Thomas Hinkley. 1658.
James Brown. 1665.
John Freeman. 1666.
Nathanael Bacon. 1667.

Thus far we find in a Book Entitled, New-England's Memorial, which was Published by Mr. Nathanael Morton, the Secretary of Plymouth Colony, in the Year 1669. Since then there have been added at several times,

Nehemias Americanus. The LIFE of JOHN WINTHROP, Esq; Governor of the MASSACHUSET COLONIST.

Quidcumq, Ventur erunt, Ars nostra corte non abierit. Cicer.

§ 1. LET Greece boast of her patient Lycurgus, the Lawgiver, by whom Diligence, Temperance, Fortitude and Wit were made the Fashions of a therefore Long-laffing and Renowned Commonwealth: Let Rome tell of her Devout Numa, the Lawgiver, by whom the most Famous Commonwealth saw Peace Triumphing over exterminating War, and cruel Plunders, and Masters giving place to the more molifying Exercises of his Religion. Our New-England hath tell and boast of her Wintthrop, 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 Madneisses; a Governor in whom the Excellencies of Chriftianity made a most improving Addition unto the Virtues, wherein even without Sobe he would have made a Parallel for the Great Men of Greece, or of Rome, which the Pen of a Flutarch has Exemelized.

§ 2. A flock of Heroes by right should afford nothing but what is Heroical; and nothing but an extreme Degeneracy would make anything less to be expected from a Stock of Wintrops. Mr. Adam Wintrop, the Son of a Worthy Gentleman wearing the fame Name, was himself a Worthy, a Discree, 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 Favours of the Reformed Religion in the Days of Queen Mary, into whose Hands the Famous Martyr Philip committed his Papers, which afterward made no Inconsiderable part of our Martyr-Books. This Mr. Adam Wintrop had a Son of the same Name also, and of the same Endowments and Impressions with his Father; and this Third Adam Wintrop was the Father of that Renowned John Wintrop, 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 Wintrop thus Born at the Manion-House of his Ancestors, at Groton in Suffolk, on June 12. 1587, enjoyed afterwards an agreeable Education. But though he would rather have Devoted himself unto the Study of Mr. John Calvin, than of Sir Edward Coke; 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 to 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 Balance to weigh not the Coff, but the Case of those who were before him: Prospopatria, he reckoned as bad as Idolatry: His Wisdom did exquisitely temper things according to the Art of Governing, which is a Buinefs of more Contrivance than the Seven Arts of the Schools: Oyer still went before Term 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 rendered the more illustrious, by Embalsoming them with the Conform Liberality and Hospitality of a Gentleman. This made him the Terror of the Wicked, and the Delight of the Sober, the Enemy 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 Chozen People into an American Wilderness, was by some Eminent Persons undertaken, This Eminent Person was, by the Conform of all, Chosen for the Master; and indeed nothing but a Majestic Spirit could have carried him through the Temptations, to which either his Fate led to his own Land, or his Travel in a Strange Land, must needs expose a Gentleman of his
his Education. Therefore having Sold a fair Estate of Six or Seven Hundred a Year, he
renounced himself with a strong Annivity of it into
New-England in the Year 1630, where he spent
it upon the Service of a famous Plantation and
founded and formed for the Seat of the most
Reformed Christianity: And continued there,
confident with Temptations of all sorts, as many
Years as the Nodes of the Moon take to
dispatch a Revolution. Those Persons were nev
er concerned in a New-Plantation, who know
not the unavoidable Difficulties of such a
thing, will call for all the Prudence and Pa
tience of a Mortal Man to encounter there
withal; and they must be very unincapable of
the Influence, which the Just Wrath of Hea
ven has permitted the Devils to have upon this
World, if they do not think that the Difficulti
es of a New-Plantation, devoted unto the Evang
elial Worship of our Lord Jesus Christ, must
be yet more than Ordinary. How Prudently, and
how patiently, and with how much Regard to
our Lord Jesus Christ, our brave Win
throp waded through these Difficulties, let
Pothier Confide with Admiration. And know
that, as the Pillage of this (his Governor
was, after his Death, hung up with Honors 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 Day,
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 Gover
nour that he is now to be consider'd. Being
the Governor over the inhabitants of Part
of New-England, he maintain'd the Figure and
Honour of his Place with the Spirit of a true
Gentleman; but yet with that obliging Considera
tion to the Circumstances of the Colony, that
when a certain troublesome and malicious Cal
umniator, well known in those Times, printed
his Libellous Nick-Names upon the chief
Persons here, the worst Nick-Name he could
find for the Governor, was John Temper-well,
and when the Calumniators of that ill Man ca
used the Archbishop to Summon one Mr. Cleaves
before the King, in hopes to get some Accusa
tion from him against the Country; Mr. Cleaves
gave a most laudable Account of the Governor's lau
dable Character, all Refutes, and the famous
Devotion wherein Prayers were both publickly and
privately made for His Majesty, that the
King expressed himself most highly Pleased
therewithal, only Sorry that so Worthy a
Person should be so better Accommodated than
with the Hardships of America. He was, in

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 Liberty unto the Needy was even beyond measure Generous; and therein he was continually cautious. 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 Deceased Ministers, whom he always treated with a very singular Compassion; among the Insubences whereof we still enjoy with us the Worthy and now Aged Son of that Reverend Higgins, whose Death left his Family in a wide World soon after his arrival here, publicly acknowledging the Charitable Inheritance for his Father. It was oftentimes no small Trial unto his Faith, to think, This a Table for the People Shal 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 anwering of his Faith. Indeed, for a while the Governor was the Joseph, unto whom the whole Body of the People repaired when their Core failed them: And he continued Relieving of them with his open-handed Bounty, 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 Expenses. Once it was observable, that on Feb. 7, 1639, when he was distributing the last Handful of the Meal in the Barrel unto a Poor Man dintified by the Wolf at the Door, it was that Infant they spied a Ship arrived at the Harbour's Mouth laden with Provisions for them all. Yes, the Governor sometimes made his own private Purse to be the Publick, not by overcharging, but by selling out of it; for when the Publick Treasure had nothing in it, he did himself defray the Charges of the Publick. And having learned that Leffon 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 Governor, made a Speech unto this purpose. That he had received Gracilities from various Things, which he accepted with much Comfort and Content; and he had likewise received Civilities from particular Persons, which he could not refuse without Iniquity 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 re-jected such Presents for the time to come. 'Twas his Cotton to find some of his Family upon Errands, unto the Houts of the Poor about their Meal time, on purpose to say 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 Governor in a seeming Anger did reply, Does he so? I'll make a Course with him. The call that Man me, I'll warrant you I'll cure him of Stealing! When the Man came, the Governor 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 Virtue, 'tis necessary that a good Man should advance, nay, press, & prevale against: The de no unjust thing, should suffer the Injury of the greatest Injuries. The Governor had by his unperturbed 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. Yes, 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 Changes 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, whereby he applied himself cheerfully to serve the Country in whatever Station their Votes had allotted for him. And one Year when the Vote came to be Numbered, there were found Six left for Mr. Winslow, than for another Gentleman who then stood in Competition: But several other
other Persons regularly Tending their Votes before the Election was published, very upon a very frivolous Objection, refused some of the Magistrates, that were afraid left the Election should at last fall upon Mr. Winthrop. Which though it was well received, yet such was the Sentiment of this Patriot, that he would not permit any Notice to be taken of the Injury.

But these Talks were nothing in Comparison of those harsher and harder Treasons, which he sometimes had from the Eowarders of the, not a few in the Days of their Paroxysms; and from the Faction of some against him, not much unlike that of the Pazzi in Florence against the Family of the Medici: All of which he at last Conquered by Conforming to the Famous Suede Motto, Fraterna sed Hostium. The Oracles of God have said; Envy is rottenness to the Bones; and Guiltious Perfidie applies it unto Rulers, who are as it were the Beasts 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 Vote of introducing the Exemplary Skill of this Wise Man, in giving soft Answers, one would not chuse to Relate those Infamies of Wthb, which he had sometimes to Encounter with; but he was for his Gentleness, his Forbearance, and his Long-suffering, a Pattern so worthy to be Written after, that something must here be Written of it. He seemed indeed not to speak any other Language than that of Theodosius; If any Man speak evil of the Governor, if he be thor Lightness, 'tis to be condemned, if it be thor Madness, 'tis to be pitied, if it be thor Injury, 'tis to be remitted. But in the Deeds of the Madmen 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 fend unto him that he would Sell him some of his Cattle; whereupon the Governor prayed him to accept what he had fent for as a Token of his Good Will; but the Gentleman returned him this Answer, Sir, you overcomning of your self both overcome me; and afterwards gave Demonstration of it. The French have a saying, That Un Honeste Homme, est un Honneuse masse! A good Man is a mixt Man, and there hardly ever was a more feasible Mixture of tho Treason Two things, Revolution and Condescension, than this 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 before the Vote of the Governor given a Governor more unto the Mind, had a Project much to have confounded the Election, by demanding that the Court would consider a Position then tendered before their Proceeding thereunto, Mr. Winthrop saw that this was only a Trick to throw all into Confusion, by purring off the Choice of the Governor and Assistants until the Day should be over; and therefore he did with a firm voice, resolution, procure a Disposition unto that malicious and ruinous Condescension. Nevertheless, Mr. Winthrop himself being by the Voice of the Freeman in this Exigence chosen the Governor, and all of the other Party left out, that ill-affecting Party discovered the Dirt and Mire, which remained with them, after the Storm was over; particularly the Serjeants, whose Office was to attend the Governor; laid down their Halberts, but such was the Condescension of this Governor, as they considered Notice of this Ange and Contempt, but only Orders some of his own Servants to take the Halberts: And when the Country manifested their deep Resentment at 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 double Respect which were from all Parcels paid unto him. Again, there was a time when the Supplication of an Antinomian and Fanatical Faction, which extremly threatened the Ruin of the Country, was generally thought much owing unto this Renowned Man; and therefore when the Friends of that Faction could not smash their Displeasure on him with an Open Vexation, they set themselves to do it by Ecclesiastical Bonds. Accordingly when a Sentence of Banishment was passed on the Ring-leaders of these Disturbances, who

—Maria & Terris, Caelum; profundum, Quippe ferant, Rapi, jecum, vertant, per Auras; many at the Church of Bofon, who were then that way too much inclined, most earnestly solicited the Elders of that Church, whereof the Governor 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 Governor understanding the Ferment among the People, took that occasion to make a Speech in the Congregation to this Effect. Bee that, Understanding that some of you have declared that I should Answer for an offence lately taken among you; had I been called upon to do it, I would, Have availed with the Ministers of the Country, whether the Church had Power to call in Questions on 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 to my Mind concerning it. If the Church have any such Power, they have it from the Lord Jesus Christ; but the Lord
Lord Jesus Christ hath disclaimed it, not only
by Prastice, but also by Precept, which we
have in his Gospel. Mark. 16. 26. It is
true indeed, that Magistrates, as they are
Church-Members, are accountable unto the
Church for their Failings; but that is only when
they are out of their Calling. When Dassab
would go offer Incense in the Temple, the
Officers of the Church called him to an ac-
count, and withstood him; but when Aza put
the Prophet in Prison, the Officers of the
Church did not call him to an account for that.
If the Magistrate shall be in a private way
wrong any Man, the Church may call him to
an Account for it; but 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. More-
over, in the Oath which I have taken there
is this Clauze, In all Causes wherein you are
to give your Vote, you shall do as in your Judg-
ment and Conscience, you shall see to be just,
and for the public Good. And I am satisfied,
it is most for the Glory of God, and the pub-
lick Good, that there has been such a Sentence
pass’d; yet, 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 Ishmael must be
sent away. By such a Speech he marvell-
ously convinced, satisfied and mollified the
said Brethren of the Church; &c. camillus
Pelagi excidit Fugit et. And after a little patient
waiting, the differences all do wore away
that the Church, meanly as a Token of Respect
unto the Governour, when he had newly met
with some Officers in his Entourage, sent him a Pre-
fent of several Hundreds of Pounds. Once
more there was a time, when some active Spi-
rists 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 City into something too Demo-
cratical. And if there were a Town in Spain
undermined by Convey, another Town in Thrace
destroyed by Moles, a Third in Greece ravencered
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 Swan. A certain Strow 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 Buff-
nefs, from one Court unto another, it was brought at last into the General Court, where
the Final Determination was, that it was im-
possible to proceed unto any Judgment in the
Cafe. 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 Pravities in a Digger, by
him written thereabout; whereupon with his
usual Gentleness, when he next came into
the General Court, he made a Speech of this
Import. "I understand, that some have taken
Objection at something that I have lately written;
which I desire to remove now, and be
this Year in a reconciled State with you all.
As for the Matter of my Writings, 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 Caution; and I
see no cause to retract any thing of it. Where-
fore I must enjoy my Liberty in that, as you
do your selves. But for the Manners, this,
and all that was blame-worthy in it, was wholly
my own; and whatsoever I might allledge for
my own justification therein before Mea, I
wave it, as now letting my self before another
Judgment Seat. However, what I wrote was
upon great Prudence, and to vindicate my
self and others from great Allegation; yet that
was no sufficient Warrant for me to allow any
Dissembler of Spirit in my self; and I doubt
I have been too prodigal of my Brethren’s Re-
putation; I might have maintained my Cause
without calling any. Blemish upon others,
when I made that 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 possibly be spoken,
yet I perceive an unbecoming Pride of my
own Heart breathing in them. For these Fail-
ings I ask Pardon both of God and Man.

Sic air, &c. d.t. citius Tumida Squa ra placat,
Collectas, Jugis Nubes, Solem, reduci.

This acknowledging Disposition in the Gover-
nour, made them all acknowledge, that he was
truly a Man of an excellent Spirit. In fine,
the Victories of an Alexander, an Hamath, or
a Cesar over other Men, were not so Glorious,
as the Victories of this great Man over him self,
which also at last prov’d Victories over other
Men.

§ 9. But the stormlest of all the Trials that
ever befell this Gentleman, was in the Year
1645, when he was in Title no more than De-
puty-Governour of the Colony. If the famous
Cure were Forty-four times call’d into Judg-
ment, but as often acquitted; let it not be won-
dred, and if our Famous Wintrop were one
Time so. There happening certain Seditious and
Mortinus Pravities in the Town of Boston,
the Deputy-Governour as legally as prudently
interposed his Authority for the checking of
them: Whereupon there followed such an Ex-
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champion upon the minds of the Deputies in the General Court, that upon a scandalous pretext of the Delinquents and their pretended Invasion: made upon the Liberty of the People was complained of the Deputy-Governor; was most irregularly called for unto an ignominious Hearing before them in the full Assembly, whereas with a significant manner he was, and although the Governour himself might have refused it: the refusal of that Hearing was, that notwithstanding the rough and insolent language of the People about their Liberty (lay at the bottom of all this Proclamation, yet Mr. Winthrop was publicly Acquitted, and the Offenders were severally fined and Censured. But Mr. Winthrop then returned the Place of Deputy-Governor on the Bench, and caused to speak up to 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 wish God that I see an issue of this trouble-some Affair. I am well satisfied that it is publicly Acquitted, 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 bumbled; and indeed for me to have been thus charged by Men, is itself a Matter of humiliation, whereof I defile to make a right afe before the Lord. If Miriam's Father split in her Face, is to be Ablamed. But give me leave before you go, to say something that may rectify the Opinions of many People, from whence the Distempers have arisen 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 Torn that 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. This 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 your Infirmitie, reflect on your own, and you will not be so severe Censurers of others. We count him a good Servant who breaks not his Covenant. The Covenant between Us and God, 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,

Summing up, the Grand End, and the only End of all, is the Liberty of free Men; and all the Ordinances of God are but means to it. But there is another Liberty, a Public Liberty, which is the Propriety and Object of Authority; it is a Liberty that only which is just and good, for this Liberty, you are to stand hand in hand with the hazard of your very Lives; and whatsoever Crosses in is not Authority, but a Distemper thereof. This Liberty is maintained in a way of Submission to Authority, and the Authority for ever you, will have all Administrations, for your good be quietly submitted unto, by all but those as have a Disposition to strike out the Stake, 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 distressed and engaged notions of things all vanished; and the People would not afterwarad a shudder at 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 Deeanour, did not hinder him from taking sometimes the old Roman way to avoid Confusions, namely, sedacont; or from discouraging some things which are agreeable enough to mod their Name of Gentlemen. Hereof I will give you no Instances, but only oppose two Passages of his Life.

In the Year 1632, the Governor, 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 these early Days, than the Prince that in Solomon's time kept his Servants on Horseback; or than Genius and Species in the old Ephraim going on Targum. The difficulty of the Way, was abundantly compenated 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 Boteels wearing this Motto, Si Collidimus, Erringimus. But there were at this time in Plymouth two Ministers, leavened so far with the Humours of the Rigard Separation, that they inquired vehemently upon the Unlawfulness of calling any unregenerate Man by the Name of Good-man, such an One, until by their indefatigable urging of this Whimsy, the place began to be disquieted. The Wiler People being troubled at these Trifles, they took the opportunity of Governor 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 Judas were first used in Eng-
Land; it was usual for the Grievers, after the Names of Persons fit for that Service: were called over, to bid them all, attend, Good Men, and True; whereas it used to be caused to be said, "Custos in the English Nation, for Neighbours living by the Book," to the King and Commonwealth such as One: And it was pity now to make a stir about a Civil Custos, to innocently introduced. And, that Speech of Mr. Winthrop's put a laffing stop to the Little, Idle, Whimsical Conceits, then beginning to grow Obstreperous. Nevertheless, there was one Civil Custos used in (and in now 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 Courtse, when one going to Drink, does In-vite 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, who tells us that Cleomenes, Nolenti pecunia nuncquam prepusit) considered the Impertinency and Insignificanty of this Usage, as to any of those Ends that are usuallly pretended for it, and that indeed it ordinarily served for no Ends at all, but only to provoke Persons unto unseemly and perhaps unreasonable Drinking, and at last produce that abominable Health-Drinking, which the Fathers of old so severely rebuked in the Pagans, and which the Papists themselves do condemn, when their Calumniators pronounce it, Pecatum mortale, provocare ad Equales Calices, & Nefas Respoudere. Wherefore in his own moft Hoplibale Houte he left it off; not out of any sily or thinly Handy, but meerly that by his Example a greater Temperance, with Liberty of Drinking, might be Recommended, and fundry 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 Way violently returned, with a Notturn in Vestinum.

§. 11. Many were the Affiliations of this Righteous Man! He loft much of his Estate in a Ship, and in an House, quickly after his coming to New-England, besides the Prodigious Expense of it in the Difficulties of his first coming hither. Afterwards his affidious Applicacion unto the Publick Affairs, wherein he was not, poletam Respublica cum Gubernatorem habere caput, 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 Death, to sell the most of what he had left unto him in the Country. Albeit, by the obserable Bleffing of God upon the Povertie of this Liberal Man, his Children all of them came to fair Estates, and lived in good Fathion and Credit. Moreover, he succenselyly. Buried. Three Wives, the First of which was the Daughter and Heir of Mr. Thrush, of Much-Stapmery in Essex, by whom he had many Children, and an excellent Son. The Second was the Daughter of Mr. William Cotton, of London, who died with her Child, within a very little time. 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 Di-reapers, ever now and then raised in the Country, procured unto him, a very singular Share of Trouble; yet, so hard was the Measure which he found even among Flous Men, in the Temptations of a Wilderness, that when the Thunder and Lightning had smitten a Windmill, whereof he was Owner, some had such things in their Heads, as publickly to reproach this Charitable Of Men, as if the Voice of the Almighty had rebuked, I know not what Opprobrium, which they judged him Guilty of: Which things I would not now have mentioned, but that the Instancies may fortifie the Expectations of my Decei Readers for such Affiliations.

§. 12. He that had been for his Attainments, as they said of the bleffed Boas, a madamew. 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 Climacritical, he felt the Approaches of his Diffolation; and finding he could say,

Non Habetur, non ipsa Color non Graecis Eum.
Non Species Eadem, qua faix ante, manet.

he then wrote this account of himself, Age non 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 at we need not trouble our Thoughts how long or short they may be, we may be found Faithful when we are called for. But at last when that Time 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 Clofe of our Lives the old Serpent will be Nibbling more than ever in our Lives before; and when the Devil sees that we shall shrilly, where the wicked cares from troubling, that wicked One will trouble us more than ever; in this Estate, Sink 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
BOOK II.

OR, THE HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND.

the Dissolute Thoughts of Black and Sore
Defensions, wherein he could use such as had
Reprovement of his own Condition.

Nuper Eram Judex; Jam Judicior; Ante
Trubutum,
Substitens paves, Judicior ipsis modo.

But it was not long before those Clouds were
Dissipate, and he enjoyed in his Holy Soul the
Great Conjunction 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. 53. 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 raiting that Observation, The
Sickness of a man 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 Occa-
sion we are now to attend this Duty for a
Governor, 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 becom-
ing an Enemy, like the Friends of David:
A Governor who has been unto us as a Bro-
ther; not usurping Authority over the Church;
not often speaking his Advice, and often contra-
dicted, even by Young Men, and some of
low degree, yet not replies, but offering Sa-
tisfaction also when any supposed Offences
have arisen; a Governor who has been un-
to us as a Mother, Parent-like distributing
his Goods to Brethren and Neighbours at his
first coming; and gently bearing our Infrin-
ties without taking notice of them.

Such a Governor after he had been more
than Ten several times by the People chosen
their Governor, was now New-Englanders new to
love; who having, like Jacob, first left his
Council and Blessing with his Children gather-
ed 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 Emperor Valentinian,
this above all his other Victories for his Tri-
umphs, his overcoming of himself.

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

EPI TAP H.

'Ανάμνησις τοῦ θείου, εἰς οἴκλημα;
Καὶ οὗτος τὸ μνήμης οἰκλήματος;
Μνημεῖον αὐτῷ καταλιθήσεα τὸν
'Ισραηληνῖ ἄει καὶ τὰ
VIR FUIT INDOLE BONUS, AC JUSTUS;
ET POPULARIUM GLORIAE AMANTISSI-
MUS:
QUBIS ETERNUM RELIQUIT MONU-
MENTUM,
Novanglorum M O N I A.

CHAP. V.

SUCCESSORS.

§ 1. ONE as well acquainted with the
Matter, as Insurer, informs us, That
among the Judges of Areopagus none were so
admired, or so much respected, as those
appointed to the Pryse of areopagitica, un-
less they were Noble Born, and Eminently Ex-
emplary for a Virtuous and a Sober Life. The
Report may be truly made concerning the
Judges of New-England, tho' they were not
Noble Born, yet they were generally Well
Born; and by being Eminently Exemplary for a
Virtuous and a Sober Life, gave Demon-
stration that they were New-born. Some Ac-
count 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, יְלָו there used, signifies A Monumen-
tal 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
Praise in the Church of God. And it shall be
fulfilled in what shall now be done for our
Governors in this our Church-History. E-
ven while the Massachusettsians had a Win-
throp for their Governor, they could not re-
strain 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 Governor
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 Sitter,
for the Esther of the Orphans, to take them up.
In the Family of the Earl of Northampen he
had opportunity perfectly to learn the Points of
Good Behaviour; and here having fitted him-
sell to do many other Benefits unto the World,
he next became a Clerk unto Judge Nichols,
who being his Kinman by the Mother's Side,
therefore took the more special notice of him.
From his Relation to this Judge, he had and
used an Advantages to attain such a Skill in
the