

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council submits to the Society the statements of the Treasurer and Librarian as portions of its report. It wishes to call attention to the changes which have been introduced by the former officer, under the advice of the Finance Committee of the Council, in keeping the accounts of the Society, and to the fact that a list of the securities in which the principal of the funds is invested will hereafter be printed in the record of our semi-annual Proceedings.

Seven members of the American Antiquarian Society have died since our last meeting, namely: Dr. Ashbel Woodward of Franklin, Connecticut; Dr. Rufus Woodward of Worcester, Massachusetts; Professor Heinrich Fischer of Freiburg, Germany; Honorable Peter Child Bacon of Worcester, Massachusetts; Mr. Henry Stevens of Vermont and London; Professor Edward Tuckerman of Amherst, Massachusetts; and Señor Gumesindo Mendoza of the city of Mexico.

ASHBEL WOODWARD was born June 26, 1804, in Willington, Connecticut. The farm of his father lay principally in Ashford, Connecticut, but the family residence at the time of Ashbel's birth stood across the line of separation from that town, in Willington. He was seventh in descent from Richard Woodward, whose name is on the earliest list of proprietors of Watertown, Massachusetts.

Dr. Woodward graduated from the Medical Department of Bowdoin College in May, 1829, and settled two months later in Franklin, Connecticut, as a physician. Here he continued to reside until his death, December 20, 1885, in

the eighty-second year of his life. Dr. Woodward became a prominent man in his profession, and was also known to have exceptional acquirements as a genealogist, antiquary, and inquirer and writer in the field of local history and biography. He was President of the Connecticut Medical Society for the years 1858 to 1861, and the annual addresses delivered by him while he held this position attracted much attention at the time. From its foundation he was an active and deeply interested member of the American Medical Association, and was an honorary member of several state medical societies. He wrote many papers on subjects which interested him professionally. During the early days of the civil war he was appointed a member of the board organized in Connecticut for the examination of candidates for the position of surgeon in the volunteer regiments of that state. He supported the Union cause with that ardor which characterized him in all his convictions and undertakings, and, although nearly sixty years of age at the time, went to the front in our armies as surgeon of the 26th Connecticut regiment. Here he shared in the siege and capture of Port Hudson. As a physician, writes his son, Mr. P. H. Woodward, "he was noted for quickness and accuracy of perception" and "was especially successful in desperate cases."

Although a very busy practitioner Dr. Woodward found time to do much literary work. Besides his medical writings he prepared books, articles and papers on other subjects. He published in 1878 a small volume on Wampum, a subject to which he had given much attention. This is an interesting monograph, and our associate, Mr. William B. Weeden, has remarked that he found it a useful repository of facts from which to draw in preparing his paper in the Johns Hopkins University Studies on Indian Money as a factor in New England Civilization. Dr. Woodward had an especial fondness for genealogical investigations, and his knowledge of the lineages of old New England families was

extensive and at instant command. He was a frequent contributor to the *Historical and Genealogical Register*. In *Allibone's Dictionary of Authors*, where a list of his writings is given, it is stated that he furnished to that periodical perhaps forty papers. In an editorial note in the *Register*, Dr. Woodward is spoken of as "one of the most thorough and reliable of our New England antiquarians."¹

October 14, 1868, Dr. Woodward delivered the historical address on the occasion of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the Congregational Church of Franklin. This address was afterwards expanded into a "History of Franklin." As a member of the committee of arrangements he took an active part in the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the town of Norwich, Connecticut, which took place the 7th and 8th of September, 1859, and for the volume which was issued in commemoration of that event furnished a paper on the early physicians of Norwich. He wrote a memoir of Colonel Thomas Knowlton, who commanded the continental troops stationed behind the rail fence at Bunker Hill, and who was killed at Harlem Heights, September 16, 1776. At the request of the family of the deceased, Dr. Woodward also prepared a biography of General Lyon, who distinguished himself in our civil war. General Lyon was a grand-nephew of Colonel Knowlton. Dr. Woodward was a collector of rare books, pamphlets, coins, Indian relics and autographs, and in accumulating a library made a specialty of town and county histories, and of monographs on important events. In early manhood he became a member of the Congregational Church of Franklin, and always worked earnestly to advance its prosperity. He was a devout and unquestioning believer in the teachings of Christianity, and has been represented as having been in belief, sympathy and character a marked survivor of the

¹ *Historical and Genealogical Register* for April, 1886.

Puritans. During his long service as a physician Dr. Woodward ministered in sickness to at least six successive generations of patients. He left a widow and two sons. This notice has been prepared from materials furnished by his son, Mr. P. H. Woodward, who has himself written an account of his father for the number of the Historical and Genealogical Register for April, 1886. Dr. Woodward was elected a member of this Society in April, 1864.

RUFUS WOODWARD was born in Wethersfield, Connecticut, October 3, 1819. He was the second son of Dr. Samuel Bayard Woodward, then of that town but afterwards for many years the Superintendent of the Asylum for the Insane in Worcester, Massachusetts, and grandson of Dr. Samuel W. Woodward of Torrington, Connecticut, who is said to have been an eminent physician. Mr. Henry B. Stanton in a work recently printed, entitled "Random Recollections," speaks as follows of the father of Rufus Woodward:

"I boarded for some months in Boston at the United States Hotel. Whenever he visited the city, Dr. Samuel B. Woodward, principal of the Insane Asylum, Worcester, dined at that hotel. As he walked erect and majestic through the long room to the head of the table, every knife and fork rested, and all eyes centered on him. He received similar notice when appearing as an expert witness in the courts. The reason was this: young men who saw George Washington after he passed middle life traced the very close resemblance between him and Dr. Woodward. Aware of the cause the doctor was flattered by these attentions."

When about eleven years of age Rufus Woodward went to Boston and entered a store kept by an uncle. Soon, however, he removed to Worcester where he attended school and prepared himself to enter college. He graduated at Harvard College in 1841, and among his classmates were Francis Minot, Dr. Edward Hammond Clark, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson. He studied medicine in the office

of our associate, Dr. Joseph Sargent, and at the Harvard Medical School, and received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1845. Dr. Woodward was a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society. For several years he acted as an assistant to his father in the Asylum for the Insane. He spent two years in Europe in professional study and returned to Worcester in 1850. From the month of June in that year he was a practising physician in that place until his death, from heart disease, December 30, 1885. Dr. Woodward was City Physician from 1863 to 1866, inclusive, and from 1879 to the day of his death. During the latter term of office he was *ex-officio* a member of the Board of Health, serving as its clerk in 1879, and as its chairman from 1881 until he died. He was a member of the School Committee from 1869 to 1872 and from 1875 to 1883. He married in 1855 a daughter of the late William B. Fox, and leaves three sons and one daughter. He was elected a member of this Society October 21, 1865. Dr. Woodward was chairman of the Department of Natural History in the Young Men's Library Association in 1855-6. The names of the officers of the Library Association at that time have a familiar aspect to members of the Antiquarian Society. Its President was George F. Hoar; one of its Vice-Presidents, William Cross; its Recording Secretary, Nathaniel Paine; and on the Board of Directors were F. H. Dewey, T. W. Higginson and W. A. Smith. E. B. Stoddard acted as a Trustee, and a gentleman then known as Reverend T. W. Higginson as Curator of Entomology. It should be added that the Department of Natural History in the Young Men's Library Association was a particular pet of Rev. Edward Everett Hale. As a physician Dr. Woodward held an honorable rank among medical practitioners in Worcester.

The following tribute to his memory is from the pen of Dr. Joseph Sargent, and is a record of remarks made by

him at a meeting of the Medical Improvement Society held in Worcester, January 2, 1886:—

“I had known Rufus Woodward longer than any one here present, and I presume that I knew him better. And now that he is gone I do not propose before this assembly of physicians to speak of him as a physician. Many of you can judge him in this capacity as well as I. It is of him as a friend and a man that I would speak. In friendship he was fast and constant. True himself, he was full of trust. My relations with him were too intimate and too tender for me to develop them here. In more than forty years of intimacy I never doubted him and never found him wanting. And as a man he was without guile. Of high principle and refined taste, and good culture, and manly dignity, he was superior to all the petty jealousies which so often poison the medical profession. I do not recollect ever having heard him speak an unkind word of any physician. And he judged all men charitably, rarely speaking of persons, but only of things. He had a love for his profession which was a part of his love of natural history, in which his proficiency was even distinguished. His life was a happy one, for he studied constantly to add to the happiness of others. And it was happy especially because he was so happy in his home. There was never a tenderer and more devoted husband; and he took a fond interest in all that interested his children, enjoying their young life with them, and sharing in their amusements, in their studies and in their occupation. He was no slave to money and courted no applause. When we look back through his life, which was so pure, so earnest and so unselfish, we do not see the plodding and care-worn physician, but the good man, genial and lustrous in his golden atmosphere of good deeds and good cheer, and happy surroundings. If length of life is to be measured by the sum of happiness his life was long; and the lesson to us all is a good one.”

I invite your attention to the following pleasant letter from our associate, Colonel Higginson, Dr. Woodward's classmate in college, who by request has given in it

reminiscences of his friend and particularly such as relate to their college life:—

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., *Jan. 28, 1886.*

DEAR MR. GREEN:

Thank you for the opportunity of paying some tribute to the memory of my classmate, Dr. Rufus Woodward. Our acquaintance was for many years frank and cordial, though never especially intimate, and I have many pleasant associations with him.

His was the very first figure that met my eyes when I stood waiting on the steps of University Hall, with my future Harvard classmates, waiting for the doors of the examination-room to be opened. We were looking at each other with speculative interest, as possible friends or rivals, and my eye fell especially on him. He was then a vigorous, active boy of fifteen or sixteen, tall and lithe, and with an air of rustic out-door activity, which he soon vindicated. He became our leader at foot-ball, and as we had the unusual glory of vanquishing the Sophomores in one of the trial games that were then practised, he was at once a class favorite, and had the honor of figuring as "Ajax" in a burlesque poem on that event in the *Harvardiana* of that day. Alas, it was his chief college laurel.

He was one of the sort of young men for whom the college now provides opportunities and honors, but who were then practically excluded from both. All his tastes were for observation and natural science; he would have plunged eagerly into an "elective" on any subject in that direction, as he did into the work of our Natural History Society, and afterwards into a volunteer class in entomology with Dr. Harris. He was envied among the youthful Cambridge botanists as the only person who had found the *Corallorhiza verna* within the limits of Cambridge or even near Boston. There was no doubt of the specimen, and the locality was on Observatory Hill, not far from where my own house now stands; but neither Woodward himself nor anybody else could ever find it again. He belonged also to the Davy Club, a chemical association; and to the Hasty Pudding Club, then in its youth. Of this last he was, I think, librarian, having thus the privilege of

a Holworthy room to himself; he had previously been the room-mate of another Worcester boy, Benjamin Heywood.
* * * * * He took no college rank, but if his lot had fallen on these days, he might have taken highest honors in two or three scientific courses.

That he should study medicine was a foregone conclusion; and it was to me a curious coincidence that he and I should be brought together again, after I came to live in Worcester, by being joint founders of a Natural History Society. Of this—which was, it must be remembered, a sort of offshoot of the American Antiquarian Society—he was one of the first Presidents, perhaps the first, and at any rate a constant friend. Without having what would now be thought profound attainments in any department of Natural History, he had that eager, alert, out-door activity which is more stimulative than any mere knowledge; and I can remember that on the one or two occasions when he prepared systematic lectures for the society, I was so much impressed with his power of clear statement as to feel regret that he was not occupying a professor's chair. He always met his classmates with the same joyous face; was always full of college associations and memories, and had more class-feeling than perhaps anybody else among us. There would hardly seem any use in having a class-meeting without Woodward; in him seemed to live immortal the spirit of our youth.

Very truly yours,

THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

It cannot fail to be noticed that the cheery spirit which Colonel Higginson says belonged to Dr. Woodward when in college clung to him throughout his whole life. It was always pleasant to meet him at the semi-annual gatherings of the members of this Society. He was a busy man ordinarily, and so enjoyed a holiday. When we have seen him at our meetings he has seemed like a hard-working school-boy let out of school for a day's vacation; to have forgotten care and given himself up for a few hours to the full enjoyment of a well earned brief period of leisure.

HEINRICH FISCHER. During the month of February last the Librarian of this Society received the following printed letter :—

“ P. P.

Gestern Abend 7 Uhr verschied nach langem schwerem Leiden unser geliebter Onkel

Geh. Hofrat Dr. Heinrich Fischer Professor der Mineralogie und Geologie an der Universität in Freiburg im 68. Lebensjahre.

Um stille Theilnahme bittet

Im Namen der trauernden Hinterbliebenen

MAX FISCHER, Kapellmeister.

Freiburg in Baden, den 2. Februar 1886.”

Professor Fischer was born in Freiburg (Baden), December 19, 1817. His studies were pursued at the University in his native place from which he graduated in the department of medicine. He made the study of mineralogy a specialty, and in 1854 was chosen Professor of Mineralogy and Geology in the University of Freiburg, retaining this position until he died. His most important contributions to knowledge were in the line of microscopical mineralogy and in that of the varieties of minerals which may be classed under the names of Jade and Nephrite. In his investigations respecting the composition of those minerals and the place whence implements made from them came, he considered the subject from the points of view both of the mineralogist and the archæologist. Dr. Fischer's most elaborate and valuable literary production is a work which was published at Stuttgart in 1875. It is a profusely illustrated volume of 407 pages, entitled, *Nephrit und Jadeit*, and treats of the mineralogical qualities of those minerals and of their prehistoric and ethnographic significance.

For an account of many of the opinions of Professor Fischer concerning articles made out of those minerals, reference is made to the very interesting article of our

associate, Dr. Philipp J. J. Valentini, in the number of the Proceedings of this Society for April, 1881, on Two Mexican Chalchihuites, The Humboldt Celt and The Leyden Plate.

It has been stated by Dr. Valentini that Professor Fischer wrote more than one hundred articles on Jade. As members of this Society well know, he held that all celts, etc., made of Nephrite, Jade or Chloromelanite, and that all specimens of the minerals themselves, whether found in Europe or America, came from Asia, and were brought to those parts of the world by peoples migrating to them. This position has been stoutly contested by some European writers who have contended in opposition to Dr. Fischer that there are implements made of those minerals which were not of foreign origin. The theory of Professor Fischer has been passionately impugned and is still warmly contested, it is stated, by Dr. A. B. Mayer, of Dresden, who holds that minerals of the kind spoken of were obtained in the European Alps. Dr. Fischer contributed a valuable paper on The Stone Implements of Asia to the Proceedings of this Society of April, 1884.

The following titles of works of Professor Fischer contributed by him to our library may interest some members of the Society. They have been furnished by Mr. Reuben Colton, our associate and Assistant-Librarian :

Ueber Mexicanische Steinfiguren. Freiburg, 1883.

Nephritfrage und submarginale Durchbohrung von Steingeräthen.

Ueber den Stand der Kenntnisse von der Prähistorie Perisiens.

Ueber die Nephrit Industrie der Maoris in Neuseeland.

PETER CHILD BACON was born in Dudley, Massachusetts, November 11, 1804. He was the son of Jephthah Bacon of that place and of Joanna (Child) Bacon, who came from Woodstock, Connecticut. Fitted for college at the academy which bears the name of his native town, he graduated

at Brown University in 1827, in the same class with Governor John H. Clifford, Rev. Dr. Elam Smalley (formerly pastor of the Union Church in Worcester, afterwards and until his death Mr. Bacon's place of worship, and father of Mr. George W. Smalley, the European editor of the *New York Tribune*), and Honorable Charles Thurber. Mr. Bacon received the degree of LL.D. from his *alma mater* in the year 1857. He studied law at the New Haven Law School and in the offices of our late associates John Davis and Charles Allen of Worcester, and Ira M. Barton, then a resident of Oxford, and of George A. Tufts of Dudley. Admitted to the bar in Worcester in September, 1830, he began to practice his profession in Dudley, but soon removed to Oxford, in which place he spent twelve years, and then, January 1, 1844, went to Worcester, where he remained in constant practice until the very day that he was stricken with the attack of paralysis, which ended his life four days afterwards, February 7, 1886. Thus Mr. Bacon had fifty-six years of active, continuous practice in the courts of the county of Worcester and State of Massachusetts. He seemed to have but small liking for public or official life, yet filled a few positions that were offered to him. He was one of the pioneers of the Free-Soil Party, which was formed after the nomination by the Whigs of General Zachary Taylor for the office of President of the United States, and accepted a nomination from that organization for the place of Representative in the General Court, to which position he was elected for the year 1848. He also served the city of Worcester as its third Mayor in the years 1851 and 1852. He was Register of Bankruptcy for the Worcester Congressional District during the whole time that the last National Bankruptcy Law was in existence, namely, from 1867 to 1878; and for six years (1875 to 1881) was a member of the Board of Directors of the Free Public Library in Worcester, acting as the President of the Board for the last three years of his

term of office. Mr. Bacon's partners in the law in Worcester were at different times our late associate Judge Ira M. Barton, our associate William Sumner Barton, our late associate Judge Dwight Foster, our associate Judge P. Emory Aldrich, Colonel W. S. B. Hopkins and Henry Bacon. At the time of his death he was the senior member of the firm Bacon, Hopkins and Bacon. He left a wife, two sons and two daughters. He was chosen a member of this Society October 22, 1860.

Mr. Bacon was a distinguished lawyer, and was devoted to his profession. He was a fond student of the law, and learned in everything pertaining to it. Profoundly versed in the fundamental principles of the common law, and familiar with the works of the older law writers, he was at the same time thoroughly acquainted with the contents of recent decisions, and ever cognizant of changes that were being made in statutory enactments. He was a favorite teacher. A very large number of young men studied law in his office, and the interest which he had in professional study and his kindness of heart never shone more conspicuously than in his intercourse with them. He was lavish of time in imparting to them the fruits of his study and experience, and has always been remembered by them as the most affable and painstaking of instructors and friends. His contemporaries at the bar, also found him ever ready to spend time freely in giving them information taken from his full storehouse of legal knowledge.

Mr. Bacon did not confine his attention to the law. He had the tastes of the general scholar, and was interested in a great variety of subjects. He particularly enjoyed poetry and works treating of mental philosophy and history, and was noticeably drawn towards the solution of philological puzzles and to the consideration of the obscurer psychical phenomena. Mr. Bacon's mind was strong; it was broad, also. He always retained his connection with the Christian denomination which stands as representative of the theologi-

cal views which he embraced early in life, but was at the same time very hospitable in the consideration and reception of new teachings in religious philosophy and Biblical criticism. It was his habit to converse with the writer of this report about such matters ; and he remembers one occasion when that attractive hesitation showed itself which was so marked a characteristic of his mind, and which arose from the fulness of his knowledge and from the mental habit of looking at a subject from all points of view. He used leisure hours for several months in studying the question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, then leaving the consideration of the subject for a time, returned to it again and continued the study. When he had reached conclusions, he was asked what these were, and replied that he thought the evidence showed that the Apostle John did not write the book, "but," said he, "if he did not write it who was there that could have written it?"

Mr. Bacon had a very gracious presence. Everybody that knew him loved him. Naturally he lived during the closing portions of his life in greater retirement than formerly, for, it must be remembered, that he was known by the well earned title of the Nestor of the Worcester County Bar twenty years ago. Those persons who have had the privilege of associating with him in his old age will be ready to say with one of his friends, that the esteem in which he was always held "has greatly deepened as a kindly old age mellowed and brought out harmoniously the traits of a singularly loveable character." Mr. Bacon was an affectionate man. Nobody could have known him during our civil war without being impressed by his patriotism. Three of his sons went to the war ; and he watched every movement of our armies with intense interest, and showed in his criticisms and remarks the insight of a wise man inspired by love of country. Dr. Bacon's old pastor, our associate Dr. Cutler, says that he "loved the esteem of his fellow-men, but he loved better to deserve it." He was a

man of the strictest integrity. He was the soul of honor. He was a wise counsellor and a valuable citizen; his life was long, useful and honorable. A passage from the twenty-second letter of Pliny the younger, to which attention has been called by Mr. Bacon's friend, Mr. John A. Dana, justly describes Mr. Bacon, as well as Titus Aristo:—

“Mark the fulness of his knowledge regarding the rights of individuals and of the state. Consider his learning, his readiness in citing instances and his antiquarian lore. There is nothing which anyone would learn that he cannot teach. To me he is a storehouse from which I draw information regarding anything that is abstruse. Note his truthfulness in discourse, the weightiness of his speech, and his pregnant and becoming hesitancy. What subject is there which he is not ready to expound? Yet he often hesitates and is in a doubting state of mind because reasons occur to him which would lead to a variety of conclusions. These he traces with a keen and strong insight from first principles and final causes, sifts thoroughly and weighs carefully. Mark, too, his abstemiousness and the modest style in which he lives. * * He is distinguished by a soul which is always guided by conscientious motives and does nothing for effect, seeking the encomium ‘well done’ in the consciousness of uprightness and not in plaudits of the populace. Finally among the votaries of wisdom he stands easily at the head. He does not frequent the gymnasium nor the porches of the Stoics; * * he engages in public and private affairs and often renders assistance as an advocate although oftener as a counsellor. Yet he is equal to the best of men in purity, piety, justice and fortitude.”¹

HENRY STEVENS was descended from Colonel Thomas Stevens of Devonshire, England, afterwards of London. The youngest son of the latter, Cyprian, January 22, 1671, married, in Lancaster, Massachusetts, Mary, daughter of Major Simon Willard. Before removing to Lancaster he had lived in Chelsea, Massachusetts. Cyprian had a son Joseph, who was one of the early settlers of Rutland,

¹ Letters of Pliny the Younger, Book I., Letter 22.

Massachusetts, and Joseph had a son Phineas, who was taken a prisoner when a boy, in Rutland, by the Indians and carried to Canada. The latter afterwards became an early and prominent inhabitant of No. 4 (now Charlestown), New Hampshire, where he acquired reputation as a military leader. Phineas had a son Enos who was one of the proprietors of Barnet, Vermont. Enos was the father of Henry Stevens, born in Barnet, who was for many years President of the Vermont Historical and Antiquarian Society. Henry Stevens had a son Henry, who is the subject of this notice. He was born at Barnet, Vermont, August 24, 1819. Later in life he used to place after his name the initial letters "G. M. B." (Green Mountain Boy). In 1836 he went to an academy at Lyndon; thence proceeded to another academy and then spent the time between September, 1838, and December, 1839, at Middlebury College. He was a schoolmaster for a time, and for a year a clerk in the Treasury Department at Washington. Then he spent three years (1841-43) at Yale College, where he took the degree of B. A. In 1846 he received the degree of M. A. He entered the law school at Cambridge, September, 1843, and spent a year there. In July, 1845, at the age of 26 years, he had reached London, where he afterwards lived. Soon he became the friend and intimate associate of Sir Anthony Panizzi, Thomas Watts, Winter Jones and Edward Edwards, members of the staff of officers of the British Museum. In 1852 Mr. Stevens was chosen a member of the Society of Antiquaries. He was one of the founders of the Library Association of the United Kingdom, and one of its prominent members. In 1877 he was conspicuous as a member of the committee for arranging for the Caxton Exhibition, and prepared the catalogue of the Bibles shown there. Mr. Stevens died February 28, 1886, at the age of 66 years, at Vermont House, his residence in London. He married an English lady who survives him, as does a son also, his successor in business.

Mr. Stevens was a distinguished bibliographer, and an authority in respect to the early editions of the English Bible, and early voyages and travels, especially those relating to America. While a clerk in Washington he became acquainted with Peter Force, and at that time laid the foundation of the remarkable knowledge which he had respecting American history and the public documents belonging to this country. After leaving the law school at Cambridge he spent some time in exploring the rural districts of New England and the Middle States in quest of rare books and pamphlets. Mr. Stevens had not been a week in London, whither he had gone with the purpose of introducing the bibliographical curiosities of this country to English librarians and book lovers, and to buy scarce and valuable books, before he had become familiarly acquainted with the principal booksellers of that city, and had been made to feel at home in the British Museum. A writer in the *London Times* of March 5, 1886, understood to be Dr. Richard Garnett, late Superintendent of the Reading-room in the British Museum, and still connected with it in another capacity, says that Mr. Panizzi, at that time Keeper of the Printed Books in the same institution, speedily recognized Mr. Stevens's "qualities, and a connection sprang up which proved equally advantageous" to him "and to the Museum. To his unwearied enterprise the institution is indebted for most of its valuable American books, and extending the field of his operations he became a chief agent for purveying rare books of every class as well as English pamphlets, which he systematically collected on a large scale. He further compiled and published a catalogue of all United States publications in the Museum to the end of 1856." A writer in *The Nation* of March 11, 1886, states that Mr. Stevens in 1884 told "an American visitor that he had furnished the Museum Library with 100,000 books or pamphlets." Mr. George Bullen, the present Keeper of Printed Books in the British Museum, in the *Athenæum* of

March 6, 1886, claims that the Museum "now contains a more extensive library of American books than any single library in the United States." In process of time Mr. Stevens became a recognized agent for providing American collectors with the rarer productions of the European press. He rendered services of particular value in this respect to our former Vice-President, the late James Lenox, founder of the Lenox Library, New York, the connection of Mr. Stevens with Mr. Lenox having begun the first year the former lived in London, and having ended only with the death of the latter, in 1880. For his princely patron Mr. Stevens purchased, together with a very large number of other books, at least £20,000 worth of old Bibles. His "Recollections of Mr. James Lenox of New York," just announced for immediate publication, will be looked for with great interest.

Mr. Stevens became the owner of a large collection of manuscripts, books, etc., relating to Benjamin Franklin, which was so much esteemed that the government of the United States has recently paid \$30,000 to secure possession of it. Mr. Stevens was not only, however, a collector and seller of books, he was, also, an interesting writer on bibliographical and other subjects. He has left a number of essays nearly ready for publication, which his fastidious love of accuracy had prevented him from issuing during his lifetime. Among these, writes Dr. Garnett, "are investigations respecting Columbus, a subject in which he took the deepest interest, and a supplement to Mr. Fagan's *Life of Panizzi*, containing a fund of anecdotes relating to the British Museum. It is to be hoped that these and other productions of scarcely inferior interest may yet see the light." At a convivial meeting of librarians or antiquaries Mr. Stevens was the life and soul of the party. Dr. Garnett says that he "will be painfully missed by all who enjoyed his intimate acquaintance. Esteemed for his knowledge, ability and shrewd common sense, he was even more

beloved for his frank manliness, his kindly nature and rich genial humor." Mr. Stevens was elected a member of this Society April 26, 1854. We have had many dealings through him with the British Museum. It will be remembered that one event which rendered the exhibition of the Caxton publications memorable, was the production of a Bible. Mr. Stevens sent a copy of the edition to our library. It bears the following inscription: "Wholly printed and bound in twelve hours, | On this 30th day of June, 1877, | For the Caxton Celebration. | Only 100 copies were printed, of which this is | No. 11. | Presented to The Hon. Stephen Salisbury | For the American Antiquarian Society | By the Delegates of the Oxford University Press | Through | Henry Stevens, F.S.A. | of Vermont." It was printed from minion type, is 16mo in form and is bound in full morocco. Mr. Stevens was emphatically a lover of books. This is what he says of them: "Books are both our luxuries and our daily bread. They have become to our lives and happiness prime necessities. They are our trusted favorites, our guardians, our confidential advisers, and the safe consumers of our leisure. They cheer us in poverty and comfort us in the misery of affluence. They absorb the effervescence of impetuous youth, and while away the tedium of age." Bibliography sustained a severe loss in the month of February of this year. In that month three men died in England who were distinguished for their knowledge of books, namely, Henry Bradshaw, Edward Edwards and Henry Stevens.

EDWARD TUCKERMAN was born in Boston, December 7, 1817. He was the eldest child of Edward and Sophia (May) Tuckerman. In passing it may be mentioned that Professor Tuckerman was a cousin of our late President, he having been a nephew of Madam Salisbury, the late Mr. Stephen Salisbury's mother, who was a sister of the philanthropist, Rev. Dr. Joseph Tuckerman of Boston. Edward

Tuckerman prepared for college at Ingraham's School and at the Boston Latin School. He entered Union College in the Sophomore class and graduated at that institution in 1837. He entered the Harvard Law School, took there the degree of LL.B. in 1839, and remained in the school until 1841, between the latter dates taking also a special course of study at the Divinity School of Harvard College. He then went abroad where he passed several years in Germany; devoting his time while there principally to the study of history, philosophy and botany. Returning to this country he joined the Senior class of Harvard College, in 1846, having been led to that step by friendship for several of its members, and graduated with the class the following year. Subsequently he received the degree of Master of Arts from both Harvard and Union Colleges, and in 1875 the degree of Doctor of Laws from Amherst College. His taste for the natural sciences early manifested itself, and during his course at Union College he was made curator of the museums at that institution. His connection with Amherst College dates from the year 1854. Several years previous to that date, not yet accounted for, he had spent at Cambridge, in the pursuit of favorite studies. Although a continental reputation was won by Dr. Tuckerman because of his knowledge of botany, he began his career at Amherst College as a lecturer in history, which position he occupied during the years 1854 and 1855, and 1858—1873. He was Professor of Oriental History, 1855 to 1858. In 1858 Dr. Tuckerman was appointed Professor of Botany and remained such until his death, although deafness and other troubles had for several years compelled him to be a recluse and to restrict himself to giving instruction to only a few classes.

He was married May 17, 1854, to Sarah Eliza Sigourney, daughter of Thomas P. Cushing of Boston, but leaves no children. His only surviving brother, Dr. Samuel P. Tuckerman, has resided abroad for the last fifteen years

and has become distinguished for his musical attainments. Henry T. Tuckerman, the essayist, was a cousin of the subject of this notice. Professor Tuckerman was always an accurate and thorough student. He was at the same time a specialist in knowledge and a good general scholar. In early life he was a student of conchology, but was at the same time well versed in botany, law, theology, philosophy and history. It is noticeable, too, that he always kept abreast of the literature of the day in history, theology and travel, as well as in the specialty of lichens his knowledge of which had made him celebrated. The linguistic acquirements of Dr. Tuckerman are worthy of mention. He used rare discrimination, too, in the choice of words. He matured early, his literary work beginning when he was only fifteen years old. Dr. Tuckerman was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society April 25, 1855.

We owe him a debt of gratitude for the admirable work which he did for us in editing for the fourth volume of the *Archæologia Americana*, Josselyn's *New England Rarities*, which he provided with copious notes and a long and valuable introduction. The *Rarities* was afterwards (1865) republished by William Veazie of Boston, from our *Transactions*. Dr. Tuckerman made for the latter edition a revision of his notes and enriched them by a few additions. His principal contributions to knowledge were in the department of botany, and he was early recognized as an authority in the branch of that science which deals with lichens. Specimens of those cryptogamous growths were sent to him from all parts of the world to be determined and named. He was a pioneer in the study of the flora of the White Mountains, and contributed to "The White Hills" of Thomas Starr King two chapters on the "Scientific Explorations and Flora of the Mountains." It will be remembered that a ravine in the White Mountains bears his name. Dr. Tuckerman was a member of many learned societies. He was *Socius Academiæ Caes. Leopoldino-*

Carolinæ Naturæ Curiosorum, a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a corresponding member of the Royal Society of Sciences at Upsala, The Boston Society of Natural History, The Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, and the Royal Botanical Society of Ratisbon and a foreign member of the Botanical Society of Edinburg. He was also a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

A partial list of Dr. Tuckerman's writings may be found in Allibone's Dictionary of Authors. It may be mentioned that in late years he has published the following works not given in that dictionary: *Genera Lichenum*: an arrangement of the North American Lichens, Amherst, 1872. *Catalogue of plants growing without cultivation within thirty miles of Amherst College*, Amherst, 1875. *A synopsis of the North American Lichens, Part I.*, Boston, 1882. *Lichenes from the Botany of the United States Exploring expedition under Captain Wilkes*, 1874.

Dr. Tuckerman died at Amherst, Monday, March 15, 1886.

GUMESINDO MENDOZA. Our Vice-President, Mr. Stephen Salisbury, who has just returned home from a visit to Mexico, brings intelligence of the death, in the latter part of January of this year, of Señor Gumesindo Mendoza.

Señor Mendoza was the Director of the National Museum in the city of Mexico. No particulars of his life are now attainable, but some will undoubtedly be soon forthcoming. It would seem likely that a biography of him will appear in the next number of the *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*. When materials come to hand a commemorative notice will be prepared for our Proceedings.

Señor Mendoza was chosen a member of this Society April 27, 1881.

The subject which has been selected for the historical portion of the Report of the Council is the use of the

voluntary system in the maintenance of ministers in the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay during the earlier years of their existence.

Both Pilgrims and Puritans supported their ministers by voluntary contributions for several years after coming to America. They did this, too, largely from principle and not merely because it was convenient to do so. No historian has brought together the statements of early writers and the facts in the history of the two colonies which afford the proof of these two propositions.

In Boston the plan of maintaining ministers by voluntary payments was never given up, and has been in use during the entire period covered by its history.¹ In most other portions of the colony of Massachusetts Bay the system of

¹“The right to levy taxes for the support of the ministry which prevailed in country parishes until quite a recent date was never exercised in the town of Boston.”—History of the First Church in Boston, by Arthur B. Ellis, p. 79, note.

“These early laws were made when King’s Chapel alone represented the Church of England in the province; and as that was in Boston *where from the beginning the ministers were maintained by a voluntary contribution, no injustice was done to its members by Taxation.*”—Annals of King’s Chapel, by H. W. Foote, vol. I., p. 440. See, also, Hutchinson’s History of Massachusetts (1628 to 1750), third edition, 1795, v. I., p. 376, and Winthrop’s History of New England, new edition, vol. I., p. 141.

For accounts of methods in use in Boston in early times for raising money needed in paying the salaries of ministers, see Lechford’s *Plaine Dealing*, p. 18 (Ed. in collections of Mass’tts Hist. Soc., 3d ser., vol. 3, p. 77, Trumbull’s ed., p. 48); Winthrop’s *Hist. of New England*, vol. I., pp. 144 and 382; *An Historical Sketch of the First Church in Boston*, by Rev. William Emerson, pp. 160-1; *History of Second Church*, by C. Robbins, p. 11 (note). Compare, also, *The Way of the Churches of Christ in New England*, by J. Cotton, London, 1645, p. 69; *Josselyn’s Account of Two Voyages to New England*, in *Colls. of Mass’tts Hist. Soc.*, 3d ser., vol. 3, p. 331, and *Letters from New England*, by John Dunton, Ed. of the Prince Society, p. 70. Rev. Dr. E. E. Hale was reported in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of February 18, 1884, as having said in a lecture given at about that date (while speaking of the custom once in vogue in Boston, of using a portion of the money collected at church on Sunday in rendering compensation to ministers), that his own grandfather, a minister in Boston, received payments from this source and had money “paid to him every Sunday, in the proper proportion, from the contents of the contribution box of that day, so that it came to him in the very sixpences, shillings and pence which the parishioners had put into the box.” The minister referred to by Dr. Hale,

supporting the clergy in this way was discontinued in a few years. At a somewhat later period it was also given up in the Plymouth Colony. Some of the residents in both colonies refused to aid, of their own accord, in paying the salaries of ministers. After a while the majority of the inhabitants, both in Massachusetts Bay and in Plymouth, concluded to make it obligatory upon all to do so.

Both colonies from the beginning enforced attendance at meeting as persistently as the people of Massachusetts to-day adhere to the policy of compelling children to go to school. Public religious instruction was regarded as necessary to the well being of the community. It was thought, too, that as everybody had the benefit of the teachings of ministers, everybody should help support them, notwithstanding some persons might not consider their instructions beneficial or might object to help pay their salaries on the ground that they did not care for their services. The following passage from Hutchinson's History reproduces the

writes that gentleman, is Rev. Oliver Everett, pastor of the New South Church. Mr. Everett became the settled minister of that church in 1782.

An act of the Province of Massachusetts Bay passed at the session of the General Court begun and held Oct. 12, 1692, provides "that every minister, being a person of good conversation, able, learned and orthodox, that shall be chosen by the major part of the inhabitants in any town, at a town meeting duly warned for that purpose (notice thereof being given to the inhabitants fifteen days before the time for such meeting), shall be the minister of such town; and the whole town shall be obliged to pay towards his settlement and maintenance, each man his several proportion thereof." Boston was not excepted from the operation of this law. But besides the fact that that town had more than one church it had supported its ministers by voluntary contributions, heretofore. At the session begun Feb. 8, 1692-3, "upon further consideration of the said section or paragraph in said act, and the impracticableness of the method therein proposed for the choice of a minister in divers towns wherein there are more churches than one, and inconveniences attending the same not so well before seen," it was amended and in its modified form arrangements were made for the choice of ministers by the churches with the concurrence of the major part of the congregation entitled to vote in town affairs and for their settlement and maintenance by taxation, and this provision was added to the law, namely, that nothing therein "contained is intended or shall be construed to extend to abridge the inhabitants of Boston of their accustomed way and practice as to the choice and maintenance of their ministers."

sentiments of most of the residents of both colonies after the earlier method of ministerial support had been set aside in favor of taxation. Writing towards the close of the seventeenth century "the late Governor of Plymouth, Mr. Hinkley, complained of this, as one great grievance, that not being allowed to make rates for the support of the ministry the people would sink into barbarism."¹

In the year 1618, while James the First was King of Great Britain, the learned John Selden (who during the reign of James's successor, Charles the First, was committed to the tower to punish him for the part which he took in supporting the remonstrance of the commons against the levying of duties known as "tonnage and poundage"), was summoned before the High Commission Court to answer charges preferred against him for publishing his *History of Tithes*. He was accused of denying in that work that tithes are founded in divine right, and although he did not make such a denial in direct terms, it seems probable that he arranged the materials of his history so as to lead to a similar conclusion. He did not deny, however, the legal right of ministers to enjoy tithes. Still he was condemned, his book was suppressed, and he made to apologize for having published the sentiments contained in it.

Four centuries before the time of Selden, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, Francis of Assisi organized the order of friars which received his name. The members of this order were not only forbidden to hold property as individuals, the rule with monks in the Catholic church, but also as members of a religious corporation.

John Wyclif, who died just two hundred years before Selden was born, maintained strenuously that the condition of priests should be that of poverty (without mendicancy, however), and vigorously opposed ecclesiastical endowments by individuals and subsidies to the church from the

¹ *History of Massachusetts*, 3d ed., vol. I., p. 319, note.

state. Wyclif was also ready to adopt to a certain extent the voluntary principle in regard to the payment of tithes. He would not relieve the people from the support of the ministry. He would have them urged to pay tithes, even excommunicated if they persistently refused to pay them.¹ But he would have tithes used very largely for relieving the distresses of the poor, and allow out of them only a meagre support to priests and have the parishioners withhold even this small compensation after having decided in an orderly manner that the priests are unfaithful in respect to the discharge of their duties.² "Think ye wisely," says the great reformer, "ye men that find" (maintain) "priests, that ye do this alms for God's love, and help of your souls, and help of Christian men and not for pride of the world to have them occupied in worldly office and vanity."³

The work from which this extract is taken "exhorts the laity to support worthy priests, and such only; admonishing them, that if they furnish the means of subsistence to men of an opposite character, they will be found partakers in all the sin, mischief, and punishment attendant on the course of unfaithful stewards."⁴

From a passage in *The Great Sentence of the Curse Expounded* it would seem, indeed, that Wyclif sometimes, at least, felt that it would be best that tithes should be given up altogether rather than that those abuses of their products which he saw around him should be tolerated. "If," writes he, "tithes were due by God's commandment, then everywhere in Christendom would be one mode of tithing, but it is not so. Would God that all wise and true

¹ Always, however, "on the condition that the discipline is exercised for the good of the sinner and not for the greed of the priest," writes F. D. Matthew in his introduction to the English works of Wyclif, hitherto unprinted, published by the Early English Text Society, p. XXXVIII. or p. XXXIX.

² *Ibid.*, p. XXXVIII. or p. XXXIX.

³ *De Stipendiis Ministrorum.* Tracts and Treatises of John De Wycliffe, D.D. Edited for the Wycliffe Society by Robert Vaughan, D.D., p. 43.

⁴ Analysis of Wycliffe's *De Stipendiis Ministrorum* in Tracts and Treatises, etc., just referred to, p. 43.

men would inquire whether it were not better for to find good priests by free alms of the people, and in a reasonable and poor livelihood, to teach the gospel in word and deed as did Christ and his apostles, than thus to pay tithes to a worldly priest, ignorant and negligent, as men are now constrained to do by bulls and new ordinances of priests."¹

Honorable Arthur Elliot states in his recent volume entitled "The State and the Church," that the provision by tithes for the support of religion is of no very early institution in Christian countries and that it does not appear to have been known before the end of the fourth century.²

He differs from Dr. Morgan Cove, Prebendary of Hereford, who suggests in his *Essay on the Revenues of the Church of England*, written in 1816, that the institution of tithes must have been contained "in some unrecorded revelation made to Adam and by him and his descendants delivered down to posterity."³

The plan of supporting ministers by giving them the right to take tithes, after a time became general throughout Christendom.⁴

The payment of tithes was ordered in England "by ecclesiastical councils at the end of the eighth century; and on the Continent of Europe at about the same time, was prescribed by an ordinance of Charlemagne."⁵

Tithes have never been abolished in England, but by the Tithe Commutation Act passed in 1836, they were generally changed into semi-annual money payments.

During the few years which preceded the appearance of Selden's great work considerable interest seems to have been manifested in England in discussing the grounds on which the institution of tithes rests, and in that period several treatises were put forth to prove that it is founded in divine right. Jeremiah Stephens, in a preface to the

¹ Analysis of Wycliffe's *De Stipendiis Ministrorum*, Chapter XVII. Quoted in *Tracts and Treatises*, etc., p. 40.

² Page 85. ³ Elliot, p. 86. ⁴ Page 85. ⁵ Page 86.

work of Sir Henry Spelman, in which the maintenance of tithes is earnestly advocated, published in 1646, states that that work was prepared a long time before that date. Spelman's smaller work on tithes, which is attached to his *De non temerandis ecclesiis*, was printed in 1613. Tithes were collected as usual during the existence of the Commonwealth, both under Presbyterian rule and when Independency was in the ascendant.

The long parliament, indeed, in 1649 voted that tithes should be taken away as soon as another maintenance for the clergy could be agreed upon, and this action led to petitions praying that this affair might be brought to an issue.¹ The plan of exacting tithes was still continued, however. The clergy became alarmed by the action of the little parliament (Barebone's), 1653, because they "saw their wealth menaced by the establishment of civil marriage and by proposals to substitute the free contributions of congregations for the payment of tithes."² There was a decision against tithes in that body, but immediately after it was reached the parliament passed out of existence and the old method of supporting ministers remained.³

The constitution of 1657 maintained an established clergy in the enjoyment of tithes or other settled stipends.⁴ Cromwell, himself, favored the maintenance of ministers by the imposition of tithes. Tithes, however, found a staunch opponent in John Milton. In his *Defensio Secunda*, which was published in 1654, he says that persecution in the church "will never cease, so long as men are bribed to preach the gospel by a mercenary salary, which is forcibly extorted, rather than gratuitously bestowed, which serves only to poison religion and to strangle truth."⁵ The paro-

¹History of the Puritans, by Daniel Neale, new edition by Joshua Toulmin, pub. by Charles Ewer, Boston, and E. W. Allen, Newburyport, 1847, vol. IV., p. 86. Harper & Bros., 1844.

²A Short History of the English People, by J. R. Green, Harper & Bros., 1880, p. 566. ³Page 567. ⁴Milton, by Mark Patterson, p. 119.

⁵Prose works of John Milton, Bohn's edition, 1848, p. 293.

chial clergy, he says, "are stuffed with tithes in a way disapproved by the rest of the reformed churches; and they have so little trust in God, that they choose to extort a maintenance, rather by judicial force, and magisterial authority, than to owe it to divine providence, or the gratitude and benevolence of their congregations."¹ In his *Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the church, etc.*, published in 1659, Milton writes "So that when all is done, and belly hath used in vain all her cunning shifts, I doubt not but all true ministers, considering the demonstration of what hath been here proved, will be wise, and think it much more tolerable to hear, that no maintenance of ministers, whether tithes or any other, can be settled by statute, but must be given by them who receive instruction; and freely given as God hath ordained. And, indeed, what can be a more honorable maintenance to them than such, whether alms or willing oblations, as these; which being accounted both alike as given to God, the only acceptable sacrifices now remaining, must needs represent him who receives them much in the care of God, and nearly related to him, when not by worldly force and constraint, but with religious awe and reverence, what is given to God, is given to him; and what to him, accounted as given to God."² "Nothing," says Mark Patterson, "was more abhorrent to Milton's sentiment than state payment in religious things. The minister who receives such pay becomes a state pensioner, a hireling. The law of tithes is a Jewish law, repealed by the Gospel, under which the minister is only maintained by the free will offerings of the congregation to which he ministers. This antipathy to hired preachers was one of Milton's earliest convictions. It thrusts itself, rather importunately, into *Lycidas* (1636), and reappears in the *Sonnet to Cromwell* (*Sonnet XVI.*, 1652), before it

¹ Prose works of John Milton, Bohn's edition, 1848, p. 275.

² Prose works of John Milton, vol. III., p. 34.

is dogmatically expounded in the pamphlet *Considerations touching means to remove Hirelings out of the Church (1659)*. Of the two corruptions of the church by the secular power, one by force, the other by pay, Milton regards the last as the most dangerous. Under force, though no thanks to the forcers, true religion oftimes best thrives and flourishes; but the corruption of teachers, most commonly the effect of hire, is the very bane of truth in them who are so corrupted."¹

Let us now return to the years when James the First was king, and consider the utterances and proceedings of the contemporaries of our Pilgrim fathers who agreed with them in matters of faith and church polity. On the occasion of the accession of James to the throne of England, which occurrence took place March 24, 1602-3,² the exiles in the Separatist church at Amsterdam presented to the king a memorial in which they asked to be suffered to live in peace in their native land without being urged to "the vse or approbation of any remnants of poperie & humane traditions."³ Failing to obtain the privileges asked for they submitted, writes Dr. Dexter, "a supplementary petition, noting: *The Heads of differences between them and the Church of England, as they understood it.*"⁴ Under the seventh head they asserted as their belief "That the due maintenance of the Officers aforesaid" (pastors, teachers, elders, deacons and helpers), "should be of the free and voluntary contribution of the Church, that according to Christ's Ordinance, they which preach the Gospell may live of the Gospell: and not by Popish Lordships and Livings, or Jewish Tithes and Offerings. And that therefore the Lands and other like revenewes of the Prelats and Clergie yet remayning (being still also baits to allure the Jesuites

¹ Milton, by Mark Patterson, pp. 119, 120.

² According as old or new style is employed in designating the year.

³ Apologie, etc. (to be referred to hereafter), p. 34.

⁴ Congregationalism of the last three hundred years as seen in its literature, etc., by Henry M. Dexter, p. 306.

and Seminaries into the Land, and incitements vnto them to plott and prosecute their wonted evil courses, in hope to enjoy them in tyme to come) may now by your Highness be taken away, and converted to better vse as those of the Abbeyes and Nunneries have been heertofore by your maies-tyes worthie predecessors to the honor of God and to great good of the Realme."¹ A third and still more elaborate supplication followed. To none of the petitions did the king respond favorably, and "the 'Vice-Chancelour, the Doctors, both the Proctors, and other the Heads of Houses in the Vniversitye of Oxford,'" says Dr. Dexter,² "published a quarto of forty-four pages,³ principally directed against a 'Humble Petition' presented by 'Ministers of the Church of England desiring Reformation of certayne Ceremonies & abuses of the Church,' but in which they turned aside to attack these other petitioners, stigmatizing them as 'absurd Brownists,'⁴ having a 'selfe conceited confidence,'⁵ and holding 'pestilent and blasphemous conclusions.'⁶ This led in 1604 to the issue of *An Apologie or Defence of svch Trve Christians as are commonlie (but vniustly) called Brovvnists, etc.*,⁷ in which the exiles published their three

¹ Congregationalism in the last three hundred years, etc., pp. 307, 308.

² Congregationalism, etc., p. 309.

³ The Answer of the Vice-Chancelour, the Doctors, etc., of the Vniversity of Oxford, etc., to the Humble Petition, etc., Oxford, 1603, 4to, pp. XII., 32.

⁴ Answer, etc., II. ⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid., 12.

⁷ [F. Johnson and H. Ainsworth.]—*An Apologie or Defence of Svch Trve Christians as are commonly (but vniustly) called Brovvnists: against such imputations as are layd vpon them by the Heads and Doctors of the Vniversity of Oxford, in their Ansvver to the humble Petition of the Ministers of the Church of England, desiring reformation of certayne Ceremonies and abuses of the Church, 1604, 4^o, pp. XVI., 118.* This work is No. 264 in Collections towards a Bibliography of Congregationalism, an Appendix to Dexter's Congregationalism, &c. Copies of it are very scarce. In this country one may be found in our own library and others in the Prince Library and in the library of Harvard College. Dr. Dexter also owns a copy of it, as does Mr. Charles Deane. The extracts which I shall give from the work were kindly made for me by Dr. Dexter from his copy by his own hand. The extracts to follow from Ainsworth's *Covnterpoysion* and from J. Smyth's *Paralleles, Censvres, Observations, etc.*, were also made for me in the same kind manner, by Dr. Dexter, from copies in his possession. I do not know that there is another copy in this country of the latter work besides the one here used. No other is mentioned as owned in

petitions, and replied at length to the attack of the Oxford Doctors.”

In the reply several of the positions maintained by the Amsterdam Separatists are stated with fulness. The seventh of these opens with the paragraph recited above as the seventh head in the Heads of difference, &c., contained in the supplementary petition presented to King James. Then follow a number of references to passages in the Bible and an account of the reasons which induced the writers of the Apologie to declare the voluntary system to be the correct method for use in maintaining ministers. A copy of the references to Scripture and of the reasons is given in a note.¹

America in the Collections, etc., mentioned above, in which Smyth's work is numbered 352. Ainsworth's *Covnterpoysion* is No. 338 in the same list. A copy of this rare book may be found in the Prince Library. The extract to be given in this essay has been made, as stated before, from a copy belonging to Dr. Dexter, of later date, however (1642), than the original edition (1608). A copy of the later edition, dated 1642, may be seen in the Congregational Library, Boston.

¹ 1 Cor. 9. 7-14. Gal. 6. 6. 1 Thess. 5. 13. 1 Tim. 5. 17. 18. compared with Prov. 3. 9. 10. and with Num. 18. 8-32. Deut. 18. 1-5. and 25. 4. 2 Chron. 31. 4-21. Nehem. 13. 10-14. Mal. 3. 8, 9, 10. Heb. 7. 5, 12. Luke 8. 3. and 10. 7. Rom. 15. 27. Rev. 17. 16.

1. Because Christ hath ordeyned, that so it should be now in the tyme of the Gospell. 1 Cor. 9. 14. Gal. 6. 6. 1 Thess. 5. 13. 1 Tim. 5. 17. 18.

2. Because the Law of Tithes did cease with the change of the Leviticall Priesthood. Heb. 7. 12. and els why did Christ ordeyne another maintenance for the Ministry of the Gospell, differing from (yet proportionable vnto) that which was for the Priesthood vnder the Law? 1 Cor. 9. 13, 14. Or why should this ceremonie of the Law, be vnableshed by Christ, more than the rest? Num. 18. 24. with Heb. 7. 5, 12, and 9. 10. and 10. 1. Gal. 5. 1. 2. 3. Col. 2. 8-17.

3. Because God, vnder the Law, would not have his Ministers the Priests and Levites to have any part or inheritance, as the other Israelites had, in the Land of Canaan; but himself was their inheritance. Of & by the offerings & altar of the Lord they were susteyned. Deut. 10. 8, 9. & 18. 1-5; Iosh. 13. 14. 33. According to the equity whereof, is the maintenance of the Ministerie of Christ now to be. 1 Cor. 9. 13, 14. Where note also, that as the Ministers of the Gospell ought, in respect of their Ministerie, to have their due maintenance appointed by Christ (that they may, as the other before, be encouraged in the Law of the Lord, and better attend to their function and Ministerie:) so may they not for it now, any more than at that tyme, devise or require any

Rev. Richard Bernard, a clergyman of the Puritan branch of the Church of England, published in 1608 a work entitled "Christian Advertisements and Counsels of Peace. Also Disswasions from the Separatists Schisme, commonly called Brownisme, &c." This book created a sensation among the Separatists and was replied to by the Teacher of the "Ancient Church" at Amsterdam, Henry Ainsworth, and by John Smyth, who at first was connected with the same church but in about the year 1607 seceded from it with a number of followers and formed a second church.¹

Bernard stated it to be a position of the Separatists "*That ministers should onely live of voluntarie contribu-*

other than is ordeyned by the Lord himself. For which, see the Scriptures alledged before in the Position itself.

4. Because Princes are bound not onely to see the true Ministerie and worship of God established and mainteyned, according to his word: but also to take away and convert to other vse, the demeanes revenewes and maintenance of any false Ministeries and vnlawfull ecclesiasticall functions within their Dominions. 2 Chro. 31. chap. with Deut. 17. 18, 19, 20. Esa. 49. 23. and 60. 3. 10. 11. 12. Psal. 2. 10. 11. 12. 1 Tim. 2. 2. with Reve. 17. 16.

5. Because there should els still remaine such a maner of maintenance, as by which any Ministerie that should be received in the Land, though never so Popish or vnlawfull, might be mainteyned. Contrarie to Prov. 3. 9. 10. Rev. 17. 16. and 18. 11. Psalm. 16. 3. 4. with Exod. 20: 4. 5. 6. 1 Cor. 9. 14. and 10. 19. 20. 21. 22. Ephes. 5. 11.

6. Because there is no more warrant in the word of God for the Lordships and Livings of the Prelates and Priests to be continued, then for the Abbey Lands of the Fryers and Nunnes to be restored.

7. Because by the ordinance of Christ, it should still be seen, that the Maintenance of the Ministers belongeth vnto them for preaching the Gospell, and commeth from the people of love and dutie in that behalf. 1 Cor. 9. 14. 1 Thess. 5. 13. Gal. 6. 6. 1 Tim. 5. 17. 18. Whereas that which is now had in the Land is such, as the Prelates and Priestes do exact (and the people are constreynd to yeld it vnto them) be they never so vugodly, vnlearned, &c. Besides that the Iesuites & Seminaries, and other the like, are by this meanes stirred vp to attempt and follow still their wicked and treasonable practises, hoping for a day when their Religion may in the full thereof enjoy them againe: As is before noted in the Position it self.

¹This second church, says Dr. Dexter, was founded on "substantially the same basis of general faith, but with many differences of what we should think minor details." Early in 1609 Smyth was cast out of the second church with about forty followers, who sympathized with him on account of changed views, and appears to have remained the pastor of his little excommunicated company until his death in 1612. See H. M. Dexter's *Congregationalism*, etc., p. 313.

tion, and not either of set stipends or tithes," and replied to it by saying "This is against the wisdom of God, who allowed a settled maintenance vnder the Law: and there is nothing against it in the Gospell."¹

Ainsworth's answer to Bernard on this point is as follows:

"Ans. God in wisdom appoynted *tithes, first fruities,* & other particulars for his Priests liuelihod vnder the law: Christ in wisdom appoynteth *noē* such for his ministers under the gospell; but Pope *Paschalis* about 827 yeares after Christ² decreed that tithes should be giuen to the priests. This Popes wisdom *Mr. Ber.* preferreth before Christs. It cannot be denyed but tithes were a part of the Law, and that Christ abolished the legal Priesthood; whervpon it followeth by the playn doctrine of the Gospel, *if the priesthood be changed, then of necessity must there be a change of the law. Heb. 7. 12.* But *Mr. Bern.* had rather any shadow should be done away than this of *Tithes*, for it hath much substance with it: and there be *mōe* siluer-smithes of Demetrius minde which sayd,³ *Sirs ye know, that by this craft we haue our goods.* But what sayth one of their own ancient Martyrs against Mr. Bernards predecessors:⁴ *This Priesthood is blown so high and borne vp in pride and vagne glory of their estate and dignity, and so blinded with worldly covetousnes that they disdayne to follow Christ in very meeknes and wilfull pouerty, liuing holily, and preaching Gods word truely freely and continually, taking their liuelihood at the freewil of the People; of their pure almose, wher and when they suffice not for their true and busy preaching to get their sustenance with their hands. To this true sentence grounded on Christs own liuing, and teaching of his Apostles, these foresayd worldly and fleshly*

¹ Christian Advertisements and Counsels of Peace. Also disswasions from the Separatists Schisme, commonly called Brownisme, which is set apart from such truths as they take from vs, and other Reformed Churches, etc., by R. Bernard, 1608, p. 156. Rev. Dr. Dexter has a copy of this work.

² *Qu. 19, ch. 1. Decimas populo.* ³ *Acts 19: 15.*

⁴ *Acts and monuments, Wiliū. Thor. in his testament.*

priests, will not consent effectually, &c. If this martyr were now aliue, the Clergie of England would sooner condemn him for a *Brownist* than approue of his doctrine; albeit now that he is dead, they garnish his toomb.”¹

John Smyth replied to Bernard as follows:

“*Ans.* We reject it, for we hold it lawful for the Elders of the Church to receave weekly, monthly, or yeerely a pencion of the Church for their labors, al that we teach concerning the mayntenance of the ministerie is this.

1. That it is vnlawful for the Elders of the Church to challendg at the hands of them that are infidels & vnbelievers, tithes & offerings as you do.

2. Wee hold that tithes are either Iewish or popish,

3. That the officers of the visible Church may receave any gift of any Frend that is without, & live of it.

4. That the officers of the Church in the necessity of the Church ought to work for their living, as Paul made tents.

5. That the officers of the Church may challendg mayntenance of the Church, if the Church be able to yeeld it.

6. That also the poore of the Church may require mayntenance vpon the same grounds for we are al members one of another, & have al things common in vse, though not in possession: al these particulars are plaine by these Scriptures, Heb. 7. 12. & 9. 9. Act. 2. 44. 45. 1 Cor. 9. 1-15. Gal. 6. 6 & 4. 9. 10. Col. 2. 16. 17. 20. 21.

This is the substance of that wee hold herein and therefore Mr. Bern. you do vs open wrong in this point also.

Paralleles, Censures, Observations, aperteyning to the sixteenth Section.

“Mr. Bern. pag. 156. of the Sep. Schisme avoucheth that to deny tithes, & a set mayntenance to Ministers is contrary to the Lords wisdom, who vnder the law appointeth tithes a set maintenāce, & ther is nothing against it in the gospel:

¹ Covnterpoysen, etc., by H. Ainsworth, originally published in 1608. This extract as stated before is from the edition of 1642, p. 115.

I answer with the Apostle, the old Testament (I doe not meane the writings of the Law, the Prophets, & the Psalmes) and the ordinances thereof are abolished: The bond woeman and her Children are cast out, Gallat. 4. 30. and if ther bee a chandg of the Preisthood ther must needes bee a chandg of the law, Heb. 7. 12. Wherefore seing set stipends by tithes were a part of these worldly ordinances of the old Testament, of those impotent & beggarly rudiments, of that yoke of bondage whence Christ has set vs free: it followeth that set mayntenance by tythes is abolished by Christ: & as the liberty of the gospel is to be carefully preserved in other things, as in that of circumcision, of the pasover, of the preisthood, of the Sacrifices and the rest, So must it bee carefully preserved even in this particular of set maintenance by tithes, for if any Mosaicall, impotent, beggerly rudiment, or worldly ordinance: if any part of the yoke of bondage may be joynd with Christ, why not all? if not all, why may any? Againe wheras you say there is nothing against set mayntenance by tithes in the New Testament, I demaund two things: 1. Whither Christ hath not abolished the Mosaical ordinances & brought in the New Testament? & whither this be not contrary to set maintenance by tithes? 2. Whither wee ought not to have somthing for set mayntenance by tithes in the New Testament, (if it must be retayned) that wee vppon fayth may submit vnto it? Seing that whatsoever is not of Fayth is sinne: So that this speach of yours, viz: ther is nothing against it in the gospel, is both false, & if it were true, yet is insufficient, seing that it is not a good plea to say ther is nothing against it, except wee can also say, that ther is somthing for it: & thus much for this point."¹ Bernard answered² the arguments contained in the books of Ainsworth and Smyth.

¹Paralleles, Censvres, Observations, &c., by J. Smyth, 1609, p. 120.

²Plaine Evidences: the Church of England is Apostolicall; the Separation Schismaticall, directed against Mr. Ainsworth the Separatist, and Mr. Smyth the Se-baptist, etc., 1610.

Then John Robinson, the pastor of the Pilgrims, joined in the controversy and replied to both of Bernard's works, in a book published in 1610 and entitled *A justification of Separation from the Church of England, &c.* He says "To conclude this point, since tithes and offerings were appurtenances unto the priesthood, and that the priesthood both of Melchizedec, and Levi are abolished in Christ, as the shadow in the substance, and that the Lord hath ordained that they which preach the gospel, should live of the gospel, we do willingly leave unto you both your priestly order, and maintenance, contenting ourselves with the peoples voluntary contribution, whether it be less or more, as the blessing of God upon our labor, the fruit of our ministry, and a declaration of their love and duty. Psal. cx. : 4 ; Heb. vii. : 17 ; viii. ; ix. ; 1 Cor. ix. : 14."¹

Besides the testimony of Henry Ainsworth in favor of the system of supporting the ministry by voluntary payments, there has come down to us an account of the Sunday services in the "ancient church" at Amsterdam of which that learned man was the Teacher, from which we find out what was one at least of the means resorted to in raising money to pay the salaries of the officers of the church. The order of Sabbath services appears in a work by Richard Clyfton,² who states that when the other exercises had been engaged in, a "collection" was "then made

¹The Works of John Robinson, published by John Snow, 35 Paternoster Row, London, 1851, vol. 2, 467. Mr. Robinson refers the reader of his book to the writings of Ainsworth and Smyth. In the edition of his works (1851) which I have used, notes in the portion of the book from which the quotation has been made refer to the specific works of those authors from which extracts have just been given, namely, the *Covnterpoyson* and *Paralleles*. Although these are undoubtedly the works the perusal of which Robinson recommends, there is no reference to them specifically in the original edition of Robinson's *Justification, &c.* (1610), or in the first reprint of the work (1639). So Rev. Dr. Dexter informs the writer of this report. Mr. Robinson does, however, in the original edition of his book refer specifically to position 7 of *An Apologie*, etc.

²An Advertisement concerning a Book lately published by C. Lawne and others, against the English Exiled Church at Amsterdam, etc., by R. Clyfton, 1612.

as each one was able for the support of the officers, and the poor.”

After the Pilgrims came to Plymouth they were without a pastor, present among them, for about ten years. William Brewster, their Elder, partially supplied the place of such an officer. The writer of this report nowhere finds any statement to show that Brewster received compensation for his ministerial services. Perhaps he had no salary. The planters who came to Plymouth and certain merchant adventurers in England, as is well known, formed a joint stock partnership before the Pilgrims came to this country which continued according to agreement for seven years. The compact¹ entered into by the parties engaged in the enterprise contains no stipulation regarding the plans to be followed in supporting the ministry of the colony. That support appears to have been rendered voluntarily until the year 1655. There was a close connection at Plymouth between church and state, but in that respect the colonists seem to have abstained from the use of force and to have adopted the plan in use in Amsterdam in conformity with the teachings of their revered pastor, John Robinson.

One method of supporting the gospel which was in vogue in Amsterdam seems to have been employed at Plymouth, namely, that of taking up a contribution as a part of the Sabbath services.

If the officers of the church had salaries it seems probable that a portion of the money raised in this way was given to them as in Amsterdam and in Boston.

Governor Winthrop and Rev. Mr. Wilson of Boston spent a Sunday at Plymouth in the autumn of 1632, and the services of the church there on that day are described by the former in his journal, under the date of October 25. He says that in the afternoon, after several persons had spoken, “the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in

¹ Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, Colls. of the Mass'tts Hist. Soc., 4th Ser., vol. III., p. 45.

mind of their duty of contribution; whereupon the Governour and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat and put into the box and then returned."¹

The first constraining law in regard to ministerial support enacted in Plymouth Colony, was passed the fifth day of June, 1655. It provided as follows, for occasion when it should appear that there was a real "defect" in regard to the due maintenance of ministers on the part of "hearers:" "the Majestrates shall use all gentle meanes to p. suade them to doe their duty heerin. But if any of them shall not heerby bee reclaimed but shall persist through plaine obstinacy against an ordinance of God that then it shalbee in the power of the Majestrate to use such other meanes as may put them upon their duty."²

A law was passed June, 1657, which provided "That in whatsoever Towneship there is or shalbee an able Godly Teaching Minister which is approved by this Government that then four men be chosen by the Inhabitants or incase of their neglect chosen by any three or more of the Majestrates to make an equall and just proportion upon the estates of the Inhabitants according to their abillities to make up such a convenient maintenance for his comfortable attendance on his worke as shallbee agreed upon by the Church in each township where any is with the concurrance of the rest of the Inhabitants if it may be had or by the Majistrates aforesaid incase of their apparent neglect and that destresse, according as in other just cases provided, bee made upon such as refuse to pay such their proportions which is in justice due. But in case there bee any other way whereby any township doe or shall agree that

¹History of New England from 1630 to 1649, by John Winthrop. Vol. I., pp. 109, 110.

²The compact with the Charter and Laws of the colony of New Plymouth, &c., published under the supervision of William Brigham, 1836, p. 99. Records of the Colony of New Plymouth, edited by David Pulsifer, p. 64.

may effect the end aforesaid this law not to be binding to them.”¹

In explanation of the necessity of resorting to compulsory support of ministers, Francis Baylies says “A wild spirit (engendered perhaps in England,) had gone forth, which proclaimed war upon carnal learning, and relied for religious instruction upon the miserable crudities of ‘gifted men,’ upon whose minds it was fondly hoped a divine influence was operating, which superseded the necessity of ‘book learning,’ and that the word of the Lord might as well proceed from the lips of such rude, unlettered expounders, as from such as had by their midnight lamps and painful watches, mastered all the intricacies of the primeval languages of the scriptures, and expounded the holy writings after a critical investigation of their analogies, and a careful comparison of the evidence.”²

However much this consideration may have influenced the colonists, it is easy to see that other causes could not but have operated to bring about a change in the early policy of the Plymouth Colony. Thus the religious enthusiasm of some of the settlers must have subsided. Differences must have arisen about the advisability of adopting plans proposed from time to time. The penuriousness of some men must have shown itself in small contributions. Many men who had no real interest in the particular tenets of the Pilgrims, but who lived in the colony, would dislike to pay a tax for the support of ministers unless obliged to do so.

It must have become evident in the course of time that if it were considered imperative that everybody should be brought under the direct influence of religious organizations which should uphold a specified kind of theology and

¹ Records published under supervision of William Brigham, p. 102. Records edited by David Pulsifer, p. 67.

² An historical memoir of the colony of New Plymouth, by Francis Baylies, with some corrections, &c., by Samuel G. Drake, vol. I., Part II., pp. 94, 95.

church polity it would become necessary to resort to general taxation to pay for their maintenance. Many persons would shirk the payment of taxes if the way to do so were open to them. Others who paid taxes would complain if their neighbors did not pay them. All persons might have the benefit to be had from the religious institutions; all should therefore afford them pecuniary support. The fact that some of the inhabitants did not value the gospel privileges that were provided should not be considered since it was believed by the majority of voters that the welfare of the community depended upon the establishment and maintenance of that kind of religious institutions which had hitherto been supported.

Having considered the plans and motives of residents in the Plymouth Colony in which the Separatist traditions of Amsterdam and the teachings of Robinson were influential, let us now turn to the colony of Massachusetts Bay, whose founders had not been subjected to Separatist influences before coming to America, but had sprung from the Puritan branch of the Church of England. What practice prevailed among the early settlers of this colony, and what principles guided them, in respect to the plans in vogue for rendering compensation for the services of ministers. The agreements¹ made with the first ministers of the first church in the colony of Massachusetts Bay, namely, the one at Salem, can easily be had in print. They are dated April 8, 1629. The ministers were Reverends Messrs. Skelton and Higginson. We have also readily accessible the compact made with Rev. Mr. Bright,² February 2, 1628-9, who came from Great Britain to America under agreement to serve the first body of emigrants, but who did not enter into active ministry under that agreement. From these documents we learn the amount of the compensation which the ministers were to receive, but they give no information

¹Chronicles of the first planters of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, by A. Young, pp. 209-12. ²Ibid., p. 207.

regarding the plans to be adopted in raising the money, etc., needed in paying the salaries. Reverends Messrs. Warham and Maverick were chosen in England the ministers of the company of emigrants who came to Dorchester, but nothing appears anywhere to show how the money needed for their support was to be obtained.

At a General Court of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay held in London, October 15, 1629, it was agreed "That the charge of the ministers now there, or that shall hereafter goe to resyde there, as also the charge of building conveyent churches, and all other publique works vpon the plantaçon, bee in like mann^r indifferently borne, the one halfe by the Companyes ioynt stock for the said tearme of 7 yeeres, and the other halfe by the planters."¹ The expression "tearme of 7 yeeres" will be explained by quoting from the record of the proceedings of the same meeting another paragraph, as follows: "That the companye's joint stock shall have the trade of beavo^r and all other ffures in these pts soly, for the tearme of 7 yeares from this day, for and in consideraçon of the charge that the joynt stock hath vndergone already, and is yett annually to beare, for the advançm^t of the plantaçon."²

Hutchinson says that no notice was taken in the colony of the provision in the order of the General Court that one-half of the compensation of ministers should be paid out of the joint stock.³

At another General Court held (February 10, 1629-30), before the transfer of the Charter of the Company to this country it was propounded that as money was needed that could not be conveniently paid out of the joint stock, in the "furtherance of the plantaçon" "that a coñon stock should bee rayseed from such as beare good affecçon to the plantaçon, & the p pagaçon therof, and the same to bee employed only in defraym^t of publique charges, as maintenance of

¹ Records of the Governor and Company of Mass'tts Bay, p. 55. ² *Ibid.*

³ *Hist. of Mass'tts*, vol. I., p. 20.

ministers, transportaçon of poore famylyes, building of churches & flortyfycaçons, & all other publique and necessary occasions of the plantaçon.”¹

After the arrival of the immigrants in this country bringing with them the charter, the first order passed at the first Court of Assistants, holden at Charlestown, August 23, 1630, provided that houses for Rev. Messrs. Wilson and Phillips should be built at the “publique charge.” The second order of that court directed that Mr. Phillips should have a salary of forty pounds a year or its equivalent, and Mr. Wilson twenty pounds “till his wife come ouer.” “All this to be att the comõn charge, those of Mattapan and Salem onely exempted.”²

At a Court of Assistants held in Boston, November 30, 1630, “It is ordered, that there shalbe 60[£] collected out of the se’u’all plantaçons followeing, for the maintenance of Mr. Wilson & Mr. Phillips, vzs: out of Boston, 20[£]; Watertown, 20[£]; Charlton, 10[£]; Rokesbury, 6[£]; Meadford, 3[£]; Winnettsemett, 1[£].”³

Salem and Mattapan (Dorchester) are not included in this levy because they had ministers of their own for whose support provision had already, presumably, been made.

Although we thus find the Court of Assistants imposing a tax for the support of the ministry under date of November 30, 1630, we find no evidence that another tax was levied to pay the salaries of ministers until 1638, when the following law was passed by the General Court, which assembled on the sixth of September in that year.⁴

¹ Records of the Governor and Company of Mass’tts Bay, p. 68.

² Ibid. p. 73. ³ Ibid. p. 82.

⁴ Joel Parker does not seem to have appreciated the effort that was made in Massachusetts Bay to support ministers by voluntary contributions, after the beginning of things here. He says in a lecture before the Lowell Institute, delivered under the auspices of the Massachusetts Historical Society, “The Puritans being satisfied with the mode of supporting ministers by a tax, which we have seen was originally adopted at the first meeting of the Court of Assistants in the Colony, continued it by subsequent enactments,” &c. (Lectures delivered in a course before the Lowell Institute in Boston, by members

“This court taking into consideration the necessity of an equall contribution to all com̄on charges in townes, & observing that the cheife occation of the defect hearin ariseth from hence, that many of those who are not freemen, nor members of any church, do take advantage thereby to wth draw their helpe in such voluntary contributions as are in vse,—

It is therefore hearby declared, that ev^{ry} inhabitant in any towne is lyable to contribute to all charges, both in church & com̄on welth, whereof hee doth or may receive benefit; & withall it is also ordered, that every such inhabitant who shall not volentarily contribute, p portionably to his ability, wth other freemen of the same towne, to all com̄on charges, as well for vpholding the ordinances in the churches as otherwise, shalbee compelled thereto by assessment & distres to bee levied by the cunstable, or other officer of the towne, as in other cases.”¹

of the Massachusetts Historical Society, p. 415.) True, but a period of several years intervened between the action of the first Court of Assistants and the passage of the law of 1638.

¹One year earlier, however, at a General Court held at “Newetowne” on November 20, 1637, it was ordered by a special act that money should be raised in “Neweberry” by a public tax to pay a debt that had been incurred by the town in “building of houses for their minist^{rs}.”—(Records, &c., vol. I., p. 216.) In the original records of the town of Watertown the first entry, which is under the date of 1634, is as follows: “Agreed, that the charge of the Meeting House shall be gathered by a Rate justly levied upon every man proportionally unto his Estate.”—(Bond’s Genealogies, &c., of Watertown, 2nd ed., 1860, p. 995). 1635[?36], Aug. 7th, we find this entry also: “Agreed, that the charges of the new meeting house being a Rate of 80 lbs. shalbe levied as other generall levies for the Country.”—(Ib., p. 995.) Convers Francis in his Historical Sketch of Watertown (Appendix, p. 137), says: “The support of the ministers had before” (that is, before the time of the appearance of Briscoe’s book, in 1642), “been drawn from voluntary contributions.” Probably a different plan was pursued by some of the towns in raising money to build meeting-houses from what was pursued in collecting funds for the support of ministers. In Boston, meeting-houses seem to have been paid for by voluntary contribution in very early times. Thus Winthrop says in 1632, that “The congregation of Boston and Charlestown began the meeting-house at Boston, for which, and Mr. Wilson’s house they had made a voluntary contribution of about one hundred and twenty pounds.”—(Winthrop’s History of New England, vol. I., p. 104). Winthrop also notes the procedure in Boston in regard to building a meeting-house a few years later (1639). He says: “Their old

It would seem from an examination of the laws of the colony that, after the steps taken at first to raise money to pay the salaries of ministers by taxation, there was a period of several years when voluntary contributions were relied on for the support of the ministry. This conclusion is corroborated by the statements of early writers and by the impressions which a student receives in reading the older portions of the histories of the towns in Massachusetts, which were first founded, and of the history of the Commonwealth, and works which throw light on the doings and faith of our ancestors here.

In the case of *Giddings vs. Browne*, in which Samuel Symonds, a justice, gave judgment in Ipswich in favor of the plaintiff, which case was appealed to Salem Court and by the advice of that Court and the consent of the parties, stated for action to the General Court, and decided by it; Samuel Symonds, in stating at length (in 1657) the grounds on which his judgment rested, after giving the substance of the law quoted above as passed by the General Court in 1638,¹ proceeds as follows: "Before this recited law was made, though some churches, or townes rather, did agree how much yearely maintenance the minister should have, yet it was not rated, at least in any compellable way, by the towne, but men did pay their proportion in a way of voluntary contribution. But some (especially non members) some of them did grow slacke; and so the burthen grew too heavy upon church members, &c. And upon consideration it was found lawfull to make a law to compell everyone to beare his owne share; forasmuch as by hearing the word

meeting-house, being decayed and too small, they sold it away, and agreed to build another, which workmen undertook to set up for £600. Three hundred they had for the old, and the rest was to be gathered by voluntary contribution, as other charges were."—(History of New England, vol. I., p. 382). Writing in 1640, he says that the new meeting-house "cost about £1000. which was raised out of the weekly voluntary contribution without any noise or complaint, when in some other churches which did it by way of rates, there was much difficulty and compulsion by levies to raise a far less sum."—(Ib., vol. 2, p. 28).

¹Records, &c., vol. I., p. 240.

and publique prayer, &c., he did or might receive a benefitt and (in a way of God) be received as a member with the rest. and yet the law was framed soe, as such churches as chose rather to goe in a voluntary way of weekly contribution or soe, might soe continue, notwithstanding this law, as some churches in this country doe to this day.”¹

In the standard treatise on Massachusetts Ecclesiastical Law, written by Edward Buck, the author in describing the support given to the gospel here does not go back of the law of 1638, but only refers the reader for an account of plans in earlier use (p. 24) to an article in the Congregational Quarterly, vol. I., p. 158.²

¹Hutchinson Papers (Edition of the Prince Society), vol. II., pp. 6 & 7.

²In the following extracts glimpses may be obtained of the plans in use in the colony for raising the salaries of ministers in years immediately succeeding the passage of the law of 1638.

In March, 1642-3, Winthrop writes “The churches held a different course in raising the ministers’ maintenance. Some did it by way of taxation, which was very offensive to some.”

Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, in a note on p. 50 of his edition of *Plaine Dealing*, writes, “When Roger Williams” (1644) “objected to the ‘constraint laid upon all consciences * * * * * to come to church and pay church duties’ (Bloody Tenent, C. lxix.) Mr. Cotton replied, ‘I know of no restraint at all that lieth upon the consciences of any in New England to come to church. * * * Least of all do I know that any are constrained to pay church duties in New England. Sure I am none in our own town are constrained to pay any church duties at all. What they pay they give voluntarily, each one with his own hand, without any constraint at all but their own will, as the Lord directs them’ (Bl. Tenent Washed, 146). In his rejoinder, Williams says: ‘For a freedom of not paying in his [Mr. Cotton’s] town, *it is to their commendation, and God’s praise*. Yet who can be ignorant of the assessments upon all in *other towns*,’ etc. (Bl. Tenent yet more bloody, 216). It is not easy to reconcile Mr. Cotton’s general denial with Winthrop’s statement, (ii., 93), that some churches raised their ministers’ maintenance by taxation, ‘which was very offensive to some;’ or with his account of the prosecution of ‘one Briscoe of Watertown, who * * * being grieved * * * * * because himself and others, who were no members, were taxed, wrote a book against it,’ which he ‘published under hand;’ for which offence the court fined him £10, and ‘one of the publishers’ £2. in March, 1643,—not long before Roger Williams sailed for England (where he printed the *Bloody Tenent*).

Hooker (*Survey*, ii., 29, 32) regarding it the duty of ‘Every one that is taught’ to contribute, argues that such contribution should be enforced, not by the civil magistrate, but by the discipline of the church; ‘In case any member shall fail in this free contribution, he sinnes in a breach of the knowne rule of the Gospell; it appertains to the Church, to see the Reformation of that evill,

After the passage of the law mentioned above as having been enacted by the General Court in 1638, the history of legislation in Massachusetts Bay Colony until 1660 is as follows: 11th November, 1647, the General Court provided that town rates might be laid for the purchase of a habitation for a preaching elder and his successors. Records, &c., vol. II., p. 217.

At a General Court begun August 22, 1654, it was ordered "that the County Court in euery shire shall, vppon information given them of any defect of any congregation or townshipp wthin the shire, order and appointe w^t majnetenance shallbe allowed to the ministers of that place, and shall issue out warrants to the select men to asseste, and the counstable of the sajd toune to collect, the same, and to distrejne the sajd assessm^{nt} vppon such as shall refuse to pay." Vol. IV., Pt. I., p. 199.

At a General Court held May 6, 1657, committees for different counties were appointed to examine into the truth of the complaint that there was great suffering in the families of "diuerse re'u'end ministers of Gods word wth in this iurisdiccon." Vol. IV., Pt. I., p. 286.

At a General Court, October 23, 1657, the returns of the several committees were ordered to be transmitted to the Courts of the Counties to which they belonged in order that wants that had appeared might be relieved. Vol. IV., Pt. I., p. 314.

At a General Court, May 30, 1660, it was ordered "that the County Courts in their respective precincts doe dilligently & carefully attend the execution of such orders of this Court as concernes the majnetenance of the ministry, &c." * * "and that for the future, there may be no neglect hereof, president of each County Court shall duly from tyme to tyme give it in charge to the grand juries of

as of any other scandall.' And he makes it the duty of the deacon, if any member fail to perform this duty, to admonish, and in case he reform not, to 'follow the action against him * * * * and bring him to the censure of the church.' Ibid., 37." (164s).

theire respective courts to present all abuses & neglects of this kinde, & that wth all care & dilligence the same be redressed," &c. Vol. IV., Pt. I., p. 417.

Please glance at two or three steps, not yet mentioned, taken by the Puritans in Massachusetts Bay in their passage from the voluntary to the compulsory system of ministerial support. They are interesting, for they show minds in the process of change.

In the synod held at Cambridge in 1637, to consider matters connected with the Hutchinson-Wheelwright controversy, "There was a motion made * * * by the governour," (Winthrop) "that whereas there was a difference among the churches about the maintenance of their ministers, it might be agreed what way was most agreeable to the rule of the gospel; but the elders did not like to deal in that lest it should be said, that this assembly was gathered for their private advantage."¹

The General Court, however, took hold of the matter and November 20, 1637, decided to send out the following letter:

"To the Elders & Brethren of the Church of God at
 ^ Whearas complaint hath bene made to this Courte
 that a different course is houlden in the churches of this
 jurisdiction for raising a treasury for maintenance of minist-
 ers, & whearvpon some minist^rs are not so comfortably
 pvided as were fitting,—

It is desired, that the severall churches will speedily
 inquire hearinto, & if neede bee to conferr together about
 it, & send some to advise wth this Courte at the next session
 thereof, that some order may bee taken hearin according to
 the rule of the gosple./

p Cūr. INC: NOWELL, Sec^{et}./"²

¹History of New England, by John Winthrop. Vol. I., p. 288.

²Records, &c., vol. I., p. 216. A curious fragment has been preserved containing a record in the handwriting of Rev. John Fiske, sometime assistant preacher with Hugh Peters, pastor of the first church in Salem, of a church meeting held in Salem in 1637, in which this desire for an inquiry by the elders and brethren of the churches in Massachusetts Bay Colony appears to

As the result of the dissatisfaction in regard to the existing ways of maintaining ministers shown by the motion made in the synod and the inquiries sent to the elders by the General Court, the law mentioned above as passed in 1638 was enacted.

In September, 1644, the Commissioners of the United Colonies propounded to each General Court the following recommendation: "That those that are taught in the word in the seu'all plantaçons be called together, that euery man voluntarily set downe what he is willing to allow to that end & use, and if any man refuse to pay a meete pporçon, that then hee be rated by authority in some just & equall

have been under consideration. The record is given in the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, vol. I., p. 39, and is as follows:—

"At a xx meeting" "Salem 1637" "A qu pponded to ye xx, by ye desire of ye Magist of yis 'try.

What way or course is best to be taken of ye xxs for Mrs. mayntenance, & ye continuance & upholding of xx ordinances? R. ye xx hath taken it into yr 'sideration." Following is a modernized form of the record as given by Daniel Appleton White, in *New England Congregationalism, &c.*, p. 25:—

"Salem, 1637. At a Church Meeting. A question propounded to the Church by the desire of the Magistrates of this Country.

What way or course is best to be taken of the Churches, for ministers' maintenance, and the continuance and upholding of Church ordinances? R. The Church hath taken it into their consideration."

Our associate, Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige, in his *History of Cambridge*, pp. 253, 254, states that "There are still preserved two folio volumes, which may be styled Church Books, chiefly devoted to financial affairs, containing a particular account of receipts and disbursements by the Deacons, together with some historical notices. From these books something may be gleaned concerning the condition and work of the church." "The first entry in the Record proper is somewhat mutilated, what is supposed to be lost is here supplied, but enclosed in brackets. '[An account] of the moneys by contri[bution] upon the first day of [the week for] the supply of the wants of the Church of Christ and the needy people of Cambridge since the second day of the tenth month in the year of Christ 1638.'"

Not any of the money raised by contribution, as accounted for in these books, appears to have been used to pay the salaries of ministers. Is it not possible that these books, which were opened in the same year with the passage of the law compelling inhabitants of towns to help pay for the support of ministers, and within two or three months of the date of its passage, were brought into use in consequence of the change from the old way of support by voluntary contribution to compulsory maintenance which made the time a convenient one for starting new accounts in new books?

way, and if after this any man w^hold or delay due payment the ciuill power to be exercised as in other just debts."¹

In a summary by Hubbard of the Platform of Discipline, adopted by the Synod in 1648, item No. 9 is as follows: "For the maintenance of the ministers of the church, all that are taught are to communicate to him that teacheth, in all good things; and in case of neglect, the majistrate ought to see that the ministry be duly provided for." (Hubbard's History in Colls. of the Mass'tts Hist. Soc., 2nd Ser., vol. 6, p. 539).²

In the statement of his reasons for the judgment given by him in the case of Giddings *vs.* Browne, referred to above, Mr. Justice Symonds gives the circumstances which seem to have been the immediate cause of one of the later enactments which has been before mentioned. "There is yet," he says, "I conceave, a concluding judgment (in the like case) in the generall court, I referr to the record itselſe (but till an understanding man, then an inhabitant of Weymouth [as I am informed] mentioned it since the passing of my sentence in the case in question) it was out of my mind. I remember the substance of it, and I suppose so doe many more. That towne of Weymouth did generally agree to provide an house and meet accommodations for the use of the ministry, to remaine for posterity. The matter came into the generall court. Mrs. Richards stood out, and not many (if any more besides) and although the court did soe well like their ayme, or the thing (in itselſe considered) as may by and by appeare, yet it was judged in court that they could not justly impose payment upone one, or more persons, not consenting. One Dyer³ was then deputy of that towne, and did prosecute in

¹Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, vol. 9, being vol. I. of Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England.

²See Ecclesiastical History of Mass'tts in Colls. of Mass'tts Hist. Soc., 1st Ser., vol. 10, p. 29.

³Thomas Dyer was deputy from Weymouth, 1646-47-50-53-54, &c., A.

behalf of the towne : Yet herein the court gave a testimony of their good liking in respect of the townes intent, viz. in that way to provide for the ministry. And accordingly the law was framed, and enacted for the future, that very court. This provision was not to give away, but to remaine to posterity, and the like provision was for every towne in the country ; and that which a great part, if not the greater part, of Ipswich have desired and do still stand for.”¹

The law which it is here stated was made in consequence of the agitation of the Weymouth case is either that passed in 1647 or the one enacted in 1654.

Although by the law of 1638 it was made incumbent upon all citizens to pay their proportions of common civil and religious expenses, it will be noticed that it was not until 1654 that the General Court went so far as to supervise the action of towns, and to see to it that the salaries of ministers were suitable in amount.

Individuals did not fail to oppose the recommendation and adoption of compulsory taxation for the support of ministers.

Thus, we learn from a note in the margin of the record in which the recommendation of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, recited above, is given that (in 1644), “Mr. Browne desired further consideration about the 2 last clauses of this conclusion,”² that is to say, about the clauses which recommended rating “by authority” and compulsory collection of rates.

So, too, Mr. Briscoe of Watertown made a protest against compulsory payment. Winthrop, writing in 1642-3 (1-5), says : “The churches held a different course in raising the ministers’ maintenance. Some did it by way of taxation, which was very offensive to some. Amongst others, one Briscoe of Watertown, who had his barn burnt, as before mentioned, being grieved with that course in their

¹ Hutchinson Papers (Edition of the Prince Society), vol. II., p. 13.

² Records of the Colony of New Plymouth, vol. 9, p. 20.

town, the rather because himself and others, who were no members, were taxed, wrote a book against it, wherein, besides his arguments, which were naught, he cast reproach upon the elders and officers.”¹

Hubbard had no patience with Briscoe. He says: “he that shall deny the exerting of the civil power to provide for the comfortable subsistence of them that preach the gospel, *fuste potius erudiendus quam argumento.*”²

It is noticeable that Winthrop could only say, in March, 1643 (new style) that “some” churches resorted to taxation to raise money for the support of ministers. His language suggests naturally the inference, that in several towns the voluntary system of maintenance was in vogue a number of years after the passage of the law of 1638.

Why did the men of Massachusetts Bay refrain from a compulsory collection of ministers’ salaries for several years after coming to this country?

Was it merely because it was convenient to do so or were they guided in the matter by principle also?

Mr. Hubbard takes the former view. Referring undoubtedly to the action of the General Court in 1654, he says: “And whereas the plantations of New England had never as yet been acquainted with the way of paying tythes (which none of the reformed churches ever yet condemned as unlawful, although it was not looked upon as the most convenient for the towns and plantations of New England), for the support of the ministry in the several towns, it was now left to the power of every county court throughout the whole jurisdiction, to make sufficient provision for the maintenance of the ministry, in the respective towns of the colony, and to rectify any defect, upon complaint of any such, for want of means whereby comfortably to subsist.”³

But Mr. Hubbard was probably mistaken in regard to this matter, as he has been shown to have been in many

¹ History of New England, by John Winthrop, vol. 2, p. 112.

² A General History of New England, by William Hubbard (Collections of the Mass’tts Hist. Soc., 2nd Ser., v. 6, p. 412). ³ Hubbard, p. 551.

other cases. Attention has again and again been called to the fact that whatever may have been the intentions of the earliest colonists of Massachusetts Bay before leaving England, and on the eve of their departure, as soon as they came to Salem and Charlestown they adopted the plans which were in vogue in the Plymouth Colony in forming their churches and in administering ecclesiastical affairs.

Edward Winslow says that some of the chief men of the plantations "advised with us," meaning the men at Plymouth " (coming over to be freed from the burthensome ceremonies then imposed in England) how they should do to fall upon a right platform of worship, and desire to that end since God had honored us to lay the foundation of the Commonwealth and settle a church in it, to show them whereupon our practice was grounded.

* * * * *

We accordingly showed them the primitive practice for our warrant, &c."¹

John Cotton acknowledges that some of the first comers to Massachusetts Bay might have helped "their theory by hearing and discerning their practice at Plymouth."²

Deacon Fuller of the Plymouth Church, while professionally engaged as a physician among the new comers to Massachusetts Bay, had conferences with those men who were in authority both at Salem and at Charlestown and with Rev. Mr. Warham of Mattapan (Dorchester) and others, about the proper forms of ecclesiastical organization, and while he and Mr. Warham differed in regard to the qualities which are requisite to make men eligible to membership in a church, he evidently found in Gov. Endicott and Gov. Winthrop men who were very appreciative of the ecclesiastical methods in use in Plymouth.

Whether the settlers in Massachusetts Bay took the constitution and methods of the church at Plymouth for a

¹ Winslow's Brief Narration in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, p. 386. ² Cotton's "Way," &c., p. 16.

model or not, this much is certain, that after consultation of their leaders with men from the latter colony they reached the conclusion that the plans adopted in the elder settlement, in the organization and maintenance of its church, were in accordance with the teachings of the New Testament.

It is unnecessary to treat this matter fully, because the statements of the earlier historians in regard to it, such as Bradford, Hubbard¹ and others, have been carefully weighed and the whole subject of the influence of the Plymouth church in moulding the constitution of the churches in Massachusetts Bay has been ably handled by our late associate, Dr. Young,² and by those living authorities in early Plymouth and Massachusetts history, our learned associates, Doctors Dexter³ and Deane.⁴

It is interesting to remark one of the details wherein the practice of some of the churches in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in regard to raising money for the support of the gospel, resembles the procedure of the "ancient church" in Amsterdam, and that of the Mayflower church which commonly agreed with it in ecclesiastical matters. Thus, money needed for church purposes was raised in some of the churches here largely by a contribution taken up on Sunday.

While, perhaps, these contributions were meant primarily, in many of the churches, to serve as a convenient way of obtaining money for relieving the necessities of the

¹ Mass'tts Hist. Colls., 2nd ser., v. 5, pp. 117 and 186.

² *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth*, by Alexander Young, p. 386.

³ *Congregationalism of the last three hundred years in its literature, etc.*, p. 415 *et seq.*

⁴ *Proceedings of the Mass'tts Hist. Soc. for October, 1870*, pp. 398-400 (on Governor Bradford's Dialogue, &c.). See also Lecture of William Brigham in Lectures delivered in a course before the Lowell Institute in Boston, by members of the Mass'tts Hist. Soc., pp. 179, 180.

poor,¹ in some of them a portion of the Sabbath contribution was used in affording compensation to ministers. .

Lechford in his *Plaine Dealing* gives an account, which has become very familiar to students of the early ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts, of this contribution as it occurred in the order of services in the First Church in Boston. In describing the exercises in that church in the afternoon of the Sabbath, he says, when Baptism is ended "follows the contribution, one of the Deacons saying, Brethren of the Congregation, now there is time left for contribution, wherefore as God hath prospered you, so freely offer. Upon some extraordinary occasions, as building and repairing of churches or meeting-houses, or other necessities, the ministers presse a liberall contribution, with effectuall exhortations out of scripture. The magistrates and chiefe Gentlemen first, and then the Elders and all the congregation of men and most of them that are not

¹ Mr. Trumbull quotes from T. Welde's *An Answer to W. R. &c., 1644*, the following passage in a note to p. 49 of his edition of Lechford's *Plaine Dealing*: "This weekly contribution is properly intended for the poore, according to 1 Cor. 16. 1. Yet so as (if there be much given in) some churches doe (though others do not) appoint the overplus *towards* the ministers maintenance. 2. This is not given in by the people *according to their weekly gaines* [as Rathband had stated,] but as *God hath blessed them with an estate in the generall*. . . . 3. Nor is this dispensed to the Ministers (in those churches where any part of it is so given) though by the hands of the Deacons, yet not for proportion as they please, but by the Church, who usually, twice in the year or oftener, doe meete to consult and determine of the summe to be allowed for that yeere to their ministers, and to raise it, either for the Churches treasure or by a contribution to be then made on purpose.—(Welde, &c., p. 59).

In an account which has been preserved of the order of Sabbath worship in the church made up of the persons who had withdrawn from the "ancient church" in Amsterdam, under John Smyth, the writers speak of the last act in the morning services as follows: "Then the I. speaker cocludeth wth. prayer as he began with prayer; with an exhortation to co'tribution to the poore, wch. collection being made is also cocluded with prayer."—(Dexter's *Congregationalism in Literature, &c.*, p. 334).

The fact that the "poore" only are mentioned here as recipients of the money received in the Sunday contribution should be coupled with the following statement: "Smyth (*Life & Death, etc.*, II.) declares—as a simple fact and not a boast—'That I never received of them [his flock], all put together, the value of *fortie shillings!* to my knowledge since I came out of England: and of Mr. Helwis not the value of a penny.'"—(Ibid., p. 323, note.)

of the Church, all single persons, widows, and women in absence of their husbands, come up one after another one way, and bring their offerings to the Deacon at his seate, and put it into a box of wood for the purpose, if it be money or papers; if it be any other chattle they set it or lay it downe before the Deacons, and so passe another way to their seats againe. This contribution is of money, or papers, promising so much money: I have seene a faire gilt cup with a cover, offered there by one, which is still used at the Communion. Which moneys, and goods the Deacons dispose towards the maintenance of the Ministers, and the poore of the Church, and the Churches occasions, without making account, ordinarily.”¹

This account of Lechford, although written a short time after the passage of the law of 1638, by which a limited compulsion was exerted as regards the payment of ministerial dues, undoubtedly describes what he had seen before the passage of that law² and the practice which had existed for several years in Boston.

It is to be noted that the men of Massachusetts Bay in adopting the church polity which had been in use in Amsterdam and Plymouth, and in generally conforming to it even in details, were guided by principle, and believed that they were copying the pattern which had been revealed in the New Testament as the will of God respecting the administration of the Church of Christ.

It is to be presumed that in making use of the voluntary system for the support of the ministry they proceeded in this spirit and equally with the brethren of Amsterdam and Plymouth, believed that in accepting this incident, as well as the other features of the ecclesiastical polity which they

¹ Lechford's *Plaine Dealing*, &c., Mass'tts Hist. Soc's Colls., Ser. 3, vol. 3, p. 77. Ed. of J. Hammond Trumbull, p. 48.

² Lechford arrived in Boston in the summer of 1638, and returned to England in August, 1641.—(J. Hammond Trumbull's *Introduction to Plaine Dealing*, pp. XVIII., XXXV. and XXXVI., Boston, Wiggin and Lunt). His "To the reader" is dated Clements Inne, Jan. 17, 1641 (old style).

had introduced into the colony they were following the scriptural model. That is to say, the voluntary system of collecting ministers' dues, in use in the early days of the colony, was adopted and sustained, not merely because it was convenient, but in great measure from considerations of duty.

The question whether the institution of tithes is ordained of God as the divinely appointed plan for securing to ministers a maintenance under the dispensation of the Gospel, as we have seen in an earlier part of this paper, was under discussion in England at the time when the Pilgrims, then in Holland, were considering the project of coming to America. Increase Mather in "A Discourse Concerning the Maintenance Due to those That Preach the Gospel," etc., writing in 1706, stated that most of the "Reformed Divines" answered this question in the negative,¹ and instanced as writers who took this view such men as P. Martyr, Zanchy, Daneus, Rivet and Voetius. He gave the same answer to the question himself. But more radical views began to be held than those of the advanced writers of the latter part of the sixteenth and the earlier part of the seventeenth centuries. By the middle of the latter century they had culminated in the beliefs which found expression in the unreserved utterances of Milton in favor of the introduction of the system of unadulterated voluntaryism in respect to ministerial support.

Some of this author's most outspoken sentences have already been quoted.

A little later in the seventeenth century the "great dissenter," John Owen, whom Increase Mather speaks of as "that incomparable author,"² avowed similar sentiments and gave in his adhesion to the same system. His words are as follows: "We take it for granted that the *way* of ministerial maintenance is changed under the New Testa-

¹Page 49 or 50. ²Some Remarks on a late Sermon preached at *Boston* in *New England*, by George Keith, M. A., Boston, 1702, p. 8.

ment; but that the *law of maintenance* is taken away, is the highest folly to imagine, it being so expressly asserted by our Savior himself and his apostles, Luke X : 7 ; I. Cor. IX. But here it is thought lies the disadvantage; that whereas the priests under the Old Testament had a *certain portion* which was *legally* due to them, and they might demand it as their own, it is now deferred to the *voluntary contribution* of them who have the benefit of their labor. But he is unworthy the name of a minister of the gospel who is not satisfied with what our Lord hath ordained in every kind. This way is the most honorable way, and that which casts the greatest respect upon them.

* * * * *

Our apostle tells us that our Lord hath ordained, that those who preach the gospel shall live on the gospel; and all obedience to his ordinances and institutions must be *voluntary*. If they will not do so, their best way is to leave *his service*, and take up with that which is—more honorable!"¹

So much for the convictions and writings of reformers in England and on the continent of Europe. Evidently a change had come in the views of many who held that the system of tithes was the divinely ordained plan for the support of the ministry in the Christian church. First, preachers and theologians denied that tithes were imposed by the command of God under the new dispensation. Their successors denied that compulsory support of ministers was allowable under the teachings of the gospel. Not only did the little band of Pilgrim writers maintain such radical views; other English and Continental authors of the class of thinkers whom the Puritans of New England looked to especially for guidance and instruction were coming to accept similar conclusions. Many of the men who first came to Massachusetts Bay must have been cognizant of the advanced views respecting ministerial support

¹ An Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, &c., by John Owen, D.D. Revised, abridged, &c., by Edward Williams, D.D. Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1812, p. 310. This exposition was written in 1668-1684.

that were ripening in England at the time of the foundation of the colony, and some of them, it is probable, regarded them with sympathy, and were inclined, if partly for convenience, largely, too, from principle, to adopt the voluntary system for the payment of the salaries of ministers. Men who held such views soon found a powerful friend in a notable personage who before long became a resident in the colony, namely, the great Puritan divine and leader, John Cotton. The same year that he arrived in Boston we find Winthrop writing as follows in his journal: "After much deliberation and serious advice, the Lord directed the teacher, Mr. Cotton, to make it clear by the scripture, that the minister's maintenance, as well as all other charges of the church, should be defrayed out of a stock, or treasury, which was to be raised out of the weekly contribution; which accordingly was agreed upon."¹

The first work which Mr. Cotton wrote after coming to Massachusetts that related to the methods in use in New England respecting ecclesiastical polity, was dated: "25, 11 m. 1634," and entitled: "Questions and Answers upon Church Government, etc." In this work he suggested an order to be observed in worship, and made a place in it for a collection to be taken up "for the support of the ministry, the need of poor saints, and the furthering of all outward service of the church."²

From another passage in Winthrop's journal we learn that in 1639 "(3) 2.7 Mr. Cotton preaching out of the 8 of Kings, 8, taught, that when majistrates are forced to provide for the maintenance of ministers, etc., then the churches are in a declining condition. Then he showed, that the minister's maintenance should be by voluntary contribution, not by lands or revenues, or tithes, etc.; for these have always been accompanied with pride, contention, and sloth, etc."³

¹ History of New England, by John Winthrop. Vol. I., p. 144.

² Congregationalism in Literature, by H. M. Dexter, p. 423 and note.

³ History of New England, vol. I., p. 355.

Mr. Cotton earnestly advocated the use of the voluntary system in the payment of ministerial dues on moral grounds. He was, it needs not to be stated, a man of great influence in Massachusetts, and his opinion was taken here on all important questions and held in the highest estimation. The language of Hubbard does not seem to have been very extravagant when he said of him "that whatever he delivered in the pulpit was soon put into an Order of Court, if of a civil, or set up as a practice in the church, if of an ecclesiastical concernment."¹

Winthrop tells us that at a meeting of the Governor and Council, September 17, 1633, to consider about Mr. Cotton, it was even proposed "that (keeping a lecture) he should have some maintenance out of the treasury."² It was only upon "second thoughts" that "divers of the council did after refuse this contribution."

Mr. Cotton exerted a powerful influence in moulding the ecclesiastical institutions of the Bay Colony, and may properly be regarded as a representative of the views respecting such matters which were held at Plymouth, also. His influence began to be felt as soon as he came to Boston, three or four years after the arrival of the first settlers in the colony. His support, undoubtedly, strengthened greatly the party here which contended that it is a duty to raise the maintenance of ministers by voluntary contributions. It was not so effectual, however, in this as in most other ecclesiastical matters, for while the constitution of our churches and the ecclesiastical usages, generally speaking, which he was so important a factor in forming and establishing remained comparatively permanent, he found himself powerless to stem the tide which (excepting in Boston and some other places)³ set, determinedly, in an opposite

¹ General History, &c., Colls. of the Mass'tts Hist. Soc., 2nd Ser., vol. V., p. 182.

² Hist. of New England, &c., vol. I., p. 133. See, also, Emerson's An historical sketch of the First Church in Boston, p. 19.

³ "First Parish. 1639. There is a voluntary and quarterly contribution of the town to support the ministry. This was continued about 18 years."—(Annals

direction from the one he desired in respect to the principle of voluntarism in the maintenance of the ministry.

The names of two other men who were not in full sympathy with the majority of the colonists and who were yet not without influence among them, will occur to all students of the history of Massachusetts as having been, while residents here, presumably, friends to the plan of supporting ministers by voluntary contributions, namely, Henry Vane¹ and Roger Williams.² The former was a staunch friend of religious and civil liberty, and in this country and afterwards in England said noble words and did glorious deeds in their defence. His views regarding the encouragement of the freedom of thought in religious matters were far in advance of those of Cotton. He argued and labored for an entire separation of Church and State. Surely, then, he must have heartily agreed with his friend in his convictions respecting the allowance of freedom of action in regard to contributions towards the support of the ministry.

We will conclude this report with one or two extracts from *The Hireling Ministry, &c.*, by Roger Williams. This friend of absolute voluntarism was the instructor and pupil of John Milton,³ and sympathized heartily with that reformer in his antipathy to a ministry that is supported by compulsion. In the State which he founded, religious freedom was made a corner stone⁴ and the support of the ministry was rendered voluntary.

of Salem, by Joseph B. Felt, 2nd ed., 1849, vol. II., p. 619.) See, also, Winthrop's *Hist. of New England*, vol. II., p. 112. "Cotton Mather in 1726 wrote:—'In some Churches the salary of the minister is raised by a voluntary contribution, especially in Populous Places, and where many strangers resort; but in others a Tax is levied for it.'—(*Ratio Discipline*, pp. 20-22," Foote's *Annals of King's Chapel*, vol. I., p. 449.

¹ *Orations and Essays*, by Rev. J. L. Diman, D.D., pp. 127, 128. ² *Ibid*, p. 191.

³ See letter of Roger Williams to John Winthrop of Connecticut, dated at Providence, July 12, 54 (so called), in memoir of Roger Williams, by James D. Knowles, p. 264.

⁴ See covenant signed by early settlers of Providence, *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island*, p. 14. See, too, *History of New England, &c.*, by Isaac Backus, new edition, edited by David Weston, vol. II., p. 513.

The words of Roger Williams are as follows: "Secondly, as to the *Labourer* worthy of his *Reward*, I answer, we find no other *patterne*, in the *Testament of Christ Jesus*, but that both the *Converting* (or *Apostolicall Ministry*) and the *Feeding* (or *Pastorall Ministry*) did *freely* serve or minister, and yet were *freely* supported by the *Saints* and *Churches*, and that not in stinted *Wages*, *Tithes*, *Stipends*, *Sallaries*, &c. but with larger or lesser *supplies*, as the Hand of the *Lord* was more or lesse extended in his *weekly blessings* on them."¹

"And therefore I doe humbly conceive, that it is the *will* of the most *High*, and the expresse and absolute *Duty* of the *civill powers* to proclaim an absolute *freedom* in all the Nations, yea in all the world (were their power so large) that each *Towne*, and *Division* of people, yea, and *person*, may freely enjoy what *worship*, what *ministry*, what *maintenance* to afford them, their soul desireth."²

For the Council.

SAMUEL S. GREEN.

¹The Hireling Ministry, etc., by Roger Williams, London, 1652, p. 9. ²Ibid., p. 19.

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