

A PURITAN GENTLEMAN IN NEW ENGLAND.



JOHN WINTHROP.

A STATUE of John Winthrop, the first Governor of Massachusetts, has lately been received in Boston—one of two statues contributed by the State, in common with the other States of the Union, toward the collection of national portrait statues in the old House of Representatives, at the Capitol in Washington; the other statue is of Samuel Adams—the two men, Winthrop and Adams, representing the two historic epochs in the history of the commonwealth. Winthrop is shown just stepping from the ship's plank to the shore, bearing a Bible and the charter of Massachusetts Bay with its great seal. The action is appropriate when one considers the intimate relation which Winthrop bore to the foundation of the commonwealth; for it was the transfer of the government of the young colony from Matthew Cradock's office in St. Swithin's Lane, London, to the actual seat of the colony which gave solidity to the enterprise, and made what might otherwise have been a mere trading post a self-reliant commonwealth; and history declares confidently that the transfer was closely connected with the accession of Winthrop to the colony and his election to the office of Governor.

But while the statue bears witness to the

importance of Winthrop in the early history of New England, one is not quite content with it as a complete representation of the man who fills so large a place in the esteem and admiration of all American historical students. There is another statue in the chapel at Mount Auburn Cemetery, which more distinctly embodies his character as one of those Governors of Massachusetts Bay who seem to be like no other rulers in history so much as those judges in Israel who sat at the gates and heard the complaints of all the people. He is there shown seated, with a gesture which seems to accompany some earnest speech, in which he is determining an ordinary cause by principles and rules drawn from the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

In both of these statues the sculptors have been provided with historic material which forbade them going far astray, their chief task being to convey in marble the spirit of a man whose portrait was well known, and whose dress could be determined with accuracy. As he stands, the leader of the colony,

as he sits, the Governor of the commonwealth, he has the bearing and presence of a gentleman who is a pioneer but not an adventurer, a scholar but not a recluse.

What these two statues convey to the eye is impressed upon the mind of the reader of the four volumes which contain, two of them, Winthrop's *History of New England*, in diary form, and two, *The Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, by his descendant, Robert Charles Winthrop. In the former one may obtain the best view of that company of men and women whose figures appear so sharp against the cool sky of our early history; in the latter, while the historic setting is made prominent, one is able to catch further glimpses of that domestic life and personal habitude which private journals and familiar letters afford. The Governor Winthrop of history is a figure well defined and carefully regarded by all who acquaint themselves with the forces of our national life. The John Winthrop, gentleman, is the person with whom we would gladly become acquainted through such introduction as we can obtain, though it is to be noted that private life two hundred and fifty years ago was less minutely chronicled for us than it is to-day.

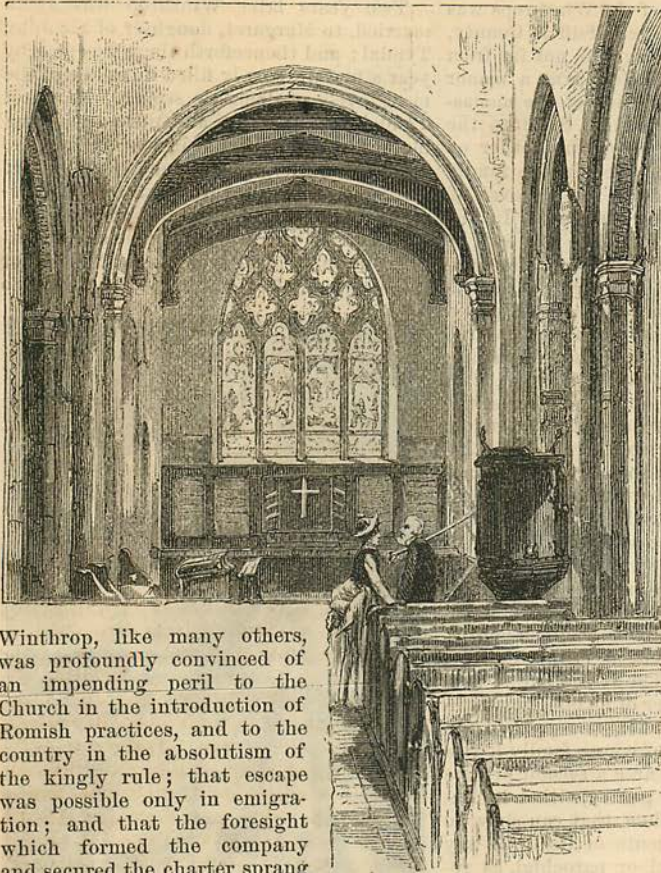
The English home of the Winthrops was at Groton, a little village in Suffolk County, on the east coast of England, not far from Bury St. Edmund's. Here was a manor which, upon the dissolution of the monasteries in Henry VIII's time, fell into the hands of Adam Winthrop, grandfather of the Governor, and remained in the family until sold, not long after the removal of John Winthrop to New England. In the church-yard by Groton church may still be seen the tomb of the Winthrops. The family was not noble, but belonged to the middle class, which at that day had a dignity, not so easily discovered now, when measured by a higher standard than that of wealth. The grandfather of John Winthrop, Adam Winthrop, was an honorable member of the famous Cloth-workers' Company of London. He was entitled to write Esquire after his name; and his son, also named Adam, appears to have withdrawn from cloth-working, and to have followed the customary life of a country gentleman at Groton, busy with agriculture and the law. John Winthrop, thus coming to man's estate, was still further removed from trade, and answers well to our understanding of an English gentleman. He was a student at Trinity College, Cambridge, was married at the age of seventeen to the daughter of a country gentleman, and losing his wife, was married ten years later to a lady of whose family it was written: "There is scarce a second private family of nobility or gentry, either in England or in Christendom, that can show so many goodly monuments of itself in any one church, cathedral or parochial, as remain of the Cloptons in that of Melford, in the county of Suffolk, this present year (1638)." But the wedded life was only a year long, and at her death Winthrop was plunged into a deep melancholy. His father before him had leaned toward the Puritan party in the Church of England, and the record of John Winthrop's life at this time shows him to have received, in the tender state of his sensibilities, impressions respecting religion which sank deep into his nature. He led a life of seclusion and meditation; he gave himself up, as did other Puritans, to a private life, avoiding the discussions of the distempered times, poring over the Bible, which had lately become the great possession of the English people, and regarding life as the field of stern conflict with invisible powers of evil. The early stages of Puritanism in English history are marked by the presence of just such devout, sincere men as Winthrop, who had no thought of separation from the Church, but regarded the practical union of church and state as involving imminent peril. Living in their country homes, they were really religious hermits, without the external guise of hermits.

Two years later Winthrop was again married, to Margaret, daughter of Sir John Tyndal; and thenceforth there was year by year a picture, slowly filled in, of one of the most lovely of domestic scenes. Margaret Tyndal was as sweet and pure a wife and mother as can be found in history, and the tenderness, deepening beyond the power of words, of the union with her husband, hinted at in letters, diaries, and projects, is a revelation of the inherent grace and sweetness of Puritanism seen at its best. For twelve years the Winthrops continued to



STATUE OF GOVERNOR WINTHROP.

live at Groton—twelve years of gathering darkness in the political heavens. During that time Winthrop passed back and forth between Groton and London, pursuing the profession of a lawyer and busying himself with family affairs. He was drawn also into politics; but there are unmistakable signs that while his sympathy and partisanship were with Sir John Eliot and other patriots, the mainspring of his life was in religion. It is not in our plan to trace the political events which were bringing on the national crisis in England; sufficient to say that



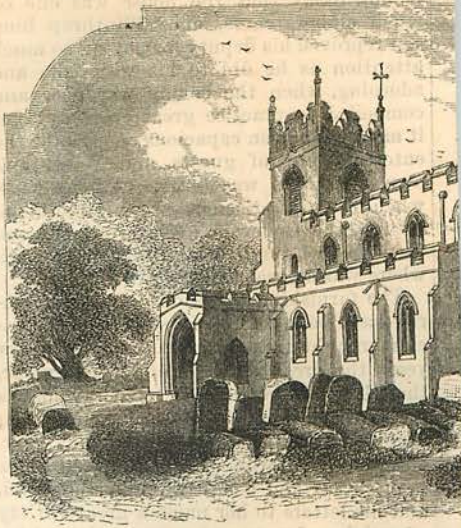
INTERIOR OF GROTON CHURCH.

Winthrop, like many others, was profoundly convinced of an impending peril to the Church in the introduction of Romish practices, and to the country in the absolutism of the kingly rule; that escape was possible only in emigration; and that the foresight which formed the company and secured the charter sprang from a sense of the imminent need of action. It must not be overlooked that to Winthrop and those like him religious purity was the highest ambition, and that they clung to the Church of God as the home of their life, transcending all claims of country. "I shall call that my country," writes the younger John Winthrop, when proposing to go to New England, "where I may most glorify God and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends." The church which held the dearest hopes of these Puritans was not the Church of England as a state establishment, but a community of believers. The identification of kingcraft with priestcraft had shaken their confidence in the Church of England, and to their minds they were bearing the ark of the covenant with them when they crossed the seas. The religious movement, which had penetrated some men, like Milton, only to make them more resolute Englishmen, swept away Winthrop and others into the trial of a new experiment. They had seen the Church suffer through the ordinances of state authority; now they would construct a state which should be the shadow of what was to them a substance, the

ideal Church of God.

So much for the political significance of the emigration of which John Winthrop was the acknowledged head. The details of this emigration are matters of history: we direct our attention to the person who maintains a serene front, and accepts with the deep humility of his nature the responsible position assigned to him. He was compelled to accompany the expedition without the presence of his wife, and a glimpse of their affection and of the lofty character which he bore will be had by reading one of the parting letters which he wrote to her while hourly expecting his own departure:

"And now, my sweet soul, I must once again take my last farewell of thee in Old England. It goeth very near to my heart to leave thee; but I know to whom I have committed thee, even to Him who loves thee much better than any husband can, who hath taken account of the hairs of thy head, and puts all thy tears in His bottle, who can and (if it be for His glory) will bring us together again with peace and comfort. Oh, how it refresheth my heart to think that I shall yet again see thy sweet face in the land of the living!—that lovely countenance that I have so much delighted in, and beheld with so great content! I have hitherto been so taken up with business as I could seldom look back to my former happiness; but now, when I shall be at some leisure, I shall not avoid the remembrance of thee, nor the grief for thy absence. Thou hast thy share with me, but I hope the course we have agreed upon will be some ease to us both. Mondays and Fridays, at five of the clock at night, we shall meet in spirit till we meet in person. Yet if all these hopes should fail, blessed be our God that we are assured we shall meet one day, if not as husband and wife, yet in a better condition. Let that stay and comfort thy heart. Neither can the sea drown thy husband, nor enemies destroy, nor any adversity deprive thee of thy husband or children. Therefore I will only take thee now and my sweet children in mine arms, and kiss and embrace you all, and so leave you with my God. Farewell, farewell. I bless you all in the name of the Lord Jesus. I salute my daughter Winth. Matt. Nan. and the rest, and all my good neighbors and friends. Pray all for us. Farewell. Commend my blessing to my son John. I can not now write to him; but tell him I have committed thee and thine to him. Labor to draw him yet nearer to God,



GROTON CHURCH

and he will be the surer staff of comfort to thee. I can not name the rest of my good friends, but thou canst supply it. I wrote a week since to thee and Mr. Leigh and divers others.

"Thine, wheresoever, JO. WINTHROP."

It is impossible to read this and similar letters without feeling the sincerity of that nature which expressed itself with so much religious fervor. The assurance of a meeting some day, in a better condition than as husband and wife, indicates, when taken prosaically, a degree of exaltation which few of Winthrop's readers could suddenly accept as their own prevalent emotion; but the terms doubtless denote that constant reference of all hopes to a solid future of bliss which was the rock on which men tossed upon the sea of uncertainty looked with longing and sure belief. The quaint reminder, also, of their secret invisible tryst, which was most probably an hour of devotion, gives a charming view of that consecration of love which made impossible all meaner thoughts of one another.

Winthrop was forty-two years old when he sailed for New England, and eighteen months afterward his wife and young children joined him. The picture of the reunion is thus sketched for us in the Governor's journal:

"November 4, 1631.—The Governor, his wife and children, went on shore, with Mr. Peirce, in his ship's boat. The ship gave them six or seven pieces. At their landing, the captains, with their companies in arms, entertained them with a guard and divers volleys of shot, and three drakes; and divers of the assistants and most of the people of the near plantations came to welcome them, and brought and sent, for divers days, great store of provisions, as fat hogs, kids, venison, poultry, geese, partridges, etc., so as the like joy and manifestation of love had never been seen in New England. It was a great marvel that so much people and such store of provisions could be gathered together at so few hours' warning."

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gentlemen and their families who formed this company of Massachusetts Bay were by no means persons with advanced views on the subject of equality in rank; on the contrary, they were very careful in all matters of etiquette. The Governor was attended to court, and to and from meeting on Sunday, by four sergeants bearing halberds; and Winthrop takes note in his journal of an exciting election, when he was himself chosen Governor, and was compelled to use two of his own servants as halberdiers, owing to the refractoriness of the official sergeants. A severe punishment is recorded against one evil-doer, when he was degraded from the rank of gentleman.

There was a series of incidents in the early history of the colony growing out of the visits successively of two rival French Governors of the neighboring province of Acadia, La Tour and D'Aulnay. Winthrop, as Governor, received each in turn, and the position which he took in the controversy which sprang up brought upon him the censure of being too liberal in his treatment of Roman Catholics. For the controversy we care nothing now, but the importance then attached to it led Winthrop to narrate all the incidents very minutely in his journal; and hence we have his account of the hospitality he extended to D'Aulnay's messengers, and get a further look into the interior of the Governor's house. "Being the Lord's day," he writes, "and the people ready to go to the assembly after dinner, Monsieur Marie and Monsieur Louis, with

is not likely that the house was one of much elaborateness, since Winthrop himself reproved his deputy for paying so much attention as he did to his wainscots and adorning, when the colony was poor and compelled to practice great economy; yet it must have been capacious enough for the entertainment of guests, and Winthrop's own household was large. At one time, when certain prisoners were brought to Boston, the Governor (Winthrop) "caused them to be brought before him in his hall, where was a great assembly."

The furnishing of a house must necessarily have been for the most part with articles brought from England, and for a few years the dress also was of English make, though it was not long before the colonists began to look with satisfaction upon their sheep and the promise of wool they gave. Margaret Winthrop, as we have seen, came over a year and a half after her husband, and his letters to her name a great variety of articles of wear and consumption which she was bidden to bring. "Pease-pudding and fish are our ordinary diet," he writes to her; and then he calls for forty hogsheds of meal, for pease and oatmeal, dry Suffolk cheese, butter and tried suet, sugar and fruit, pepper and ginger, a hogshedd of wine vinegar, conserve of red roses, garlic and onions, two or three hundred sheepskins and lamb-skins, coarsest woolen cloth, "of sad colors and some red," coarse rugs, worsted ribbon, welt leather shoes, and stockings, shoe-makers' thread and hobnails, oiled skins, bedding, candles, drinking-horns, brass and pewter utensils, leather bottles, axes, flints, augers, and millstones. In the library of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, there is shown a stone pot, tipped and covered with a silver lid, which was given in 1607 to Adam Winthrop, the father of the Governor, by Lady Mildmay, Adam's sister, and remained in the possession of the family for seven generations; and E. Howes wrote to Winthrop in 1633 that he had sent him a case containing "an Irish skeyne, or knife," two or three delicate tools, "and a fork." Forks were hardly known in England before 1650. The difference in rank, however, between the highest and lowest in the colony was probably marked pretty plainly in dress. The skins of animals shot in the forests helped to clothe the servants; and the laws against the ordinary wearing of silver, gold, and silk laces, and against the wearing at all of embroidered and needle-work caps, gold and silver girdles, immoderate great sleeves, and slashed apparel, indicate that the owners of these adornments were not slow to distinguish themselves.

While Winthrop as Governor of the colony honored his office and wore his dignity with a decorous observance of all due for-

Monsieur D'Aulnay his secretary, arrived at Boston in a small pinnace, and Major Gibbons sent two of his chief officers to meet them at the water-side, who conducted them to their lodgings *sine strepitu*. The public worship being ended, the Governor repaired home, and sent Major Gibbons, with other gentlemen, with a guard of musketeers, to attend them to the Governor's house, who, meeting them without his door, carried them into his house, where they were entertained with wine and sweetmeats, and after a while he accompanied them to their lodgings.....The Lord's day they were here, the Governor, acquainting them with our manner, that all men either come to our public meetings or keep themselves quiet in their houses, and finding that the place where they lodged would not be convenient for them that day, invited them home to his house, where they continued private all that day until sunset, and made use of such books, Latin and French, as he had, and the liberty of a private walk in his garden, and so gave no offense."

The house which Winthrop occupied in Boston was a wooden one, standing near the Old South Church, and was taken down for fire-wood, along with other buildings, during the occupation of Boston by the British in the winter of 1775-76. The frame had first been set up in Cambridge, but afterward removed to Boston and placed near an excellent spring, which has left its mark behind in the neighboring Spring Lane. It

mality, it is plain that he did not regard the office of Governor as elevating him above the common lot of the colony. In one of the contemporaneous narratives an account is given of the wretched condition into which the settlement had degenerated before the arrival of Winthrop and his company. "Now," it adds, "as soon as Mr. Winthrop was landed, perceiving what misery was like to ensue through their idleness, he presently fell to work with his own hands, and thereby so encouraged the rest that there was not an idle person then to be found in the whole plantation." A letter from Thomas Wiggin, who visited New England in 1631, has a passage which is still more explicit with regard to Winthrop's community of labor: "And for the Governor himself, I have observed him to be a discreet and sober man, giving good example to all the planters, wearing plain apparel, such as may well beseeem a mean man, drinking ordinarily water, and when he is not conversant about matters of justice, putting his hand to any ordinary labor with his servants, ruling with much mildness, and in this particular I observed him to be strict in execution of justice upon such as have scandalized this state, either in civil or ecclesiastical government, to the great content of those that are best affected and to the terror of offenders." The mention of his "drinking ordinarily water" had probably a peculiar significance, since in the Governor's journal there is an entry dated October 25, 1630, which shows Winthrop's good sense and his willingness to be the first to make sacrifices: "The Governor, upon consideration of the inconveniences which had grown in England by drinking one to another, restrained it at his own table, and wished others to do the like, so as it grew by little and little to disuse."

The last paragraph in Wiggin's letter intimates that Winthrop filled out the ideal of a Puritan magistrate by being a terror to evil-doers. We have not the space at command to enter upon the old subject of what constituted severity and injustice in the treatment bestowed by the New England Puritans upon those who invaded the territory which they vainly endeavored to isolate for the peace of men and women of a certain way of thinking. The principles and laws which lay at the foundation of the Christian commonwealth built by these men proved eventually too energetic for the narrow limits in which the founders would ignorantly have had them revolve, and consequently they also builded better than they knew; but it is interesting, in taking note of the temper of the leading men of the colony, to see how frequently Winthrop was found on the side of the larger liberty. In the controversy between D'Aulnay and La Tour he took the unpopular and liberal

side. In another case, when Vane and Peters and the ministers Cotton, Wilson, and Hooker were all arrayed against him, the charge laid to him was that he "failed in overmuch lenity." In Winthrop's own words, it was his judgment that "in the infancy of plantations justice should be administered with more lenity than in a settled state, because people were then more apt to transgress, partly of ignorance of new laws and orders, partly through oppression of business and other straits."

One can not read the annals of the colony without perceiving the intense character of the life led by the leading men. They were men whose convictions and ability would have stood them in good stead upon a large and varied field. The very limitations of the colonial life tended to deepen their convictions and to press forth, upon apparently slight occasions, expressions which, escaping from the immediate concern, have become fit words for nations to ponder. A single illustration will serve our purpose, throwing light, as it does, upon some of the finest traits in Winthrop's character:

The town of Hingham had nominated one Anthony Eames, who had been lieutenant previously, to be captain of their militia company; but before the Council could act upon the nomination, the majority of the town, becoming disaffected from some cause, turned about and chose Bozoun Allen in his place. The magistrates constituting the Council were unwilling to accept Allen, yet unwilling also to act directly against the expressed will of the town, and ordered the parties to the controversy to remain as they were until the next General Court. But the people of Hingham, who were hot and entirely indisposed to accept such cautionary advice, proceeded to train under Allen, and did their best to excommunicate Eames—for town and church were not slow to mix their quarrels. Eames, on his part, had recourse to the magistrates, and laid the case before four of them, among whom was Winthrop, then Deputy-Governor. The magistrates summoned some of the Allen party, and bound them over to keep the peace till the next General Court. Afterward others were summoned and came before Winthrop alone, and refused to submit to the requisition of the magistrates, though "the Deputy labored to let them see their error, and gave them time to consider of it." Fourteen days after, in open court, Winthrop, seeing two of them in court for another cause, again required them to enter bonds for their appearance, and upon a second refusal committed them in that open court. The action produced a great commotion, and a petition was put up by the aggrieved parties to the General Court, asking that their cause should be heard, inasmuch as they had suffered for liberty's sake at the hands of certain magis-

trates. The petition came before the Deputies, or Representatives, as we now call them, who immediately referred it to the magistrates, and asked that it should be granted. It was an unmannerly proceeding, according to the customs of the time, being in effect an impeachment of the magistrates when no specific charge had been named and no person singled out for prosecution. The magistrates sent the petition back for satisfaction on these points; and the Deputies named two prosecutors, and presented Winthrop for trial. The magistrates were urged by Winthrop to overlook the scandalous nature of the proceedings in consideration of the greater scandal which was likely to grow out of the case unless there were a public hearing, and so the petition was granted. In a word, Winthrop placed himself, a magistrate, on trial before the people, and so far from standing on his dignity or his privilege, or evading the issue, sought it openly and directly.

"The day appointed being come," reads the journal, "the court assembled in the meeting-house at Boston. Divers of the elders were present and a great assembly of people. The Deputy-Governor, coming in with the rest of the magistrates, placed himself beneath, within the bar, and so sat uncovered. Some question was in the court about his being in that place (for many both of the court and the assembly were grieved at it). But the Deputy telling them that, being criminally accused, he might not sit as a judge in that cause, and, if he were upon the bench, it would be a great disadvantage to him, for he could not take that liberty to plead the cause which he ought to be allowed at the bar, upon this the court was satisfied." The result of the trial was that the petitioners were fined, and the Deputy-Governor legally and publicly acquitted of all that was laid to his charge. It was then, when the sentence of the court had been publicly read, that the Deputy-Governor was desired by the court to go up and take his place again upon the bench; "and the court being about to rise," as the journal proceeds, "he desired leave for a little speech, which was to this effect."

The "little speech" may take its place among the most remarkable speeches ever delivered for the dignity and loftiness with which, in simple language, it sets forth the true relations of magistrates and people. It is, indeed, one of the landmarks in the progress of human governments, and, apart from this public character, has its value as showing how Winthrop's mind dwelt among the higher thoughts, and could make the squabble of Hingham militia-men the occasion for utterances which may be ranked with passages in Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. One passage only we may quote, but its accents fall upon our ears as the last and

finest expression of the human mind in dealing with the great subject contained in the words:

"For the other point concerning liberty, I observe a great mistake in the country about that. There is a twofold liberty, natural (I mean as our nature is now corrupt), and civil or federal. The first is common to man with beasts and other creatures. By this, man, as he stands in relation to man simply, hath liberty to do what he lists: it is a liberty to evil as well as to good. This liberty is incompatible and inconsistent with authority, and can not endure the least restraint of the most just authority. The exercise and maintaining of this liberty makes men grow more evil, and in time to be worse than brute beasts—*omnes sumus licentia deteriores*. This is that great enemy of truth and peace—that wild beast which all the ordinances of God are bent against to restrain and subdue it. The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal; it may also be termed moral in reference to the covenant between God and man in the moral law, and the politic covenants and constitutions among men themselves. This liberty is the proper end and object of authority, and can not subsist without it; and it is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. This liberty you are to stand for, with the hazard (not only of your goods, but) of your lives, if need be. Whatsoever crosseth this is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained and exercised in a way of subjection to authority; it is of the same kind of liberty wherewith Christ has made us free."

Yet at the beginning of the Puritan settlement one can see the signs of that superstition which was in the generations immediately following to bring dishonor upon the colony. The intense religious emotion which stirred the minds of the leaders at first found a healthy escape in the practical work which attended the foundation of the commonwealth; but when the pressure was removed, the force of their religious life began to be expended on abstractions, and their imaginations, filled with ghostly images, to seize upon the wildest vagaries as explanations of their own visions. It is scarcely to be doubted, besides, that the dark forests and fitting savages helped to people their mind with uncanny shapes. Winthrop did not escape the prevalent temper; but in him superstition showed itself most decidedly in the form of an undue estimate of special providences. "Two little girls of the Governor's family," he relates in one place, "were sitting under a great heap of logs, plucking of birds, and the wind driving the feathers into the house, the Governor's wife caused them to remove away. They were no sooner gone, but the whole heap of logs fell down in the place, and had crushed them to death if the Lord, in His special providence, had not delivered them." It is touching to read a passage near this entry where, without mentioning names, it is evident that Winthrop and his wife are the ones referred to: "Upon this occasion it is not impertinent (though no credit nor regard be had of dreams in these days) to report a dream which the father of these children had at the same time, viz., that, coming into his chamber, he found his wife (she was a very gracious woman) in bed, and three or four of

their children lying by her, with most sweet and smiling countenances, with crowns upon their heads, and blue ribbons about their leaves. When he awaked he told his wife his dream, and made this interpretation of it, that God would take of her children to make them heirs of Christ in His kingdom." We are not wont to think of the Puritans as indulging in fond fancies; yet this little bit of poetry, with its religious application, is a very faithful sign of that delicate sensibility and purity of feeling which underlay the ruggedness and sternness of the Puritan character. One other picture we give from Winthrop's diary for the quaint view it gives of the life of the time and the character of the man:

"The Governor, being at his farm-house at Mystic, walked out after supper and took a piece in his hand, supposing he might see a wolf (for they came dally about the house, and killed swine and calves, etc.); and being about half a mile off, it grew suddenly dark, so as, in coming home, he mistook his path, and went till he came to a little house of Sagamore John, which stood empty. There he staid, and having a piece of match in his pocket (for he always carried about him match and compass, and, in summer-time, snakeweed), he made a good fire near the house, and lay down upon some old mats which he found there, and so spent the night, sometimes walking by the fire, sometimes singing psalms, and sometimes getting wood, but could not sleep. It was (through God's mercy) a warm night; but a little before day it began to rain, and, having no cloak, he made shift by a long pole to climb up into the house. In the morning there came thither an Indian squaw, but perceiving her before she had opened the door, he barred her out; yet she staid there a great while essaying to get in, and at last she went away, and he returned safe home, his servants having been much perplexed for him, and having walked about and shot off pieces and halloood in the night, but he heard them not."

The story of Winthrop's life, from the time of his arriving in Massachusetts Bay, in 1630, till his death, in 1649, is the story of the colony itself. His diary mingles personal and public matters, and his own name is always used as that of a third party. His letters are likewise at once the letters of a private gentleman and a public officer. As the fortunes of the colony were shaken, the Governor stood like a rock in the midst of wavering men. There are few passages in literature more full of a noble passion than that fervent appeal in his diary which burst from his lips when, in 1642, he seemed about to be deserted by his companions, while poverty and sickness had wrought havoc all about him.

"Ask thy conscience," he exclaims, "if thou wouldst have plucked up thy stakes, and brought thy family three thousand miles, if thou hadst expected that all, or most, would have forsaken thee there. Ask, again, what liberty thou hast toward others which thou likest not to allow others toward thyself; for if one may go, another may, and so the greater part, and so church and commonwealth may be left destitute in a wilderness, exposed to misery and reproach, and all for thy ease and pleasure,



STATUE OF GOVERNOR WINTHROP, MOUNT AUBURN CHAPEL.

whereas, these all being now thy brethren, as near to thee as the Israelites were to Moses, it were much safer for thee, after his example, to choose rather to suffer affliction with thy brethren than to enlarge thy ease and pleasure by furthering the occasion of their ruin."

In the service of the commonwealth Winthrop disregarded his own private advantage, and it was not far from the time of the last-quoted record that his own needs and the affectionate regard of the people are shown, curiously mingled with that jealousy of authority which from the earliest days characterized the people of the commonwealth. There had been some trouble in making way for the election of Dudley as Governor in place of Winthrop. "The elders," says Winthrop's journal, "being met at Boston about this matter, sent some of their company to acquaint the old Governor [Winthrop] with their desire and the reasons moving them, clearing themselves of all dislike of his government, and seriously professing their sincere affection and respect toward him, which he kindly and thankfully accepted, concurring with them in their motion, and expressing his unfeigned desire of more freedom, that he might a little intend his private occasions, wherein (they well knew) how much he had lately suffered (for his bailiff, whom he trusted with managing his farm, had engaged him £2500 without his privity) in his outward estate. This they

had heard of, and were much affected therewith, and all the country in general, and took course (the elders agreeing upon it at that meeting) that supply should be sent in from the several towns by a voluntary contribution for freeing of these engagements; and the court (having no money to bestow, and being yet much indebted) gave his wife three thousand acres of land; and some of the towns sent in liberally, and some others promised, but could perform but little, and the most nothing at all. The whole came not to £500, whereof near half came from Boston; and one gentleman of Newbury, Mr. Richard Dummer, propounded for a supply by a more private way, and, for example, himself disbursed £100."

But though Winthrop laid down his office at this time, it was again and again restored to him, and his death, after a few weeks' illness, took place when he was Governor. We have in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* the record of a portion of a sermon delivered by the venerable Cotton, when Winthrop lay sick, in which he is described as "a Governor who has been unto us as a brother—not usurping authority over the

church, often speaking his advice, and often contradicted, even by young men, and some of low degree; yet not replying, but offering satisfaction also when any supposed offenses have arisen: a Governor who has been unto us as a mother, parent-like distributing his goods to brethren and neighbors at his first coming, and gently bearing our infirmities without taking notice of them."

It had fallen to the Governor to record in his journal a little less than two years before:

"In this sickness, the Governor's wife, daughter of Sir John Tyndal, Knight, left this world for a better, being about fifty-six years of age: a woman of singular virtue, prudence, modesty, and piety, and specially beloved and honored of all the country."

His own character we have aimed to illustrate by his journal and letters. In what esteem his companions held him may be read in the letters of the date, filled with sincere grief. It is not too much to say that we are indebted to the Puritan founders of New England for no more precious gift than the noble lives of John and Margaret Winthrop.

POET'S RESIGNATION.

By ALFRED H. LOUIS.

So long at life's school,
Yet unteachable—'sdeath!
Dig thy grave, fool,
And wait by it for Death.

The ship sinks, a grave,
For one little leak;
And one word might save
Which lips can not speak.

So I fall by the way,
Lost in dark caverns' deeps,
For want of one ray
Which the cruel sun keeps.

So I faint on the sand,
Thirsting in desert wide,
And rave of the strand
And the lost river's tide.

Well, best that she give
No ear to my cry,
For the living must live,
And the dying must die.

Let the lark sing
To the blue of its heaven:
Why should the sting
From my bosom be riven?

Why should the face
That is set to the stars
Gaze on my dark place
Through my prison bars?

Pass to thy light;
Soar, bird-angel, soar!
Leave me to my night,
And know me no more.

Enough that I catch
The gleam of thy wing,
As my straining eyes watch
Thy flight to day's spring.

I ought to have known
And bowed to the truth,
For my bread hath been stone
Since the days of my youth.

Well, Poet and Sage
Must earn ruin and wreck,
For the foot of the Age
Must be set on their neck.

They perish of scorn
And the world's cruel sneers,
Heart-rent, bosom-torn,
By sighs stifled and tears.

But I fade from the land
And die, as is best,
For an idolized hand
Sends the sword through my breast.

So long at life's school,
Wisdom comes to late breath:
The grave's dug for Love's fool;
He'll wait by it for Death.