

Thomas Hinkley.	1658.	mouth Colony, in the Year.1669, Since the ^d
James Brown.	1665.	there have been added at several times,
John Freeman.	1666.	
Nathanael Bacon.	1667.	Constant Southworth. 1670.
		Daniel Smith. 1674.
		Barnabas Lotthrop. 1681.
		John Thatcher.
		John Walley.

Thus far we find in a Book Entituled, *New-England's Memorial*, which was Published by Mr. Nathanael Morton, the Secretary of Ply-

C H A P. IV.

Nehemias Americanus. *The LIFE of JOHN WINTHROP, Esq^s*
Governour of the MASSACHUSET COLONY.

Quicumq; Ventū erunt, Ars nostra certe non aberit. Cicer.

§. 1. **L**ET Greece boast of her patient *Lycurgus*, the *Lawgiver*, by whom *Diligence*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude* and *Wit* were made the *Fashions* of a therefore Long-lasting and Renowned Commonwealth: Let *Rome* tell of her Devout *Numa*, the *Lawgiver*, by whom the most Famous Commonwealth saw *Peace* Triumphant over extinguished *War*, and cruel *Plunders*, and *Murders* giving place to the more mollifying Exercises of his *Religion*. Our *New-England* shall tell and boast of her *Winthrop*, a *Lawgiver*, as patient as *Lycurgus*, but not admitting any of his Criminal Disorders; as Devout as *Numa*, but not liable to any of his Heathenish Madneses; a Governour in whom the Excellencies of *Christianity* made a most improving Addition unto the *Virtues*, wherein even without *those* he would have made a *Parallel* for the Great Men of *Greece*, or of *Rome*, which the Pen of a *Plutarch* has Eternized.

§. 2. A stock of *Heroes* by right should afford nothing but what is *Heroical*; and nothing but an extream Degeneracy would make any thing less to be expected from a Stock of *Winthrops*. Mr. *Adam Winthrop*, the Son of a Worthy Gentleman wearing the same Name, was himself a Worthy, a Discreet, and a Learned Gentleman, particularly Eminent for *Skill* in the *Law*, nor without Remark for *Love* to the *Gospel*, under the Reign of King *Henry VIII.* And Brother to a Memorable Favourer of the *Reformed Religion* in the Days of *Queen Mary*, into whose Hands the Famous Martyr *Philpot* committed his *Papers*, which afterwards made no Inconsiderable part of our *Martyr-Books*. This Mr. *Adam Winthrop* had a Son of the same Name also, and of the same Endowments and Employments with his Father; and this Third *Adam Winthrop* was the Father of that Renowned *John Winthrop*, who was the Father of *New-England*, and the Founder of a *Colony*, which upon many Accounts, like him that Founded it, may challenge the *First Place* among the *English Glories* of *America*. Our *John Winthrop* thus Born at the Mansion-House of his Ancestors, at *Groton* in *Suffolk*, on *June 12. 1587.* en-

joyed afterwards an agreeable Education. But though he would rather have Devoted himself unto the Study of Mr. *John Calvin*, than of *Sir Edward Cook*; nevertheless, the Accomplishments of a *Lawyer*, were those wherewith Heaven made his chief Opportunities to be Serviceable.

§. 3. Being made, at the unusually early Age of *Eighteen*, a *Justice of Peace*, his *Virtues* began to fall under a more general Observation; and he not only so Bound himself to the Behaviour of a *Christian*, as to become Exemplary for a Conformity to the *Laws* of *Christianity* in his own Conversation, but also discovered a more than ordinary Measure of those Qualities, which adorn an *Officer* of *Humane Society*. His *Justice* was Impartial, and used the *Ballance* to weigh not the *Cash*, but the *Case* of those who were before him: *Profopolatria*, he reckoned as bad as *Idololatria*: His *Wisdom* did exquisitely Temper things according to the *Art of Governing*, which is a Business of more Contrivance than the *Seven Arts* of the *Schools*: *Oyer* still went before *Terminer* in all his Administrations: His *Courage* made him *Dare to do right*, and fitted him to stand among the *Lions*, that have sometimes been the *Supporters* of the *Throne*: All which *Virtues* he rendred the more Illustrious, by *Emblazoning* them with the Constant *Liberality* and *Hospitality* of a *Gentleman*. This made him the *Terror* of the *Wicked*, and the *Delight* of the *Sober*, the *Envy* of the many, but the *Hope* of those who had any *Hopeful Design* in Hand for the Common Good of the *Nation*, and the Interests of *Religion*.

§. 4. Accordingly when the *Noble Design* of carrying a *Colony* of *Chosen People* into an *American Wilderness*, was by some Eminent Persons undertaken, This Eminent Person was, by the Consent of all, *Chosen* for the *Moses*, who must be the Leader of so great an Undertaking: And indeed nothing but a *Mosaic Spirit* could have carried him through the *Temptations*, to which either his *Farewel* to his *own Land*, or his *Travel* in a *Strange Land*, must needs expose a Gentleman of his

his Education. Wherefore having Sold a fair Estate of Six or Seven Hundred a Year, he Transported himself with the Effects of it into New-England in the Year 1630. where he spent it upon the Service of a famous Plantation founded and formed for the Seat of the most Reformed Christianity: And continued there, conflicting with Temptations of all sorts, as many Years as the Nodes of the Moon take to dispatch a Revolution. Those Persons were never concerned in a New-Plantation, who know not that the unavoidable Difficulties of such a thing, will call for all the Prudence and Patience of a Mortal Man to Encounter therewithal; and they must be very insensible of the Influence, which the Just Wrath of Heaven has permitted the Devils to have upon this World, if they do not think that the Difficulties of a New-Plantation, devoted unto the Evangelical Worship of our Lord Jesus Christ, must be yet more than Ordinary. How Prudently, how Patiently, and with how much Resignation to our Lord Jesus Christ, our brave Winthrop waded through these Difficulties, let Posterity Consider with Admiration. And know, that as the Picture of this their Governour, was, after his Death, hung up with Honour in the State-House of his Country, so the Wisdom, Courage, and Holy Zeal of his Life, were an Example well-worthy to be Copied by all that shall succeed in Government.

§. 5. Were he now to be consider'd only as a Christian, we might therein propose him as greatly Imitable. He was a very Religious Man; and as he strictly kept his Heart, so he kept his House, under the Laws of Piety; there he was every Day constant in Holy Duties, both Morning and Evening, and on the Lord's Days, and Lectures; though he wrote not after the Preacher, yet such was his Attention, and such his Retention in Hearing, that he repeated unto his Family the Sermons which he had heard in the Congregation. But it is chiefly as a Governour that he is now to be consider'd. Being the Governour over the considerablest Part of New-England, he maintain'd the Figure and Honour of his Place with the Spirit of a true Gentleman; but yet with such obliging Condescension to the Circumstances of the Colony, that when a certain troublesome and malicious Calumniator, well known in those Times, printed his Libellous Nick-Names upon the chief Persons here, the worst Nick-Name he could find for the Governour, was John Temper-well; and when the Calumnies of that ill Man caused the Arch-Bishop to Summon one Mr. Cleaves before the King, in hopes to get some Accusation from him against the Country, Mr. Cleaves gave such an Account of the Governour's laudable Carriage in all Respects, and the serious Devotion wherewith Prayers were both publicly and privately made for His Majesty, that the King expressed himself most highly Pleas'd therewithal, only Sorry that so Worthy a Person should be no better Accommodated than with the Hardships of America. He was, in-

deed, a Governour, who had most exactly studied that Book, which pretending to Teach Politicks, did only contain Three Leaves, and but One Word in each of those Leaves, which Word was, Moderation: Hence, though he were a Zealous Enemy to all Vice, yet his Practice was according to his Judgment thus expressed; In the Infancy of Plantations, Justice should be administered with more Lenity than in a settled State; because People are more apt then to Transgress, partly out of Ignorance of new Laws and Orders, partly out of Oppression of Business, and other Straits. [Lento Gra-
tu.] was the old Rule; and if the Strings of a new Instrument be wound up unto their height, they will quickly crack. But when some Leading and Learned Men took Offence at his Conduct in this Matter, and upon a Conference gave it in as their Opinion, That a stricter Discipline was to be used in the beginning of a Plantation; than after its being with more Age established and confirmed, the Governour being readier to see his own Errors than other Men, professed his Purpose to endeavour their Satisfaction with less of Lenity in his Administrations. At that Conference there were drawn up several other Articles to be observed between the Governour and the rest of the Magistrates, which were of this Import: That the Magistrates, as far as might be, should beforehand ripen their Consultations, to produce that Unanimity in their Publick Votes, which might make them liker to the Voice of God; that if Differences fell out among them in their Publick Meetings, they should speak only to the Case, without any Reflection, with all due Modesty, and but by way of Question; or Desire the deferring of the Cause to further time; and after Sentence to imitate privately no Dislike; that they should be more Familiar, Friendly and Open unto each other, and more frequent in their Visitations, and not any way expose each other's Infirmities, but seek the Honour of each other, and all the Court; that One Magistrate shall not cross the Proceedings of another, without first advising with him; and that they should in all their Appearances abroad, be so circumstanced as to prevent all Contempt of Authority; and that they should Support and Strengthen all Under Officers. All of which Articles were observed by no Man more than by the Governour himself.

§. 6. But whilst he thus did as our New-English Nehemiah, the part of a Ruler in Managing the Publick Affairs of our American Jerusalem, when there were Tobijahs and Sanballats enough to vex him, and give him the Experiment of Luther's Observation, Omnis qui regit, est tanquam signum, in quod omnia Facula, Satan & Mundus dirigunt; he made himself still an exacter Parallel unto that Governour of Israel, by doing the part of a Neighbour among the distressed People of the New-Plantation. To teach them the Frugality necessary for those times, he abridged himself of a Thousand comfortable things, which he had

allow'd himself elsewhere: His *Habit* was not that *soft Raiment*, which would have been disagreeable to a *Wilderness*; his *Table* was not covered with the *Superfluities* that would have invited unto *Sensualities*: *Water* was commonly his *own Drink*, though he gave *Wine* to others. But at the same time his *Liberality* unto the *Needy* was even beyond measure *Generous*; and therein he was continually causing *The Blessing of him that was ready to Perish to come upon him, and the Heart of the Widow and the Orphan to sing for Joy*: But none more than those of *Deceas'd Ministers*, whom he always treated with a very singular *Compassion*; among the *Instances* whereof we still enjoy with us the *Worthy* and now *Aged Son* of that *Reverend Higginson*, whose *Death* left his *Family* in a wide *World* soon after his arrival here, publicly acknowledging the *Charitable Winthrop* for his *Foster-Father*. It was oftentimes no small *Trial* unto his *Faith*, to think, *How a Table for the People should be furnished when they first came into the Wilderness!* And for very many of the *People*, his *own good Works* were needful, and accordingly employed for the answering of his *Faith*. Indeed, for a while the *Governour* was the *Joseph*, unto whom the whole *Body* of the *People* repaired when their *Corn* failed them: And he continued *Relieving* of them with his *open-handed Bounties*, as long as he had any *Stock* to do it with; and a lively *Faith* to see the return of the *Bread* after many *Days*, and not *Starve* in the *Days* that were to pass till that *return* should be *seen*, carried him cheerfully through those *Expences*. Once it was observable, that on *Feb. 5. 1630* when he was distributing the last *Handful* of the *Meal* in the *Barrel* unto a *Poor Man* distressed by the *Wolf at the Door*; at that *Instant* they spied a *Ship* arrived at the *Harbour's Mouth* Laden with *Provisions* for them all. Yea, the *Governour* sometimes made his *own private Purse* to be the *Publiick*; not by *sucking* into it, but by *squeezing* out of it; for when the *Publiick Treasure* had nothing in it, he did himself defray the *Charges* of the *Publiick*. And having learned that *Lesson* of our *Lord*, *That it is better to Give, than to Receive*, he did, at the *General Court* when he was a *Third* time chosen *Governour*, made a *Speech* unto this purpose, *That he had received Gratuities from divers Towns, which he accepted with much Comfort and Content; and he had likewise received Civilities from particular Persons, which he could not refuse without Incivility in himself: Nevertheless, he took them with a trembling Heart, in regard of God's Word, and the Conscience of his own Infirmities; and therefore he desired them that they would not hereafter take it ill if he refused such Presents for the time to come.* 'Twas his *Custom* also to send some of his *Family* upon *Errands*, unto the *Houses* of the *Poor* about their *Meal* time, on purpose to *spy* whether they *wanted*; and if it were found that they *wanted*, he would make *that* the *Opportunity*

of sending *Supplies* unto them. And there was one *Passage* of his *Charity* that was perhaps a little *unusual*: In an hard and long *Winter*, when *Wood* was very scarce at *Boston*, a *Man* gave him a *private Information*, that a *needy Person* in the *Neighbourhood* stole *Wood* sometimes from *his Pile*; whereupon the *Governour* in a seeming *Anger* did reply, *Does he so? I'll take a Course with him; go, call that Man to me, I'll warrant you I'll cure him of Stealing!* When the *Man* came, the *Governour* considering that if he had *Stolen*, it was more out of *Necessity* than *Disposition*, said unto him, *Friend, it is a severe Winter, and I doubt you are but meanly provided for Wood; wherefore I would have you supply your self at my Wood-Pile till this cold Season be over.* And he then *Merrily* asked his *Friends*, *Whether he had not effectually cured this Man of Stealing his Wood?*

§. 7. One would have imagined that so good a *Man* could have had no *Enemies*; if we had not had a daily and woful *Experience* to *Convince* us, that *Goodness* it self will *make Enemies*. It is a wonderful *Speech* of *Plato*, (in one of his *Books, De Republica*) *For the trial of true Vertue, 'tis necessary that a good Man should suffer the Infamy of the greatest Injustice.* The *Governour* had by his *unspotted Integrity*, procured himself a great *Reputation* among the *People*; and then the *Crime* of *Popularity* was laid unto his *Charge* by such, who were willing to deliver him from the *Danger* of having *all Men speak well of him*. Yea, there were *Persons* eminent both for *Figure* and for *Number*, unto whom it was almost *Essential* to *dislike* every thing that came from *him*; and yet he always maintained an *Amicable Correspondence* with them; as believing that they acted according to their *Judgment* and *Conscience*, or that their *Eyes* were held by some *Temptation* in the worst of all their *Oppositions*. Indeed, his *right Works* were so many, that they exposed him unto the *Envy* of his *Neighbours*; and of such *Power* was that *Envy*, that sometimes he could not *stand before it*; but it was by *not standing* that he most effectually *withstood* it all. Great *Attempts* were sometimes made among the *Freemen*, to get him left out from his *Place* in the *Government* upon little *Pretences*, left by the too *frequent Choice* of *One Man*, the *Government* should cease to be by *Choice*; and with a particular aim at *him*, *Sermons* were *Preached* at the *Anniversary Court* of *Election*, to dissuade the *Freemen* from chusing *One Man* Twice together. This was the *Reward* of his *extraordinary Serviceableness!* But when these *Attempts* did succeed, as they sometimes did, his *Profound Humility* appeared in that *Equality of Mind*, where-with he applied himself cheerfully to serve the *Country* in whatever *Station* their *Votes* had allotted for him. And one *Year* when the *Votes* came to be *Numbered*, there were found *Six* less for *Mr. Winthrop*, than for another *Gentleman* who then stood in *Competition*: But several other

other Persons regularly Tending their *Voces* before the *Election* was published, were upon a very frivolous Objection, refused by some of the Magistrates, that were afraid lest the *Election* should at last fall upon Mr. *Winthrop*. Which though it was well perceived, yet such was the *Self-denial* of this *Patriot*, that he would not permit any Notice to be taken of the Injury. But these *Trials* were nothing in Comparison of those harsher and harder *Treats*, which he sometimes had from the *Frowardness* of not a few in the Days of their *Paroxysms*; and from the *Faction* of some against him, not much unlike that of the *Piazzis* in *Florence* against the Family of the *Medices*. All of which he at last Conquered by Conforming to the Famous *Judges* Motto, *Prudens qui Patiens*. The Oracles of God have said, *Envy is rottenness to the Bones*; and *Gulielmus Parisiensis* applies it unto Rulers, who are as it were the *Bones* of the Societies which they belong unto. *Envy*, says he, *is often found among them, and it is rottenness unto them*. Our *Winthrop* Encountred this *Envy* from others; but Conquered it, by being free from it himself.

§. 8. Were it not for the sake of introducing the Exemplary Skill of this Wise Man, at giving soft Answers, one would not chuse to Relate those Instances of *Wrath*, which he had sometimes to Encounter with; but he was for his *Gentleness*, his *Forbearance*, and his *Longanimity*, a Pattern so worthy to be Written after, that something must here be Written of it. He seemed indeed never to speak any other Language than that of *Theodosius*: *If any Man speak evil of the Governour, if it be thro' Lightness, 'tis to be contemned; if it be thro' Madness, 'tis to be pitied; if it thro' Injury, 'tis to be remitted*. Behold, Reader, the *Meekness* of *Wisdom* notably exemplified! There was a time when he received a very sharp Letter from a Gentleman, who was a Member of the Court, but he delivered back the Letter unto the Messengers that brought it with such a Christian Speech as this, *I am not willing to keep such a matter of Provocation by me!* Afterwards the same Gentleman was compelled by the scarcity of Provisions to send unto him that he would Sell him some of his Cattel; whereupon the Governour prayed him to accept what he had sent for as a *Token* of his Good Will; but the Gentleman returned him this Answer, *Sir, your overcoming of your self hath overcome me*; and afterwards gave Demonstration of it. The *French* have a saying, That *Un Honeste Homme, est un Homme mesle!* A good Man is a mixt Man; and there hardly ever was a more sensible Mixture of those Two things, *Resolution* and *Condescension*, than in this good Man. There was a time when the Court of *Election*, being for fear of Tumult, held at *Cambridge*, May 17. 1637. The Sectarian part of the Country, who had the Year before gotten a Governour more unto their Mind, had a Project now to have confounded the *Election*, by demanding that the Court would consider a *Petition*

then tendered before their Proceeding thereunto. Mr. *Winthrop* saw that this was only a Trick to throw all into Confusion, by putting off the Choice of the Governour and Assistents until the Day should be over; and therefore he did with a strenuous Resolution, procure a dis-appointment unto that mischievous and ruinous Contrivance. Nevertheless Mr. *Winthrop* himself being by the Voice of the Freeman in this Exigence chosen the Governour, and all of the other Party left out, that ill-affected Party discovered the *Dirt* and *Mire*, which remained with them, after the Storm was over; particularly the *Serjants*, whose Office 'twas to attend the Governour, laid down their *Halberts*, but such was the Condescension of this Governour, as to take no present Notice of this Anger and Contempt, but only Order some of his own Servants to take the *Halberts*. And when the Country manifested their deep Resentments of the Affront thus offered him, he prayed them to overlook it. But it was not long before a Compensation was made for these things by the doubled Respects which were from all Parts paid unto him. Again, there was a time when the Suppression of an *Antinomian* and *Familistical* Faction, which extremely threatned the Ruin of the Country, was generally thought much owing unto this Renowned Man; and therefore when the Friends of that Faction could not wreak their Displeasure on him with any Politick Vexations, they set themselves to do it by Ecclesiastical ones. Accordingly when a Sentence of Banishment was passed on the Ring-leaders of those Disturbances, who

—*Maria & Terras, Cælumq; profundum,
Quippe serant, Rapidi, secum, vertantq; per
duras;*

many at the Church of *Boston*, who were then that way too much inclined, most earnestly solicited the Elders of that Church, whereof the Governour was a Member, to call him forth as an Offender for passing of that Sentence. The Elders were unwilling to do any such thing; but the Governour understanding the Ferment among the People, took that occasion to make a Speech in the Congregation to this Effect. Brethren, Understanding that some of you have desired that I should Answer for an Offence lately taken among you; had I been called upon so to do, I would, First, Have advised with the Ministers of the Country, whether the Church had Power to call in Question the Civil Court; and I would, Secondly, Have advised with the rest of the Court, whether I might discover their Counsels unto the Church. But though I know that the Reverend Elders of this Church, and some others, do very well apprehend that the Church cannot enquire into the Proceedings of the Court; yet for the Satisfaction of the weaker who do not apprehend it, I will declare my Mind concerning it. If the Church have any such Power, they have it from the Lord Jesus Christ; but the

Lord Jesus Christ hath disclaimed it, not only by *Practice*, but also by *Precept*, which we have in his Gospel, *Mat. 20. 25, 26.* It is true indeed, that *Magistrates*, as they are *Church-Members*, are accountable unto the *Church* for their Failings; but that is when they are out of their Calling. When *Uzziab* would go offer Incense in the *Temple*, the Officers of the *Church* called him to an account, and withstood him; but when *Asa* put the Prophet in Prison, the Officers of the *Church* did not call him to an account for that. If the *Magistrate* shall in a *private way* wrong any Man, the *Church* may call him to an Account for it; but if he be in Pursuance of a Course of *Justice*, though the thing that he does be *unjust*, yet he is not accountable for it before the *Church*. As for my self I did nothing in the Causes of any of the *Brethren*, but by the Advice of the *Elders* of the *Church*. Moreover, in the *Oath* which I have taken there is this Clause, *In all Causes wherein you are to give your Vote, you shall do as in your Judgment and Conscience you shall see to be Just, and for the publick Good.* And I am satisfied, it is most for the Glory of God, and the *publick Good*, that there has been such a *Sentence* passed; yea, those *Brethren* are so divided from the rest of the Country in their Opinions and Practices, that it cannot stand with the *publick Peace* for them to continue with us; *Abraham* saw that *Hagar* and *Ismael* must be sent away. By such a Speech he marvelously convinced, satisfied and mollified the *uneasie Brethren* of the *Church*; *Sic cunctus Pelagi cecidit Frigor*— And after a little patient waiting, the *differences* all so wore away, that the *Church*, meerly as a Token of Respect unto the Governour, when he had newly met with some *Losses* in his Estate, sent him a Present of several *Hundreds* of Pounds. Once more there was a time, when some active Spirits among the *Deputies* of the Colony, by their endeavours not only to make themselves a *Court of Judicature*, but also to take away the *Negative* by which the *Magistrates* might check their *Votes*, had like by over-driving to have run the whole Government into something too *Democratical*. And if there were a Town in *Spain* undermined by *Coneys*, another Town in *Thrace* destroyed by *Moles*, a Third in *Greece* ranversed by *Frogs*, a Fourth in *Germany* subverted by *Rats*; I must on this Occasion add, that there was a Country in *America* like to be confounded by a *Swine*. A certain *stray Sow* being found, was claimed by Two several Persons with a Claim so equally maintained on both sides, that after Six or Seven Years *Hunting* the Business, from one Court unto another, it was brought at last into the *General Court*, where the final Determination was, that it was impossible to proceed unto any *Judgment* in the *Case*. However in the debate of this Matter, the *Negative* of the *Upper-House* upon the *Lower* in that Court was brought upon the Stage; and agitated with so hot a *Zeal*, that a

little more and all had been in the Fire. In these Agitations the Governour was informed that an offence had been taken by some eminent Persons, at certain Passages in a Discourse by him written thereabout; whereupon with his usual *Condescendency*, when he next came into the *General Court*, he made a Speech of this Import. I understand, that some have taken Offence at something that I have lately written; which Offence I desire to remove now, and begin this Year in a reconciled State with you all. As for the *Matter* of my Writing, I had the Concurrence of my *Brethren*; it is a Point of *Judgment* which is not at my own disposing. I have examined it over and over again, by such *Light* as God has given me, from the *Rules of Religion*; *Reason* and *Custom*; and I see no cause to Retract any thing of it: Wherefore I must enjoy my *Liberty* in that, as you do your selves. But for the *Manner*; this, and all that was blame-worthy in it, was wholly my own; and whatsoever I might alledge for my own Justification therein before *Men*, I wave it, as now setting my self before another *Judgment-Seat*. However, what I wrote was upon great *Provocation*, and to vindicate my self and others from great *Asperision*; yet that was no sufficient Warrant for me to allow any *Distemper of Spirit* in my self; and I doubt I have been too prodigal of my *Brethren's Reputation*; I might have maintained my Cause without casting any *Blemish* upon others, when I made that my Conclusion. And now let *Religion* and *sound Reason* give *Judgment* in the *Case*; it look'd as if I arrogated too much unto my self, and too little to others. And when I made that Profession, That I would maintain what I wrote before all the *World*, though such Words might modestly be spoken, yet I perceive an unbecoming *Pride* of my own Heart breathing in them. For these Failings I ask Pardon both of God and Man.

*Sic ait, & ditto citius Tumida Equora placat,
Collecta;q; sugat Nubes, Solem;q; reducit.*

This acknowledging *Disposition* in the Governour, made them all acknowledge, that he was truly a *Man of an excellent Spirit*. In fine, the *Victories* of an *Alexander*, an *Hannibal*, or a *Cesar* over other Men, were not so Glorious, as the *Victories* of this great Man over himself, which also at last prov'd *Victories* over other Men.

§. 9. But the stormiest of all the *Trials* that ever beset this Gentleman, was in the Year 1645, when he was in *Title* no more than *Deputy-Governour* of the Colony. If the famous *Cato* were Forty-four times call'd into Judgment, but as often acquitted; let it not be wondered, and if our Famous *Wimbrop* were one time so. There hapning certain *Seditious* and *Mutinous Practices* in the Town of *Hingham*, the *Deputy-Governour* as legally as prudently interposed his *Authority* for the checking of them: Whereupon there followed such an *Enchantment*

chantment upon the minds of the Deputies in the General Court, that upon a scandalous Persecution of the Delinquents unto them, wherein a pretended Invasion made upon the Liberties of the People was complained of the Deputy Governour, was most Irregularly call'd forth unto an Ignominious Hearing before them in a vast Assembly; whereto with a Sagacious Humilitude he consented, although he shew'd them how he might have Refused. The result of that Hearing was, That notwithstanding the touchy Fealousie of the People about their Liberties lay at the bottom of all this Prosecution, yet Mr. Winthrop was publicly Acquitted, and the Offenders were severally Fined and Censured. But Mr. Winthrop then resuming the Place of Deputy Governour on the Bench, saw cause to speak unto the Root of the Matter after this manner. 'I shall not now speak any thing about the past Proceedings of this Court, or the Persons therein concerned. Only I bless God that I see an Issue of this troublesome Affair. I am well satisfied that I was publicly Accused, and that I am now publicly Acquitted. But though I am justified before Men, yet it may be the Lord hath seen so much amiss in my Administrations, as calls me to be humbled; and indeed for me to have been thus charged by Men, is it self a Matter of Humiliation, whereof I desire to make a right use before the Lord. If Miriam's Father spit in her Face, she is to be Ashamed. But give me leave before you go, to say something that may rectifie the Opinions of many People, from whence the Distempers have risen that have lately prevailed upon the Body of this People. The Questions that have troubled the Country have been about the Authority of the Magistracy, and the Liberty of the People. It is You who have called us unto this Office; but being thus called, we have our Authority from God; it is the Ordinance of God, and it hath the Image of God stamped upon it; and the contempt of it has been vindicated by God with terrible Examples of his Vengeance. I intreat you to consider, That when you chuse Magistrates, you take them from among your selves, Men subject unto like Passions with your selves. If you see our Infirmities, reflect on your own, and you will not be so severe Censurers of Ours. We count him a good Servant who breaks not his Covenant: The Covenant between Us and You, is the Oath you have taken of us, which is to this Purpose, That we shall govern you, and judge your Causes, according to God's Laws, and our own, according to our best Skill. As for our Skill, you must run the hazard of it; and if there be an Error, not in the Will, but only in the Skill, it becomes you to bear it. Nor would I have you to mistake in the Point of your own Liberty. There is a Liberty of corrupt Nature, which is affected both by Men and Beasts, to do what they list; and this Liberty is inconsistent with Authority, impatient of all Restraint; by this Liberty,

Simulacrum Deservores. 'Tis the Grand Enemy of Truth and Peace, and all the Ordinances of God are bent against it. But there is a Civil and Legal, a Federal Liberty, which is the proper End and Object of Authority; it is a Liberty for that only which is just and good; for this Liberty you are to stand with the hazard of your very Lives; and whatsoever Crosses in it is not Authority, but a Distemper thereof. This Liberty is maintained in a way of Subjection to Authority; and the Authority sever you, will in all Administrations for your good be quietly submitted unto, by all such as have a Disposition to shake off the Yoke, and lose their true Liberty, by their murmuring at the Honour and Power of Authority.

The Spell that was upon the Eyes of the People being thus dissolved, their distorted and enraged notions of things all vanished; and the People would not afterwards entrust the Helm of the Weather-beaten Bark in any other Hands, but Mr. Winthrop's, until he Died.

§. 10. Indeed such was the Mixture of different Qualities in him, as to make a most admirable Temper; and his having a certain Greatness of Soul, which rendered him Grave, Generous, Courageous, Resolved, Well-applied, and every way a Gentleman in his Deameanour, did not hinder him from taking sometimes the old Romans way to avoid Confusions, namely, *Cedendo*; or from discouraging some things which are agreeable enough to most that wear the Name of Gentlemen. Hereof I will give no Instances; but only oppose two Passages of his Life.

In the Year 1632. the Governour, with his Pastor Mr. Wilson, and some other Gentlemen, to settle a good understanding between the Two Colonies, travelled as far as Plymouth, more than Forty Miles, through an Howling Wilderness, no better accommodated in those early Days, than the Princes that in Solomon's time saw Servants on Horseback, or their Genius and Species in the old Epigram, going on Foot. The difficulty of the Walk, was abundantly compensated by the Honourable, first Reception, and then Dismission, which they found from the Rulers of Plymouth; and by the good Correspondence thus established between the New Colonies, who were like the floating Bottles wearing this Motto, *Si Collidimur, Frangimur*. But there were at this time in Plymouth two Ministers, leavened so far with the Humours of the Rigid Separation, that they insisted vehemently upon the Unlawfulness of calling any unregenerate Man by the Name of Good-man such an One, until by their indiscreet urging of this Whimsy, the place began to be disquieted. The wiser People being troubled at these Trifles, they took the opportunity of Governour Winthrop's being there, to have the thing publicly propounded in the Congregation; who in answer thereunto, distinguished between a Theological and a Moral Goodness; adding, that when Juries were first used in England;

land; it was usual for the *Grier*, after the Names of Persons fit for that Service were called over, to bid them all, *Attend; Good Men, and True*; whence it grew to be a *Civil Custom* in the *English Nation*, for Neighbours living by one another, to call one another *Good-man such an One*: And it was pity now to make a stir about a *Civil Custom*, so innocently introduced. And that Speech of Mr. *Wimbrop's* put a lasting stop to the Little, Idle, Whimsical *Conceits*, then beginning to grow *Obstreperous*. Nevertheless there was one *Civil Custom* used in (and in few but) the *English Nation*, which this Gentleman did endeavour to abolish in *this Country*; and that was, *The usage of Drinking to one another*. For although by *Drinking to one another*, no more is meant than an act of *Courtesie*, when one going to *Drink*, does Invite another to do so too, for the same Ends with himself; nevertheless the Governour (not altogether unlike to *Cleomenes*, of whom 'tis reported by *Plutarch*, ἀπορία ἐστὶν ἀσπίς ποτήριον προσέειπες, *Nolenti peculum nunquam præbuit*;) considered the *Impertinency* and *Insignificancy* of this Usage, as to any of *these Ends* that are usually pretended for it; and that indeed it ordinarily served for *no Ends* at all, but only to provoke Persons unto *unseasonable*, and perhaps *unreasonable* Drinking, and at last produce that abominable *Healib-Drinking*, which the *Fathers* of old so severely rebuked in the *Pagans*, and which the *Papists* themselves do Condemn, when their *Casuits* pronounce it, *Peccatum mortale, provocare ad Aequales Calices, & Nestis Respondere*. Wherefore in his own most Hospitable House he left it off; not out of any silly or stinky *Fancy*, but merely that by his *Example* a greater *Temperance*, with *Liberty of Drinking*, might be Recommended, and sundry *Inconveniences* in Drinking avoided; and his *Example* accordingly began to be much followed by the sober People in *this Country*, as it now also begins to be among Persons of the *Highest Rank* in the *English Nation* it self; until an *Order of Court* came to be made against that *Ceremony* in Drinking, and then the *old Wont* violently returned, with a *Nititur in Veritum*.

§. 11. Many were the *Afflictions* of this *Righteous Man*! He lost much of his *Estate* in a *Ship*, and in an *House*, quickly after his coming to *New-England*, besides the *Prodigious* Expence of it in the *Difficulties* of his first coming hither. Afterwards his assiduous Application unto the *Publick Affairs*, (wherein *Ipse se non habuit, postquam Republica cum Gubernatore habere cepit*) made him so much to neglect his own *private Interests*, that an *unjust Steward* ran him 2500 *l.* in *Debt* before he was aware; for the *Payment* whereof he was forced, many Years before his *Decease*, to sell the most of what he had left unto him in the *Country*. Albeit, by the observable *Blessing* of *God* upon the *Posterity* of this *Liberal Man*, his Children all of them came to fair *Estates*, and lived in good *Fashion* and *Credit*. Moreover, he suc-

cessively Buried Three *Wives*; the First of which was the *Daughter* and *Heiress* of Mr. *Forib*, of *Much-Stanbridge* in *Essex*; by whom he had *Wisdom* with an *Inheritance*; and an excellent *Son*. The Second was the *Daughter* of Mr. *William Clopton*; of *London*, who Died with her *Child*, within a very little while. The Third was the *Daughter* of the truly *Worshipful* Sir *John Tyndal*, who made it her whole *Care* to please, First *God*, and then her *Husband*; and by whom he had Four *Sons*, which Survived and Honoured their *Father*. And unto all these, the Addition of the *Distempers*, ever now and then raised in the *Country*, procured unto him a very singular share of *Trouble*; yea, so hard was the Measure which he found even among *Pious Men*, in the *Temptations* of a *Wilderness*, that when the *Thunder* and *Lightning* had smitten a *Wind-mill*, whereof he was *Owner*, some had *such things in their Heads*, as publickly to *Reproach* this *Charitablest* of *Men*, as if the *Voice of the Almighty* had rebuked, I know not what *Oppression*, which they judged him *Guilty* of: Which things I would not have mentioned, but that the *Instances* may fortifie the *Expectations* of my *best Readers* for such *Afflictions*.

§. 12. He that had been for his *Attainments*, as they said of the blessed *Macarius*, a *Παλαιόγυνος*, An *old Man*, while a *young One*, and that had in his *young Days* met with many of those *Ill Days*, whereof he could say, he had *little Pleasure in them*; now found *old Age* in its *Infirmities* advancing *Earlier* upon him, than it came upon his much longer lived *Progenitors*. While he was yet *Seven Years* off of that which we call the *grand Climacterical*, he felt the Approaches of his *Dissolution*; and finding he could say,

Non Habitus, non ipse Color non Gressus Euntis.

Non Species Eadem, quæ fuit ante, manet.

he then wrote this account of himself, *Age now comes upon me, and Infirmities therewithal, which makes me apprehend, that the time of my departure out of this World is not far off. However our times are all in the Lord's Hand, so as we need not trouble our Thoughts how long or short they may be, but how we may be found Faithful when we are called for. But at last when that Year came, he took a Cold which turned into a Fever, whereof he lay Sick about a Month, and in that Sickness, as it hath been observed, that there was allowed unto the *Serpent* the bruising of the *Heel*; and accordingly at the *Heel* or the *Close* of our Lives the *old Serpent* will be *Nibbling* more than ever in our Lives before; and when the *Devil* sees that we shall shortly be, where the *wicked cease from troubling*, that *wicked One* will trouble us more than ever; so this eminent *Saint* now underwent sharp *Conflicts* with the *Tempter*, whose *Wrath* grew *Great*, as the *Time* to exert it grew *Short*; and he was *Buffeted* with*

the

the Disconsolate Thoughts of Black and Sore Desertions, wherein he could use that sad Representation of his own Condition.

Nuper Eram Judex ; Jam Judicor ; Ante Tribunal, Subsistens paveo, Judicor ipse modo.

But it was not long before those Clouds were Dispelled, and he enjoyed in his Holy Soul the Great Consolations of God! While he thus lay Ripening for Heaven, he did out of Obedience unto the Ordinance of our Lord, send for the Elders of the Church to Pray with him ; yea, they and the whole Church Fasted as well as Prayed for him ; and in that Fast the venerable Cotton Preached on *Psal. 35. 13, 14.* *When they were Sick, I humbled my self with Fasting ; I behaved my self as though he had been my Friend or Brother ; I bowed down heavily, as one that Mourned for his Mother :* From whence I find him raising that Observation, *The Sicknes of one that is to us as a Friend, a Brother, a Mother, is a just occasion of deep bumbling our Souls with Fasting and Prayer ;* and making this Application, Upon this Occasion we are now to attend this Duty for a Governour, who has been to us as a Friend in his Counsel for all things, and Help for our Bodies by Physick, for our Estates by Law, and of whom there was no fear of his becoming an Enemy, like the Friends of David : A Governour who has been unto us as a Brother ; not usurping Authority over the Church ; often speaking his Advice, and often contra-

dicted, even by Young Men, and some of low degree ; yet not replying, but offering Satisfaction also when any supposed Offences have arisen ; a Governour who has been unto us as a Mother, Parent-like distributing his Goods to Brethren and Neighbours at his first coming ; and gently bearing our Infirmities without taking notice of them.

Such a Governour after he had been more than Ten several times by the People chosen their Governour, was New-England now to lose ; who having, like Jacob, first left his Council and Blessing with his Children gathered about his Bed-side ; and, like David, served his Generation by the Will of God, he gave up the Ghost, and fell asleep on March 26. 1649. Having, like the dying Emperour Valentinian, this above all his other Victories for his Triumphs, His overcoming of himself.

The Words of Josephus about Nehemiab, the Governour of Israel, we will now use upon this Governour of New-England, as his

E P I T A P H.

Ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο χρεὼς τὴν εὐσίαν, καὶ δίκαιος, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἑμοὺς φίλοισι φιλοτιμιότατος : Μνημεῖον αἰώνιον αὐτῷ καταλιπὼν τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τεῖχον.

VIR FUIT INDOLE BONUS, AC JUSTUS :
ET POPULARIUM GLORIE AMANTISSI-
MUS :

QUIBUS ETERNUM RELIQUIT MONU-
MENTUM,

Novanglorum M O E N I A.

C H A P. V.

S U C C E S S O R S.

§. I. ONE as well acquainted with the Matter, as *Isocrates*, informs us, That among the Judges of *Areopagus* none were admitted, *πλὴν οἱ καλοὶ γέγονότες, καὶ πολλὰν ἀρετὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἐκδεικνύμενοι, unless they were Nobly Born, and Eminently Exemplary for a Virtuous and a Sober Life.* The Report may be truly made concerning the Judges of New-England, tho' they were not Nobly Born, yet they were generally Well Born ; and by being Eminently Exemplary for a Virtuous and a Sober Life, gave Demonstration that they were New-born. Some Account of them is now more particularly to be Endeavoured.

We read concerning *Saul*, [1 Sam. 15. 12.] *He set up himself a place.* The Hebrew Word, there used, signifies A Monumental Pillar. It is accordingly promised unto them who please God, [Isa. 56. 5.] *That they shall have a Place and a Name in the House of God ;* that is to say, a Pillar Erected for Fame in the Church of God. And it shall be fulfilled in what shall now be done for our

Governours in this our Church-History. Even while the *Massachusettsians* had a *Winthrop* for their Governour, they could not restrain the Channel of their Affections from running towards another Gentleman in their Elections for the Year 1634. particularly, when they chose unto the Place of Governour *Thomas Dudley*, Esq; one whom after the Death of the Gentleman abovementioned, they again and again Voted into the Chief Place of Government. He was Born at the Town of *Northampton*, in the Year 1574. the only Son of Captain *Roger Dudley*, who being Slain in the Wars, left this our *Thomas*, with his only Sister, for the Father of the Orphans, to take them up. In the Family of the Earl of *Northampton* he had opportunity perfectly to learn the Points of Good Behaviour ; and here having fitted himself to do many other Benefits unto the World, he next became a Clerk unto Judge *Nichols*, who being his Kinsman by the Mother's Side, therefore took the more special notice of him. From his Relation to this Judge, he had and used an Advantage to attain such a Skill in the