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Publications of the Ipswich Historical Society

VII

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE

OF

JOHN WINTHROP THE YOUNGER

FOUNDER OF IPSWICH, MASSACHUSETTS

IN 1633

BY

THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY

1899

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PREFATORY NOTE

WHEN Mr. Waters consulted me at the outset with reference to this publication, I thought it peculiarly appropriate that the task should have been undertaken by a President of the Ipswich Historical Society, and I have therefore done my best to aid him, partly by disinterring from family-papers some little new material of local interest, partly by drawing attention to letters so long ago printed in different volumes, some of them now very rare, that they have been gradually lost sight of even by students.

At his suggestion, also, I have taken pains to provide suitable illustrations. The frontispiece is an unusually successful reproduction of the well-known but much discolored portrait of John Winthrop, Jr., in early life, — the only authentic likeness of him at any period, and still in possession of a branch of his descendants. The facsimiles of manuscripts relating to Ipswich are taken from originals given by me a number of years ago to the Essex Institute. Two of them are reproduced in full size, the others have been a little reduced to avoid folding.

It should be borne in mind that the purpose of this Sketch has merely been to glean from a variety of sources, and place on record for convenient reference, the principal events in the life of the subject from his arrival in Boston in November, 1631, to his retirement from the Massachusetts magistracy in the spring of 1650. His previous experiences in Europe, and his long public career in Connecticut, are but briefly and incidentally described.

Nearly seventy years have passed away since Felt prepared for his History of Ipswich an account of the younger Winthrop, which necessarily contained many omissions and some inaccuracies. Later writers have rarely taken the trouble to avail themselves of the additional material which has since slowly accumulated. The present narrative, short as it is, contains an assemblage of facts which have been got together with a good deal of labor, and so far as it goes, it may fairly be regarded as authoritative. In view, however, of the possibility that, when least expected, additional manuscripts may turn up, throwing further light upon Winthrop's connection with the town of Ipswich, this volume has been stereotyped in order to facilitate corrections and additions whenever needed.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP, JR.

This doth testify that I Maskonomett did give to M^r John Winthrop all that ground that is betweene the creeke comōly called Labour in Vaine creeke, & the creeke called Chybacko Creeke, for w^{ch} I doe acknowledge to have received full satisfaction in wampampeage & other things: and I doe heerby also for the sūme of twenty pounds to be paid unto me by the said John Winthrop, I doe fully resigne up all my right of the whole towne of Ipsw^{ch} as farre as the bounds therof shall goe, all the woods, meadowes, pastures & broken up grounds, unto the said John Winthrop in the name of the rest of the English there planted, and I doe bind my selfe to make it cleere from the claimes of any other Indians whatsoever.

MASKONOMETT his marke.¹

Witnesses to this :

GYLES FFYRMIN

ADAM WINTHROP

HUGH HILLIARD

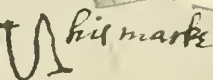
his marke

DEANE WINTHROP

¹ The whole of this agreement, with the exception of the mark of Maskanomett, that of Hugh Hilliard, and the signatures of the three other witnesses, is in the handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr., whose indorsement (not reproduced in the facsimile) is "Maskanomett's sale of Ipsw^{ch}." It was evidently executed at some time prior to the deed of June 28, 1638, as in the former the sum of £20 is mentioned as "to be paid," while in the latter the Sagamore acknowledges the receipt of "full satisfaction for all former agreements."

This doth testify that I Massanomett did give
to me John Winthrop all that ground that is between
the creeke commonly called Labour in Daine Creeke,
& the creeke called Chybacko Creeke, for which I doe
acknowledge to have received full satisfaction
in wampumpeage, & other things: and I doe hereby
also for the sume of twenty pounds to be paid
unto me by the said John Winthrop, I doe fully
relinquish by all my right of the whole towne
of Ipswich as far as the bound thereof shall
goe ~~all~~ to all the woods meadows, pastures &
broken up ground unto the said John Winthrop
either in the name of the rest of the English there
planted, and I doe bind my selfe to make it cleare
from the claime of any other ~~English~~ Indian
whatsoever.


witnesse to this

Massanomett  his mark

Gyles Wyem

Edm^d W^m Winthrop

Hugh H Hilliard

 his mark

Edm^d Winthrop

I Musconomet, Sagamore of Agawam, doe by these p'sents acknowledge to have Received of M^r John Winthrop the some of Twenty poundes, in full satisfacion of all the Right, property and Cleame, I have or ought to have, unto all the land lying and being in the Bay of Agawam, all Ipswich, being soe called now by the English, as well alsuch land as I formerly reserved unto my owne use at Chibocco, as alsoe all other lands belonging unto me in those parts, M^r Dummers farme excepted only. And I hereby relinquish all the Right and Interest I have unto all the Havens, Rivers, Creekes, Islands, huntings and fishings, with all the woodes, swampes, timber and whatsoever ells is or may be in or upon the said ground to me belonging, and I doe hereby acknowledge to have received full satisfacion from the said Jⁿ Wintropp for all former agreements touching the p^rmises or any part of them, and I doe hereby bind my selfe to make good the foresaid bargaine and saile unto the said John Winthrop his heires and assignes forever, and to secure him against the tittle and claime of all other Indians and Natives whatsoever. Witnesse my hand this 28 June 1638.¹

Witnesses hereunto.

THOMAS COYTMORE.

JAMES DOWNINGE.

ROBERT HARDINGE.

JNO JOLLIFE.

MUSKONOMET
his marke.

This deed above written, so signed & witnessed, being compared wth the original (4: B. p 381: 2) word for word, stands thus entred & Recorded at the request of Captaine Wayte Winthrop this 15th of february 1682, as Attests

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secret.*

¹ The body of this instrument is apparently in the handwriting of Thomas Coytmore, the first of the four witnesses thereto.

I Muscovimus Sugamox of Agawam, Do by this
 public acknowledgement to have received of Mr John Wentworth
 the sum of Twenty pounds, in full satisfaction, of
 all the Right property and claims, I have or
 ought to have, unto all the land lying and being
 in the Bay of Agawam, all the fishing being for
 Dollars, was by the English, as well as my land as I
 formerly performed unto my own self at Chelmsford
 as also all other lands belonging unto me with
 parts and Dismy farms excepted only, And I
 hereby relinquish all the Right and Interest I have
 unto all the Planters River Swales Alms, huntings
 and fishings, with all the woods swamps or timber
 and what so ever else, is or may be in or upon the said
 ground to me belonging, and I doe hereby acknowledge
 to have received full satisfaction, from the said
 Wentworth for all former agreements touching the
 said, or any part of them, And I doe hereby
 bind my self, to make good the said bargains and deals
 unto the said John Wentworth his heirs and assigns for
 ever, and to stand him against the title and claims
 of all other persons and Nations what so ever. Witness
 my hand this 20th June 1630.

W. Atwater
 J. T. Little

Witness
 Thomas Cotton
 James Downing
 Robert Sanderson

Muscovimus
 N marks.

This deed about written signed & witnessed being compared to the original
 A.B. 12382.2 was for word stand this deed & recorded at the request of the same
 Wentworth this 15th of February 1632 as Atty Edward Hudson doth

From the Winthrop Papers.

Given to Essex Institute by C. C. Winthrop, Jr. 1870

An agreement made betweene John Winthrop of Ipswich, Esq^r:
and Sam : Dudley for the wint^ring of nyne cowes.

It is agreed that Sam : Dudley shall winter nine cowes of S^r Mathew Boitons,¹ with good hay and howsing at Chebacco; and for the consideration of the same he is to receive three cow calves, after this manner following : that if the nyne cowes shall have but three cow calves, then the said Sam : Dudley is to have them ; but if more than three, the said Sam : is to have the 3 worst ; but if the cowes have not 3 cow calves, then to have 2 bul calves in stead of a cow calfe ; and it is further agreed that when these calves shall have eight or nyne weekes suckd, then to be divided.

In witnes whereof the pties abovesd have set to their hands,

JOHN WINTHROP.

SAM : DUDLEY.

8ⁱ 18 :

1637.

Witnesse

SAMUEL SYMONDS.

NATH ROGERS.

Cows were in those days worth about thirtye pounds a head, but sine have bin sold for thirty or forty shillings a head.

Dec^{br} 30th 1700.²

¹ Sir Mathew Boynton, bart. M. P., of whom hereafter.

² This subsequent memorandum is in the handwriting of Wait Winthrop, then a Judge of the Superior Court and Major-General of Militia.

An agreement made between John Wintrop
of Ipswich Esq^r: and Sam: Dudley for
the writing of nine cows.

It is agreed that Sam: Dudley shall write nine
cows for Sr Mathew Boitour, with good hay and
housing at Chebacco; and for the consideration of
the same he is to receive, three cow calves; after
this manner following: that if the nine cows
shall have but 3 cow calves, then the said Sam: Dudley
is to have them; but if more then three, the said
Sam: is to have the 3 worst: but if the cows have
not 3 cow calves; then to have 2 but calves in stead of
a cow calf: and it is further agreed, that when
these calves shall have eight or nine ^{weeps} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{year}: then
to be divided: In witness whereof the parties above
have set to their hands,

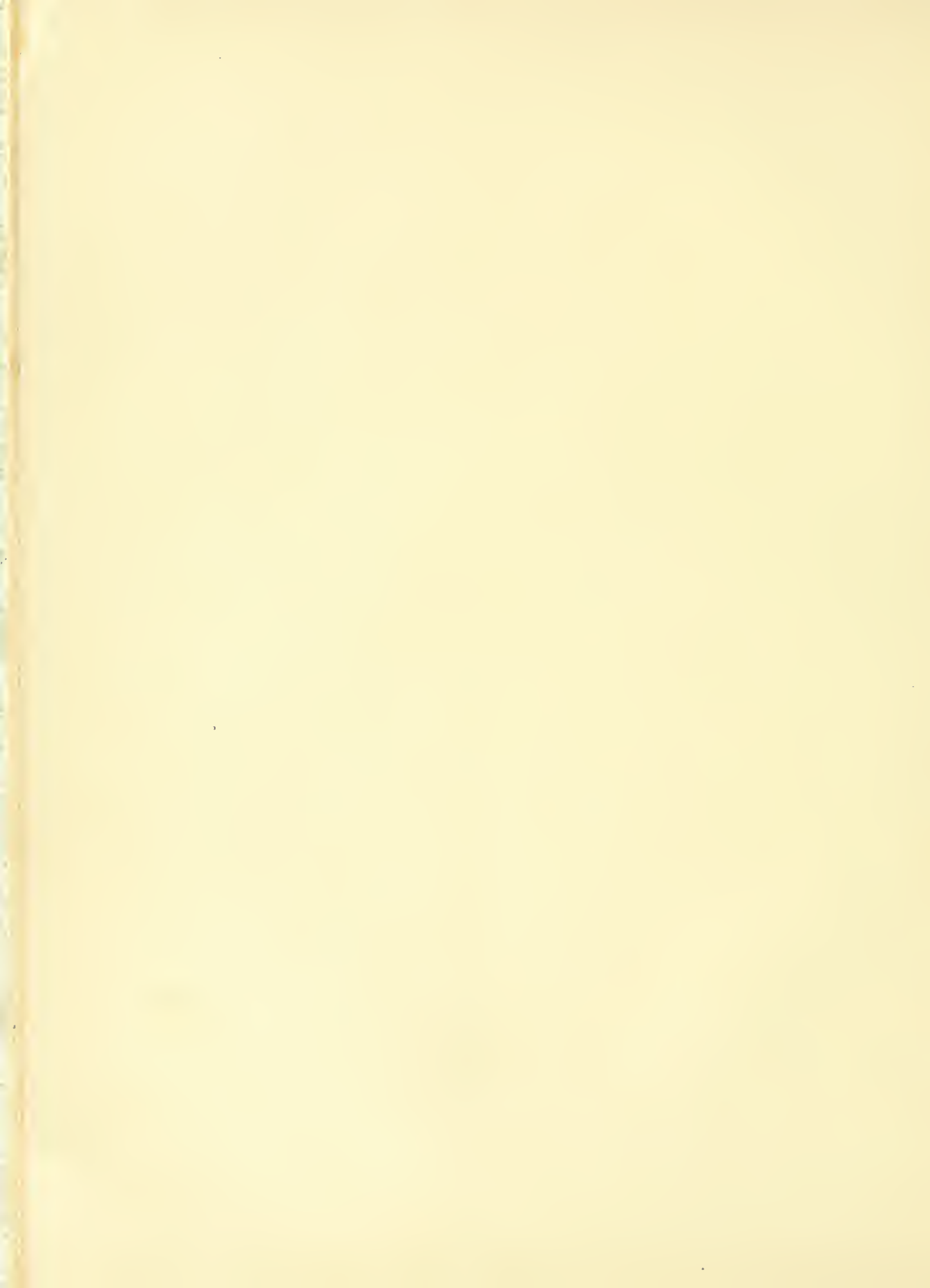
1637.

witnesse

Samuel Symonds.
Nath: Rogers.

John Wintrop
Sam: Dudley.

Cows were in those days worth about thirtye
pounds a head, but some have bin sold for
thirty or forty shillings a head
Dec. 30. 1700.



JOHN WINTHROP THE YOUNGER

I

THE parentage and family connections of the subject of this Sketch are sufficiently dealt with in easily accessible works of reference.¹ It was a happy combination of circumstances that made the eldest son of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts the founder of our town. His influential social position and his admirable personality unite to render him one of the most striking figures of the early days of Colonial history. He had just completed his twenty-seventh year when he led his little company hither, March 12, 163 $\frac{2}{3}$, to undertake the responsible task of establishing a new settlement on the frontier, exposed to imminent danger from wily Indians and to possible attacks from the French, who were in possession of Nova Scotia and were thought to be anxious to obtain a foothold in this vicinity. But young Winthrop had been well trained for his work in the wilderness as a leader of men. Born at Groton, in Suffolk, February 12, 160 $\frac{5}{8}$, he was fitted for college in the celebrated Free Grammar School founded by Edward VI. at Bury St. Edmunds, where he learned to think and act for himself, as every boy of spirit must when away from home and thrown upon his own resources. Later he acquitted himself well when a student of Trinity College, Dublin, where he was for several years under the care of his uncle Emmanuel Downing, then

¹ See, among others, the two volumes of "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," by the late Robert C. Winthrop, long ago published by Little, Brown & Co. of Boston, and the English genealogical work, entitled "Suffolk Manorial Families," more recently edited by J. J. Muskett.

resident in Ireland, and he ended by studying law in London, having been admitted a barrister of the Inner Temple, February 28, 1624 $\frac{1}{2}$. His connection with the legal profession, however, does not appear to have been satisfying, and before long he turned his thoughts to travel and adventure. Emmanuel Downing's brother Joshua was then one of the Commissioners of the Royal Navy, and by his influence Winthrop was made, in May, 1627, secretary to Captain Best of the ship of war *Due Repulse* and served with the fleet under the Duke of Buckingham for the relief of the French Protestants of La Rochelle. The mortifying failure of this expedition cut short his chance of promotion, but his maritime experiences seem to have been agreeable and he thought seriously of accompanying John Endecott on his voyage to New England in the following year. With reference to this plan his father wrote, under date of April 7, 1628:—

For your journey intended, seeing you have a resolution to go to sea, I know not where you should go with such religious company and under such hope of blessing; only I am loath you should think of settling there as yet, but to be coming and going awhile and afterward to do as God shall offer occasion. You may adventure somewhat in the plantation at present, and hereafter more, as God shall give enlargement.¹

As the elder Winthrop did not ally himself with the Massachusetts Bay Company until the following year, this discussion may have given the initial impulse toward the unsuspected career which awaited both himself and his son beyond the seas, but the latter decided to postpone his visit to the New World and devoted the next fourteen or fifteen months to European travel. The difficulties of communication were so great in those days that he mentions not having received a single line from home during his absence, but there are in print several interesting letters of his own, which show him

¹ Life and Letters of John Winthrop, vol. i. p. 252.

to have been several months in Italy, chiefly in Padua and Venice, three months in Constantinople, whence he endeavored without success to make a trip to Jerusalem, later in Holland and elsewhere.¹

Returning to London in August, 1629, he found his father resolved to cast in his lot with the Colony of which he shortly afterward became the head, and concerning which enterprise the son expressed himself as follows:—

For the business of New England, I can only say no other thing but that I believe confidently that the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord, who disposeth all alterations, by his blessed will, to his own glory and the good of his; and therefore do assure myself that all things shall work together for the best therein. And for myself, I have seen so much of the vanity of the world, that I esteem no more of the diversities of countries than as so many inns, whereof the traveller that hath lodged in the best, or in the worst, findeth no difference when he cometh to his journey's end; and I shall call that my country where I may most glorify God and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends. Therefore herein I submit myself to God's will and your's, and with your leave do dedicate myself (laying by all desire of other employments whatsoever) to the service of God and the Company herein, with the whole endeavors both of body and mind.²

The father sailed, as we know, March 30, 1630, but the son remained in England more than a year longer, in order to attend to many matters of business and negotiate the sale of landed property in Suffolk. He began about this time to develop a taste for mechanical pursuits, and one of his letters mentions that he had taken careful drawings of Landguard Fort, near Harwich, besides inventing a new variety of windmill, which latter he describes at length, adding:

If there may be made any use of it, I desire New England should reape the benefit, for whose sake it was invented. *Et soli Deo gloria.*³

¹ Life and Letters of John Winthrop, vol. i. pp. 263-275.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 306-307.

³ Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Series 5, vol. viii. pp. 23-24.

He was soon, however, to be more agreeably occupied, as on the 8th of February, 1631, he married his cousin Martha Fones, whose sister Elizabeth had previously become the wife of his brother Henry. In the following August he and his wife embarked, accompanied by his stepmother, the excellent Margaret Winthrop, with several of her children, including an infant daughter who died on the voyage. The ship (the Lyon, William Peirce master) was ten weeks at sea, reaching Nantasket on the 2d of November, but owing to a contrary wind was unable to land her passengers in Boston till the morning of the 4th, when the Governor records in his journal:—

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.¹

During the next sixteen months the Governor's journal contains but three entries relating to his eldest son: the first, March 8, 163 $\frac{1}{2}$, when the latter is mentioned as having been elected an Assistant, or, as we should now say, a member of the Executive Council;—the second, Jan. 17, 163 $\frac{2}{3}$, when an order of Court is recorded:—

That a plantation should be begun at Agawam (being the best place in the land for tillage and cattle) least an enemy finding it void should possess and take it from us. The Governour's son (being one of the Assistants) was to undertake this, and to take no more out of the Bay than twelve men; the rest to be supplied at the coming of the next ships.

¹ Winthrop's Journal, or History of New England, Savage's edition of 1853, vol. i. p. 80. A "drake" was a small piece of artillery.

The third entry, in March, 1633 $\frac{2}{3}$, runs : —

The Governour's son, John Winthrop, went, with twelve more, to begin a plantation at Agawam, after called Ipswich.¹

The probability is that, in the previous summer, Winthrop had busied himself more or less in exploring the region within reach of Boston, and that he already had some acquaintance with Essex county. Be this as it may, it would seem at first sight a cruel lot which condemned this cultured and travelled man, who had enjoyed great social advantages and had developed such scholarly tastes, to what must have been practically hard labor in a wilderness. But we shall soon see that his varied talents were destined to conspicuous usefulness, and there is reason to believe that this bright figure was the magnet which drew to the infant plantation some, at least, of its most prominent supporters, and gave our town the exceptional reputation which it enjoyed for many decades.

The early Records of Massachusetts, edited by the late Dr. Shurtleff, enumerate the persons in official attendance not merely upon General Courts, but upon the much more frequent Courts of Magistrates, and it is therein shown that Winthrop was in Boston for one or more days each in the months of May, June, July, August, and September, 1633. It is thus obvious that his residence in Ipswich at the outset could not have been continuous, and he doubtless went to and fro as occasion required. The list of those who first accompanied him contains no allusion to the good wives of the settlers, who probably remained behind while the rough beginnings of the town were being made. There has been preserved a single letter from Mrs. Winthrop in Boston, addressed "To my loving husband, M^r John Winthrop, at Agawam." It is dated only "Thursday," but must necessarily have been written in the summer or autumn of 1633. Much of

¹ Although this was the first organized settlement, straggling settlers had established themselves there long before, but they had been withdrawn by an order of the Court in September, 1630.

it is in a peculiar cipher often used by him and which he had evidently taught his wife, who adds:—

I send 4 letters that came by M^r Grant. The peices you writ for are not yet ready, but I will send them as soon as I can. I have many things to write, but at this time I am foreed to brake off by reason of the spedye returne of the mesinger.¹

Under date of Oct. 10, 1633, Governor Winthrop mentions that on that day a Mr. Grant arrived in the ship James, having been but eight weeks between Gravesend and Salem. If the "4 letters" just mentioned were brought by him, one of them must have been from Winthrop's intimate friend and occasional correspondent, Edward Howes, who wrote from London, Aug. 5, 1633:—

You shall alsoe receive in this shipp 3 wolfe doggs & a bitch, with an Irish boy to tend them . . . a verie tractable fellow, yet of a hardie and stout corage. I am perswaded he is very honest and I could wish you would take him to be your servant, although he be bound to your father for five yeares. The fellow can reade and write reasonable well, which is somwhat rare for one of his condition & makes me hope the more of him. He as yet makes conscience of Fridayes fast from flesh, and doth not love to heere the Romish religion spoken against, but I hope with Gods graace he will become a good convert.²

There are in print no less than thirty-two letters from Howes to Winthrop, all written between 1632 and 1640, many of them addressed or forwarded to Ipswich or Salem, and exhibiting the writer as a man of intelligence and humor, unwearied in sending miscellaneous articles across the Atlantic, from "Quodling apple-slips," probably destined for Essex orchards, to learned works on scientific subjects and catalogues of Leipsic booksellers. He repeatedly talked of joining his friend but could not quite bring his mind to it, for although warmly interested in the Massachusetts Colony he was not altogether sanguine about its pros-

¹ Unpublished Winthrop Papers.

² Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Series 4, vol. vi. pp. 491, 492

pects, witness the following extract from a letter of his dated March 18, 1633:—

Generally all that knowe your father wishe him well, and the most prophanest that I heare speake of him doe but pittie him for selling soe good an estate here for want and penurie in New England. It is the opinion of all straingers that knowe you not, that the most of ye are starved and the rest cominge home againe.¹

On the 24th of October, 1633, Governor Winthrop wrote:—

I bless the Lord for the continuance of yo^r healt^e & of yo^r Companye, but I am sorye to heare yo^r house is in no more forwardnesse. I doubt you will not have it fitt for habitation this winter. . . . For the steeres I sent I had worde from you to send one & I knewe you might more easily make use of 2 than one. If none of yo^r neighbo^rs can or will fitt them for yo^r owne & their use I will send for them againe. If you make but a slead, you may drawe wood & timber enough wth them. For the old corne you desire, I cañot helpe you wth above one hhd (for I have not 2 lefte) but I have bought a hhd of English meale for you, w^{ch} I will send you by the next conveyance (if you resolve to winter there) . . . For other things yo^r wife will write to you.²

This letter crossed a hurried one from Winthrop of the same date, addressed "To my deare wife M^{rs} Martha Winthrop, in Boston." The first sixteen lines are in the cipher above mentioned, but the writer concludes:—

Send the peices by William Sargeant and send Johns shirts, for he wanteth them very much; and if it be the latter end of next weeke before he cometh then send your maide and girle and Elizabeth Stratton, for the winter wilbe so neere now & the wether could, that it wilbe tedious for them to come by water. But then send a hogshhead of meale and a sacke of samp corne ready ground, if he can bring them. If not, then a sacke of meale, and make some more sackes & some for our use heere, and send some bedding wth them. If he can not bring them, then the weeke after next send them wth John Gallop, and speake to him beforehand to come to bring the maids, & lade him wth such things as you have ready, my chests and such meale as I wrote my father for as is

¹ Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Series 3, vol. ix. p. 256.

² Life and Letters of John Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 415.

ready, and all your chests & things you can spare alsoe. Pray my father to send me a sow of lead by William Sergeant. So I comend you to the helpe & protection of God, & rest

Thy loving husband,

AGAWAM, Octo: 24, 1633.

JOHN WINTHROP

Remēber my duty to my father & mother, and my love all freinds. In haste, farewell.¹

Winthrop does not appear to have been in Boston between the autumn of 1633 and the early spring of 1634, and it is clear from the foregoing letter that he got the house ready in season to receive his wife not long after, but their winter could not have failed to be one of some discomfort. On the first of April, 1634, he was in Boston at a Court, and two days later his father and he must have had a fatiguing tramp, as the former writes in his journal of April 3, that he

Went on foot to Agawam, and because the people there wanted a minister spent the Sabbath with them and exercised by way of propheey, and returned home the 10th

The Governor thus seems to have been for the better part of a week a guest in his son's home, a home which was undoubtedly a happy one and which we may assume to have now become as comfortable as its simple structure and rude surroundings admitted of. On the 3d of June the son was again in Boston. On the 20th of July he wrote from Ipswich to his father concerning some accounts received from England, taking occasion to mention a scheme of his own for exchanging beaver skins for goats, and expressing a wish for more corn, together with "some munition ordnance, muskets, carbines, pikes & such as are to be had."² He closes with remembrances to various members of his family from himself and wife, from which

¹ Unpublished Winthrop Papers.

² Of the numerous letters in existence from John Winthrop, Jr., this is one of two bearing the date "Agawam," for which reason it was given to this Society by R. C. Winthrop, Jr., in 1896. It is to be found printed in Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings, Series 2, vol. xi. p. 3.

we may reasonably infer that the latter was then in good health, but at some time between the date of this letter and October, — probably in the latter part of August or early in September, — Mrs. Winthrop and her little daughter sickened and died, and were laid away somewhere in the Old Burying ground.¹ It is greatly to be regretted that there exists no authentic portrait of this lady, the date of whose death and the precise spot of whose interment have thus far failed to be identified.

This sudden bereavement caused an entire change in Winthrop's plans. It is not to be wondered at that he felt impelled to exchange his desolate home for other scenes and occupations, and his father not improbably suggested that he might make himself of use to the Colony in the mother country. On the 6th of October, 1634, he attended a Court in Boston and shortly afterward sailed for England in the same ship with Rev. John Wilson, a letter to him from his father, dated Nov. 6, 1634, showing he had then been gone some time. On the 12th of December the Governor wrote him: —

M^r Ward continues at your house this winter, and M^r Clerk (to give him content) in his own. M^r Cl. finds much fault with your servants John and Sarah, and tells me they will not earn their bread, and that Ned is worth them all.²

“Ned” was an Indian whom Winthrop had been permitted by the General Court to take into his service, with the right to supply him “with a peece to shoote att fowle.” “M^r Ward” was our distinguished townsman, Rev. Nathaniel Ward, who had become Minister of Ipswich not long before. “M^r Clerk” was William Clarke, one of the earliest settlers, who had apparently been acting as Winthrop's agent, and whose name is signed to an inventory of the personal effects and live stock the latter left behind him, prepared, it would seem, after his depar-

¹ The Records of Boston contain no reference to this child, who is believed to have been born in Ipswich not long before her mother's death.

² Life and Letters of John Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 126.

ture, and endorsed in the handwriting of his father. This is believed to be the earliest of Ipswich inventories, ante-dating by many years those of Mathew Whipple, Joseph Morse, John Whittingham, and Nathaniel Rogers, and it is therefore of peculiar interest to students, illustrating as it does the unassuming surroundings of a Puritan leader at the outset of a new settlement.¹ One thing about it is noticeable, the absence of any mention of the books known to have been sent to Winthrop by friends in London, or those he must have brought with him from England. Many of them, however, may have been packed in the "2 great chests naled upp," or the "1 chest 1 trunk w^{ch} I had ord^r not to open."²

II

Mention of the Inventory just alluded to suggests a natural inquiry as to the precise location of the house in question, and in view of the loose statements often to be found in print concerning supposed homes of our forefathers, coupled with the fact that Winthrop was a land-owner in different parts of Ipswich, it is desirable to treat this subject at some length: —

1. A tradition of uncertain age, which has still some currency, identifies the ancient Burnham house, now owned and occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Perley B. Lakeman, as the home of John Winthrop, Jr., and a heliotype of it as such embellishes the published "Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Town of Ipswich, Massachusetts" in 1884. This tradition would seem disproved by evidence.

¹ On account of its local interest it was given to this Society by R. C. Winthrop, Jr., and is to be found printed both in Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings, Series 2, vol. xi. pp. 4-6, and in Publications of the Ipswich Historical Society, V. pp. 24-26.

² He is stated to have had stored in Boston, in 1640, no less than one thousand volumes. Several hundreds of them — some very rare and curious — are still in existence and testify to the learning and wide intellectual interests of their original possessor.

In 1636 the town granted to George Giddings sixteen acres of meadow and upland "having the highway to Cheboky on the North East." The region often called Argilla was at the outset variously known as Chebacco, Cheboky, Jeboque, etc., the name "further Chebacco" being applied to what is now Essex. The grant to Giddings was on the south west side of the Argilla road, about a mile from the town. In June, 1667, Giddings sold this property to Thomas Burnham "including my dwelling-house where said Thomas now liveth and twelve acres bounded by land of M^r Jonathan Wade towards the North, land of Nathaniel Rogers towards the West and South, and the highway leading to Chebacco on the East."¹ The estate was held by successive generations of Burnhams until purchased by the present owners, and there is nothing on record to show that Winthrop ever owned it or any land in its immediate vicinity. It may be added that the house has been pronounced by Dr. Lyon of Hartford, an expert in Colonial architecture, to have been built not earlier than the latter part of the seventeenth century, though it perhaps contains some timbers of the original structure.

2. Winthrop undoubtedly owned two considerable outlying farms, — each of about three hundred acres, — respectively known as Argilla and Castle Hill farms, — the former about two miles from the town, near Labour in Vain creek, the latter, much more distant, near Ipswich Beach. Both were ultimately sold by him to his brother-in-law Samuel Symonds, and there is not a particle of evidence that he had previously lived on either. On the contrary, his deeds to Symonds mention no dwelling-houses, and at the time of the Argilla purchase Symonds wrote Winthrop at length about a house he intended to build.²

¹ Essex Deeds, 11: 217.

² Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 4, vol. vii. pp. 118-121. In "Ipswich Antiquarian Papers" for September, 1883, is a wood-cut entitled "Castle Hill Farm-house built by John Winthrop, Jr.," but no authority is cited for this statement and the edifice depicted is much more likely to have been built by Daniel Eppes, who bought the farm of his step-father Samuel Symonds in 1660. See Essex Deeds, 2: 260.

3. A third estate of Winthrop's, — smaller, but nearer the original settlement, — consisted of “six acres of land lying near the River on the South side thereof.” This is one of the earliest grants for tillage or house-lot mentioned in existing Town Records, but it was not made until 1634. In 1686 the widow of Rev. John Rogers, President of Harvard College, owned and occupied an estate on the west side of the open Green now known as the South Green, or School-house Green, and in the same year she claimed part of the land “outside a line drawn from M^r Saltonstall's fence” and some land “at the end of the new orchard before the land of William Avory, all this upon the satisfaction of a grant to M^r Winthrop of six acres of land in 1634.” The town voted her £10 and provided “that the said land laid downe shall lie common and be not impropriated by any particular future grant to any person or persons.” It is evident that Winthrop's grant bordered on, if it did not comprise, the South Green, and it apparently included not merely the fine open meadow long part of the Heard estate, but the property at present bounded by Poplar, County, and School streets.¹ This would have made a very sightly location for his dwelling, but there is not a line of record, not even a floating tradition, that he ever built there. On the contrary, a few years later he disposed of part of it, as shown by a list of property of Samuel Symonds, prepared by himself in 1645, which includes

a parcel of one and a half acres which said parcel was part of M^r John Winthrop's six acre lot there granted him by the freemen of the town, granted by Winthrop to Symonds by deed 24 October 1638.

4. The house alluded to by Governor Winthrop as approaching completion in October, 1633, on a site selected by his son in the previous March, must have been erected on what is specifi-

¹ For further particulars of this locality, see a paper entitled “A group of old houses near the South Green,” in Publications of the Ipswich Historical Society, V. pp. 57-66.

cally mentioned in the Town Records of 1639 as "M^r Winthrop's house-lot at the East End," — in other words, north of the river and not south of it. The broad and spacious thoroughfare known in earliest times as "y^e Hill street" and "ye Longe street," later as High Street, terminated at its respective extremities by streets known as the "West End" and the "East End," the latter designation surviving in the modern East Street. This East End bordered on a choice stretch of gently sloping hill-side lying on the warm southerly side of the Town Hill, divided at the outset into building-lots, mostly of about two acres each. Including Winthrop, five of the ten men of the original company whose names have been preserved, chose land in this immediate neighborhood,¹ and the three whose names are unknown may have dwelt here also. The common safety required that the pioneers should not be far from one another, and the ideal location for the leader of the little settlement would seem to have been on the sunny slope whence he could climb in a few minutes to its airy summit and sweep the horizon for the sails of incoming trading vessels or French ships or Indian canoes, besides being only a little way from the river, the principal thoroughfare in those days and from which were drawn supplies of fish, clams, lobsters, and oysters. Here there is abundant reason to believe that Winthrop built. For instance, in the letter from Symonds to him in 1637 already referred to, the former twice mentions the latter's "neighbor Boreman," implying that they were near neighbors, and it is in evidence that in 1635 the two-acre house-lot of Thomas Boreman at the East End was bounded on the north east by the house-lot of John Winthrop, Jr., and on the south west by the house-lot of William Bartholomew. The Town Records show that in 1639 Bartholomew deeded this lot, with dwelling-house, cow-house, etc., to Lionel Chute, the village schoolmaster, and it would

¹ The other four were William Clarke, Thomas Howlet, Thomas Hardy, and Robert Coles.

lend a romantic interest to the spot if we knew that he kept his school there.¹

In 1647 Thomas Boreman sold his house and land to Philip Longe, the former Winthrop lot being then owned or occupied by "Mr Wade," presumably Jonathan Wade, one of the principal men of the town, while James Chute, son of Lionel, owned the Bartholomew lot.² This last was sold, in 1692, by another James Chute, grandson of Lionel, to the leading merchant of that day, John Wainwright, who acquired lands adjoining until his homestead included some fourteen acres.³ The deed from Chute to Wainwright recites that the purchaser had previously bought the former Boreman lot, which had been sold in 1648 to William Norton and had subsequently been owned by Nathaniel Piper. It appears, however, that John Wainwright actually resided, not upon his Bartholomew-Chute lot nor upon his Boreman-Longe lot, but upon the Winthrop-Wade lot, witness a deed of his father shortly to be referred to.

By the original grants there were five house-lots between Brook Street (sometimes called Spring Street) and that of John Winthrop, the latter's being nearest the road to Great Neck, but all running up the slope of the Town Hill. The first, on the corner of Brook Street, has to-day a frontage of 105 feet. The second (still owned by the descendants of Thomas Harris, who

¹ There seems to have been no separate building for this purpose until 1653, when Robert Paine built one at his own expense.

² Ipswich Deeds, I: 123.

³ Ipswich Deeds, V: 552. In 1739 Samuel Wainwright, son of John, owned the lot, his daughter Elizabeth inheriting it. (Essex Deeds, 79: 237.) June 15, 1792, Dr. John Manning sold it to Nathaniel Kinsman, the deed describing it as containing 2½ acres and three rods, with boundaries that make the location certain, and it is further identified as the lot set off to James Winthrop, Administrator of the estate of his uncle Samuel Winthrop (grandson of John Wainwright) towards justifying an execution in his favor against Elizabeth Wainwright, which execution was afterward released by James Winthrop to his brother William and by the latter to John Manning by an instrument dated June 7, 1792. (Essex Deeds, 152: 81.) John Kinsman, son of Nathaniel, sold it to Joseph Hovey, whose daughter, Mrs. John Roberts, now owns and occupies it. The pedigree of this Bartholomew lot is therefore complete from 1635 to the present time.

bought it of William Symonds in 1648) includes about two acres and has a frontage of 135 feet. The third, now divided into two, has a frontage of 144 feet; the fourth (Bartholomew) of 106 feet; and the fifth (Boreman) of 101 feet. It is a reasonable inference that these were the original dimensions, and that the Boreman lot touched Winthrop's at the present line of division between the estate of the late Tyler R. Caldwell and that of Mr. Francis Hovey, the Winthrop lot including Mr. Hovey's land, the lower end of the present Wainwright Street, and the vacant lot on Wainwright and East streets. It is eminently probable that the leader of the Colony, and a man of such prominence as the Governor's son, would have been originally assigned more than the average two acres, and while there is no record of any grant, we may safely assume that the dimensions of his house-lot had not changed when sold, in 1654, to John Johnson by Richard Wells of Salisbury. The latter's deed describes a house and six acres of land, with Nathaniel Piper as the western abuttor and John Leighton on the other side.¹ The same property, including a house and seven acres of land, was sold by William Buckley to Elizabeth Bridgham of Boston, Nov. 24, 1671.² A few months later, Feb. 27, 167½, Jonathan Bridgham sold it to Francis Wainwright,³ who twenty years later (April 4, 1691) conveyed it to his son John, the deed reciting that John then occupied the house and had been promised the gift of it as far back as the time of his marriage.⁴

John Wainwright died in 1708, and before 1746 his heirs had

¹ Ipswich Deeds, I: 564.

² Ipswich Deeds, III: 197.

³ Ipswich Deeds, III: 243.

⁴ Ipswich Deeds, V: 450. He had married, March 10, 1675, Elizabeth, daughter of William Norton, and grand-daughter of Emmanuel Downing, by his second wife, Lucy Winthrop, aunt of John Winthrop, Jr. The association of this estate with the family of its original possessor was continued later on by the marriage, Nov. 7, 1700, of John Wainwright's daughter Anne to a grand-nephew of John Winthrop, Jr., Adam Winthrop, long Colonel of the Boston regiment and a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

sold the land,¹ on which an ancient cellar believed to have been his is still visible. The splendor of his establishment is still the theme of local tradition, but to the lover of New England history a greater interest attaches to the simpler structure which stood on, or near, the same site, when the country around was an almost unbroken wilderness and when pioneer life was full of hardship and danger. Here was the centre of Ipswich social life during the first years. Hither in breathless haste came the messenger with tidings of an impending attack by the Tarratines upon Quarter-master Perkins's Island, now called Treadwell's. The first funeral procession of which we have any record in the little settlement bore hence, in 1634, a young wife and her infant to their unknown graves in the Old Burial ground. The time, we may hope, is not far distant when some worthy memorial may be erected to mark a spot fraught with so much enduring interest to our whole community, and to the larger circle to whom the character and career of John Winthrop the younger are winsome and inspiring.

III

The vessel in which Winthrop sailed from Boston in the autumn of 1634 was bound for Barnstaple in the West of England but was driven by a storm to the Irish coast. He therefore landed at Galway and availed himself of this opportunity to visit friends in Dublin and elsewhere, crossing from the North of Ireland to Scotland and travelling thence by road to London, interviewing on this journey influential persons well affected to the Puritan cause, "whose thoughts," as his father records, "were towards New England, who observed his coming among them as

¹ Essex Deeds, 99: 46, show that, May 3, 1746, a house, eight acres and three rods of land, "being the homestead formerly Col. Jo. Wainwright's," was sold by Chambers Russell of Charlestown to Francis Sayer, or Sawyer, whose son and grandson successively owned it for many years.

a special Providence of God.”¹ At Antrim, for instance, he was the guest of that zealous Presbyterian Sir John Clotworthy, M. P., who subsequently became first Lord Massareene, — at Ancrum in Scotland of Rev. John Livingstone, ancestor of the distinguished American family of that name, — in Yorkshire, of Sir Mathew Boynton, M. P., afterward an active supporter of the Parliamentary cause, but who then thought seriously of emigrating to New England, though he progressed no farther than sending out live stock and servants.²

A few months later he was empowered by his father’s friends, Lords Say and Brook, to begin a plantation in Connecticut, they guaranteeing him men, ammunition, and money for this purpose, and investing him with an official commission, dated July 15, 1635, which constituted him Governor of the River Connecticut, with the places adjoining thereto, for one year after his arrival. Before sailing, he took to himself a second wife, much younger than himself, in the person of Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Reade, of Wickford, in Essex, and step-daughter of Rev. Hugh Peter.³ He and his wife reached Boston in the ship *Abigail*, October 6, 1635, in company with his step-father-in-law Peter and young Henry Vane, who in the following May became Governor of the Massachusetts Colony. Early in November he sent forward an advance-party of twenty men to build at Saybrook a fort, the command of which he soon after intrusted to the well-known Lion Gardiner, but as large re-inforcements were expected from England, he himself remained behind to complete his preparations and did not take up his residence in Connecticut until the following March. A letter from his father on the 28th of that month mentions that his son’s wife was then in Boston, where on the

¹ Winthrop’s History of New England, Savage’s edition of 1853, pp. 205–206.

² For letters to Winthrop at this period from Boynton, Clotworthy, Livingstone, and others, see the seventh volume of the fourth Series of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the first volume of the fifth Series.

³ Her sister Martha became the second wife of Samuel Symonds; her brother Thomas, some time of Salem, became a Colonel in the Parliamentary army; and her sister Margaret, widow of John Lake, died in Ipswich in 1672.

24th of July she was brought to bed of a daughter Elizabeth, who has been sometimes erroneously stated to have been born in Ipswich. On the 4th of this latter month he had been commissioned by Governor Vane to treat with the Pequots,¹ and there is an undated letter from his wife about the same time, telling him her time is nearer than he supposes, that her mother is with her, that she has received a letter from him, that it would refresh her heavy and sad spirit to see his dear face again, and hoping that he will despatch his business and return home as soon as the Lord shall see it fitting. He is stated to have travelled at the risk of his life through a hostile Indian country to pay her a flying visit, and he is recorded to have been present at a Court in Boston on the 6th of September. Whether he then went back to Saybrook is doubtful. His commission as Governor technically expired in November, but the hardships had been great, the re-inforcements inadequate, and he took no steps to have it renewed. On the 6th of November, his deputy, Lion Gardiner, wrote him : —

I have received your letter, whearein I doe understand that you are not like to returne, and accordinge to your order I have sent your ser-vaunts Robeart and Sara. . . . I have sent your coves up to the plantations with 2 oxen ; 2 of them we have killed and eaten, with the goates. The enemie got a ram goate and all the greate swine, 22, in one day, and had gotten all the sheep and coves likewise, had we not sallid out. . . . Heare is not 5 shillings of money and noe bevor. I pray lett us not want money or victualls, that some things may goe forward.²

On the 13th of December, 1636, he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the Essex regiment of which John Endicott was Colonel, and that he had then, or soon after, returned to live in Ipswich is apparent from the fact that two months later, February 1637, he was chosen one of the prudential men of the

¹ His instructions are printed in Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 3, vol. iii. pp. 129-131. The same volume contains Lion Gardiner's interesting "Relation of the Pequot Warres," with allusions to both John Winthrop, Jr. and his brother Stephen. See also a letter from Vane to Winthrop in Series 4, vol. vi.

² Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Series 4, vol. vii. pp. 52-54.

town. He had been away more than two years, and the disappointment caused by this protracted absence is evidenced in a marked degree by a noteworthy and pathetic letter to him from Rev. Nathaniel Ward, dated only "Ipswich, Dec. 24.", but evidently written in 1635, when Winthrop was first preparing to go to Saybrook. The purpose of it was to disclose a not altogether satisfactory state of things.

Our towne of late [Mr. Ward writes] but somewhat too late, have bene carefull on whome they bestowe lotts, being awakned therto by the confluence of many ill & doubtfull persons, & by their behaviour since they came, in drinking & pilferinge. . . . The reasons which move our freemen to be very considerate in the disposall of lotts & admission of people to us are thes: first, we conceive the lesse of Satan's kingdome we have in our towne, the more of Gods presenee & blessinge we may expect. 2^y, we have respect to the ereditt of our Church & towne, from which we heare there are too many unjust detractions in the bay, to serve their own ends. 3^y, we consider our towne as a by or porte towne of the land, remote from neighbours, & had neede to be strong & of a homogeneous spirit & people, as free from dangerous persons as we may. Lastly, our thoughts & feares growe very sadd to see such multitudes of idle & profane young men, servants & others, with whome we must leave our children, for whose sake & safty we came over, & who came with us from the land of their nativity, their freinds & many other comforts which their birthright intituled them to, relying upon our love, wisdome & care to repay them all in this wilderness either in speeie or compensations; but I must confesse it sinks us almost to the grave to looke upon the next generation to whome we must leave them & the fruite of our adventures, labours, & counsells. We knowe this might have bene easily prevented by due & tymely eare of such as had the opportunity in their hand; & if it be not yet remedied, we & many others must not only say, with grief, we have made an ill change, even from the snare to the pitt. . . .

We have our eyes upon you magistrats to helpe us: & now, good S^r, give me leave wth patience to tell you, w^t I did before you went to England, y^t your absence hath bredd us much sorrowe, & your stil goinge from us to Connecticote doth much discourage us. I feare your tye or obligation to this State & in speeiall to this towne is more then you did well consider when you ingaged your selfe anoth^r way, & I feare your indeavo^rs that way will not be *operac ac spci pretium*. I am in a dreame,

at least not awake, if it be the way of God for so many to desert this place, turning their backs upon us, & to seeke the good of their cattell more then of Comth, & my thoughts are that God doth justly rebuke our State by the losse of so many men, vessells, & victualls in a tyme of dearthe, for their facility in giving way to their departure. For your parte, we looke & long for you here & are in a misery for the want of you. The Lord bring you in his season, & in the meane tyme afford you his p'sence & blessinge whereever you are. . . .

I heare M^r Coddington hath the saile & disposall of much provision come in this shipp. I entreate you to do so much as to speake to him in my name to reserve some meale & malt, & what victualls els he thinks meete, til our river be open. Our Church will pay him duely for it. I am very destitute, I have not above 6 bushells corne left, & oth^r things answerable.¹

So gentle and loving an appeal from a man so capable of keen satire and fearless rebuke, betokens a profound regard on his part, and throughout the town, for their young leader; but, as we have seen, they had to wait another twelvemonth.

In the summer of 1637 arose a fresh occasion of disquiet, from a rumor that Winthrop was about to be appointed to the responsible post of Commander of the Castle at Boston, which would have taken him much away from Ipswich and probably have necessitated the removal of his family. What foundation there was for this report can not now be ascertained. Governor Winthrop had felt deeply the successive deaths of his second and third sons since his departure from England; the fourth, Stephen, had been much absent; while the younger ones had as yet no experience of affairs. He might thus have preferred that his eldest son should live nearer to him; but if such a plan was ever entertained, nothing came of it at that time, which may have been due to the following petition, signed by fifty-seven of the principal inhabitants of Ipswich.

To our much honored Gov^r & Counsellors at Boston, these.

Our humble duties & respects premised: understanding there is an Intention to call M^r Winthrop Jun from us & to remitt the Custody of

¹ Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Series 4, vol. vii. pp. 24-26.

the Castle to him, we could not, out of the entire affection we beare to him & his welfare, but become earnest petitioner^s to your worship^s that you would not deprive our Church & Towne of one whose presence is so gratefull & usefull to us. It was for his sake that many of us came to this place & wthout him we should not have come. His abode with us hath made our abode here much more comfortable than otherwise it would have bene. M^r Dudley's leaving us hath made us much more desolate & weake than we were, & if we should loose anothr magistrate it would be too great a grief to us & breach upon us, & not a magistrate only but our Lieutenant Colonell so beloved of our Soldiour^s & military men that this remote Corner would be left destitute & desolate. Neith^r can we conceive but that this removall from us will much prejudice & unsettle him; the place he is chosen unto we feare will neith^r mayntaine him & his company comfortably nor prove certaine to him, but upon sundray occasions mutable. It would be very uncomfortable to him, as we suppose, to live upon others maintenāce, or to neglect that portion of land & love which God hath given him amongst us. The improvall of his estate here we hope will prove a better & surer support then a yearly stipend from the country, w^{ch} hath groaned much under the burthen of that Fort already. We find his affections great & constant to our Towne & we hope ours shall never faile towards him & his. We therefore humbly beseech you that we may still injoy him, & that you would not expose him to so solitary a life & a place where we hope there will not be much use of him; nor us to the losse & want of one so much desired of us. The distance we are sett in hath made us earnest for the company of able men & as loath to loose them when we have obtained them.

Thus hoping you will please to consider & tender our condition, we humbly take our leaves, resting

You^r worp^s in all due serviss,

RICHARD SALTONSTALL.

NATH^l WARDE.

JOHN NORTON.

DANIELL DENISON.

SAMUELL APPLETON.

THOMAS BRESSYE.

ROBERTT ANDREWES.

JOSEPH MORSE.

CHRISTOPHER OSGOOD.

JOHN PERKINS, Jouner.

W: HUBBARD.

JONATHAN WADE.

WILLIAM WHITE.

JOHN PIRKINES, Senar.

RICHARD JACOB.	GEORGE CAR.
PHILIP FOWLER.	JOHN TUTTELL.
WILLIAM GOODHUE.	RICHARD HAFFIELD.
ROGER LANCTON.	GEORGE GIDDINGS.
THOMAS DORMAN.	EDWARD GARDNER.
JOSEPH MEDCALFE.	JOHN SATCHWELL.
THOMAS BORMAN.	JOHN SAUNDERS.
JOHN WEBSTER.	JOHN SEVERNES.
ROBERT LORD.	ANTONY COLBY.
THOMAS WELLS.	ROBERT MUSSY.
JOHN GASSETT.	JOHN PEEKINS.
JOHN COGGSWELL.	NATHANIELL BISHOP.
HUMFRIE BRODSTREE.	JOHN COVENTUN.
THOMAS COOKE.	ALLEN PERLEY.
HUGHE SHERRATT.	JOHN PROCTER.
EDWARD KATCHHAM.	THOMAS HOWLITT.
THOMAS CLARK.	WILLIAM FULLER.
JOHN GAGE.	ALEXANDER KNIGHT.
WILLIAM BARTHOLOMEW.	THOMAS HARDY.
MICHAEL CATHERITE.	
HENRI PINNDR.	
SAMUELL SHARMAN.	
JOHN JHONSON.	
THOMAS FRENCH.	

Some of us that are members of the Church at Boston are bold to layme this promise from M^r Winthrop for whome we write, that if we would come hith^r wth him he would not forsake us but live & die wth us. Upon these promises we came wth him to beginn this plantation, and they were made to us upon the proposall of our feares that when we were drawne hith^r he should be called way from us. And we both desire and hope that they may be alwayes remembered & p^rformed.¹

A careful comparison of the manuscript of this petition with that of Nathaniel Ward's letter just quoted, shows that they were

¹ This manuscript was found among the Winthrop Papers and was first published in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for January, 1887, when several signatures were inaccurately printed. On account of its local interest the original was then given to the Library of the Essex Institute, but a facsimile is here inserted. So far as the contemporary indorsement can be deciphered it reads "Ipsw^{ch} Letter &c" in the handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr., but as a modern indorsement was added at the close of the last century, the cover and superscription are not reproduced.

Our humble duties & respects promised: And understanding you is
an Intention to call M^r Jameson from us & to commit the
Custody of the Castle to him, we could not but out of your kind
affection we heard to him & his necessity but become earnest
petitioners to your wisdome that you would not deprive our
Country of one of our best persons is, gratefull & useful
to us, It was for his sake that many of us came to his place
on your side we should not have named: his abode is not here
made one abode more secure comfortable than any where it
would have been: his dwelling being at his place is more
more absolute & safe than any where, & if we should lose such a
magistrate it would be too great a grief to us: yet a magistrate
only but our Lieutenant Colonel & Colonel of some Soldiers
& military men that his removal would be left to his
disposal, which from us somewhat ^{but} that removal from us
will more prejudice & trouble him, he shall be as before but
we fear will with many more from & his removal, somewhat
not grow certain to him, but upon finding occasions suitable
It would be good, & profitable to him, let us suppose to live
upon his own estate, or to us, let us suppose the land
& land very good, & his own quiet, & his own
of his estate, & his own well grow a better & further
support him a year, & his own from his own, & his
ground, & his own, & his own, & his own, & his own
we find his affection & great constant to our Country, & his
own, & his own, & his own, & his own, & his own
quench his thirst, & his own, & his own, & his own
would not expose him to so solitary a life, & his own
we hope you will not be weary of him: nor us so
less want of one so many wanted & desired of us
& distant, & his own, & his own, & his own, & his own
company of able men, & his own, & his own, & his own
obtained him: His own, & his own, & his own, & his own
further our condition, & his own, & his own, & his own
you & his own in all directions

JUNE 21 1637

Richard Saltonstall
Nathl Wards

Daniel Denison

Samuel Appleton

Thomas Prentice

Robert Andrews

Joseph Morse

Christopher Cogswell

John Robert Johnson

James Farley

Henry Fowler

William Goddard

John Jamieson

Thomas Jordan

Joseph Medford

Clara Bowman

John Webster

Robert Lord

Thomas Merrill

John Gaffett

John Cogswell

Thompson 26 North

Thomas Cook

George Sprague

Edmund G. Smith

James Clark

John Page

William Hart

Michael Smith

Samuel Sherman

John Johnson

W. Hubbard

Samuel Wade

William White

John Kirkland

George Case

John C. Cutler

Richard Hoopes

George Giddings

Edmund Gardner

John Dechert

John Saunders

John Severn

John Colby

Robert Miller

John Smith

William Smith

John Smith

John Smith

John Smith

John Smith

John Smith

John Smith

John Smith

John Smith

Some of us get into members of the Society at Boston and had
to sleep on the promise from Mr. [unclear] for [unclear]
write get, if we would some [unclear] we would not
forsake it, but live [unclear] upon the promise [unclear]
my own to [unclear] plantation. [unclear] [unclear] to us
[unclear] upon the proposal of our friends get upon the [unclear]
[unclear] [unclear] [unclear] should be called away from us. [unclear]
and by [unclear] [unclear] get [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]
[unclear] [unclear] /

both written by the same person, though in the former the writing is more hurried, as if the writer were in haste. However complimentary to Winthrop may be the body of the document, the postscript from some of the signers embodies a serious charge, in view of his ultimate removal from the town. All that can be said with certainty is that there is not known to exist any evidence in support of it. He appears to have headed the Agawam plantation in 1633 only at the desire of his father and his colleagues in the magistracy. It does not seem probable that so cautious a man as Governor Winthrop would have consented that his favorite son should pin himself down, at the age of twenty-seven, "to live and die" in what was then a remote corner of New England. It seems fair, therefore, to assume that some misapprehension existed with regard to the precise language made use of at the outset, and that no distinct pledge was given on the subject.

Winthrop was probably absent when the petition was signed, as he is recorded to have attended a Court in Boston only a fortnight before. During the spring and summer of 1637 he attended five such Courts. A long letter to him from Samuel Symonds, — without date, but undoubtedly written before December 14, 1637,¹ — shows that he had just sold his brother-in-law his Argilla farm, — part apparently of the tract referred to in the first of the two Indian deeds, — but that this sale indicated no purpose of immediate removal is clear from a postscript to the same letter where Symonds writes, "my wife is very glad that she shalbe your neighbor at Ipswich." A little later the following entry appears in the Town Records, under date of Jan. 13, 1637:—

Granted to M^r John Winthrope, Castle Hill and all meadow and marsh lying within the creeke, provided y^t he lives in the Towne and that the Towne may have what they shall need for the building of a Fort.

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 4, vol. vii. pp. 118-121.

Much obscurity attaches to this Castle Hill grant. Felt (not always accurate) assigns to it the date Feb. 11, 163 $\frac{8}{8}$, while Samuel Symonds, writing long afterward, as will appear, says it was Aug. 6, 1638. The probability is that there were several grants, confirmatory or explanatory of one another. The matter might be cleared up if the Reverend Hugh Peter had been in the habit of fully dating his letters. From "Salem, 5 day" (in what month and year we can only conjecture) he wrote Governor Winthrop:—

I was at Ipswich where the towne have dealt very nobly with your son, & given him another farme neere the towne called Castle-hill, where he hath 100 akers of meadow, & all intire to himselfe; but of this he hath written to you.¹

It is unfortunate that this letter from Winthrop to his father has never been found, as it would probably have explained much that is now uncertain and perhaps have shown that the condition "provided he live in the town" was intended to be construed liberally, or to be subsequently released. It was perhaps in answer to it, though Castle Hill is not referred to, that Gov. Winthrop wrote, Jan. 22, 163 $\frac{7}{8}$, to "my very loving son M^r John Winthrop at Ipswich":

I received your letter, and heartily rejoice and bless the Lord for his merciful providence towards us all in delivering your wife from so greate a danger. The Lord make us truely thankfull. And I hope it will teach my daughter and other women to take heed of putting pins in the mouth, which was never seasonable to be fed with such morsels. . . . We have appointed the General Court the 12 of the 1 moneth. [March 12. 163 $\frac{7}{8}$] We shall expect you here before the Court of Assistants. I send you herein the warrant for Ipswich and Newbury. Commend me to your brother and sister Dudley.²

That he took his wife with him when he started to attend this Court of Assistants seems clear from the fact that his first son,

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 1, vol. vi. p. 163.

² Life and Letters of John Winthrop, vol. ii. pp. 217-218.

who lived to figure very prominently in Connecticut history, was born two days after the General Court met. A family tradition of uncertain date assigns this birth to Ipswich, but the Records of Baptisms in Boston printed in recent years include the following entry in the year 1638:—

Fitz-John, son of M^r John & Elizabeth Winthrop, born 14th 1st month. [March 14. 1638 $\frac{2}{3}$.]

IV

Although Ipswich, as already stated, was considered “the best place in the Bay for tillage and cattle,” yet Winthrop appears to have made up his mind at the outset, that the prosperity of all parts of New England would be best served by the encouragement of commercial and manufacturing pursuits. As early as September 3, 1633, he had liberty “to sett upp a trucking-house upp Merrymak ryver;”¹ in the following summer we find him trading in furs;² while on the 25th of June, 1638, he received authority to set up salt-works at Ryall-Side, then part of Salem though now of Beverly, where he was allowed wood enough to carry on the works and pasture for two cows.³ How long it took him to get these works in operation is uncertain, but that he had just taken up his abode there in May, 1639, would appear from the following letter, which presents a pleasing domestic picture:—

To my deare Wife M^{rs} Elizabeth Winthrop, at Boston.

MY DEARE WIFE, — When my brother Stephen went hence I was not up nor well, so that I could not write to thee. I thank God I am now much better than I was when he left me. Though I muche desire to enjoy thy company, yet I would not have thee cross thy intentions in staying till that time be passed. I hope to fetch thee home myself, but am yet prevented.

¹ Records of Mass., vol. i. p. 108.

² See *ante*, p. 8.

³ Felt's History of Ipswich, p. 73.

I can gett no garden inclosed nor digged, but I heare that in newe ground it is best to begin when the weedes are sprung up, for then they will be all killed and growe no more that yeare. Put my brother Stephen in minde to send me my carbine, as he promised me. So with my best affections and love to thee I commende thee to the Lord, and rest

Thine in my best affections,

J. WINTHROP.

From the Salt House, Monday morning.

My duty to my mother. My love to my brothers & all friends forget not. My blessing to Betty and Fitz. My brother Stephen hath promised to bringe thee home when thou comest.¹

As he is recorded to have attended a Court in Boston May 22, 1639, it is conjectured that he had taken this opportunity to leave his wife and children at his father's until the Ryall-Side house was ready for them. Two other undated letters followed. In the first of them he tells his father that he "expected my wife and her little ones by the last pinnace." She had evidently joined him before the second letter was written, as in it she sends messages to friends in Boston.² There has been preserved his rough draft of a Latin letter to his friend Professor Golius of Leyden, introducing young Francis Higginson who was about to study in Europe. It is distinctly dated "Salemi in Nova Anglia, Novemb: 20. 1639," and a little later Winthrop is for the first time addressed by his friend Edward Howes as "at his house in Salem, or elsewhere." All this implies that his domicile was transferred to Salem in the spring of 1639, but no efforts to discover precisely when he sold or leased his Ipswich house have

¹ This letter was first printed by Savage in the Appendix to the first volume of Winthrop's New England, and the date tentatively assigned to it was "May 1638 or 1639." It was subsequently ascertained that the salt-works were not undertaken as early as the spring of 1638, and that Stephen Winthrop was then absent in England. There can hardly be a doubt that 1639 was the year.

² These two letters were printed many years ago in the eighth volume of the Fifth Series of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, the editors of which assumed them to have been written from Ipswich. Subsequent investigation showed that the persons mentioned were not of Ipswich and that the words "heere" and "of this towne" apply to Salem.

thus far proved successful. That he had not wholly severed his connection with the town is shown by the following letter to him from Rev. Ezekiel Rogers:—

HONOURED SIR,—I was at Ipswich this weeke to have attended on you, but you were gone to the Court before I came. I humbly thanke you for your kinde purpose to have seene our poore towne. In regard of your many buisnesses, much company, & short time, I could not expect such a favour at this time. But God may afford some opportunity, when you may have more freedome. The season yesterday & this day hath hindred my fixed resolutions of wayting on you, my body being not strong, especially since my sicknesse. Therefore I beseech you to excuse me, & so with my service to yourselfe & the rest of our honoured magistrates, I committ you to God, & rest

At your Commande,

Ez: ROGERS.¹

The reference to his “many buisnesses, much company, and short time” indicates that he was then a good deal on the move, and he certainly had reason to be, in view of an unexpected disaster, intelligence of which undoubtedly reached him early that autumn, though it did not become common talk till later. Unlike his father and grandfather, the elder John Winthrop was not what is familiarly known as “a good manager.” Besides having a numerous and expensive family, with a pronounced taste for hospitality, he had been in the habit, from the very outset, of spending no inconsiderable portion of his substance on the Colony. Absorbed in public affairs, he had been unwise enough to leave the management of his private concerns largely to others, and he one day suddenly discovered that an important sum had disappeared and that the agent he most trusted had run him heavily in debt. By assistance from relatives and friends, and a material reduction of his domestic expenses, his liabilities were gradually discharged, but he was a crippled man for the rest of his days,

¹ Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Series 4, vol. vii. p. 205. The words “our poore towne” refer to Rowley, which Ezekiel Rogers began the settlement of, with sixty families, in the spring of 1639. The Court which Winthrop had gone to attend was apparently the one held in Boston in September of that year.

which made a serious change in the position of his eldest son.¹ The latter had originally been heir of entail to the family-estate in Suffolk, but in order that a suitable settlement might be made upon his step-mother and her children, to whom he was tenderly attached, he voluntarily relinquished this entail in 1631, taking his chance of a corresponding inheritance in the New World, — a chance which was now failing him. He possessed, however, a snug independent property in his own right, derived partly from his mother and partly by marriage. This enabled him to come promptly to his father's assistance, an exhibition of filial piety which is touchingly alluded to in a striking letter to him from the latter, dated a few years later and first printed by Mather in his *Magnalia* : —

You are [wrote the Governor] the chief of two families. I had by your mother three sons and three daughters, and I had with her a large portion of outward estate. These are now all gone; mother gone, brethren and sisters gone; you only are left to see the vanity of these temporal things and learn wisdom thereby, which may be of more use to you, through the Lord's blessing, than all that inheritance which might have befallen you; and for which this may stay and quiet your heart: that God is able to give you more than this, and that it being spent in the furtherance of his work, which here hath prospered so well through his power hitherto, you and yours may certainly expect a liberal portion in the prosperity and blessing thereof hereafter; and the rather, because it was not forced from you by a father's power, but freely resigned by yourself out of a loving and filial respect unto me, and your own readiness unto the work itself.

His friends evidently learned that he was short of money, and in November, 1639, the General Court ordered the town of Ipswich to refund the £20 he had formerly paid the Sagamore;² while it

¹ Among the numerous letters of sympathy received by the Governor at this trying period were two from Giles Firmin in Ipswich. The earliest (Dec. 10, 1639) is to be found in the Hutchinson Papers; the second (Feb. 12, 1640) in the Fourth Series of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. vii.

² See *ante*, Indian Deeds; and Records of Mass., vol. i. p. 279. In quoting prices of that period, the relative purchasing-power of money is not always taken into account. The best authorities now rate a pound sterling in the reign of Charles I. at nearly ten times its present value. £20 would thus have been about \$1000.

would appear, from a letter from Hugh Peter to his father, that the former had undertaken to arrange for his step-son-in-law the sale of Castle Hill. This letter is dated only "Salem, 6° Sept.," but as there is another letter from him unquestionably written on Sept. 6, 1640, and as before Sept. 6, 1641, Peter had left New England never to return, the letter in question must have been written in 1639, though nothing further has been ascertained concerning the negotiation thus referred to: —

Wee are just now about meeting M^r Hubbard and 3 more of Ipswich to sell your sons Castle Hill to them, but you would wonder to see their dodging. If they have it they must pay for it in some measure, else it would be more honorable for him to give it.¹

To the realization that the future maintenance of a growing family must henceforth depend chiefly upon his own exertions is doubtless attributable the great activity displayed by him during the next ten years, during which the Colony passed through a period of much financial depression. How long he made Salem his headquarters is as uncertain as when he left Ipswich. His daughter Lucy was born in Boston Jan. 28, 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{9}{10}$, and he attended six Courts there at intervals in 1640; but that he was still intimately connected with Essex county would appear from his appointment to two local commissions, one to determine the bounds of Jeffryes Creek, now Manchester, the other to settle the bounds between Ipswich, Jeffryes Creek, and Cape Ann.² His familiarity with the Connecticut coast led him to avail himself of a favorable moment in the autumn of 1640 to obtain from Massachusetts a grant (subsequently confirmed by both Connecticut and New York) of Fisher's Island, one of the gems of Long Island Sound, though he was unable to improve it until some years later. Besides the manufacture of salt, the development of the mineral resources of New England naturally suggested itself to a man of his scientific tastes, and he conceived a plan

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 4, vol. vi. p. 104.

² Records of Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 289, 301.

by which London merchants should be induced to invest money in the erection of iron works. He attended Courts in Boston in the spring of 1641, and there is a fragment of a letter to him from Emmanuel Downing, dated Salem, July 29, 1641, in which occurs the torn passage: —

or hinder your sale with them as the case stands. My sonne is not yet returned from Ipswich whom I expect evrie howre and soc have done these 3 dayes. If you goe for England before yt be done, yet I will if God permitt pursue yt to the utmost, and send per the next shippe, that you may receive your monie of his ffather.¹

Five days later, Aug. 3, 1641, Winthrop sailed, his errand being to exert personal influence with friends in England in aid of his various enterprises. The undertaking proved a difficult one and though a company was ultimately formed and stock subscribed for, yet he was away two years and a quarter, including two exceptionally long passages. Of the numerous letters which he must have written to his family during this period but a single one is known to exist, dated Bristol, Oct. 6, 1641, and addressed to his wife at "Tenhills," Governor Winthrop's well-known farm, between Charlestown and Medford. It shows that it took him a fortnight to reach Newfoundland, where he waited three weeks for conveyance to England, finally arriving there twenty days later after a stormy voyage in a vessel of sixty tons. He alludes to having sent previous letters, says he shall write more fully to his father, and concludes: —

I pray be carefull of your journies to Cambridge or elsewhere, and remember what I desired you, to stay wth the children one part of the day your selfe. Let Betty learne to read by any meanes, but keepe her not too close to it. Farewell, my deare wife: it is midnight and time to sleepe.²

There is a tradition that Mrs. Winthrop resided more or less in Ipswich during this protracted absence of her husband, and

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 4, vol. vi. p. 59. This apparently refers to some sale at Ipswich in which Downing was acting for his nephew.

² *Ibid.*, Series 5, vol. viii. pp. 35-36.

in that case she was probably the guest of her sister Symonds; but there can be little doubt that her headquarters were at Ten-hills, where she undoubtedly was long after Winthrop sailed, and where she would appear to have been when her second son was born (Feb. 27, 164 $\frac{1}{2}$), he having been baptized in Boston. Moreover, the following passage in a letter from Margaret Winthrop to her stepson, dated Boston, Oct. 10, 1642, seems to show that the two families lived within easy distance of one another. After thanking him for "a box with some aparel" which he had sent her from England, she adds:—

Your wife thinkes long for your cominge, yet it pleseth God to helpe hir to beare it prety cherfully; hir little boy is so mery that it puteth away many a sad thought from his mother.¹

V

That his time abroad was not wholly devoted to his own affairs is evidenced by the following document:—

To the Honored Generall Court at Boston, the humble petition of John Winthrop Jun^r.

Whereas when I was last in England, at the returne of M^r Gibbins, I was importunately desired by M^r Weld & M^r Peters, your agents, to assist them there in their constant agitations for this plantation, wth many pressing arguments w^{ch} I could not wthstand, & their promise of due & full satisfaction for my charges there,—and whereas, after above an whole yeares employment, wherin I used my best indeavour to assist them in all their negotiations for the good of this Colonye, wth many expensive travailes therin, I was appointed to receive fifty pounds at my arrivall in this country, out of those monies w^{ch} were to be received for the children & other sūmes of monye procured by us for the Countrye, w^{ch} I have hitherto only mentioned to this honored Court, expecting the returne of M^r Peters or M^r Weld every yeare, & respecting the many occations of the Country in other ingagements;—and wheras I paid fifty pounds in London to one M^r Vincent, at the earnest request of M^r Weld & M^r Peters, w^{ch} was owing by them for linnin cloth sent

¹ Life and Letters of John Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 304.

over hither, & no other meanes to be found there for the satisfying of the said M^r Vincent, who continually urged them for the said monye, and whereas I have by the appointment of this honored Court received only one of these fifty pounds in such payment as the Country could make, not monye or any thing that I could returne into England, w^{ch} was much prejudice to me as I can make to appeare: — my humble request is that, seing my bill is eyther lost or left in the Courts hands, & now not to be found, this honored Court will please eyther to allow in the Treasurers hand that other fifty pounds upon my oath that it is justly due to me, or to order the forbearance thereof by the Treasurer till I can receive restitution from M^r Peters, I standing ingaged to the Treasurer for a debt due to the Country.

JOHN WINTHROP.

The Magistrates conceive this petition to be reasonable, and if the Deputies will allow the petitioner the 50^{li} unpaid upon his oath, or order the forbearance thereof in his hands untill a new certificate be procured, the Magistrates will assent to what they shall make choice of therein.

THOMAS DUDLEY, Dep. Gov^r.

The accompts as yet not cleared & y^e engagements remayning, the Deput^s conceive it meet till they heare more not to consent to either of the [*torn*]

EDWARD RAWSON.¹

It was not until the latter part of May, 1643, that he was able to embark at Gravesend, with skilled workmen and machinery, upon a voyage which proved disastrous. Detained "many daies" at the outset by Custom-house formalities, they lost a favorable wind, hovered on the English coast for more than six weeks, and did not reach Boston till autumn, after a passage of almost unexampled duration, — the result being that the workmen, unaccustomed to the sea and prostrated by midsummer

¹ Printed from the original in the unpublished Winthrop Papers. The missing part of Secretary Rawson's memorandum probably contained a date. Winthrop had made himself responsible for a fine imposed by the General Court in 1646 upon his friend Dr. Robert Child, and claimed the advance to Weld and Peter as a set-off. The matter was not settled till October, 1651, when the Court voted that "Mr John Winthrop beinge debter forty pound to the country for Doct^r Childs fine, hath the sd forty pound given him in consideration of service done for this country in England." Records of Mass. vol. iii. p. 256.

heat in close quarters, were so weakened by fevers as to be utterly unfit for duty when they landed.¹

Governor Winthrop's embarrassments had resulted in his removal to a smaller house in Boston and the sale of a considerable part of the Tenhills estate, but he was able to welcome his son's return by the following conveyance in his own hand:—

This present writinge testifieth that I, Jo: Winthrop, of Boston in New England, Esq^r, for & in consideration & satysfaction of one hundr^d & fiftye pounds, parte of a greater sume due from me to Jo: Winthrop my eldest sonne, have given, granted, bargained & sould unto the said John my sonne all that my farme or pcell of land lyinge upon Concorde River about three miles beneath the towne, conteininge twelve hundr^d acres, w^{ch} was granted me by the Gen^l Court in 3 mo: 1638, & also one pcell of medowe adjoyninge, conteininge about sixtye acres more or lesse, granted to me also by the Court in 1639;—and allso all that pcell or necke of land now inclosed, pte of my farme in Charlestⁿ call^d Tenhills, lying over ag^t the Oyster-banek conteyninge about thirtye acres more or lesse, to have & to hould all the sd lands & premises wth their app^tenn[']ces unto the sd Jo. Winthrop my sonne & Eliz: his wife during their lives, the remainder to Fitz-John their eldest sonne & his heires for ever: provided allwayes & reserved out of this present grant unto me the sd Jo: Winthrop & Marg^t my wife, for the terme of o^r lives & the longer liver of us, one third pte of all suche fruit as shalbe yearly growinge upon the sd necke of land. In wittnesse of the pmises I have herunto sett my hand & seale dated the 22: of 7^{ber} 1643.

JO: WINTHROP.²

Seal^d & delivered in the
psence of

JO: ENDECOTT, Dep. Gov^r

THO: FOWLE.

In the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for October, 1892, is to be found a paper prepared by Winthrop, headed "Considerations concerning Ironworks," describing a careful search made by him through what was then known

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 5, vol. viii. pp. 36-37.

² Unpublished Winthrop Papers. An abstract is to be found in Suffolk Deeds, Lib. I: 45.

of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, for the best place to establish this industry, and giving his reasons for preferring Braintree, where early in 1644 he and his partners received from the Massachusetts General Court a grant of three thousand acres "for the encouragement of an iron-worke to be set up about Monatacot River," and in May of the same year he had leave to make a plantation in the Pequot country for a similar purpose.¹

In the following September a third daughter, Mary, was born to him in Boston, and a few weeks later he was granted "y^e hill at Tantousq, about 60 miles westward, in which the black lead is, with liberty to purchase some land there of the Indians,"² a permission which resulted in his acquiring a tract ten miles square in and near what is now Sturbridge. The Indian deeds of this purchase, therein styled "Tantiusques," are still in existence, together with several agreements made by him with other parties for mining black lead upon it, the earliest in 1644, the latest in 1658.³

On the first of January, 1645, he conveyed his Castle Hill farm to his brother-in-law Symonds, his Ipswich house-lot and land by the river having probably been parted with a good while before, though, as already stated, it has not thus far been ascertained precisely when these sales occurred, which is perhaps due to the carelessness in registering land-titles which prevailed at that period and long afterward. On the 14th of May, 1645, he attended a Court in Boston, but must soon after have left for Pequot, as Roger Williams addressed him there on the 22d of June, and a letter from Rev. Thomas Peter describes the arrival of Winthrop and himself in the fort of Uncas just after a bloody battle between the Mohegans and the Narragansetts.⁴ That

¹ Records of Massachusetts, vol. ii. p. 71.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 82.

³ One of the signers of the last-named agreement was William Paine, some time of Ipswich and afterward of Boston, several letters from whom on this subject will be found in Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 4, vol. vii.

⁴ Winthrop's History of New England, Savage's edition of 1853, vol. ii. p. 463.

he was back in Boston before the close of the summer seems certain from a letter there addressed to him by Symonds, who writes (without date, but clearly in that year): —

I am sorry you can not come to Ipswich at this tyme, nor that I have oportunity to see you at the Bay, by reason of our harvest. I could wish that Uncas may be kept a frend still to the English, yet soe that he be not suffered to insulte or wronge other Indians. . . . If you intende to settle at your new plantation, in case it be agreed on all hands that that place shall belonge to the government of Connecticott & not to the Bay, I would not have you strive about it, but joyne with them in the worke of God as one of them, and hereby you may be a meanes to reconcile the Indians amonge themselves.¹

In the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1892, already cited, is an interesting fragment of a diary, mostly in Latin, in which Winthrop recounts a journey made by him from Boston to Saybrook and back, in November and December, 1645. He started by way of Sudbury and Brookfield, intending to visit his mine at Tantiusques, but missing the Indian trail in a snow-storm he brought up at Springfield, going thence to Hartford by land and so to Saybrook, the Connecticut River being choked with ice. From Saybrook he journeyed by the fort of the Niantick Indians to Nameag, where under date of Nov. 26 he writes: —

Tota ista die circa terram transivimus querendo loco comōdo pro colonia. (We spent the whole day in searching for the most convenient site for a settlement.)

It is clear from this entry that the precise situation of what is now New London had not till then been determined, though some few settlers are stated to have been on the ground in the preceding summer. His return to Boston was made via Wickford, Patuxet, Providence, Seekonk, and Braintree. During the whole trip he stayed in the houses of many well-known persons, and he

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 4, vol. vii. p. 122.

gives a graphic account of a furious gale and shipwreck at the mouth of the Connecticut.

The rest of the winter of 1645-46 he was presumably in or near Boston. He had recovered from his father's creditors the alienated portion of Tenhills, and apparently realizing that his life was more than ever one of exposure and peril, and that the various commercial undertakings in which he was engaged might not be successful, he endeavored to make some permanent provision for his family, in case of accidents, by the following deed of trust:—

This present writeing witnesseth that I, John Winthrop the younger, of Charlestowne in Middlesex in New England, beinge carefull of Elizabeth my loveinge wife & such children as God hath given mee by her, that some provision of maintenance may be had for them after my decease, have given, granted, infeoffed & confirmed, & I doe hereby give, grant, infeoffe & confirme, unto my trustie & beloved frends M^r Joseph Cooke of Cambridge in the county aforesaid, M^r Nathaniell Sparhawke & John Bridge of the same, all that my Ferme in Charlestowne aforesaid called Tenhills, wth the appurtenances, & all the lands, meadowes, marishes, woods, swampes, to the same belonging or therewith used & occupied, conteining by estimation between six & seven hundred acres, be it more or lesse, together wth my right of Comon to the same belonging, & my part in the meere upon Mistick river, — to have & to hould to the said Joseph, Nathaniell & John, & their heires, uppon speciall trust & confidence, as is hereafter expressed, viz^t: to the use & behoofe of me & my said wife & the longer liver of us, wthout impeachment of wast, & after o^r decease to the use of Fitz John o^r eldest sonne & his heires for ever. Provided alwayes that one third part of the rent now received uppon a lease thereof made by mee to Major Robert Sedgwick & others for certaine yeares yet to come, & of all & every lease or other cleare improvement thereof hereafter to be made, shalbe & be duly paid to my honoured father & Margaret his wife during their lives & the longer liver of them. Provided also that the said Ferme & premisses shalbe still lyable to the satisfaction of such of the creditors of my said father as are not yet satisfied or agreed wth for any their just debts. Provided also that of the cleare rent or renew w^{ch} shall remaine after the said debts be satisfied, & the said third part for my father & mother deducted, one third part shall go towards the education of my yonger children untill

they & every one of them shall respectively attaine the full age of fifteene yeeres, or be disposed of otherwise to be kept wthout charge to their mother. Lastly it is provided that it shalbe in my power either by my last will, or other wise dureing my life, to charge the said Ferme & premisses wth the payment of one hundred pounds to any of my yonger children, to be payd at such time & in such manner as I shall by such will or other writeing appoint.

JOHN WINTHROP.¹

Sealed and d^d in the
psence of

EM: DOWNINGE.

ADAM WINTHROP.

He was present at a Court in Boston in May, 1646, but went soon after to Pequot, where the new plantation was now vigorously taken in hand. His house in New London was not ready for occupancy until the following spring, but he had already caused one to be built on Fisher's Island, to which in the early autumn of 1646 he removed a portion of his family, returning to Boston for this purpose. There went back with him to Connecticut his wife, his elder son, by tradition an infant daughter Margaret, and his brother Deane, who all passed the winter on the island, his four other children remaining under the care of their grandparents.² His father's first letter to him in this new home was dated Oct. 28, 1646, and addressed, "To my very good son M^r John Winthrop, at Fisher's Island n^r Pequod River," and in it the Governor wrote, among other things:—

I send you herein your letters, which I thought best to open. Your brother Stephen, it seems, means to stay in England and hath sent for his wife. He is Captain of a troop of horse. We are all as you left us, I praise God, & we all salute you and yours. The blessing of the Lord be upon you, and he protect and guide you in this great undertaking!³

¹ Printed from the original in the unpublished Winthrop Papers. It does not appear to have been registered and there is no date; but it was undoubtedly executed at or about the time named.

² See Caulkins's History of New London, chap. ii.

³ Life and Letters of John Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 355.

VI

On the 14th of June, 1647, there befell him one of the greatest sorrows of his life in the sudden death of his step-mother, between whom and himself there had always existed the deepest attachment, and who was as devoted to his children as he had ever been to hers. He is recorded to have been in attendance at meetings of the Commissioners of the United Colonies held in Boston in the following July and August, when it was finally decided that the Pequot country should belong permanently to Connecticut, and in September he was commissioned by the latter government to be a magistrate there, though he still retained his Massachusetts functions. These dual responsibilities cost him many journeys. Letters from Roger Williams place him at Pequot at different times in September, October, and November of that year, while one from Samuel Symonds, dated Oct. 6, 1647, shows him to have been recently in Boston. A dispute concerning a boundary-line, between Symonds and one of his neighbors, had brought on a lawsuit involving an unsuccessful attempt to upset the title to Castle Hill farm, and this letter of Symonds possesses so much local interest that it is here given in full, though some of its allusions are obscure.

*To the right Worshipfull John Winthrop Esq^r, Governour, present, Boston.*¹

GOOD BROTHER, — I p'sume you doe heare what is the yssue of the triall of the title of Castell-Hill; but had not the castle beene grounded upon records & full testimony by the then Recorder, it might have bene shaken, as it wanted noe battering to doe it. There came in such a testimony & pleadings (as I doe assure my selfe) you never dreamed of. The case was debated in Court on Tewsday after noone & the

¹ The following postscript explains this superscription: "Sir, this I have written to my brother your sonne, but fearing he may be gone, I thought good to direct it to yourselfe, desiring you wilbe pleased to convey it when you write to him."

fore-noone the next day. The second grant was that which was endeavoured to have bene made voyde, & the first difficultly obtained.

It was urged that you were denied a vote all the form^r p^t of the day, albeit your writing & the thinge it selfe speaks that the land was not now the Townes to give, but y^t you yielded to part wth the greatest p^t of the Neck to them. There were (as I rememb^r) 4 that did testifie concerning the number of the freemen &c p^rsent, all variously from each other, when they did deliv^r their testimony *viva voce*. One, before he was sworne, said it was done an houre &c within night, by candle light, but did not deliv^r it soe upon oath; 2, that it was very late, but not by candle light. You & I are noe witnesses in this case: we know it was in the after noone, & the Record agreeth with us, an other act being done at same tyme which must require a little debate before it was written, which was your grant of 300 acres, which is well approved of.¹

But I did know it would require some skill to make one act of the same meeting after the other good & the form^r null; soe it was said that your said farme was given before, only the quantity appoynted now, — which (though tyme must be given to believe) yet they confesse enough to make the meeting valid in determyng the numb^r of acres. Alsoe to confirme this & nullifie the other, it was tendered to be testified that this farme, p^t of it you had plowed before this grant. Tis nine yeares since the grant, Aug: 6th last.² I suppose you may call to minde who did plow it & when. Though it makes nothing to the case, yet I would willingly let them see their mistaks. It was testified that the meeting was called for an other purpose, but next day when they brought in their testimonies in writing, one of the Jury minded them that this meeting (as before did appeare) was called or warned by the man that did use to warne the meetings.

It was alsoe said that this last grant was voted in the meeting howse at that tyme mentioned in the record indeed, but it was written in an other howse & at an other tyme; & this is a thing alsoe (I suppose) you never dreamt of. Whereas, besides our knowledg & p^rsence at the doeing of it, *res ipsa loquitur*, — for in grants where there must be describing of bounds soe & soe, limittacōn hither &c, & a line soe, it will

¹ The 300 acres not in dispute would seem to have been the Argilla farm granted to Winthrop in 1634 or earlier, and sold by him to Symonds in 1637.

² For the discrepancies in the dates assigned to the grant of Castle Hill, the probability that there was more than one grant, and the disappearance of Winthrop's letter to his father on the subject, see *ante*, p. 24.

require to be written before it be voted, according to reason & usuall practice. M^r Bartholmew was a cleare & full witsesse, agreeing wth the Reeorde. There was noe necessity of any, I summoned none. I did expect him & he did well to be p^rsent.¹

Concerning the poynt in law touching the p^rsedent order or grant of this land to the Towne by the freemen, this did not hold longe debate in the Court.²

Their last plea, to save the accōn & charges at least, was that I have not sett the fence right; soe there are three Coñmissioners apoynted to vew it. If they be found to have broken the fence upon my ground, then I am to have 3li damages.

After all the rest was pleaded &c, poynt of Chancery or equity was pleaded, the argument whereof I suppose is generally knowne to be upon a grosse mistake. It was to this effect, that you left the Towne when M^r Ward was leaving his place, the Church settling our p^rsent officers, & the Church ready to craek. How longe these things were done before, you know better than I, but sure I am I was a memb^r of the Church first by our p^rsent elders in office, &c &c.³

An other thinge was on the second day testified, I having touched the strangnes of averring against a Reeord, & not soe much as a p^restacōn against it at that tyme made. The next day one of them remimbered upon his oath there was a p^restacōn. I know not whether he well understands what it is, but had there beine one, yet if not recorded, what would it effect to p^rvent any purchasser from deceiving himselfe, building upon the Reeord for the Grant & finding nothing to question the same?

Forasmuch as I was p^rsent, — & there is M^r B: his oath to the recorder for a full consent, for ought appeared to him, & by their owne confession by the major part it was done, — this seemes very strange, save that the space of tyme since doth help to make the most charitable interpretacōn &c. A p^restacōn doth not overthrow an act, noe more than when 2 or three doe enter their dissent upon an act of Court it doth render the matter more doubtfull &c.

¹ William Bartholomew first came to Ipswich in 1635, and subsequently held important posts in the town.

² It is recorded under date of Dec. 29, 1634, "that the Necke of Land whereupon the great Hill standeth, w^{ch} is known by the name of the Castle Hill, lyeinge on the other side of the River towards the sea, shall remayne unto the cōmon use of the Towne forever."

³ Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, successor to Rev. Nathaniel Ward, was ordained pastor of the Church at Ipswich, Feb. 20, 1638.

Urgent occasions doe call me off. I pray God send you a pr^pous journey. Our love to you, my sister, & all my cosens. I rest

Your ever loving brother,

October 6th. 47.

SAMUEL SYMONDS.¹

Winthrop would seem to have just started for Pequot when this letter reached Boston, but that he was back again within five months is shown by a later letter from Ipswich, Feb. 24, 1648, in which Symonds writes: —

Having this opportunity, I thought good to let you understand God's providence towards us. My daughter Epps, upon the 22th of this instant was delivered of a sonne, & thanks be to God, both mother & sonne are comfortably well. We would gladly know what day you will agree upon to bring my sister, that accordingly we may send you a horse to the water side. My wife hath bene better in respect of the paine in her stomack, this weeke then formerly. Good wine (as you say) is the best cordiall for her.

The handwriting of this letter is unusually distinct and it is addressed "To his very loving brother, John Winthrop of Salem, Esq, this, Salem." In styling him at this late day "of Salem," when apparently on a visit to his uncle Downing, Symonds was perhaps only playful; but it is possible that the Ryall-side salt work was still running, as a few weeks later the Massachusetts General Court agreed with Winthrop on a price to be paid for the delivery of "good white salt at Boston, Charlestown, Salem, Ipswich, & Salsberry," besides giving him liberty to erect salt works in any place or places not hitherto appropriated. In May of the same year he was granted "3000 acres of the

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 4, vol. vii. pp. 123-126. In the old Judicial Records preserved at Salem is the following entry relative to this action: —

"Ipswich Quar. Sessions Ct. 28. 7. 1647 M^r Sam^l Symonds Pl. ag^t William Story & John Dane in an action of trespasse for breaking downe his fence to his great damage:

They fynd for M^r Symonds & his title to the land, according to the records, to be good. 2^d, if the fence stand upon his ground, they alow him 3^d damage & the repaying of the fence as it was — to be issued by Cōmission, the Cōmissioners Richard Knight, Henry Shorte of Newbury and Edward Carlton of Rowlyc."

Pequot land, at Paquatuck, neere to the Narraganset country, provided that if he set not up a considerable salt worke between the two capes of Massachusetts Bay wthin three yeares now next coming, then this graunt to be voyde." On the 13th of June Downing wrote him at Pequot: —

I hope you are soe well settled in your occasions as to begyn to think now of visiting your friends in the Bay. The merchants at Salem are sory you accepted not theire propositions for the making of salt. . . . I hope you will not loose tyme in erecting a salt worke at Pequoyt, you neede not feare vent here for it.¹

He must have paid a short visit to the Bay just then, as on the 3d of July his father alludes to the joyful news of his safe return to Nameag, where in the following month his daughter Martha was born. That he was again expected in Boston in the early autumn is shown by a letter to him from his father, dated "30 (7) 48," in which the Governor, after describing a visit he had paid to Ipswich, adds, "We have looked for you long," but it was the will of God that father and son should never meet again. The latter was detained in the Pequot country by negotiations with the Indians, and was unexpectedly prevented from starting later as shown by the following extracts from letters of his frequent correspondent at Narragansett, Roger Williams: —

I am glad for your sake that it hath pleased God to prevent your winter travel; though I gladly, also, this last week expected your passage, and being at Providence hastened purposely to attend you here. . . . Your letters I speedily despatched by a messenger on purpose. . . . Our neighbors, the barbarians, run up and down and consult, partly ready to fall upon the Mohegans at your word, and a world of foolish agitations I could trouble you with; but I tould the chiefest yesterday that it is not our manner to be rash, and that you will be silent till youre father and other ancient Sachems speak first.²

On the 14th of March, 1649, his brother Adam wrote: —

We have not heard from you since we heard by Providence Indian, but hope you are in health. I am sorry I can not write so to you of

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 4, vol. vi. p. 68.

² *Ibid.*, Series 3, vol. ix. p. 280.

ourselves, for my father indeed is very ill & has bene so above a month. The Lord only knows the event. We should be very glad if you could be heer. My father not being able to wright himself desired me to remember his love to you, my sister, & the children, & although he hopes God will raise him up againe, yet he would request you, as if it were his last request, that you wold strive no more about the Pequod Indians, but leave them to the Commissioners order.¹

This letter was delayed in reaching Winthrop, and on the 26th an Indian messenger started from Boston with the intelligence of his father's death, the funeral being postponed until his arrival eight days later. It was a most unexpected bereavement, for the Governor was only in his sixty-second year and vigorous up to this last illness. One result of it was his son's final decision to cast in his lot with Connecticut, though his friend, George Baxter, English Secretary to the Dutch Governor and Council, strongly urged him to plant a settlement at the Manhattan end of Long Island, adding:—

I have often tymes heard o' Governour [Peter Stuyvesant] saye you should be acceptablie welcome unto him; & for matter of privildge or accommodation, for your selfe or any others that shall come along with you, you shall have them soe large and ample as hee hath power to give.²

At the close of 1649 he accordingly gave notice that, at the expiration of his term in May, 1650, he must decline to be re-elected to the Court of Assistants of the Massachusetts Colony, a post he had then held eighteen years. This change of domicile is distinctly marked by the formal letter of recommendation of himself and wife from the First Church of Boston to the Church at Saybrook, dated July 23, 1650, and signed by John Cotton, John Wilson, and Thomas Oliver.³ Although he retained property in Massachusetts and made visits thither as occasion

¹ Life and Letters of John Winthrop, vol. ii. pp. 391-2.

² Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 5, vol. i. p. 370.

³ Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Series 2, vol. iii. p. 200. There was no Church at New London till a little later.

offered, yet for the remaining twenty-six years of his life he was a Connecticut man, and his career there is so interwoven with the political history of the sister Colony that it would be foreign to the purpose of this Sketch to describe it in detail, though an outline of it may be convenient for reference.

VII

Elected an Assistant of Connecticut in May, 1651, Winthrop forthwith procured from the General Assembly the passage of the following vote:—

Whereas in this rocky country, among these mountains and rocky hills, there are probabilities of mines of metals, the discovery of which may be of great advantage to the country in raising a staple commodity; and whereas John Winthrop, Esquire, doth intend to be at charges and adventure for the search and discovery of such mines and minerals:— for the encouragement thereof, and of any that shall adventure with the said John Winthrop, Esquire, in the said business, it is therefore ordered by the Court that if the said John Winthrop, Esquire, shall discover, set upon and maintain such mines of lead, copper or tin, or any minerals, as antimony, vitriol, black lead, allum, stone salt, salt springs, or any other the like, within this jurisdiction, and shall set up any work for the digging, washing and melting, or any other operation about the said mines or minerals, as the nature thereof requireth, — that then the said John Winthrop, Esquire, his heirs, associates, partners or assigns, shall enjoy forever said mines, with the lands, wood, timber and water within two or three miles of said mines, for the necessary carrying on of the works and maintaining of the workmen, and provision of coal for the same:— provided it be not within the bounds of any town already settled, or any particular person's property; and provided it be not in, or bordering upon, any place that shall, or may be, by the Court so judged fit to make a plantation of.¹

In the following year the sudden death in Boston of his brother Adam, at the early age of thirty-two, was a fresh domestic sorrow; and about this time Hugh Peter wrote from London,

¹ Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. i. p. 195.

pointing out the rapid military advancement of Stephen Winthrop and George Downing, and offering to place at his step-son-in-law's disposal the parliamentary influence he had now acquired, if the latter should be willing to put himself in the way of employment in England,¹ — an offer wisely declined, we may fairly consider, as eight years later Peter lost his head on the scaffold. Somewhat similar overtures were made not long afterward by Winthrop's particular friend and correspondent, the celebrated Sir Kenelm Digby, who wrote to him from London, Jan. 31, 165 $\frac{1}{2}$: —

I hope it will not be long before this Iland, y^r native country, do enjoy y^r much desired presence. I pray for it hartily, and I am confident that y^r great judgem^t, and noble desire of doing the most good to mankinde that you may, will prompt you to make as much hast hither as you can. Where you are, is too scanty a stage for you to remaine too long upon. It was a well chosen one when there were inconveniencs for y^r fixing upon this. But now that all is here as you could wish, all that do know you do expect of you that you should exercise your vertues where they may be of most advantage to the world, and where you may do most good to most men.²

A year later, Jan. 26, 165 $\frac{2}{2}$, Sir Kenelm wrote from Paris: —

Y^r most welcome letter of the 4. 7^{ber} last, was sent me by M^r Peters the same day I went out of London to come to this towne: w^{ch} made me lament the lesse the necessity of those affaires that call me hither for a little while; since I learne by it that you are not as yet minded to make our country happy wth y^r presence. I pray God you may so alter y^r resolutions that by the return of the shippes I may mee^te you att London. For I can not subscribe to y^r reasons, — the maine of w^{ch} is, *res angusta domi* to a numerous family. For wheresoever you are, I am sure you can not want.³

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 4, vol. vi. pp. 113, 114.

² *Ibid.*, Series 3, vol. x. pp. 5-6.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 15. A reasonable inference would be that, so far as Winthrop's personal inclinations were concerned, he would have liked to rejoin his scientific friends, but that he felt bound to accumulate an independence for his children, and considered that his best chance of so doing was to remain in New England.

Educational facilities were then meagre in New London, and in the winter of 1654-5 both his sons were sent to Cambridge to study. There has been preserved a single letter to them from their father at this time, which is here given, as it affords a good idea of his domestic correspondence.

To my beloved Sonn Fitz-John Winthrop at Cambridge.

FITZ, — You wrote by your last letter w^{ch} I received of some ilnesse that you were troubled wth, w^{ch} we were sorry to heare of, but it was so neere winter that I could not goe or send to you; but since was informed by Arthur Mason (who put in heere as he passed to Virginia) that you were againe in good health, for w^{ch} let the Lord have praise in whose hands is our life and breath; sicknesse and health are wholly in his power.

I peeive by your letter that you were much possessed wth the feare of Death. You must be carefull that Sathan does not delude you. It is good to be alwaies mindfull and prepared for death, but take heede of distrusting, perplexed thoughts about it, for that will encrease the sicknesse. Trust him wth your life that gave you life and being, and hath only power over death and life, to whom we must be willing to submit to be at the disposing of his good will and pleasure. Whether in life or death learne to know God and to serve him, and to feare him and walke in his waies; and leave your selfe wth him and east your eare on him who careth for all his servants and will not forsake those y^t trust in his name. In sicknesse use those meanes that you can have; and comitt your selfe for the successe to the Lord.

This oportunity is but very suddaine by one that passed through the towne, therefore I have searce tyme to write, and shall not have tyme to write to my cousin Dudley; therefore remeber my love to him and my cousin Cooke, and our friends wth whom you sojourne.¹ We are all in good health, God be praised. Your mother, sisters, and aunt, remeber their love to you and your brother. I desire the Lord to blesse you both, and rest

Your loving father,

Feb. 8. 1654 [1655].

JOHN WINTHROP.²

Desire M^r Gold at Tenhills to take care that the ratts doe no hurt.

¹ The elder boy was being crammed for Harvard by his cousin Thomas Dudley, then a tutor in that College; while the younger was instructed by Elijah Corlet, the well-known master of Cambridge Grammar-School. Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 6, vol. iii. pp. 424-426

² *Ibid.*, Series 5, vol. viii. pp. 43-44.

In early life Winthrop had manifested much interest in chemistry and medicine. Ever since, in leisure hours, he had been a diligent reader of chemical and medical works, experimenting with different drugs and inventing a mysterious preparation called *rubila*, which gradually became famous all over New England as efficacious in a variety of ailments. The scarcity of physicians in the Colonies and his willingness to give advice free of charge, — so far as his studies enabled him to do so, — caused him to be much consulted, and among those who derived benefit from his treatment in 1653 were several prominent persons in New Haven and, in particular, the family of Rev. John Davenport. The result was that, in October 1654, The Church and Town of New Haven, the General Court of that Colony and Theophilus Eaton, then Governor, united in a formal invitation to Winthrop to take up his abode among them for a large part of each year, offering to provide him with a house and other conveniences.¹ This invitation coincided with a plan he had formed for erecting iron-works in that neighborhood, but in order to preserve his independence he preferred to buy a house for £100, paying for it in goats raised by himself on Fisher's Island.² It was not, however, till nearly the close of 1655 that he found it convenient to move, not long before which Davenport had written: —

*To his Honoured freind John Winthrop, Esq^o, these present,
in Pequot.*

Hon^d Sir, — We did earnestly expect your coming hither, with M^{rs} Winthrop and your familie, the last light moone, according to your purpose signified to us, — having also intelligence that a vessel wayted upon you at Pequot for that end, and were thereby encouraged to provide your house that it might be fitted, in some measure, for your comfortable dwelling in it this winter.

My wife was not wanting in her endeavours to set all wheelcs on going, — all hands that she could procure, on worke, — that you might

¹ See Governor Eaton's letters to Winthrop on this subject, in Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 4, vol. vii.

² Atwater's History of the Colony of New Haven, p. 369.

finde all things to your satisfaction. Though she could not accomplish her desires to the full, yet she proceeded as farr as she could; whereby many things are done, viz.: the house made warm, the well cleansed, the pompe fitted for your use. Some provision of wood is layed in and 20 loades will be ready whensoever you come; and sundry who have received helpe from you have, by my wife's instigation, prepared 30 bush. of wheate for the present, and Sister Glover hath 12 lb of candles ready for you. My wife hath also procured a maid-servant for you, who is reported to be cleanly and saving; her mother is of the Church, and she is kept from a place in Connecticut (where she was much desired) to serve you.

At last Joseph Alsop arrived here in safety on the Lord's day, and in the Assembly gave thanks for his comfortable passage. By him I received (instead of yourselfe and yours, whose presence was heartily desired by us all) a letter from you, dated on the day before his arrivall, whereby I understood that some providences intercurring hindred and disappointed your reall intentions of coming with your family to us, both before, and by him. The hazzard and danger suspected, you now see, was more in ungrounded imaginations of those who laboured to hinder your proceeding, than in the reality and trueth of the cause praetended by them. Yet we have hope that by another vessel (I heare M^r Yongs, *ni fallor*) you will be accomodated for transportation of your familie and what you purpose to bring hither, and that you incline to improve that opportunity, — whereof I am glad. Many hands are daily at worke for the iron-buisnes; onely your presence is wanting to sett all things in a right course. If M^{rs} Winthrop knew how wellcome she will be to us, she would, I believe, neglect whatsoever others doe or may be forward to suggest for her discouragement. Salute her, with due respect, in my name and my wifes, most affectionately, together with M^{rs} Lake. The Lord Jesus pave your waye, and make your journey to us speedy and prosperous! In whom I rest, Sir,

Your exceedingly obliged,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

NEWHAVEN, this 22 of the 9th 55.

My wife had a man in pursuite that would be very fitt to manage your Island, if a marriage, which he is about, doth not hinder. My sonne presents his humble service. . . . I thanek you for the 2 bookes you sent me to peruse, which I am reading diligently.¹

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 3, vol. x. pp. 12-14. A week later Davenport wrote again to say that he had laid in some tables and chairs, and that the apples would be kept safe from frost.

These later undertakings at New London and New Haven evidently did not cause him to abandon earlier ones in the parent Colony, as in May, 1656, the Massachusetts General Court voted:—

This Court takeinge into consideraçõ the uncertaynty of p̄cureing salt amongst us for o^r necessary uses, & what salt hath bin of late gotten hath bin at very deare rates, & whereas M^r John Winthrop profereth to make salt for the colonie after a new way, never before devised or practised, & desireth that none other may make salt within this jurisdiction for the space of 21 yeares after his manner, w^{ch} none before hath known or used, & that he may have that priviledge graunted him by this Court: this Gen^l Court therefore doth hereby graunt unto the s^d M^r John Winthrop the priviledge of makeing salt after his new way within this jurisdiction, & that none other dureing the s^d terme shall make salt after his manner without the s^d M^r Winthrops speciall license.¹

However gratifying it may have been to the townspeople of New Haven, and to Winthrop's personal friends in that neighborhood, to have him so much among them, it excited a very opposite feeling in the Pequot country, and the following passage from a letter of Jonathan Brewster to him, dated Mohegan (near New London) Jan. 14, 165 $\frac{6}{7}$, brings to mind the affectionate remonstrances of Nathaniel Ward, more than twenty-one years before, on the subject of Winthrop's long absence from Ipswich:—

Sir, I with the rest of myne earnestly desyre your returne, with your family, if it might stand with your profitt & conveniency. Wee & the whole Towne & Church wantes you. We are as naked without you, yea indeed, we are as a body without a head, & would that we might injoye your presence. I feare God sees us not worthy to such a blessing. My praiers to God is & shall be to him for that end, and my poore ability shall not be wanting to further the same. I have therefor stirred the Townesmen to grant you what encouragement they can afford you to sett up a Forge here, which may be one meanes to bringe you backe againe.

There is a very characteristic letter from Brewster to Mrs. Winthrop, written on the same day, and for the same purpose. In it he says:—

¹ Records of Massachusetts, vol. iii. p. 400.

When I or mine has occasion to come to Pequott and behold your house, and nether you nor any of yours there, it makes us sad & sorrowfull. . . . Yet when I consider your engagements of returning againe to your old habitation amongst us, your poore neighbors, it is as lyfe from death, & gives spiritt to me & myne to rest contented till that tyme come to enjoy your swete society once more, which will be made more pleasant, & I hope profitabile, than before, as oft times it faulles out soe that the goodnes of a thing is not so well knowen as when it is wanting & long absent from us. Therfor I desyre you to prove us once more, whether we will amend, & make apparent our love & good neighborred towards you & yours, that you may no more have cause to complaine of us. If I might have my will, you should not be from Pequott one month. . . .

In the meane tyme, I beseech you, be noe meanes to hinder your honored husband from returning, but rather perswad & further him in soe desyred a thing, thoughte of us not deserved. . . . Be willing, if God put into M^r Winthrop hart and mynd to come, to consent & be ready to forward him thereunto, and not to put any rubbes in the way to hinder & perswad to stayer where you are. You know weomen are very strong & powerfull to aet this way, & overcoume the strongest & wisest men that ever were or are in the world, by perswations & swete allurements to draw as an adamant their husbands will to theirs. I knowe & am assured better of you, that you will hearken to counsell & reason, though disadvantaigable to your selfe, in which confydencc I hope once more to see you heare, & shall not be wanting to pray to God for that end.¹

From time to time such appeals were renewed by Brewster and others, the former writing five months later: —

It would glad my heart to see you heare. I spoke to your Worshipp at the River's mouth about the same, & then you seemed willing, if your new stone house could be in any waies comfortable. Therefore I with some more here, & generally the whole Towne, are willing to help for that end, which will be both shortly & substantially finished. . . . The Indians round about us are all of flyer, fighting & quarrelling upon all ocasioncs & opportunityes, in soe much that all commeree with them is stopped, to all our hindrances & losses. . . . I pray you if possible

¹ Jonathan Brewster was eldest son of Elder William Brewster of Plymouth. For these two letters, with others from him, see Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 4, vol. vii.

to be here at our next Towne-meeting, which is appointed to end & conclude with Pakatucke, Misticke & Pequott about the old difference, which is by the last Courte ordered to agree, if possible, amongst our selves; if not, they have ordered a Committie of Magistrats to come downe to end it. The persons are, first, Your Worshipp, Major Mason, Captain Cullett, M^r Talcott, & M^r Allin. I intreate you, if possibliely you can, to come over to helpe us heerin, so that chardges may be saved & scandall may be removed, which will be occasioned by the head-strong violent spiritts of some of our inhabitants, whom your presenc would much restrain

Your servant Edmond, with his wife, now at my house, desyred me to informe your Worshipp that they ar all well upon the Iland. . . . Your maid likewise wants vessells for to sett milke in, & some chesse clothes, & would know your mynd about your wooll, & wantes a siffe, & some mealle, for our Mille is in repairing & will not be finished in 3 weekes longer. . . . If you could bring that book with you, you might do me a pleasuer.

Indian troubles caused great delay in the receipt of letters, which often disappeared altogether, and when he wrote the above Brewster was unaware that Winthrop had become, more than a month before, Governor-elect of Connecticut, a post which would before long necessitate his removal from New Haven and admit of only occasional visits to New London. This election took place May 21, 1657, and the General Court subsequently passed the following votes: —

May 21. The Court desires Capt. Cullick to write a letter to M^r Winthrop, as speedily as may bee, to acquaint him to what place the Country have chosen him, & to desire his present assistance as much as may bee.

Aug. 12. This Court orders that M^r Winthrop, being chosen Gov^rno^r of this Collony, shall bee againe desired to come & live in Hartford, wth his family, while he gov^rnes, they grant^s him the yeerly use or profitts of the housing & lands in Hartford belonging to M^r John Haynes, w^{ch} shall be yeerly discharged out of the publicke Treasury.

Oct. —. The Court doth appoint the Treasurer to provide horses & men to send for M^r Winthrop, in case he is minded to come to dwell wth us.¹

¹ Colonial Records of Connecticut, vol. i. pp. 298, 301, 306. There appear to be no letters from him dated Hartford earlier than the beginning of 1658.

It was in this same year, 1657, that Colonel Stephen Winthrop, M. P., — that “great man for soul libertie,” as Roger Williams called him, — offered to put his nephew Fitz-John in the way of receiving a commission in the Parliamentary army, if he would leave Harvard, where he was then a student, and go to England. The young man’s tastes were those of a soldier rather than a student, and he embraced the earliest opportunity of sailing, though his father looked with natural misgivings upon the temptations of camp-life for a youth of barely nineteen. But two letters from him to his son at this period have been preserved, both written from Boston in September, 1658, and containing the following good advice: —

Be earnest wth the Lord in praier, that having delivered you from those great dangers upon the seas, so he would preserve your soule and body frō eternall death, and all those snares and temptations and allurements of Sathan, sin and the world, y^t might plunge your soule into perdition. Be carefull to avoid all evill and vaine company, w^{ch} are so great instrumēts of Sathan to draw and intice to evill, and to allure the simple into the snares of destruction, as the bird is taken in the nett. Whoso is wise will beware of them. Be not drawne, upon any motion or pretence whatsoever, into tavernes or alehouses, or any houses or cōpany of evill fame. I have often forewarned and psuaded you against wine and strong drinke, w^{ch} if it were only for your health you should carefully shun, — yea, the very moderate use thereof. The often use of such things, though very moderately taken, is originall of great diseases and distemp^{rs}; it never agreeth wth the constitution and lungs of any of our family, and is more dangerous in those p^{ts} than heere.¹ Be very carefull that you doe not ruīe into such debts as your employmēt will not produce money for y^e satisfying therof, for you know I being now in no way of trade shall not be able to helpe you wth anything thither by bills or otherwise. Therefore if such employmēt doth not affoord you comfortable maintenance you shalbe welcome to returne, but seeing Providence hath so ordered that you are among such good friends eyther in England or Scotland, I shall not call you back, but leave you to the guidance of y^e Almighty to direct your way. Your

¹ Fitz-John was then in garrison in Scotland, a Lieutenant in a regiment commanded by his maternal uncle, Thomas Reade. His uncle Stephen Winthrop had died suddenly soon after his arrival in London.

mother and sisters were very glad of those letters frō you, and have all of them written to you. They were in good health when I came frō Hartford. You should write by every way y^t offers, eyther by Barbados, Virginia, or other opportunity, though never so briefly. Letters sent by way of Barbados or other p^ts must be inclosed to some knowne settled p^{son} there that is also knowne heere; but every direct passage I hope you will not faile.¹

VIII

Up to the time that Winthrop became Governor a rule prevailed in Connecticut that no one should hold the office for two successive terms, in accordance with which system he became Deputy Governor in the following year, and as his duties thus proved less engrossing, an effort was made to draw him back to New Haven, John Davenport writing: —

If you would please to stock your farme and to give order to have your land at Newhaven improved, you might live comfortably upon that which is your owne in this place. The people here also would be ready to serve you with theyre labours, and to take hold of all good occasions of declaring theyre thanekfulness, — really as they are bound to doe — for your large and liberal helpfulness to them.²

So great a need, however, seems to have been felt at Hartford for his services at the helm, that a change was shortly after made by which, from 1659 until his death in 1676, he was continuously elected to the Chief Magistracy, though not always, as will be seen, to his own satisfaction. His whole administration covered a period of nearly eighteen years, embracing many intricate and much vexed questions of boundary lines between Connecticut and her neighbors, the obtaining of a Royal Charter, the absorption of the Colony of New Haven, hostilities with the Dutch, and bloody and protracted conflicts with Indian tribes. To describe all these is not the purpose of this narrative, but some brief account is necessary of that official residence in Eng-

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 5, vol. viii. pp. 45-51.

² *Ibid.*, Series 3, vol. x. p. 22.

land, from 1661 to 1663, which figures so conspicuously in his career.

The Restoration of Charles II had excited very natural uneasiness in Connecticut, and an earnest desire was felt to obtain a Royal Charter similar to that enjoyed by Massachusetts. The best chance of effecting this seemed to lie in the representation of the Colony in London by some one who possessed influential friends there, and Winthrop was accordingly sent out as Agent without relinquishing the Governorship, the General Assembly voting £500 for his expenses, — a sum which the Treasurer was unable to pay until long afterward, but which, in order to expedite matters, Winthrop raised by a mortgage of his Fisher's Island estate. He was fortunate to find still living his old patron, Lord Say, who strongly recommended him to another great friend of the Puritans, the Earl of Manchester, then Lord Chamberlain.¹ The latter made him acquainted with various prominent persons at Court, and the upshot was that, though detained abroad much longer than he first expected, he ultimately met with gratifying success, and was able to bring back a Charter conferring far more ample privileges than those he represented had dared to hope for. Associated with it in many minds is the following romantic legend, not improbably a creation of the fertile brain of Cotton Mather, which has since been gravely narrated by some historians, besides figuring prominently in the pages of novelists and poets : —

Mr Winthrop had an extraordinary ring, which had been given his grandfather by King Charles the First, which he presented to the King. This, it is said, exceedingly pleased his Majesty, as it had been once the property of a father most dear to him. Under these circumstances, the petition of Connecticut was presented, and was received with uncommon grace and favor.²

¹ See Say's letter to Winthrop of Dec. 14, 1661. Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 5, vol. i. p. 394.

² Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. i. p. 248.

In sober fact, Winthrop's grandfather was a quiet Suffolk squire, of scholarly tastes and strong Puritan leanings, whose duties as a county magistrate did not require his attendance at Court, who died at a good old age two years before Charles I came to the throne, and who would seem to have been one of the last persons to have attracted the favor of that monarch when Prince of Wales. Moreover, in the common-place books, still existing, in which this old gentleman was in the habit of recording *memorabilia* of famous personages, there is no mention of the gift to himself by a prince of the blood of "an extraordinary ring," and the anecdote is probably one of those curious fables which encrust themselves upon history. It is, however, true that before Winthrop returned to New England he received a miniature of Charles II from the King himself, a distinction due, it may fairly be inferred, to his winning manner and diplomatic address, though the fact that his son had been a Captain in Monk's army on its famous march to London may possibly have contributed towards it. A later historian sums up his account of the whole matter as follows: —

Winthrop was backed by powerful friends. He possessed singular qualifications for the business with which he was charged; and he applied himself to it with zealous diligence. With the pliancy which made part of his graceful character, he overcame the disgust that must have possessed him in approaching those whose savage revenge had just brought sorrow into his own home,¹ and remembering only that he was the Governor and the envoy of Connecticut, solicited personal goodwill in every quarter where it might serve her interests. These facts, however, afford but an insufficient explanation of the extraordinary result of his endeavours. We are still left to inquire how it could be that a wary and ambitious minister, who, in the new zeal of office, was gathering into his master's hands all power that could be seized, was brought to make a formal grant of what almost amounted to independence.²

¹ Hugh Peter had been beheaded as a regicide less than a year before.

² Palfrey's History of New England, vol. ii. pp. 541-542. The reference is to Lord Clarendon.

Next to success in this mission he greatly enjoyed the opportunity it afforded him for renewing and enlarging his acquaintance with men of learning. The Royal Society for improving Natural Knowledge, though not incorporated until 1662, was first organized in 1660, and its records show that, on the 11th of December 1661, Winthrop was proposed for membership by his friend William Brereton, afterward Lord Brereton. Admitted to the Society a few weeks later, he took an active part in its proceedings from that time until his departure from England in the early summer of 1663, reading papers upon a variety of subjects, — such as strange tides, the refining of gold, the making of pitch, tar, and pot-ashes, the planting of timber, the building of ships in North America, deep-water soundings, black lead, a new way of Trade and Banking, and the brewing of beer from maize bread, — besides exhibiting at meetings a self-feeding lamp apparently invented by himself, a precious stone of different colors, a curious variety of earth which would float an hour without sinking, some bluish grains of corn grown in the West Indies, and the drawing of a vessel built in New England.¹

Scientific experiments were his chief delight, and but for the separation from his wife and daughters we may well imagine this to have been the happiest part of his life.²

War between England and Holland having broken out afresh, at the desire of the Royal Commander, Richard Nicolls, Winthrop was present, in August 1664, at the Capitulation of New Netherland, thenceforth known as New York, having used his personal influence with the Dutch Governor Stuyvesant to persuade him to surrender. Both his public duties and private concerns were exceptionally burdensome during the next few years. Despite

¹ Birch's History of the Royal Society, vol. i. *passim*.

² During her husband's absence Mrs. Winthrop passed a large part of her time in Massachusetts, where her eldest daughter had married Rev. Antipas Newman, Minister of Wenham, afterward of Rehoboth. The regiment of Fitz-John Winthrop was disbanded not long after the Restoration, and he was much with his father in London, where his younger brother joined them.

his untiring diligence and his undoubted capacity, he met with serious pecuniary losses. Neither his iron-works nor his lead-mines had been profitable, — the latter having been discontinued owing to the Indian wars, — while ships in whose cargoes he had latterly become largely interested were captured by the Dutch Admiral De Ruyter.¹ Accordingly, in 1667, he asked permission to retire from the Governorship, alleging that his affairs were in urgent need of closer attention and that his duty to his family did not justify a further continuance in office. The General Assembly, however, refused consent, protesting that he could not be spared, and, to make things easier for him, they released his estate from taxation and granted him £110 out of the public treasury.²

Such leisure as he could spare at this period was given to corresponding with his colleagues of the Royal Society, and although the most elaborate papers he sent home to them were consigned by De Ruyter's cruisers to the bottom of the British Channel, yet there still remain to be consulted long letters of his dealing in turn with astronomical and chemical researches, with tides, water-spouts, caterpillars, comets, minerals, sea-dredging, the blight of corn, the effects of lightning, new ways of making salt and tar, with other topics too numerous to mention.³ In one letter to the President of the Society, Sir Robert Moray, he describes his reasons for suspecting the existence of a fifth satellite of Jupiter, — a discovery reserved to our own time, — and he made other observations with a little telescope subsequently given by him to Harvard College, the earliest astronomical instrument which that institution is known to have possessed.⁴

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 5, vol. viii. p. 134.

² Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. i. p. 317.

³ Winthrop's correspondence with the Royal Society, — or such of it as escaped the Dutch, — is to be found in Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings, Series 1, vol. xvi. pp. 206-251, and it has also been privately printed in pamphlet form.

⁴ See a letter to him from the Corporation of Harvard on this subject, dated Feb. 2, 1674, and printed in Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings, Series 2, vol. iv. pp. 265-266.

In October, 1670, he wrote from Boston again offering to resign the Governorship, assigning as a reason "the necessity eyther of a voyage into England, or much longer stay in Massachusetts than I intended when I came from Hartford," and he had previously chafed at being able to be so little at Fisher's Island, where he had long been successful in breeding horses, and had in view fresh experiments in making salt.¹ The General Assembly, however, renewed their refusal, but endeavored to console him by voting a further increase of salary, accompanied by valuable grants of land.² At the close of 1672 came the great sorrow and irreparable loss of his old age, the death at Hartford of his wife, who had over-fatigued herself in taking care of him during a severe illness, and whose memory is perpetuated by affectionate allusions to her in the letters of Roger Williams, — one in particular. Near the village of Wickford in the Narragansett country, which took its name from her English home, was a spring at which she often drank in journeys to and from Boston, and which became widely known as Elizabeth's Spring. It was in allusion to it that Williams subsequently wrote her bereaved husband: —

I constantly thinck of you and send up one remembrance to Heaven for you, and a groan from my selfe for myselfe, when I pass Elizabeth's Spring. Here is the Spring say I (with a sigh) but where is Elizabeth! My charity answers, she is gone to the Eternal Spring and Fountaine of Living Waters.³

King Philip's war broke out in 1675 and some idea of the anxieties which beset Winthrop may be gleaned from the following extract from a long letter which Williams wrote him on the 25th of June:—

¹ The first horse ever seen in Connecticut is stated to have been brought there by Winthrop in 1645, and the stud farm maintained by him at Fisher's Island was continued by his sons and grandson.

² Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. i. p. 321.

³ Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 4, vol. vi. p. 299.

While we were discoursing . . . in comes (as from Heaven) your dear son Major Winthrop to our assistance. . . . The last night they have (as is this morning said) slaine 5 English of Swansie & brought their heads to Phillip, & mortally wounded 2 more, with the death of one Indian. By letters from the Governour of Plymmouth we heare that the Plymmouth forces (about 200), with Swansie & Rehoboth men, were this day to give battell to Phillip. Sir, my old bones & eyes are weary with travel, & writing to the Governours of Massachusets & Rode Island, & now to your selves. I end with humble cryes to the Father of Mercies to extend his ancient & wonted mercies to N: England.¹

He had now entered the seventieth year of a life which had involved unremitting exertion and much exposure to severity of climate. It is not therefore to be wondered at that the pressure of physical infirmities had begun to bear heavily upon him, but when, for the third time, he asked permission to relinquish the helm to a younger pilot, proposing to recruit his health by a voyage to England,² he was met by such a chorus of remonstrance that he resigned himself to die in harness, nor had he long to wait. In September, 1675, he proceeded to Boston to attend a protracted session of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. In March, 1676, when preparing to return to Hartford, he took cold, became feeble, and on the 10th of April was laid beside his father in what is now King's Chapel grave-yard.

Seven and thirty years had then elapsed since he is known to have occupied his house at the East End of Ipswich, but that he continued during all this time in some degree in touch with the town is shown by occasional allusions in his domestic correspondence, particularly in the letters of Samuel Symonds, who at one time speaks of a visit from three of Winthrop's daughters "all in health, & as merry as very good cheere & Ipswich frends can make them,"—at another time

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 4, vol. vi. pp. 301-2. Both Winthrop's sons were then in the military service of Connecticut, but the younger was in command of this detachment, owing to his brother's illness.

² See his letter to the General Court of Connecticut, in *Ibid.*, Series 5, vol. viii. pp. 168-169.

writes, "our friends at Salem, Wenham, & Ipswich are all in health, blessed be God," — and who not infrequently expresses the hope of a visit from Winthrop himself, the last of these invitations being as late as 1675.

He left behind him an unusually large landed property, — much of it unimproved, — scattered through the jurisdictions of Connecticut, New York, and Massachusetts, the heirs being seven children, two sons and five daughters, several other children having died before him. His eldest son, Fitz-John, is best remembered as general in command of the Expedition against Canada in 1690, as Agent of Connecticut at the Court of William and Mary, and as long Governor of that Colony. The younger, Wait, married for his first wife a daughter of Hon. William Browne, of Salem, and after his father's death resided chiefly in Boston, where he sat for a long period in the Executive Council, became Chief Justice of the Superior Court, and was for nearly thirty years Major-General commanding the Massachusetts Militia. His second wife and widow figures prominently in Judge Sewall's diary. The five daughters were Elizabeth, who married, first, Rev. Antipas Newman, already alluded to, and second, Zerubbabel Endecott, a son of Governor John Endecott, leaving issue only by her first marriage; Lucy, who became first wife of Major Edward Palmes of New London, and died without surviving issue; Margaret, who married John Corwin of Salem, and left issue; Martha, who became third wife of Hon. Richard Wharton of Boston, and left two daughters; Anne, who became second wife of Hon. John Richards of Boston, and died without issue.

It is rarely, if ever, the lot of a public man to escape criticism, and some features of Winthrop's policy have been called in question. In a discriminating review of his administration a distinguished historian says: —

It is painful to have to speak in terms of measured commendation of a man so virtuous as the second John Winthrop. Apart from his dis-

tinguished elegance and accomplishments of mind, which belong to a different category, he was singularly amiable in all private relations. So gracefully did he bear his eminence, that no one was provoked to traduce or so much as prompted to envy him. He was so gentle and generous that to dissent from him cost a struggle. Everybody wished well to him who was everybody's well-wisher and helper. The champions of New Haven, excited as they were, never mention him with harshness. Even John Davenport, with his strong and stern character, and his more just and comprehensive views of public affairs, could scarcely bear, in that catastrophe of New Haven which fired his heart, to oppose himself to his old and kind friend. Winthrop had, within his sphere, an excellent talent for affairs. The internal administration of his Colony was conducted by him with great skill and good sense, as well as diligence.

But to bestow on him the same amount of praise that is due to his illustrious father would be to confound things that widely differ. His character had not the same heroic cast. This was by the inferiority of his nature, and not by any vice of his principles. But history, which should express the cultivated moral sense of mankind, must not place any, who are borne away on a current of seductive or bewildering influence, on the same level with those who breast the tide with hearts of controversy, sustained by consciousness of power in themselves, and by a supreme confidence that, against whatever strength of opposition, truth and right will prove their sufficient allies. . . .

It should not occasion surprise, if the experiences, public and private, through which the Governor of Connecticut had passed before the restoration of the British monarchy, at which time he was fifty-five years old, had somewhat toned down the enthusiasm with which under parental influence he had entered upon life. He had now seen the once competent fortune of his family sacrificed in carrying out his father's generous enterprise. He had seen the great patriot party in England, which bespoke the devotion of his youth, dismally discredited by the errors of those whom events pushed to its front, and all its power scattered, and its glory vanished like a dream.

It is no more than just to believe that Winthrop went to England after the Restoration without a purpose to wrong New Haven, or to weaken the Confederacy of the Four Colonies. In England, where his estimable and winning qualities were at once recognized, he was caressed and petted by men who did not love his adopted country as he did, or who, at all events, did not see its vital interests and honor in the light in which they were regarded by her own wisest sons. Lord Manchester,

Lord Anglesey, Lord Holles, and other Puritan nobles, who had become courtiers as the best thing to be done in those evil times, were willing to patronize New England, but only with circumspection and reserve. The aged Lord Saye and Sele, the early patron of the suitor from Connecticut, had had enough of opposition to the King, and he had no partiality for the Colony of New Haven, which had been erected, without leave asked, on land of which he claimed to be a proprietor by royal grant. Robert Boyle, and the academicians over whom he presided, conferred the signal honor of election to their Society on the philosopher from beyond the water; and Boyle made no secret of his opinion that his New England friends would do well to be tractable and quiet. Lord Clarendon, whose scheme of Colonial policy was ripe, saw his opportunity to practise on the amiable envoy, and the blandishments of that courtly though arbitrary statesman were not easy to withstand.¹ It is not safe for the most upright man to receive flattering attentions from those whose political designs he ought not to favor. It is by no means always to ill intentions, or to general incapacity, on the part of important actors, that political errors and disasters are to be traced. If the influences to which Winthrop was subjected in England confused his perceptions of a patriot's duty, there is no proof that they ever tempted him to do a conscious wrong. It is fair to suppose that he was brought to see or to believe that an annexation of New Haven to Connecticut was the best provision attainable by him for the well-being of both Colonies, and he honestly desired to make the calamity as little afflicting as possible to the aggrieved Colony.²

The foregoing passage was penned nearly forty years ago, and in the interval there has been a perceptible increase in the number of those students of history who incline to doubt whether the annexation of New Haven to Connecticut was either an error of judgment or a grave disaster. This is not the place to discuss such a question. At all events, the habitual moderation of Winthrop's political course was generally recognized, even by his opponents. Writing to him in 1660, Roger Williams said:—

¹ In a footnote the author refers to a letter from Winthrop to Boyle in the Works of the Honorable Robert Boyle, i. lxxi., and prints a well-known letter from Clarendon to Winthrop, dated April 28, 1664. See also Boyle's letter to Winthrop, of April 21, 1664, in Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings, Series 1, vol. v. pp. 276-277.

² Palfrey's History of New England, vol. iii. p. 231-237.

Sir, you were, not long since, the son of two noble fathers, M^r John Winthrop and M^r H. Peters. Surely I did ever, from my soule, honor and love them even when their judgments led them to afflict me. Yet the Father of Spirits spares us breath, and I rejoyce that youre name is not blurrd, but rather honord, for your prudent and moderate hand in the late Quakers trials amongst us. And it is said that in the late Parliament your selfe were one of the three in nomination for Gen: Governor over New England, which however that design ripend not, yet your name keepest up a high esteeme. . . . I rejoyce to hear that you gain, by new plantations, upon this wilderness. The sight of youre hand hath quieted some jealousies that the Bay designed some prejudice to the liberty of conscience amongst us, and my endeavor shall be (with God's helpe), to wellcome, with both our hands and armes, your interest in these parts, though we have no hope to enjoy your personall residence amongst us.¹

And in the last letter Winthrop is known to have received from him, dated Dec. 10, 1675, and accompanying the gift of a little volume of poetry, Roger Williams wrote: —

I have heard that you have bene in late consultations *semper idem*, *semper pacificus*, & I hope therein *beatus*. You have always bene noted for tendernes toward mens soules, especially for conscience sake to God. You have bene noted for tendernes toward the bodies & infirmities of poor mortalls. You have bene tender too toward the estates of men in your civill steerage of government, & toward the peace of the land, yea, of these wild savages. I presume you are satisfied in the necessitie of these present hostilities, & that it is not possible to keepe peace with these barbarous men of blood, who are as justly to be repelld & subdued as wolves that assault the sheepe. God hath helpt yourselfe & others with wonderfull selfe denyall & patience to keep off this necessitie. But God (against whom only there is no fighting) is pleased to put this iron yoake upon our necks & (as he did with the Canaanites) to harden them against Joshua to their destruction. I fear the event of the justest war; but if it please God to deliver them into our hands, I know you will *antiquum obtinere*, & still endeavour that our sword may make a difference, & *parcere subjectis*, though we *debellare superbos*. . . .

Sir, I hope the not approach of your deare son with his (your forces of Connecticut) is only through the interceping of the posts; for we

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 3, vol. x. pp. 27-28.

have now no passing by Elizabeths Spring without a strong foote. God will have it so. Dear Sir, if we cannot save our patients, nor relations, nor Indians, nor English, oh let us make sure to save the bird in our bozome, & to enter into that straight dore & narrow way, which the Lord Jesus himselfe tells us, few there be that find it.¹

In conclusion, Governor John Winthrop the younger will not go down in history as cast in the heroic mould of his father. Probably, but for his father's sake, he would not have remained in New England many years, so strong was his bent towards science. There can, however, be no question that, by those who find time to study his remarkable career, he will always be regarded as an exceptionally many-sided man, conscientious and self-sacrificing, who entered heart and soul into whatever he undertook, and who, whether as a scholar, a soldier, a pioneer, a statesman, or a man of business, was greatly valued by his contemporaries, and considered all-important to many enterprises.

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Series 4, vol. vi. pp. 305-306.

APPENDIX

I.

AN INVENTORIE OF M^r. WINTHROPS GOODS OF IPSWITCH ¹

Imp^rs In the Cham^r ov^r the Parlor

1 feath^r bed 1 banekett 1 cov^rlett 1 blew rugg 1 boster & 2 pillowes
1 trunek marked wth R. W. F.² wherein is
 1 mantle of silk wth gld lace
 1 holland tablecloth some 3 yds lounge
 1 p^r lll holl sheets³

1 pillobear half full of ehilds linning etc
5 ehilds blanketts whereof 1 is bare million (vermillion ?)
1 eushion for a ehild of chamlett
1 cours table cloth 3 y^{ds} long
6 eros cloths & 2 gnives (?)
9 ehilds bedds (beeds ?) 2 duple clouts 1 p^r holl sleeves
4 apons whereof 1 is laced
2 smocks 2 p^r sheets 1 napkin

1 whit square chest whercin is
 1 doz dyp [diaper ?] napkins 1 damsk napkin
 1 doz holl napkins

¹ This inventory, mentioned on pages 9 and 10, exhibits the personal effects and live stock left in Ipswich by Winthrop on his departure for England in the autumn of 1634, after the loss of his wife and child. It has already been printed by this Society, but the suggestion has been made that it will hereafter be convenient to be able to refer to it in this volume.

² These initials were probably A. W. F. (Anne Winthrop Fones, mother of Winthrop's wife).

³ Twilled holland ?

2 doz & 2 napkins
 2 euberd cloths
 11 pillowbeares
 11 ☞☞ napkins
 2 table cloths
 4 towills
 1 ☞☞ holl shirt
 2 dyp towills
 3 dyp table cloths
 1 p^r ☞☞ holl sheets

1 long great chest where in is
 1 black gowne tam'y¹
 1 gowne sea greene
 1 child's baskett
 2 old petticoats 1 red [*illeg.*] 1 sand coll^r serg
 1 p^r leath^r stockings 1 muff
 1 window cushion
 5 quision cases 1 small pillowe
 1 peece stript linsy wooley
 1 p^r boddyes
 1 tapstry cov^rlett
 1 peece lininge stuff for curtins
 1 red bayes cloake for a woman
 1 p^r of sheets

In the Cham^r ov^r the Kychin

1 feath^r bed 1 boster 1 pillowe 2 blanketts 2 ruggs bl & w^t
 2 floq bedds 5 ruggs 2 bolsters 1 pillowe
 1 broken warming pan

In the Garrett Cham^r ov^r the Storchouse

maney small things glasses potts &c

In the Parlor

1 bedsted 1 trundle bedsted wth curtins & vallences
 1 table & 6 stooles

¹ Taminy, a sort of woollen cloth.

- 1 muskett 1 small fowleing peece wth rest & bandeleer
 1 trunke of pewter
 1 cabbinnett wherein the servants say is rungs, jewills, 13 silv^r spoones
 this I cannot open
 1 cabbinnett of Surgerie

In the Kytchin

- 1 brass baking pan
 5 milk pans
 1 small pestle & mortar
 1 steele mill
 14 musketts rests & bandeleers
 2 iron kettles 2 copp^r 2 brass kettles
 1 iron pott
 2 bl jacks
 2 skillitts whereof 1 is brasse
 4 poringers
 1 spitt 1 grat^r
 1 p^r racks 1 p^r andirnes 1 old iron rack
 1 iron peelee 1 grediron 1 p^r tongs
 2 brass ladles 1 p^r bellowes
 2 stills wth bottums[?]

In Mr Wards hands

- 1 silv^r cupp 6 spoones 1 salt of silver

In the ware howse

- 2 gréat chests naled upp
 1 chest 1 trunk w^{ch} I had ord^r not to open
 1 chest of tooles
 6 coves 6 steeres 2 heiffers
 dyvers peeces of iron & steele

P^r me WILL CLARKE

Indorsed by Governor Winthrop: Innyer (?) of my sones goods (*last two words illegible*)

II.

LETTERS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.¹

To my loveing brother John Winthrop, Essq^r, in England or elsewhere, dd.

SEPTEMBER 27: 1642.

Loving brother,

I could not but writ thes fewe lines unto you, being verrey desierus to heare from you, it being so I cannot see you heare; but I hop it will not be long but you will bee heare. Wee thinke the time verrey long since you wint away. Wee know it cannot but be verrey greves to my sistar to be so long absent from you, thoth she bares it verrey well before company. Therefore I pray hastin to us and let not Wate Still wate any longer. You know, I suppose, your sones name is so.² I must be brefe becas I am unfit to writ much. I have laine in and have another lekill girll, and have kept my chambar this nine wekes, and have had a sore brest, but the Lord hath bin verrey good to me. My husban is well, and is at the Bay at the Court aconsulting what to doe about the Ingines. Wee are in feare of thim. My sistar Lake is heare and desires to be remembared to you. This with my love to you remembared, I commet you to the Lord and rest

Your ever loving Sistar

MARTHA SIMONS.

For my very loveing Unele, John Winthrope Esq^r now in Boston, this present.

Loveing Unele,

This is to intreat you to remember to make some thing for my mans arme, and leave it with my Sister Duncan, and if you can conveniently, something for my eyes, for the rume troubles me as it did before, and some direction how I should use it. I had hopes of coming to Boston before now, but the weather hath much hindered me in my

¹ Early Ipswich letters, however unimportant, possess a certain interest, and these two are the only ones found among Winthrop's papers which were addressed to him by their respective writers. The first is from his wife's sister, the second wife of Samuel Symonds, who had previously married Daniel Eppes, the elder. The second is from this lady's son Daniel Eppes, the younger, who subsequently married Elizabeth Symonds, a daughter of his step-father by the latter's first wife, Dorothy Harlakenden.

² Winthrop's second son, born Feb. 26, 164 $\frac{1}{2}$, during his father's absence, was christened Waite Still, but was afterward habitually known only as Wait. He is sometimes stated to have been born in 161 $\frac{3}{4}$, but this letter, and the records of the First Church of Boston, establish the contrary.

occasions, and have little hope of coming within any short time. If providence should so order that wee doe not see you here nor there, I would intreat you to present my servis, with my wife's, to my Ant Winthrope, and our love to all our coussens. Soe haveing no more to trouble you with, I shall remaine yours to be comanded in any servis.

DANIELL EPPS.

From Ipswich, 3. 8th 1658.

III.

WILL OF JOHN WINTHROP, J^R., 1661.

I being at present, through the goodnesse of the Almighty, in good health of body, yet intending (if God please) to make a voyage over the seas into Europe, — finding to my full satisfaction after long & serious consideration the Lord directing me thereunto, as by a full, cleere & necessary call to undertake that voyage, — I doe comitt my selfe, soule & body, into the hands of the Almighty, my faithfull Creator & mercifull Redeemer, whether in life or death, relying only upon his divine providence & goodnesse for protection & guidance in this long voyage, — so relying only upon the meritts of my gracious Saviour for the salvation of my Soule in the day of his glorious appearing & the resurrection of the just, resting in full hope & assurance of my part therein through the wonderfull power & virtue of his resurrection, I thought it necessary for the setling of my outward estate for the cōfort of my family, to make this my last Will & testament in māner following:—

First, I desire that all my just debtes may be satisfied out of my stock of horses, mares, goates, sheepe, and great cattle,—such as are not lett out,—as also out of the rents of my Iland, and Mill at New London, if other stock will not doe it,—w^{ch} ever may be best done according to the ordering of the Executors, wth the advice of any friends they may see cause to take councell of in y^t case.

I give & bequeath to my deare wife one hundred pounds p annū to be paid unto hir yearly during hir life in this māner following:— That whereas my farme of Mistick is made over as a joynture to hir for hir maintenance during hir life, it is my will, and my true intent & meaning, that there shalbe so much more paid unto hir out of Fishers Iland, or the Mill at New London, or both, or any other of my estate as may, — wth that rent or profitts w^{ch} shalbe frō my said farme at

Mistick called Tenhills, neere Charlestowne in the Colony of the Massachusetts, and the orchard there, — amount to the full sume of one hundred pounds p annũ, to be paid to hir at such place as she shall direct, wthout any care or trouble to hir selfe.

I give also to my wife the use and dwelling in my house at Tenhills, and that at New London (both as it now is, or when it shalbe finished for a dwelling house), during hir life, that she may chuse w^{ch} of those houses she will, or both of them, if she will sometimes change hir habitation for hir health & the health of hir family. Also, I give hir the use of the house at Hartford w^{ch} I have hired for the remainder of the tyme thereof of this last yeare y^t it is in my hands.

Also, I do give unto hir my said wife the use of all the household goods, as bedding, pewter, brass, iron, linen, or any other things, that are eyther at Hartford, or Newhaven, or New London, or Mistick, or Boston, during hir life, & power to dispose of them amongst our children as she shall thinke fittest, eyther in her life tyme or at hir death. Also I give hir six coves, & five mares, & the greate gray horse, to be hers to dispose of as she will, and ten sheepe; and the use of my negro Strange, alias Kaboõder, halfe his tyme; — but the other halfe I allow to himselfe during his life, if his mistris consent to it. My meaning is that he should, if he doth not desire to live wth hir, or she not willing to keepe him, then he should worke for hir, or her assignes, as she hath oecation, thre daies in the weeke, & the rest of the tyme to make the best of it for himselfe, — or as he can agree wth his mistris upon daies, to take allowance of hir for that pt of his tyme that I allow him for himselfe if she desireth it & he be willing, as they may yearly agree, — & after hir death I sett him wholly free to worke or plant wholly for himselfe, provided he did carry himselfe well to hir, and provided he doth not sell himselfe, or any other waies dispose of himself to any other, except to be hired for some short tyme as an English laborer or workmã.

And I doe give unto him the said Kaboonder twenty aeres of land, eyther at Mistick in the Pequot country, or betweene the Sawmill & Alewife Brook, w^{ch} he shall chuse, or at Quinibage if there be a plantation there, — and if he take it there, I allow him 10 aeres of meadow there, besides the twenty aeres of upland, out of my division of lands there when it shall come to be divided, or before, if my loving friends M^r Richarson & the rest will lay it out for him there.¹

¹ By family tradition, Kaboonder was a native African who claimed to have been a chief in his own country, and in whose fidelity Winthrop placed much confidence.

Also, I give to my daughter Lucy my farm at Niantique w^{ch} is lett out unto Isaac Willie & his son in law who married his daughter, to hir and hir heires for ever, — but if she should not have heires of hir owne body, nor dispose of it by Will, then I give it to my son Wait Still Winthrop & his heires for ever, provided he pay out of it fifty pounds apiece to my daughters, Margaret, Martha & Anne, wth in one yeare after his right to it should fall out, otherwise the rent of it to go to the raising of these fifty pounds, that is, to Margaret the first yeare & Martha the next, & to Anne the next yeare, so to be continued till the said sūmes are paid, & then to be to my sonne Wait Still & his heires as aforesaid. Also I give to my daughter Lucy one mare & two coves, & the little white horse w^{ch} is called hir horse already, & six sheepe.

I give to my daughter Margaret that farme w^{ch} I have at the head of Mistick River, neere goodnā Culvers, & that land there w^{ch} I bought of Jeames Morgan, to hir & hir heires for ever, and a mare and thre coves and five ewe sheepe and ten goates, to be put on it.

Also, I give to my daughter Martha the one halfe of that fifteene hūdred acres of land w^{ch} I have a grant frō the Court to have it laid out behind Mr Brewsters about Poquatanuck, or whereev^r else by the Courts consent it may be laid out, to be to hir & hir heires for ever. Also I give her one mare & two coves, & 5 sheepe & ten goates. I give the other halfe thereof to my daughter Anne & her heires for ever. Also I give hir one mare & 2 coves, 5 sheepe & ten ew goates.

I give my son Waite Still my gray mare & another mare colt, & the horse w^{ch} he hath now.

I give also to my negro Caboonder one heifer or cove, & if it should die before he hath of the breed of it, then he to have an other yearling heifer.

Also I give to Mr Samuell Stone, the teacher of Hartford, my worthy friend, one young mare of two yeare old, of the breed of the star or roane mare, w^{ch} are the best breed, or in want thereof of any else.

But if it should fall out that any of the foresaid lands should be sold necessarily for the paymēt of debts or other considerations, then my will is that there should be double the quantity laid out for any of them, to whom the other should have come, at Quinibage, before my other lands there be disposed of.

I give unto my thre younger daughters, Margaret, Martha & Anne thre hundred pounds apiece, to be paid out of Fishers Iland, and the Mill at New London, and the farme at Poquanack, wth in a yeare after their mariage the one halfe, and the other halfe a yeare after, or as they

shall be at the age of eighteene years, and in the meane while, & till they be married, to be maintained out of the whole estate; and if any of them should die before their mariage then the third part to be to the two other & the rest to my two sonnes.

I give to my sonne Waite the Sawmill & the land adjoining to it, & that w^{ch} is betweene that & Alewife Brooke, if it be not sold; also that w^{ch} was bought of George Chapell neere the waterside on the North Side of Alewife Brooke; and also my share in that w^{ch} is at Monhegan betweene Jeames Rogers & John Elderkin & my selfe; also the house & halfe the land at New London neere the Mill; also my interest in any land at Pacatuck & the Mill there; also my part of the great neck at Naragansett where Major Atherton & Capt. Hutchenson have their parts; also halfe of my right of Point Judie or any other pt of Naroganset, & halfe my right of the remainder of Quinibage lauds; also halfe the lead mine at Tantiusques & the land about it; and the third pt of the cleere rent of Fishers Iland during his life, after his mothers decease & sisters legacies paid, w^{ch} shalbe first paid out of the whole estate; and all the other fore mentioned to be to him & his heires for ever.

I give to every one of my daughters six hundred acres of land at Quinibage, and to my two sonnes one thousand acres each, to be laid out to them all impartially.

My will is that my daughter Newman & my daughter Luey should have one hundred pounds apeice, also to be paid out of Fishers Iland & the Mill at New London & Poquanuck & the whole estate, wthin seven yeares.

The rest of my estate I give to my son Fitz-John and his heires for ever, and if eyther of my sonnes should dye wthout issue, my will is that his estate should be halfe to the other son & the rest to be divided among the rest of my childⁿ; and I doe make & constitute my beloved wife, & my two sons, & my son Newmã, and my daughter Luey; Executors of this my Will.

Witnesse my hand, July 12, 1661.

JOHN WINTHROP.¹

Witnesses hereto,
that it is soe lined:

SAM. STONE.
THO. WILLETT.

¹ Unpublished Winthrop Papers. The original is wholly in the handwriting of the testator, and is closely written on a single sheet of foolscap, with numerous interlineations and erasures. It would seem as if he must have intended it as merely

IV.

WILL OF JOHN WINTHROP, J^r. 1676.

I, John Winthrop, of the Colony of Connecticut in N: Engl., now resident in Boston, being sieke in body, but through merey of pfect memory & understanding, doe make this my last Will & Testament as followeth, renouneing all other & former Wills whatsoever:

First, I comitt my soul unto God my faithfull Creato^r, trusting that through the meritts of my dear Redeemer I shall have a glorious resurrection of this vile body, w^{ch} shall be made like to his Glorious Bōdy, that though, after my skin, the wormes shall destroy this flesh, yet wth these eyes I shall behold my Redeemer & be for ever wth the Lord. My body to the earth, to be decently interred att y^e discretion of my Exeuto^{rs} hereafter named.

As for my temporall estate, w^{ch} the Lord hath lent me here, I dispose of it as followeth:—And first my will is that my just debts be duely paid, after w^{ch}, & my funerall charges being defrayed, I will & bequeath unto my two sonns, Fitz-John & Wayt Still, to each of them an equall proportion out of my estate, w^{ch} is to be a double portion to each of them,—that is, double to what I give to each of my daughters,—the rest of my estate to be equally to my five daughters, viz: Elizabeth, Lucy, Margaret, Martha, & Anne. Only, my will is that, in the computation of my estate, whereas I have already given to my daughters Elizabeth & Lucy good farmes, w^{ch} they are in possession of, that that may be considered by the overseers of this my Will hereafter named, & proportionably aecompted as p^t of their portion, abatem^t to be made out of the p^sent legacy, to them given above, accordingly.

And I doe hereby nominate & apoint my two sons Fitz-John & Wait Still, & my five daughters above named, to be Exeuto^{rs} & Executrixes of this my last Will & testament, and I doe request the p^sens hereafter named to accept y^e trouble to be overseers of this Will & settle all things accordingly. And I do declare that it is my will that if any question, difficulty, or difference arise in or about this my Will, it shall

a rough draft, but that, finding himself too busy to re-write it, he proceeded to sign it before witnesses. The signatures of the latter are genuine. Filed with it was found a general Power of Attorney, enabling his wife to manage his property during his absence, and suggesting that, in so doing, she should take counsel of his son-in-law Newman and his friend Amos Richardson of Boston. This latter document is dated July 3, 1661, and witnessed by Samuel Stone, Richard Lord, Sen^r, Matthew Griswold, John Tinker, and James Noyes.

be determined by them or any three of them. The persons are: of Connecticut, Capt. John Allin, M^r Will^m Jones, & Major Robert Treat; of Boston, M^r Humphry Davy, M^r James Allin, & my brother John Richards.

In witness that this is my last Will & Testam^t I have hereunto sett my hand & seale. Done in Boston this third day of Aprill, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred seventy six.

JOHN WINTHROP.

Signed, sealed, published
& declared in p^rsence of

THOMAS THACHER, Sen^r.

JOHN BLAKE.

Vera copia :

JOHN ALLYN, *Sec^ry.*¹

OCTOB^r 8, 1680.

V.

Readers of early New England literature will not improbably recall a little volume entitled "Poetical Meditations of Roger Wolcott, Esq^r," published in 1725, no less than sixty pages of which are devoted to a narrative poem in celebration of Winthrop's achievements at the Court of Charles II. With all due respect for that excellent man, the first Governor Wolcott, he does not appear to advantage as a poet, — and the same remark may be applied, with even greater emphasis, to several of Winthrop's contemporaries, who, with the best intentions, composed funeral elegies in his honor. One of these productions, however — a black-letter broadside, of which only one copy is known to exist — contains some lines not wholly without merit, and it is here furnished as an example of the peculiar manner in which our forefathers struggled to express their sympathy in metrical or rhythmical forms.

¹ Unpublished Winthrop Papers. The original was dictated by Winthrop in his last illness, and executed by him the day but one before he died. He therein styles John Richards "brother" because the latter had married, for his first wife, the widow of Winthrop's brother Adam. It should be added that a portion of his lands had previously been entailed on the male line of his family for two generations.

A

FUNERAL TRIBUTE

*To the Honourable Dust of that most Charitable Christian, Unbiassed
Politician and Unimitable Pyrotechnist*

JOHN WINTHROPE, ESQ:

*A Member of the Royal Society, & Governour of Conecticut Colony
in New England*

Who expired in his Countreys Service, April 6th, 1676.

Another black Parenthesis of woe
The Printer wills that all the World should know.
Sage Winthrop prest with publick sorrow Dies,
As the Sum total of our Miseries.
A Man of worth who well may ranked be
Not with the thirty but the peerless three
Of Western Worthies, Heir to all the Stock
Of praise his Sire received from his Flock.
Great Winthrops Name shall never be forgotten
Till all New Englands Race be dead and rotten,
That Common Stock of all his Countries weal
Whom Grave and Tomb-stone never can conceal.

Three Colonies his Patients bleeding lie,
Deserted by their great Physicians eye,
Whose common sluce is poized for their tears,
And Gates fly open to a Sea of fears.
His Christian Modesty would never let
His name be near unto his Saviours set;
Yet Miracles set by, hee'd act his part
Better to Life than Doctors of his Art.
Projections various by fire he made
Where Nature had her common Treasure laid.
Some thought the tincture Philosophick lay
Hatcht by the Mineral Sun in Winthrops way,
And clear it shines to me he had a Stone
Grav'd with his Name which he could read alone.

To say how like a Seevola at Court,
 Or ancient Consuls Histories report,
 I here forbear, hoping some learned Tongue
 Will quaintly write, and not his Honour wrong.
 His common Acts with brightest lustre shone,
 But in Apollo's Art he was alone.
 Sometimes Earths veins creeping from endless holes
 Would stop his plodding eyes : anon the Coals
 Must search his Treasure, conversant in use
 Not of the Mettals only but the juice.
 Sometimes his wary steps, but wandring too,
 Would carry him the Chrystal Mountains to,
 Where Nature locks her Gems, each costly spark
 Mocking the Stars, spher'd in their Cloisters dark.
 Sometimes the Hough, anon the Gardners Spade
 He deigned to use, and tools of th' Chymick trade.

His fruits of toyl Hermetically done
 Stream to the poor as light doth from the Sun.
 The lavish Garb of silks, Rich Plush and Rings,
 Physicians Livery, at his feet he flings.
 One hand the Bellows holds, by t'other Coals
 Disposes he to hatch the health of Souls ;
 Which Mysteries this Chiron was more wise
 Than unto ideots to Anatomize ;
 But in a second person hopes I have
 His Art will live though he possess the Grave.¹

To treat the Morals of this Healer Luke
 Were to essay to write a Pentatuke,
 Since all the Law as to the Moral part
 Had its impression in his spotless heart.
 The vertues shining brightest in his Crown
 Were self depression, scorning all renown ;
 Meekness and Justiee were together laid
 When any Subject from good order straid.
 Neither did ever Artificial fire
 Boyle up the choler of his temper higher

¹ This is evidently an allusion to Wait Winthrop, who inherited his father's taste for the study of medicine.

Than modest bounds, in Church and Commonwealth
 Who was the Balsome of his Countries Health.
 Europe sure knew his worth who fixt his Name
 Among its glorious Stars of present fame.
 Here Royal Charles leads up, stands Winthrope there
 Amongs the Virtuosi in the Rear:
 But for his Art with hundreds of the rest
 He might be placed in Front and come a Breast.

What Soul, in souldings 'tother side the Scene,
 With Souls turn'd Angels guess we to have been
 When first his Chariot wheels the threshold felt
 Where Winthrops, Dudleys, Cottons Spirits dwelt!
 What melting joys are there! Sorrows below,
 Should adequately from New England flow;
 If Saints be intercessors, heres our hope
 We need not be beholding to the Pope.
 We have as good ourselves, — an honest Brother
 Outvies their Saintship there or any other.
 Now Helmonts lines so learned and abstruse
 Are laid aside and quite cast out of use,
 And Authors which such vast expenses spent
 Lye like his Corps; — his Ear is only lent
 To Heavenly Harmonies, all things his Eye
 Views in the platforme whence all forms did fly;
 His labours cease for ever, but the fruit
 He reaps at Fountain head without dispute.

B. THOMPSON.¹

¹ Benjamin Thompson, who generally wrote his name Tompson, is sometimes styled the first Native American poet. After graduating at Harvard in 1662, he was successively a school-master in Boston, Charlestown, Braintree, and Roxbury, but also practised medicine. Among his later productions is an Elegy on Fitz John Winthrop in 1708.

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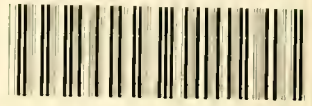


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