

ANTIQUARY

The Identity of W. A. & Other Bibliographical Mysteries
in *Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici* (1646–1654)

INTRODUCTION

There are many difficulties an editor faces in preparing and publishing an older text. There is much work necessary in order to make the text useful to the modern reader. Perhaps the most challenging difficulties faced are in the area of bibliography, in providing as useful and complete a tracing of an author's references to other works as possible. It is significant enough work to trace a reference to a contemporary or earlier edition cited by a writer. However, nothing is more challenging than when an author makes an unclear or incorrect bibliographical reference.¹ Over the years in editing a number of seventeenth century puritan and presbyterian works, almost every title has presented at least one challenging reference that turned into a small project in its own right. After many hours of sleuthing through sources for a solution, and publishing deadlines looming, one must at some point settle for as best a solution as time affords, however unsatisfying an incomplete solution may be. Often however, if one is focused on a particular time and genre of literature, the same mystery will raise its head again and the detective work is undertaken again to see if a fuller solution is possible. This may seem an

1. Often one may assign blame to the printer, but it is often unclear if the mistake is the author's or due to a mistake made by the compositor of the type.

2. "I have been more particular in this description because I think that it is a shame not to know the whole of a small thing...." Andrew Le Mercier, *The Church History of Geneva, in five books. As also a political and geographical account of that republick* (Boston, 1732), 14. The author discovered this statement when investigating the origin of the myth that John Calvin played at bowls on the Lord's Day, which was an apt description of what proved to be a lengthy investigation. "Calvin in the Hands of the Philistines: Or Did Calvin Bowl on the Sabbath?" (1998); updated in *The Confessional Presbyterian* 6 (2010): 44.

3. *Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici, or the Divine Right of Church Government* (Naphtali Press and Reformation Heritage Books, 2020). Hereafter *JDRE*.

4. See several similar difficulties in Harrison Perkin's work with Ussher's reading list for ministers in this issue.

5. *JDRE* (2020), p. 120. By "the description expressed," the authors refer to part two, chapter one, wherein they describe the church government prescribed by Scripture, which they then defend throughout the rest of part two. See *JDRE* (2020), p. 87–88.

6. *JDRE* (2020), p. 120.

unnecessary expenditure of time, but this editor's motivation in such things, something akin to a guiding principle oftentimes, is well captured in a statement found in an old history or travelogue about Geneva: "It is a shame not to know the whole of a small thing."²

The recent project to produce a new critical edition of the London Provincial Assembly's *Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici* afforded not only several challenging bibliographical mysteries to solve, but one mystery pertained to the authorship of a tract to which an appendix of that work is devoted.³ One may see these mysteries addressed throughout the new edition, but their number, variety and interesting nature were such that an article addressing them at length was well suited to the purpose for which this recurring column was founded.

JOHN GREENWOOD AND HENRY BARROW

The first bibliographical mystery to consider in *JDRE* is the case often faced when authors give an abbreviated or inexact title for a work.⁴ The authors write:

Now, about this *subject of the power* will be the great knot of the controversy, forasmuch as there are many different claims thereof made, and urged with vehement importunity. (To omit the Romish claim for the Pope, and the prelatical claim for the bishop.) The politique Eraſtian pretends that the only proper subject of all church government is the political or civil magistrate; the gross Browniſts or rigid Separatiſts, that it is the body of the people, or community of the faithful in an equal even level. They that are more refined (who ſtyle themſelves for diſtinctions ſake "Independents"), that it is the ſingle-congregation preſbyterated, viz., the *cætus fidelium*, the company of the faithful with their preſbytery or church officers [i.e. local church ſeſſion of offices]. The Preſbyterians hold that the proper ſubject wherein Chriſt has ſeated and entrusted all church power, and the exerciſe thereof, is *only His own church officers* (as is in the deſcription expreſſed).⁵

In a footnote at "Independents," the authors refer to *Antapologia*, the well known work by Thomas Edwards, and write as well:

Eſpecially ſee a little book in 12° [duodecimo] printed in 1619, ſtyled *A Collection of Certain Matters*, which on almoſt every page pleads for Independency and Independents by name, from which moſt of the Independent principles ſeem to be derived.⁶

There is nothing by that title and contents to be found under

that date in the English Short Title Catalogue for works published between 1473 and 1801.⁷ There is in fact no title matching this description to be found over that whole time period.⁸ If this title existed, given the date of 1619 and the subject matter, it would likely have had to have been printed on the continent. However, that no hint of this title’s existence can be found tends to indicate some error was made in title or date, or both. The closest match is *A Collection of Certain Letters* by Henry Barrow and John Greenwood, but it was published in 1590 and in 4° (quarto). While requiring an error in both date and description leaves some dissatisfying room for doubt, this early work containing the views of Barrow and Greenwood would match the description of an early work exhibiting the tenets of congregationalism, though the word Independent is not used even once. Barrow and Greenwood have been among those sought by historians as the founders of the congregational system in England. They were certainly identified with Brownism, John Browne being often cast as the father of congregationalism,⁹ though he recanted.¹⁰ Still, there is enough room for doubt that another work may have been in view, though those candidates cannot be identified by the information given.

THEODORET’S *HÆRETICARUM FABULARUM*

In a revision made to the second edition of *JDRE* (1647), the authors write, “Hereunto also the judgments of antiquity evidently subscribed, accounting a bishop and a presbyter to be one and the same office in the church, as appears particularly in Ambrose, Theodoret, Jerome, and others,” providing a long marginal note of sources. The citations from Jerome pose no real difficulty and those then attributed to Ambrose only needed to be corrected as now attributed to Ambrosiaster. There was some difficulty, however, with the quotation attributed to Theodoret. This note reads, “Theodoret, speaking against the Arian heretics, reports this truth which they held, viz., Presbyterum ab Episcopo [ordine & gradu], τάξις et ἀξιώματι, non differe (dixit Aerius): sed qui Presbyter est, episcopum dici, quatenus in uno aliquo actu, in quo a [ab] Presbyterio electus est, præest cœtui, quia in ecclesia nihil [confuse] {ἀτακτῶς} fieri [geriue] debet. Theodoret. in 4. lib. de fabul. Hærtic. Aerian.” “Theodoret, speaking against the Arian heretics, reports this truth which they held, viz., “Arius stated that an Elder is no different from a Bishop in rank and honor. But an elder is called a Bishop insofar as in any particular action, in which he was selected by the Presbytery, he exercises rule over the assembly, because in the church nothing should occur or be done in a disorderly fashion.”¹¹ After searching, it was clear that this quotation is not from Theodoret’s *Hæreticarum Fabularum Libri V*. With the potential of looking for a needle in a haystack, searching online books did

yield a surprising close match. All but the last Greek in braces appears in Lambert Daneau’s commentary on Augustine’s *De Hæresibus*.¹² With the small variations there is room to doubt this is the source, at least directly. Perhaps, rather than citing Daneau directly and somehow corrupting the citation, it may be the authors found the quotation in a work that misattributed the text to Theodoret. So, while the beginning of a solution may have been found, the path by which the authors obtained the misattributed text remains unclear.

AUGUSTINE AND BASIL

Another set of errors occur in a passage in *JDRE* dealing with Acts 4:4. “Though Calvin and Beza think the three thousand formerly converted to be included in this number of five thousand (Acts 4:4), yet divers both ancient and modern interpreters are of another mind, as Augustine in Tract. 31 [sic 39] in Joan. *Accesserunt corpori Domini, (i.e.) numero fidelium tria millia hominum, item alio facto quodam miraculo accesserunt alia quinque millia, i.e., there came unto the body of the Lord in number three thousand faithful men, also by another miracle wrought there came other five thousand. So Basilius on Psalm 115...*”¹³

In the Augustine reference, there is a typographical error in all three early editions of *JDRE*. The reference should rather be to Tractate 39.¹⁴ The same reference to Basil appears in Rutherford’s *Due Right*, 426,¹⁵ which may be the source for

7. British Library, English Short Title Catalogue, www.http://estc.bl.uk/ (accessed July 11, 2020). Searches of union catalogues such as Worldcat.org, containing 450 million entries from 17,900 libraries worldwide and Copac, containing 45.5 million entries, also yielded no results (Copac is now Jisc Library Hub Discover, https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/).

8. The mystery is compounded by the fact that in the third edition of *JDRE* (1654), the date is changed from 1619 to 1646, which most likely was a typographical error given the authors highlight the work as the possible origin of the principles of congregationalism.

9. Patrick Collinson, *Godly People* (The Hambledon Press, 1983), 14, 347.

10. Champlin Burrage, *The ‘Retraction’ of Robert Browne, Father of Congregationalism: Being ‘A Reproofe of Certain Schismatical Persons [i.e. Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood, & Their Congregation] & Their Doctrine Touching the Hearing & Preaching of the Word of God’*. Written Probably Early in the Year 1588, Since Lost, & Now First Published with a Brief Account of Its Discovery (1907).

11. See *JDRE*, p. 186. The translation is given in the appendix, page 324.

12. See Lambert Daneau, *D. Aurelij Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi Liber de hæresibus* (1595), 176v.

13. *JDRE*, p. 257–258.

14. Augustine, *In Joannis Evangelium Tractus CXXIV*. PL 35. See column 1084. Cf. *NPNF1*, volume 7, page 223.

15. Samuel Rutherford, *The Due Right Due Right of Presbyteries, or, A Peaceable Plea for the Government of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1644), 426.

the reference in *JDRE*. It is incorrect. Basil does not address the subject in the Homily on Psalm 115,¹⁶ and Basil actually takes the same inclusive view as Calvin and Beza in his *Long Rules*. "... but all were governed under one and the same supervision, even though their full number was five thousand..."¹⁷ In *Due Right* just prior to the Basil reference, Rutherford cites Bede, who takes the 5,000 as a new group.¹⁸ However, it is difficult to postulate a conflation of the two citations and it may just be that Rutherford adduced Basil in error.

THEODORE BEZA ON ACTS 4:4

The remaining significant bibliographical mysteries in *JDRE* have happily more satisfying solutions. The first of these is a problematic reference that first came to view in the previously published Naphtali Press edition of the Westminster Assembly's *Grand Debate*, and came up again in *JDRE*.¹⁹ In the just adduced discussion of Acts 4:4, the authors of *JDRE* write, "Though Calvin and Beza think the three thousand formerly converted to be included in this number of five thousand (Acts 4:4)..."²⁰ The reference to Calvin was clear and without difficulty, but the citation from Beza was another matter. There is no "major" or "minor annotation" on Acts 4:4 in Beza's *Annotaciones* (1642), 306, and none traceable to the first publication

of the minor annotations.²¹ However, a note does first appear as a minor annotation in the edition of the New Testament prepared by Pierre L'Oiseleur de Villers.²² It reads, "Volentes diminuere numerum, auxerunt." L'Oiseleur explains in the preface that he added some notes where Beza's were not very full, out of those by Joachim Camerarius, whose notes were similar and for which action he claimed license from Beza granted some years before and by the fact that the late Camerarius (d. 1574) was Beza's devoted friend. "In his dedicatory epistle," L'Oiseleur explains "that some time ago Beza had left him the task of changing his *shorter* (breviores) annotations into French and of explaining the more difficult and less common phrases with brief notes." "[He] published the shorter annotations as they stood in Latin, and added the explanations of the harder passages ... from Beza's own 'majores annotationes.' He claims that he followed his own judgment on very few occasions[,] indeed[,] merely adding some notes from Camerarius in Gospels and Acts where Beza's annotations were not very full. Altogether, his principal concern, he says, was to produce a work which could pass for Beza's own."²³

This note appeared in the subsequent editions of L'Oiseleur's version of Beza and in an English translation of it first published in 1576, both often reprinted prior to 1646. The English reads: "While they [i.e., the Sadduces] thought to diminish the number, they increased them."²⁴ It is from these editions that the *JDRE* authors may draw this attribution to Beza, regardless of actual author, referring to all as "Beza." This may be because by 1642 the distinction was known and in the 1642 edition the notes have been separated out and those of Camerarius placed at the end of the volume. Also, while it may have been sufficient to deduce a mere increase at Acts 4:4, Camerarius's full note is unambiguous, indicating the number increased to 5,000, which included the earlier 3,000. "Ὡσεὶ χιλιάδες, et auctus est numerus illorum usque ad millia circiter quinque. Vel universorum, ut comprehendantur hoc numero etiam illa tria millia in capite secundo: Vel eorum qui tunc audierant Petri concionem tantus numerus accessit ad priores. Et notant Græci, quod res in contrarium veriter: Βουλόμενοι γὰρ ἐλαττεῖν τὸ σύστημα δευματοῦντες, μᾶλλον ἠύξησαν, volentes diminuere cœtum illum metu incusso, magis auxerunt."²⁵

In the Westminster Assembly's debate papers on church government, published as *The Grand Debate*, the Westminster divines cite Beza similarly but at 1 Corinthians 1:10. This was odd and a correct reference could not be found for the Naphtali Press edition of 2014. The manuscript of these papers was recently put online. There the reference is given as "2 Cor."²⁶ Both are clearly wrong, as Beza does not mention the 5,000 in either place and would have had no occasion to do so. This appended note on Acts 4:4 by L'Oiseleur must have been intended as well. This explanation just given corrects the brief and unsatisfactory note given in *The Grand Debate*.

16. See *On Christian Doctrine*, trans. Mark DelCogliano (2012).

17. Basil, "The Long Rules," in *Ascetical Works, FC 9*, 304. Cf. "Regulæ Fusius Tractatæ," Interrogatio XXXV, §3, , PG 31, col. 1008.

18. See on Acts 4:4 in *The Venerable Bede: Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, translated by Lawrence T Martin (Cistercian Publications, 1989).

19. *The Grand Debate The Reasons Presented by the Dissenting Brethren Against Certain Propositions Concerning Presbyterian Government And the proofs of them voted by the Assembly of Divines, sitting by authority of Parliament, at Westminster; together with the Answer of the Assembly of Divines to those Reasons of Dissent* (Naphtali Press, 2014), p. 77, and note 1.

20. *JDRE*, p. 257–258.

21. *Iesu Christi D. N. Novum Testamentum, sive Novum Foedus* (Geneva: Estienne, 1565), 19.

22. *Iesu Christi D. N. Nouum Testamentum* (London: Thomas Vautrollerus, 1574), 171v.

23. See Irena Backus, *The Reformed Roots of the English New Testament: The Influence of Theodore Beza on the English New Testament*, Pittsburgh theological monograph series, 28 (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Pickwick Press, 1980), 18, 21.

24. *The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ translated out of Greeke by Theod. Beza; with brief summaries and expositions upon the hard places by the said authour, Ioac. Camer., and P. Lofeler Villerius* (1576; Baker, 1599), 49v.

25. Joachimi Camerarii, "Commentarius in Novum Foedus," in *Annotaciones* (1642), 99.

26. Braye volume, Confession, f. 44r, Westminster College, Cambridge. See "The Assembly's Confession of Faith presented to the Parliament (Braye volume: Confession)," <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-WESTMINSTER-CONFESSION-00001/1> (accessed July 11, 2020).

ORIGEN CONTRA CELSUM

In the *JDRE* authors’ fourth argument for the divine right of the office of ruling elder, they adduce the testimony of ancient and modern writers. Among the ancient writers adduced, the authors make reference to Origen’s *Contra Celsum*.

Origen who lived about Anno 226 after Christ, declaring the trial of such as were to be admitted members of the church, has this passage, *Nonnulli præpositi sunt*, etc. “There are some rulers appointed who may inquire concerning the conversation and manners of those that are admitted, that they may debar from the congregation such as commit filthiness.”²⁷

The marginal note for this reference reads, “Origen. *contra Celsum*, lib. 3.” The *JDRE* authors are citing from Gillespie’s *Assertion*, as it is his English translation that is given.²⁸ Gillespie’s source appears to be the reply to Joseph Hall’s *Humble Remonstrance* (1640), by Smečtymnuus (the nom de plume for Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow), which gives the full Latin and Greek.²⁹ “Hos inter quidam constituti sunt, qui in vitam et mores eorum, qui admittuntur, inquirant, ut scelerum reis interdicant aditu in suum commune concilium...” “παρ’ οἷς εἰσι τινὲς τεταγμένοι πρὸς τὸ φιλοπευστεῖν τοὺς βίους καὶ τὰς ἀγωγὰς τῶν προσιόντων, ἵνα τοὺς μὲν τὰ ἐπίρρητα πράττοντας ἀποκωλύσωσιν.”³⁰ However, the Latin is not in the texts of *Contra Celsum*.³¹ The solution to the difference is that the Latin text cited by Smečtymnuus is also found in Ames’s *Bellarminus Enervatus*.³² In Ames, it is clear the text is not directly from Latin texts of *Contra Celsum*, but from Jean Tarin’s Greek and Latin edition of *Origenis Philocalia*, an early anthology of Origen extracts said to have been compiled by Basil the Great and Gregory Nazianzen.³³

WILLIAM WHITAKER AND RICHARD SHEERWOOD

The third of the remaining mysteries and one of the most interesting to have resolved, occurs in a reference in the long argument from 1 Timothy 5:17 already noted. In answering a twelfth exception to their interpretation of the passage, the *JDRE* authors write:

3. If preaching presbyters only should be meant here, and under that phrase “that rule well,” their whole office in general, and the right managing thereof, should be contained—whereas “laboring in the Word and doctrine” (as this exception implies) is but one part thereof—then hence it would inevitably follow that a minister deserves more honor for the well

administration of one part of his office only, than for the well managing of the whole. How absurd! Here therefore, the apostle does not compare one primary part of the pastor’s office with the whole office and all the parts thereof, but one sort of presbyters with another, distinguishing the mere ruling presbyters from the ruling and preaching presbyter (as that acute and learned Whitaker has well observed).³⁴

The issue is with the reference given for Whitaker, which reads:

Illis verbis diserte distinguit apostolus inter episcopos et inspectores ecclesiae, si omnes duplici honore digni qui bene praesunt, maxime ii qui laborant in sermone et doctrina, perspicuum est fuisse aliquos qui non laborarunt. Nam si omnes fuissent tales sensus esset absurdus, sed μάλιστα ponit discrimen. Si dicerem, omnes academici qui bene student, sunt duplici honore digni, maxime ii qui laborant in studio theologiae, vel innuo non omnes incumbere studio theologiae, vel insulse loquor. Quamobrem fateor illum esse sensum maxime genuinum, quo pastores et doctores discernuntur ab aliis qui solum gubernabant, Rom. 12:8 de quibus in Ambrosio legimus in 1 Tim. 5:17.” “Whitaker in Praelect. ut refert in refutatione concionis Dounami Shervodius. *Altare Damasc.*, cap. 12, pp. 925–926.

The authors of *JDRE* are referencing something by William Whitaker cited in David Calderwood’s *Altare Damascenum*.³⁵ Calderwood is referring to the anonymously published *An answer to a sermon preached the 17 of April, anno D. 1608, by George Downname, doctovr of divinitie and intituled A sermon defendinge the honorable function of bishops* (1609), which he attributes to Shervodius, who must be Richard Sheerwood.

Little is known about the Nonconformist Richard

27. *JDRE*, p. 213.

28. *An Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland in points of Ruling Elders, and of the Authority of Presbyteries and Synods* (Edinburgh, 1641), 69.

29. Smečtymnuus, *An Answer to a booke entituled, An Humble Remonstrance* (1641), 72.

30. Migne, *PG* 11, §5, col. 987. See *ANF* v4, §51, pp. 484–485. *Contra Celsum: Libri VIII*, trans. M. Marcovich (Brill, 2001), 193.

31. See and compare Gelenius’s text in *Contra Celsum* (1605, 2.145), *Opera* (1557), 814; (1572, 1619), 2.454, and the earlier text in *Opera* (1512), 38v; (Froben, 1536), 53A.

32. Cf. *Bellarminus Enervatus* (London, 1630), p. 87.

33. *Origenis Philocalia* (1619), 201.

34. *JDRE*, p. 209.

35. *Altare Damascenum, seu, Politia Ecclesiae Anglicanae obrusa Ecclesiae Scoticae* ([Press of the Exiled English Church]: [Amsterdam,] 1623), chapter twelve, pp. 925–926.

Sheerwood, whose early work displays some “congregational elements.”³⁶ The publisher to the reader in John Paget’s *A Defence of Church Government* (1641), identifies the author of this work as “Mr. SH.” Paget, of the English Reformed Church, Amsterdam, the presumed publishers of Calderwood’s work, was an English Presbyterian ejected for nonconformity. He apparently knew both David Calderwood and Richard Sheerwood, and was involved in editing the latter’s reply to Downname’s rebuttal to *An Answer*.

[John] Paget further arranged book affairs and gave printing advice to many scholars who needed Amsterdam printers, such as Robert Parker of Doesburg, William Ames of Franeker, David Calderwood of Edinburgh, and Mr. Sh. (Sheerwood?) of England. The latter’s second reply to Doctor Downname (*A Replye Answering a Defense*, 1613, STC 20620) was committed to Paget “for the overseeing of the presse.” Mr. Sh’ gave Paget permission to edit and revise the manuscript as he saw fit.³⁷

Writing nearly twenty years earlier in 1623, Calderwood clearly attributes authorship to Sheerwood, and he must have known this from Paget or Sheerwood directly. This heretofore-unnoticed comment by Calderwood’ confirms scholars’ suspicions previously based on John Paget’s “Mr. SH” and a simple note in a copy of “Sheerwood” by Librarian James Kennedy.³⁸

36. See Polly Ha, *English Presbyterianism, 1590–1640* (Stanford University Press, 2011), 68.

37. *Trumpets from the Tower: English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands 1600–1640*, Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History, ed. A. J. Vanderjagt. Vol. 46 (Brill, 1994), 107.

38. Cf. Vanderjagt, *ibid.*, and Samuel Halkett and John Laing, *A Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publications in the English Language*, third edition, volume 1, edited by John Horden (1882–1888, 4 vols.; Harlow: Longman, 1980, volume 1 only), page 8, No. A142. James Kennedy (1842–1925), Librarian at New College, Edinburgh.

39. Samuel Miller, *The Divine appointment, the duties and the qualifications of Ruling Elders; a sermon preached in the First Presbyterian Church in the City of New York, May 28, 1809* (New York: S. Whiting and Co., 1811), 12–13.

40. John Brown, *Vindication of the Presbyterian Form of Church Government* (1805), 177–178.

41. One may access Early Books Online at most major universities. Southern Methodist University also retains their set of the original microfilm reels before the series was digitized. Consulting the original reel confirmed the error was in the original photographing. The work has a clear break between the two parts, a long preface, and then the body of the work. A mistake was made in either perceiving the work was complete at the break or the actual original lacked the subsequent body of the work as well.

42. “Early English Books Online (EEBO) is a Proquest/Chadwyck-Healey subscription database of over 125,000 mostly English works printed between 1473 and 1700. The works are represented in digital images (in PDF and TIFF formats) and through bibliographical descriptions drawn from the English Short-Title Catalogue, the Wing

The passage in Calderwood is given and translated in John Brown’s *Vindication of the Presbyterian Form of Church Government*. Samuel Miller apparently picked up the English text from Brown as given in his *The Divine appointment, the duties and the qualifications of Ruling Elders; a sermon preached in the First Presbyterian Church in the City of New York, May 28, 1809*.³⁹

Nor is the language of Dr. Whitaker, though a zealous Episcopalian, less strong and decided with regard to this passage. “By these words,” says he, in his *Prælection*. apud Didioclav. p. 681. ex Sheervodio, “the apostle evidently distinguishes between the bishops and the inspectors of the church. If all who rule well be worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine, it is plain that there were some who did not so labour: for if all had been of this description, the meaning would have been absurd; but the word especially points out a difference. If I should say that all they who study well at the university are worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the study of theology, I must either mean that all do not apply themselves to the study of theology, or I should speak nonsense. Wherefore I confess that to be the most genuine sense by which pastors and teachers are distinguished from those who only governed, Rom. xii. 8; of whom we read in Ambrose upon 1 Tim. v. 17.”⁴⁰

Both Brown and Miller, as well as the authors of *JDRE*, appear to have understood the Whitaker quotation to appear in his published *Prælectiones*. At least, none give any clue that the reference is to something unpublished. It is true though, that one will spend much time in vain searching for the passage in any of Whitakers’ works, and this may be why no one has traced the primary reference before now. In the Latin, Calderwood does not capitalize or put the word in italics, writing “prælectionibus suis,” which does raise the possibility this referred not to any of Whitaker’s published lectures, but to something unpublished.

It became essential to consult Sheerwood’s *Answer* of 1609 for any further clues as to where he obtained this statement by Whitaker. However, this book is very rare. The book is not digitized in the usual places to look online, and, maddeningly, the example in the Early English Books collection lacks the lengthy main text, having only the preface! This also proved not to be just an error in the digitizing of the work, but the same bulk of the work is missing from the old original microfilm,⁴¹ which captured the book on film when the Early English Books collection was first undertaken starting in 1938.⁴² It was necessary to find a physical copy. Happily, there was a good example of the book in the collection of the Library of

Congress.⁴³ The original English of the text Calderwood had rendered in Latin, reads,

D. Whitakers . . . in his reading upon these words, *the elders that rule well*, etc. *spake* (it may be in M.D.[s] hearing) to this effect. *By these words (saith he) the Apostle manifestly distinguisheth between the Bishops and Overseers of the Church. If all must have double honour that rule well, they especially which labour in the word; it is clear there were some which laboured not. For if all had been such, the sentence had been absurd: but Malista maketh a difference. If I say all the Students in the university that study well, are worthy of double honour; specially those that take paines in the study of divinity; either I shew that they were not all such, or I speak foolishly, etc. Wherefore I confess that sense to be the truest, whereby the Pastors and Teachers are distinguished from others, who governed only, Rom. 12.8, of whom we may read in Ambrose on 1 Tim. 5.1. I (aye?) but M.D. will reply and say, this testimony is not in print; true, but we hope it will be, and in the mean time let him know, that D. Whitaker elsewhere, spake as much as this cometh to, and put it in print also: against Duræus, lib. 9, p. 807.*

In Sheerwood’s text it is clear that the comment from Whitaker is drawn from some unpublished unidentified lectures to which he apparently had access or possessed.⁴⁴ At this writing, no unpublished lectures had been identified which Sheerwood and Downname may have heard as students, which may remain in manuscript.

WHO WAS W.A.?

The final mystery to note is probably the most significant from a bibliographical standpoint, because it involves identifying to whom the authors of *JDRE* were replying in an appendix added in the 1647 second edition. In that appendix is a reply to *Certaine Queries touching the Ordination of Ministers*, by an author who only gave his name as “W. A.”⁴⁵ Wing attributes this tract to William Aspinwall, flourished 1648–1662,⁴⁶ which is clearly a reference to the *Dictionary of National Biography* entry of 1885 (old *DNB*), which has the entry styled that way.⁴⁷ However, old *DNB* conflates two men of that name, neither of whom is likely to have been the author of this tract. William Aspinwall (d. 1673),⁴⁸ Lancashire, was a nonconformist minister ejected in 1662. Lancashire was a Presbyterian stronghold like the larger London Provincial Assembly. He with others signed the Lancashire Harmonious Consent against a universal toleration of beliefs, and it is highly unlikely he authored this tract. William Aspinwall (d. 1702), ejected minister of Mathersey, Nottinghamshire, is

said in new *DNB* to have been often confused with the previous W.A.⁴⁹ He would have been too young to be the author (admitted to Magdalene College as a sizar in 1654), and also does not seem aligned in any way with the views of the tract.

Catalogue, the Thomason Tracts, and the Early English Books Tract Supplement.” “In 1938, Eugene Power began photographing early printed books on microfilm, initiating the imaging project that would eventually become EEBO. Early production of these microfilms increased sharply at the beginning of World War II, when global conflict threatened many of the world’s libraries and the early modern resources they contained.” “History of Early English Books Online,” Folgerpedia, https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/History_of_Early_English_Books_Online (accessed July 11, 2020).

43. My thanks to Edgar Ibarra for searching for this passage in a full copy of the work at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. “An answer to a sermon preached the 17 of April, anno D. 1608, by George Downname, doctor of divinitie and intituled A sermon defendinge the honorable function of bishops: wherein all his reasons brought to prove the honorable function of our I. bishops to be of divine institution are answered and refuted. [Amsterdam, Netherlands: J. Hondius: G. Thorp], imprinted anno 1609. 58. [2], 166 p. ; 20 cm. (4to). BX7234 .A6. At one time attributed to John Rainolds, but now known not to be by him. Cf. STC (2nd ed.). Halkett & Laing (2nd ed.) attributes the work to Sheerwood. STC (2nd ed.) gives J. Hondius as the printer of the 1st pt. and G. Thorp as the printer of the 2nd pt. Signatures: *-7⁴ 8² A-V⁴ X⁴(-X4). STC (2nd ed.) 20605. Halkett & Laing (2nd ed.), I, p. 107.”

44. Sheerwood, *An answer to a sermon preached the 17 of April, anno D. 1608, by George Downname* (1609), p. 19. This is also made clear by Gisbertus Voetius, who writes, “et in praelectionibus suis M.S. [manu scriptum, hand written] ubi ita explicat locum 1 Timothy. 5. referente Sheerwodio in refut. concionis Georg. Downani” [sic]. *Politica Ecclesiastica*, vol. 2 (1669), p. 458.

45. *Certaine Queries touching the Ordination of Ministers. Soberly propounded to the serious Consideration of all the Parochiall Ministers of England in generall; and more especially those sundry Ministers in London[,] Authors of a late printed Booke entituled Ius divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici: or the divine right of Church-Government, etc. Or The opening of a Doore into a further discussion of the divine right of Presbyters by succession, and of the interest of particular Churches in the ordination of their owne officers: As also of mens preaching without ordination.* By W. A. a well-willer to the affaires of the Gospell (London, Printed by Mathew Simmons for Henry Overton, and are to be sold by J. Pounce at the lower end of Budg-Row, neere Canning-Street. 1647).

46. The work is not mentioned in *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain*, ed. Samuel Halkett and John Laing, 4 vols. (Edinburgh: W. Paterson, 1882–88; 2nd edition, 9 vols., 1926–62). Donald Goddard Wing, et. al., *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641–1700* (New York: Published by the Index Committee of the Modern Language Association of America, 1972–1988). See also, English Short Title Catalogue online, <http://estc.bl.uk/R201381>.

47. *Dictionary of National Biography*, volume 2, ed. Leslie Stephen (New York: MacMillan and Co., 1885), 194–195.

48. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2019), see “Aspinwall, William (d. 1702),” by Catherine Nunn (September 23, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/804>.

49. *Ibid.* The two men are handled in the one entry under “Aspinwall, William (d. 1702).”

A third William Aspinwall (d. after 1662), while he does not seem to be in the sights of Wing as a potential author, also does not seem a likely candidate to have authored the tract.⁵⁰ This W.A. moved to Massachusetts Bay in 1630, and while he did return to England and was an advocate for the Fifth Monarchists, this was not until 1653. Also, it is hard to imagine that this W.A. in New England would have the timely interest in the controversy. Nor would he have had sufficient time to have obtained a copy of *JDRE* published in England by December 2, 1646, read it, written and sent the *Queries*,⁵¹ and made arrangements to have them published in England by February 27, 1647.⁵²

From internal evidence, it appears that W.A. was associated with some prominent author opposed to the goals of the English Presbyterians, and that the authors of *Jus Divinum* knew who both were. Otherwise, why take time to answer a nobody? They did not appear to regard W.A. to be a scholar himself, at one point directing him to some English histories,⁵³ and they retort elsewhere, that if Christianity had ever been extinguished from Britain, “let W.A. or his master,” demonstrate it.

While the authors may have just been treating W.A. dismissively, and by “master,” simply have meant, “let him or his betters” demonstrate it, this may rather indicate W.A. was known as part of a group with a prominent leader and that this was a reference to a specific person. A clue that this may be the case and to who this “master” was, may lie in what at first seems an inexplicable reference in the colophon affixed at the end of the appendix (see the image on the facing page). The text cited is from Augustine *On the Trinity*. “Nemo sobrius; contra scripturam [scripturas], nemo Christianus; contra Ecclesiam, nemo pacificus senserit.” “No sensible person will

50. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2019), “Aspinwall, William (d. in or after 1662),” by Francis J. Bremer (September 23, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/76217>.

51. Ships with correspondence, books etc., could take two to four months and ports were likely closed in winter. David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge U. Press, 1987), 222, 223, 233.

52. The dates are from Thomason’s copies of the works in question. *Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts Relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration, Collected by George Thomason, 1640–1661*. 2 vols. (British Museum, 1908), 1.478, 496, 502.

53. *JDRE*, footnote 20, page 309.

54. Augustine, *On the Trinity*. Cf. *PL* 42, col. 893. *The Trinity*, FC, v. 45, trans. Stephen McKenna (1963; CUA Press, 2002), 144.

55. John Coffey, *John Goodwin and the Puritan Revolution: Religion and Intellectual Change in Seventeenth-Century England* (Tamesis Books, 2008), 143.

56. Thomason, 1.491.

57. Coffey, *ibid.*, Preface, p. [vii].

58. Goodwin responded that this was misconstruing his words. See Coffey, 145–146.

59. Coffey, 145.

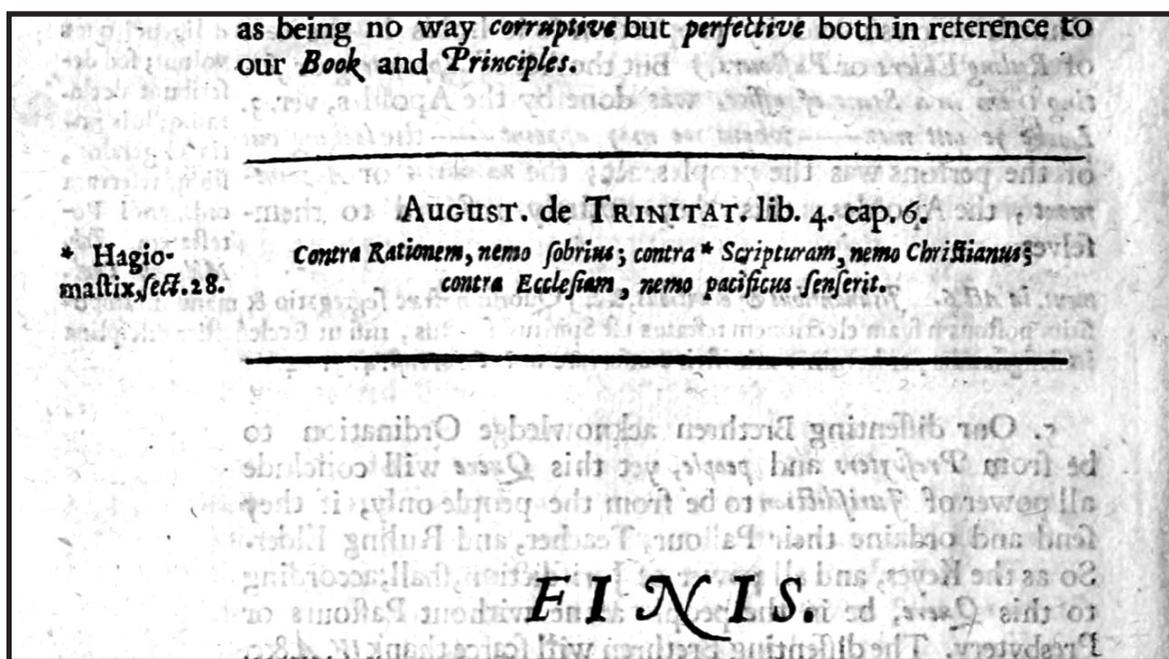
decide against reason, no Christian against the Scriptures, no peaceful man against the Church.”⁵⁴ The marginal note affixed to this statement, seemingly unusual for a colophon, refers to section 28 of John Goodwin’s *Hagiomastix, or the Scourge of the Saints*, published by Henry Overton, who published the *Queries* as well as several other titles by Goodwin. It is clear the authors of *Jus Divinum* are not citing Augustine from Goodwin, but are censuring something written by Goodwin in the cited section by means of the quote from Augustine.

John Goodwin was perhaps the most vocal and industrious writer opposed to everything the authors of *JDRE*, indeed the Westminster Assembly and all English and Scottish Presbyterianism, wished to accomplish in the Reformation of the English church. John Coffey, in comparing Goodwin with Samuel Rutherford, makes this very clear in the opening preface to his work on Goodwin.

Like Samuel Rutherford, John Goodwin was a zealous and learned Protestant divine, and a prolific pamphleteer during the 1640s and 1650s. Both men addressed major contemporary controversies over armed resistance, predestination and free will, and religious toleration. Both were resident in London in the critical years of the mid-1640s. It is not clear if they ever met face to face, but they were certainly familiar with each other’s work. Yet Rutherford and Goodwin represent radically different versions of early modern Protestantism. Rutherford was a Scot; Goodwin was English. Rutherford was a Covenanter; Goodwin a supporter of the regicide and the republic. Rutherford was a high Calvinist; Goodwin a champion of Arminianism. Rutherford was a formidable proponent of divine right Presbyterianism; Goodwin a leading Independent. Rutherford defended traditional Reformed notions of religious uniformity and coercion; Goodwin became one of England’s leading tolerationists.⁵⁵

John Goodwin’s *Hagiomastix* was published by February 5, 1647,⁵⁶ and opposed the punishing of heresy by the state expressed in the “High Presbyterianism of the City clergy.”⁵⁷ The book sparked a complaint to authorities claiming Goodwin rejected the Scriptures as the Word of God, citing text from Section 28 of *Hagiomastix*, the section singled out for censure in the colophon.⁵⁸ The publisher Henry Overton, fearing confiscation by authorities, hid the unsold copies.⁵⁹

Why did the authors put this seemingly gratuitous censure of Goodwin (as far as the subject of either *JDRE* or *Queries* was concerned) at the end of their response to the *Queries*? Rather than being completely unrelated, this colophon may show that the authors of *JDRE* knew who W.A. was and it may be a significant clue to his identity.



The colophon and marginal note at the end of the appendix in the 1647 edition of
Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici.

The controversy brought calls for John Goodwin’s congregation to depose him as their minister, which prompted a published defense of him by the church, again by Overton, signed by sixteen men of the congregation, all prominent Londoners, including Overton,⁶⁰ and John Price and Daniel Taylor, both whom Goodwin encouraged to lay preach and who also wrote pamphlets at his “behest.” Another among the sixteen is a William Allen, a “leading member of the church” and a merchant “in overseas trade.”⁶¹

Allen later led a split in the congregation, forming a Baptist church, which engaged him in a pamphlet exchange with his former pastor, who interestingly responded to Allen’s *Some Baptismal Abuses Briefly Discovered* (May, 1653), with *XL Queries*. Allen responded as W.A.⁶² He eventually via some counseling from Richard Baxter, renounced his separatism in a 1660 publication and returned to the Church of England at the Restoration.⁶³ Allen later wrote several doctrinal works.⁶⁴

Given the comments noted by the authors of *Jus Divinum*, the colophon linked to Goodwin seemingly unrelated to their response to the *Queries*, the connections between Goodwin, Allen, Overton, etc., Allen’s subsequent known publications, and one under the name W.A., and given that none of the William Aspinwalls are the likely author, William Allen certainly appears to be the true author of the *Certaine Queries*, to which the authors of *JDRE* replied in their appendix.

CONCLUSION

Editors do not go into projects desiring such mysteries as the above to solve, the time-consuming satisfactory solution of which may prove elusive. However, there is a very satisfying sense of accomplishment when there is some resolution to such perplexing references, particularly if it is a mystery standing for some several centuries. That there were so many bibliographical mysteries to solve in this revision of *Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici*, certainly made for some interesting detective work.

CHRIS COLDWELL ■

60. Overton died in 1648. He left £5 to “Mr. John Goodwin my Reverend Pastor.” *English Goodwin Family Papers*, vol. 1 (Hartford, Conn., 1921), 345.

61. *An Apologeticall Account, of Some Brethren of The Church wherof Mr. John Goodwin is Pastor: (On the behalf of the Church)...* (London: J.D. & R.I for Henry Overton). Coffey, 126, 128, and 249–250. Dr. Coffey found the case for Allen compelling, noting a similar presbyterian reference to “Price’s master,” the presbyterians being “well aware” of Goodwin’s “mobilising his inner circle” to pamphleteer. Correspondence with Matthew Vogan and John Coffey, August 19, 2019.

62. *An answer to Mr. J.G. his XL queries ... by W.A.* (1653).

63. Thomas Jackson, *The Life of John Goodwin* (1872), 34, 334. Coffey, 252.

64. These were collected and published by the Bishop of Chichester. *The Works of Mr. William Allen* (1707); see Coffey, p. 284. Like John Goodwin, Allen was an Arminian.