The Richard Baxter Treatises

A Catalogue and Guide

Alan Argent

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FOREWORD

The Baxter Treatises, held in Dr Williams's Library, London, are an unrivalled primary source for seventeenth-century history, chiefly, but not exclusively, religious and ecclesiastical history. They consist very largely of the papers of the Puritan divine Richard Baxter (1615–91), with other associated manuscripts. Baxter served as a chaplain in the Parliamentarian army during the Civil Wars, and during the Commonwealth and Protectorate he was a renowned pastor at Kidderminster in Worcestershire. At the Restoration, he was the dominant negotiator on the 'Presbyterian' side in the discussions to reach a church settlement, and thereafter the leading nonconformist, rivalled only by the Congregationalist John Owen. In these various roles, he was repeatedly consulted by political and religious leaders, dealing at first hand with Cromwell; Charles II; the Lord Chancellor Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of Clarendon; Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury; and John Tillotson, future Archbishop of Canterbury, as he tried repeatedly to secure a more inclusive national church that could accommodate the majority of nonconformist opinion. He developed a distinctive mediating theological and ecclesiastical position that came to be known as 'Baxterianism', which had a lasting influence on dissent and, indeed, on latitudinarian or 'low church' Anglicanism.

Throughout this extraordinarily industrious career Baxter was also one of the most prolific and successful English writers of the early modern period – or, indeed, of any period. He was the author of some of the seventeenth century's bestsellers, such as the repeatedly reprinted *The Saints Everlasting Rest* (1650), *The Reformed Pastor* (1656) and the *Call to the Unconverted* (1658), but in addition, in the course of his fifty-year literary career, he published also four massive folios each of 1,000,000 or so words, many quartos of 500 or more pages, and countless smaller tracts and treatises. In all, somewhere in the region of 140 distinct titles appeared over his name. This was productivity enough for any man, but for Baxter it was only part of his output. He was besides an indefatigable correspondent (some 1,200 letters are extant) and generator of unpublished papers – controversial pieces, ecclesiastical proposals and ecumenical platforms, proposals and models for reform and reconciliation, and tracts responding to particular published works by others and commenting on current affairs. Throughout his life, he moved between print and manuscript with no sense of either impropriety or generic difference. He printed personal letters in many of his published works, and many of his theological and ecclesiological controversies prompted private communications with opponents (both written and oral) as well as printed responses. There was never a more compulsive communicator.

Although these papers suffered from the removals, distraints and harassment that were the price of Baxter's nonconformity under the penal religious legislation of the

Restoration period, an extensive collection of treatises, tracts, disputations, doctrinal and ecclesiastical statements, letters and miscellaneous documents remained at his death. In the early eighteenth century, a great part of this archive came to be deposited in the library founded by the will of his younger contemporary, Dr Daniel Williams, a staunch 'Baxterian' in theology and ecclesiology. These holdings constitute a unique record of the tangled web of ecclesiastical, and to a degree political, interactions during the period; they also provide a variety of other kinds of first-hand evidence, for Baxter was both extremely widely connected and extremely well-read. He was also indefatigably curious. However, for two reasons this evidence has been largely inaccessible: first, the 362 or so items (many of them substantial) are held in no particular order – indeed, they are so muddled up that it is very difficult to lay related papers together (individual records are often separated and distributed throughout the archive) or to follow the course of a debate or sequence of events; and secondly, there is no adequate catalogue of the archive. Scholars have had to make do with the listing made in 1959 by Roger Thomas, then the Librarian. Although very helpful, this is bald in the information it provides, organized very largely as a key to the papers relevant to Baxter's autobiographical *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ* (1696) rather than as a catalogue of the Baxter Treatises, and not always based on first-hand examination of the papers themselves.

Dr Williams's Library is currently engaged on a conservation project to prevent further deterioration of the collection, which has suffered over the years from a variety of forms of neglect, misuse and misguided attempts at both organization and preservation. In the course of this work, Dr Alan Argent has undertaken a thorough and painstaking examination of every document, recording in a standardized form, with full indexing, its location in the collection, its material and palaeographical characteristics, its contents, and references to it by Thomas and in earlier hand-written library lists and catalogues. He also provides a full introduction to the Treatises, cross-references within the collection, and references to the documents in historiographical and bibliographical works. The result is a treasure-trove of information that will prove invaluable to historians of later seventeenth-century English religious and political history in general, and, of course, of Baxter in particular. Thanks to Dr Argent, it is possible for the first time since Dr Williams's Library opened in 1729/1730 to know in detail just what is held in the Baxter Treatises and to find one's way around in the collection. His work has made available and accessible one of the richest primary sources among the many unique manuscript collections held in the Library.

Dr Argent's catalogue is not only an invaluable scholarly resource; it is also extremely timely. Both Baxter and the collections held in Dr Williams's Library are currently enjoying an unprecedented degree of academic interest. There have been a number of recent studies of Baxter, and an edition of his autobiographical *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ* is in preparation for Oxford University Press, as is an edition of his correspondence (also held largely in the Library). Recent multi-volume editions of the papers and minutes of the Westminster Assembly, edited by Chad van Dixhoorn, and of the Entring Book of Roger Morrice (one of Baxter's literary executors), under the general editorship of Mark Goldie, derive from Dr Williams's holdings. Whether Dr Argent's work will lead to editions of other Baxter papers

remains to be seen, but there can be no doubt of the debt that future research into early modern English intellectual, cultural and bibliographical history will owe to Dr Argent.

N. H. KEEBLE
Emeritus Professor of English Studies
University of Stirling, Scotland

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It would be wrong to deny that in many ways this has been a collaborative venture, and I am grateful to several friends and colleagues for their assistance and advice. I was assisted in the early stages by Micol Barengo, who helped to save me from several errors. Where she and I on occasion stumbled over the correct readings of Baxter's handwriting, or that of others who appear in the treatises, we were rescued by Dr Elizabeth Danbury. Jane Giscombe has been fully involved in advising on the handling of the treatises throughout, and she retains responsibility for their conservation. In addition she has helped with the measurement of the manuscripts and with the descriptions of the state of the paper throughout. Dr David Wykes first entrusted me with this commission, and from to time has contributed the reading of a difficult name or passage. David Powell has checked the Latin throughout, has also pondered over difficult transcriptions and, in particular, has supplied details of the Physiologus tales (see Treatises, v. 137). Dominique March has helped with the French and Peter Young has assisted with the index. I am grateful to Drs Tim Cooper and Tom Charlton (who with Professors John Coffey and N. H. Keeble are producing a new and critical edition of the *Reliquiae Baxterianae*) for help with certain treatises. I am especially grateful to N. H. Keeble for his writing the foreword to this volume. He has also given encouragement and support throughout.

This work has been published with the help of grants from the late Miss Isobel Thornley's Bequest to the University of London and from the Scouloudi Foundation in association with the Institute of Historical Research. Michael Middeke, on behalf of the publishers, has exercised exemplary patience in his dealings with me. For all these aids and encouragements I am grateful. My main hope must be that readers will benefit from our work.

Alan Argent

ABBREVIATIONS

AGM	*The Works of Richard Baxter. An Annotated List* (1932), compiled by A. G. Matthews (listed without annotations in *Corr* vol. I, xxi–xxiv). Here the reference given is to Matthews's numbering of Baxter's publications in chronological order
Black	W. H. Black's MS catalogue of the Baxter Treatises, prepared 1856–63
Corr	N. H. Keeble and G. F. Nuttall (eds) *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter* (Oxford 1991), 2 vols (the references are to the letters as numbered in these volumes)
CR	A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (Oxford 1934)
DAB	*Dictionary of American Biography*
DWB	*Dictionary of Welsh Biography*
DWL	Dr Williams's Library, London
Entring Book Glossary	*The Entring Book of Roger Morrice, 1677–1691, Volume VI*, ed M. Goldie (Woodbridge 2007) – M. Goldie 'Glossary'
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
McElligott	*The Entring Book of Roger Morrice, 1677–1691, Volume VI*, ed M. Goldie (Woodbridge 2007) – J. McElligott 'Biographical Dictionary'
ODCC	*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
Rel.	R. Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ: or, Mr. Richard Baxter's narrative of the most memorable passages of his life and times* (ed M Sylvester), one volume in three parts (1696)
Thomas	R. Thomas, *The Baxter Treatises – a catalogue of the Richard Baxter papers (other than the letters) in Dr Williams's Library* – Dr Williams's Library Occasional Paper No. 8 (1959)
VCH	*Victoria County History*
Wing	D. G. Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America … 1641–1700* (New York 1972–98)

NOTES

Reference in Dr Williams's Library, General quarterly meetings of Dr Williams's Trustees:

7 October 1856: states that the Baxter collection was bound in thirteen volumes, comprising six volumes of Letters (621 articles) and seven volumes of Treatises (276 articles).

Black's catalogue

As stated, the antiquarian W. H. Black compiled his catalogue of the Baxter manuscripts ('Treatises') between 1856 and 1863 for Dr Williams's Trustees. He seems to have been permitted to take items home to work on them and in 1872, when he died, some items from the Treatises were discovered at his home.

Roger Thomas's catalogue

Roger Thomas arranged his less substantial catalogue in 1959 – published as DWL Occasional Paper No. 8 – referenced below as *Thomas*, followed by the page number in his catalogue.

Black began his handwritten catalogue thus:

Treatises, Disputations, Sermons and Exercises; also Original Documents, or Drafts thereof, and Miscellaneous Papers, written by, or relating to the venerable Richard Baxter or found in his possession at his death; numbered in three series (1–131, 1–60, 1–85) apparently by his biographer Matthew Sylvester, including some of his papers also; and now bound in written seven volumes lettered 'Baxter Treatises, etc. vol. I' and so forth.

These papers are of different sizes, as now flattened and bound; and are written by different hands. Where not otherwise described, they are to be understood as written by Baxter. To each 'volume' is prefixed a List of the Contents, transcribed by Mr Cogan from the old MS Catalogue (No. II), and noticing the copies that had occurred before his time, some of which however now appear to be only transpositions. The following is a detailed and exact account of the several articles [here called items], the old numbers of which are here retained.

EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

Format:

Treatises, i. 1: 'i' refers to volume number; '1' refers to the item number

Dates in square brackets are conjectural

Punctuation (including square brackets) in the quotations reproduced here from the Treatises follows that in the original as far as possible

Words partly italicized (e.g. B*isho*ps) in the quotations indicate the letters added to expand abbreviations for ease of understanding

INTRODUCTION

The Baxter Treatises

Richard Baxter (1615–91) was described by A. G. Matthews in *Calamy Revised* as 'the outstanding figure among ejected ministers'.[1] Although he was one of those ministers appointed as chaplains to the king in 1660, and despite his attendance at and contribution to the negotiations held at the Savoy to decide on the shape and details of the restored Church of England, he was harassed and imprisoned in the reigns of both Charles II and James II. Although at least one modern account states that Baxter 'retired from the Church of England on the passing of the Act of Uniformity',[2] giving a misleading impression of genteel withdrawal from public life, he and almost 2,000 other nonconformist divines felt compelled to make a principled and self-denying choice to remain outside the establishment.[3] Yet, in spite of the harsh treatment meted out to him after 1662, Baxter consistently favoured the cause of ecclesiastical comprehension and did not actually leave the Church of England, although he was inhibited in the continuance of his ministry. In fact he sought to and did attend the parish churches whenever he could, though that attendance also brought him some criticism.

N. H. Keeble has described Richard Baxter as 'throughout his life a voluminous correspondent',[4] and the great volume of his correspondence is matched by that of his many other writings, which demonstrate a consistent engagement with current affairs, with movements in theology and with the vicissitudes of everyday life. Dr Williams's Library in London contains the great majority of the extant manuscripts that relate to Baxter, among which are numerous letters, the subject of Keeble and Nuttall's two-volumed *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter* (Oxford 1991). Certainly Baxter could not refrain from writing. This puritan minister who did not attend university lived as much through his writings as through any other medium. The annotated list of Baxter's works, compiled by A. G. Matthews in 1932, contains 135 works written and published in his lifetime and six more published posthumously, including his autobiography, the *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (1696). A further thirty-seven contributions to other works were also listed by Matthews, to which Geoffrey Nuttall added another seventeen, in his own copy of Matthews's

1 A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (Oxford 1934) 9.

2 *The Entring Book of Roger Morrice, 1677–1691, Volume VI*, ed M. Goldie (Woodbridge 2007) – J. McElligott 'Biographical Dictionary' 18–19.

3 *CR* xii–xiii.

4 N. H. Keeble and G. F. Nuttall, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter* (Oxford 1991) I, xxv.

list (now held at Dr Williams's Library).[5] That is, Baxter wrote or contributed to something like 195 published works.

The manuscripts, contained in the Baxter Treatises at DWL, offer drafts and copies of some of his better-known works, including much that makes its way into the later published *Reliquiae Baxterianae*. As a whole the treatises offer revealing insights into the creation of his published works, as well as his responses to other people's writings. They are not easy to consult, however, for they have been arranged haphazardly. They also contain some scoring out and marginal notes and, at times, a good deal of shorthand.

In addition, then, to the six volumes of Baxter letters in the DWL holdings (containing some 621 separate items), several so-called volumes of Baxter 'Treatises' are held at DWL, the first seven of which were the most weighty and most significant. These seven volumes, now taken apart, have contained about 274 separate items. Furthermore fourteen slighter volumes containing about eighty-eight items made an approximate total of items in the Baxter Treatises of 362. The highest-numbered item listed in this catalogue is 378, but there are fewer treatises than this partly because those in the missing volume VIII have received new numbers for the copies provided in volume XXII. Additionally, other items were removed in the past from the former bound volumes and relocated with new numbers in the sequence. Many of the items are subdivided and some are bulky, making a substantial amount of material overall.

The present catalogue aims to be user-friendly, providing readers with an outline of each treatise so that they might easily see the possible benefits from consulting them. These 'volumes' of treatises have constituted in effect loose gatherings of manuscripts jumbled together at some time in the past and subsequently kept in modern and more appropriate boxes, designed to hold such archives, in contrast to their previous homes and storage conditions. They have recently undergone serious conservation (aided by a grant from the National Manuscripts Conservation Trust), although they retain the same numbers in their improved conditions. Future researchers may expect to find them maintained in facilities designed to preserve the manuscripts and minimizing any possible deterioration.

The volumes consist of treatises, tracts, disputations, sermons, exercises, drafts, letters and miscellaneous papers. Although, as a collection, the Baxter holdings at DWL are widely recognized to be of considerable importance, the treatises themselves have been largely ignored or overlooked by scholars, unaware of their existence or daunted by their diversity, complexity and situation. The treatises were not all written by Baxter, although most relate to him in some way, but again not all. For instance, Treatises, ii. 55 contains the remarks of Sir Francis Nethersole (1587–1659) concerning two articles in The Solemn League and Covenant of 1643. Nethersole saw the articles as resembling a creed, although he had no deep conscientious problem with the covenant itself, for he believed that parliament had raised its forces for the houses' 'just defence' against the army of the king.

Nevertheless the treatises are correctly known as The Baxter Treatises because they were found to be in his possession at his death, probably by his executor,

5 A. G. Matthews, *The Works of Richard Baxter. An Annotated List* (1932). Nuttall's copy of this volume is held among his books in Dr Williams's Library, London.

Matthew Sylvester (1636/7–1708), also an ejected minister, to whom Baxter in his will left £20 and the care of all his manuscripts, none of which were to be published without the approval of certain named nonconformist ministers, among whom were Roger Morrice (1628/9–1702) and Daniel Williams (c 1643–1716).[6] Unfortunately, Sylvester proved unable to impose order upon Baxter's 'great quantity of loose Papers' – hence the confused state of the *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, which reflects the similar disorder of the treatises.

The Baxter manuscripts as a whole became part of Dr Williams's Library's collection in the early eighteenth century, though the precise circumstances of their coming to the library are unclear. The nineteenth-century cataloguer William Henry Black (1808–72)[7] wrote of the gift of Matthew Sylvester and of the subsequent arrival of the Baxter manuscripts from such a named person to this library in 1733. Baxter's executor, Matthew Sylvester, had died in 1707/8 (some eight years before Daniel Williams's own death), yet his son was also named Matthew, and it is likely that they came from him.

The Treatises

The Baxter Treatises are written on paper of different sizes, all of which in the past have been flattened and bound. The term bound may give a misleading impression of collections of manuscripts of different sizes grouped together and, in many cases forced together, as they once were, into untidy, ill-fitting sets, with larger manuscripts folded so as to conform to the size of the volume. In addition, the Baxter Treatises were written by different hands, and some may have once belonged to other collections, especially that of Roger Morrice. Furthermore the reasons why the treatises are numbered and ordered as they are difficult to fathom. Chronologically they range across Baxter's life from the 1630s (with his admission to deacon's status and his licence to preach in the Church of England in 1638) to his death in 1691, although not all the treatises are dated. Where they are undated, some approximate dates were estimated by Roger Thomas, Dr Williams's librarian 1946–67, in his catalogue of 1959, largely basing his estimates upon references in the *Reliquiae Baxterianae*.

Following Thomas's example, I have also attempted in this catalogue, on internal evidence, on an individual treatise's relation to outside events and to contemporary publications, to offer an approximate date for some treatises. However, these estimates should be treated as such and should not be regarded as authoritative. I have indicated where the paper on which a manuscript has been written retains its deckle edge, that is, the uncut feathery edge of hand-made paper, in contrast to a cut edge, which may be of interest to paper historians.

The treatises are written on white paper, which in Baxter's lifetime was almost exclusively imported from continental Europe, and among the treatises, as might

6 *CR* 39, 473–4. The other ministers, with Morrice and Williams, were Thomas Doolittle (1630/33?–1707) and William Lorimer, both included in *CR*. For Sylvester, Morrice, Williams and Doolittle, see also *ODNB*.

7 For Black, see *ODNB*.

be expected, are examples of paper from the busy mills of Angoulême especially and from Normandy, as well as some from the burgeoning Dutch paper-making industry, which was boosted with the influx of refugee Huguenots. Frequently, as the treatises demonstrate, Baxter himself used good-quality writing paper, such as Treatises, i. 13, ii. 60 (1) and iv. 96 (light cream-coloured French paper), but he was not always in a position to be fussy and his need to write overrode his access to fine paper. As a result the treatises also contain occasional examples of poorer stuff, examples of which are found in Treatises, v. 162 and vii. 240.

The treatment of Treatises, v. 145 (and its implication for Treatises, ii. 58) demonstrates that a detailed examination of the watermarks might yield helpful information with regard to the date of manuscripts and to their provenance. In the absence of other firm evidence, such a study promises to be of great assistance to the researcher.

The Arrangement of the Treatises

As stated, the arrangement of the manuscripts in the volumes is haphazard and accords to no clear principles of subject matter or chronology. For instance, the first item in volume 1, that is Treatises, i. 1, is a brief of the charges against Baxter from his trial in 1685, whereas Treatises, vii. 267 is a letter from Baxter, dated 16 and 17 March 1654/5, and Treatises, vii. 268 is dated 25 October 1672, being a letter from Baxter to a person at court, requesting the king's licence for preaching.[8] Treatises, iv. 122 is a certificate from the Westminster Assembly of Divines in March 1648 approving Baxter's appointment to the parish church in Kidderminster, in Worcestershire.

The treatises are, therefore, a decidedly mixed assortment, but they offer the scholar a feast of informed, perceptive insights into the second half of the seventeenth century, mostly from a tolerant, if opinionated, observer. Perhaps the nonconformists in general might have been best advised in the Restoration period to obey the law and avoid controversy, which some did, but Baxter was unable to limit himself to such guarded behaviour. Therefore the treatises, if properly catalogued and listed, with clear descriptive outlines of what lies within the manuscripts, constitute a rich source into the life and times of one awkward and energetic individual in particular (informing and filling out passages in the *Reliquiae*), but also into late seventeenth-century English life in general.

Previous Catalogues

The treatises have been catalogued twice before with different degrees of success – by W. H. Black between 1856 and 1863 and by Roger Thomas in 1959, the latter published as an Occasional Paper (No. 8) of the library. Both these catalogues have their merits. Black's is itself now an aged and valuable manuscript, in one bound volume that shows signs of wear. At places its pages are torn, its spine is missing

8 *Corr* 225, 899.

and its cover is loose. Nevertheless it is full and detailed and usually accurate, though it is handwritten, and Black's hand, like Baxter's, is not always easy and clear, with crossings out, late inclusions, over-written notes, notes in the margin and after-thoughts. He also has his own consistently singular spellings, such as the oft-repeated 'draught' (sic) rather than the more conventional draft. Like Baxter, who rarely bothered, when he was in full flow, to cross his ts, Black at times found such crosses unnecessary or tiresome, thus rendering his handwriting a challenge. Furthermore Black often refers to Baxter's *Autobiography*, which should more properly be called *Reliquiae Baxterianae*.[9] Yet Black the cataloguer did a good job of transcribing the difficult treatises, including the not infrequent Latin, and tracing those names mentioned and their works, and his work remains of enduring value.

A century after Black, Thomas's catalogue did not replace his predecessor's. Rather Thomas intended to 'introduce some sort of order into a very miscellaneous set of papers' and, unlike Black's, as a printed listing, his catalogue was available for readers for a small sum. Modestly Thomas saw his work as an aid to scholars, and he maintained that 'many more links could have been established with more prolonged research'. That remains true.

Roger Thomas noted three major disadvantages with Black's catalogue. Firstly, he found that Black's entries were 'so full that the essentials are often lost in a multiplicity of detail and in its entirety it is too long for convenient reproduction'. Secondly, he criticized Black for adhering to 'the order of the papers as they lie in the bound volumes, an order which is little short of chaotic'. Thirdly, Black's catalogue has no index, nor, wrote Thomas, 'any sort of key to the chaos' – the chaos being the arrangement of the treatises. To consider these disadvantages in reverse order, we may concur that an index would be an asset in such a work. We may also feel that some rearrangement of the material would be desirable. Indeed Thomas's rearrangement in his catalogue was to date the treatises, as far as possible, by fitting them into the chronology of Baxter's life, as set out in *Reliquiae Baxterianae*. However, his rearrangement does not entirely succeed. Lastly, readers may not share Thomas's view that the length of Black's entries and comments is a great difficulty. As a librarian, Thomas aimed at conciseness and a paucity of surplus detail, whereas the average reader may desire more information in order to make an informed judgement of the manuscript's usefulness to his/her researches. More information may be an asset.

Roger Thomas admitted that he had made 'little effort to go behind Black's individual entries'. Indeed, he continued truthfully, his own catalogue is but 'a re-arrangement of Black's entries, abbreviated as much as possible'. That, of course, might be all very well, if Black had made no mistakes. Alas, he did make some, not a huge number, but some errors did creep in and Thomas repeated them. Indeed Thomas usually quoted Black verbatim, and a careful check seems to suggest that Thomas may have consulted the original manuscripts only sparingly, if at all, and compiled his 1959 catalogue principally from Black's work.

9 The full title is: *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ: or, Mr. Richard Baxter's narrative of the most memorable passages of his life and times· Faithfully publish'd from his own original manuscript, by Matthew Sylvester* (1696).

As stated, Thomas maintained that the key to imposing order on the chaos of the Baxter Treatises lay in relating the various items contained in the volumes to what was printed in Baxter's autobiography, the *Reliquiae Baxterianae* of 1696. Thomas noted that a 'considerable number of the items were the original drafts or the original copy' of what was later printed in the *Reliquiae*. Other items, where dates can be discovered, were included by Thomas under that date, although, he wrote, 'the dates assigned are in many cases only convenient pegs (such as a relation to some published work) and must not be otherwise relied upon'. In addition, he linked some undated items to dated items because 'of similarity of subject matter'. The result was that Thomas arranged Baxter's material into six sections as they appeared to relate to passages in the *Reliqiuae Baxterianae*. Yet each of these sections contains a number of additional items from the treatises, which, Thomas believed, were 'Other Items' dating roughly from that same period of time. In addition, Thomas had a section of items dated after Baxter's death.

A first-time reader of Thomas may easily be put off by the strange presentation of his material, which is almost completely impossible to use without some prior acquaintance with the *Reliquiae*, with Black's catalogue, and/or with the original treatises. Thomas's work is therefore an educated hit and miss, as he more or less admitted himself. If his catalogue depended on his ability to offer accurate or approximate dates, then the four pages of 'undated items', at the end of his catalogue, raise serious questions about his strategy.

One obvious advantage that a modern cataloguer has over Black and Thomas is access to the two volumes of Keeble and Nuttall's *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter* (Oxford 1991), which marked a great advance in Baxter studies. Their *Calendar*'s usefulness at every stage of my work is clear.

The Volumes

Although the treatises are arranged in seven main volumes of material, twenty-one volumes of varying size and descriptions are deemed to exist in DWL's listing. The additional volumes are far smaller, and include volume VIII, the original of which is now housed in the British Library as part of the Egerton manuscript 2570. A photocopy of this, supplied in the 1950s, now forms part of DWL's collection and is volume XXII of the Baxter Treatises at DWL. Volume IX is the life of Thomas Hall (1610–65), the minister of King's Norton, Worcestershire from 1640, and related papers.[10] Volumes X–XII are commonplace books, mainly in shorthand and consisting of extracts from books and a variety of notes. Volume XVII is the diary of the Puritan cleric Richard Rogers (1551–1618),[11] which was supposedly transcribed, edited and published by the American scholar M. M. Knappen in his *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries* (1933), as Thomas confidently announced. However, Knappen admitted that his transcription was partial, and in truth it requires some effort to see its resemblance to the original. A comparison of Knappen's book with the manuscript shows that he started his published 'copy' some halfway down the

10 For Hall, see *ODNB* and *CR*.
11 For Rogers, see *ODNB*.

first page and failed to indicate in his publication that he had left considerable gaps. It is, therefore, at best misleading. As Thomas stated, this diary should not really be included among the Baxter holdings for it is listed in a catalogue of the manuscripts of Roger Morrice and properly belongs with his material.

Thomas had a further reason for writing his catalogue, which was to afford a key to the microfilm that had been made from the volumes of manuscript, and this has proved to be its chief benefit to the dedicated reader. That microfilm is still available. The item numbers had been inserted by Black for the seven volumes that he consulted, and Thomas continued that numbering throughout the subsequent volumes. Those same item numbers were inserted above all items in the microfilm, together with volume numbers and foliation.

The Contents of the Baxter Treatises

The treatises reveal not only Baxter's contacts with the highly placed like Archbishop Ussher of Armagh; Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London and later Archbishop of Canterbury; Sir Edward Hyde, Lord Chancellor, later Lord Clarendon; Lord Orrery; Lord Conway (Baxter's stepmother was Conway's aunt and he addressed Baxter's father as 'cousin'), but also his and his contemporaries' dealings with humble apprentices, troubled wives and mothers, Baptists and Quakers. Moreover they touch on the bizarre, eccentric and the mundane. The treatises show a concern for both the saving of souls and the saving of bodies.

The wide-ranging nature of Baxter's concerns is evident in other of his writings here. Towards the end of his life, Baxter wrote a political, ecclesiastical and historical tract on the true state of the divisions in England (Treatises, i. 13) in order to inform better any foreigners who might 'marvel at the madness and misery of distracted and divided England'. Yet, he wondered solemnly, 'Is any great part of this world in any better case?'

Inevitably the treatises touch on Baxter's brushes with the law. One document from June 1669 is directed to the Keeper of His Majesty's Gaol, known as the New Prison, in Clerkenwell. It states that Baxter had preached 'in an unlawful assembly, conventicle or meeting', and as a result he was to be detained and imprisoned in the New Prison. Also in 1669 (Treatises, ii. 43) is the warrant for Baxter's arrest, issued to the constables of Acton where Baxter was then living. The constables were informed that they must straightway apprehend Baxter and bring him before the justices at the Red Lion in Brentford on the following Friday.

In 1683 Baxter wrote in defence of nonconformist ministers to an unnamed Scottish lord (Treatises, i. 20) who did not understand, in Baxter's words, 'our case'. 'My Lord, you tell me that you were among some great men, when one said, He went to here Mr Baxter and that he preacht & prayed so well that his judgment was, He ought to be beaten with many stripes.' However, in October 1686 we have, but not in Baxter's own handwriting, his petition to the king, then James II (Treatises, ii. 30). In this Baxter asked the monarch to allow his discharge from the bond and penalties imposed upon him unjustly, in his view, two years previously. By then he had been in prison for over a year and he was not to be released for another six months or so.

Almost at the end of his life, Baxter's concern for common folk surfaced in 'The Husbandman's advice to rich racking landlords', which was 'written in Compassion especially of their soules and of the land' (Treatises, iii. 63). He exhorted 'the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen of England … not to come to Dives' place of torment [a reference to the biblical story of the rich man and Lazarus – Luke 16:19–31]: and to believe Christ who assureth them that by what they faithfully give to the poore, they give incomparably more to themselves, as giving it to him that will reward them'. This manuscript, consisting of seven chapters, was written by Baxter in October 1691, a few weeks before his death.[12]

One obvious fact that emerges from a study of the Baxter Treatises is that Baxter himself, perhaps like many of his contemporaries among English ministers, both conformists and nonconformists, was to modern minds extraordinarily well-read. That is, the Treatises throw up his acquaintance not only with the celebrated writings of Augustine, Origen and Lactantius, with the reformers Calvin, Bucer and Beza, and with contemporary philosophers like Hobbes and Spinoza, all of which might be expected, but also with the Dutchmen Hugo de Groot (Grotius) and J. J. Scaliger; the French Reformed theologians Raymond Gaches, David Blondel and Daniel Chamier; the Germans Schwenckfeld, Polanus and Johnannes Clauberg; the disciple of Boehme, Quirinius Kuhlmann; the Italian, Girolamo Zanchi (Zanchius); the medical scholar Jan Jesensky of Prague; and the Polish Reformed thinker Jan Makowski (Maccovius), among many others, revealing a network of intellectual contacts that transcended national boundaries and prejudices. This erudition enabled him to provide thoughtful responses to immediate issues, which marked his writings and rendered his work so difficult to dismiss.

Conclusion

In the second half of the seventeenth century, although a nonconformist, Baxter remained concerned with national affairs, and especially but by no means only religious affairs. The Baxter holdings at DWL are of great significance. Their condition and their contents demand careful and sensitive handling from both library staff and readers. This catalogue is an attempt to render the Baxter Treatises more accessible to readers.

12 It was edited by F. J. Powicke and printed in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* in 1926.

Catalogue

Volume I

Treatises, i. 1 **[1685]**
Brief of the charges against Baxter

ff 2–13b (ff 2v, 3v, 4v, 5v, 6v, 7v, 8v, 9v, 10v, 11v are blank)

Brief of the charges against Baxter arising from his publication of *A Paraphrase on the New Testament*, 1685.

See *Rel*. iii. 198.

ff 2–3: The Accused Words
372 x 304 mm.

'I. On Math. 5.19. Whosoever shall break one of these least Commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called least in the Kingdome of God.'
With Baxter's corrections and crossings out.
For an improved copy of this, see Treatises, i. 5.

ff 4–5: Untitled
375 x 305 mm.

'II. Mark 3:6, When Christ had by Miracle cured a Man, its said "The Pharisees went forth & straightway took Councell with the Herodians against him, how they might destroy him."'
With Baxter's underlinings and crossings out.

ff 6–7: Untitled
375 x 305 mm.

'III. The next Accusation is Mark. 9:39. ["Jesus said forbid him not, for there is no man who shall do a Miracle in my Name that can lightly speak evil of me; for he that is not against us is on our part."'
With Baxter's insertions and crossings out.

f 8: Untitled
195 x 305 mm.

'IV. Mark 11:31. The Text is ["They reasoned with themselves saying If we shall say from Heaven he will say why then did ye not believe him? But if we shall say of men, they feared the people, for all men counted John that he was a prophet indeed: And they Answered we cannot tell."'
With marginal note in a clear hand.

f 9: Untitled
190 x 305 mm.

'V. Mark 12.38.39.40. Beware of the Scribes who love to go in Long Cloathing, & love Salutations in the Market places, who devour Widows, Houses, & for a pretence make long Prayers: These shall receive greater damnation.'
Some crossings out and underlining by Baxter.

f 10: Untitled
228 x 305 mm.

'VI. Luk. 10.2. The Harvest truly is great, but the Laborers are but few: Pray ye therefore the Lord of the Harvest that he would send forth Laborers into his Harvest.'
Marginal note and crossings out by Baxter.

f 11: Untitled
180 x 305 mm.
'VII. John 11.57. Both the Cheif Preists and the Pharisees had given a Comandement that if any man knew where he were, he should shew it, that they might take him.'
With Baxter's insertions and crossings out.

f 12: Untitled
370 x 305 mm.

f 12r: 'VIII. Act. 15.1.2. And certain men that came down from Judea taught the Brethren & said Except ye be – circumcised after the manner of Moses ye cannot be saved. When therefore Paul and Barnabas had no small Dissention and Disputation with them.'
f 12v: 'V. If it were proved that I meant my reproofes of English B*isho*ps, it had not therfore bin Sedition.'

See also Treatises, vii. 253, which begins with the same words as f 12v.

Baxter has added a note at the bottom of the page.
'The Kings words of us [cc Decl. 1660 Oct. 25. To our great Satisfaction and Comfort, we found them persons full of Affection to us; of Zeale for the Peace of the Church & State; & neither enemies (as they have bin given out to be) to Episcopacy or Liturgie; but Modestly to desire such alterations in either, as without shaking foundations might best allay the present distempers]'

For an improved copy, see Treatises, i. 5.

f 13r: 'XXX The danger of Charging Ministers with unexpressed feigned meanings'

Other foliation (not in the original ms) f 5
375 x 305 mm.

'1. The use of words is hereby overthrowne which is to expresse so much of our thoughts as we would communicate what is not expressed is not spoken. And no men are judges of Secret thoughts; it is the prerogative of God alone.'

f 13v: 'X That I am not the odious seditious person described
1 Though in my youth in 1642 & 1643 I trusted the doctrine of Hooker & of Papist & Protestant writers of Politiks, who derive the Civil power from the People, And

by the murder of 200000 in Ireland was frightened into a beliefe of the Parliaments Remonstrance:'
Marginal notes, insertions and crossings out.

Black Brief of the charges against Baxter, when prosecuted in 1685; containing 'The accused words' selected from his *Paraphrase on the New Testament*, with answers thereto by his Counsel; altered and enlarged throughout by Baxter himself; in seven brief sheets, including three sides of Baxter's special allegations and arguments for his own defence. Treatises, i. 5 seems to have been compiled out of these materials.

Thomas p 21.

See *Rel.* iii. 198–200.

A damaged and discoloured manuscript but a neat clerical hand, with flourishes, interspersed with Baxter's own comments and emendations. This is clearly an early draft. The bold strokes and the crossings through the text were probably made by Baxter, perhaps removing any comments that he had decided not to use in his defence.

All the above are sermons or sermon notes, chiefly aimed against the Church of England hierarchy, namely Dr Henry Hammond – dating from post-1662 and the ecclesiastical settlement.

Baxter liked Hammond's *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the books of the New Testament* (1653) and had his own copy. See *Corr* 1146.

For Henry Hammond (1605–60), whom Baxter regarded as among the main proponents of 'the New Prelatical way', see *Rel.* ii. 208–10, *Corr* 130, 133, 207, 252, 261, 292, 324, 355, 391, 393, 406, 513, 581, 582, 592, 630, 674, 731, 770, 1260 and O*DNB*.

For Richard Hooker (1554–1600), see *Corr* 857, 912, 925, 1077, 1106 and *ODNB.*

For Matthew Sylvester (Silvester) (1636/7–1708), see *Corr* 891, 954, 955, 1011, 1106, 1109, 1137A, 1141, 1177, 1190, 1229, 1242, 1260, 1261, 1262, *CR* and *ODNB*.

Baxter added to his *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (1685) an account of his notes on some particular scriptural texts, for which he was arrested and imprisoned on 28 February 1685 and charged with seditious libel. See also *Corr* 1146, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1158, 1179 and 1188. Baxter's *Paraphrase on the New Testament* went into a second edition in 1695 (AGM 122).

Treatises, i. 2 **n.d.**

Seven Questions concerning the Manhood of Christ

f 14
300 x 210 mm.

'Q. 1. whether or no the manhood of Christ received into unity of persone with his Godhead. Should be reck*o*ned among the Creatures, & may not be worshiped with one & the same religious worship that the Godhead is.'

Black Seven questions proposed by an unknown hand, concerning 'the manhood of Christ', how to conceive and worship aright on the suppositions of its union with the Godhead. With Baxter's several answers too.

Thomas p 27.

Baxter's response to the seven questions includes his reflections on appropriate forms of worship. Is the unknown hand that of Margaret Baxter?

Treatises, i. 3 **[1685]**

What Visible Christianity is

ff 15–40 (f 40v is blank)
Other pagination pp. 1–51
303 x 198 mm.

'WHAT VISIBLE CHRISTIANITY IS or WHAT PROFESSION IS REQUISITE TO ADULT BAPTISME & CHURCH COMMUNION

The true Means between the state of Infidels Candidate Cathechumens, & Sinfull Separation. Being a Reply to a Booke Called, ~~A Blow~~ The Axe laid to the Root of Separation, by the Author of Free admission to the Lords Supper. Written by his true friend & neighbour. Richard Baxter'

Black The author is John Humfrey. The contents of the six chapters are on f 15v.

Thomas p 20: According to *Term Catalogues, 1668–1709* (ed. Edward Arber. 3 vols 1903–6) *The Axe laid at the root of Separation* was published anonymously in late 1684, although other authorities state the publication year as 1685.

For John Humfrey (baptized 1621–1719), see also *Rel.* iii. 142–7, 198, *Corr* 179, 187, 208, 375, 397, 408, 426, 437, 699, 766, 767, 825, 827, 834, 947, 948, 1036, 1038, 1124, 1132, 1147, 1192, 1193, 1204, 1222, 1232, *CR* and O*DNB.*

For clarification and details on the year of publication of *The Axe*, see *Corr* 1147, from which it is clear that Humfrey intended to present a copy of his book to Baxter. This treatise is a reply to Humfrey. See also J. Humfrey. *An humble vindication of a free admission unto the Lords-Supper* (1651).

This is a long document closely argued, containing marginalia, crossings out and underlining, all in Baxter's own hand. It is set out with a title page (f 15 r), and contents page (f 15 v) listing six chapters. Baxter paginated this document in ink, starting after the title and contents page, with numbers in brackets. At a later date, the document was also foliated in pencil. One folio, 21a, was omitted from foliation when the volume was bound.

Treatises, i. 4 **[1681]**
Sermon on Titus 3:2.

ff 41–66
Other foliation (originally not in the MS) ff 28–41 with some leaves unfoliated.
305 x 197 mm

'Titus 3.2 Speak evil of No Man.
I have chosen this Text because of the Commonnesse of the sinne that it speaks against.'

Black Fairly and widely written, apparently in the hand of the amanuensis of Roger Morrice.

Thomas p 28.

The paper has been ruled in pencil, creating a wide margin throughout. It was probably written by Roger Morrice's first amanuensis and is a sermon by Morrice.

In this sermon on back-biting, on f 64, he quotes from Lev 19:17 'thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart'.

For Roger Morrice (1628/9–1702), see *Corr* 1011, 1128, 1160, 1161, *CR*, *ODNB*, and M. Goldie et al. (eds) *The Entring Book of Roger Morrice* (Woodbridge 2007) 6 vols.

See also Treatises, v. 156.

Treatises, i. 5 **[1685]**
Brief for Baxter's Defence at his Trial

ff 67–80 (ff 67v, 68v, 69v, 70v, 71v, 72v, 73v, 74v, 75v, 76v, 77v, 78v, 79v, 80v are blank)

ff 67–68: Untitled
403 x 354 mm.

'The Text Math. 5.19 whosoever shall break one of these least Comandements and shall teach men so, shall be called least in the Kingdome of God.'

For an earlier draft, see Treatises, i, 1.

ff 69–70: Untitled
436 x 355 mm.

'II. The Text [Mar. 3.6.The Pharisees went forth and straight way took Counsell with the Herodians against him, how they might destroy him.'

ff 71–72: Untitled
410 x 355 mm.

'III. The Text Mar. 9.39. Jesus said, Forbid him not: for there is no man who shall do a Miracle in my name that can lightly speak evil of me: for he that is not against us, is on our part.'

ff 73–74: Untitled

410 x 356 mm.

'IV. Mar. 11.31. the Text is [They reasoned with themselves saying, If we shall say from Heaven, he wil say why then did you not beleive him? But if we shall say Of men They feared the people;'

ff 75–76: Untitled
411 x 354 mm.

'V. Mar. 12.38.39.40. [Beware of the Scribes who love to go in Long Cloathing, & love Salutations in the Market Places:'

ff 77–78: Untitled
405 x 355 mm.

'VI. Luk. 10.2 The Harvest truly is great; but the Laborers are but few: pray ye therefore the Lord of the Harvest that he would send forth Laborers into his Harvest.'

ff 79–80: Untitled
400 x 358 mm.

These two folios, 79–80, are two half-sheets, which have been made into one full sheet by a later repairer of the manuscript. The uniting of these folios is not contemporaneous with Baxter.

f 79:

'VII. Joh. 11.57. Both the Cheif Preists & the Pharisees had given a Comandm*en*t that if any man knew where he were, he should shew it, that they might take him.'

f 80:

'VIII Act. 15.1.2 And certaine men that came down from Judea taught the Brethren, and said. Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved?'

Black Brief for Baxter's defence at his trial (drawn differently from Treatises, i. 1). On seven brief sheets, probably by same hand as Treatises, i. 1.

Thomas p 21.

A copy of Treatises, i. 1.

Treatises, i. 6 **[1685]**

Baxter's defence of his *A Paraphrase on the New Testament*

ff 81–86
Other foliation (originally not in the MS) ff 50–55
300 x 192 mm.

'Richard Baxters expository defence of his *Paraphrase on the New Testament*; for the just information of such as by mistake are offended at it.

Being ordained to the Sacred Ministry by a Bp, & by him & that Vow obliged to Teach the doctrine of the holy Scripture, & not willfully to forsake my Calling,

when I was restreined by the Act of Uniformity 1662 that I might not sacrilegiously alienate my Selfe,'

Black 12 pages closely written by Baxter's own hand.

Thomas p 21.

A clear hand with much underlining and closely written but with little crossing out.

Treatises, i. 7 **[1660/1]**
An Address to Charles II from the Puritan/Nonconformist Clergy

ff 87–92 (f 91v, f 92r are blank)
Other foliation (originally not in the MSs) ff 56–60
328 x 212 mm.

'May it please your Majesty

So great was the comfort created in our minds by yor Majestys oft expressed Resolution to become the effectuall Moderator in our differences, and yourselfe to bringe us together by procuringe such mutuall Condescensions as are necessary thereto, and alsoe by your gratious Acceptance of our proposals wch your Majesty heard and received not onely without Blame but with acknowledgement of theire Moderation'

f 92v: 'N:C: Declarations & offers to the Kg'

Black An 'address and request' to King Charles II. From the Non-conforming Clergy, for further relief from ecclesiastical imposition until the next synod. Clearly written by an unknown hand, resembling [John] Howe's: endorsed by Baxter.

Thomas p 7: *Rel.* ii. 265–274.

This is the second paper in the anonymous, *Two papers of proposals concerning the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England; humbly presented to His Majesty, by the reverend ministers of the Presbyterian perswasion* (1661).

See also Treatises, iii. 62 (8).

For John Howe (1630–1705), see *Rel.* iii. 97, *Corr* 263, 436, 443, 447, 450, 453, 455, 457, 574, 752, 753, 916, 927, 1072, 1125, 1201, *CR*, McElligott and *ODNB.*

Treatises, i. 8 **2 May 1690**
Baxter's Defence Notes on Samuel Fuller's *Canonica Successio*

ff 93–98 (f 93v is blank)
Other foliation (originally not in the MS) ff 61–66
307 x 195 mm.

'DEFENSIVE NOTES ON Dr SAMUEL FULLERS CANONICA SUCCESSIO.

proving that the ministers that treated for Concord 1660 & 1661 & were ejected & silenced 1662 Aug 24 had a valid Episcopall Ordination & were, & the survivers yet are farre more for Episcopacy & the Church of England, than the novel Diocesane party, who depose or deny all Parish Pastors & Churches, & presentiall Church Comunion, & are but for one Church & Pastor in a Diocesse.'
f 98v 'London. May 2 1690'

Black In the form of a letter by Richard Baxter but unsigned. Closely written and thus entitled by his own hand.

Thomas p 23.

The Act of Uniformity required ministers to accept its terms by St Bartholomew's Day, 24 August 1662, or be deprived of their livings. Those who would not conform were deemed nonconformists. See *Entring Book* Glossary.

This is *Corr* 1209.

Baxter replied to Fuller's *Canonica Successio ministerii Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ reformatæ tam contra pontificios quam schismaticos vindicata* (Cambridge 1690) in *Of National Churches*: *… partly applied to England … . for promoting peace … . And for the fuller explication of the Treaty for Concord in 1660 and 1661. and of the Kings gracious declaration about ecclesiastical affairs, for which he had publick thanks, by them that afterward rejected it*, 1691 (AGM 131).

Some underlining and crossings out. A tightly written piece in Baxter's hand.

For Samuel Fuller (1635–1700), Chancellor and, from 1695, Dean of Lincoln, see *ODNB*.

Treatises, i. 9 **[c August 1651]**

A Treatise opposed to Baxter's *Aphorismes of Justification*

ff 99–150 (f 150r is blank)
Other foliation (originally not in the MS) ff 66–117
An early hand, perhaps the writer, has numbered each bifolium.

316 x 205 mm.
The paper retains its deckle edges throughout.

'Amica dissertatio inter Authorem Libri cui Titul*us* 9 Aphorismi de Iustificatione et Eiusdem, EXAMINATOREM indignum indoctumq*ue*; instituta ad Veritatem de utroq*ue*; fœdere ex SS*acris* Scr*ipturi*s eruendam.

Dear Friend, and Brother in the Gospel of Jesu Christ, I who first examined your book do now again examin the Same in your Papers. Mine end, as yours also, is Truth not Victory. And in the re-examination I will take the liberty as you have don now and then to digress from the Principal-ly intended Subject; and to discours (though briefly upon other matters as you shall agine occasion: And the first thing that offers it Self is the decree or Preordination of Gods, of which thus you write:

R. B. Paper 1. pag. 1.'

Black An English treatise, in opposition to Baxter's *Aphorismes* (1649), in the form of a dialogue between Richard Baxter and G[eorge] L[awson]. The author 'Mr George Lawson, the ablest man of all' says Baxter, who animadverted on his *Aphorismes*. He adds, 'His Animadversions on my papers were large, in which he frequently took occasion to be copious and distinct in laying down his own judgement, which pleased me very well. I returnd him a full answer, and received from him a large Reply. – I must be so grateful as to confess that my understanding has made a better improvement (for the sudden sensible increase of my knowledge) of Grotius *de Satisfactione Christi* and of Mr Lawson's Manuscripts, than of anything else that ever I read.' (*Rel.* i. 107–8).

Baxter's answer to this, dated 5 Aug 1651, is in Treatises, vi. 5 [= 197]. See also Treatises, iv. 82, and Treatises, vii. 75 [= 274].

Thomas p 5: Unknown hand.

This is *Corr* 73. Keeble and Nuttall, contrary to Black, give this as the answer to Treatises, vi. 197 (= *Corr* 72).

For Baxter's *Aphorismes of justification, with their explication annexed. … Published especially for the use of the church of Kederminster in Worcestershire*, 1649 (AGM 1), see *Rel.* i. 107. Baxter treated with various responses to this work in *Rich: Baxter's confession of his faith, especially concerning the interest of repentance and sincere obedience to Christ, in our justification & salvation*, 1655 (AGM 12), for which see *Rel.* i. 107, 111, and in *Of justification: four disputations clearing and amicably defending the truth, against the unnecessary oppositions of divers learned and reverend brethren*, 1658 (AGM 31); see also *Rel.* i. 114.

For George Lawson (1598?–1678), rector of More, Shropshire, see *Rel.* i. 107–8, 123, *Corr* 72, 73, 243, 247, 253, 286, 675, 976, 1025 and O*DNB*.
For Hugo Grotius (Huig de Groot) (1583–1645), Dutch politician, political theorist and Arminian theologian who wished to reunite Christianity and was sympathetic to Rome but stopped short of becoming a Catholic, and for whom Baxter had a high regard, see *Corr* 72, 122, 127, 129, 234, 385, 387, 445, 448, 469, 500, 516, 526, 580, 720, 935, 1025, 1155, 1160, 1225, McElligott and *ODCC*. His *de satisfactione Christi* was a reply to Faustus Socinus.
Grotius's *Defensio fidei catholicæ de satisfactione Christi, adversus Faustum Socinum Senensem: o responsione* was first published in Leiden in 1617. It was reissued in Oxford in 1636.

See also *The Grotian religion discovered … By Richard Baxter, Catholick*, 1658 (AGM 34), G. F. Nuttall, 'Richard Baxter and *The Grotian Religion*', in D. Baker (ed) *Reform and Reformation* (Oxford 1979) and *Rel.* i. 113.

f 150v is in shorthand.