

apparently been satisfied when James invoked the favorable judgment in Bate's Case. However, when the king claimed in 1610 that the decision also justified general impositions, the house was not at all satisfied. The Commons emphatically opposed the impositions, which they regarded as a grave threat to property rights and parliamentary control of taxation*, and the last session of the parliament of 1604-1610* and the Addled Parliament* of 1614 came to grief over the issue.

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Baxter, Richard (1615-1691). Baxter was a controversial voice for church union throughout the religious turmoil of the Interregnum* and the Restoration*. A non-separating Puritan* who became a reluctant Dissenter*, he once labeled himself an "Episcopal-Presbyterian-Independent." Though he wrote unceasingly, he considered himself primarily a pastor and never accepted a position higher than curate or chaplain.

Baxter was born in a small Shropshire village on 12 November 1615. His father, a freeholder with tenants, was mocked as a Puritan. Largely self-educated, Baxter was ordained in December 1638, taught briefly in Worcestershire, and returned to Shropshire as a curate. In 1641-1642 and 1647-1654 he was lecturer in Kidderminster, Worcestershire, which he considered his greatest achievement; extra galleries were constructed to accommodate listeners. The Civil War* interrupted his tenure; local royalist* hostility drove him to parliamentarian* strongholds. He preached at Coventry through 1645, then served as chaplain in the New Model Army* until his health failed in 1647. Disputes with army* radicals sharpened his casuistry, he became an energetic foe of Separatists*, and he opposed killing Charles I*.

He became famous with his devotional classic, *The Saints Everlasting Rest* (1650). In 1654 he sat on a London committee to determine the fundamentals of religious orthodoxy. He became prominent in national religious affairs, vying for the attention of Oliver Cromwell* with Calvinist Independents* such as John Owen*. In Worcestershire he initiated the first county association, a voluntary union among moderate Presbyterian*, Independent, and Anglican* clergy. Through these "reconcilers," Baxter sought religious unity and (voluntary) parochial discipline and combated godlessness and the onslaught of Quakers* and Ranters* (groups Baxter considered inspired by Catholic* prodding) in the localities.

With the Restoration* Baxter returned to London, preaching to the Convention Parliament* and the lord mayor shortly before Charles II's* return. He was appointed royal chaplain and offered the bishopric of Hereford. Though desire for a more limited episcopalian structure forced him to decline the offer, Baxter continued working for a moderate church settlement. At the Savoy Conference* (1660), Baxter demanded reform of the Book of Common Prayer and penned a substantial "Reformed

Liturgy," but the bishops conceded only slight changes. Baxter preached his farewell sermon in London in May 1662, prior to massive ejections under the Act of Uniformity (14 Car. II, c. 4) (see Clarendon Code*). He married his "meetest Helper," Margaret Charlton from Shropshire, on 10 September.

The Restoration began Baxter's persecutions. When the former vicar of Kidderminster was restored in 1660, he denied Baxter a chance to preach, as did George Morley, bishop of Worcester. Living in or near London until 1669, Baxter preached at home and was imprisoned briefly under the Five Mile Act (17 Car. II, c. 2) in 1669. He distrusted the Declaration of Indulgence* (1672) because it granted freedom to Catholics as well as Nonconformists. He eventually applied for a license to preach without declaring his denomination (otherwise required under the indulgence). He preached briefly to Nonconformists at Pinner's Hall, but strict Calvinists opposed him. In 1675, after the Cavalier Parliament* rejected the declaration, Baxter again faced government persecution, this time under the Conventicle Act of 1670 (22 Car. II, c. 1). He was tried in 1685, before a hectoring Judge George Jeffreys, on the unlikely charge that he "libeled the Church" in *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (1685). Released from prison in 1686, Baxter briefly assisted Presbyterian Matthew Sylvester in London. He died on 8 December 1691.

Baxter's legacy lies in nearly 140 published works, his voluminous correspondence, and unpublished treatises. His earliest publication, *Aphorismes of Justification* (1649), was a liberal interpretation of Calvinism whose discussion of good works led to charges of Arminianism*. One of his greatest works, *Gildas Salvianus: The Reformed Pastor* (1656), a primer of pastoral care, circulated throughout Europe and New England. He wrote *A Holy Commonwealth* (1659) during Richard Cromwell's* brief protectorate, hoping that peace would return to the English church and a Christian empire would begin. Baxter later renounced this plan for a Christian polity, proscribed by the Tory* *Judgement and Decree of the University of Oxford . . . against Certain Pernicious Books* (1683). After his wife died on 14 June 1681, Baxter preached little but continued to write. *The Certainty of the Worlds of Spirits* (1691) and his unpublished thoughts on the Apocalypse reveal millenarian* interests at odds with his outward rationality. He continued to plead for church unity in *Christian Concord* (1691). His posthumously published autobiography, *Reliquae Baxterianae* (1696), remains a vital narrative of the Interregnum and Charles II's reign and a fine defense of Puritanism.

Bibliography: N. H. Keeble, ed., *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter*, 1974; Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *Richard Baxter*, 1965.

Newton E. Key

Behn, Aphra (c.1640-1689). Spy, political activist, and the first professional woman writer in England.

Accounts of her early life are contradictory. She was possibly the daughter of James Johnson, a Canterbury barber, but other sources suggest she was the daughter