

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

Organization of the Church. — Installation of the Rev. Mr. Bulkeley and Mr. Jones. — Church Covenant. — Proceedings of the Church. — Notice of the Rev. Mr. Jones. — Letters of the Rev. Mr. Bulkeley, and Notice of his life and Writings. — Rev. Edward Bulkeley. — Rev. Joseph Estabrook. — Rev. John Whiting.

EMBARRASSMENT attends any attempt to prepare the early history of the church in Concord. No records are preserved during the first hundred years of its existence; and such facts only can be given, during this long and interesting period, as can be gleaned from early historians, ancient manuscripts, and family records. By careful and laborious researches, I [Dr. Lemuel Shattuck] am fortunately enabled to supply some important information.

This church was organized at Cambridge, July 5, 1636; and was the thirteenth established in the colony.¹ The meeting was called by the Rev. Peter Bulkeley² and the Rev. John Jones, who, with others, had previously begun the settlement at Concord. The Governor and Deputy-Governor were invited to be present on the occasion but, because they supposed there was an informality in the invitation, at variance with their over-precise notions of etiquette, they did not attend. "They sent word, three days before to the governor and deputy, to desire their presence; but they took it in ill part and thought not fit to go, because they had not come to them before, as they ought to have done and as others had done before, to acquaint them with their purpose."

On the 6th of April, 1637, the church "kept a day of humiliation" at Cambridge, preparatory to the ordination, or installation of Mr. Bulkeley, whom they chose teacher, and of Mr. Jones, whom they chose pastor. Delegates were present from most of the churches in the colony to assist in this ordination; but, says Winthrop, "the governor [Winthrop always referred to himself as "the governor"], and Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Wheelwright, and the two ruling elders of Boston, and the rest of that church which were of any note, did none of them come to this meeting. The reason was conceived to be, because they counted these as legal preachers and therefore would not give approbation to their ordination." One of the delegates from Salem proposed a question which led to the adoption of the following opinions. Such as had been clergymen in England and received ordination in the established church by the bishop, were to be respected as having there legally sustained the office of ministers by the call of the people; and such ordination was considered valid here. But for receiving this ordination by the bishop they ought to humble themselves, acknowledge their sin and repent. Having come to this country, they should not consider themselves regular ministers until called by another church. When thus elected, they were to be considered as ministers even before ordination.³

No man had a greater aversion to Episcopacy than Mr. Bulkeley, as his writings most fully show. There was, however, some difference in opinion between him and some of the leading men in the colony. He was supposed to attach too much importance to good works, though from his letters and treatise on the Covenant the supposition appears to be without foundation. The ostensible reason assigned for not giving approbation to his ordination was, that he was considered a *legal* preacher, - one who was for a *covenant of works* instead of a *covenant of grace*, or one who held to the doctrines of the law in distinction from the doctrines of grace. The former were Legalists and the latter, Antinomians. The discussion of this question produced great excitement and alienation; and all classes of society joined in it.⁴ It probably

1. [Governor John] Winthrop, vol. i. page 95. see also pages 189 and 217.

2. This name is also spelt Bulkley, Bulky, and Buckley. The Rev. Peter Bulkeley and his family wrote it Bulkeley, which orthography I [Dr. Lemuel Shattuck] have followed.

3. Some historians, for whose opinion I have great respect, have asserted, that the first settlers of Massachusetts were Episcopalians. But this, as it seems to me, if true at all, can be so only in a very limited sense. The colonists regarded Episcopacy with abhorrence and looked with jealousy on the least appearance of propagating it in this American wilderness. They came here to get rid of Episcopacy; and if they did not cease to be Episcopalians when they refused to conform to the ceremonies of the "mother church," when, it may be asked, did they cease to be Episcopalians? They lived Non-conformists in England, and were Congregationalists on their arrival in America. They acknowledge a respect to the church of England as *their mother*, but being *free children* they set up for themselves in ways of their own choosing - pure Congregationalists. Their ministers even considered it a sin to have received their ordination from such a mother. It might be equally proper to call a Congregationalist, who had chosen to adopt the peculiar ceremonies of the Baptist Church, a Congregationalist after he was really a Baptist; and in the same manner of any other change from one denomination to another.



influenced the gentlemen invited to this ordination. I have a long letter before me, written by Mr. Bulkeley before his ordination, to the Rev. Mr. Cotton of Boston, in which this subject is discussed in his usual logical style. Its great length prevents its insertion here. In a postscript he says, "I should have acquainted you yesterday, that the *ordination of the elders of the church of Concord* is to be on *Wednesday come sevenight*. It is to be *here at New-Town*. I pray take notice of it. If it be necessary to give any other notice to other persons, or in any other way, we would not be wanting therein for avoiding of offence. And I have spoken also to Mr. Wilson." The distinguished reputation of Mr. Bulkeley of noble family, a man of wealth, a scholar and divine, might have excited the envy of his fellow clergymen. He however received their approbation; and on the 30th of the following August, was chosen one of the moderators of the first great ecclesiastical council, or synod, of the colony, which was then held in Cambridge. Winthrop mentions the Rev. Mr. Hooker as also a moderator. This assembly was attended by nearly all the clergy and magistrates and many other distinguished laymen of the colony. It continued in session twenty-four days, and examined and condemned eighty-two opinions which had crept into the church, "some blasphemous, others erroneous and all unsafe."

Among other old family papers, transmitted from an early member of the church, is the following endorsed "Concord Church Covenant, which was adopted by them." Though without signatures or date, it has internal evidence of authenticity, and of being the first church covenant. The orthography only is altered.

"Considering the instability and inconstancy of our hearts in cleaving to the Lord in that which is good, we do bind ourselves one with another this day before the Lord, that we will endeavor, by the grace of God assisting us, henceforward to walk as becometh the people of God, according to the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. And more particularly we do promise and covenant before the Lord, that, whereas he hath of his great goodness brought us from under the yoke and burdening of men's traditions to the precious liberty of his ordinances, which we now do enjoy, we will, according to our places and callings, stand for the maintenance of this liberty to our utmost endeavour, and not return to any human ordinances from which we are escaped. And we further covenant to subject ourselves to every ordinance of Christ which he shall please to make known to us to be his will. Also we do take him to be our only Priest to instruct us, our only High Priest to make peace with the Father for us; so we will set him up as our King and Sovereign to command us, to rule in us and reign over us by the help of his word and Spirit. And that we may be better kept in an holy subjection to him and his will, we will watch over each other in the Lord, admonishing one another both to prevent the evils into which we may fall, and to recover ourselves out of those that we have been overtaken with, not suffering any raging pollution or spiritual uncleanness amongst us, but labor to cast it forth by the power which Christ hath given to his church. And further, considering that we are members one of another, and have civil respect, and are liable to be oppressed and devoured one of another; and considering also the increase of this evil, daily getting strength through the abounding of self-love so mightily prevailing in us; we do therefore here solemnly promise before the Lord, that we will carefully avoid all oppression, griping, and hard dealing, and walk in peace, love, mercy and equity towards each other, doing to others as we would they should do to us. And in testimony of our willing assent to this covenant we have hereunto subscribed our names."

"Letchford's Plain Dealing" mentions the church in Concord as the first one in the colony which had adopted the practice of catechizing children. Mather says, this was one of the constant exercises of the Sabbath. All the unmarried people were required to answer questions, after which expositions and applications were made by Mr. Bulkeley to the whole congregation. This exercise was, however, soon after adopted in other churches.

The church was numerous soon after its organization, and continued some time in harmony.⁵ But the unexpected pecuniary difficulties of the town, occasioned by its peculiar local situation

4. Neal, in his "History of New England," informs us that this question was agitated even by the soldiers composing the army sent against the Pequots in 1636; and that they had to stop in the wilderness and settle the question, whether they were in a *covenant of works* or a *covenant of grace*, before they could proceed!



and its condition at that time induced many to remove, which rendered it difficult for the remainder to support two ministers; Mr. Bulkeley's salary as teacher being £70 per annum. Some difficulty arose in the church on this account. The subject of a separation was often discussed; and on the 28th of July, 1642, "some of the elders went to Concord, being sent for by the church there to advise with them about the maintenance of their elders, etc. They found them wavering about removal, not finding their plantation answerable to their expectation, and the maintenance of two elders too heavy a burden for them. The elder's advice was that they should continue and wait upon God, and be helpful to their elders in labor and what they could, and all to be ordered by the deacons, (whose office had not formerly been improved this way amongst them,) and the elders should be content with what means the church was able at present to afford them, and if either of them should be called to some other place then to advise with other churches about their removal."⁶

The advice of this council was followed a short time; but about October, 1644, a separation took place and Mr. Jones removed to Fairfield, Connecticut. Mather gives the following account of this affair in his own peculiar style. Upon Mr. Bulkeley's "pressing a piece of charity, disagreeable to the will of the ruling elder, there was occasioned an unhappy discord in the church of Concord; which was at last healed by their calling in the help of a council, and the ruling elder's [Mr. Jones] abdication. Of the temptations which occurred on these occasions, Mr. Bulkeley would say, "he thereby came, 1. To know more of God. 2. To know more of himself. 3. To know more of men." Peace being thus restored, the small things in the church there increased in the hands of their faithful Bulkeley, until he was translated into the regions which afford nothing but *concord* and *glory*; leaving his well-fed flock in the wilderness under the pastoral care of his worthy son, Mr. Edward Bulkeley."

The Rev. JOHN JONES was born, educated and regularly ordained as a preacher of the gospel in England; but at what place is not known. He arrived in New England, October 2, 1635 with the Rev. Mr. Shepard, afterwards of Cambridge, and the Rev. Mr. John Wilson of Boston. After remaining as the colleague pastor of the church of Concord about eight years, he removed with part of his society to Fairfield [Connecticut], and there undertook the charge of a newly organized church, where he spent the remainder of his life. He attained an age exceeding "three score and ten," and died about 1664. Few records are preserved concerning this early, devoted friend to the cause of Christian liberty, or concerning his family. Tradition gives him a highly respectable character. He left six children. John [Jones, Jr.] was graduated at Harvard College in 1643; and Eliphalet [Jones], another son born in this town [Concord], January 9, 1640, studied divinity, and was the first minister of Huntington, L.I. [Long Island], where he died aged about 100 years old.

After the removal of Mr. Jones, the sole care of the church devolved on Mr. Bulkeley for the

5. One case of discipline is mentioned by the Hon. James Savage in his valuable notes on Winthrop (vol i. page 289) of Ambrose Martin, who was fined £10, "and counselled to go to Mr. Mather to be instructed by him," for calling the church covenant "a stinking carrion and a human invention," and uttering some other impudent expressions. The following petition containing the original signatures of the first two pastors and several members of the church relates to him.

"To the Honoured Court. The Petition of the church of Concord in behalfe of our brother Mr. Ambrose Martin.

"Your humble petitioners do intreate, that whereas some years ago our said brother Mr. Martin was fined by the Court for some unadvised speeches uttered against the church-covenant, for which he was fined £10, and had to the value of £20 by distress taken from him, of which £20 there is one-halfe remayning in the hands of the country to this day, which £10 he cannot be perswaded to accept of unless he may have the whole restored to him (which we doe impute unto his infirmitye and weakness.) We now considering the great decay of his estate, and the necessityes (if not extremityes) which the familye is come unto, we entreat that his honored Court would please to pittye his necessitous condition, and remit unto him the whole fine which was layd upon him without which he cannot be perswaded to receive that which is due to him. Wherein if this honoured Court shall please to grant this our petition, we shall be bound to prayse God for your tender compassion toward this our poor brother. (Signed):

Peter Bulkeley,	Luke Potter,
John Jones,	Joseph Wheeler,
Richard Griffin,	Thomas Foxe,
Simon Willard,	William Busse,
Robert Merriam,	Henry Farwell,
Thomas Wheeler,	James Hosmer,
George Wheeler,	John Graves.
Robert Fletcher,	

"*The 5th of the 4th month, 1644.* The case appears to the magestreates to be now past help through his own obstinacye; but for the overplus upon sale of the distresse he or his wife may have it when they will call for it. JO: ENDECOTT, Gov."

6. Winthrop, vol. ii. page 73.



remaining fourteen years of his life. At this time, according to Johnson, it contained about seventy communicants; but none of its proceedings have been transmitted to us. The following letters of Mr. Bulkeley are deemed worthy of publication.

“To his dear and loving friend, Mr. Shepard, Pastor of the Church att [sic] Cambridge.

“DEAR SR. — I hear the Lord hath so far strengthened you, as that you were the last Lord’s day at the assembly. The L. go on with the work of his goodness towards you. Being that now the Lord hath enabled you thus far, I desire a word or two from you, what you judge concerning the teacher in a congregation, whether the administration of discipline and sacraments doe equally belong unto him with the pastor, and whether he ought therein equally to interest himself. I would also desire you to add a word more concerning this, viz., what you mean by the execution of discipline, when you distinguish it from the power. We have had speech sometimes concerning the churches’ power in matters of discipline wherein you seemed to put the power itself into the hands of the church, but to reserve the execution to the eldership. Here also I would see what you comprehend under the word *execution*. I would gladly hear how the common affairs of the churches stand with you. I am here shut up, and neither see nor hear.⁷

“Write me what you know. Let me alsoe understand which way Mr. Phillips doth incline, whether towards you or otherwise; and which way Mr. Rogers is like to turn, whether to stay in these parts or goe into Coniticote [Connecticut]. I wrote to you not long agoe advising you to consider *quid valent humeri*. I know not whether you received that letter. “The Lord in mercy bless all our labours to his churches’ good. Remember my love to Mrs. Shepard with Mrs. Herlakenden. Grace be with you all.

“Yours in Christ Jesus, P. BULKELEY

“Febr. 12, 1639.”

“To his reverend and loving friend, Mr. Cotton, Teacher of the Church at Boston.

“REVEREND IN THE L. — These are to desire you to convey this letter inclosed in one of your own to Boston. I do rather send it to you, because I suppose those you commit your letters to, will be careful of the delivery, and this letter concerns matters of some moment, in regard whereof I desire you to take the more notice of it, and convey it by a safe hand. If the business concerning Virginia be finished, I desire to know how it stands; or if not finished, what is intended or though upon. My wife hath bin ill ever since our coming home, but now, I thank the Lord, begins to recover. This day she began to go down into the house. Remember her in your prayers, and us all. And so with both our loves to yourself and Mrs. Cotton, I leave you with all yours to the Lord’s rich goodness and grace, resting yours ever in him.

“Sept. 26, 1642 PET: BULKELEY.”

“To the Reverend his honoured friend, Mr. Cotton, Teacher of the Church at Boston, give these.

“REVEREND IN THE LORD,
* * * * *

“Some other things I am full of, but will not write with paper and ink; only in a word I bless God for what I hear, how the Lord doth fill your ministry with abundance of grace, life, and power, to the exceeding joy of those that are true-hearted towards the Lord. But withall I stand amazed and wonder att God’s forbearance, considering what I hear in another kind; which I doe also believe to be true in some parts; true I mean, as don and spoken by some, though untrue, in respect of any cause given on your part. Truly Sir, it is to me a wonder that the earth swallows up not such wretches, or that fire comes not downe from heaven to consume them. The L. hath a number of holy and humbles ones here amongst us

7. Mr. Bulkeley often laments his situation. In a letter to the Rev. Mr. Cotton, dated December 17, 1640, he says, “I lose much in this retired wilderness in which I live; but the Lord will at last lighten my candle. In the mean while’ help us with some of that which God hath imparted unto you.”



[in the country generally], for whose sakes he doth spare, and will spare long; but were it not for such a remnant, we should see the Lord would make quick work amongst us. Shall I tell you what I think to be the ground of all this insolency which discovers itself in the speach of men? Truly I cannot ascribe it so much to any outward thing, as to the putting of too much liberty and power into the hands of the multitude, which they are too weak to manage, many growing conceited, proud, arrogant, selfsufficient, as wanting nothing. And I am persuaded, that except there be some means used to change the course of things in this point, our churches will grow more corrupt day by day; and tumult will arise hardly to be stilled. Remember the former days which you had in old Boston where though (through the Lord's blessing upon your labours), there was an increase daily added to your church, yet the number of professors is far more here, than it was there. But answer me, which place was better governed? Where matters were swayed there by your wisdom and counsel, matters went on with strength and power for good. But here, where the heady or headless multitude have gotten the power into their hands, there is insolency and confusion. And I know not how it can be avoided in this way, unless we should make the doors of the church narrower. This we have warrant for from the word; which course, if it should be taken would bring its inconveniency also in another kind. But of these things no more. Only I pray the Lord to heal the evils of the places and times we live in, and remove that woeful contempt of his gospel which doth abound. O what mischief doth one proud, lofty spirit that is in reputation for understanding, amongst a number of others that are weak; and some of both such there are in every place. But our comfort is, God's end and work shall go forward. Some shall be converted, some hardened. The God of mercy carry on his work in our hearts and hands to the glorifying of his rich grace in Christ Jesus. I pray remember my harty love to good Mrs. Cotton, thanking her for her kind remembrance of my little ones.

I pray God give us both to see his grace increasing in those that he hath continued towards us. Farewell, dearly beloved and honoured in the Lord, comfort yourself in him, who is most ready to be found in time of need. In him I rest. Yours ever,
"April 4, 1650. PET: BULKELEY.

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"I could wish you would write to Mr. Goodwin to deal with those that are in place of authority in England, to take care that the Scripture may be printed more truly. I have a bible, printed 1648, which hath (little and great) above an 100 faults in the printing of it. And I have an old Bible, printed 1581 which hath but one or two, and those very small ones. I intend to write to my nephew, St. John about it. A word from yourself to Mr. Goodwin, who is a man of so much respect there, would do much good."

The Rev. PETER BULKELEY, B.D. was of honorable and noble descent. He was the tenth generation from Robert Bulkeley, Esq. one of the English Barons, who, in the reign of King John (who died in 1216), was lord manor of Bulkeley in the county palatine of Chester.⁸ He was born at Woodhill, in Bedfordshire, January 31, 1583. His father, the Rev. Edward Bulkeley, D.D., was a faithful minister of the gospel under whose direction his son received a learned and religious education, suited to his distinguished rank. About the age of sixteen he was admitted a member of St. John's College in Cambridge, England, of which he was afterwards chosen fellow, and from which he received the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. He

8. The names of the lineal descendants from Robert Bulkeley furnished me by Charles Bulkeley, Esq., of New London, a great grandson of Gershom Bulkeley were, 1. William; 2. Robert; 3. Peter, who married Nicholaus Bird, of Haughton; 4. John, who married Andryne, daughter and heir to John Colley, of Ward, and died 1450; 5. Hugh, who married Hellen Wilbriham, of Woodley; 6. Humphrey, who married Cyle, daughter and heir of John Mutten; 7. William, who married Beatryce, daughter and heir to William of Bulausdale; 8. Thomas, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Randell Grovenor; 9. Edward, D.D., of Woodhill, who married Olive Irlby, of Lincolnshire; 10. Peter, of Concord. He had two brothers, Nathaniel and Paul Bulkeley. The latter died Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, England. From William, a brother of Peter, of the third generation, were also many ennobled descendants; among whom are recorded, in the Irish Peerage, seven Viscounts in succession. Other branches have been much distinguished. The mott adopted in the family coat of arms was "*Nec lemere, nec timide*," — "Neither rashly nor timidly," and contains a beautiful sentiment, characteristic of the eminent father of the American family.



succeeded his father in the ministry in his native town and enjoyed his rich benefice and estate; where he was a zealous preacher of evangelical truth about twenty years and, for the most part of the time, lived an unmolested non-conformist. At length, his preaching meeting with distinguished success, and his church being very much increased, complaints were entered against him by Archbishop Laud and he was silenced for his non-conformity to the requirements of the English church. This circumstance induced him to emigrate to New England where he might enjoy liberty of conscience. He arrived in Cambridge in 1634 or 1635,⁹ and was the leader of those resolute men and self-denying Christians, who soon after “went further up into the woods and settled the plantation at Musketaquid.” Here he expended most of his estate for the benefit of his people; and after a laborious and useful life, died March 9, 1659 in his 77th year.

Mr. Bulkeley was remarkable for his benevolence. He had many servants on whom, after they had lived with him several years, he bestowed farms, and then received others to be treated in a like benevolent manner. By great familiarity of manners he drew around him persons of all ages; and his easy address, great learning, and eminent piety, rendered his society pleasing and profitable to all. Persons seldom separated from his company, without having heard some remark calculated to impress the mind with the importance of religion. Though sometimes suffering under bodily infirmities, he was distinguished for the holiness of his life, and a most scrupulous observance of the duties of the Christian ministry. He avoided all novelties in dress, and wore his hair short. Being strict in his own virtues, he was occasionally severe in censuring the follies of others. He was considered as the father of his people, and “addressed as father, prophet, or counsellor, by them and all the ministers of the country.” Had the scene of Mr. Bulkeley’s labors been in Boston, or its immediate vicinity, and not, as he expresses it, “shut up” in this remote spot, then of difficult access, his name would have appeared more conspicuously in the published annals of the country. He was a thorough scholar; an elevated, devotional Christian; laborious in his profession; and, as a preacher, evangelical, faithful and of remarkably energetic, powerful and persuasive eloquence.

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He often wrote a series of sermons on a particular book or passage of Scripture. One of these series on Zachariah ix. 11, was published as “the first-born of New England,” and passed through several editions. The edition before me bears the following title: “The Gospel Covenant, or the Covenant of Grace opened; wherein are explained, 1. The difference between the covenant of grace and covenant of works. 2. The different administration of the covenant before and since Christ. 3. The benefits and blessing of it. 4. The conditions. 5. The properties of it. Preached at Concord in New England by Rev. Peter Bulkeley, sometime fellow of Saint John’s College in Cambridge, England. [Here follow quotations, Genesis xvii. 1-7 and Isaiah lv. 3.] The second edition, much enlarged and correct by the author. And the chiefe heads of things (which was omitted in the former) distinguished into chapters. London, printed by Mathew Simmins, dwelling in Aldersgate-Street, next door to the Golden Lion, 1651.” pp. xvi and 442, quarto. It was dedicated “to the church and congregation at Concord” and to his nephew, “the Rt. Hon. Oliver St. John, Lord Ambassador extraordinary from the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England to the High and Mighty Lords, the States General of the United Provinces in the Netherlands; and Lord Chief Justice at the Common Pleas.” It is a work of great merit for that age and considering that it was “preached in the remote ends of the earth.” “The church of God,” says the Rev. Mr. Shephard of Cambridge, “is bound to bless God for the holy, judicious and learned labours of this aged, experienced and precious servant of Christ.” After reading this book, President Stiles observes “He was a masterly reasoner in theology and equal to the first characters in all Christendom and in all ages.”

Two of Mr. Bulkeley’s manuscripts are preserved in the library of the American Antiquarian Society. One contains answers to several theological questions, and is addressed to the Rev. Mr. Phillips of Watertown. The other is on the character and government of the church. The following analysis is given at the close of this work. Part I. “The visible church is: 1. For the efficient cause, called of God. 2. For the material cause, a number of visible saints and believers in the judgment of man. 3. For the formal cause, union by an explicate covenant together. 4.

9. The Rev. Edward Bulkeley was admitted freeman May 6, 1635; and from the Cambridge records it seems probable that Mr. Bulkeley came to America in 1634.



For the final cause, to set out God's praises." Part II. The churches' government. 1. Is originally in the people's hands. 2. Which people are to elect their own officers, teachers, elders, and deacons. 3. By which officers they are to rule and govern - by admitting fit members, and by watching over, admonishing and casting out those that be bad." This is a most able defence of the Congregationalism in opposition to Episcopacy; and touches with the author's peculiar power and clearness, the ecclesiastical questions in discussion at that period. I can scarcely resist an inclination to extract some passages. Its publication entire is recommended to the Society to whom it belongs.

Mr. Bulkeley married, for his first wife, Jane, daughter of Sir Thomas Allen of Goldington, England, whose nephew was Lord Manor of London. By her he had nine sons and two daughters. Edward, Thomas (who married a daughter of the Rev. John Jones, removed to Fairfield, Connecticut, and died about 1652), John, Joseph, William and Richard are all the names I have seen mentioned. He lived eight years a widower and then married Grace, daughter of Sir Richard Chitwood, by whom he had three sons and one daughter, Gershom, Eleazer, Peter and Dorothy. His wife survived him and removed to Connecticut a few years after his death.

His will, dated February 26, 1659, appears in the Middlesex Records, in which he specifies legacies in books to his sons, Edward, John & Joseph, his cousin Samuel Hough and his nephew Oliver St. John, "as a thankful acknowledgment of his kindness and bounty towards me; his liberality having been a great help and support unto me in these my lonely times and my struggles." Legacies are also made to the widow of his son Thomas, deceased, and to this three youngest children, Eleazer, Peter and Dorothy; "and in case any of my children before named by me in this my will, to whom I have bequeathed the legacies named, shall prove disobedient to their mother, or otherwise vicious and wicked, shall be wholly in the power of my said wife, their mother, to deal with them therein, as she herself in Christian wisdom shall think meet, either to give their legacy or to keep it to herself." He alludes to his "wasted estate, which is now very little in comparison of what it was when I came first to these places," having made great sacrifices in "the beginning of these plantations." and "Having little to leave to the children God hath given me, and to my precious wife, whose unfeigned piety and singular grace of God shining in her, doth deserve more than I can do for her." The inventory of his estate amounted to £1302 of which £123 was in books. He had previously given a part of his library and some other donations to Harvard College.

The Rev. Edward Bulkeley succeeded his father in the ministerial care of the church with an annual salary of £80. The duties of his office increasing with the growth of the town assistance was judged necessary and the Rev. Joseph Estabrook was ordained as his colleague in 1667. His salary was also £80, of which £40 was to be paid in money, and £40 in grain, - wheat to be estimated at 5s., rye at 4s., and corn at 3s. per bushel.

March 12, 1681, the town voted, "that every householder that hath a teame, greater or lessor shall carry yearly one load of wood to the minister; and every other householder or votable person shall cut wood one day for the minister; and that the wood be equally divided to the ministers as the selectmen shall appoint." The arrangement, which the following vote specifies, was made March 5, 1694. "Whereas the Rev. pastor, Mr. Edward Bulkeley, is under such infirmities of body, by reason of great age, that he is not capable of attending the work of the ministry as in times past; being also sensible of the obligations the town is under to afford him a comfortable maintenance during the term of his natural life; that thereby the people may testify their gratitude for his former services in the gospel, they do hereby oblige the town to pay Mr. Bulkeley yearly, during his natural life, the sum of £30 in lieu of his former salary." This proposition was assent to by Mr. Bulkeley on condition that he should have liberty to preach or not as he should choose.

The Rev. EDWARD BULKELEY was the eldest son of the Rev. Peter Bulkeley and born and chiefly educated in England. He emigrated to this country and was admitted a member of the First Church of Boston in 1634. Having acquired a professional education under the instruction of his father, he was licensed to preach the gospel and ordained in Marshfield in 1642 or 1643. On the death of his father in 1659, he was dismissed and installed over the church in Concord. He died at a great age, in the 53d year of his ministry, at Chelmsford, January 2, 1696, probably on a visit to his grandson, and was buried in Concord. Few records are preserved concerning his ministry or himself. He is represented by tradition to have been lame, and of a feeble



constitution. He was, however, greatly respected for his talents, acquirements, irreproachable character and piety. He preached an Election Sermon in 1680 from 1 Sam. ii. 30; and one before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1679, from 1 Peter ii. 11. His only printed work that I have seen, is that noticed in our general history under date of 1676, preached in commemoration of the safe return of Captain Thomas Wheeler and his associates after the battle of Brookfield.

I [Dr. Lemuel Shattuck] have not learned whom Edward Bulkeley married. [According to Torrey's page 115, he married "Lucian ____, widow, who had a dau. Lucy". According to Torrey's page 447, "John Lake (d. 1677) & 2nd wife, Lucy Bishop (d. 1678) dau. of Lucien, wife of Rev. Edward Bulkeley; Boston."] His children were John, Peter, Jane (who married Ephraim Flint), and Elizabeth, who married, in 1665, the Rev. Joseph Emerson, great grandfather of the Rev. William Emerson hereafter to be noticed, and after Mr. Emerson's death (which took place in Concord, January 3, 1680), for a second husband, John Brown, Esq., of Reading. She was the only child of Mr. Bulkeley, it is supposed, who had issue.

The Rev. JOSEPH ESTABROOK died September 16, 1711,¹⁰ aged 71. He was born in Enfield, England and, after receiving a preparatory education, emigrated to this country, entered Harvard College and was graduated in 1664. The following obituary notice, dated September 18th, appeared in the "Boston News Letter." "This day was interred in Concord, the Rev. Mr. Joseph Estabrook, minister of the gospel in said town for about forty-four years (and for many of them was colleague with the famous Mr. Bulkeley.) He was eminent for his skill in the Hebrew language; and a most orthodox, learned and worthy divine, of excellent principles in religion, indefatigably laborious in the ministry, and of holy life and conversation." He was a man of great worth, and eminently fitted for his office. In his preaching he was plain, practical and persuasive; and in his intercourse with his people, grave, affectionate, communicative and conciliatory, earnestly desiring their happiness and welfare. His appearance carried with it so much patriarchal dignity, that people were induced to love him as a friend, and reverence him as a father. These distinguished traits in his character obtained for him, in the latter part of his life, the name of *The Apostle*. His judgment was much respected, and his advice sought for in all the neighbouring churches. He was much admired wherever he preached; and was invited to remove from Concord; for, said his admirers, "He was too bright a star to be muffled up in the woods amongst the Indians and ought to come to Boston where he could do more good."¹¹ His only printed work, which has come down to us, is an Election Sermon preached in 1705.¹²

Mr. Estabrook married Mary, daughter of Capt. Hugh Mason of Watertown, May 20, 1668 and had six children. 1. Joseph born 1669, lived several years in Hingham but settled in Lexington where he died September 24, 1733 aged 65, having been a deacon 17 years (he was grandfather to the Rev. Joseph Estabrook late of Athol); 2. Benjamin; 3. Mary who married Jonathan Green of Newton; 4. Samuel; 5. Daniel, born 1676, married Abigail Flint of Concord, and settled first in Cambridge, but removed to Sudbury where he died; 6. Ann who married Joshua Haynes of Sudbury. Benjamin and Samuel will be noticed among the [Concord] college graduates.¹³

After the death of Mr. Estabrook, a committee of the town, consisting of Deacon John Heywood, Mr. Benjamin Whittemore, and Lieut. William Wilson, was chosen to "procure preaching." the Rev. Edward Holyoke afterwards president of Harvard College, the Rev. Benjamin Prescott, one of our native graduates, and the Rev. John Whiting were employed as candidates for six sabbaths. A liberal settlement was offered the town by Mr. Prescott's father, should he be chosen, but the proposition was not accepted. The church gave Mr. Whiting a call, in which the town concurred by 110 votes in his favor, November 19, 1711. December 7th following it was agreed by 84 to 37 "paper votes," to give him £100 as a settlement, and £100 as an annual salary and pay the expenses of his ordination which took place May 14, 1712.

10. The Rev. Dr. Ripley [Half Century Sermon, page 28.] says, *23d May*. But all other authorities concur in the 16th of September.
11. MSS. of the late Rev. Joseph Estabrook of Athol, and Dr. Joseph Lee.

12. It is entitled, "Abraham, the Passenger, his Privilege and Duty, described in an Election Sermon at Boston, N.E., May 30, 1705. By Joseph Estabrooks, A.M. and Pastor of the Church at Concord. [Here follow quotations from John viii. 39, and Ga. iii. 29; and also a Latin one from Calvin.] Boston. Printed by Bartholomew Green; sold by Benjamin Eliot, at his shop under the west end of the Town House, 1705." pp. 24. quarto. Text, Gen. xii. 2.

13. Thomas Estabrook, a brother of the Rev. Joseph, married Sarah Temple, May 3, 1683, and had a son Thomas, born 1685, who had sons, — Samuel, Thomas, and Abraham, born 1710, '13, and '17; and from whom most of the name in Concord were descended.



Judge Sewall, one of the delegates, makes the following entry in his journal on that day. "I go to Concord in Austin's calash; set out from home at 5 *a.m.*, got to Mr. Whiting's at 10. Exercises began about half an hour past eleven, ended about a quarter past one. Great assembly. Mr. Whiting prayed, and preached from 1 Tim. iii. 1. Mr. Nehemiah Hobart asked if any had to object, 1. Of the church; 2. Of the congregation; 3. Of all the present assembly. Declared that the elders and messengers of churches had appointed him to give the charge; Mr. Angier, Brattle, and Hancock to join in laying on hands. Mr. Hobart prayed excellently and so gave the charge. One word in it was diligence or labour, or to that purpose; prayed again. Declared that Mr. Angier was to give the right hand of fellowship, which he did. Sung the 47th psalm. Mr. Whiting bless the people. Went and dined at young Mr. Prescott's. Set out to come down about half an hour after three."

Fifteen pounds were subsequently granted to provide Mr. Whiting with fire-wood; and in addition to his stated salary, special contributions and grants were frequently made. From 1728 he received £150; in 1734, £180; and in 1735, £190. These grants were probably owing to the depreciation in value of the public currency. During this period Mr. Timothy Minott occasionally assisted Mr. Whiting and was compensated by contributions or town assessments. In 1732 the town raised £20 for this purpose.¹⁴

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Some objections were brought against Mr. Whiting in the latter part of his ministry; and several councils were called to investigate them. In March, 1737, the deacons were chosen a committee "to treat with the Rev. Mr. Whiting to see whether he would join with the town in calling another minister." He approved of this proposition. On presenting their report, on the 16th of May following, the town voted 41 to 33, "to call and settle another minister with Mr. Whiting." On the 18th of October an ecclesiastical council was convened here of which the Rev. John Hancock of Lexington was moderator which, after a public examination of the charges, advised the church to dismiss Mr. Whiting.¹⁵ The result was read on the 21st and the church accepted it, 83 yeas and 11 nays and voted, that the pastoral relation it held to Mr. Whiting should be dissolved. The town concurred on the 6th of March following, "nemine contradicente."

The Rev. JOHN WHITING died May 4, 1752 aged 71. He was the son of the Rev. Joseph Whiting who was graduated at Harvard College in 1661, and was afterwards minister of Southampton, Long Island. His mother, I suppose was daughter of the Hon. Thomas Danforth of Cambridge deputy governor of Massachusetts colony; and as he died without issue, perhaps a good portion of his estate descended on Mr. Whiting. His grandfather was the Rev. Samuel Whiting of Lynn, whose wife was Elizabeth St. John, daughter of the Right Honorable Oliver St. John nephew to the Rev. Peter Bulkeley and mentioned in the history of England. The father of the Rev. Samuel was John Whiting, mayor of the city of Boston, Lincolnshire, England. The Rev. John Whiting of Concord was the sixth son of the Rev. Joseph Whiting, the five preceding him having died in infancy. He was born at Lynn, June 20, 1681.¹⁶ He was graduated at Harvard College in 1700 and was subsequently chosen a tutor and fellow of that institution. He was pastor of the church of Concord about twenty-six years. After his dismissal he resided in this town principally as a private citizen. He was a man of wealth, learning, influence and talents; and as his modest epitaph informs us, "a gentleman of singular hospitality and generosity, who never detracted from the character of any man, and was a universal lover of mankind."

He married Mary, daughter of the Rev. John Cotton of Hampton, N.H., granddaughter of the Rev. Seaborn Cotton, great granddaughter of the Rev. John Cotton of Boston and Governor Simon Bradstreet and great great granddaughter of Governor Thomas Dudley; and had four sons and four daughters - Mary, who married the Rev. Daniel Rogers of Littleton; John of Royalston; Thomas, Esq., of Concord; Stephen of Boston; Elizabeth who married the Rev. Samuel Webster of Salisbury; and three others who died in infancy or unmarried. She died May

14. I [Dr. Lemuel Shattuck] have in my possession "A Sermon, preached at Concord, Dec. 29, 1737 [by the Rev. Israel Loring of Sudbury], at the request of two religious societies of young men there," who used to "meet for the exercises of religion on the evenings of the Lord's day and at other times."

15. The Rev. Joseph Sewall's MS. Journal. He was one of the delegates.

16. MS. Biographical and Genealogical Dictionary, by John Farmer, Esq.



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29, 1731. He married for a second wife the widow of Dr. Jonathan Prescott.

TO CONTINUE READING:

CHAPTER XI. — Ordination of Mr. Bliss. — State of the Church. — Revivals. — Proceedings of different Ecclesiastical Councils and of the Church. — Divisions in the Parish and Church. — Death of Mr. Bliss. — Ordination of Mr. Emerson. — Proceedings of the Church. — Notice of the Rev. Mr. Emerson. — Ordination of Mr. Ripley. — Proceedings of the Church. — Covenants. — Funds. — Ordination of Mr. Goodwin. — Succession of Deacons. — Trinitarian Church.

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