

MEMOIR OF THOMAS GOODWIN, D.D.

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THOMAS, the eldest son of Richard and Catherine Goodwin, was born at Rollesby, a village in the eastern part of Norfolk, within a few miles of Yarmouth, on the 5th of October in the year 1600. The long and prosperous reign of Elizabeth was then drawing to its close, and a considerable number of her subjects, especially in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, were desirous of obtaining a more complete reformation of the Church than that which had been effected by her father or her brother. They cherished some hope that in the expected reign of a Scottish king, educated under Presbyterian discipline, they would see the English Church brought into closer relations and nearer resemblance to the Reformed Churches of Scotland and the Continent. In these expectations they were bitterly disappointed. The ecclesiastical rule of Elizabeth had been oppressive to them, that of the Stuarts became intolerable. James, on his accession, is reported to have said, 'Do I mak the judges? do I mak the bishops? then I mak the law and the gospel.' The Puritans, ill-treated by James's judges and bishops, were not disposed to regard with favour either his 'law' or his 'gospel.' Thus arose the long conflict between the Stuarts and the Puritans.

During the reign of Elizabeth, several things contributed to the prevalence of Puritanism in the eastern counties. Many of the Protestants of the Netherlands who were driven from their country by the Duke of Alva settled in the nearest maritime counties of England, and brought their arts and manufactures to the city and neighbourhood of Norwich.* Thoroughly imbued with Presbyterian principles, and holding them tenaciously as they had suffered for them severely, they became a source of frequent trouble to the bishops of that diocese. Their neighbours, associating with them to learn their arts of dyeing silk and worsted, were taught also to value their simpler

* Hanbury's Memorials, vol. i., p. 14.

forms of ecclesiastical government and religious worship. By associating with several of these exiles, Robert Brown was induced to separate from the Establishment, and to found a church of the strictest sect of Independency.* Barrow, a more consistent man, who suffered death for his adherence to the same principles, was the son of a Norfolk yeoman resident in the neighbourhood of the exiles.†

Under the mild rule of Bishop Parkhurst, who, having found an asylum at Zurich during the Marian persecution, had become attached to Presbyterian principles, the exiles were protected, and the Puritans openly favoured, until he incurred the censure of Archbishop Parker.‡ He was then reluctantly compelled to make some show of discouraging the Puritans, and to suppress 'the prophesyings,' or meetings of the people to study the Scriptures. These principles, however, during his episcopate increasingly prevailed throughout the diocese. He was succeeded in 1576 by Dr Freke, an unrelenting persecutor of Puritan ministers.§ In 1583, when Whitgift, advanced to the Primacy, enforced more strictly the laws against the Puritans, it is recorded that of two hundred and thirty-three ministers suspended for nonconformity, no less than one hundred and twenty-four belonged to the diocese of Norwich.|| When the reading of the Book of Sports was enforced, Wren, at that time Bishop of Norwich, complained that numbers of clergymen under his jurisdiction had refused it; and though some afterwards complied, there were still thirty who were punished for their pertinacity by excommunication.¶ In 1634, Laud, then Primate of all England, struck at what seemed to him the root of the evil, and ordered the descendants of the Dutch exiles to be prosecuted for their nonconformity.** Wren, ever ready to do the work of Laud, is said to have expelled from the diocese three thousand manufacturers of woollen cloth, of whom some employed as many as a hundred poor people.†† In Laud's account of his province in 1635, he complained of the many Puritans who still remained in the diocese of Norwich.‡‡ Wren, in reply to one of the articles of his impeachment, in which

* Hanbury's Memorials, vol. i., p. 19.

† Ibid., p. 35.

‡ Neal's History of the Puritans, Second Edition, 4to, vol. i., p. 221. Life of Parker, p. 461.

§ Neal's Puritans, vol. i., p. 233.

|| "Dr Scambler, first pastor of the Protestant Church which met secretly in London during Mary's reign, was Bishop of Norwich from 1584 to 1597, and encouraged associations among the clergy for the diffusion of religion, until the Queen put an end to such proceedings on account of their puritanical tendency." — *Wilson's Hist. of Dissenting Churches*, vol. i., p. 4; Neal's Puritans, vol. i., p. 268.

¶ Neal's Puritans, vol. i., p. 571.

** Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 276.

†† Hanbury's Memorials, vol. ii., p. 13.

‡‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. i., p. 685.

he was charged with suspending, depriving, and excommunicating godly ministers, declared that severe measures were necessary, as throughout his diocese there was general dislike of the doctrine and discipline of the Established Church.* Robinson, the founder of Independency, was beneficed in Norfolk, and before his separation from the Church, zealously promoted the principles of the Puritans.†

Though we have no positive information that the parents of Goodwin avowedly belonged to the Puritan party, still, from the little that we do know of them, there can be no doubt that they were influenced by the evangelical principles which so generally prevailed in their neighbourhood. They piously educated their son, making him from his infancy acquainted with the Scriptures, and, after the manner of the Puritans of that age, dedicating him in his early boyhood to the work of the ministry.

Three other Goodwins, distinguished for Puritan principles, belonged to the same county: Vincent Goodwin,‡ a zealous and devoted minister, suspended for nonconformity by Freke, on his accession to the bishopric of Norwich; Thomas Goodwin,§ who was for some years the Puritan minister of South Weald, in Essex, where ‘he was much beloved and eminently useful;’ and John Goodwin,|| the celebrated Arminian nonconformist, were all natives of Norfolk. To the inquiry whether any of them were related to the family of Dr Goodwin, I can only reply with Brook, in his life of the minister of South Weald, ‘we have not been able to learn.’¶

Of his early religious impressions little more is known than may be learnt from the brief account in ‘The Life of Dr Thomas Goodwin, composed out of his own papers and memoirs,’ and reprinted in this edition of his Works. There we learn that he was a child of a weakly constitution, and on that account a source of anxiety to his pious parents. From the time he was six years old he ‘began to have some slighter workings of the Spirit of God.’ He speaks of his ‘weeping for sin,’ and ‘having flashes of joy upon thoughts of the things of God.’ He was ‘affected with good motions and affections of love to God and Christ, for their love revealed to man, and with grief for sin as displeasing them.’ In his seventh year he was deeply affected with the reproof of a godly servant of his grandfather, with whom he then resided. Being reprovèd for some sinful act, he wept for his sins, and afterwards frequently wept for

* Hanbury’s Memorials, vol. ii., p. 14.

† Neal’s Puritans, vol. i., p. 437.

§ Brook’s Lives of the Puritans, vol. iii., p. 300.

|| Granger’s Biographical History.

‡ Ibid., vol. i., p. 234.

¶ Brook, vol. iii., p. 301.

them, when he could weep for nothing else, though he had not strength effectually to resist them. The religious feelings of his childhood were to him a subject of great interest in later life, as is evident from the manner in which he described them. He believed at the time that he was truly converted, though subsequent reflection, and the experience of a still greater change, induced him to form a low estimate of his early impressions. He was undoubtedly sincere. As he wept for sin 'privately, between God and himself,' he concluded it was not hypocrisy. He prayed earnestly and confidently, pleading the promise, 'Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, I will do it for you.' It is interesting to inquire—What subsequently induced him to conclude that these early religious emotions of joy and grief, hope, confidence, and love were not the elements of true godliness implanted in his heart by the Holy Spirit? The alternative suggested was that either these early emotions were the beginnings of true religion, of which in his youth he suffered serious declension, and afterwards experienced a glorious revival, or else they were natural workings of conscience under the influence of a good education, and some slighter but not saving operations of the Spirit. The latter was his own conclusion. His reasons for it were that his good affections were not strong enough to overcome his sinful propensities; that they made him presumptuous and proud, so that he thought he had more grace than others, than his relations, or than any inhabitant of his town; that he could not divest himself of a sense of merit which God must accept, and that he was suffered to fall into a state of indifference in the early part of his college course, when he sought the applause of men rather than the honour that cometh from God. Referring to that time, he says—'God was to me as a wayfaring man, who came and dwelt for a night, and made me religious for a fit, but then departed from me. The Holy Ghost moved upon the waters when the world was creating, and held and sustained the chaos that was created, and so he does in carnal men's hearts; witness their good motions at times. In a great frost you shall see, where the sun shines hot, the ice drops, and the snow melts, and the earth grows slabby; but it is a particular thaw only where the sun shines, not a general thaw of all things that are frozen. And so it was, that for these lighter impressions and slighter workings, my heart did grow so presumptuous that I thought myself not only to have grace, but more grace than my relations.' Whatever may have been the nature of his early convictions of sin and strivings of heart, there can be no doubt that by them God was preparing him for great usefulness throughout his

subsequent life. The doctrinal views of godly men are often formed and moulded by their personal experience. How the religious feelings of Goodwin affected his creed and disposed him to accept the decided though not extreme Calvinism for which he was distinguished, may be learnt from several references to his own experience in the memoirs compiled by his son.

His parents secured for him the best classical education which could be obtained in the schools of the neighbourhood, and of which he so diligently availed himself, that before he had completed his thirteenth year, he entered at Christ's College, Cambridge, as a junior sophister, 'a year before the usual time.' Although students then matriculated at both Universities at an earlier age than is now customary, Goodwin referred to himself as 'the smallest' if not the youngest in the whole University. The discipline enjoined by the original statutes of the University was at that time generally enforced, and the position of a young student was not very different from that of an elder boy in one of the public schools of the present day. He entered August 25, 1613, eleven years before John Milton was admitted into the same College.*

At that time the Puritan cause had so many adherents both in the University and the town, that Cambridge was said to be a 'nest of Puritans;' Goodwin says 'the whole town was filled with the discourse of the power of Mr Perkins' ministry.' This celebrated preacher, who had in his youth been notorious for his profligacy and vice, became a very devoted, earnest, and successful preacher of the gospel, which he had found to be the power of God to his own salvation. A Fellow of Christ's College, he was not satisfied with promoting the spiritual interests of the youth placed under his tuition, but availed himself of every opportunity he could find to proclaim to his hearers the glorious gospel of Christ.† He zealously preached to the neglected prisoners in the castle, many of whom 'gladly received the word,' until he was appointed minister of St Andrews, from which church no offer of promotion, however advantageous, could induce him to remove. Although he died at the early age of forty-four, his ministry had produced so lasting an impression upon the University, that ten years afterwards, when Goodwin was an undergraduate, he being dead was yet speaking—speaking by the recollections of his ministry fondly cherished by many, by the influence of his writings then exceedingly popular, and by the teaching of his pupils who were deeply imbued with his earnest spirit and evangelical

* Masson's *Life of Milton*, p. 87.

† Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*; and Clark's *Ecclesiastical History*.

doctrine.* His successor, Mr Paul Baines, also a Fellow of Christ's College, was a man of kindred spirit, and equally successful in the conversion of souls. Though deprived of his lecture for nonconformity, he continued to preach as he had opportunity, until his death in 1617, harassed by persecution, and suffering from actual poverty and want.† He had been made the instrument of the conversion of Richard Sibbs, who was at that time lecturing at Trinity Church‡ on those great truths, which, as expounded in his writings, have since his death proved so helpful and consolatory to many devout readers. Preston, who succeeded Sibbs as lecturer at Trinity, was then a Fellow of Queen's, devoting himself to the religious instruction of his numerous pupils, and preaching as he had opportunity, though not without opposition from many who were jealous of his rising reputation, and offended by the richness of Calvinistic doctrine which distinguished all his discourses.§

Christ's College, selected for the education of Goodwin, was at that time of high standing, both for the number of its students and the reputation they had acquired for scholarship and ability. 'Of this house,' says Fuller, 'it may without flattery be said, Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all, if we consider the many divines who in so short a time have here had their education.' The influence of Perkins was long felt in the College, as many whom he had instructed became Fellows, six of whom when Goodwin entered 'were great tutors, who professed religion after the strictest sort.' Of these Mr Bently, a man living in the daily expectation of death from apoplexy, seems to have deeply impressed the mind of the youth by his holy life and consistent conversation. Meade, afterwards celebrated for his apocalyptic researches, had been a Fellow since 1610.||

Of Goodwin's tutor, William Power, little is known, and that little is not creditable to him. He seems to have been in good repute with no party in the University. In Milton's time he was disliked by the other Fellows of the College,¶ and suspected by many of

* 'But this may be said of Master Perkins, that as physicians order infusions to be made by steeping ingredients in them, and taking them out again, so that all their strength and virtue remain, yet none of the bulk or mass is visible therein, he in like manner did distil and soak much deep scholarship into his preaching, yet so insensibly that nothing but familiar expressions did appear. In a word, his church consisting of the University and town, the scholar could hear no learner, the townsman no plainer sermons.'—*Fuller's Abel Redivivus*.

† Brook's Puritans, vol. ii., p. 261; and Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrology, p. 22.

‡ Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrology.

§ Ibid.; and Brook's Puritans, vol. ii., p. 352.

|| Masson's Milton, p. 101.

¶ Ibid., p. 154.

being a Jesuit in disguise. At the time of the Earl of Manchester's visitation of the University, in February 1643-44, he was ejected from his fellowship, and being on his way to deliver his Latin lecture as Lady Margaret's Preacher, was hooted by the populace, who called out, 'A pope, a pope,' and compelled him to return, glad to escape without further injury.* Goodwin says little of his tutor; probably he could say nothing good of him, and knew that others said quite enough of evil.

The religious privileges of Cambridge did not at first produce so favourable an impression as might have been expected on the mind of the young scholar. His early fears and anxieties respecting his salvation seem to have subsided as he devoted himself thoroughly and earnestly to his collegiate studies. He was undoubtedly thus preparing by scholarly training and literary acquisition for the great work assigned him by Providence, of defending and enforcing evangelical doctrine for the conviction and guidance of many teachers of the succeeding age. But the effect at the time was so unfavourable as to lead him to conclude, in the calm review of his religious experience, that his earlier convictions and strivings with sin were the result of some common, not special and saving operations of the Holy Spirit, and had therefore failed in the time of temptation. The Puritan theology, as well as the plain and earnest manner of the Puritan preachers of Cambridge, became distasteful to him. His views, as he intimates, were at that time inclining to Arminianism, and the preaching which he admired was that of Dr Senhouse, distinguished rather for its ostentatious display of rhetoric than for its clear statement of evangelical truth.† Though preserved from gross immorality, he was living to himself, laying up stores of information for his own glory, labouring in youth that he might obtain high preferment in coming years, and especially ambitious of becoming an eloquent and popular, rather than an evangelical and useful preacher. He was never unfaithful to his religious convictions, but they became feeble in his fond endeavours to obtain literary distinction and professional eminence.

When fourteen years old he received the sacrament; though conscientiously seeking for evidence of his having received the grace of God in truth, he was not satisfied that he had done well in making a profession and engagement of unreserved consecration to the

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 143.

† Senhouse, at that time preacher at St Mary's, was afterwards promoted to the bishopric of Carlisle. He preached at the coronation of Charles I. 'An eloquent man he was reputed, and one that could very well express a passion.' — *Heylin's Life of Laud*.

work of the Lord. In hope of obtaining more comfort on the next occasion, he carefully prepared for the service with much prayer and self-examination; but just as he was rising from his seat to approach the step on which the scholars knelt, his tutor, who could have known but little of his religious feelings, observing his juvenile appearance and diminutive stature, sent a messenger to forbid him to communicate. This was to him a great disappointment, as he expected that, after a very careful preparation, the sacrament would prove so helpful and strengthening as to prevent him from again falling away from God. It was the more humiliating, as he was obliged to leave his place in the college chapel and retire in the presence of his companions, who were allowed to remain. Being thus discouraged, as he says, 'I knew not how to go to God.' He had not then attained clear views of the grace of Christ, and, being disappointed of the help of a sacrament, he could not look by faith from the sign to the great truth which it signified and sealed. The effect upon his mind was injurious. Although his confidence in his own good works was shaken, he found no better faith to take its place. He became indifferent to religion, ceased to attend the preaching of Dr Sibbs, whom, until that time, he frequently heard, and gave himself to such studies as would enable him to preach in the manner of Dr Senhouse, whose 'flaunting sermons' at St Mary's so excited his emulation, that (his words are) 'if God would give me the pleasure I desired, and not damn me at last, let him keep heaven to himself. I often thought thus with myself, They talk of their Puritan powerful preachers, and of Mr Rogers of Dedham, and such others, but I would gladly see the man that could trouble my conscience.'

These thoughts shew that, presumptuous as he was, he was not satisfied with the preaching he so passionately admired. It did not seem to him the way to heaven, or the thought would not have entered into his mind of being 'damned for it at last.' How differently he learnt to think of 'flaunting sermons,' and of 'Puritan powerful preachers,' will hereafter appear. The sincerity of his convictions and the justness of his apprehensions of the solemnity of preaching the gospel appeared in his condemning himself, in his seasons of religious awakening, for the love of fine sermons. The desire to preach them he regarded as his easily besetting sin, of which he had to repent before God.

During the remainder of his six years' residence at Christ's College, he seems to have continued very much in the same state of mind. At intervals the religious anxieties and feelings of his boyhood were revived, and, especially on the recurrence of sacramental occasions, he became thoughtful, devout, and sincerely desirous, though in his

own strength, to make himself a more worthy communicant. But throughout, the prevalent desire of his heart was to be distinguished as a popular, learned, and eloquent preacher, 'like the great wits of St Mary's, who strove to exceed each other in a vain-glorious eloquence.' While such preaching was the object of his laborious imitation, it afforded no satisfaction to his conscience or his heart. Though his proud spirit would not allow him to become a Puritan preacher, his secret conviction was that the Puritans were doing God's work. After hearing from his favourite preacher what he calls 'the eminentest farrago of all sorts of flowers of wit that are found in any of the fathers, poets, histories, similitudes, or whatever has the elegancy of wit in it,' he heard Dr Preston in the college chapel 'preaching against it as vain and unedifying.' Although, at the time, neither Dr Preston, nor, as he says, 'all angels and men,' could have persuaded him 'to alter his studies,' he never forgot the discourses of the good Puritan. As soon as he was taught by the grace of God to 'mortify his master-lust,' the love of applause, he was 'never so much as tempted to put in any of his own withered flowers which he had gathered.'

At some time in his college course, but whether after his conversion, or in one of those seasons of religious awakening which frequently preceded it, is not certain, he went to hear the famous Puritan lecturer of Dedham. John Howe, in a lecture 'on the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures,' preached 20th February 1691, relates the following anecdote:—'I think it may be worth our while to tell you a short passage which was not long ago told me by a person, (whose name is well known in London, and, I hope, savoury in it yet, Doctor Thomas Goodwin,) at such time as he was President of Magdalene College, in Oxford: there I had the passage from him. He told me that being himself, in the time of his youth, a student at Cambridge, and having heard much of Mr Rogers of Dedham, in Essex, purposely he took a journey from Cambridge to Dedham to hear him preach on his lecture day, a lecture then so strangely thronged and frequented, that to those that came not very early there was no possibility of getting room in that very spacious large church. Mr Rogers was (as he told me) at that time he heard him, on the subject of discourse which hath been for some time the subject of mine, the Scriptures. And in that sermon he falls into an expostulation with the people about their neglect of the Bible; (I am afraid it is more neglected in our days;) he personates God to the people, telling them, "Well, I have trusted you so long with my Bible: you have slighted it; it lies in such and such houses all covered with dust and cobwebs. You care not to look into it. Do you use my

Bible so? Well, you shall have my Bible no longer." And he takes up the Bible from his cushion, and seemed as if he were going away with it, and carrying it from them; but immediately turns again, and personates the people to God, falls down on his knees, cries and pleads most earnestly, "Lord, whatsoever thou dost to us, take not thy Bible from us; kill our children, burn our houses, destroy our goods; only spare us thy Bible, only take not away thy Bible." And then he personates God again to the people: "Say you so? Well, I will try you a while longer; and here is my Bible for you, I will see how you will use it, whether you will love it more, whether you will value it more, whether you will observe it more, whether you will practise it more, and live more according to it." But by these actions (as the Doctor told me) he put all the congregation into so strange a posture that he never saw any congregation in his life; the place was a mere Bochim, the people generally (as it were) deluged with their own tears; and he told me that he himself when he got out, and was to take horse again to be gone, was fain to hang a quarter of an hour upon the neck of his horse weeping, before he had power to mount, so strange an impression was there upon him, and generally upon the people, upon having been thus expostulated with for the neglect of the Bible.*

In his sixteenth year, Goodwin proceeded to the degree of B.A., and obtained a high reputation for learning in comparison with many who were much older than himself.†

In 1619, he removed to Catherine Hall; why he did so does not very clearly appear. That house was far inferior to Christ's in its literary reputation, the character of its exercises, and the number of its scholars. He referred contemptuously to his new residence. Why did he choose it? It was distinguished for evangelical religion, but I fear that would then have been to him but small inducement to make the change. His former tutor was a very quarrelsome man, who seems to have disagreed with everybody else with whom he had anything to do, but we do not find that he ever quarrelled with Goodwin, whose amiable disposition, apparent in the angry controversies of subsequent years, conciliated many men as quarrelsome as even William Power. Besides, having taken his degree, he had no reason to care for his unhappy tutor. Possibly he expected to obtain earlier promotion where scholars were rare. If this was his object, he was not disappointed, for in his twentieth year, when he commenced M.A., he was chosen Fellow and lecturer in the Hall. During his fellowship he was associated with four distinguished colleagues,

* Hunt's Edition of Howe's Works, vol. vi., p. 493.

† Baker's MS. additions to Calamy, Acad. Reg.

who afterwards sat with him in the Westminster Assembly—Strong, Arrowsmith, Spurstow, and Perne.

Of these, William Strong,* the author of a celebrated discourse on the Two Covenants, afterwards became pastor of an Independent church which met for some time in Westminster Abbey. He was there buried, but his body was disinterred, on the accession of Charles II., and with those of many other eminent men thrown into a pit in St Margaret's Churchyard. John Arrowsmith,† distinguished for learning and piety, was appointed Master of St John's, and afterwards of Trinity. William Spurstow‡ became Master of Catherine Hall in 1644, but lost his situation for refusing to take the engagement. He was one of the writers of 'Smectymnuus,'§ chaplain to Hampden's regiment, one of the commissioners at the Savoy conference, and vicar of Hackney. He was ejected by the Act of Uniformity, and died in 1667. The fourth, Andrew Perne, became the devoted, laborious, and successful rector of Wilby in Northamptonshire, refusing all offers of preferment in London that he might devote his life to the people whom he loved, and by whom he was revered and loved as a father.||

The year 1620, in which Goodwin was elected a Fellow of Catherine Hall, was to him the most memorable of his life. Soon after his appointment, passing St Edmund's Church, (Oct. 2, 1620,) on his way to join a party at his old college, while the bell was tolling for a funeral, he was persuaded by his companion to stay and hear the sermon. Unwilling to remain, he was ashamed to withdraw, as he had taken his seat among several scholars. According to his own account, he 'was never in his life so loath to hear a sermon.' He however agreed to stay on hearing that the preacher was Dr Bainbrigge,¶ who had the reputation of being a witty man. The sermon, which Goodwin had heard before, was founded on Luke xix. 41, 42, 'And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes.' The first words of the preacher attracted his attention.

* Brook's Puritans, vol. iii., p. 196.

† Ibid., p. 315.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. ii., pp. 86, 658.

§ A book written in reply to Bishop Hall's 'Divine Right of Episcopacy,' and so called from the initials of its writers, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow.

|| Neal's Puritans, vol. ii., p. 465.

¶ The Master of Christ's College, called *Bambridge* in the Life of Goodwin compiled by his son, *Bainbrigge* in the copy of the register given by Masson in his Life of Milton, *Bambrigg* by Walker in the 'Sufferings of the Clergy,' though his relative is in the same account called *Bambridge*.

With the earlier part of his discourse he was affected in the same way as he had often been on hearing evangelical sermons. As the preacher earnestly enforced the importance of immediately turning to God in this the day of grace, before these things should be for ever hidden and lost, he was more deeply impressed than he had ever been before, and on retiring from the church he told his companion, 'he hoped he should be the better for the sermon as long as he lived.'

Instead of going, as he had intended, with his companion to the merry party at Christ's College, he returned to his own rooms in Catherine Hall, refusing to spend the evening with his friends, who sent a messenger to remind him of his engagement. There, alone, he felt as struck down by a mighty power. The hand of God took hold of him and would not let him go. His sins were brought to his remembrance. He was led by a way he had not known, or, as he says, 'he was rather passive all the while than active, and his thoughts held under, while that work went on.' His own illustration of the manner of his conversion is very appropriate. Appointed to preach some two years afterwards in Ely Cathedral, where Dr Hills, the Master of his College, held a prebendal stall, he told the audience of a man who was converted (meaning himself) and led through unknown and intricate paths to God in a manner as wonderful 'as if a man were to go to the top of that lantern (alluding to the beautiful lantern-tower of the cathedral) to bring him into all the passages of the minster, within doors and without, and knew not a jot of the way, and were in every step in danger to tread awry and fall down.' He often refers to his conversion as a change in which he was entirely passive, strangely guided in the dark, and 'acted upon all along by the Spirit of God.'

His convictions of sin were very deep, his resolutions very strong, his prayers very fervent, and his searchings of heart and of Scripture very careful and prolonged; but the work of the Holy Spirit, though so thorough and mighty, proceeded but slowly, more slowly than might have been expected, from his sincerity, earnestness, and religious education. He was long in being led through the dark and intricate passages of the tower before he was brought into the light of the cathedral. He tells us he 'was nearly seven years ere he was taken off' from searching in himself for signs of grace, to look simply to the grace of God, and to live by faith in Christ. The long experience he had in seeking after God in darkness and doubt was the method of God to lead him eventually to clearer views of evangelical doctrine, and to greater skill in helping others in trouble of soul to accept the peace of God which passeth all understanding.

The instrument by which God led him to the full enjoyment of

peace and assurance of faith in Christ was Mr Price, a godly Puritan minister of King's Lynn, whither his parents had removed from Rollesby, after he had commenced his college course. Previously to his conversion he had known Mr Price, who from open profligacy and vice had been brought to the acknowledgment of the truth as it is in Jesus. His extraordinary conversion, together with his fervent preaching and exemplary life, had rendered him an object of great interest in the University. No other man in Cambridge was so greatly revered by Goodwin, who occasionally went to his religious services, and was so affected with his prayers as to continue under their solemn impression in his own private devotions for several days together. As these feelings subsided, he often resolved not to yield to them lest they should impede his success in that vain-glorious style of preaching which he had proposed as the great end of his studies and life.

In the sorrow of his soul he had recourse to the friendship of Mr Price, who had then removed to Lynn. The letters of the good Puritan led him to cease from man, even from himself, and to look simply and directly to Christ his only Saviour, who had died for his sins, risen for his justification, and ever lived to make intercession for him. Deeply interesting extracts from these letters may be found in the Life of Goodwin. The young scholar who had so often resisted the appeals of Mr Price, and had determined to preach against his doctrine when he found an opportunity to do so at Lynn, was thus led by that humble and holy man to count all things but loss, even his learning and eloquence, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus his Lord.

The conversion of Goodwin suggests three important lessons:—

1. We may observe how completely the strongest passion of his soul was subdued by the grace of God. Referring to a maxim of Dr Preston, he says, 'Of all others, my master-lust was mortified.' By his master-lust he meant no immoral propensity as men regard immorality, but his desire to obtain distinction and honour by eloquent preaching. This desire, which by many would be regarded as innocent, or even as laudable, appeared to him inconsistent with unreserved consecration to the service of God. He no longer sought his own things, but the things of the Lord Jesus. From that time, he studied, and preached, and lived as not his own, but bought with a price, even with the precious blood of Christ. Self-seeking in every form, and especially in the form in which it had been his easily besetting sin, was abhorrent from his renewed heart. Surrendering his love of literary distinction and popular applause, he also renounced all expectation of preferment in the Church or in the

University. His preaching assumed a new form. It became the simple, earnest, faithful preaching of salvation by grace through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. When, many years afterwards, he was appointed President of Magdalen College, Oxford, he was unwilling to accept the appointment, and was induced to do so only by the remembrance of the many instances in which his early ministry had been made effectual in the conversion of the scholars of Cambridge. Academical preferment, so alluring to him before his conversion, never afterwards occupied his thoughts.

2. The experience of his conversion had considerable influence in forming or modifying his theological system. The religious opinions of good men are frequently moulded by their experience of the work of the Spirit upon their hearts. If they have felt that Spirit coming over them in answer to their prayers, and co-operating with their own efforts,—if they have been brought to renounce sin, and to accept Christ by a process so gradual that every movement of the Spirit seems to act simultaneously with their own endeavours, they are naturally induced to look favourably upon Arminian views of Christian doctrine. So it was with John Wesley, with Fletcher of Madeley, and with many other evangelical Arminians. But if, on the contrary, they have been unexpectedly stricken with a sense of guilt they know not how, and have been brought to feel the power of God working upon them without being conscious of having previously sought His grace, so that they have been impelled to renounce their sins, and made, as by a miracle, to rejoice in Christ, they frequently regard the work of the Spirit as subduing their wills, not strengthening them, mastering their souls, not co-operating with them. In this manner the experience of Augustine, of Martin Luther, and of many others, has appeared in the decided character of their theology. Good men, on both sides, interpret Scripture by the teaching of their own hearts quite as frequently as by the appliances of logical reasoning or critical learning.

The experience of Goodwin, as he relates it himself, may illustrate both parts of this statement. It had two sides, one favourable to Arminianism, the other to Calvinism; the former belonging to his early strivings, the latter to his decided conversion. His earlier religious feelings, closely associated with his own desires and endeavours to become a true Christian, and excited on occasions of special devotion, as when he was preparing for the sacrament, led him to regard favourably the Arminian doctrine, which was then exciting a great deal of controversy in the University. His son 'often heard him say that, in reading the Acts of the Synod of Dort, and taking a review of the first workings of grace in himself, he found them

consonant with the Arminian opinions ; but comparing his own experience' (that is, in what he regarded his conversion) 'with the doctrines of the orthodox divines, he found the one perfectly to agree with the other. It was this inward sense of things, out of which a man will not suffer himself to be disputed, that established him in the truths of the gospel.' Whether it be right or wrong to submit religious doctrines to this subjective test, few truly religious men can refrain from doing so. To this origin we may trace his decided, but not extravagant or bigoted Calvinism.

3. On his being brought through deep and sorrowful convictions of sin to the full enjoyment of faith in Christ, his preaching became exceedingly useful in the conversion of sinners and the guidance of inquirers. He began to speak from the fulness of his heart. He preached earnestly, for he preached a full and free salvation which had been the life and joy of his own soul. He preached experimentally, for he preached as he had felt, and tasted, and handled of the good word of life. His great desire was to convert sinners to Christ; he thought no more of the applause, reputation, or honour, which had been so precious to him; he desired to know nothing among men, save Jesus Christ and him crucified. God gave testimony to the word of his grace. The scholars of the University crowded to hear him, and many were brought by his preaching to the acknowledgment of the truth, of whom not a few became eminent preachers of the gospel. He soon openly united himself with the Puritan party in the University, and zealously promoted its interest. On the sudden death of Dr Hills, in 1626, he succeeded in obtaining the appointment of Dr Sibbs, preacher at Gray's Inn, as Master of Catherine Hall.*

In 1625, Goodwin was licensed a preacher of the University,† subscribing the three articles, which affirm the king's supremacy in all matters ecclesiastical and civil, the accordance of the Book of Common Prayer with the Word of God, and the scriptural authority of the thirty-nine articles; without which subscription no person was suffered to preach, or catechise in any place as a lecturer.‡ On the

* Dr Sibbs, though ejected from his fellowship and lectureship at Trinity Church for nonconformity, retained the mastership of the Hall until his death. The Puritan character of Catherine Hall became so decided, that on the visitation of the Earl of Manchester in 1644, not one Fellow or Scholar was ejected for irreligion, negligence, non-residence, or disaffection to the Parliament.

† Reg. Acad. Baker's MS. additions to Calamy.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. i., p. 430. It appears from a certificate signed 'Thomas Goodwin, then curate of the said church,' that he was curate of St Andrews at the date thereof, April 6, 1628. See Baker's MS. Collec., vol vi., p. 192, xvi., 298, as cited by Brook in his Lives of the Puritans, art.

death of Dr Preston, who having succeeded Sibbs as lecturer of Trinity Church, preferred that sphere of great usefulness to a bishopric offered him by the Duke of Buckingham, Goodwin was appointed to the vacant office, and most zealously, laboriously, and successfully devoted his time and strength to promote the spiritual interests of the townsmen and the numerous scholars who attended his ministry. The Bishop of Ely at first refused to admit him unless he would solemnly promise not to preach upon any controverted points of divinity: Without making any such promise, he was eventually admitted, and was presented by the king to the vicarage of the same church in 1632. In 1630, he proceeded to the degree of B.D. One of the first acts of Laud after he had attained the Primacy was to require the bishops to watch strictly over the lecturers, and to send him an annual report respecting them. White, at that time Bishop of Ely, was one of the most zealous of the Primate's adherents. Troubled by his interference, and growing dissatisfied with the restrictions imposed upon preaching the evangelical truth which he had found to be the life of his own soul, he resigned his lectureship at Trinity Church in 1634,* as well as his fellowship at Catherine Hall, and removed from Cambridge.

After he left Cambridge, little more is known of him for the next five years than his marriage in 1638 to Elizabeth, daughter of Alderman Prescot of London. As Baillie accuses him of propagating the opinions of the Independents before he went to Holland,† it is probable that he was engaged in studying the principles of church government, corresponding with Independent ministers in Holland and New England, preaching as he had opportunity to congregations of Separatists, and frequently incurring the risk of fine and imprisonment. During this time the power of Laud was sufficient to suppress most of the lectureships, to reduce to subservience the few lecturers who retained their situations, and to enforce by severe measures uniformity of worship, especially in the dioceses where the bishops were imbued with his spirit, or sought to obtain his favour. Many godly ministers, wearied with fines, imprisonment, every kind of

Thomas Edwards. It is not, however, certain that this was the same Thomas Goodwin.

* He had resigned the vicarage of this church in favour of his friend Dr Sibbs in 1633. Brook's Puritans, vol. ii., p. 417.

† 'Master Robinson did derive his way to his Separatist congregation at Leyden, a part of them did carry it over to Plymouth in New England; here Master Cotton did take it up and transmit it from thence to Master Thomas Goodwin, who did help to propagate it to sundry others in Old England first, and after to more in Holland, till now by many hands it is sown thick in divers parts of this kingdom.'—*Baillie's Dissuasive*.

annoyance, and yet resolved to maintain a good conscience at all costs, fled from the country, some to New England, others to such Protestant towns on the Continent as would afford them liberty of worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences.

In some towns of the Low Countries, where many refugees from Popish lands had found protection from their persecutors, there prevailed, under the free government of the States-General, principles of toleration and religious liberty unknown in any other part of the world. In some of these towns English merchants had settled, and as many of them were religious men, they naturally sought to obtain the same freedom of worship as their French and Flemish neighbours enjoyed. The congregations which they formed enjoyed liberties of which their countrymen in England were deprived by the prelatical ascendancy. It was to be expected that the Puritan ministers, harassed, silenced, fined in their own country, would seek to exercise their ministry among those free congregations of Holland. So many went over that the attention of Laud was directed to their proceedings, and he made several attempts, though in vain,* to reduce them to that uniformity which he had thoroughly, as he thought, established throughout England. Protected by the tolerance of the Dutch government, they adopted such modes of church discipline as seemed to themselves most agreeable to Scripture. Though most of their churches were Presbyterian, some preferred the Congregational discipline brought into the country by Johnson, Ames, Robinson, and their followers. Most of the books which at that time were circulated in England in exposition and defence of Congregational principles had been written and printed in Holland, where they were favourably received and generally read by English exiles.

Goodwin at first settled in Amsterdam,† where he had frequent opportunities of conferring with Nye, Burroughs, Bridge, and Symson, who were afterwards united with him as ‘the dissenting brethren,’ or Independents, in the Westminster Assembly. The influence of Goodwin over the minds of his brethren, so apparent in later years, commenced, there can be little doubt, in the friendly consultations and inquiries of the society with which they were connected at Amsterdam. The teachers being numerous, they agreed to separate, and Goodwin removed to Arnheim,‡ in Guelderland, where ten or twelve English families had previously resided, and obtained permission from the magistrates to assemble regularly for divine worship. The congregation consisted of about one hundred persons,

* Heylin’s *Life of Laud*, p. 274.

† Hanbury’s *Memorials*, vol. ii., p. 42.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 140.

over whom Philip Nye had been for some time settled. In the freedom of this society, Goodwin and Nye pursued more extensively their inquiries about church order and discipline, and arrived at the conclusions which they afterwards clearly stated, and ably defended, in the 'Apologetical Narration.' In that work they say—'We had of all men the greatest reason to be true to our own consciences in what we should embrace, seeing it was for our consciences that we were deprived at once of whatever was dear unto us. We had no new commonwealth to frame church government unto, whereof any one piece might stand in the other's way to cause the least variation from the primitive pattern. We had no state ends or political interests to comply with; no kingdoms of our age to subdue into our mould, which yet will be co-existent with the peace of any form of civil government on earth; no preferment or worldly respects to shape our opinions for. We had nothing else to do but simply and singly to consider how to worship God acceptably, and most according to his Word.' While their principles of church government were nearly the same as those of the Brownists, they carried them into practice in a very different spirit from that of Robert Brown and his adherents. To them, and certainly to Goodwin quite as much as to his brethren, the rigid separatism of the first Independents was exceedingly offensive. They resolved, as they say, 'not to take up our religion by or from any party, and yet to approve and hold whatever is good in any, though never so much differing from us, yea, opposed unto us.' Nor did they refuse to acknowledge as members of the true church all, to whatever church they might belong, who professed themselves believers, and evinced the sincerity of their profession by the sanctity of their lives.*

While he was at Arnheim serious differences arose in the Independent church at Rotterdam† between the two ministers Bridge and Ward, on the subject of the prophesyings of private members, which had been generally encouraged in the Brownist churches. As the controversy produced unhappy dissensions, and even unfriendly separation, Goodwin, accompanied by his colleague, went thither to compose the differences, and happily succeeded in allaying the irritation, and restoring peace to the reunited church. Heylin,‡ who exultingly describes this division at Rotterdam as the natural fruit of the separatist spirit, is obliged to confess, though

* How firmly Goodwin maintained these liberal views may be seen in his thirty-sixth sermon on Eph. i. The consistency of his practice is shewn by his kind and liberal proposal to John Howe to unite with his church in Oxford, though differing from some of his opinions. See hereafter, p. xxxv.

† Hanbury's Memorials, vol. iii., p. 140.

‡ Life of Laud, p. 367.

with a bad grace, that at Arnheim the ministers maintained unity among themselves, and harmony among the people. This testimony is valuable as coming from 'lying Peter,' the unscrupulous advocate of Laud, and not the less so as found in connexion with gross misrepresentation of Goodwin and his friends.

While Goodwin was studying in Holland the principles and practices of the apostolic churches, a great change came over the aspect of both civil and ecclesiastical affairs in his native land. During the two years of his expatriation, the English government, by its unscrupulous efforts to suppress civil and religious liberty, brought both patriots and Puritans to unite in resisting its usurpation. The Long Parliament impeached Laud, and invited the return of all who had left their country for nonconformity.

Goodwin soon availed himself of the liberty to return, and, settling in London, gathered an Independent church in the parish of St Dunstan's-in-the-East.* The site of his meeting-house cannot be ascertained, though it was near Thames Street. Over this church he presided with much comfort and prosperity for ten years,—that is, through the whole time of the civil war,—until in 1650 he was selected for the presidency of Magdalene College, Oxford.†

While engaged in the discharge of the duties of his pastorate, Goodwin rose to eminence as a preacher; and on occasion of the solemn fast on the 27th of April 1642, he was selected to preach before the House of Commons. The sermon, which was an earnest exhortation to promote the work of further reformation in England, was founded on Zech. iv. 6–9. It was printed by order of the House, and entitled, 'Zerubbabel's Encouragement to Finish the Temple.' This sermon is still worthy of perusal. Its object may be inferred from the brief dedication 'to the Honourable House of Commons assembled in Parliament.' As that dedication affords some illustration of the character and pursuits of its author, who, though often engaged in controversy, was far from being the fierce controversialist he is sometimes represented, it is here inserted:—

* Wilson's Dissenting Churches, vol. i., p. 214.

† The church thus formed and strengthened by Dr Goodwin became, under his successors, and continued for many years, the most important and influential of the Independent churches in London. No congregation for many years made so large collections for the Independent fund. They erected a commodious meeting-house in Lime Street, Leadenhall Street, where they continued to worship until 1755, when it was removed to afford a site for the India House. A division then took place, and the more considerable part removed to Miles Lane, thence to Camomile Street, and eventually to the Poultry Chapel, where the church still flourishes under the able ministry of the Rev. Dr. Spence.

‘Your command giving me the opportunity, I took the boldness to urge and to encourage you to church reformation, which is the main scope of this sermon, a subject which otherwise, and in all other auditories, I have been silent in, and am in no whit sorry for it. For I account it the most fit and happy season to utter things of this nature unto authority itself (although the people likewise are to know their duty.) My comfort is, that what I have spoken herein, I have for the general (and I have spoken but generals) long believed, and have therefore spoken.

‘You are pleased so far to own me as to betrust me with this service to be God’s mouth in public unto you, and also this sermon of mine as to command the publishing of it. Wherefore as in propriety it is now become yours more than mine or all the world’s, so let it be in the use of it. If it shall add the least strengthening to your resolutions, to keep this purpose for ever in the thoughts of your hearts, I have what I aimed at. Go on, worthy fathers, and elders of this people, and prosper in (yea, by) this work, without which nothing that you do will prosper. But the rest I shall speak to God for you. Let me be known to you by no other thing than this: to be one whose greatest desires and constant prayers are and have been, and utmost endeavours in my sphere shall be, for the making up of the divisions of the church in these distracted times with love of truth and peace; and therein, to use David’s words, am

‘Wholly at your commanding,

‘THO. GOODWIN.’

In 1643, the celebrated Assembly of Divines met at Westminster, of which Goodwin was appointed a member. With him were associated his four companions in exile, Nye, Bridge, Burroughs, and Sympson, who were generally known as ‘the dissenting brethren,’ on account of their opposition to that uniformity of Presbyterian discipline which the Assembly desired to have established throughout England. In the several accounts of the proceedings of the Assembly, Goodwin is frequently mentioned as their leader, and undoubtedly the several documents which they offered were drawn up by him. Nye was a powerful speaker, Burroughs an acute reasoner, Bridge a persuasive pleader, but Goodwin was the strength of the party. Although he took so decided and prominent a part in opposition to the cherished opinions of the majority of the Assembly, his Christian temper and gentle deportment conciliated the esteem of all, even of those who most widely differed from him in the views for which he most earnestly pleaded.

Of all who were present, few were so decidedly opposed to 'the dissenting brethren' as the Scottish Commissioners, and of them Baillie was certainly quite as earnest as any in his desire to see Presbyterian uniformity established in the south as well as the north of the island. But he scarcely ever refers to Goodwin without some expression of esteem, even when most vexed with his proceedings. Thus in Letter XLII., he says—'While we were sweetly debating, in came Mr Goodwin, who incontinent assayed to turn all upside down, to reason against all directions. He troubled us so that after long debates we could conclude nothing. For the help of this evil we thought it best to speak with him in private: so we invited him to dinner, and spent an afternoon with him very sweetly. It were a thousand pities of that man: he is of many excellent parts.' Baillie speaks of his Treatise on Sanctification as one which he must bring with him, and calls him and his brethren 'learned, discreet, and zealous men, well seen in cases of conscience.'* To him pre-eminently may be applied Baillie's words, 'The Independents truly speak much, and exceedingly well.'† He was chosen to pray in the solemn meeting of seven hours' duration in which the Assembly prepared to enter on the debate concerning the discipline of the church.‡ That he usually spoke with remarkable moderation and forbearance may be inferred from the fact that on one occasion, Baillie speaks of 'hotter words than were expected from Goodwin.'§ Every reader of the intemperate, vituperative pamphlets of the time, especially in reference to these discussions, must admire his calm reasoning and freedom from the angry tone and spirit which were generally prevalent, and in some degree excused by the excited state of the disputants among all parties.

The estimate formed of his ability and influence by the Court party may be inferred from a statement of Whitelock, who says, that in January 1643-4, 'Ogle, for the King, wrote to Mr Thomas Goodwin and Mr Nye, of the Independent judgment, to make great promises to them if they would oppose the Presbyterian government, intended by the Scots to be imposed upon England, and much to that purpose. These two being persons of great judgment and parts, acquainted their friends herewith, and were authorised to continue a correspondence with Ogle, who gained no ground with them.'||

In 1644, he and Nye published 'Cotton's Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and Power thereof, according to the Word of God,' in the preface of which they expounded their views of ecclesiastical

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, 1775, vol. i., p. 253.

† Ibid., p. 401.

‡ Lightfoot's Works, vol. xiii., p. 19.

§ Letter xli.

|| Whitelock's Memorials, p. 76.

tical government in accordance with those of the New England churches.*

The Directory for Public Worship being completed by the Assembly, Goodwin was one of the members appointed to present it to the Parliament on the 21st of December 1644.† On February 25, 1645, he preached again before Parliament. The discourse, founded on Psalm cv. 14, 15, '*He suffered no man to do them wrong: yea, he reproveth kings for their sakes; saying, Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm,*' was ordered to be printed, and entitled 'The Great Interest of States and Kingdoms.'

Few of its members attended the Assembly so regularly as Goodwin, or took so much interest in its proceedings. In 1647, by an order from the House of Lords, he was appointed with Jeremiah Whitaker to have the oversight and examination of the papers to be printed for the Assembly.‡ His notes, taken for the most part in short-hand, fill fourteen volumes, which are preserved in Dr Williams' Library in Redcross Street.

Under date of 23d May 1649, Whitelock has this entry, 'Upon a letter from the General' (who was then being solemnly welcomed and highly feasted at Oxford on his return from putting down the levellers) 'for a lecture to be set up in Oxford, and for Dr Reynolds, Mr Caryl, and Mr Thomas Goodwin to be lecturers there, referred to the committee to have it done.'§

On the 7th of June 1649, the day appointed by Parliament for public thanksgiving for the quelling of the insurrection of the levellers, Goodwin and Owen preached before Cromwell and the Parliament, at Christ Church in the city. On the following day 'the hearty thanks of the House were voted for their sermons, and it was referred to the Oxford Committee to prefer Mr Thomas Goodwin and Mr Owen to be Heads of Colleges in that university.' On the recommendation of that Committee, it was ordered on the 8th of January following that 'Mr Thomas Goodwin be President of Magdalene College in Oxford, and it be referred to the Committee of the Universities, how the Heads of Houses in the several Universities may be settled and disposed of without trouble to the House.' Whoever else were to be promoted by the Committee, the appointment of Goodwin to the high and responsible office of President of Magdalene was made by order of the House.

That Goodwin was well qualified for the office by his learning, ability, piety, and habits of business must be readily acknowledged

* Hanbury's Memorials, vol. ii., p. 259.

† Baillie's Letters, vol. ii., p. 73; Letter lxxxv.

‡ Brook's Puritans, vol. iii., p. 191.

§ Whitelock's Memorials.

by all who are acquainted with his life and writings. His early training and scholarly acquirements in Cambridge, his successful practice as a tutor and lecturer in that University, the biblical and theological learning which he had acquired in Holland and in London, his love of all literature as it appeared in the noble library which he had diligently collected, were quite sufficient to justify the appointment, had he not rendered eminent service to the Commonwealth, for which Parliament conferred on him this honourable expression of its approbation. That the presidency of a college was his appropriate reward, may be inferred from the hopes and endeavours of other colleges to obtain the honour and advantage of his government. In 1649, Tillotson, then a scholar in Clare Hall, Cambridge, wrote to his friend Mr Henry Root, pastor of a Congregational church at Sowerby, near Halifax,—‘As for our University affairs they are as before I came into the country, only we have *less hopes* of procuring Mr Thomas Goodwin for our Master than we then had.’*

Why he accepted the office so honourably conferred is explained by himself in the account of his life published by his son. On leaving Cambridge he had resigned, ‘for his whole life, all ecclesiastical preferment.’ He never sought, he never expected to recover it; but he loved to assist godly young men in their studies for the ministry. This was his favourite employment in Cambridge, and in it he had been eminently successful. After his return from Holland, he had for some years, well-nigh every month, serious and hearty acknowledgments from several young men who had received ‘the light of their conversion’ by his ministrations in the University. His great motive in accepting the presidency of Magdalene was, not love of academical distinction, but the desire ‘to bring in young men that were godly, both Fellows and scholars, that should serve God in the ministry in after-times.’ His chief encouragement, in dependence upon God, was the remarkable success of his labours in his former university life.

The separation from the church over which he had presided with uninterrupted comfort and prosperity for nearly ten years was his principal difficulty. Three years before, when it was doubtful whether toleration would be granted to the Independents, he regarded an invitation from Mr Cotton of Boston to labour in New England as a call of Providence, and proceeded to secure his passage, and put a large part of his valuable library on board the vessel, but at the last the entreaty and persuasion of his beloved friends prevailed, and induced him to remain as their pastor in London. The time to leave them was now, as he thought, fully come, but he thought so because

* Palmer’s Nonconformists’ Memorial, Second Edit., vol. iii., p. 481.

there was a great work to be done at Oxford, for which he was especially qualified by previous attainments and prolonged experience. On his resignation of the pastoral office it must have been a source of satisfaction to have been able to commend his church to so able and successful a preacher as Mr Thomas Harrison,* his successor, under whose ministry the meeting-place in St Dunstan's was crowded every Lord's-day. Goodwin had been some time a widower, when, in the prospect of returning to college life, he married Mary Hammond, of an ancient and honourable Shropshire lineage. Although he was in his fiftieth year, he selected a lively girl of seventeen to be the partner of his college pleasures and cares. Though so young, she seems to have made the reverend President a prudent and excellent wife. There are some strange rumours of the austerity and gloom which prevailed in the College during his government; but Goodwin was far enough from being an austere and gloomy man. The Independents of the Commonwealth, however earnest and devout, were not the most austere of the Puritans. Owen is said to have been foppish in his dress, and spruce in his boots and snake-bands. If Goodwin was not so stylish as his friend at Christ Church, he may be recognised, by several well-authenticated incidents of his life, as an active, pleasant, genial, and even occasionally facetious man. In the account of an interview of a young gentleman with the Puritan head of a college given by Addison in the 'Spectator' (No. 494), Goodwin may be recognised by his nightcaps, for he had become especially careful in protecting his brains from the cold.† The exaggeration is founded on the well-known anxiety of the President to encourage pious youth whom he believed to be prepared and called by Divine grace for the work of the ministry. The young gentleman (one of the Henleys of Oxfordshire) well-instructed in classical literature, though unaccustomed to religious inquiries, wished to consult the President about entering the college. 'A gentleman,' says the 'Spectator,' 'who was lately a great ornament to the learned world, has diverted me more than once with an account of the reception which he met with from a very

* Wilson's Dissenting Churches, vol. i., p. 221.

† His son, when in Rome, is said to have been very civilly received by Cardinal Howard, who, referring to his father's work on the Revelation, inquired if he had made any further discovery relating to the Pope. An evasive answer being returned, referring to the difficulty of understanding so obscure a book, the cardinal replied, 'Yes, especially when a man has half-a-dozen nightcaps over his eyes.'—*Biog. Brit.*, vol. v., p. 505, note. Wilson, repeating this anecdote, says the portrait 'represents him with at least two or three' nightcaps, evidently mistaking the President's cap, with its band, for two or three caps. *History of Dissenting Churches*, vol. iii., p. 448.

famous Independent minister who was head of a college in those times. This gentleman was then a young adventurer in the republic of letters, and just fitted out for the University with a good cargo of Latin and Greek. His friends were resolved that he should try his fortune at an election which was drawing near, in the college of which the Independent minister whom I have before mentioned was governor. The youth, according to custom, waited on him to be examined. He was received at the door by a servant who was one of that gloomy generation that were then in fashion. He conducted him with great silence and seriousness to a long gallery,* which was darkened at noon-day, and had only a single candle burning in it. After a short stay in this melancholy apartment, he was led into a chamber hung with black, where he entertained himself for some time by the glimmering of a taper, until at length the Head of the College came out to him from an inner room, with half-a-dozen nightcaps upon his head, and religious horror in his countenance. The young man trembled; but his fears increased, when instead of being asked what progress he had made in learning, he was examined how he abounded in grace. His Latin and Greek stood him in little stead; he was to give an account only of the state of his soul, whether he was of the number of the elect, what was the occasion of his conversion, upon what day of the month and hour of the day it happened, how it was carried on, and when completed. The whole examination was summed up with one short question, namely, Whether he was prepared for death? The boy, who had been bred up by honest parents, was frightened out of his wits at the solemnity of the proceeding, and by the last dreadful interrogatory; so that upon making his escape out of this house of mourning, he could never be brought a second time to the examination, as not being able to go through the terrors of it.'

To Addison, the idea of a moral, well-conducted young man asked to give an account of the time and manner in which he 'had received Divine grace' was amusingly unreal; but to Goodwin, who looked upon that event as the grand reality of his life, it was very natural and proper to propose such an inquiry. Had the young gentleman not been prejudiced by an introduction to which he was unaccustomed, he would have perceived little else than kindly and affectionate interest in the manner of the venerable President.

Though Goodwin regarded personal religion as of the utmost im-

* 'The long gallery referred to was taken down in 1770 for the improvement of the President's lodgings. In the Oxford Almanac for 1730, there is an outside view of it, having only one window with three lights, and as many brackets underneath.'—*Granger's Biographical History*.

portance, he was far from being indifferent to the literary reputation of his College, or to the secular learning of its scholars. The civil wars had brought the University to the brink of ruin; but under the government of the pious and learned men whom Cromwell appointed as Heads of Houses, the Colleges speedily regained their former reputation, and their scholars were prepared to occupy with honour and usefulness the most prominent positions of church and state. With Owen, appointed Dean of Christ Church at the same time as Goodwin was made President of Magdalene, he associated in the closest and most confiding friendship, and zealously co-operated in all his endeavours to promote the piety, scholarship, and general welfare of the students. To shew how earnestly they worked together, we have abundant evidence. Previously to their time it had been customary to appoint the Fellows of the several Colleges to preach in rotation on the Sabbath afternoons in St Mary's Church; but in order to promote to the utmost the religious instruction of the scholars, Owen and Goodwin undertook to discharge that duty between them. With what effect they did it, Philip Henry could tell us, for he was a student at Christ Church at the time. In the memoir of him, his son Matthew says, 'He would often mention with thankfulness to God what great helps and advantages he then had in the University, not only for learning, but for religion and piety. I have heard him speak of the prudent method they then took about the University sermons on the Lord's-day in the afternoon, that used to be preached by the Fellows of Colleges in their course: but that being found not so much for edification, Dr Owen and Dr Goodwin performed that service alternately, and the young Masters that were wont to preach it had a lecture on Tuesday appointed them.'*

But the Sabbath afternoon lecture was a very small part of the ministerial labours which were willingly undertaken by Goodwin, and carried on with great efficiency during the ten years of his residence in Oxford. His useful labours in the earlier years of his ministry at Cambridge were resumed in his more prominent position in Oxford, and were rendered more effective by the great reputation and influence which through many years he had been gradually acquiring. While his interest in pious youth had not diminished, he became the honoured pastor and teacher of some of the most able, learned, and devout men of the University. He formed a Congregational church, into which were admitted, among many influential citizens and collegians, Mr Thankful Owen, President of St John's; Mr Howell, Master of Jesus; Theophilus Gale, Fellow of Magdalene; Stephen Charnock, Fellow of New College; Blower,

* Memoir of Philip Henry, by his son, p. 19.

Fellow of Magdalene; Terry, Fellow of University College; Mr Moses Lowman, the learned expositor of the Apocalypse; and many others then or afterwards distinguished for their learning and devotedness to evangelical truth.

There was one member of Magdalene College whose principles and piety were such as to give occasion for some surprise that he was not attached to the church under the pastorate of his own President. This was John Howe. The explanation is honourable to both parties. Goodwin inquired of Howe the reason of his keeping away from their communion, and being told that the only reason which prevented him from uniting in their fellowship was the stress which was laid upon certain peculiarities of church order, of the importance of which he was not convinced, Goodwin immediately embraced him, and 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. In few men have there been united more earnest devotedness to religious truth with more catholicity in the administration of religious ordinances. Strong as were his convictions of truth, he never assumed the airs of infallibility. Decided in his views of Independency, he was, I am disposed to think, less sectarian in practice than most of the early Independents.

December 22, 1653, he had conferred on him the degree of D.D., on which occasion he was described in the register as, *In scriptis in re theologicâ quam plurimis orbi notus.*

Goodwin's labours in the University, onerous as they undoubtedly were, did not comprise all that was expected from him in those times of excitement and change. To prevent incompetent persons from being admitted to the numerous vacant livings in the church, thirty-eight ministers, partly Presbyterian, and partly Independent, of acknowledged ability, learning, and piety, were appointed to examine all candidates for the ministry, and certify their approval on just and sufficient reasons.† These were the well-known Triers, of whom Goodwin was one of the most diligent and careful in the discharge of the important duties of his responsible office.

The powers of the Commissioners who had been appointed by the Long Parliament to visit and regulate the Universities, having lapsed with the fall of that government, an ordinance was passed, September 2, 1654, appointing visitors for both Universities, and the schools of Westminster, Winchester, &c.‡ Goodwin was one of the number who were authorised to visit all colleges and halls in the Univer-

* Calamy's Life of Howe, pp. 10, 11.

† Hanbury's Memorials, vol. iii., p. 422.

‡ Ibid., p. 428.

sities and public schools, examining their studies, recommending alterations where necessary, correcting abuses, and removing scandalous offenders.

On the 4th of September in the same year, Cromwell's second Parliament assembled with much formality and state. Goodwin, who had become a favourite of the Protector, preached on the occasion, his Highness (says Whitelock) 'being seated over against the pulpit, and the members of Parliament on both sides.' The sermon is not extant, but we may infer its subject from the references made to it by Cromwell in the speech with which he introduced the proceedings of the House:—

'It hath been very well hinted to you this day that you come hither to settle the interests above mentioned, for your work here in the issue and consequences of it will extend so far, even to all Christian people.'

'Truly, another reason, unexpected by me, you had to-day in the sermon; you had much recapitulation of providence, much allusion to a state and dispensation of discipline and correction, of mercies and deliverances—to a state and dispensation similar to ours—to, in truth, the only parallel of God's dealing with us that I know in the world, which was largely and wisely held forth to you this day,—to Israel's bringing out of Egypt through a wilderness by many signs and wonders towards a place of rest, I say *towards* it; and that having been so well remonstrated to you this day, is another argument why I should not trouble you with a recapitulation of those things, though they are things which, I hope, will never be forgotten, because written in better books than those of paper, written, I am persuaded, upon the heart of every good man.'

'You were told to-day of a people brought out of Egypt, towards the land of Canaan, but through unbelief, murmuring, and repining, and other temptations and sins wherewith God was provoked, they were fain to come back again and linger many years in the wilderness before they came to the place of rest.' Cromwell concluded his speech with the words, 'I do therefore persuade you to a sweet, gracious, and holy understanding of one another, and of your business, concerning which you had so good counsel this day, which, as it rejoiced my heart to hear, so I hope the Lord will imprint it upon your spirits.'[∞]

Ten days afterwards, at a solemn fast, when most of the members of Parliament were present, Mr Marshall, Dr Goodwin, and Mr Cheynell were appointed to preach.†

During the prosperity of the Independents, under the protection

* Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, by T. Carlyle.

† Introduction to Burton's Diary, p. xxxvi.

of Cromwell, Goodwin and others thought it desirable to publish a declaration of their faith and discipline, in order to clear themselves from the imputations to which they were subjected through the wild and fanatical notions of men who agreed with them in little else than in their much misrepresented principle of toleration. On June 15, 1658,* a preliminary meeting was convened by an invitation which seems, as it was signed by Scobell, to have been of an official character, though, according to Neal,† permission to hold the synod was reluctantly conceded by Cromwell. On the 29th of September,‡ two hundred delegates, representing one hundred and twenty churches, met, and appointed Goodwin, Owen, Nye, Bridge, Caryl, and Greenhill, to draw up a confession of their faith and order. Eventually the confession, in composing which Goodwin had been much engaged, was submitted to a meeting of elders and messengers, held in the Savoy on October the 12th, and by them unanimously approved, and published as a declaration of the faith and order owned and practised by the Congregational churches in England.

Before the meeting of this assembly an event occurred which disappointed many fond hopes of the Independent leaders, who, in the enjoyment of court favour, were growing unmindful of their favourite text, 'My kingdom is not of this world.' On a stormy 3d of September, the anniversary which Cromwell never suffered to pass unnoticed, that 'rest' from his labours, for which he had so touchingly prayed, was mercifully given to the Protector. Goodwin and others, in the ante-room, were praying for his recovery, too confidently perhaps, for it must have been hard for them to think that he whom, as they thought, God had raised up to make England a truly Protestant country, was about to be removed while his great work was unfinished.§ They prayed, perhaps, too eagerly, and even passionately for his life, for they were but men, and might not have known what spirit they were of. It may have been so. I do not say it was, for the account is not well authenticated. In the excitement caused by their disappointment, Goodwin is reported to have said, in the words of Jeremiah, 'O Lord, thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived,' Jer. xx. 7. || If he did say so, he undoubtedly appropriated the words of the prophet in their original signification, as expressive of very sore disappointment. That he had any other meaning than Jeremiah intended to express is very improbable. I

* Hanbury's Memorials, vol. iii., p. 516. † Neal's Puritans, vol. ii., p. 506.

‡ Hanbury's Memorials, vol. iii., p. 517.

§ Echar'd's History of England; Ludlow's Memoirs.

|| Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 19.—Burnet represents these words as repeated by Goodwin at a fast a week after Cromwell's death. If uttered at all, they would mean, 'Thou hast suffered us to be deceived.' Own Times, vol. i., p. 114.

am not, however, very anxious to vindicate Goodwin from the use of incautious language in such an emergency, for the temperament of the good man was certainly neither lethargic nor stoical. He has been often accused of attributing to God an intention to deceive him by exciting his confident expectation of the recovery of Cromwell, when, according to the account of his accusers, he only repeated words of Scripture in what he believed to be the scriptural signification.

As to the oft-repeated story,* that the Protector, shortly before his death, asked his chaplain whether a man was safe if he had ever been in a state of grace, and that he received the reply that such a man was certainly safe for ever; it is not easy to say what thoughts might have risen in the fever of a dying man, or what words might have been spoken to allay his disquietude by a kind and sympathising minister. The chaplain is sometimes said to have been Goodwin, sometimes Sterry. One thing, however, is certain—Goodwin would not have represented any past experience as a safe ground of confidence in the prospect of death. He had learnt another lesson in the early struggles and conflicts of his own soul, and his writings clearly shew that it was a lesson which he never could have forgotten.

The great man, whose strong hand had restrained all the elements of strife which were ready to rage over the country, being laid in his grave, the question of his successor engaged the anxious thoughts of the leading men of all parties. Dr Goodwin, with Generals Whalley and Goffe, attested upon oath, before the Privy Council, that Oliver in his last hours had nominated Richard as his successor, who was proclaimed accordingly, to the great joy of the Independents.†

The Parliament of the new Protector assembled on January 27, 1658–9, when Goodwin preached at the Abbey, 'where his Highness and the Lords sat together, and the House of Commons *sparsim*. His text was Ps. lxxxv. 10, his scope healing, inviting to unity, and to mix mercy and truth, righteousness and peace together, to give liberty for erroneous consciences, but not so much encouragement as to true professors. As soon as he had finished, a Quaker rose and spoke at some length. His Highness listened patiently, and then passed quietly to the House.'‡

On the restoration of royalty, Goodwin's work at Oxford was finished, and in 1660 he left the University, greatly respected and beloved by all with whom he had been connected. He was long remembered with affectionate regard by those who remained, although they for the most part disapproved of his views both of church government and state policy.

* Neal's Puritans, vol. ii., p. 512.

† Guizot's Richard Cromwell, p. 3.

‡ Burton's Diary, vol. iii., p. 1.

He removed to London. The members of his church—of whom some were compelled to leave the University with him, and others greatly preferred his ministry to any they could find in Oxford—followed him in sufficient numbers to justify the statement that the church, with its pastor, removed to London, at first worshipping privately in some place which cannot now be identified. That church remains to the present time. From the Revolution, it has been accustomed to meet for worship in Fetter Lane; previously to 1732, in a meeting-house, since occupied by the Moravians, and subsequently in the building erected for them on the opposite side of the street.* Among the pastors of the church have been Thankful Owen, the successor of Goodwin; Thomas Goodwin, jun., his son; Stephen Lobb, Thomas Bradbury, and George Burder, for many years the respected secretary of the London Missionary Society. Their present pastor is the Rev. R. G. Harper.

From this time the life of Goodwin passed quietly, as, submissive to the powers that be, he no longer interfered with politics, but gave himself wholly to his theological studies and pastoral duties. The black Bartholomew's day, which deprived so many of his friends and pupils of their livelihood, brought to him no further trouble, as he had previously sustained the loss of his fellowship in Eton College.† Quietly labouring among his people through the perils of persecution and of the awful year of the plague, he was resident in the parish of St Bartholomew the Greater, when the fire of London in 1666 threatened his dwelling. Anxious to preserve his books, dearer to him than ever in his comparative seclusion, he removed a large part of them to the house of a friend, where it was supposed they would be safe, but the conflagration spreading in that direction, destroyed them, while those in his own home were preserved from the flames, through the care of his intimate friend, Moses Lowman. How severely he felt his loss, and yet how meekly he bore it, may be learnt from the beautiful exposition he wrote on the occasion, and published under the title of 'Patience and its Perfect Work, under Sudden and Sore Trials.‡ He found admonition as well as comfort in the part of the library which was spared to him, for he observed that it consisted

* There was a meeting-house in Fetter Lane previously to the fire of London in 1666, in which Mr Turner, the ejected minister of Sunbury in Middlesex, preached for some years. The Episcopalians took forcible possession of it when their churches were burnt down, and restored it to its owners when they had no further need of it. It consisted of 'four rooms opening into each other, and had seventeen pews, with divers benches.' Whether this was the place in which Goodwin's church first assembled is uncertain. See Maitland's London, vol. i., p. 452; Wilson's Dissenting Churches, vol. iii., p. 420. † Cal. Acc., p. 116.

‡ This rare work is reprinted in this volume.

of religious and theological works, while his books of general literature were almost entirely destroyed. After his loss he devoted himself, so far as his pastoral duties would allow him, almost exclusively to theological studies, writing many of the books which were published after his death. In this period of his life, the visions of the Apocalypse engaged a large proportion of his thoughts, as he looked forward, through the dark clouds which seemed to be settling upon his own times, to the glorious accomplishment of prophecy, when the Papacy should fall, all its alliances be destroyed, and the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.

Notwithstanding the Conventicle and Five Mile Act, and the persecutions which nonconformist ministers had to suffer, Goodwin continued in the discharge of his pastoral duties, assisted by his faithful friend, Thankful Owen, availing himself of the indulgence granted for a short time, and on its repeal quietly persevering in his labours. He was suffered to proceed in his useful course unmolested, ministering to many who had occupied prominent positions in the Commonwealth, until he reached the number of years assigned to the man who exceeds the usual term 'by reason of strength.' In the eightieth year of his age he was seized with a malignant fever, and under its power he felt assured that he was dying. But death had to him no terror. So far from fearing it, he rejoiced in the assurance of faith that he was going to enjoy that blessedness which he had so often and so earnestly recommended others to seek, and to which for nearly sixty years he had been hopefully looking. His friend, Mr Collins, who was at that time pastor of the church which he himself had gathered in the east of London on his return from Holland, visited him, and prayed that 'God would return into his bosom all those comforts which he had by his ministry of free grace poured into so many distressed souls.' The dying saint received the answer to that prayer; his consolations abounded. No dark cloud rested upon his last hours; his end was peace, or rather, holy joy and rapture. Among his last sayings are these, 'I could not have imagined I should have had such a measure of faith in this hour; no, I could never have imagined it. My bow abides in strength. Is Christ divided? No. I have the whole of His righteousness. I am found in Him, not having my own righteousness which is of the law, but the righteousness which is of God by faith of Jesus Christ, who loved me and gave himself for me. Christ cannot love me better than he doth. I think I cannot love Christ better than I do; I am swallowed up in God.' Exhorting his two sons to be faithful, and in his last moments remembering his mother, whose image seemed to come before him after the interval of many

laborious years, he spake to them of the privilege of the covenant. 'It cannot be valued too much, nor purchased with a great sum of money. It hath taken hold of me. My mother was a holy woman.' He seems to have referred to the privilege of having pious parents. Were it not for this affectionate remembrance of his mother, I do not think we should have known what manner of woman she was. It is not the only instance in which pious mothers, having been seldom thought of amidst the hurry of a busy life, have been present to the last earthly recollections of sons and daughters. He added, 'Now I shall be ever with the Lord,' and thus sweetly fell asleep in Jesus, Feb. 23, 1679.

He was buried at the east end of the cemetery in Bunhill Fields, under a low altar tomb, on which was engraved the following epitaph, composed by Mr T. Gilbert, whom Wood called the general epitaph-maker for the Dissenters.* It is now completely obliterated. The words inserted in brackets were omitted by order of the censor, who must have surpassed, in the power of discovering sedition, the worthy official who objected to license 'Paradise Lost' on account of the well-known simile of the sun eclipsed.

THOMAS GOODWIN, S. T. P.,
 AGRO NORFOLCIENSI ORIUNDUS ;
 RE ANTIQUARIA, PRÆSERTIM ECCLESIASTICÆ
 NEC ANGUSTÆ LECTIONIS, NEQUE INEXPEDITÆ,
 SACRIS SI QUIS ALIUS SCRIPTURIS PRÆPOTENS,
 INVENTIONE ADMODUM FERACI,
 NEC SOLIDO MINUS SUBACTOQUE JUDICIO,
 VARIIS INTER SE LOCIS ACCURATE COLLATIS
 RECONDITOS SPIRITUS SANCTI SENSUS
 MIRA CUM FELICITATE ELICUIT.
 MYSTERIA EVANGELII NEMO MORTALIUM
 AUT PERITIUS ILLO INTROSPEXIT
 AUT ALIIS CLARIUS EXPOSUIT
 [MATERIAM, FORMAM, REGIMEN, OMNIA,
 ECCLESiarUM A CHRISTO INSTITUTARUM
 SOLERTIA PARUM VULGARI, INDAGAVIT ;
 SI NON ET INVENIT]
 THEOLOGIA QUAM VOCANT CASUUM VERSATISSIMUS
 [CONSCIENtiIS TURBAtIS PACEM CONCILIAVIT,
 ERRORUM TENEBRIS INVOLUTAS
 VERITATIS LUCE IRRADIAVIT ;
 IMPEDITISQUE SCRUPULOS EXEMIT.]

* Calamy says that only two other epitaphs can be identified as his, that of Dr Owen and that of Ichabod Chancey. Cal. Acc., p. 573.

COGNITIONE, PRUDENTIA, DICENDI FACULTATE
 ECCLESIAE PASTOR OMNIMODO EVANGELICUS.
 MULTOS TAM PRIVATO QUAM PUBLICO MINISTERIO
 CHRISTO LUCRIFACTOS PORRO AEDIFICAVIT,
 DONEC QUA AGENDO, QUA PATIENDO
 OMNIBUS EXANTLatis PRO CHRISTO LABORIBUS
 PLACIDAM ASSECUTUS EST IN CHRISTO QUIETEM
 AB EDITIS, EDENDISQUE OPERIBUS
 [VIRI MAXIMI OPTIMO MONUMENTO]
 NOMEN REPORTATURUS, UNGUENTO PRETIOSIUS
 IPSOQUE CUI INSCRIBITUR MARMORE PERENNIVS,
 ANNO AERAE CHRISTIANAE MDCLXXIX.
 AETAT LXXX. DIE FEBR.

This epitaph has been thus translated by Dr Gibbons :—*

HERE LIES THE BODY OF
 THE REV. THOMAS GOODWIN, D.D.
 BORN AT ROLSEBY,
 IN THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK.
 HE HAD A LARGE AND FAMILIAR ACQUAINTANCE
 WITH ANCIENT,
 AND, ABOVE ALL,
 WITH ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.
 HE WAS EXCEEDED BY NONE
 IN THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.
 HE WAS AT ONCE BLESSED WITH A RICH INVENTION
 AND A SOLID AND EXACT JUDGMENT.
 HE CAREFULLY COMPARED TOGETHER
 THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF HOLY WRIT;
 AND WITH A MARVELLOUS FELICITY
 DISCOVERED THE LATENT SENSE
 OF THE DIVINE SPIRIT
 WHO INDITED THEM.
 NONE EVER ENTERED DEEPER
 INTO THE MYSTERIES OF THE GOSPEL,
 OR MORE CLEARLY UNFOLDED THEM
 FOR THE BENEFIT OF OTHERS.
 THE MATTER, FORM, DISCIPLINE,
 AND ALL THAT RELATES
 TO THE CONSTITUTION OF A TRUE CHURCH OF CHRIST,
 HE TRACED OUT WITH AN UNCOMMON SAGACITY,

* Wilson's Dissenting Churches, vol. iii., p. 431.

IF HE WAS NOT RATHER THE FIRST DIVINE
 WHO THOROUGHLY INVESTIGATED THEM.
 HE WAS EMINENTLY QUALIFIED,
 BY THE LIGHT OF SACRED TRUTH,
 TO PACIFY TROUBLED CONSCIENCES,
 TO DISPEL THE CLOUDS OF MISTAKE,
 AND REMOVE NEEDLESS SCRUPLES
 FROM PERPLEXED AND BEWILDERED MINDS.
 IN KNOWLEDGE, WISDOM, AND ELOQUENCE,
 HE WAS A TRULY CHRISTIAN PASTOR.
 IN HIS PRIVATE DISCOURSES,
 AS WELL AS IN HIS PUBLIC MINISTRY,
 HE EDIFIED NUMBERS OF SOULS,
 WHOM HE HAD FIRST WON TO CHRIST,
 TILL HAVING FINISHED HIS APPOINTED COURSE,
 BOTH OF SERVICES AND SUFFERINGS
 IN THE CAUSE OF HIS DIVINE MASTER,
 HE GENTLY FELL ASLEEP IN JESUS,
 HIS WRITINGS ALREADY PUBLISHED,
 AND WHAT ARE NOW PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION,
 THE NOBLEST MONUMENTS OF THIS GREAT MAN'S PRAISE,
 WILL DIFFUSE HIS NAME IN A MORE FRAGRANT ODOUR
 THAN THAT OF THE RICHEST PERFUME,
 TO FLOURISH IN THOSE FAR DISTANT AGES,
 WHEN THIS MARBLE, INSCRIBED WITH HIS JUST HONOUR,
 SHALL HAVE DROPT INTO DUST.
 HE DIED FEBRUARY 23D, 1679,
 IN THE EIGHTIETH YEAR OF HIS AGE.

The writings mentioned as published and preparing for publication have fulfilled the prophecy of Gilbert, surviving the perishable inscription on the stone which the visitor to Bunhill Fields tries in vain to identify, and remaining as a lasting monument of all that is recorded of him on his grave. The posthumous works were published by James Barron, who had been divinity reader at Magdalene College during Goodwin's presidency,* and by his faithful friend, Thankful Owen, who succeeded him in the pastoral office, and who, a fortnight after his appointment, and immediately after finishing the preface to the works of his venerated friend, was suddenly called to rejoin him in a higher sphere.† His body, at his own request, was laid in the same vault. The inscription on his tombstone is subjoined, as the last expression of a friendship which had survived many trials, and suffered no interruption.

* Cal. Acc., p. 98.

† Wilson's Dissenting Churches, vol. iii., p. 439.

SANCTOS CUM GOODWINO CINERES CARISSIMUS ILLI COMMISCUIT

THANKFUL OWEN, S. T. B.,

ELAPSA VIX HORULA POST ABSOLUTUM PROLOQUIUM
AD MAGNUM ILLIUS GOODWINI IN EPIST. AD EPHES.

OPUS, CUJUS EDITIONEM CURAVIT.

EADEM QUA VIXERAT ÆQUANIMITATE

ABSQUE ULLO,

PRÆTERQUAM CORDIS AD CHRISTUM

SUSPIRIO, ANIMAM EXPIRAVIT

DIE APRIL 1, AN. SAL. MDCLXXXI.

ÆTATIS LXIIL.

THANKFUL OWEN, S. T. P.,

HERE MINGLES HIS SACRED DUST WITH THAT OF GOODWIN,

TO WHOM IN LIFE HE WAS MOST DEAR.

HE SCARCE SURVIVED AN HOUR

THE FINISHING OF A PREFACE WHICH HE HAD BEEN WRITING

TO THAT GREAT WORK OF GOODWIN ON THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS,

THE PUBLICATION OF WHICH HAD FALLEN TO HIS CARE.

DYING WITH THE SAME CALMNESS WITH WHICH HE HAD LIVED, WITHOUT A SIGH,

SAVE OF THE HEART TO CHRIST,

ON THE 1ST OF APRIL 1681,

IN THE SIXTY-THIRD YEAR OF HIS AGE.

Of the character or writings of Dr Goodwin it will be needful to say but very few words. His character appears in every page of his life, for a more transparent character never shone amidst the imperfections of a changing and eventful life. In the ardour of his collegiate course, in the obtaining and resigning of university honours and preferments, in his ministrations when an exile for conscience, in the prominent part he took as a member of the Westminster Assembly, in his government of Magdalene College, and in his persevering labours until death as a London pastor, every one who was near Goodwin knew what he was and what he meant, what were his opinions, his feelings, his purposes, and his means of attaining them. In an age of great events, in which he was specially interested, acting with and against men of wary device, of evasive policy, and too often of deep dissimulation, Goodwin was ever true-speaking and out-speaking, trusted by his friends and his opponents too. All parties could depend upon him, and therefore all parties respected him.

The commendation of him by Baillie is no more than the expression of the general feeling of the Presbyterians in the Assembly; the honourable mention of him by Dr Fairfax, Fellow of Magdalene under his presidency, is no more than was said of him by the pious conformists of Oxford University. In an age of bitter controversy scarcely is there to be found another man who succeeded in gaining the respect of all his opponents. Baxter, though undeserving of their enmity, made many enemies; Owen, though upright and honourable, alienated some friends; but who spake ill or thought ill of Thomas Goodwin? Baxter was a little of a politician; Owen, not a little; but Goodwin had no other policy than the determination to discharge to the best of his ability the duties of every situation in which he was placed.

The respect of his opponents was not obtained by any want of decision or show of compromise in the avowal and defence of his own opinions. Neither his ecclesiastical polity nor his theological system ever had a more uncompromising defender. The misapprehension of some respecting him is to be attributed to his firm and decided manner of expressing his own convictions. Because he spoke so plainly as to appear unmistakeably a Calvinist and an Independent, he has been regarded as an intolerant Calvinist and a bigoted Independent. He was neither. I know no Calvinist of the age so decided as Goodwin, who thought so kindly of Baxter and Howe. I know no Independent who contended so strenuously as he did,—in opposition to the Brownists,—that ever since the Reformation there have been ‘churches to God in all the Reformed churches.’* He was no Brownist, no sectary. He saw, I think, more clearly than Owen or any of the early Independents, (unless Burroughs be excepted,) the temple of God raised by the Lutherans, the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, by all Christian people meeting together for the enjoyment of religious ordinances. Well might his son say of him, ‘His candour, ingenuous nature, and catholic charity for all good men of different persuasions, won the hearts of those who had been most averse to him.’ Men who have laboured most diligently to obtain the truth are often the most decided in their own convictions, and the most charitable in their construction of other men’s opinions. The bigot,

* Exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians, Sermon xxxvi :—‘Whereas now in some of the parishes in this kingdom, there are many godly men that do constantly give themselves up to the worship of God in public, and meet together in one place to that end, in a constant way, under a godly minister, whom they themselves have chosen to cleave to,—though they did not choose him at first,—these, notwithstanding their mixture and want of discipline, I never thought, for my part, but that they were true churches of Christ, and sister churches, and so ought to be acknowledged.’

strange as it may seem, is frequently a man of very feeble convictions. Enough has been said to support the conclusion that Thomas Goodwin was a true man; a truthful, upright, active, painstaking, generous, loving, catholic Christian.

Of his fervent piety I need say nothing. His life is his 'epistle of commendation.' And if that be not sufficient, 'he being dead, yet speaketh' by his numerous practical and experimental writings, in which the sanctified thoughts and emotions of a renewed heart are expressed in appropriate words of truth and soberness.

Of his writings it may be observed that they have never yet been presented to the public in a form worthy of their author, or of their merits. Most of them were published after his death, and, like many orphans, they have been introduced into the world under great disadvantages. The folio edition, in five volumes, abounds in typographical errors and unaccountable inaccuracies. So negligent were the editors, that they suffered the printers to antedate his death by ten years. A great service is done to his memory, as well as to the Church of Christ, by giving to the public his works in a readable form, free from the errors of previous editions, and though without the corrections which he would have made, had he prepared them for the press, yet in some degree worthy of his high reputation.

His writings are not rhetorical. The reason is obvious. He had been tempted in his youth to compose such sermons as would gratify the bad taste of the age, and secure distinction and popular applause, but he was early taught to renounce the love of ornament and display as his easily besetting sin. He never again would stoop to gather any of the old favourite flowers with which he once loved to garnish his discourses. So far as words were concerned, he studied nothing but great plainness of speech. This with him was a matter of conscience.

One thing pre-eminently distinguishes the writings of Goodwin. He wrote as he felt. His experience found expression in all his practical works, and exerted a powerful influence over his theology. It made him what he was as a divine, a preacher, and an author. No truth satisfied him until he had spiritually discerned it and tasted it, and so found it to be the good word of life. His strong convictions, his personal experience, his unswerving integrity, and his unstudied speech, all contribute to expose the inner man, and to make his writings the accurate representation of God's work in his own soul.

As a theological writer, he occupies his own place, which may be clearly distinguished from that of any other man of his own or of a subsequent age. That place is somewhere between the Puritans before the Protectorate and the Nonconformists after the Restoration.

He breathes the spirit and speaks the language of Perkins, Sibbs, and John Rogers, but his thoughts are kindred to those of Owen and Charnock. A Puritan in heart to the last, his studies and intercourse with eminent men kept him abreast of the scholarly divines who were rising to occupy the places of the departing Puritans. Of the theologians of the Commonwealth, he has been often compared with Owen, and with no other is it easy to find many points of comparison. But these two patriarchs and atlases of Independency, as Wood calls them, were in several particulars very unlike. Goodwin was more of a Puritan than Owen, Owen more of a Biblical scholar than Goodwin. If Owen had more profound critical learning, Goodwin was not inferior to him in general scholarship. Goodwin had his favourite authors, and he loved them fondly; Owen indiscriminately read whatever of theology he could lay his hand upon. Goodwin concentrated his thoughts upon a given subject; Owen spread his widely over it and around it. Both were said to 'hunt down a subject,' but Goodwin would drive it into a corner and grasp it there; Owen would certainly find it by searching carefully in every place in which it was possible for it to stray. Goodwin has been called diffuse and obscure by some admirers of Owen, but in these respects he seems to me the less faulty of the two. There are few passages in which his meaning is not obvious, and those would probably have been made perspicuous had he revised them. With Baxter he had little in common except his catholicity of spirit, and in this they were both superior to Owen. The three were fond of reasoning, but from different principles and in very different manner. Goodwin reasoned from his own experience; Owen from his critical and devout knowledge of Scripture; Baxter from the fitness of things. Goodwin and Owen are valuable expositors; but Goodwin well interpreted Scripture by the insight of a renewed heart—Owen, distrusting his own experience, by the patient and prayerful study of words and phrases. Baxter had neither the tact nor patience for a good expositor. All were great preachers: Owen preached earnestly to the understanding, Baxter forcibly to the conscience, Goodwin tenderly to the heart. Though there was little cordiality between Baxter and Owen, they both esteemed Goodwin—the former respectfully, the latter affectionately. A man is known by his friends. After the Restoration, Owen associated with the surviving statesmen of the Commonwealth, and numbered among his friends, the Earl of Orrery, the Earl of Anglesea, the Lords Willoughby, Wharton, and Berkeley. Goodwin passed the serene evening of his life in the intimate friendship of learned theologians, of whom the dearest to him were Moses Lowman, Theophilus Gale,

Stephen Charnock, and Thankful Owen. The former three are well known for their vast store of theological learning; and though Thankful Owen is not so well known as they, Dr Owen said of him publicly, on announcing his funeral sermon, 'He has not left behind him his equal for learning, religion, and good sense.' Such were the bosom friends of Dr Goodwin, and they had reason to be proud of his friendship, as they were all indebted to him for instruction, advice, and paternal superintendence.