

ELEVEN LETTERS OF JOHN SECOND EARL OF
LAUDERDALE (AND FIRST DUKE), 1616-1682,
TO THE REV. RICHARD BAXTER (1615-1691).

EDITED BY FREDERICK J. POWICKE, M.A., PH.D.

INTRODUCTION.

THESE letters are preserved in the collection of Baxter MSS. at Dr. Williams's Library, Gordon Square, London. Mr. Orme (Baxter's biographer) knew of them and quotes (p. 645) from one of them (the 2nd). Moreover, someone—anonymous—copied (with modern spelling) and printed the last nine of them in the "Monthly Repository" vol. xviii., January-December, 1823.

The period covered is seventeen months, October, 1657 to March, 1659—less than one a month. For the last year of the Earl's imprisonment there are none. What became of Baxter's replies, is not known. Perhaps Lauderdale did not care to keep them or could not.

After the battle of Worcester (September 3, 1651)¹ he was captured, along with the Earl of Derby, by Colonel Edge (S.P.D., 1651, p. 459) and lodged in Chester Castle (id., p. 437). By order of Council, ratified by Parliament and the Lord General (id., pp. 422, 423, 427, 430, 433), he was brought up to London by a party of horse under command of Colonel Lilburne, and committed "close prisoner to the Tower" to be "made an example of Justice." The date of his committal was October 2 (id., 1654, p. 273). On July 27, 1653, he petitioned the Council for more liberty "on account of loss of health;" and on Oct. 22 a committee of three was appointed to confer with the Lieutenant of the Tower and "to consider what is fit to be allowed" (id., 1653-4, pp. 53, 211). In Sep., 1654, it appears as if he narrowly escaped banishment (with the Earl of Crawford and others) by order of Cromwell (id., 1654, p. 353). On May

¹On Lauderdale's career, as a whole, see article (John Maitland) in D.N.B. Baillie's "Letters and Journals" are the chief authority on him for the years before 1651; and the Lauderdale Papers (3 vols., Camden Society), for the years after 1660.

21, 1655 (Gardiner, "History of the Commonwealth," vol. iii., p. 162), he was removed to Portland Castle (S.P.D., 1655, p. 275), where he lay "20 months almost sequestrat from the converse of rational creatures (except the charitable visits of some honest ministers)." His transfer to Windsor Castle, therefore, may be dated about April, 1656. On September 2, 1658, the day before the Protector's death, a warrant in the name of Protector and Council was issued to Col. Whichcott to have him away to Warwick Castle, and another to the Governor of the Castle to keep him prisoner there "till further order" (S.P.D., 1658-9, p. 579). Two days later the order was revoked (*id.*, p. 130); and the letter to Baxter of Sep. 23 attributes this to the influence of his wife. In the same letter he mentions the "want of money (a disease I have been long under)" as a grievous inconvenience. All his property had been confiscated. Everything—he says in the letter of Aug. 17, 1658—had gone from him except his Library which is 'safe' 'beyond sea.' His wife, also, seems to have been in straitened circumstances. In a petition to the Protector of August 9th, 1655, she speaks of her condition as "exceeding sad," having lost "all means of subsistence and the comforts of this life by her husband being sent away to Portland Castle"¹ (S.P.D., 1655, pp. 274-5). But, on the whole, both he and his wife were well treated. After Nov. 1654, if not before, he received £5 a week—though not always paid; and after her petition it was ordered on August 24th that *she* should receive £600 a year "free from all debt and incumbrances from her husband" "and to be paid out of the public revenue" if her husband's estates could not yield it (*id.*, p. 298).² Moreover, unless the permission granted on March 12, 1652 (S.P.D., 1651, p. 177) was subsequently cancelled, she "with her daughter and two maids" had "liberty to repair to the Earl of Lauderdale, prisoner in the Tower, at their discretion." Another order of March 25 gave him personally "the liberty of the Tower" (*id.*, p. 193). And it is evident from these letters that his movements were not very narrowly restricted either at Portland or Windsor. He could receive visitors;

¹ This implies that her husband had not been penniless before May, 1655, which may be explained by the fact that on Nov. 15, 1654, and again on April 17, 1655, the Council had granted him a weekly maintenance of £5 (S.P.D., 1654, p. 457; 1655, p. 128).

² The addition—"also the 1½ years of her pension of £400" points to some sort of malversation.

he could get books from London and abroad ; he could correspond with his friends and others ; he could even, it would seem, spend a day "in looking for a book" at Eton (letter of Sep. 20, 1658). Considering how deeply he had been implicated in what for the Government was treacherous or treasonable conduct, the wonder is that he missed the Earl of Derby's fate.¹ He seems to have realized this himself, and to have been careful not to play into the hands of watchful enemies—particularly one unnamed "person" (letter of Aug. 17, 1658)—by any kind of meddling with public affairs. He was wiser "than to keep the least dangerous correspondence." What he wrote about was "onely of bookes and not of news w^{ch} I leave to the newsbookes, as being none of my business"² (letter of Nov. 24, 1658). This is true of the Baxter correspondence. Of books he exhibits a wide knowledge and describes or discusses them with a keen pen. He finds his chief recreation in reading, and Baxter is a "minister of heartsease" when he sets him a task which will occupy weeks of his monotonous life in translating, or condensing, hundreds of pages from a great French folio. But, however intently he may listen to the rumour of events outside, he sets down little or nothing with regard to them. Nothing, in fact, beyond two or three safe sentences as to the consequences of the King of Sweden's invasion of Poland (letter of Nov. 24, 1658) or as to the Protector Richard's "calling of a Parliament" (letter of Jany. 26th, 165⁹).

The correspondence started from a visit to Lauderdale in October, 1657, of Rev. James Sharp.³ Mr. Osmund Airy prints a letter of

¹ If it be true that Cromwell intervened for him and did so under the influence of Lady Dysart (afterwards Lauderdale's second wife), this explains more things than one. See vol. i., p. 233, of "Miscellany of the Scottish Historical Society" (1893). The editor, Bishop Dowden, thinks there is "no doubt of the strong personal influence exerted on O. Cromwell by this clever and beautiful woman;" and that her claim to have moved Cromwell to save Lauderdale's life after the battle of Worcester "did not go beyond the truth."

² Dec. 17, 1653, he tells Bailie ("Letters," vol. iii., p. 230) that he does not meddle with "anything of publick concern."

³ Afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews. He was still in London on October 13th. He has "nothing more to do in London," meditating "a speedy return"—when he has done what he can "for the service of your honest men" (Lauderdale, etc.). "Baillie's Letters," vol. iii., p. 247.

Sharp's to the Earl dated the 28th of the previous April ("Lauderdale Papers," vol. i., app.). He was then in London doing his best to counteract the influence of Warriston and other agents of the Remonstrant, or strict covenanting, party with the Government. In that letter he speaks of "a little peece" which he had sent to his lordship¹ and which the latter had been "pleased to take such notice of"—"though I had not the happiness to be much known to you." He goes on to say that he will not anticipate by writing what further he has to say about "the necessity of publishing that peece," but will wait until "the opportunity wished for will allow me to wait on your Lordship." His visit to Windsor in October was the fulfilment of that wish and is not recorded—so far as I know—elsewhere than in Lauderdale's first letter to Baxter. Perhaps it may be taken as the beginning of that close mutual understanding and co-operation which had great results for Scotland in the next few years.

Was Sharp's visit to Windsor not merely the occasion but also the cause of Lauderdale's first letter to Baxter? In other words, was the motive behind it a concerted design to 'sound' Baxter and (if possible) secure him for the moderatist policy? There is something suggestive of this in the stress it lays upon "that fellow-feeling w^{ch} in many places you are pleased to express of the sufferings of poor afflicted Scotland." And, if so, the effort was both legitimate and well worth while. For Baxter was reputed (though not quite truly) to be a firm Presbyterian; and was known to be an outspoken loyalist; and, besides, was by far the man of widest influence among his fellow-ministers—not to mention the general public. Moreover, there is indirect evidence that the effort may have served its turn. It is certain, at any rate, that, from about this time, Baxter concentrated his mind on quiet ways and means of preparing his brethren for the King's restoration and a Presbyterian system, if Providence gave the sign (R.B., Pt. i., p. 71; Pt. ii., p. 215). But, however, it might be with Sharp, it is not easy to think of Lauderdale's motive as wholly or even chiefly political. Taken as a whole his letters yield the impression of a man who was really actuated by sincere gratitude to Baxter and reverence for his character and desires to serve him.

¹ Probably "a True Representation of the Rise, Progress and State of the Present Divisions of the Church of Scotland"—recently written by Rev. James Wood. See "R. Baillie's Letters," vol. iii., pp. 346, 354.

We know now of his gross duplicities before 1651 and of his swift degeneration after 1660. We know this better than Baxter had the means of doing. But was he altogether mistaken in his man? Was it true, as Mr. Osmund Airy says, that before, no less than after, 1660, the whole course of his life was "a carefully arranged hypocrisy?" May it not be nearer the truth to hold that the mixed elements of his nature depended for their expression, as is usually the case, on the character of his moral environment? that, in his first period, he lived under influences which appealed at once to his ambition, his loyalty, his cunning? that, in his second period (1651-1660) the main appeal was to that better self which had been crowded out so far; but was quickened into newness of life by Baxter's influence? and that, in his third, the better self became finally submerged by the impact of evil forces which assailed him, *en masse*, at his weakest points? Anyhow, over against Mr. Airy's dogmatic and absolute condemnation it is a fact to remember that Baxter never lost faith in him. He wrote solemn words of warning to him ("Lauderdale Papers," vol. ii., app.) when there seemed to be a call for them; but he refused to believe what his enemies said against him, or even what many others took for granted. He asked for evidence; and apparently the evidence did not satisfy him; for, years after that letter which Mr. Airy cites as if it were Baxter's last word, we find him still proud to associate his name with one of his own books,¹ and still defending his friendship with him.² In view of this one of two things must be said. Either Baxter was a flatterer of vice for selfish reasons, or there was, to the end of Lauderdale's life, something good in him which Baxter had the gift to see or which showed itself to Baxter. Since the former is incredible, we may be glad to believe the latter.

The following are the references in Baxter's Autobiography (R.B.) to his acquaintance with Lauderdale later than 1659.

The Earl obtained his liberty in March, 1600. A month afterwards (April 13) Baxter came up to London—"where I was no

¹ "Full and Easy Satisfaction which is the True and Safe Religion . . ." 1674, dedicated to the Duke of Lauderdale.

² R.B., Pt. iii., p. 180.

sooner arrived but I was accosted by the Earl of Lauderdale . . . who having heard from some of the Sectarian Party that my Judgment was that our obligations to *Richard Cromwell* were not dissolved nor could be till another Parliament or a fuller renunciation of the Government took a great deal of pains with me to satisfie me in that point" (R.B. Pt. ii., p. 215).

In July, 1660, Baxter preached before the King as Chaplain in ordinary ; and " after sermon it pleased his majesty to send the Lord Chamberlain to require me to print it. And the Earl of Lauderdale told me that when he spake to the King of the great number of Citizens that wrote it in characters and said that some of them would publish it, the King answered *I will prevent that for I will have it published.*" In this way Baxter was able to confute Dr. Thomas Pierce who " went up and down " raging against him for his impudence in preaching such a sermon, and daring to print it as by His Majesty's command, and to " call " himself " on the Title-page, His *Majesty's Chaplain* " (R.B., ii., p. 279).

In the same year (November) Lauderdale was an emissary from the King to summon Baxter " next day " to his presence—his purpose being, as it turned out, to conciliate him towards the policy of the Bishops (R.B., Pt. ii. p. 286).

Nearly 10 years later (mostly spent by Baxter away from London)—on occasion of his new book " The Cure of Church-Divisions," " and a rumour of " his " conforming "—" The Earl of Lauderdale," he writes, " invited me to speak with him : Where he opened to me the purpose of taking off the Oath of Canonical Obedience and all Compositions of Conformity *in Scotland*, save only that it should be necessary to sit in Presbyteries and Synods with the Bishops and Moderators (there being already no Liturgy, Ceremonies, or Subscription save only to the Doctrine of the Church). Hereupon he expressed his great kindness to me and told me he had the King's consent to speak with me, and being going into *Scotland*, he offered me what place in *Scotland* I would choose, either a Church, or a Colledge in the University, or a Bishoprick : And shortly after, as he went, at *Barnet* he sent for me ; and I gave him the Answer following in these Papers, besides what I gave him by word to the same

purpose. But when he came thither, such acts against Conventicles were presently made as are very well worthy the Reader's serious Perusal, who would know the true complexion of this age" (R.B., Pt. iii., p. 75).

Baxter was residing at Totteridge near *Barnet*, on the North Road. His written reply is dated June 24th, 1670 : a date between the first and second interview. Lauderdale reached Edinburgh in July.

Before August 27, 1673, after having been "a necessary stranger at the Court" for many years Baxter went there "by another's invitation" to wait on Lauderdale (a Duke since May 3, 1672) and beg him for "Pardon and Clemency" to certain Scotsmen, then "under suffering." This the Duke "readily granted." He also, "consented to" an "epistle Dedicatory" which Baxter proposed to write for his forthcoming book "*Full and Easie Satisfaction which is the true Religion.*" The book came out in 1674 ; but the date of the Dedication is August 27, 1673. The latter was read and approved by the Duke "before it was printed" (R.B., Pt. iii., p. 107).

Baxter in thus extolling Lauderdale scandalised public opinion ; and felt it desirable to defend himself (id., p. 180).

Very likely it was at the same interview that the Duke told him of circumstances affecting himself, which had been happening behind the scenes ; and which explained why there had been lately "a little seeming stop" of the "trouble" brought upon him by the King's recall (in the previous spring) of his "Act of Indulgence" (R.B., Pt. iii., p. 156).

In connection with the "great change of Affairs in *Scotland*" which followed on the opening of its Parliament on Nov. 12, 1673, Baxter notes the intrigue against Lauderdale which was carried on in London as well as Edinburgh, and how the Duke, with the King's help, managed to hold his own. His sympathy for the Duke is evident (R.B., Pt. iii., p. 147).

It is no less evident in connection with the renewed and more successful attack on Lauderdale by the English Parliament on April 13th, 1675. "His chief accusing witness was Mr. *Burnet*, late Publick-Professor of *Theologie* at *Glasgow*." Burnet's testimony, he says, carried but little weight—nay, was judged "unsavoury and revengefull" because of the "epistle before a published book" in which he

“had lately magnified the said Duke.”¹ Possibly the most fulsome thing of its kind in the English language (R.B., Pt. iii., p. 167).

When a warrant was out to apprehend him if he preached again as he had been doing, at a chapel in *Swallow St.* (Nov., 1676), he says “I forbare that day, and after told the *Duke of Lauderdale* of it ; and asked him what it was that occasioned their wrath against me ” (R.B., Pt. iii., p. 178).

This is the last reference—except the following : after the battle of Bothwell Brig (June 22nd, 1679) “Above 40 Scotsmen (of which 3 Preachers) were by their Council sentenced to be not only banished but sold as servants (called slaves) to the *American Plantations*. They were brought by ship to *London*. Divers citizens offered to pay their Ransom. The King was petitioned for them. I went to the *D(uke) of Lauderdale* ; but none of us could prevail for one man. At last the Ship Master was told that by a Statute it was a Capital Crime to Transport any of the Kings’ Subjects out of *England* (where now they were) without their consent, and so he set them on shoar and they all escaped for nothing” (R.B., Pt. iii., p. 184).

Lauderdale died at Tunbridge Wells in August, 1682, and was buried at Haddington on April 6th, 1683.

I

Williams’s Library—Baxter MSS.—vol. iv., f. 104. Endorsed “*to the Reverend and much Honored Mr. Richard Baxter Minister of the Gospell at Kiderminster from the Earle of Lauderdale.*”

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED FREIND,

It might justly seem ane impertinent presumption, that a person so inconsiderable who never had the happines to see you, whose name perhaps you never heard, and who hath onely served for lynng to severell jayles now above six yeers, should take up any of that pretious time w^{ch} you so usefully imploy for the generall good, by this address not worth y^r taking notice of : But that temper of spirit w^{ch} I well observ in all y^r wrytings makes me hope you will pardon

¹ His dedication to “A Vindication . . . of the Church and State of Scotland,” 1673. He tried his best to suppress it afterwards.

me at least, if I embrace this occasion to expres my gratitude to you on many accounts. Give leave, Sr, therefor in the first place to acknowledg myself y^r debtor for my share of yo^r charity to mankinde—I meane for the good w^{ch} by the grace of God I have gott by y^r most pious and learned Labours: especially yo^r book of Rest¹ w^{ch} I have reason to esteem above all bookes except the Bible, and to bless the Lord that ever I saw it (but I must regrete that it is limited to those onely who doe understand English). I met with it at Portland where I was twenty moneths² . . . almost sequestrat from the convers of rationally creatures (excepting the charitable visites of some honest ministers).³ There I was first acquainted with you. You was there my teacher, my comerad and my freind. Since that time I have constantly maintained that kinde of conversation wth you, and in y^r wrytings I have found another great obligation: it is, Sr, that fellow feeling w^{ch} in many places you are pleased to expres of the sufferings of poor afflicted Scotland: And I am the more sensible of it, that when feare or interest keeps most men from speaking, and too many even from thinking wth freedome of spirit, you doe openly and fearlessly print y^r sence of that business.⁴ I shall not mention at this distance y^r zeale against armed errors and crimes, nor those faire testimonies (w^{ch} I often finde) to pretious treuths out of fashion, yea dangerous in these times *where error keeps the major vote*. Nor will I presume to give my opinion of yo^r bookes (though none⁵ of them have scaped me, and some of them I have read often and accurately). It were an unpardonable vanity to put such a value on myself, and I am too well acquainted with yo^r humility, to say anything like that base quality of flatterie w^{ch} yo^r spirit is so farr above. Yet I hope you will allow me as a poore member of that afflicted Church (now sitting in the dust

¹ "The Saints Everlasting Rest: or a Treatise of the blessed State of the Saints in their enjoyment of God in glory. . . ." The first edition of 1650 was succeeded by the sixth before 1657. Any of these may have been the one that Lauderdale "met with."

² From May 24th, 1655, to end of January or beginning of February, 1657.

³ Two of these were Rev. John Hodder of Hawkchurch and Rev. John White of Dorchester (Baxter's "The Certainty of the world of Spirits," p. 88).

⁴ The reference perhaps is to passages in the "Saints Rest"—e.g., Pt. i., chap. vii., § 14.

⁵ By the end of 1657 Baxter had published some 26 vols.—larger or smaller.

like a widow whom none lookes after)¹ to bless God and thanke you for that oyle you powre into her wounds, those wounds w^{ch} she hath receaved in the hous of a freind.² Once or twies I was honored to act (thogh in much weaknes) by her Comission. Now it hath pleased God graciously to call me to a greater honor, to suffer with her and in some measure for her. In this day of her affliction, of all the sons she hath broght forth she hath few to take her by the hand. And therefor yo^r great kindenes to her at such a time, layes the greater obligation on all who pray for peace wthin her walls and prosperity in her palaces. It hath been a burden to me to want so long ane occasion of making these acknowledgments, and therefor I could not forbear by so sure a bearer, this honest countryman of mine Mr. James Sharp³ who (to me) hath acknowledged the same obligations

¹ Cf. Appendix to "Lauderdale Papers," vol. i., p. 287. Rev. James Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated London, Apryll 28, 1657.

"MY LORD,—I am hope full y there is no sober man who is truly affectit with the condition of that broken and despised church (*now sitting in the dust as a widow whom none looketh after*, and of all the sones whom she hath broght forth hath few to take her by the hand) but hath in precious remembrance your cariage in your publick station; and now when your scene is changed, and your honour in acting turned into a glorious suffering for your conscience, country, and Christ's Church in it, doeth look upon you as a noble *sufferer with her and for her*. . . ."

The Earl had not forgotten this letter.

² See "R. Baillie's Letters," vol. iii., p. 332 (January 16, 1657).

³ James Sharp (1613-1679). In 1657 he was minister of Creel, Fifehire, and had been sent up to London by the Resolutioners, or moderate Presbyterian party, to thwart the schemes of Warriston and others who had considerable influence with the Council and Cromwell. According to Baillie ("Letters," vol. iii., p. 352, June 1658) he succeeded. "The great instrument of God, to cross their evil designes has been that very worthie, pious, wise and diligent young man Mr. James Sharp." Two years after the Restoration, however, he wrote (*id.*, p. 484, May 12, 1662). "Poisoned by Dr. Sheldon (Bishop of London) and Dr. Morlay (Bishop of Worcester) 'Mr. Sharp our Agent . . . has peice by peice . . . trepanned us.'"

Sharp's own letters are his most decisive condemnation. "A careful perusal of the whole series" ("Lauderdale Papers," vol. i., pp. 24-97) . . . "will save any future biographer from the temptation of endeavouring to palliate a life of petty weakness such as has seldom been exceeded in history. In the most comprehensive sense of the word Sharp was a knave, *pur sang*, and one who to retain the price of his knavery eagerly submitted to be cajoled, threatened, bullied or ignored, by bolder men as served their turn" (Osmund Airy in *Preface*, p. x). He worked hard for the Episcopacy which he had once forsworn and in 1664 was made Primate of all Scotland.

On May 3, 1679, he was assassinated on Magus Muir in St. Andrews.

to you and esteem of you that I have. He hath undertaken a long journey¹ wth a weake body chiefly to see you. His merits will recomend him best, and I have no reason to expect that my testimonie should add much. Yet the great reverence I have for you makes me hope you will beleve me, and treuth doth oblige me to tell you He is a pious and faithful minister. His employment shews his esteem wth honest men in his country. He was my companion in bonds, my fellow prisoner in the Tower.² In a word, he is a Christian indeed, and worthy of yo^r freindship. Were it in my power I should have seen you long ere now, and if ever God grant me so much liberty my first journey shalbe to Kiderminster, if the Lord will. And therefor I am the more bold to intreat that if yo^r occasions call you to London, you wo(u)ld please to Let me see you at Windsor Castle. It is not much out of yo^r way, and it is a charity to a prisoner w^{ch} I desire. It wo(u)ld be a great comfort to me, for my longing to speake with you is better grounded than on curiosity : Therefor I doe assure myself you will not deny me. In the meanetime, I beg yo^r prayers, that my condition may more and more be sanctified to me, and (that) I (may be) strengthened to beare without murmuring what the Lord shall measure out for me ; that I may be more quickned to duty and delivered from deadnes of spirit w^{ch} I grone under ; that I may grow in grace and in patient submission to the good will of our Lord wth faithfullnes. Forgive me I beseech you, Sr, for all this trouble, and thogh my condition render me incapable of giving you any real testimonie of my friendship, yet be pleas'd to take my word for it, none honors you more and wishes you better than does

Sir,

Yo^r reall and most affectionat freind and servant,
LAUDERDAILL.³

¹ From Windsor to Kidderminster.

² On August 28th, 1651, he was seized by Cromwell's forces at Alyth, Forfarshire, and carried to London. He remained prisoner in the Tower till April 10th, 1652.

³ This was the traditional spelling of the name and the Earl used it down to June 13, 1674, when he began to write Lauderdale. The change is ascribed to the wish or whim of Lady Dysart. At least there is no traces of it before his marriage with her on Feby. 17, 1672. ("Miscellany of Scottish Historical Society," vol. i., p. 272).

Windsor Castle,
19 October, 1657.

II.

Williams's Library—Baxter MSS.—vol. iv., f. 106, 107. *For the Reverend my much Honored freind, Mr. Richard Baxter minister at Kiderminster. P(er) Birmingham post.*

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED FREIND,

If I were not very sensible that my Letters are so insignificant, especially to one who knowes much better how to employ his time then in reading and answering them ; secure of yo^r justice w^{ch} will not permitt you to condemne me of neglect for not wryting, I should need many apologies for my long silence, especially since I did receive yo^r last obliging Letter (wthout a date) w^{ch} I gott wth yo^r booke of self denyall long ago, for w^{ch} and for yo^r two last bookes concerning the Catholick Church¹ and Catholick Unity¹ (w^{ch} Mr. Underhill sent me last week) I doe returne you most hearty thanks. One providence I cannot conceale, that when I first got yo^r booke of self denyall into my hand I chanced to open and read the ¹⁸¹/₁₈₀ pages,² w^{ch} I found so calculated to my condition that I could not but observe it and make 2 or 3 freinds take notice of it who were sitting then by me. The reasons of my former silence were much the same with those you mention, and when I consider how basely you was used (for yo^r civility to me) I thought it very unfitt to trouble you wth my Letters w^{ch}, if intercepted, might create you more trouble. You doe well not to misspend time in answering the barkings of those who have of late injured themselves more than you by their scriblings. Yet when you have Leasure it will not be a misse to reprove their insolencie, as you have done a Little in a postscript. I did read wth great satisfaction yo^r

¹ Enlarged from sermons preached, the latter at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, the former at Worcester. Both published in 1657.

² A Treatise of Self-Denyall . . . London, 1660. The epistle dedicatory "To the Honourable Colonel James Berry, one of the Council of State, etc.," is dated Sep. 12, 1659. This is certainly the book to which Lauderdale refers: for the passage on p. 180-1 is, as he says, singularly "calculated to his condition." It is about the power a good man has to rise above the pains of imprisonment, etc. Yet he quotes it in February, 1658, as something he got 'long ago.' This points to an earlier unknown edition. Its opening words are: "I have already spoken of conversion in the foregoing discourse . . ." as if this were an immediate sequel; and the "Treatise of Conversion" was preached *before June 1, 1657*—the date of the dedicatory Letter "to the Inhabitants of the Burrough and Forreign of *Kederminster*: both Magistrates and People."

most Christian expressions of yo^r fellow feeling of the sufferings of yo^r freinds, and the councill you give me on that occasion. The zeale you tooke notice of was (I must freely confess) 6 years ago too much calculated for what you bid me take heed of ; but blessed be the Lord I doe now desire to wait for a better harbor than can be expected among the warres. Thogh I thinke there is less danger of prejudice to you by expressions of my unfeigned respects to you (for now *vana est sine viribus ira*) yet I will not trouble you further at this time. If ever it pleased God to grant me so much Libertie I shall strive to see you, and to tell you what I shall ever be ready to owne before all the world, that yo^r worth and goodness hath engaged me to be wth great sincerity,

Sir,

yo^r most affectionat freind and servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

Windsor Castle,

16 Febr^y (165⁷₈ ?)

I heare Mr. Sharpe¹ (whom I know to be a great honorer of you) is come to London on Monday, being sent for (as I heare) by Gen. Monks, but I have neither seen him nor heard from him.

III.

Vol. iii. ff. 48^a 49^b. *To the Reverend and much Honored Mr. Richard Baxter Minister of the Gospell at Kiderminster.*

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED S^r,

Last week I received yo^{rs} of the 19 July. All the trouble I shall now give you as to my outward condition, shalbe onely to tell you That you need not apprehend yo^r application did me any hurt : For that persō is so earnestly ingaged against me (if I be not misinformed) that nothing can take him off, nor set him more eagerly on. It is a great comfort to me that you did consider me so much, and I am sure it can doe no hurt. I pray God forgive him, and I hope by Gods grace I shall never intertaine the least revengfull thoght against him, but Labour patiently to submitt to what the Lord shall doe in relation to me, knowing that all shall worke together for good, and if my portion is not heir it is above the reach of sequestration and the

¹ I find no other reference to this sudden call of Sharp to London and so early a connection with Monk. His employment by the latter as a 'go-between' in the months immediately preceding the Restoration is well known.

meditations of it may easily sweeten what can befall me in the way. Your notion concerning Papists in relation to the Catholick Church is certainly right and the onely way to deale wth them ; for if we limit the Cath. Ch. to protestants onely, How can we avoyde that charge of uncharitable Schisme w^{ch} they are deeply guilty of. I am glade you doe proceed to unmaske that generation more and more, and if I could serve you in providing but straw to such a building, I should thinke my time well employed. You tell me you are promised a translation of Moulin¹ ' of the Noveltie of Poperie.' As for Blondel² ' de primatû,' it is a folio booke (I have it in my Librarie beyond sea : for my Librarie is safe and that is all hath scaped). To translate it all is too great a worke for me to undertake, neither doe I ever meane to trouble the world wth any of my scriblings and least of all with translations (which is ordinarily but the spoyling of good bookes, the robbing of others without enriching ones self) But if you will appoint me any chapters of it w^{ch} may be of use to you, or any point handled in it, I shall most willingly translate them Faithfully at least and as well as I can and send them sheet by sheet to you. The whole worke I thinke will not be of use to you. Therefor you may know the contents of any who hath and understands the booke. Then be pleased to set me my taske and I shall speedily goe about it. It wilbe to me no more trouble than to reade or write English out of French wth as much ease as reade or copie English. If therefor I can thus serve you in this or any other french or italian book, comānd me freely. For Spanish bookes I shall also make a shifte. This offer is no complement, for I shalbe most really pleased to be employed by you. By being thus an amanūensis to you I shalbe more usefull Then any other way I can propose. Besides, my respects to you are so reall and so above all complement That it shalbe a great satisfaction to me in this or any other way to witnes myself

Sir, a true honorer of you and yo^r most affectionat reall freind
and servant

LAUDERDAILL.

Windsor Castle,
17 August, 1658.

¹ Pierre Du Moulin (Molinæus) (1568-1658) The "Nouveauté du Papisme opposée à l'Antiquité du vrai Christianisme" was published in 1627.

² David Blondel (1590-1658), Professor of History at Amsterdam (1650) in succession to Vossius. "He was a man who had an unbounded knowledge of religious and profane history." The "De la Primauté en l'Eglise" was printed in 1641 at Geneva.

IV.

Vol. iii., ff. 44^{ab} 45^b. *To the reverend my much Honored freind Mr. Richard Baxter, minister of the Gospell at Kiderminster. per Birmingham Post.*

WINDSOR CASTLE,
20 Sepr., 1658.

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED,

Yo^r of the 7 came to my hands on Thursday the 16 date and the diligence I have used since to procure the booke in order to my obeying you hath been the reason of my delaying my answer. Fryday was spent in looking for the booke at Eton, and I was amazed not to find it in some good Libraries, especially seeing one of the owners of a very good one does understand French. On Saturday early I employed a servant to seek at London, who was as unsuccessfull that day as I have been heir. In Pauls Churchyard it was not to be found ready bound. Always¹ he hath this morning borrowed it for me, and I have it heir. It is Mr. Bates booke. As the choyce you have made of me to doe this inconsiderable service was ane effect of yo^r Justice (because my time may indeed better be spared) so give me Leave to understand it as ane effect of yo^r freindship to me. And if you suffer by the choyce, by my not doing it so well, I must appeal to that freindship for a pardon, seing, I assure you, I doe undertake it as willingly as any friend you have. I shall doe it as well as I can; and, by God's assistance, I shall endeavour to give you his sence faithfully. I have been looking on his preface, and I finde him apologise for his translating βασιλεὺς King (where ane Emperour is meant) and, ἱερεὺς, Sacerdot. This way will be more tollerable in me; and, therefor, I meane to take it, that is, not to trouble myself nor you wth polishing the English of it, But squarely to give you the Author's true meaning in any intelligible word w^{ch} sutes it best and w^{ch} first *venerit in buccam*, neither will I spare the English Language more than Blondell hath done the french: where he renders Sacerdot I will do so too (for I am sure it is as good English as it is french).

In a word, I write for you. If I make it intelligible to you, I hope you will excuse me if I doe not care for polishing my English.

¹ Always here means "Still, nevertheless, however . . . chiefly northern." See "New English Dicty.," sub loco †3.

Before I saw the booke I did intend to have followed yo^r method, But now I will doe quite contrarie. For in the last place you desire an account of the summe of the contents. And seing I finde it well printed I will in the first place translate the contents,¹ w^{ch} I shall, God willing, send to London translated this week. And while I am expecting what chapters or sections you will choose as most proper for yo^r purpose I shalbe going on in satisfying yo^r other two quæries. But when you have the contents I shall intreat you to pitch on the sections¹ w^{ch} you are most curious to be satisfied in, and I shall do them first. Be confident I shalbe as diligent as I can and therefor I shall wish you may not put out yo^r booke till you have what you desire out of Blondell. Spare not my paines and use nothing to me like compliment. I am a plaine man and be assured of the great treuth That I honor you so really That I am hugely pleased to doe you service, and I will vye with any body in my respects to you. Nay, I intend more. There is a french booke in two volumes folio Intituled 'Of the Liberties of the Gallican Church.'² It is above 12 yeers since I saw it, but I have heard it exceedingly comended. And if I be not mistaken, there are many authentique testimonies in it against the Pope's usurped power. It was written, as I remember, by a French President,³ and when I was a dealer in bookes (for now I am but for small ware) it was very deare, w^{ch} spoke it much esteemed. I have also sent to London for those 2 volumes, and at idle houres I shall runne over the contents of them, and acquaint you with them. For I desire that you may have all the helps you can before yo^r bookes come out. You may expect answers, and, therefor, do not hasten. Pardon me, if I be not so quick as you expect, and believe it I shall strive to conquer my naturall Lazines. I have read yo^r answer to Pierce,⁴ wherein you fully satisfy me of

¹ See note at end.

² This was "Les Libertés d'Eglise Gallicane" by Pierre Pithou (1539-1596) (or Pithou) published (1) in one volume, 1594, Paris and (2) in two vols. fol., 1639 (copy in Chetham Library, 912), (3) another edition—called the 2nd—appeared in 1657 under the patronage of Louis XIV who said, "We wish to show our favour to a work of so great importance for the rights of our crown."

³ By appointment of Henry IV, Pithou, for a time, was Procurator-General of the Parliament of Paris.

⁴ The Grotian Religion Discovered, at the Invitation of Mr. Thomas Pierce in his Vindication . . . 1658. For Pierce (1622-1691) see R.B., Pt. i., p. 113.

Grotius being a Papist.¹ I was at Paris acquainted with Grotius. He was there Ambassador for Sweden in the yeer 1637, and thogh I was then very yong yet some visits past among us. My discours with him was onely in Humanities. But I remember well he was then esteemed such a papist as you call Cassandrian,² and so did Cordesius esteem him, who was a priest. The owner of that great Library,³ now printed in his name, with him I was also acquainted. He was a great admirer of Grotius, an eminent enemy to Jesuites and a moderate french papist. This opposition of Mr. Pierce makes me expect you will have more from that sort of men ; and therefor to justify what you say of the new fashioned Bishops of this Isle, I shall desire you to send for a booke intituled *Considerationes Modestae et Pacificae Controversiarum*, per Gul. Forbesium S.T.D. Episcopum Edinburgensem. It is newly printed at London. In it you will see Popery enough, if the defending Images, prayer for dead, a new fashioned purgatorie, and the Messe to be a propitiatory sacrifice for Living and dead—if these be popery. I have looked but ane houre into it. It is set out by ane excommunicat Scots Bishop,⁴ now living in Edinburgh under the shadow of the English army. If you be called on any more this booke will help to justify yo^r charge. I intended to have told you how I have scaped a very uneasy remove lately, But this is too long already. Be pleased to tell me how I shall address yo^r papers to you. And direct mine to be

¹ Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). "He would admit in one ecclesiastical alliance not only Remonstrants and contra-Remonstrants but also Lutherans and Socinians and even Roman Catholics." Baxter thought him essentially a Papist and an agent of the Jesuits. So did others—Robert Baillie e.g.

- George Cassander (1513-1566) a Roman Catholic Theologian who tried to mediate between Roman Catholics and Protestants on the basis (so far as doctrine was concerned) of the Apostles Creed. His work, in that interest, entitled "*Consultatis de Articulis Fidei inter Papistas et Protestantis Controversis*" achieved nothing but to offend the one party without gaining the confidence of the other.

³ The Library of Cordesius (1570-1642) was bought by Cardinal Mazarin and presented to the Royal Library at Paris. Its catalogue of 8324 volumes (*Bibliothecae Cordesianæ Catalogus*) was printed at Paris in 1643.

⁴ William Forbes (1585-1634), one of the Laudian Bishops and consecrated at Edinburgh in February, 1634. He died the same year. His posthumous, and only, work—" *Considerationes . . . de Justificatione, purgatorio, invocatione sanctorum, Christo mediatore, et eucharistia . . .* London, 1658 " had just come out.

left with Peter Cunninghame at his hous in Duke Street, neir Lincolns
Inne fields, London, and they will come safe I hope and speedily to,
Sr, yo^r true freind and servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

V

B. MSS.—vol. ii., ff. 315^{ab}, 316^b. *For the reverend and much
Honored Mr. Richard Baxter, Minister of the Gospell at
Kiderminster.*

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED,

You shall heir receive the contents of that booke.¹ I
have been as diligent as I could in hastning it to you, for I shall doe
no more untill I heare from you. Now you will easily know what is
in the booke, so you can better choose what is fitt for you. Be pleased
therefor to send me word what section you pitch on. Do but designe
the chapter, the section and the heads of it (according as it is heir) and
I shall with all the speed I can send it to you. Blondel in his preface
gives his reasons why in dealing with Card. Perron² He begins
with the 2^d part of his booke. 1 Because that was the most
elaborate, most cryd up and fullest of collections beyond all the
rest of the Reply. 2^{dly} for vindication of the Honor of Jesus Christ
the head of the Church, whose office, in the decline of the last ages,
hath been so much invaded. 3^{dly}. Because most of the papists who
have dealt in controversies of Late set themselves chiefly to maintaine
the interest and the grandeur of the Pope w^{ch} they set within the body
of Religion as Phidias did his owne picture in the centre of that
Buckler w^{ch} sustained the statue of Minerva. From hence he
concludes That the jealousy of that great and formidable interest
being the principal hinderance of the restoring the antient faith of
the Catholick Church and spirituall peace among her children,
whosoever desires to procure effectually that restitution must first

¹ See note at end.

² Jaques Davy Du Perron (1556-1618). He was born at St. Lô
(Normandy) of Protestant parents; but "having received an office in the
household of Henry III, and finding his religion an embarrassment in a court
career he embraced Romanism, was ordained priest, and devoted himself to
religious polemics and proselytising." He was made cardinal in 1604. His
works, which had a great vogue, appeared in Paris 1620-22, 3 vols., fol.

discusse the pretensions of the Court of Rome, inquire into their beginnings and make all Christendom remarke the long and dangerous cōsequences. For these reasons (he says) he beginnes with that part of the Cardinalls booke w^{ch} does concern the primacie. And in the preface he hints at some of the heads of his worke, and gives ane account of his translation of some citations (of w^{ch} I gave you a touch in my Last Letter on Monday Last, Late). Now let me say a word or two as to my translation. I shall not repeat what I said, nor say more for my retaining the words Sacerdot and Pontif (wherin I follow my originall). I doe the same in the word Episcopat and for this reason, because Bishoprick in our Language regards rather the Benefice nor the office. I doe retaine the french word *deference*, because I cannot in one English word express the full meaning of it : for it is not so much as submission and it is more than acknowledgment. You will finde one harsh expression in the 2^d page, cited out of Prosper, *Dungeon of Religion*; but I know not how to help it, for it is the same word in the French, onely *Dungeon* in French signifies also the strongest part of any fortresse, w^{ch} may serve for a retraite in any extremity, w^{ch} may be the signification heer intended. In the title of the 26 Chapter, I translate as I found it, *Letters formed* w^{ch} it seems was one of the designations of the *Communicatorie Epistles* w^{ch} antiently went betwixt Bishop and Bishop (of w^{ch} Blondel in the examination of that chapter discourses at Large). You will finde in one or two places that french word w^{ch} is in Latin *Vestigium*, translated by me *vestige*, w^{ch} I rather choosed than footstep because it is the marke of the footstep there meant. But I shall rather expect yo^r pardon then trouble you more about such faults as I have in this, and may in the remnant comitt in my translation. For I doe not minde the polishing of it. All I intend is faithfullnes, w^{ch} by God's grace, I shall answer for. The rest you have goodnes enough to pass by, and I do onely intend it for you. In my last I told you that I had scaped a troublesome remove and it was this. The day before the late Governor¹ died, it did please the Councill to order me forthwith to be removed to Warwick Castle which would have been very grievous to me to be againe hurried into a strange place and nothing is more inconvenient for a long journey

¹ Cromwell is meant.

Than want of Money (a disease I have been long under), but I bless God my wife prevailed to get the order recalled, so heir I am and shalbe ready to goe on obeying you. Liberty I do not expect. Together with my scribling, receive a copie of a sermon w^{ch} was given me by the Author, who is a prettie man, my neighbour, and I thinke my good freind. He gave me more copies, and allowed me to send one to you ; and I have many times heard him express a great respect to you. In my last I desired you to send me word by whose hands I might convey the papers to you, That they may not miscary ; and I desired you to send any Letter for me to London, and there appoint it to be delivered to Peter Cunninghame at his hous in Duke Street neir Lincolns Inn feilds.

This I doe because yo^r Last was ten dayes by the way and I doubt was opened, for the seal was spoiled

I am most heartily, Sr,
your reall freind and servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

Windsor Castle,
23 of September, 1658.

VI.

B. MSS.—vol. iii., ff. 50^a 51^b. *For Mr. Richard Baxter.*

WINDSOR CASTLE,
4 Novemb., 1658.

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED,

According to my promise this day se'nnight (not having heard from you since I sent my last three Letters to you) you shall heir receive the contents of P. Moulins booke :¹ not all the contents, but all that relates to Antiquitie or might in my opinion be for yo^r purpos. By this you can better judge of the booke comparatively with Blondel then I can, seing you have a table of the contents of both. Yet you shall know my opinion also on a cursorie view. Both of them answer one booke of Card. Perron, but Moulin handles most of the controversies with the Papists, and Blondel that onely concerning the Pope's pretended primacie, wherein he is so large that Blondell's booke is twice as big (thogh but on that one point) as Moulins. And indeed Blondell in that booke shows himself to have been versed in antiquity even to admiration w^{ch} makes me regrait That he should have misspent so much prectious time in his Latter dayes as to write

¹ See note at end.

2 great volumms on a subject so below a divine, even on the Genealogies of the Kings of France. I never saw these volumms, but by the title I conjecture They were a worke fitter for a Herald or a Lawyer then for a divine. And now that misspent time is irrecoverable, for he is now with God, and before the Lord called him he lost his eyes—as he telles us in his preface before Dallei Apologia. One worke of his I have now by me in French Concerning the Sybills¹ wherein he accurately confutes from Antiquitie the Popish prayer for the dead and purgatorie. Also I have Lately gott out of Holland most of Amirault's² workes, amongst the rest One treatise concerning church-government, and ane Apologie for the Reformed Relligion, both in French. I have not yet seen them : for they are at London binding. But I shall trouble you no further at this time : once³ you shall have a short Letter from me. I shall Long till, by hearing from you, I shalbe put on more worke for you w^{ch} wilbe heartily undertaken.

Sir,

Yo^r reall freind and servant,
LAUDERDAILL.

VII.

B. MSS.—vol. iii., ff. 52^{ab} 53^b. *For the Reverend and much honored Mr. Richard Baxter, minister of the Gospell at Kiderminster.*

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED SIR,

Yo^{rs} of the 5 and of the 9 of this moneth came to me much about a time. The reason of my delay of the answer Hath proceeded from my desire to cleir you from those prejudices w^{ch} the reading of great

¹ Des Sibylles, célébrées tout par l'antiquité payenne que par les Saints-Pères (1649).

² Moïse Amyrant (Moses Amyraldus) (1596-1664), Professor of theology at Saumur since 1633. His "Traité de la Predestination" (1634) caused great excitement among strict Calvinists, "because his teaching on grace and predestination seemed to depart from the Synod of Dort by adding a conditional universal grace to the unconditional particular." There is a Latin letter of his to Baxter (written cir. 1663) in which he repudiates a charge of having spoken slightly of "the nonconformists in England and of Baxter in particular" (R.B., Pt. ii., p. 442). Baxter's supposed "Ameraldisme" evoked alarm in some quarters. Baillie, e.g., wrote to Rev. Simeon Ashe (Baxter's London friend) entreating him to consider "how to gett this dangerous evill remedied, or, at least stopped." "Letters," vol. iii., 391. Nov. 20, 1658—a fortnight later than this of Lauderdale's.

³ I.e. for once.

Usher¹—de promordiis Eccles. Britan. Hath (as I doe humbly conceave) cast you into. Yo^r Letter hath made me goe over that booke, and my desire to have my countrey stand right in yo^r Esteem (w^{ch} I more value then I will tell you) Hath made me bestow some time To Let you see That the more I search the more I am convinced That I was not mistaken as to the soyle. But my scriblings on that subject shalbe with you in a week ; and till then I pray you keep one eare open. As to yo^r desires, seing my translations can be of no more use to you I shall forbear. Yet I shall take that walke through all Blondells booke w^{ch} you appoint ; and pick what flowers I can finde fitt for yo^r purpos to make you a posie.² Pardon me if it take some time. I am a slow student, and before I receavd yo^r was engaged in a taske w^{ch} will take me to the end of next week. Therafter I doe promise you the half of my time of reading every day, except the Lords day, till it be done. And I hope to send the account of my Labour about the beginning of Jan^{ry} for a new yeers gift. I am glade Moulins booke is so far advanced. By the Index I guess what is for yo^r purpos js in those first quires w^{ch} you say are done, so you may send for them. And on this purpos Give me Leave to beg That as you are charitable to English scholars in Labouring to get the best french books translated, so you wold be as charitable in getting yo^r booke of Rest put into Latin for the good of protestants beyond the sea who I dare say wold quickly put it into all their vulgar Languages. In the meane time a freind of yo^r hath sent a copie of it to one of the best quality that understands the Language over the water ; and I have sent almost all yo^r workes to a deare freind and kinsman of mine in Holland,³ who sends me

¹ Ussher James (1581-1656). The reference is to

“Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates . . . inserta est . . . a Pelagio . . . inductæ Hæreseos Historia.” Dublin, 1639.

For Baxter and Ussher, see R.B., Pt ii., p. 206.

² See note at end.

³ R.B., Pt. i., p. 121. “When the Earl of Lauderdale . . . was Prisoner in *Portsmouth* and *Windsor Castle* he fell into acquaintance with my bookes . . . and earnestly commended them to the *Earl of Balcarras*, with the King.”

Balcarras (Alexander Lindsay) (1618-1659) was related to Lauderdale, through his mother Lady Sophia Seton, 3rd daughter of the Earl of Dunfermline and sister to Lauderdale's mother, Lady Isabel Seaton, 2nd daughter. That is, they were cousins. Balcarras at first thought Baxter wrote “too favourably of the Papists,” and, on that account, refused to read him. But he returned to him, under pressure from Lauderdale; and read all his books. His wife did the same (R.B.—as above).

other bookes in exchange. And if you desire any booke which is not to be found heir, send me word and I shall answer to get you a quick account, if it be in Paris or Holland. For, thogh I am wiser then to keep the least dangerous correspondence, yet I have some schollar acquaintance with whom I correspond sometimes beyond the sea. But it is onely of bookes and not of news, w^{ch} I leave to the newsbookes, as being none of my busines. Yo^r short and Pathetick regrate for the condition of protestants is too trew. Oh how dangerous are the beginnings of warre ! I have great obligation to the K of Sweden,¹ yet truth forces me to say what a sea of blood hath his invasion of Poland been the occasion if not the cause of in Europe ! And now it is like to put England and Holland by the ears : for I heare an English fleet under Vice-Admirall Goodson of 20 sails parted on Fryday toward the Sound and more are following, under S(ir) Geo. Ascew. But you conclude well, Where is our strength but in heaven ? And a great comfort to us is wrapt up in 93 Ps. : The Lord reigns, etc. To his rich grace I recomēd you and yo^r Labours and Rest.

Sir,

Yo^r faithfully affectionat servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

Windsor Castle,
24 of Nov., 1658.

VIII.

B. MSS.—vol. iii. 54^{ab}, 55^b. *For Mr. Richard Baxter Minister of the Gospell at Kiderminster.*

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED FREIND,

Thogh upon the receipt of yo^r Letters of the 5 and 14 Nov^r I did runne over the Primats booke and wrote what is heir inclosed, yet I did not transcribe it till yo^{rs} of the 29 gave me the

¹ On July 10, 1655, Charles X of Sweden (the Swedish Napoleon) quitted Sweden to engage in his Polish adventure. His campaigns against Poland and then Denmark reached a climax about the date of Lauderdale's letter. He died Feb. 13, 1660, in his 38th year.

"The commercial interests of the maritime States were deeply involved in the issue of this contest ; both England and Holland prepared to aid their respective allies ; and a Dutch Squadron joined the Danish while an English Division, under the command of Ayscue, sailed to the assistance of the Swedish monarch" (Lingard, "History of England," vol. viii., chap. 8, p. 275).

confidence ; and now I cannot send so long a scribe wthout first craving yo^r pardon and intreating you to read it as you wold a news booke when you have no great busines. I made it as short as I could, and have foreborne all nationall reflexions w^{ch} historie gave me ground enough for (seing Ireland was not owned for a Kingdome till Henry 8 his dayes, the English being stiled only Lords of Ireland since their conquest ; and before, divers great men, in every province, called themselves kings, none els called them so). What I have said will I hope let you see that I had more ground in historie for my assertion then the Irish have for their fancie. And indeed I was sorrie to finde such contradictions in that good mans booke w^{ch} ane adversarie wold make strang worke of, if any Popish Priest shall take it to taske. But my end was onely to satisfy you in privat and I thought it a duety to set that poore nation right in yo^r eyes, who hath been pleased to doe it so much right in its distressed condition in many passages of yo^r workes w^{ch} I shall never forget.

In my last I told you that I could not immediately fall about Blondell (for I had a little worke to doe w^{ch} I have ended : This was onely a *parergon*), and I met wth 4 dayes diversion w^{ch} was lost worke (and I warne you of it least you should fall into the like, thogh I thinke you imploy yo^r time better then to be taken with titles). There is lately come out a booke in Folio of Dr. Dee¹ his Actions wth Spirits. The booke was recomēded to me by a man of prettie parts, and I had heard of Dr. Dee for his mathematicks. The subject seemed strange and some invitation I had from the name of the publisher, Dr. Casaubon, for his fathers sake.² But all I found was a poore ambitious man pitifully abused wth devills, pretending to be angells of light. Some things they say not inconsiderable, but for the most part their divinity is perfectly like the Behmenists or Sr Henry Vane. Sometimes they are like worshipfull Quakers ; in 3 or 4 Passages most zealous papists. And at last the Devill shews his cloven foot, and teaches the

¹ John Dee (1527-1608). See article in D.N.B. His work, "A True and Faithful relation of what passed for many Yeers between Dr. John Dee . . . and some spirits was published at London, 1659 fol. ; with Preface by Meric Casaubon, D.D. "confirming the Reality (as to the Points of Spirits) of this Relation : and Shewing the severall good Uses that a sober Christian may make of All."

² Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614).

Doctrine of Devills indeed—teaching Dr. Dee and Edward Kellie (ane avowed Necromancer) to lie promiscuously wth one anothers wife. And at last all ends in cheating promises : for Dee dyed and found the Devill a lyar. All that I have learned by the booke is That Dr. Casaubon is not like his father, els he wold not have sent such a booke into this world w^{ch} is too apt to catch at pretended new lights, thogh from the Prince of Darknes. This account I give you of my misspent time as an apologie if I be a fortnight longer in sending you ane account of what I can finde in Blondel for yo^r purpos. To-morrow I shall begin, God willing, and not give over till I goe through it. I wish I could doe anything might satisfy you. None living is willinger then, Sir, yo^r trew freind and servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

Windsor Castle,
14 Dec^r 1658.

I wish I knew any were fitt to translate yo^r bookes. I am sure they wold take hugely abroad, and I thinke it were not amisse to begin with the Call to the Unconverted. Some bookes I have gott out of Holland : most of Amyrault his workes, among the rest a smart peece in French of Church government against the Independents. I have also gott the Mysterie of Jesuitisme in Latin, translated by the approbation of the author (who wrote it most eloquently in French, under the title of *Lewes Montalte*¹ his Provinciall Letters). This Latin copie is much larger then the French or English—with replyes to the Jesuits pitifull answers. It is done by an able Divine, a Papist ; and printed at Collen. If you have a minde to see it, I shall send it to you.

IX.

B. MSS.—vol. iii., ff. 58^{ab}, 59^b. (*For Mr. Richard Baxter at Kidderminster.*)

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED Sir,

On the 15 of Dec^r last I sent you some scriblings of my owne. I know not if they came to yo^r hands thogh I am sure they

¹ Louis de Montalte was the pseudonym under which Pascal (1623-1662) published at Cologne in 1657 "Les Provinciales." The letters were 19 in number ; and from the 4th to the 16th Pascal censures the Jesuit moral code.

were delivered to Mr. White. But the loss is small, though they did miscarrie. Onely I should be sorie they came to other hands who perhaps will not have so much charity for me as I expect from you. In that letter I promised you a full account of Blondells most learned booke sooner then I am able to send it ; for I had a sad interruption by the news that it hath pleased God to call my Dearest brother.¹ This disabled me from studie divers dayes. For albeit the Lord was pleased to sweeten that sad affliction with the greatest comfort that I was capable of by the testimonies of Mr. Ja(mes) Sharpe and some other honest ministers who were with my brother, That they were much edified by his gracious discourses and the temper they found him in before the end, so that thogh I shall never see him more in this world yet the Hopes to meet him in a much better world (where there is neither Sin nor Sorrow) ought to turne my sorrow into thanks giving for the Lord's rich and free mercie. But I must confess my privat loss sits yet too sharp on me. This will, I hope, obtaine yo^r pardon for the failing in time. And that you may have some account of my diligence, Receave herewith ane account of neir the half of the booke, about 550 pages in folio reduced into a nut shell.² It is wholly on the defensive ; and as you will see by the summarie (w^{ch} I first sent you) it is ane acurat answer to what the adversaries doe alledg in point of Antiquitie as to these subjects. Were it in my power to send you the whole, you wold certainly pick more out of it ; but heir is what I did conceave fittest for yo^r purpos. I found the testimonies cited in French (and not in their own language), so I put them verbatim into English. I tell you the pages of my author, and sometimes, yea often, I onely tell you the purpos, and that it is largely proved by my author. If any of these generall heads wilbe of advantage to you Be pleased to write the word what number you pitch on, and what page in Blondell, and I shall speedilie transcribe them to you. For although I kept no copie of my former translations yet I keep a copie of this, so that anie place you shall pitch on, I can presently turn to it. In the meantime I shall goe on as speedily as I can with the rest of the worke. One thing I shall promise That excepting the holy Scripture (and sometimes for recreation a snatch at some other booke) I shall read nothing els till it be done. Againe I must conclude That if I am not so usefull as

¹ Robert Maitland, younger brother.

² See note at end.

I desire to yo^r service, yet I hope you will accept of the sincere desires of

Sir,

Yo^r truely affectionat freind and servant
LAUDERDAILL.

Windsor Castle,
10 Jan^{ry}, 165⁸₉.

X.

B. MSS.—vol. iii., ff. 56^{ab}, 57^a, 57^b. (*For Mr. Richard Baxter.*)

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED SIR,

Yours of the 13 Jan^{ry} was long by the way, for I had it not till Saturday last 22 so late that I could doe nothing till Monday. Here is as full ane account as I can give you concerning yo^r 3 questions.¹ I have transcribed his words and must give you the testimonies in English because Blondel puts them in French and not in the Language of the authors.

I must againe beg yo^r pardon for its English, w^{ch} I do willingly That I may express my Authors meaning and to you intelligably (thogh not to ane unlearned reader). As for example *dotes* for gifts *grade* for degree, *Sacerdos*, Eloge : for the first 3 are no more French then they are English, and seing Blondel makes French of those 3 Latin words, I may to you make them English. Neither wold I alter his word *numerositie*.

In the first question I hope you will be satisfied. As for the other two I am sorrie Blondel is not pleased to prove what he says. In the 2^d I conceive He takes it for granted That the Pope could not pretend to more then a primacie in the Roman Empire : for he proves that Scripture gives him none. And the councells consisted onely of the Roman Empire. So if it be proved that the Countreys were Christian w^{ch} were never parts of that Empire, it is all that is necessarie. One of the people mentioned may be clearly proved by all the ecclesiastical histories, viz., the Indians. They must be confessed to have been without the verge of Romania in the largest sence. It is known Frumentine converted them, and he had his ordination at Alexandria. But I will not be tedious wth inforcing more.

¹ See note at end.

As to the 3^d question, Blondel offers at no more than I have transcribed, and says not a word of those one or two Bishops you mention of Parthia and Armenia. As for apparitions and possessions (besides the bookes w^{ch} you cite in yo^r booke of the unreasonableness of Infidelitie)¹ I have in Latin a booke of three famous possessions, Of one a priest at Marseilles who was prince of the synagogues of Satan (or Sabbat) in all Europe : his name (as I take it) was Louis Ganfredy burnt about fortie yeers agoe ; and of two possessed nuns in Flanders. The booke is printed at Paris dedicated to the King of France. If you please, I will send it ; but it serves more to shame papists for laying weight upon the Devills testimonie (being exorcised) for confirming their grossest superstitions (and I put a learned Romanist lately highly out of countenance with it) yet there are divers things in it to yo^r purpos. I have also 2 bookes in a large quarto, written by a French councillor, employed by the Parl^t of Bourdeaux in the Judging of witches. His name is De L'Ancre. He is specially recomēded by that litle discours of the Devill of Mascon w^{ch} was lately printed in English. In these bookes I am sure there are many stories to yo^r purpos ; but the bookes are french and I must dispatch Blondel ere I undertake more. As for relations, I could tell you of some in my owne Countrey most certainly true, some before my time, one since I was a man, in a godlie ministers hous strangely and undeniably haunted with spirits. If I had my right, I have the chief interest in, and am Patron of the Parish, and have many times had the relation from the

¹ Published 1655, Pt. iii. (For Prevention of the Unpardonable Sin against the Holy Ghost), § 5, p. 109. Here he quotes at length one case from *Bodin* and refers for many others to his " *Saints' Rest*," Pt. ii., c. 7, § 3—where it appears as if he had acquainted himself with all the books on the subject, ancient and modern. His belief "in apparitions and possessions" never weakened. One of his last books is entitled "The Certainty of the World of Spirits. Fully evinced by the unquestionable histories of apparitions, operations, witchcrafts, voices, etc. . . . written for the conviction of Sadducees and Infidels" (1691). Chap. 4 of this book consists entirely of a letter from Lauderdale (10 pp.) dated 'Windsor Castle, *March* 12, 1659,' and so falls between Letter X. (Jany. 26) of this series and the last (March 17th). Baxter heads the chapter with the note—"Instances sent me from the Duke of Lauderdale : (More in other Letters of his" (which) "I gave away, and some Books of Forreign Wonders he sent me)." The latter would be the 'Latin Booke' and De L'Ancre.' In this letter (p. 88) it is said—"Within thie fortnight Mr. *James Sharp* was with me (him you know, and he is now in London)." . . . See first paragraph of eleventh letter.

ministers mouth. I can tell you of a possession in Scotland neir the place I was borne in, since I remember, the particulars of w^{ch} I had my self From Learned Mr. Jo. Weems owne mouth. But my poore Countrey lyes under such a weight of malice and slander That I wold not willingly have anything of that put in print now ; yet for yo^r satisfaction I shall write them to you when you please. Also of a famous possession in Holland, w^{ch} I had there by unquestionable tradition. And for mock possessions to shame papists I saw two shamefull ones —That of Loudon nuns in France (on w^{ch} Walter Montague grounded his pretended conversion), and one at Antwerp. But I shall trouble you with none of this till you give me a 2^d order.

As for my scriblings concerning my Countrey, Take yo^r owne time, and tell me freely wherein you thinke me mistaken ; and, as I did write in hast and onely for yo^r satisfaction, so I shall willingly and thankfully receive yo^r correction. You are just in saying I am a partie, and so I must confess I am against the Reverend Prelate (who, I thinke, on that argument did use us ill and himself wors). But I shall labour to be not a willfull one against treuth when I can see it. This calling of a Parl^t by the Protector¹ gives me hope you will come to London (w^{ch} is the greatest satisfaction I expect from it) and then I flatter my self you will see me. In the meantime, if my restraint can give me opportunitie to doe anything acceptable to you, it will much sweeten it. For thogh I am ane useless laid-aside, and as to outward things a ruined prisoner, yet I bless God my spirit is free. By his grace I have some measure of contented submission, and I am with all my heart, Sir, yo^r reall freind and servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

I am advanced in Blondel 300 pages more.

26 Jan^{ry} (165⁸₉).

XI.

B. MSS.—vol. iii., 60^{ab}, 61^b. *To the reverend my much honored freind Mr. Richard Baxter, minister of the Gospell at Kiderminster.*

SIR,

Yo^{rs} of the 26 Feb^{ry} was a fortnight in coming yet I had it before yo^r bookes, and in obedience to you I did scribble this

¹ 27 January, 1659.

inclosed too long Letter.¹ You may justly be frighted wth its Lenth, but I desire you to reade it for divertisement when you can best spare so much time. If you desire further satisfaction in any of the stories I mention, upon advertisement I shall indeavor to satisfy you. Receive herewith that Latin booke² (if Latin I may call it, it is so course a stile). I did onely cursorily view it, so cannot well judge whether it will be of use against Saducees. Sure I am it may shame Romanists—That storie I meane of Magdalon de Palud, whereby their pretended Church authority, a devill, is made so zealous for popish errors, and so orthodox a Papist. I have layed in a Leafe at the beginning of it. The storie is printed long ago in English, and Dr. Worthington of Cambridge³ broght it hither to me. There being heir 4 prisoners comitted as priests, one of them (ane ingenious man) seing it in my chamber wold needs maintaine that it was a London invention to disgrace them ; but, when I shewed him this printed at Paris and dedicated to the French King he was much out of countenance.

To shame papists I thinke this booke may be of use to lye by you and therefor I beseech you keep it. It is, I confess, not worthie of yo^r acceptance, yet, if you like it, you shall oblige me to keep it. As for De. L'ancre, I told you I have two volumes in 4^{to} of his, but as farr as I can judge by a cursorie view, it is not worth the paines to be translated. It is true divers stories in it might be culled out by a discreet person fitt enough to convince the incredulous That there are witches ; but there is a great deale of trash in the booke, and he must have much time to spare that will undertake it. In the end of one of the volumes There is a large storie of ane apparition in a village neir Agen, in Gasconie, attested by the B^p of Agen, the notarie and some others to have happened in June and July 1612. But it lookes like a popish forgerie, for the spirits actions and discourses tend wholly to confirme the popish purgatorie, masses and such trash, and it is alledged to have been seen onely by 3 wenches—so it might shame the papist but wold rather harden then convert ane Atheisticall

¹ This must be the letter of March 9th, referred to above, note 1.

² See last letter.

³ John Worthington (1618-1671). He belonged to the circle of Cambridge Platonists—Whichcote, John Smith, Henry More, Ralph Cudworth, etc., and his *visit* to Lauderdale at Windsor is an unexpected circumstance. But his 'Diary' exhibits an interest in the occult which may possibly account for the connection.

Saducee. If you know any will imploy their time about it, I shall most willingly send them the bookes, but I hope you will not desire me to take such a taske. And indeed I may be justly ashamed to have been so slow in a much better worke ; but I hope you have goodnes enough to forgive me when I have told you that I could not well help it, having had those six weeks so many unavoydable avocations and interruptions. After I had written my last to you I intended great diligence till I had finished it, But I was much discouraged by finding nothing to yo^r purpos in that long debate concerning the primats of Africk (where I did please myself with expecting so much for you). That dispute is wholly spent in the Examination what was the reason of primacy in Africk. And since that time (thogh I have no busines) I could not promise myself one whole day to this work. But I had determined to begin againe this week, when yo^rself hath interrupted me : for having received yo^r two bookes¹ on Saturday at night, I can doe nothing till I have read them. Besides, yo^r Key for Catholicks being now abroad, I conceive you are in no such hast. Alwayes after I have read these two bookes of yo^{rs} I shall goe about finishing Blondel. But because I doe not exactly remember how much of my notes out of Blondell I have transcribed and sent you, be

¹ (a) "A Key for Catholicks to open the Jugling of the Jesuits . . . and to leave the reader utterly unexcusable that after this will be a Papist." In two Parts.

It is dedicated to Richard Cromwell—"one whose face I never saw nor ever had a word from, but ignorantly endeavoured to have provoked him to do good." At the close of the Preface there is the following: "I understand not the French Tongue but by the Testimony of Learned Men that understand them, and especially by the help* of a Noble friend that vouchsafed to translate some part of them for my use."

(b) Five Disputations of Church-Government . . . 1658 (Finitur July 9, 1658). This, also, was dedicated "To his Highness Richard Lord Protector." "The great Indignation against this and the former is that they were by Epistles directed to *Ri Cromwell* as Lord Protector, which I did only to provoke him that had the Power to use it well, when the Parliament had sworn Fidelity to him; and that without any Word of Approbation of his Title" (R.B., Pt. i., p. 118).

In August, 1673, he reminded Lauderdale that he was the "first" that "checked" his "imprudent temerity," in publishing these dedications.

* In the margin is the note: The Right Honourable the Earl of *Lauderdale*: a person whose eminent Godliness and Learning occasioneth the sorrow of his countrey that is deprived of him in such days as these when Piety is so much esteemed.

pleased to write me word if the 26th observation, referring to page 453, was not the last which I sent to you (excepting what I wrote the 26 Jan^{ry} in answer to some queries of yo^rs of the 13 Jan^{ry}). This you may please to answer at yo^r conveniencie. Now give me Leave to returne you hearty thanks for yo^r 2 bookes. But I was much surprised to see you take notice of me in print, and with a character w^{ch} I can no way pretend to be due to me. It is a great temptation to pride to be comēded by such a man as you are ; But I hope the knowledg I have of how little I deiserve, the reflection on yo^r not knowing me, and on yo^r charitable disposition, shall preserve me from being lifted up by such a favor. Something els occurred to me upon my first view of both yo^r bookes w^{ch} is not fitt to be written ; but if ever I have the happines to see you, I will take the freedom to speak to you of it.¹ I have read more than the half of yo^r Key. It is like yo^rself. I need say no more ; and I trust in God it shall be of great use to his Church. I must also returne you my thanks for yo^r recomēding my busines to some members of the Hous. I have been often desired to make my applications thither, because my Case is most extraordinary. But the same reasons w^{ch} you suggest doe hinder me ; and the greater publick affairs obstruct my making any applications—except to the throne of grace for patience, submission and a sanctified use of all the Lord's dispensations. To his rich grace I recomēd you and yo^r labours. I need not againe repeat that I am by many obligations

Much honoured Sir

Yo^r reall and most affectionat freind and servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

Windsor Castle,
17 of March, 1659.

P.S.—I doubt not but you wilbe warie in yo^r dispute wth those papists you mention, for they use to make very unhandsome relations of such busines.

Heir is a yong man belonging to a good freind of mine. He was bred a Protestant, but ill company and the diligence of some jugling priests have put popish notions into his head. He is melancholie and reserved, no scholar and so worse to deal with. My freind hearing

¹ The two dedications to Richard Cromwell? See last note.

from me that you was engaged in a dispute wold have sent him to you, but I diverted it, thinking the dispute be over. Be pleased to let me know if you are to dispute any more, for it may be such a dispute might do the yong man good.

NOTE.

Lauderdale's notebooks dealing with Moulin and Blondel are among the Baxter MSS. of Dr. Williams's Library—six in number, of thin and small pocket-book size, very clearly and neatly written.

1. One gives an abstract of the contents of "Moulin de Novitate papismi" (according to brief title on front page). The full title is translated by the Earl as follows:—

"The Noveltie of Poperie—opposed—to the Antiquitie of trew Christianitie—against the books of Cardinal Peicou—intituled—a reply to the answer of Iames I King—of Great Britain—By P. Moulin minister of Gods word—Psalm 109 v. 28—Let them curse, but bless thou—At Sedan—by Iohn Iannon printer to the Academie—1627—in folio—Dedicated to King Charles i" (p. 1^b).

2. Another is headed (front page), "The contents of Mr. Blondels Books of the Primacie in the Church." Then (p. 1^b) "of Primacie in the church—a Treatise wherein—The Annales of Card. Barronius. The Controversies of Card. Bellarmin—The Reply of Card. du Perron, etc.—are confronted with—The answer of the most serene King of Great Brittain—By D. Blondel—At Gereva—Printed for Iames Choriet—1641."

3. A third is more or less a duplicate of the second.

4. A fourth contains extracts from Blondel bearing on special points (in three questions) suggested by Baxter.

5. A fifth is an abstract of Blondel's examination of certain points and statements.

6. A sixth is the continuation of Blondel Extracts in one or more notebooks [non extant].