clear outline on where the 'conspirators' (Froude's term) or Tractarians wished to take the Anglican Church.[25] He then charges that the

22 Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church* Vol. 1, p. 175.
23 Michael Hennell, *Sons of the Prophets: Evangelical Leaders of the Victorian Church* (London: SPCK, 1979), p. 21.
24 Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church* Vol. 1, p. 188.
25 William Goode, *The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice* (London: Hatchard and Son, 1842), p. vii.

'Catholic' sense and doctrine of *Tract XC* is '*consistent with the Council of Trent*'.[26] This is the argument that Goode uses over the course of his 1,500 page work which examines in detail the views of the early Church Fathers and the Anglican Divines.

Goode chastises the Tractarians for their patristic 'fundamentalism' which portrays the Fathers as having a 'consentient testimony' amounting to an 'infallibility without incurring the odium of claiming it'.[27] The most painful aspect of the debate for Goode is the fact that the Tractarians seek to have their system identified singularly as Anglicanism and claim that their doctrines are supported by the majority of the earlier Anglican theologians. To do this the Tractarians put the Articles 'upon the rack to make them consistent with their views' for the purpose of 'the more easy reduction of our Church, as a whole, to its former union with the Roman See'.[28] A more honest course of action, Goode suggests, would have been for the Tractarians to simply state where they felt the Articles were wrong and then, after a period of time, if their views were not accepted, simply leave the Church of England rather than attempt to subvert it from within.[29]

Even in Newman, Goode charges, there is a lack of familiarity with the Fathers which Newman shows when he bungles a key phrase in Athanasius. Because of the public focus on antiquity, Goode goes on to state that there is an inundation of writings which claim to have a clear vision of what the Church always claimed to teach everywhere. Many of these writings demonstrate 'that their writers need to go to school on the subject on which they would fain be teachers of others'.[30] Goode is completely sceptical that anyone can know what 'everybody always everywhere' taught in the early Church.[31]

Goode attributes the success of the Tractarians to (I) The state of the Church and country which was wracked by division; (ii) The low state of ecclesiastical learning within the Church; (iii) The attractiveness of a high

26 *Ibid.*, p. viii.
27 *Ibid.*, p. ix.
28 *Ibid.*, p. xxi.
29 *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.
30 *Ibid.*, p. xxv.
31 *Ibid.*, pp. xxv-xxvi.

doctrine of the Church in which one only needs to acknowledge the authority of the Church and Clergy. In contrast, the Protestant doctrine whereby the minister is a mere witness to the truth, is unattractive.[32]

For Goode the Tractarian crisis is not a petty squabble between parties but a battle for the Gospel and the Church of England. In keeping with his middle way theology he outlines the issues as not being 'of high or low Churchmanship, of Calvinism or Arminianism, of this or that shade of doctrine, in which a latitude may justly be allowed'.[33] Rather they are in the words of both Tractarians and Goode 'very vital truths' and 'matters of life and death'.[34] One would be culpable to remain neutral or silent. There is a recognition by Goode that Protestant liberty as a result of the Reformation has been, in cases, abused but this was in no small measure caused by the Scriptures being a 'sealed book' kept from the people for so many centuries.[35]

Goode wishes to underline the fact that he writes as a representative of the Church of England rather than of a particular party. He states that he would only write in the area of controversy except to 'establish great and important truths'.[36] Goode acknowledges the piety and learning of the Tractarians but this does not mean that they do not lead away from the truth.[37]

In the main body of the text he sketches out the Tractarian doctrines on tradition as held by Newman and Keble:

1. That consentient patristical tradition, or 'catholic consent', is an unwritten word of God, a divine informant in religion, and consequently entitled, as to its *substance*, to equal respect with the Holy Scriptures.

2. That such tradition is consequently a part of the divinely revealed rule of faith and practice.

3. That it is a necessary part of the divine rule of faith and practice, on

32 *Ibid.*, pp. xxvi-xxxii
33 *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.
34 *Ibid.*, p.xxiii.
35 *Ibid.*, p. xxxv-xxxviii.
36 *Ibid.*, p. xxxix.
37 *Ibid.*, p. xl.

account of the defectiveness of Scripture, for that:

> (i) Though it does not reveal to us any fundamental articles of faith or practice not *noticed* in Scripture, Holy Scripture containing, that is, *giving hints or notices of*, all the fundamental articles of faith and practice, it is yet a necessary part of the divine rule of faith and practice as the interpreter of Scripture, and as giving the full development of many points, some of which are fundamental, which are but imperfectly developed in Scripture; and
>
> (ii) It is an important part of the rule, as conveying to us various important doctrines and rules not contained in Scripture.

4. That it is a necessary part of the divine rule of faith and practice, because of the obscurity of Scripture even in some of the fundamental articles, which makes Scripture insufficient to *teach* us even the fundamentals of faith and practice.

5. That it is only by the testimony of patristical tradition that we are assured of the *inspiration* of Scripture, what books are *canonical* and the *genuineness* of what we receive as such.[38]

In reply, Goode counters that there are no extant writings entitled to the name of 'apostolical tradition' but the Scriptures themselves. In reply to Newman's contention that the Apostles' Creed fits this category, Goode argues that it is derived from Scripture and that it cannot be traced back to the Apostles themselves.[39] Likewise the writings of the Fathers are valuable, and agreement of the Fathers with Scripture is a strong, positive indication of the truth of an interpretation but this does not mean that the patristic writings are infallible in any sense. Because of a multitude of writings in the early Church, many of which are contradictory, it is impossible to demonstrate what 'everyone, always, everywhere' taught.[40]

In Goode's estimation the Tractarians have a rock to build on, but instead

38 *Ibid.*, pp. 37-8.
39 *Ibid.*, pp. 110-156.
40 *Ibid.*, pp. 157-461.

choose to put sand on top of the rock.[41] For Goode the rock is clearly Scripture which is the inspired Word of God and the only rule of faith and practice. To argue as the Tractarians do about the need for external evidence leaves the vast majority of mankind with no sure foundation. Such an argument deprives people of the Dispensation of the Spirit. 'Church tradition has not preserved the truth. The Scriptures have preserved it, and the Church through the Scriptures, has been enabled to retain it.'[42] It is the witness of the Spirit, impressed upon the heart that confirms the teaching of Scripture and the message of the Church. In this way even the heathen come to faith without requiring the external evidence of history.[43]

Nevertheless there is still powerful external evidence which Goode uses concerning questions of canonicity of the New Testament writings. But in the end, knowledge of religion begins and ends with divine revelation. God still uses infallible preaching and the exercise of private judgement. As a believer one must make the best use that one can of private judgement '*and pray to God to direct me aright*'.[44] Scripture must be used with private judgement to distinguish between competing claims of various religious groups.

Goode summarizes his argument given that his patristic evidence demonstrates that this tradition cannot be considered an unwritten Word of God:

> First, That the doctrines contained in Scripture, have an authoritative claim upon our faith, only *as far as* they are *there* revealed; and
>
> Secondly, That no doctrine has any authoritative claim upon our faith, that is not revealed in Scripture...
>
> And in the same way it follows that Scripture, being our sole divine informant, is also our *sole divinely-revealed rule of practice*.[45]

41 *Ibid.*, p. 239.
42 *Ibid.*, p.470.
43 *Ibid.*, pp. 470-1.
44 *Ibid.*, p. 528.
45 *Ibid.*, p. 530.

Evaluation of Goode's Divine Rule

There appears to have been no major response to *The Divine Rule*. Newman characterized, with some justification, the Evangelical writings as a 'maze of words'[46] and W.G. Ward termed them 'silly'. However, others took notice including Newman's former teacher at Oriel College, Provost Edward Hawkins, who termed it 'a learned discussion'.[47] Many old High Churchmen found Goode's arguments disingenuous concerning the Caroline Divines but they were troubled by the patristic evidence that Goode had amassed. Archbishop Howley sent a message to Bishop Bagot that read 'if Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman believe their opinions to be founded on the authority of the Ancient and Anglican Fathers...it is for them to make good their opinions by showing that Mr. Goode is guilty of the fault with which he charges others'.[48] A detailed reply was never forthcoming. Several High Churchmen who crossed over to Rome admitted that Goode had the better of the debate, as do a number of modern scholars.[49]

There is a lack of nuance in Goode's arguments when he fails to distinguish between the views of the various Tractarians. There is an over-eagerness to demonstrate that the views of his opponents must equal 'Popery'. In the case of Froude there was both anti-Protestantism and anti-Roman Catholicism present.

Throughout the work Goode continues to hold to a moderate Evangelical theology. His arguments are measured and free of the bombast and ridicule of the more extreme Recordites. Goode writes openly about how painful it was to write against the Tractarians whom he described as men of 'talent and piety'.[50]

Goode and the Apocalyptic/Prophetic Movement

The 1820s saw a major theological shift from the dominant post-

46 As quoted in Desmond Bowen, *The Idea of the Victorian Church* (Montreal: McGill University, 1968), p. 147.
47 As quoted in Peter Toon, *Evangelical Theology: 1833-1856* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1979), p. 117.
48 As quoted in Peter Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context*, pp. 135-6.
49 *Ibid.*, p. 136. Also several modern scholars mentioned by Peter Toon, *Evangelical Theology*, p. 139.
50 William Goode, *The Divine Rule* Vol. 1, p. 461.

millennialism of the Claphamites to the pre-millennialism of the 'rantors' or 'noisy professors' as they were called. James Haldane Stewart, Robert Haldane, Hugh McNeile, and Edward Irving were among the leaders of the pre-millennialists. A fiery anti-Catholicism, feisty Calvinism, and pro-established Church feelings were mixed into a stew in different combinations.[51] However the apocalyptic influence was not confined to these quarters. There was an apocalyptic dimension to the early Tractarian movement. Newman saw a possible connection between the Antichrist and the Anti-Cornlaw League. The imminent end of the world was a theme in Keble' preaching.[52] Despite the spirit of the times, Charles Simeon and William Wilberforce retained their optimistic post-millennialism as did Goode, in continuity with his Evangelical middle way heritage.

The 1820s saw the meteoric rise of Edward Irving, a London minister of the National Scottish Church who was also active in the Continental Society, a Calvinist dominated anti-Catholic organization. Irving preached and wrote that the Roman Catholic Church would be destroyed at the Second Coming. In the meantime it would grow in power and Protestants had the duty to speak out and save an elect remnant.[53]

From 1826 to 1830 Henry Drummond, a leader in the Continental Congress, hosted a series of prophetic conferences in Albury Park, Surrey. Hugh McNeile was the moderator of the Albury meetings out of which came this new brand of pre-millennialism which viewed the papacy as the Antichrist. At the same time in the 1820s there was an Evangelical movement calling for prayer for 'a more copious effusion' of the Holy Spirit. This second pentecost would consist of more fervent missionary work and Bible distribution which would bring about the millennium.[54] While this movement had no connection with the Albury group, which was decidedly anti-Evangelical establishment missionary societies, it does help illustrate the 'stirring of the waters' which was occurring in evangelical circles at this time.

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51 Donald M. Lewis, *Lighten Their Darkness: The Evangelical Mission to Working-Class London, 1828-1860*, (New York: Greenwood, 1986), pp. 14-25.

52 W.H. Oliver, *Prophets and Millennialists: The Uses of Biblical Prophecy in England From the 1790's to the 1840's*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1978), pp. 142-4.

53 John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade*, pp. 30-1.

54 W.H. Oliver, *Prophets and Millennialists*, pp. 93-4.

In 1830, in the west of Scotland, reports of tongues and prophecies appeared and Irving's paper, *The Morning Watch*, accepted their authenticity. London pre-millennialists, including Irving, predicted that they would arrive in London. In 1831 there were outbursts of tongues and prophecies in Irving's congregation which eventually led to his being locked out of his congregation in 1832. For the Irvingites, tongues and healings were a clear sign of a new pentecost which confirmed that the Second Coming and earthly reign of Christ were near.[55] A large group of the congregation, with Irving as their minister, founded the Catholic Apostolic Church. However in 1833 he was deposed from the ministry on Trinitarian grounds and he died soon after, a broken man.[56]

Elsewhere in London, Curate William Goode of Christchurch, Newgate Street, no doubt vexed by Irving, took up his pen and wrote *The Modern Claims to the Possession of the Extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit* which was published in 1833. As an Evangelical in the Claphamite tradition, Goode was naturally opposed to the pre-millennialism of the Irvingites and their attacks on the Evangelical establishment, bible and missionary societies.[57] At the beginning of *Extraordinary Gifts*, Goode quotes Joseph Milner, the Evangelical church historian who had Claphamite connections:

> Christians should never fail to do now what they then [*i.e.*, in the time of the Montanists] did – namely, they should examine, expose, condemn, and separate themselves from such delusions.

Goode stresses the need to approach the subject with 'fervent prayer' and if he at times uses strong words it is only with a view of 'impressing caution on the reader' and it is not 'with an unkind or light feeling' towards those who hold the views under discussion.[58] In contrast, Goode points out, if one in any way criticizes the Irvingites then one is categorized as an 'infidel' who is part of 'a mass of infidelity and hypocrisy'.[59]

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55 *Ibid.*, pp. 126-7.
56 Grayson Carter, "Edward Irving" in Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, pp. 595-6.
57 Goode does not mention this but it can be safely inferred.
58 William Goode, *The Modern Claims to the Possession of the Miraculous Gifts*, p. vi.
59 *Ibid.*, p. vi.

The bulk of the book is a study of similar phenomena in the patristic and other writings of church history. For Goode the evidence from history shows that many sincere individuals were mistaken in their claims for the miraculous. Movements that he uses as examples include the Montanists, the French Ursalines, and the Shakers as well as individuals such as Elizabeth Barton, Thomas Munzer, and John Comenius. All these individuals and movements are alike in that they are all 'spurious imitations of the characteristics of the true prophets'. These imitations are either produced by natural enthusiasm or satanic power. Their prophets are all characterized by passivity and are frequently unconscious, 'without the instrumental intervention of the mind'.[60]

The manifestations of the Irvingites are likewise spurious for the following reasons which are contrary to Scripture:

1. The pretended prophets are principally women.

2. The 'tongue' spoken is not a real language. (If it was it should be exercised in the context of the missionary conversion of the heathen.)[61]

3. The tongue is spoken to those who don't understand it and there is no interpreter.

4. The tongue is not understood by the speaker.

5. The speaker is passive and speaks involuntary.[62]

The prophecies themselves are so often of a spurious sort or vindictive sort. Of the Bible Society, Goode quotes a prophecy which came out of the Irving circle, which said that the Bible Society 'was the curse going through the land, quenching the Spirit of God by the letter of the Word of God'.[63] Other prophecies predicted that the Reform Bill would not pass; that 'the mystical man of sin in the person of Napoleon' would develop; that the 'great captain of Waterloo' would again be made prime minister; and that the American Indians are the ten lost tribes of Israel. Repeated Irvingite prophecies of a

60 *Ibid.*, p. 187.
61 *Ibid.*, p. 195.
62 *Ibid.*, p. 40.
63 *Ibid.*, p. 18

'baptism of fire' never took place and finally Irving announced that the day of the baptism was unknown.[64]

Goode is quite hesitant to attribute the Irvingite manifestations to satanic influence although he does not deny that Satan has used the situation. Rather he attributes the problem to enthusiasts who, under the influence of the oratory powers of Irving, are naturally guided by 'impulses of the feelings and the fancies of the imagination'.[65]

In a later passage on the subject of enthusiasm Goode writes:

> And what, let me ask, can be a more exciting scene to one at all *doubtful* upon the subject of such manifestations, than Mr. Irving's chapel, where solemn silences, ardent prayers for the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, moving eloquence on the same subject, or of the sublime truths of revelation, or some prophetic speculation, alternate with unearthly 'utterances' supposed to proceed from the mouth of God himself?...such a gift after it has been once exercised, needs no excitement to procure its return.[66]

One should have no fear that one would be eternally lost through a 'mental error' of this type but one cannot assume that 'he should be preserved from all errors to which his natural temperament or circumstances may expose him, is what neither Scripture, reason, nor experience, give us any ground to suppose'.[67] Rather all miraculous claims should be submitted to a doctrinal test. In keeping with the Fathers, Goode argues that acceptance of any claims about miraculous phenomenon should be based on whether they are conducive to the salvation of individuals, whether they are useful and profitable to mankind, and whether they support doctrine agreeable with Scripture.[68]

Goode is non-committal about the present reality of miracles or whether a revival of prophecy is needed. In themselves miracles mean nothing.[69] And an

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64 *Ibid.*, pp.18-26.
65 *Ibid.*, p. 210.
66 *Ibid.*, p. 241.
67 *Ibid.*, p. 235.
68 *Ibid.*, p. 196.
69 *Ibid.*, p. vii, 197, 222-4.

emphasis on these gifts, Goode maintains, does not build up the Church. Instead what is needed is the preaching of 'Christ crucified' whereby the Holy Spirit convinces men of 'sin, righteousness, and judgement'.[70] With respect to the Christian life the accent properly belongs on sanctification which is brought about by the renewal of the soul through the internal operation of the Holy Spirit. It is the fruits of the Holy Spirit which are all important.[71]

Conclusion

While Goode's polemics may rattle contemporary evangelical sensitivities at points, the evidence of his life and writings is entirely in keeping with the Claphamite, middle way tradition that he inherited from his father, Simeon, and others. This middle way emphasized a moderate Calvinism; a commitment to Holy Scripture as the only rule for faith and practice; preaching that stressed the centrality of the Cross; and activism that flowed into the pan-evangelical societies. Goode served well as a prophetic theologian of this middle way.

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70 *Ibid.*, p. 206.
71 *Ibid.*, p. 252.

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