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SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF
JOHN DAVENPORT.

BY FRANKLIN B. DEXTER.

[Read February 1, 1875.]



SOME three or four years ago, I was invited to prepare for this Society a list of the writings of the founders of the New Haven Colony, John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, with the understanding that if material throwing new light on their characters should be found, the Rev. Dr. Bacon would sum up the results.

In fulfilling, in part, my share of the undertaking, I find at the outset this embarrassment, that if I limit myself to the mere titles and dates of Davenport's writings, nothing can excuse the tediousness of the enumeration: on the other hand, I am precluded from encroaching on the province of another paper which is to follow. I shall endeavor to confine myself to a chronological outline of facts, with such explanations as are needed at the distance of two centuries; and I am well aware that the bare outline may disappoint, both those whose lack of knowledge will lead them to expect too much, and those who know the story already, and who know that interesting material cannot be manufactured to order.

John Davenport was baptized in the Church of the Holy Trinity, in Coventry, in Warwickshire: the stone font which then served for baptisms, though afterwards banished by Puritan zeal, has been restored to its use, and is still a conspicuous object in the beautiful Gothic church: the church retains also its almost unique stone pulpit constructed on one of the pillars of the nave, from which pulpit I heard a few months ago a fiery sermon on the binding authority of a State Church, which sounded strangely to a disciple of Davenport's Colony. Here, in the record of baptisms, near many familiar surnames (Shakspeares included), under the year 1597, is the entry, "Apr. 9, John Dampard [such the colloquial form], son of Henrie." At this date, and from 1590 to 1604, the vicar of Trinity Church was Richard Eaton, supposed to be the father of Davenport's friend, Theophilus Eaton; but a careful search in the same record, while it shows five children of the vicar, does not find any Theophilus. The record should decide also whether one Christopher Davenport, whose name is somewhat associated with John's, was his brother or a cousin. I can only testify that the sole Christopher on the book was an older brother of John, and that his baptism (Oct. 1, 1590) is eight years in advance of the usual accounts of the birth of the well known Christopher.

The first trace of John Davenport's boyhood, is his name among the scholars of the Free Grammar School of Coventry, a famous school for those days, founded some half-century before by John Hales, a wealthy inhabitant, and of which the original building, of creditable sixteenth-century architecture, is still standing and used for the purpose of the endowment. From a glance at the school room, one might almost hope to identify the very desk at which the young Davenport of 270 years ago sat and carved his name—so perfect is the antiquity of the place. The usher of Coventry Grammar School in those days, though by tradition not a good disciplinarian, was a famous scholar, Dr. Philemon Holland, known even to us by his translations of Pliny and Livy, Xenophon and Plutarch; and it is a pleasant thought that from such an enthusi-

ast Davenport imbibed the taste for classical learning which led him, in keeping with the fashion of his day, to load his pages not rarely with original citation and reference. Dr. Holland was subsequently head-master of the school, and lies buried in Trinity Church.

Before leaving Coventry for the University, it is worth while to note that in 1611 (Davenport then a boy of 14) the city was deeply stirred by a discussion of the question of the propriety of kneeling in receiving the sacrament: through some laxness in the church authorities, it had come to be a custom to commune in a standing posture; but now King James hears of the incipient nonconformity, and sends a letter from his own hand reproving roundly the city government for allowing such a disorderly practice. Thus early was Davenport brought to the knowledge of the position of the head of the state on a matter which in the issue proved the turning point of his own separation from the church of his fathers.

To Oxford, in 1613, at the age of 16, John Davenport goes, in company with his kinsman, Christopher. For the two years spent there, I can add nothing to the doubtful accounts given by Wood, in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, and by Mather, in his *Magnalia*. It is uncertain even to what College they belonged; but, as the story goes in Wood, they entered as battlers (or, beneficiaries for their food and tuition), and continued until the head of the College refused to allow them further aid, when John left, to earn his way elsewhere. If they were at Merton College, as Wood states, the Master who took this step was Sir Henry Savile, one of the most profound and elegant scholars of the day and a prominent benefactor to the University: the most distinguished among the Fellows of Merton was John Hales, the "ever memorable," who was also Royal Professor of Greek in the University and a man of abundant learning. But the most noted figure in Oxford during these years, and doubtless familiar to Davenport's eyes, was William Laud, now President of St. John's College, and fated to have a vital influence on the development of Davenport's character and creed.

It is worthy of remark that out of the scores of University men who afterwards came to these shores,* we can point to not more than one (Thomas Parker of Newbury) as probably a fellow student in Oxford at this date.

As in leaving Oxford we part company with Christopher Davenport, it may be worth while, for the sake of the emphatic contrast, to call attention to his career. He is said to have remained at the University for a few months longer, and by that time to have been converted to the Roman Church by an itinerant priest, so that he removed to Douay, became a Franciscan friar, and Professor of Sacred Theology at Douay, and then a successful missionary to his native country: and when time brought a Roman Catholic consort to Charles I, Father Francis de St. Clare (to use his religious name) was one of her chaplains, much at Court, and commonly reported to be an intimate friend of Bishop Laud; and in later years, when another Catholic Queen ascended the British throne, again he was a Court Chaplain, and as such died, full of days and of honors, at one of the royal palaces in London, ten years after the death of his Puritan brother in New England. He had the family trait of being a ready writer, as his Latin works, collected by himself in two thick folios, bear witness.

Cast out of his student-home at the age of 18, the young man had no trouble in finding his vocation. He had made himself a name already for speaking and writing, as one (Stephen Goffe) who four years later became a student at Merton College, happens long afterwards to testify; and we have the means of tracing him almost without interruption from the learner's seat to the pulpit.

Of the very few manuscripts of Davenport's sermons which have escaped destruction, it is notable that one is the volume in which are the records of his occupation during the winter which followed his removal from Oxford. It was preserved in his family until eighty years ago, and then given to the Library of Yale College. Although the volume does not contain his

* So far as the University relations of the early emigrants to New England can be traced, about 60 were from Cambridge and about 20 from Oxford.

name written by himself, yet the handwriting throughout is indisputably his, and the proofs that it is of the date assigned to it are sufficient. It contains, besides some Latin notes of lectures on philosophy, etc., forty-three sermons or outlines of sermons. Nearest the beginning of the book are two, in what is apparently an earlier hand than the others. On the page between these two is a paragraph of personal apology, beginning thus: "My occasions of late have bene so many (wherewith some of you have been acquainted) as y^t I have scarsely had any time to employ my studie for preparation herunto, whervpon growing something timorous and almost afraid to undertake this so great a worke, at y^e last happily I called to mind y^e resolution of an auncient father that nothing but death should make him breake promise; wherupon I sodainly resolved wth myselfe by the helpe of God to continue firme, hoping that his power would appeare in my weakness and presuming upon your courteous and kind acceptance, either upon consideration of the paucity of my yeares or the paucity of my time which I could alott to this busines, either of which I doubt not will sufficiently excuse mee."

Next is a sermon headed, "At Hilton Castle, Anno 1615. Sermon. 1, of J. D., upon Deut. 28, 1." Sermons follow in a regularly numbered series, up to 35, after which are five others not numbered. Number 15 of the series is indicated as a sermon preached on Christmas Day, and between numbers 17 and 18 comes one headed "Upon New Year's Day." The sermons are so connected by such references as "you heard in y^e forenoone," "you heard the last Sabbath," etc., as to show that they were preached consecutively, two a day, counting backwards and forwards from the Christmas sermon, from November, 1615, to March, 1616. They are, as was then the fashion, and preëminently this preacher's fashion, in the form of a series, from half a dozen to a dozen on a single text, and the whole set interdependent: thus, he begins the 34th sermon (from the 1st verse of Exodus xx, Then God spake all these words and said), "Those few sermons, in number 34, which I have performed with much weakness in myself and yet great

strength in respect of the all-sufficient operation of God's Spirit, which most glorifieth himself by weak means, have been but as a prelude unto this my present text, or purpose in handling the Commandments." I regret to say that the discourses which follow do not get beyond the introductory verses, and that there is reason to fear that the patient hearers died without ever learning the full conclusion to which this "prelude" tended.

These sermons were preached, as the writer testifies, at Hilton Castle, the seat of the noble family of Hilton, a dozen miles northeast of the city of Durham. The local historians all speak of the state observed at the castle, and of its chapel as a domestic place of worship, where chaplains were always in attendance. The head of the house in 1615 was a young bachelor of thirty, who died in 1641, alienating the property and leaving his family to poverty and decay.

Our record carries us to March, 1616, when the writer is all but 19 years of age. Probably the engagement was soon terminated, for we learn incidentally from one of his later writings that about midsummer of this year he began to preach in the metropolis. In what particular church, and with what success for a year or two we do not hear; but by the time he reached his majority (we have his word for it a little later) "it pleased God to make his ministry public and eminent." From his undistinguished field of labor, he comes to sight in June, 1619, when as the records of St. Lawrence Jewry inform us, he was elected by the vestry of that Church, Lecturer and Curate, the Rev. William Boswell being Vicar. Here for upwards of five years he taught with growing reputation. The Church of St. Lawrence Jewry was (and its successor, built after the great fire of 1666, is) in the heart of the city, under the eaves of Guildhall, and but a stone's throw from Davenport's next parochial charge, St. Stephen's, Coleman street. To modern London, St. Lawrence Jewry is well known as one of the most ritualistic of her churches, and I should venture to say that even Laud himself would be satisfied with the ceremonies which one can see there now. In Davenport's day it

was different: and there he grew in favor with the rising Puritan party, became intimate with some noble families on that side (especially, it appears, with that of Lord Horatio Vere), and began to work out his evident destiny.

The next step was from the curacy here to the vicarage in the adjacent parish. St. Stephen's, Coleman street, was notable then, as it is now, for the peculiar privilege by which its parishioners elected their own minister, without interference from outside. In 1624 the parish became vacant, and at an election held October 5th, all but three or four of the seventy-three parishioners present voted for the prominent young preacher next door. But there were reasons why such a promotion was distasteful to the leaders in Church and State, and to those we owe the preservation of some resulting documents, and our knowledge of the facts.

In the State Paper Office in London is a letter from Davenport to the Secretary of State (who was, be it noted, a brother-in-law of one of Davenport's noble friends, Lady Mary Vere), dated a day or two after the Coleman street election. It begins thus: "It hath bene the will of God (against my naturall desire of privace and retiredness) to make my ministry, for the space of this sixe yeares, in London, public and eminent, w^{ch} hath caused some to look vpon me with a squint eye and hearken to my sermons with y^e least eare, and by all means to endeavor of my discouragement and disgrace, insomuch that I am traduced (as I hear and feare) to his Ma^{tie} for a Puritan, or one that is puritanically affected. If by a Puritan is meant one opposite to y^e present Government—I profess (as my subscription also testifieth) the contrary. My practice hath been answerable to that profession. I have bene a Curat, in St. Lawrence parish in the Old Jury, above five yeares, during w^{ch} time, and in that place (as alsoe y^e Ministre doth offer to testify) I have baptized many, but never any wthout the signe of the Cross, I have monethly administered y^e Sacrament of y^e Lord's Supper, but at no tyme wthout y^e Surplice, nor to any but those that kneeled, at w^{ch} tymes also I read the Booke of Common Prayer, in forme and manner as is appointed by the Church. Besides, I have perswaded many to conformity, yea myne own Father

and Vncle who are Aldermen of the City of Coventry, and were otherwise inclined; yea my desire of this pastorall charge sheweth my resolucion for conformity. 2. If by puritanically affected be meant one that secretly encourageth men in opposition to the present Government, I profess an hearty detestation of such hypocrisy; my public sermons and private discourses have ever aimed at this, to persuade men to give unto Cesar the things that are Cesar's, and unto God the things that are God's. As for other matters, my plain and open appearing in defense of y^e ceremonies hath caused vnto me some opposition from such as disaffect them." . . .

He goes on to ask the help of Secretary Conway with the King, and with the Bishop of London, Dr. Montaigne. The Secretary's suit with the Bishop elicits a reply, in which is this passage: "Before this business was afoote, I had order from his Ma^{tie} to call Mr. Dampont in question for some points of doctrine w^{ch} he had preached, at w^{ch} many y^t heard him were scandalized and some getting so desperate y^t they were in danger of final desperation, and the fatall accidents y^t usually follow in such a case. Besides he was reported to be factious and popular" [i. e., favoring the people] "and to draw after him great congregations and assemblies of common and meane people. After my coming home I found that he was chosen by a *popular election* to this living in Coleman St., and therefore I thought it my Duty to make a stay in it until I might further know his Ma^{ties} pleasure."

A second letter follows from Davenport to Secretary Conway, urging haste in satisfying the King and the Bishop. He beseeches "whereas my adversary" [Laud?] "objecteth that the man whom he doth injuriously present to the place is more worthy than myselfe, because he hath taken more degrees in y^e University than I have, that this may not lessen the Bps. esteeme of me, nor be divulged to my disgrace, since I am a licensed and conformable Minister, and that my want of degrees proceeded not from any want of time or of willingness or of sufficiency (as was well known at Oxford), but from want of meanes (my friends being unwilling) to keepe me longer at the

University. My hope is, after I am settled in a certayne competency of means, to recover the degrees, w^{ch} some think I have lost for want of taking the first opportunity."

Another letter follows from the Secretary to the Bishop, urging the points made by Davenport, and speaking of having "the assistance of my Lord of Buckingham's request" in behalf of Davenport—an intimation that this notorious favorite found it somehow to his interest to seem to befriend a suspected Puritan.

Two days later, Oct. 17, Davenport writes a third time to Secretary Conway, thanking him with fulsome words for his success with the Bishop; and urging intercession with the King, saying, "I hear that M^r Sidnam, y^e King's Page, hath incensed his Ma^{tie} against mee, because above a year since I reprov'd him for swearing at my Lady Vere's; w^{ch} I marvayle at, since at that time he pretended . . . thankfulness."

Still another letter follows, on the 19th, from the Curate to the Secretary of State, begging further influence with King James, and enclosing the list of names of the parishioners present at the meeting when he was elected Vicar. In this list, a few can be identified as subsequently associates of their minister in the management of the Company which founded the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; a few others bear names early represented among the founders of New Haven Colony, such as Evans, Hill, Johnson, Barnes, Perkins, Eldred, Blakesly, Jackson, and Thompson. The most notable parishioner was Sir Maurice Abbot, brother of the then Archbishop of Canterbury; but as the Primate was then in disgrace, partly on account of a suspected leaning to Puritanism, the support of his brother may have been worse than useless. The name of Theophilus Eaton is not on the list; and we may infer that he was then of some other London parish, though a few years later he is enrolled among Davenport's hearers.

On a copy of the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England, in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, in Worcester, is the following indorsement, in Davenport's handwriting: "Novemb. 7th, 1624. John Davenporte, Clerk, Vicar of St.

Stephens, in Coleman Street, London, did this day above written being Sunday, publicly read this booke of Articles herein contayned, being in number 39 besides y^e ratification, and declared his full and unfeigned assent and consent thereunto, in the tyme of Morning Prayer, next after the second lesson, before the whole Congregation. As also the said John did, the same day, administer the Holy Communion in the sayd parish, in his surplis, according to y^e order præscribed by y^e Church of England; in y^e præsence of those whose names are here underwritten." Then follow the signatures of the Churchwardens and others, and this completes the transition to a new sphere. We see him entering on his work, in strict conformity to canonical requirements, and with the purpose of honest observance.

The first step he takes, after settling in his new position, is to redeem his pledge of recovering his University degree.

A gentleman in Cambridge, Mass. (Mr. Wm. A. Saunders), is the fortunate owner of a manuscript volume, entirely in Davenport's handwriting, between the years 1625 and 1633, on the first page of which he has inscribed the Latin questions to which he made response in his application for a degree on the 18th of May, 1625, ten years after he had been forced to end his term of pupilage. These questions are two of the standard commonplaces of theology: whether the death of Christ wrought salvation for all men, and whether the truly regenerate man can utterly fall from grace. His answers subjoined, in correct hexameter and pentameter, are of course in the negative to both questions; and he went back to London, entitled to write himself a Bachelor of Divinity.

He devotes himself now to regular parish work, which includes, too, more than the perfunctory discharge of duty: for 1625 was the great plague-year, when upwards of 35,000 died in London alone, and one is pleased to find in the Parish Records of St. Stephen's a testimony to his fidelity, in a special vote passed in the spring of 1626, that Mr. Davenport shall have of the parish funds, in respect of his care and pains taken in the time of the visitation of sickness, as a gratuity, the sum of £20.

In the manuscript volume of Davenport's to which I just referred, I find, next to the entry of his degree-questions, undated copies of a correspondence between himself and Dr. Alexander Leighton, the famous father of a more famous son, Archbishop Leighton. This correspondence must, I think, have been in 1626 or 7. Leighton was a pertinacious Scotchman, of advanced ideas in regard to Church ceremonies, and with neither tact nor discretion: a few years later, for his injudicious writings, he suffered such a sentence of mutilation and chastisement as was perhaps never paralleled under a professedly Christian government. At this time he was moved to provoke a controversy with Davenport about the custom of kneeling in receiving the sacrament. Davenport's moderate answer, as appropriate now as then, begins as follows: "Sir, When we duely consider y^e distresses of y^e Reformed Churches in these days, we shall soone conclude with him y^t sayd, Non sunt litigandi ista sed orandi tempora: neyther was it my purpose to enter into y^e lists of dispute at any tyme, much less now, about such questions as these: for is it not worke enough to preach, vnles we dispute also? \or, if we must dispute, were it not better to unite o^r forces against those who oppose us in Fundamentalls then to be divided amongst o^rselves about ceremonials? Who can, wthout sorrowe and feare observe how Atheisme, Libertinisme, Papisme and Arminianisme, both at home and abroad, have stolne in and taken possession of y^e house, whilest we are at strife about y^e hangings and paintings of it? And y^e enemye strikes at y^e hearte whilest we buisy o^rselves in washing y^e face of this body. How much better would it be-seeme us to combine together in an holy league against y^e common adversary, according to Joab's agreement with Abishai (2 Sam., x, 11.), if y^e Aramits be stronger then I, thou shalt helpe me, and if y^e children of Ammon be too strong for thee, I'll come and succor thee, than thus to resemble those serv^{ts} of Saul and David under y^e command of Abner and Joab, each of w^{ch} caught his fellowe by y^e head, and thrust his sword into his fellowes side, so they fell downe together."

Thus he goes on, and in like spirit answers Leighton's fiery

questions: showing that as yet he is confident in the safety and wisdom of conformity with the ordinance in this regard: but no principle is involved in the concession, so far as he now sees.

In 1627, at 30 years of age, we first find him in print. In March of this year, four of the most prominent evangelical ministers in London (for such by this time he has become) issue a circular, asking contributions for the relief of persecuted Protestants in the Upper Palatinate, subjects of the Queen of Bohemia, the sister of Charles I. The government had refused aid, and the King himself and Laud (who was now a Bishop and a Privy-Councillor) were ill-suited to have the Roman Court offended by such Ultra-Protestant measures; so that the result of this seemingly humane and christian appeal was to bring its signers before the Star-Chamber and procure them a reprimand: not a conciliatory step to one who was eager just now to conform so far as possible.

In the next month, we have from his pen a preface of twenty pages to a little book on the Christian's Daily Walk, by a country minister, Henry Scudder. The preface shows a large acquaintance with the fathers, the schoolmen, and the moderns, and a warm interest in all the motives of practical piety. I notice that he speaks with high praise of the writings of Joseph Hall (afterwards Bishop), and styles him "that true Christian English Seneca:" the phrase has attached itself familiarly to the good Bishop, but others had probably used it as early as Davenport.* The little book proved a great success; my own copy, dated fifteen years later, is of the 8th edition.

Towards the end of this year, Bishop Montaigne was transferred from London to Durham: an inoffensive man, apparently—specially, perhaps, by contrast, for the king immediately nominated Laud to the vacant see, and though his actual transfer was for some reason delayed a six-month, the shadow of his coming began to darken the paths of suspected Puritans.

In 1628, we have the first two which are preserved (in the

* See, for example, a letter from Sir Henry Wotton, in the appendix to Burnet's *Life of Bishop Bedell*.

British Museum) of a series of nine letters from Davenport to the Lady Mary Vere, whose religious life appears to have been under his direction, though he was some fifteen years her junior. She was a Puritan of the Puritans, and in the coming days of the Long Parliament was selected to take charge of the three children of the King who were in the Parliament's control: at the present date she was with her husband at the Hague, where he was in military command. In one of these two letters, under date of June 30, he mentions that he has waited "in hope to write somewhat concerning the event and success of our High Commission troubles:" but he expects that since Parliament has risen without settling anything, Bishop Laud will take advantage of "a former quarrel" and deprive him of his pastoral charge. So he has had some former quarrel with Laud, the details of which are lost to us, and he sees nothing but deprivation before him. But what were these High Commission troubles? Briefly, that some two years earlier it had seemed necessary to a little group of earnest and godly men in London, some preachers, some laymen, to join together in an informal way to secure more employment of men of their own stamp as preachers in the land. As Dr. Bacon has phrased it, they were a sort of Home Missionary Society; their way being to buy in as they had opportunity the rights of patronage of church-livings, and to establish lectureships in the cities and towns where they could not get control of the presentation to a vicarage. Of course this was simply extending evangelical or Puritan ideas, at the expense of the opposite party; and here was a grand chance for Laud to crush them by a decision of the Courts, before which already the Feoffees, as these Trustees were called, had been summoned. But the end is not yet.

In 1629 we notice first his share in another enterprise of more lasting results. The year before, a voluntary association which had been doing something for five or six years to colonize part of the New England coast, obtained a grant of Massachusetts from the Council for New England, and in March, 1629, 26 of this association received a charter from the king as "the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay." In the

list of patentees Davenport's name does not appear, for the reason, says his biographer Cotton Mather, that he feared its insertion might provoke the opposition of Laud in the Privy Council: but he was one of the leading spirits in the undertaking, paid £50 towards the expense of obtaining the charter, and when the business of giving orders to the colonists was in hand, and a committee was appointed with full power to draw up directions for Captain Endecott, the head of the government here, Davenport's name is the first on the committee. Of the two elaborate letters of instruction which followed, the second, at least, shows peculiar marks of his hand.

In the same year comes his first printed sermon of which we have knowledge: it is "A Royal Edict for Military Exercises; published in a Sermon preached to the Captains and Gentlemen that exercise Armes in the Artillery Garden at their general Meeting, June 23." But one complete copy is found in this country, and one in England. It is a very perfect specimen of the mode in which the fathers were wont to treat a text as an articulated animal: the six ingenious divisions of the subject in this case being, "Also | he bade them | teach | the children of Judah | the use of the bow. | Behold it is written in the book of Jasher." The Company was the model on which was formed the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston, and its practice-ground was, I think, within the limits of the parish of St. Stephen's.

In this year he appears also, in connection with Dr. Sibbes, as editor and prefacer of four thick volumes of sermons, preached at Lincoln's Inn by Dr. John Preston, of Cambridge, who was the acknowledged leader of the Puritan party at the time of his death in 1628. To these two friends Dr. Preston had bequeathed the care of his sermons preached in London, and the volumes passed through a quick succession of editions.

Going on to 1631, we find on record in the State Paper Office an elaborate answer from Davenport "to certain objections devised against him by Timothy Hood, sometime his Curate." Hood appears to have been a factious person, who had been dismissed by Davenport after a brief employment, because he shirked his duties; and he showed his spirit by lodging a com-

plaint, to the effect that Davenport was addicted to Puritan practices, not wearing the surplice, not reading the litany, not insisting on kneeling at the sacrament, and administering to strangers. Davenport's answer is plausible, professing (and he was too cautious to profess it unless with truth) that he hath and doth wear the Surplice according as the Canon doth prescribe; that the litany is regularly read in his Church on Wednesdays and Fridays, and sometimes on Sundays; that whereas his parish contains about 1400 communicants, they cannot all come to the chancel to receive the sacrament, nor can he possibly know them so as to avoid administering to those from other parishes who may attend when their own churches are closed; and in administering from pew to pew, many pews are so filled that it is impossible that many should receive kneeling, whereby he is constrained to administer so as they can receive, but where they can kneel as well as sit he hath advised it, and in case of refusal hath refused to administer.

Whether the complaint was dismissed without judgment on the case, does not appear; but this may quite possibly be the occasion subsequently referred to by Laud as one in which he had used moderation with Davenport, thinking that he had persuaded him and settled his judgment.

A slight evidence of the caution necessary in these days may be found in an entry on the parish records in the spring of the next year, where Davenport makes a formal minute of a case in which he has granted a license to a weak and sickly parishioner to eat flesh during the present Lent.

In the latter part of 1632 proceedings were actively resumed against the Feoffees and the case came before the Court. Among other things, it was charged that the whole concern was a dishonest scheme for making money; but Davenport subsequently drops the remark in a private letter that he for one was much out of pocket by the business. The answer made to the Court is preserved, and finally in Febr., 1633, proceedings were closed by forcing the dissolution of the association and confiscating the impropriations which they had purchased. Laud in his Diary records that "they were the main instruments for the

Puritan faction to undo the Church;" but even he dared not, in the face of the popular feeling, force the criminal part of the suit; so that the Trustees escaped the fines which they might have feared.

Just after this we have a glimpse of the overworked minister from another entry in the parish records where, in April, 1633, it is "agreed that Mr. Davenport shall have out of the parish stock £20. towards his charge in going and coming from the Bathe."

The year beginning so threateningly, with criminal and civil prosecutions impending, was destined to prove the most decisive of his life. Up to this time, if we may trust his own words, he had cherished the belief that by conformity in non-essential ceremonies he could do his work within the pale of the Church. But the manuscript volume which I have mentioned as containing his conservative answer to Leighton on the subject of kneeling at the sacrament, contains also some hundred pages of notes (made, as the internal evidence shows, after 1628, and probably not until 1633), beginning with the ominous heading, "Grounds whereupon y^e safety of conformity is built, together with y^e sandines of y^m." These pages consist of a presentation of the current arguments for conformity, and elaborate answers and refutations. By far the greater part turn on the old question of kneeling, which seems to have been to Davenport the *experimentum crucis*; and the volume contains, I think, the record of his private conversion from a conformist to a non-conformist.

But we learn from other sources of other influences. John Cotton, late vicar of Boston in Lincolnshire, sailed for New England about the last of June, in company with Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone; and before leaving, Cotton, and apparently Hooker also, was in conference with Davenport and one or two other London ministers, who hoped to reclaim these esteemed brethren: but Davenport has left on record that this conference did more than all his private investigations to shake his confidence in conformity. They sailed, however, without him, and he turned again to his work. It was reserved for another agent to complete the change.

It was Sunday, the 4th day of August, when—suddenly at the last—came news of the death of the old Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, a friend, so long as he had power, of the Puritan party. No one doubted for a moment who would be his successor, and though it was not till Tuesday, the 6th, that the king announced to Laud his intention of advancing him to the primacy, Davenport knew too well the risks he should run if he attempted to retain his position together with his newly found convictions. On Monday, Aug. 5th, he left London for some hidden retreat in the country, and after three months' waiting, finding that messengers of Laud were on his track, crossed to Holland. In a subsequent publication ("Apologetically Reply," 1636, p. 107) he gives this account of the affair:—

"That I may not be altogether wanting to my selfe, nor injurious to the Reader, in suffering him to be guilty of the sinne of evill surmises, or of slander in heart, for want of information, I doe seriously and sincerely protest, that (so farr as I know myne owne heart) I did not withdraw my selfe, 1. out of any disloyall affection or unduetifull thought towards his Ma^{tie} of great Brittainye, my dread Sovereigne, for whome my hearty prayer shall be, day & night, that *his soule may be bound in the bundle of life with the Lord his God, & that the soules of his enimyes may be flung out, as out of the middle of a sling.* And that the Lord will cloath his enimies with shame, but upon himselfe let his crowne flourish. 2, nor out of any Schymaticall propension to forsake the church *assembles* of England, as if I thought there were no true Churches of Christ in the land, *as the manner of some is.* 3, Nor out of idlenes, or wearines of the Lord's plough, nor 4. out of love of ease, that I might pamper the flesh. 5, Nor out of any unrighteous ayme to defraud any one by any meanes. 6, Not as one ashamed of the Gospell, to avoid witnes bearing to the trueth. 7, Nor for any trouble I was in, or feared" [= frightened] "by the civill Magistrate, before whom I was never questioned, in all my life, except for the good and pious buisenes about redeeming impropriations, wherein our righteous dealing was publickly cleared even by his Ma^{ties} Attorney Generall, who prosecuted against us. But the truth is, that having about 17 yeares exercised a publick ministry in London, (about 9 or 10 yeares whereof I was in a Pastorall charge in Colman street) in the latter part of that time I was much perplexed with doubts about the lawfullnes of that conformity which I had formerly used, without scruple, in respect of some defects and corruptions and unwarrantable human impositions, whereunto I found myself thereby subjected."

In the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, in Worcester, is a manuscript of some seventy-five pages, believed

to be in Davenport's hand; and so far as I have had opportunity to examine it, I think it unquestionably his: if so, it must have been addressed to his parishioners at St. Stephen's, just before his fleeing the country. The subject is "Christ's Church, and his government of it." Prefaced is an "Epistle," beginning thus: "To his beloved brethren and Christian freindes, which love the Lord and his t[ruth], grace and peace. Beloved, there are many of you that know the reason why I now am after a sort [driven] to speake to you by wrighting. The earnest desires of some of you [have] bin the greatest inducements to me to leave behind me these notes in yo[ur] keeping], some of you charging it as a point of duty and conscience upon [me] to doe what now I am going about in this treatise" . . . Later, after opening his subject, the writer says, "I never had the light nor liberty to preach to you about these things: now the Lord hath shown me his truth, I declare it unto you, which if you willfully or carelesly cast off, be it known I am free from the blood of you." One very curious passage helps to mark the date: in one place it is said; "hence some Jesuites, especially he that writ lately yet most subtilly and hypocritically, Franciscus de St. Clare, that our English Church cannot lawfully be called haereticks but scismaticks" . . . It is our old friend, Francis de St. Clare, otherwise Christopher Davenport (though *not* a Jesuit) who published in 1633 (not until after September) a famous treatise on the Articles of the Anglican Church paraphrastically considered and explained: a tract which two centuries later formed the basis of the more celebrated "Tract No. 90" by Dr. Newman, and which has been reprinted with a translation by one of the most advanced Anglican Churchmen of our own decade. In it the author considers the Thirty-nine Articles from a Roman Catholic point of view, with the proselyting aim of showing that they are consistent with the decrees of the Council of Trent.

Early in November, then, Davenport took refuge in Holland, in pursuance of an invitation from his countrymen residing there. At his landing in Haarlem, two of the elders in the

Rev. John Paget's English Church at Amsterdam (ten miles distant) met him and escorted him thither, where it was thought that Mr. Paget, now in years, might welcome him as an assistant. In his own mind, however, remained the hope that some way might be opened by his friends at Court to secure his return to England in the spring. But the parish of St. Stephen's provided themselves early in December with a new Vicar.

A letter to Lady Vere (at the Hague) written, I think, immediately on his arrival at Amsterdam, is preserved, in which he says: "The persecution of the tongue is more fierce and terrible than that of the hand. At this time I have sense of both." [Referring, probably, to false rumors as to the cause of his flight.] . . . "The truth is I have not forsaken my ministry, nor resigned my place, much less separated from the Church, but am only absent a while to wait upon God, upon the settling and quieting of things, for light to discern my way . . . The only cause of all my sufferings is the alteration of my judgment in matters of conformity to the ceremonies established."

He now begins preaching (twice each Sunday at first) in Mr. Paget's Church, but soon finds a stumbling-block in the loose way of administering baptism which Paget had practised. The result was a little controversy, on Davenport's side purely on account of his scruple about baptizing all infants, without assurance of the church-membership and Christian walk of the parents: on Paget's side, other considerations had weight, a jealousy of the fervor and eloquence of this new-comer, and perhaps a willingness to serve his own ends by taking advantage of the ill-favor shown to Davenport by the home-authorities.

The controversy sped so fast that Paget brought the case before the Dutch Classis of city ministers, who named a committee to propose a basis of settlement. This committee of five of the most eminent theologians of Amsterdam delivered their judgment in January (a copy of which was transmitted to Laud, and so was insured preservation in

English archives),* in which, while commending Davenport's erudition and piety, and approving his zeal in urging the examination of parents presenting children for baptism, they yet leave a large loop-hole for doubtful cases, in which on the whole they would administer the ordinance. Davenport remonstrated, but Paget prevailed, and Davenport desisted from preaching after less than six months' service.

Meantime another side-light is thrown on these events by the letters of a certain Stephen Goffe, at this time Chaplain of an English Regiment at the Hague, a busybody angling for preferment, and so heartily in sympathy with Laudian tendencies that he found his true home in the Roman Church before many years. A parallel instance to the divergencies in Davenport's own family manifests itself here, for this Goffe was a brother of the Regicide whose later life was so curiously dependent on Davenport. This man, on Davenport's landing at Haarlem, sends off the news to a London friend, to be laid before the Archbishop, and follows up his victim with a succession of venomous epistles which still remain, labeled by Laud's own hand. From this witness we learn that he himself shared in the successful effort to thwart Davenport's chance of preaching in the English Church at Amsterdam. Goffe says in a letter of December 16th, that he has been to see Paget and also Gerard Vossius, a Professor at Amsterdam and of the magistracy of the city, remembered in our day as one of the most learned of Dutch philologists, and then a recent visitor to England and guest of Archbishop Laud. Goffe reports that he has told Vossius that Davenport "is very dangerous in dealing in secular affairs, to the troubling of places in which he dwelt." He urges that Vossius should have letters from London to encourage him, and which shall not omit to tickle him by praising the excellent lectures which he has just published. He makes it clear, however, that it will not do to accuse Davenport in Holland of neglect of ceremonies, as that would

* In Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1634-5, p. 469; the document is wrongly calendared (as of 163 $\frac{1}{2}$, instead of 163 $\frac{1}{4}$), owing to the confusion of the Old and New Styles.

be agreeable in that quarter rather than otherwise, but that stress must be laid rather on his carriage towards the King as the head of the State, in stealing out of England when writs were issued against him, and in not reporting himself to his Majesty's agent at the Hague. Another of Goffe's letters, in February, claims that his plan has succeeded, and that Davenport cannot be elected to a position at Amsterdam, because he is known as a deserter, and has preached (since coming over) against the civil government of England: he hopes that "we shall be delivered from this plague, and he will make for New England." On the strength of this information, apparently, Davenport was summoned by the King's agent, resident at the Hague, to clear himself by answers to certain questions of the charge of preaching against the English government; and his reply, dated March 18, 1634, is preserved among the Agent's papers in the British Museum. It begins thus:

"Honorable Sir, When I first came into these parts, my purpose was to stay here but 3 or 4 moneths, and that time being expired, to returne for England my native country, had not the sinister & slanderous information, whereof I complained in [my] last, exasperated the Arch Bp. of Cant. to reproachfull inuectives, and bitter mena[ces] against me in the High Commission, whereby my returne is made much more difficult, and hazardous than I could suspect The particulars, wherein I have changed, are no other then the same, for which many worthy ministers, and lights eminent for godlines and learning have suffered the loss of theyre ministry and liberty: some whereof are now in perfect peace, and rest, others are dispersed in seuerall countreyes, and some yet liue in England as priuate persons, who were and are loyall and faythfull subjects to theyre soueraigne, and have witnessed against haeresyes, and schysme, and against all sectaryes, as Familists, Anabaptists & Brownists, against all which I also witnes, in this place, wherunto I had not come, if I could have bene secure of a safe and quiett abode in my deare natiue country.

"If that way of questioning should pass upon all men, which your wisdom iudgeth meete in this case (as will appear upon your reuew of the second question) I thinck, they that iudge me will be found, in some particulars, to have spoken against the gouernm^t of England. All that I spake was concerning the gesture of sitting, used in this country in receiuing the sacrament of y lords supper, which I approved and preferred before kneeling, grounding what I sayd upon Luke 22: 27 to 31; wherein I named not England nor the government thereof, and so carried the discourse that it might be applyed as well to the popish or Lutherane custom here as to any other, and passed it ouer so breifly that all I sayd may be written in a very few lines, nor did I euer heare that any man tooke offence thereat, but this informer, who was discontented the weeke before

at a sermon wherein some Arminian errors were touched upon by me, which quickened him to watch for some advantage whereupon he might ground an accusation."

After ceasing, in April, to preach in Paget's church, he appears to have remained through the year in Amsterdam, holding a private service at his lodgings on Sundays, at such an hour as not to interfere with the public preaching, and adhered to by a large minority of his countrymen there.

At the end of the year, one of this number printed, without the author's knowledge, Davenport's argument before the Dutch Classis on the question of indiscriminate baptism, and also some instructions drawn up by him for the guidance of his adherents in the Church, and his statement of their grievances. The little pamphlet, (only two copies of which are known to exist) made a great stir, perhaps from the justice of its conclusions, and brought out a reply from Paget. It brought out also a "Protestation" from Davenport, printed at Rotterdam in January, 1635, complaining of the unauthorized publication of his views, and disclaiming controversy. In this connection comes in a letter written in July, 1635, to his old friend, Lady Vere, now in England. In this he refers to Paget thus: "myselfe also being in some distractions by y^e unquiett spirit of the old man, who to all his former injuries addeth this, that he hath now published a tedious booke in English, full of reproaches and slanders against me. . . . This I am now constrained to answer for y^e trueths sake." There is also this paragraph: "It may be of good use to prevent praejudice in the *Queenes* if your Honor when you are pleased to wright to her, and my Lady Leicester (?), take notice of theyre favour to me, and pray them not to be praejudiced by any suggestions against me from that booke or otherwise till they may peruse my answer. This I desire not for any use I have of the *Queenes* favour, but that shee may not be hindred from receiving good by my ministry, which yet she well esteemeth." As this must refer to Elizabeth, dowager Queen of Bohemia (sister of Charles I.), who had for some years resided at or near the Hague, and who was strongly evangelical, we must conclude

that he was by this time removed to that city, and that she was an attendant on his occasional ministry.

By a letter six months later to Lady Vere, he appears to have gone to Rotterdam, pathetically describing himself as "a poore Pilgrim, a banished man." At Rotterdam he published in 1636 his "Apologeticall Reply" to Paget, a volume of 350 pages, of which two or three copies are found in this country.

Late in 1636, or early in 1637, he ventured to England again, probably as the guest of Lady Vere at Hackney; he was reported as in that neighborhood by Laud's Vicar-General in March, 1637, but eluded all vigilance and got off safely (probably about the middle of April), with the colony of which Theophilus Eaton was the civil leader, for New England. At the end of April came a Proclamation, forbidding further emigration, except under stringent conditions of conformity, which may have been devised to meet this very case.

At Boston they arrived on the 26th of June, and there they tarried for nine months. During that time Davenport assisted at an important ecclesiastical Synod of the Colony, and was named one of the committee of twelve, to put into effect the vote just passed establishing a college at Newtown. But by March, 1638, the settlement at Quinnipiac was agreed on, and a fortnight before the little company sailed from Boston to this harbor, Davenport and Eaton addressed to the authorities of the Bay a farewell letter, which was written by Davenport, as the autograph in existence still testifies, and as would perhaps be betrayed by its use of the same reference to Joab and Abishai which he quoted a dozen years before in his letter to Leighton.

To New Haven, then, Davenport is brought, in April, 1638, at the age of 41, with the large responsibility of organizing a new republic. There is no need that I should follow closely the steps of our early history, so well traced by others, and for which so little new material can be found. The first documents of the colony are the two treaties with the Indians, for the form of which, however, I conceive that Eaton rather than Davenport was responsible.

But the first year at New Haven furnished two small contributions from Davenport's pen to the press, which are most valuable as illustrations of the spirit in which the experiment of the New England Colonies was undertaken. The one, a "Discourse about Civil Government in a New Plantation whose Design is Religion," was printed long after, in 1663, and at least five copies are known to exist. The other, printed in 1643, was part of "An Answer of the Elders of the severall churches in New-England unto Nine Positions sent over to them" by their Puritan brethren at home, who naturally viewed with disfavor the new style of Church Government. In both of these tracts Davenport is seen at his best as a reasoner.

In 1639, we may remember, the government of New Haven was organized: on the 4th of June, the planters met in Mr. Newman's barn, and after a sermon from the pastor agreed on the fundamental articles of civil government proposed by him, as is written in full in our Colony Records. Then on the 22d of August, the church was gathered, and as a permanent memorial of the pastor's system of doctrine we have the brief Profession of Faith which he made at that time, and which was printed in London two years later. I am not aware that its teaching differs anywise from that of the Church of England, except of course in the sections concerning the manner of gathering a church, and concerning church officers.

A letter sent by him the next month from Quinnipiac to Lady Vere mentions the encouraging incidents of the colony's progress, adding, "And, which is more, the Lord our God hath here bestowed upon us the greatest outward priviledge under the sun, to have and enjoy all his ordinances purely dispensed in a church gathered and constituted, according to his owne minde."

The letter mentions that the captain of the first ship just arrived from England was so pleased with the sight of the harbor "that he called it the Fair Haven:" the suggestion perhaps for the name deliberately given to the plantation a year later.

Then in October we have the first election of magistrates, and Davenport giving Governor Eaton a formal charge founded on a passage from the words of Moses.

The years pass without special events. In Jan., 1646, the colony made a notable effort for commercial advancement in the equipment of a ship for England, in which Davenport forwarded a stock of manuscripts for the press: among them a volume on the Power of Congregational Churches, a series of sermons on the Hours of Temptation, and another on Christ's shaking heaven and earth to establish his kingdom.

The vessel passed out of sight beneath the horizon, and later into our legendary history as the 'Phantom Ship,' whose loss cast a gloom over the colony, not lessened by the supposed supernatural appearance which tradition has handed down. The Power of Congregational Churches, the most elaborate of the works thus shipwrecked, was rewritten a few years later, and sent again for publication, but did not reach the press till after the author's death.

As a part of the record for 1649 I find in the Prince Library in Boston, a draft of a letter from Davenport to Charles Chauncy, then a pastor in Scituate, who had applied for advice as to immersion, which he used in baptisms: Davenport's answer discourages the practice. The letter is doubtless one of scores that came to him as a leader of the churches, but so far as I know is the only one of its kind which is preserved.

In 1652 he sends over another volume to the printer. It was a vindication of Jesus as the Jewish Messiah, and was originally preached as a series of sermons to his people, and then forwarded to John Cotton of Boston for his judgment as to its fitness for publication. The interesting autograph letter to Cotton in which this matter is referred to is now in the possession of a member of this Society. In the preface to the book he says: "My far distance from the press, and the hazards of so long a voyage by Sea, had almost discouraged me from transmitting this Copie: foreseeing that whatsoever *σφαλματα* are committed by the Printer, men disaffected will impute to the Author; and being sensible of my great loss of some Manuscripts, by a wrack at sea, together with the lives of sundry precious ones, about six years since. Yet if the Printer acquit himself well in this, and God be pleased to make it

acceptable and profitable to the Reader, I shall be encouraged to publish more, as God shall give liberty and opportunity." I give this extract, partly to expose an absurd blunder of an English editor of our day, the Rev. Mr. Grosart, who in his edition of the works of Dr. Sibbes, one of the noted Puritans, casting about for a reason why no biography of Sibbes was left by any contemporary, unfortunately stumbles on this passage, and sagely interprets the "lives of sundry precious ones," the loss of which Davenport laments, and which we know to be the company of New Haven men and women who went down in the 'Phantom ship,' as a collection of biographies, which likely enough included one of the great Dr. Sibbes. So much for the perils of interpretation.

With 1653 we have the first of a series of letters to Governor Winthrop, of New London, over twenty of which have been published, and some fifty I believe still remain unprinted, to which I have not had access. Those published are of varying degrees of interest, but my purpose is served by the mere reference to them.

In the Library of Yale College we have another precious manuscript volume of Davenport's outlines of his sermons preached from July, 1656, to August, 1658: at that time, as through most of his ministry here, he had an assistant who relieved him in part: in other words, the sermons described do not cover all the preaching from New Haven pulpit between these dates. The most of the volume is occupied with a series of expositions on five chapters of Luke's Gospel. During the period covered by the volume, Governor Eaton died suddenly (on Thursday, January 7th, 1658); and one looks curiously to see if the sermon-book of his life-long friend contain any reference to the loss: but the following Sunday is occupied with an exposition of the parable of the Pharisee and Publican, and the notes do not yield a tear or a sigh.

In 1659 was printed in London "A Catechisme containing the Chief Heads of Christian Religion. Published, at the desire, and for the use of the Church of Christ at New Haven. By John Davenport, Pastor, and William Hooke, Teacher." One of the only two known copies is in our College Library.

The preparation of this Catechism must be placed at least three years before its publication, as Hooke had gone back to England in 1656. As a full exhibition, in sixty-two pages, of the form of doctrine held by Davenport, the book is of course invaluable. To one who is not an expert in that line it seems that there is little or no variance from the standards of the English Church, except of course in regard to church organization and government. For instance, the doctrine of the resurrection of the body is taught in the plainest terms, while the Church is defined as "a Company of believers, or saints by calling, together with their seed, joined together in fellowship with the Lord Jesus, and one with another as a spiritual political body."

In 1660 we have two separate evidences of his multiform activity. On the 4th of June he delivered up to the General Court of the Colony his trusteeship of the fund given by Edward Hopkins for a college at New Haven, with a long statement of the designs of the donor and of his own desires. This ceremony, which has been justly celebrated as the foundation of our Grammar School, is quite as really an epoch in the train of events which led forty years later to the erection of Yale College. New Haven had already furnished half a dozen graduates for Cambridge, and the prophetic eye of Davenport fixed on this spot as the site of a new college. Steps to such an end had been taken long before, and it was only the development of his ideas (working largely through his successor in the pastoral office, the Rev. James Pierpont), which brought the college here in the next generation.

In this year a letter was received from John Dury, a Scotchman who was laboring to promote the union of the Calvinistic and Lutheran Churches, and was answered in the name of the ministers of the Colony by Davenport in a Latin epistle, of which large extracts are preserved in print.

In 1661, New Haven (and especially Mr. Davenport) sheltered the two Regicides, Whalley and Goffe; and some time before their coming he preached to his people a series of sermons preparatory to such questions about harboring traitors as

their presence might excite. These sermons were printed in London in this year, and four or five copies are in existence. In this connection comes also a very hard letter to read, with our present knowledge, in which Davenport explains to the King's agent his own ignorance of the Regicide matter, and which I wish for his sake were blotted out.

In the spring of 1662 the separate existence of the New Haven Colony was threatened by Gov. Winthrop's obtaining for Connecticut a charter including this settlement. The struggles of the next two or three years ended with the absorption of this Colony in Connecticut in Jan., 1665, but every step to this result was contested by a series of admirable state-papers, in which Davenport's hand was plain. When this episode, with the sacrifice which it involved of the principles on which this Colony was founded, was over, he employs in a letter to Gov. Leverett of Massachusetts the phrase which doubtless reflects the prevailing tone of his thoughts for the rest of life: "You see my zeal for preserving Christ's interest in your parts, though in New Haven Colony it is miserably lost."

Meantime an important theological controversy also was on his hands. In Sept., 1662, a Synod of Massachusetts ministers met in Boston, chiefly to consider the question of the admission of baptized children to Church privileges,—such as presenting their children for baptism without any profession of their own Christian faith. Against this new way, which in the issue led to so much trouble in the next century, Davenport used his pen with power. His argument, entitled "Another Essay for Investigation of the Truth," was printed in 1663 at Cambridge, with a preface by Increase Mather, as yet a young unordained preacher. The Essay was answered by Richard Mather, father of Increase, and Davenport prepared and forwarded for publication in 1664 a Vindication of his former treatise: but through some backwardness in those to whom he transmitted it,—probably Increase Mather himself, who was by this time converted to his father's views,—the Vindication remained in manuscript, and is believed to be still in existence in the autograph collection of the Rev. Dr. Sprague: a copy, however, is in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society.

We pass on to 1667, when Davenport was in his seventy-first year. On the 7th of August, John Wilson, the original minister of the First Church in Boston, died at the age of seventy-nine; and in September, after a struggle which resulted in the formation of a new church, now the Old South, Davenport was chosen his successor. Wilson, with a large minority of the church, had supported the conclusions of the recent Synod, as to the subjects of baptism; and so Davenport's election was a triumph of the Anti-Synodists, who were elsewhere clearly in a minority. By accepting the call, he stirred the flame of controversy anew, and moreover must have alienated in great degree the affections of the people whom he had led into this wilderness. To Boston, however, he went in 1668, arriving on the 2d day of May, but not being installed until the 9th of December. In the following spring he preached the Election Sermon, which was printed, though not a single copy is now discoverable. In the same year he published in England a couple of fast-day sermons, and here his work ended. In March,* 1670, he died in Boston, in his seventy-third year. There one may see his tomb, in King's Chapel burying ground; and here we have his portrait, painted apparently after his death by some rude Boston artist. The inventory of his estate amounted to £1250, 18^s, 10½^d: there are books prized at £233, 17^s; apparel, £30; in money, £193, 10^s, 4½^d; in plate, £50; dwelling house and land, £400; one servant boy, £10.

* March 11th, according to the Records of the First Church; March 15th, according to Gov. Hutchinson's History; March 16th, according to John Hull's Diary.

WRITINGS OF JOHN DAVENPORT.

[I have here included under the dates of composition (or of publication, where the former date cannot be ascertained), all the writings of Davenport of which I have knowledge. I have also added the whereabouts of the copies of his printed works, so far as I know of any, not of course expecting to reach completeness in this respect. The initials used refer to the following libraries; A. A. S., American Antiquarian Society; Bodl., Bodleian; B. Ath., Boston Athenæum; B. Publ., Boston Public Library; G. B., the late George Brinley; Br. Mus., British Museum; F. B. D., my own; H. M. D., the Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D. D.; H. U., Harvard University; M. H. S., Mass. Historical Society; Pr., Prince Library; U. S., Library of Congress; Y. C., Yale College.]

1615-16. MS. volume of sermons, preached at Hilton Castle; presented to Y. C. in 1794 by his great-great-grandson, Hon. James Davenport, of Stanford.

1624, Oct.-Nov. Five MS. letters to the Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Conway, Secretary of State; in the Record office, London. Abstracts are given in Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1623-25, pp. 354-7, 371.

1625, May 18. Response in his examination for degree of B.D., at Oxford; in a MS. volume belonging to W. A. Saunders, Esq., of Cambridge, Mass.

[1625-28?]. In the last named volume, reply to Dr. Alexander Leighton, about Kneeling at the Sacrament; also, other memoranda on conformity.

1627, Mch. 2. A circular letter, signed by him in conjunction with Thomas Taylor, Richard Sibbes, and William Gouge, asking help for Palatinate Christians; in Calendar Dom. State Papers, 1627-28, p. 77, and in Sibbes' Works, ed. Grosart, v. i, p. lviii.

1627, Apr. 25. An Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to Henry Scudder's "Christian's Daily Walk."

1628, Jan. 18. The first of a series of nine manuscript letters to Lady Mary Vere; in the Br. Mus., Birch MSS., 4275; printed in the Davenport Genealogy, 312.

1628, June 30. The second letter to the same; *ibid.*, 314.

1629, Apr.-June. Two letters from a committee (of which he is the first named) of the "Company of the Massachusetts Bay," to John Endecott; in Transactions A. A. S., iii, 30a, 79, 96.

1629. "A Royall Edict for Military Exercises; published in a Sermon preached to the *Captaines* and *Gentlemen* that exercise Armes in the *Artillery Garden*," June 23, 1629. Lond. 4°. pp. viii, 27. B. Ath., and also an imperfect copy in A. A. S.

1629, Dec. 26. The third letter to Lady Vere.

1629. Preface, signed jointly by him and the Rev. Richard Sibbes, D.D., to the following works of the Rev. John Preston, D.D., late Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge: The New Covenant; The Breast Plate of Faith and Love; The Saints' Qualification. These prefaces are reprinted in Grosart's edition of Sibbes' Works, v. i, pp. xc v-c.

1631, Jan. 15. His MS. answer "to certaine obiections devised against him by Timothy Hood, sometyme his Curate;" in Record Office, London. An abstract is given in the Calendar Dom. State Papers, 1629-31, p. 483.

1633, Febr. 11. An entry made in his "Great Bible," acknowledging God's help in the matter of the Feoffees; quoted in the *Magnalia*, Bk. 3, Pt. 1, ch. 4.

[1633, Nov. ?]. MS. on "Christ's Church, and his government of it;" in A. A. S.

[1633, Nov. ?]. The fourth letter to Lady Vere; printed in *Davenport Geneal.*

1634, Mch. 18. MS. letter to Sir Wm. Boswell, agent of the King of England at the Hague; in Br. Mus., Additional MSS., No. 6394, p. 196.

1634, [Dec.]. "A Ivst Complnt. against an Vnivst Doer. . . ." containing: a translation of a Latin letter written (in Febr., 1634) to the Classis of Amsterdam; "Certaine Instructions delivered to the Elders of the English Church," dated Apr. 28, 1634; "The Greivances, and Complaints of the . . . English Church in Amsterdam, Anno 1634. The 18. of October;" and further remarks. This pamphlet, (4°, pp. iii, 24) was published by Wm. Best, without the author's knowledge. In Br. Mus. and Bodl.

1635, Jan. "A Protestation Made and Published upon occasion of a pamphlett, Intitled A Ivst Complaint against an vnivst doer. . . ." Rotterdam. 4°. pp. 7. In Rev. D. Williams's Libr., London.

1635, July 21. Fifth letter to Lady Vere.

1635, Dec. 15. Sixth letter to the same.

1636 [Jan. ?]. Seventh letter to the same; printed, in part, in *Davenport Genealogy*, p. 317.

1636. "Apologetical Reply to an answer [by J. Paget] to the unjust complaint of W. B[est]. . . ." Rotterdam. 4°. pp. xx, 334. In Br. Mus., Bodl., Pr., and G. B.

1638, Mch. 12. Letter (in his hand, but signed also by Theophilus Eaton) to the Governor, Deputy, and Assistants of Massachusetts. Printed in *Collections of Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 3d Series, vol. 3, p. 165, in Savage's 2d ed. of *Winthrop's Journal*, i, 484, and in *Davenport Geneal.*, 323.

[1638-9 ?]. "Discourse about Civil Government in a New Plantation whose Design is Religion." Cambridge, New England. 1663. 4°. pp. 24. "In the Title page whereof, the Name of Mr. *Cotton*, is, by Mistake, put for that of Mr. *Davenport*." (*Magnalia*, Bk. 3, Pt. 1, Ch. 4.) In Pr., M. H. S., B. Ath., H. U., and G. B.

1639. "An Answer of the Elders of the severall Churches in New-England unto Nine Positions, sent over to them (by divers . . . Ministers in England) . . ." This was printed as pages 49-78 of a volume entitled "Church-Government and Church-Covenant discussed . ." London: 1643. 4°. Pr., A. A. S., U. S., and F. B. D.

[1639, Aug. 22 ?]. "A Profession of Faith, made at his admission into one of the Churches of God in New England." I have a copy printed as pages 34-40 of John Cotton's "Covenant of Gods free Grace." London, 1641. 4°. The same, printed separately. (London, 1642. 4°. pp. 8,) is in Br. Mus., Bodl., U. S., H. M. D., the library of the late Rev. Horace Bushnell, D.D., and G. B. Br. Mus. and B. Publ. have it, appended to Cotton, as above, 1645. Reprinted with Preface, by the Rev. Dr. Bacon, New Haven. 1853. 12°.

1639, Sept. 28. Eighth letter to Lady Vere; printed in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, ix, 149.

1644, Aug. 14. Remarks at the trial of Mrs. Eaton; in the records of the New Haven Church, and printed in Bacon's Hist. Discourses, 297.

1647, Nov. 13. Ninth Letter to Lady Vere.

[1648, or earlier.] "The Knowledge of Christ Indispensably required of all men that would be saved . . ." A volume of sermons, from Acts ii, 36, with the running-title, "The True Messiah or Crucified Jesus the Christ." London. 1653. 4°. pp. vi, 87. In Br. Mus., Bodl., Univ. of Aberdeen, A. A. S., U. S., and G. B.

[1649?] MS. letter to the Rev. Charles Chauncy, of Scituate; no. 21 of pt. 2 of the Cotton Papers in Pr.

1650, May 6. Letter to the Rev. John Cotton; of Boston; printed in Davenport General, 343.

[1652?] "The Power of Congregational Churches Asserted and Vindicated; In answer to a Treatise of Mr. J. Paget . ." London. 1672. 16°. pp. x, 179 [or, by correct numeration, 163]. In Pr., M. H. S., H. U., A. A. S., Amer. Congregational Association, H. M. D., and F. B. D.

1653, Aug. 20. Letter to John Winthrop, of New London. In Bacon, 366.

1653, Aug. 25. MS. letter to Mrs. Sarah Cotton, of Boston; in Mather Papers, vol. i, no. 14, in Pr. Printed in M. H. S. Coll., xxxviii, 546.

1655, Mch. 10. Letter to J. Winthrop. In Bacon, 367, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 6.

1655, Apr. 14-19. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 369, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 8.

1655, July 6. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 370, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 11.

1655, Nov. 22. Letter to the same. In Davenport General, 346, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 12.

1655, Nov. 30. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 371, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 14.

[1656; or earlier.] "A Catechisme containing the Chief Heads of Christian Religion." By Davenport, and his assistant in the ministry, William Hooke. London, 1659. 16°. pp. 62. In Br. Mus. and Y. C. Reprinted (with Davenport's "Profession of Faith"), New Haven, 1853. 12°.

1656, July 13-1658, Aug. 8. MS. outlines of sermons; in volume of 312 pages, 12°, in Y. C.

1658. Letter to the Church in Wethersfield. In Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., ii, 88.

1658. He is said by Wood (*Athenæ Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, iii, 891), to have "had a considerable hand in writing the life of Mr. John Cotton . . . published by John Norton."

1658, July 20. Letter to J. Winthrop. In Bacon, 372, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 19.

1658, Aug. 4. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 373, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 21.

1658, Oct. 22. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 375.

1659, Febr. 28. Remarks at a town meeting, quoted from the Record by Bacon, 119.

1659, Mch. 18. Letter to J. Winthrop. In Bacon, 375, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 23.

1659, Apr. 15. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 377.

1659, Sept. 28. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 378, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 25.

1660, Febr. 22. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 379, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 29.

- 1660, March 29. Letter to the same. In Davenport General., 379, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 30.
- 1660, Apr. 5. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 381, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 31.
- 1660, Apr. 13. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 382, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 33.
- 1660, June 4. Letter of resignation of trusteeship of the Hopkins Fund, addressed to the General Court of New Haven. In Trumbull's Hist. of Conn., 2d ed., i, 532.
- 1660, July 20. Letter to J. Winthrop. In M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 34.
- 1660, Aug. 11. Letter to the same. In Davenport General., 350, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 37.
- 1660, Oct. 17. Letter to J. Winthrop. In Davenport General., 353, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 42.
- 1660, Nov. 27. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 385, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 44.
- [1660?] Latin letter to the Rev. John Dury. Extracts in the Magnalia, Bk. iii, pt. i, ch. 4. See, also, S. Mather's Apology for the Liberties of the Churches, p. 166.
- 1661, Aug. 19. Letter to Sir Thomas Temple. In Davenport General., 356, and M. H. S. Coll., xxviii, 327.
1661. "The Saint's Anchor-Hold . . . Sundry Sermons." London. 12°. pp. viii, 231. In Br. Mus., Pr., G. B., library of the Rev. Dr. Bacon, Library of Lane Theol. Seminary.
- 1662, July. Letters to Wm. Goffe. In M. H. S. Coll., xxxviii, 198, 192, 181.
- 1662, Nov. 5. Answer of the Freemen of New Haven Colony to Connecticut; believed to have been written by Davenport. In Trumbull's Conn., 2d ed., i, 515.
- 1663, March 23. Letter to the Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth. In M. H. S. Coll., xxxviii, 547.
- 1663, May 6. A second letter to Connecticut. In Trumbull's Conn., i, 517.
1663. "Another Essay for Investigation of the Truth, . . . concerning, I. The Subject of Baptism, II. The Consociation of Churches." Cambridge, N. E. 4°. pp. xvi, 71. The Preface (pp. xvi) is by Increase Mather; pp. 65-71 are filled by "Considerations . . . by the Rev. Nicholas Street." In Br. Mus. and G. B. Imperfect copies in H. U. and H. M. D.
1664. A MS. "Vindication" of the last-named Essay. In the library of the late Rev. W. B. Sprague, D.D., of Flushing, N. Y. A copy is in A. A. S.
- 1664, March. "New Haven's Case Stated." In N. H. MS. Records; printed in Bacon, 359.
- 1664, Dec. 14. A third letter from N. H. Colony to Conn. In Trumbull, i, 526.
- 1665, Jan. 5. The final letter to Conn.; *ibid.*, i, 528.
- 1665, June 24. Letter to Maj. Gen. John Leverett, of Boston. In Hutchinson's Collections, 392.
- 1665, Nov. 2. MS. letter to William Goodwin, of Hadley; no. 35a in vol. i of Mather Papers, in Pr.; printed (in part) in M. H. S. Coll., xxxviii, 126.
- 1666, Apr. 10. Letter to J. Winthrop. In M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 58.
- 1666, June 14. Letter to the same; *ibid.*, xxx, 59.
- 1667, Sept. 18. "Epistle to the Reader," pp. xi, prefixed to Increase Mather's "Mystery of Israel's Salvation." London, 1669. 16°. In B. Publ. G. B., & F.B.D.
- 1668, Apr. 18. Transfer of the Hopkins Fund to the General Court of Conn.; in MS. Records of N. H. Hopkins Grammar School, p. 4.

1669, May. Mass. Election Sermon, from II. Sam., xxiii, 3. Published, but no copy now known to be extant.

1669. "God's Call to His People to Turn unto Him." Cambridge, England. 4°. pp. 27. In Bodl., B. Publ., and G. B.

In 1687 appeared a folio sheet of "Proposals for Printing . . . an Exposition of the whole Book of Canticles by the late . . . John Davenport." A copy is in Br. Mus. Wood says that the MS. was 100 sheets, but that the intending publisher died before the design was carried out.

In the MS. Winthrop Papers of M. H. S. are more than fifty unprinted letters of Davenport.