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## TWO IPSWICH PATRIOTS

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*and* MRS. EUNICE WHITNEY FARLEY FELTEN

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HOME OF REV. JOHN WISE, ESSEX, BUILT IN 1703



THE GRAVE OF REV. JOHN WISE

## JOHN WISE OF CHEBACCO.

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John, the son of Joseph Wise, was born in Roxbury and baptized soon after his birth presumably, on August 15, 1652. The time and place were auspicious for the birth of a child, who was destined to take large views of life and be a weighty factor in some momentous affairs. Roxbury was within easy reach of Boston, and in the times when modes of travel were still primitive and news traveled slowly, this was no small privilege for a bright-minded boy, for significant events were happening then, which must have been known to him.

He was fourteen years old when the General Court was convened in special session on the 11th of September to consider a matter of vital significance to the liberty and independence of the Colony. For many years there had been assaults of various kinds upon the Charter, under which the Colony was founded. As early as 1634, the alarming news had come that the enemies of the Colony were so strong in the royal councils that there was a plan formed of sending over a General Governor and of creating a special commission for the management of all the colonies and the revocation of their charters, with Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, at its head. The General Court met, decided that a General Governor could not be accepted, and, with perfect understanding of the revolutionary nature of its decision, ordered that all citizens should be trained in military tactics and that a castle should be built in Boston harbor. An immediate conflict was saved only by the chaotic condition of public affairs in England.

In 1638, another demand for the Charter was made, to which Governor Winthrop replied wisely but firmly. Again in 1646, there were plots against their liberties,

and constant misrepresentation of the arbitrary administration of government, and Edward Winslow of Plymouth was sent over to bear and defend a formal declaration by the General Court. "We conceive," that document declared, "that in point of government, we have, granted by patent, such full and ample powers of choosing all officers that shall command and rule over us, of making all laws and rules of obedience, and of a full and final determination of all cases in the administration of justice, that no appeal or other ways of interrupting our proceedings do lie against us."

Such plainness of speech would have provoked conflict, we judge, with a king jealous of his authority; but the days of Charles the First were numbered, and the strong hand of Puritanism demanded his life before he could attempt coercive measures.

With the passing of the Commonwealth, the peace of the Puritan colony was again in peril. The news of Charles the Second's accession was received with suspicion of impending trouble. No official proclamation of his sovereignty was made nor oath of allegiance ordered. It was known that the scheme of sending a General Governor was again revived, and projects for the more rigid enforcement of the navigation laws, for the establishment of Episcopal worship, and for the larger liberty of Quakers, were already under discussion. The critical juncture of affairs was discussed calmly in General Court, in June, 1661, and a committee was appointed "to consider and debate such matter or thing of publicke concernment touching our pattent, lawes, priviledges and duty to his maj'ty as they in their wisdom shall judge most expedient & draw up the result of their apprehensions & present the same to the next session for consideration & approbation, that so (if the will of God be) wee may speake & act the same thing, becoming prudent, honest, conscientious & faithfull men."

The spirit that moved so mightily in Samuel Adams, Otis and Patrick Henry, a century later, is felt in these calm but determined words, and it breathes in every sentence of the report of that committee. They affirmed that under their patent, they were a body politic, vested with power to make freemen, to choose their rulers, to make laws for the government of the people in all ecclesiastical and civil affairs, and defend itself by force of arms from any assault, and that any enactment "prejudicial to the country, contrary to any just law of ours, not repugnant to the lawes of England, to be an infringement of our right."

These bold utterances disturbed the conservative colonists, who deprecated any deliverance that might disturb the peace and prosperity of the Colony. Petitions, urging cautious and diplomatic action, were presented from Ipswich, Newbury and Sudbury. A similar address from citizens of Boston was read. The delicacy of the situation was apparent, and Mr. Bradstreet and Rev. John Norton were sent to England to represent the Colony in the debates of the Council. They returned in September, 1662, bringing word that the King had confirmed the patent, but at the price of very obnoxious concessions on their part. He demanded that the oath of allegiance should be taken, that the administration of justice should be in his name, that the privilege of Episcopal worship should be allowed, that the Lord's supper should be open to all of good and honest lives, and there should be similar enlargement of the franchise.

The Colony delayed answer, and in 1664 the Clarendon commissioners arrived to see how the Charter was maintained, and reconcile the differences between the colonists and the King. This Commission was received coldly and even defiantly. It reported to the King to this effect, and His Majesty wrote to the colonists of Massachusetts Bay "that those who governed the colony of Mass. in

did upon the matter, believe that His Majesty had no jurisdiction over them, but that all persons must acquiesce in their judgments and determinations how unjust soever, and could not appeal to his Majesty." Accordingly he ordered agents to be sent to England.

This determination of royalty to compel recognition in the Colony, and the obvious determination of the men of Massachusetts to resist and affirm its right of self-rule, were likely to clash violently. In all the homes of the Colony there was much talk of the impending danger, and that Roxbury boy, fourteen years old, was waiting anxiously the drift of affairs.

The General Court met, and in very solemn mood. The occasion was one of the most intense and far-reaching significance. Six of the ministers were present by invitation of the Court, and the whole forenoon was spent in prayer, and adjournment was then made until the following day. The next morning petitions from Boston, Salem, Newbury and Ipswich, counselling prudence, were read and considered. Vigorous debate followed, and a reply to the King was adopted:

"We have in all humility given our reasons why we could not submit to the Commissioners and their mandates the last year. . . .

"We must, therefore, commit this our great concernment unto Almighty God, praying and hoping that his Majesty (a prince of so great clemency) will consider the state and condition of his poor and afflicted subjects at such a time, being in imminent danger by the public enemies of our nation, and that in a wilderness far remote from relief."

Weeks, perchance months, elapsed before the defiant message could be borne over the sea and the royal reply returned. War with the mother-land was imminent. A frigate or a squadron might be expected, to compel submission. No thoughtful youth could help forecasting

the future, and the discipline of anxiety and strong determination to uphold the Puritan government wrought maturity of character and strong love of liberty.

When he was seventeen he went to college, and was graduated from Harvard in due course in 1673; but of these years we know nothing. For seven other years, little is heard of him. King Philip's War burst suddenly upon the Colony, and all its resources were taxed to preserve itself from annihilation. The drafts upon the young men of every community were so frequent that scarcely a single able-bodied man could have escaped military service.

In some fashion he had won the favorable regard of the General Court, and in 1680, when the Chebacco Parish was passing through a series of trials incident to the acting minister, Rev. Jeremiah Shepard, he was recommended by the General Court to this church. He was received with favor, and was ordained Pastor on August 12, 1683, and the pastorate then begun was ended only by his death.

The parish was small and overshadowed by the dignity and prominence of the old First Parish, whose pulpit was adorned with the eminent William Hubbard, already renowned as the Historian of the Indian Wars. The venerable Thomas Cobbet was still able to perform some of the duties of his pastorate, and John Rogers, in the very prime of his life, brilliant in scholarship and accomplished in medicine as well as theology, after seventeen years of helpfulness in the ministry, was installed as President of Harvard College on the very day Mr. Wise was formally inducted into his Chebacco pastorate. For many years the Ipswich church had enjoyed the singular privilege of the ministry of a student of Oxford, a graduate of the first class sent out from Harvard, and the future President of their beloved College,—three

men of large reputations and exceptional strength and usefulness.

The atmosphere in which Mr. Wise found himself was stimulating, we conceive. Association with men like these, and with the vigorous men of the Ipswich church, was a rare privilege.

Public affairs, too, were in a disturbed and even disheartening condition. Within a few months of his arrival in his field of labor, a convention was held in Ipswich, to discuss the course to be pursued by the Essex County towns in relation to the Mason claims. Pressing his title to all the lands between the Salem river and the Merrimac under the original grant to his grandfather, John Mason, Robert Mason had succeeded in compelling attention to his claims. The establishment of this claim, which was about to be prosecuted in the courts, would have invalidated every title in all the towns within their limits. All the years of labor in subduing the wilderness and building comfortable homes and prosperous villages, which had been enjoyed now for half a century would have been in vain. The people were intensely concerned in defending their rights and repelling the demands of the claimant.

But the bitterness which was roused by Mason was less perhaps than the distress and alarm which Edward Randolph, the agent of the King, was causing by his vindictive and tireless attacks. He had already drawn up his "Articles of High Misdemeanor" against a faction in the General Court, which he charged with being factious and seditious, and deserving of summary punishment. Among the men whom he proscribed was Major Samuel Appleton of Ipswich, an Assistant, and the famous leader in King Philip's War, and feeling ran high in the old town. William Goodhue, Senior, a conspicuous member of Mr. Wise's parish, was then a member to the lower House, and as he was not mentioned by Randolph

he may have been friendly to the Royal cause. Captain John Appleton, brother of the Major, and one of the most conspicuous men of the town, was a hearty royalist. The town was rent with factions, as sympathy or conviction led the citizens to side with the King or with the Colonists, who demanded practical independence of the Sovereign. The line of cleavage separated fathers from sons, brothers from brother, neighbors and friends from life-long associates.

The minister of Chebacco had a delicate task to lead his flock wisely in such troublous times. The long contention ended at last in the royal decree of June 21, 1684, which vacated the Charter. Massachusetts ceased to be, as a body politic. "The elaborate fabric," says Palfrey, "that had been fifty-four years in building, was levelled with the dust." The General Court was dissolved, all judges and officials of the courts were removed from office, popular elections were at an end. All the machinery of government ceased, and Massachusetts became the private estate of a hostile monarch. Gloom and despair were evident in every face. Charles the Second died, and James the Second came to the throne, Feb. 6, 1684/5, but it was soon found that the change would bring no relief. Joseph Dudley was appointed President of the Council, and the Crown designated his associates.

Armed resistance was impossible in the exhausted financial condition caused by the protracted and disastrous Indian wars; and that strong Puritan party in England, which, in earlier struggles, would have sided enthusiastically with the colonists, had ceased to be. No resort was left to the patriots of New England but to submit to the bitter fate that awaited them as helpless subjects of a distant King, with whom they had nothing in common.

But there began to be mutterings of popular discontent. A Popular Fast was proclaimed, but some refused

to observe it in Rowley and Ipswich, and a justice was forthwith despatched to hold court there and ferret out the guilty parties. Captain John Gould of Topsfield was charged with speaking seditious words against the Government and was fined heavily and imprisoned, in the summer of 1686. The temper of the new Government was not to be mistaken. The slightest manifestation of resistance would be followed by summary and severe punishment. Accustomed to virtual independence from their earliest remembrance, trained to discuss all matters of public moment freely in town meetings and to express their convictions to their elective rulers as circumstances required, the men of Massachusetts submitted with ill grace to the edicts of this new arbitrary government, which must be acquiesced in with silence and with no show of displeasure.

But harsher discipline was in store. On the 12th of December, 1686, the frigate "Rose" dropped anchor in Boston harbor, and Sir Edmund Andros, attended by sixty redcoats landed. He was escorted to the Town House at the head of King, now State street, where he caused his commission as Governor to be read and at once assumed his functions of Governor. The abasement of Massachusetts was now complete. An English lord was her chief ruler, British soldiers overawed her people. Her Puritan meeting house was profaned with Episcopal worship. An odious oligarchy sat in the seats of her honored officials. A conservative party submitted tamely, but there was a strong, clear-headed, liberty-loving party much in preponderance, I judge, which endured silently, but with inward rebellion. No voice, however, was raised to protest against the invasion of the soil by an armed force, and the wanton trampling upon her liberties.

In January, 1687, the final stroke fell. A tax of a penny a pound was ordered, to afford a revenue, and

each town was ordered forthwith to choose a taxing Commissioner. This Commissioner and the Selectmen were instructed to make a list of persons and a valuation of estates, and the Commissioners of each County, meeting at their respective County seats, were ordered to determine the local tax and issue warrants to the Constables for collection. This was in direct defiance of the honored right of the colonists to determine their own tax. From the beginning it had been stoutly and constantly maintained that there could be no taxation without representation. This was the shibboleth of their chartered liberties, not only in Massachusetts, but in New York, in Pennsylvania, in Virginia, had this cardinal principle been affirmed, and maintained at no small cost.

What was to be the attitude of the Colony of Massachusetts toward this oppressive violation of her ancient right to determine her own taxes. In the town meetings of the old Commonwealth the opportunity was given the friends of liberty to make their protest, though it was evident that plainness of speech would not be tolerated by the royal Governor, and his agents were waiting, no doubt, in every community to hear the manner of speech into which ardent patriots might be betrayed.

The Boston town meeting was held on July 25th. The high-minded Thomas Danforth, the Deputy Governor, and other members of the General Court might have spoken there, but no protest was made, and meekly and obediently the Tax Commissioner was chosen. The Salem town meeting convened. Old Simon Bradstreet, the deposed Governor, was a resident, and the Salem folk looked to him for guidance. No dissenting voice was heard. The Tax Commissioner was chosen. At Manchester, at Newbury, at Marblehead, the same prudent though timid counsels prevailed. At Taunton, in the month of August, the first courageous refusal to elect the Commissioner

occurred, and the Town Clerk, Shadrack Wilbore, was arrested and held for trial.

In the face of this prudent policy of acquiescence, at a time when the strong friends of the Colony hid their heads and covered their mouths with their hands, the Ipswich town meeting was held. It was convened on August 23d, after most of the towns had voted. On the evening before, John Wise, the bold minister of Chebacco, with some of his parishioners, leading men in town affairs, came to Ipswich and attended a caucus, or preliminary meeting, at the residence of the Town Clerk. The reverend pastor, William Hubbard, was there, and some dozen of the officers and prominent citizens of the town. It was the sense of the meeting that this "warrant-act" abridged their liberties as Englishmen, and they concluded "y' it was not y' Town's Dutie any wayes to Assist y' ill methode of Raising mony w'out a Generall Assembly."

The town meeting met next day. Mr. Wise spoke vigorously against taxation without a vote of their representative assembly. He said, it was remembered, "We had a good God and a good King, and Should Do well to stand for o<sup>r</sup> previledges." The vote was practically unanimous, it would seem.

"Considering that the sd act doth infringe their Liberty as Free borne English subjects of his Majestie by interfering w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> statutory Laws of the Land—by w<sup>ch</sup> it is enacted that no taxes shall be Levied on y<sup>e</sup> subjects w<sup>tho</sup>ut consent of an assembly chosen by y<sup>e</sup> Free holders for assessing y<sup>e</sup> same. They do therefore vote, that they are not willing to choose a Commiss<sup>o</sup>r for such an end, w<sup>tho</sup>ut s<sup>d</sup> priviledges."

The language of the vote was inspired by Mr. Wise, and he may have drawn the resolution. It was the first determined yet statesmanlike utterance in that period of the usurpation, when the boldest grew timid and the

wisest counsellors were silent. The minister of Chebacco was treading on dangerous ground.

This decisive vote was followed by a bold propagandism. Agents went covertly to Topsfield and Rowley, and those towns came into line. This high-handed proceeding, as it was regarded, was not to be overlooked. Ipswich was, next to Boston, probably the most important town in the Colony, and such factious and turbulent action called for stern repression. Legal proceedings were begun speedily, and Mr. Wise and five others were arrested, brought before the Council and cast into the Stone Prison in Boston, awaiting their trial. When brought before the Council, Mr. Wise carried himself boldly. He declared that as Englishmen they had privileges according to Magna Charta,—to which it was replied, "You have no privilege, Mr. Wise, except not to be sold as slaves."

Mr. Wise reported this sharp repartee to Mr. Francis Wainwright, one of the leading citizens. He repeated it to others, and straightway he was arrested, and secured his liberty only by an abject apology for his indiscretion. Such was the intolerant repressiveness of the time. The newly-fledged Councillors were very sensitive of their honor.

An appeal for release on bail met with no success. This was followed by another appeal from the Ipswich men, Mr. Wise signing and probably being the author, which we keenly regret to chronicle. Thus far his attitude had been heroic, but the gloomy Stone Jail had a depressing effect upon his free spirit. The other men confined under the same charge, made acknowledgment of their error. The apologies of Dudley Bradstreet and Col. Nathaniel Saltonstall, both Magistrates and Assistants, were pitifully abject and painful in their self-abasement. Further resistance seemed hopeless. So Mr. Wise and his associates plead for pardon, affirming their

loyalty and praying the Governor and Council to pass over their offence, "hoping you will please to impart it rather to our ignorance than Obstinacy, in neither of which we would persist."

But this humble apology failed of its end. They were arraigned before a special session of the Oyer and Terminer on the 24th of October, found guilty and returned to jail, where they lay twenty-one days awaiting sentence. Mr. Wise was "suspended from y<sup>e</sup> ministerial function, fined 50<sup>s</sup> in money & the costs, obliged to give a bond of £1000 for y<sup>e</sup> Good Behaviour one year." His associates suffered similar penalties. They furnished bonds and were released, and on the 24th of November Mr. Wise was permitted by an order from the Executive Council to resume the work of the ministry. Another town meeting was called, a taxing commissioner was chosen. The patriotic action of the first meeting seemed to have been in vain.

But the protest then uttered made a profound impression upon the Colony. The indignities put upon Mr. Wise, a minister of the Gospel, and the only one who had any public connection with the affair, seemed monstrous and intolerable. His affirmation of the rights of the Colonists, as Englishmen protected by Magna Charta, to refuse the tax in which they had no voice, caught the public ear.

In April, 1689, the popular uprising was made, and Andros and his Council were seized and imprisoned. On the morning of April 18, the military escorted the venerable Governor Bradstreet, and Danforth and others, up State street, and from the balcony of the Town Hall a Declaration was read, attributed to Cotton Mather, which charged Andros with malicious oppression of the people. It appealed to the men of Ipswich and Plymouth to tell their tale. The language of Deputy West to Mr. Wise was repeated, and his demand of the liberties guaranteed

by Magna Charta was repeated. The Chebacco minister's defence was the catchword of the hour.

A month later, on May 26th, 1689, a ship arrived bearing an order to the authorities to proclaim William and Mary, King and Queen. The joy of the people was unbounded. They had been guilty of open rebellion, and the lives of the leaders might have paid the penalty of their boldness. This assured their safety.

Formal articles of impeachment were drawn up at once against Andros, West, Parker and the rest, and the first of the long list of specific charges against each, was:

"Mr. John Wise, minister, John Andrews Sen., Robt. Kinsman, W<sup>m</sup> Goodhue Junr., Thos. French, These prove their damage for their being unwilling for Sir Edmund Andros rayseing money on the people without the consent of the people, but Improved upon Contrary to Magna Carta."

In his oration entitled "The Colonial Age of New England," delivered at the two hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of Ipswich, Rufus Choate, remarking upon these men and the action of the town, exclaimed: "These men, says Pitkin, who is not remarkable for enthusiasm, may justly claim a distinguished rank among the patriots of America. You, their townsmen—their children—may well be proud of them: prouder still, but more grateful than proud, that a full town meeting of the freemen of Ipswich adopted unanimously that declaration of right, and refused to collect or pay the tax which would have made them slaves. The principle of that vote was precisely the same on which Hampden resisted an imposition of Charles I, and on which Samuel Adams and Hancock and Warren resisted the Stamp Act—the principle that if any power but the people can tax the people, there is an end of liberty." (Vol. II, p. 57.)

The quiet course of the Chebacco minister's life flowed on, unvexed by public affairs, for three years. Then the

horrors of the Witchcraft delusion settled like an incubus upon these Essex County towns. The minister of the Danvers Parish was the chief instrument in fomenting the charges, which soon brought death and devastation in their train. As the whim of a few nervous girls, of diseased imagination directed, the deadly crime of witchcraft was charged upon some of the sweetest and saintliest of God's people, as well as upon those of a coarser sort. Venerable mothers in Israel, whose children had grown to honorable manhood and womanhood, were dragged from their homes and sentenced to the gallows. A minister of the word could not escape the at-taint of guilt. These communities were panic-struck. Everyone lived in fear of the accusation which was the brief preliminary to execution. The ministers were the natural leaders of the people in such a conflict with the power of Satan, but they kept silent though the choicest of their flock were assailed. It was not wholly strange that Tituba, the old Indian, and Bridget Bishop, a coarse and commonplace woman, and poor Dorcas Hoar of Beverly, should have been left to the tender mercies of the law, but it was passing strange that Rebecca Nurse and Elizabeth How and Mrs. Mary Easty should not have found a zealous champion among the ministers of the word. Elizabeth How, of spotless character, beloved by a large circle of friends and neighbors, suffered the shame and horror of being called a witch, because sundry cows in her neighborhood had died suddenly and other unfortunate things had happened. She had been already propounded as a candidate for membership in the Ipswich church. Mary Easty, held for sentence and the scaffold in the Ipswich Prison, made most tender and persuasive appeals to the authorities that the blood of the innocents might at least be spared. But the minister of the Ipswich church raised not a finger in their behalf.

In that dark and dreadful time, John Wise again

played the manly part. John Proctor and his wife Elizabeth, who had formerly lived in Chebacco but were then resident in Salem Farms, were accused. The neighbors and friends rallied in their behalf. Twenty of them certified to the Christian character of the accused. "To our apprehension," they declared, "they lived Christian life in their families, and were ever ready to helpe such as stood in need of their helpe."

And from their old home, came an earnest address to the Court of Assistants, drawn up by Mr. Wise and signed by thirty-five men of the parish besides himself, certifying to the upright character of their old neighbors. Again, let it be mentioned to his honor, that he alone of the powerful group of Essex County ministers and of the Colony, dared make personal appeal to the magistrates on behalf of the accused. While he was in prison, Mr. Proctor earnestly requested Mr. Noyes to pray with him and for him, but it was wholly denied because he would not own himself to be a witch.\* He also addressed an earnest petition to Mr. Mather, Mr. Allen, Mr. Moody, Mr. Willard and Mr. Baily, prominent ministers, to use their influence in his behalf and others under similar accusation, but in vain. So far was Cotton Mather from feeling pity for the condemned that, sitting his horse at the execution of Rev. George Burroughs, when he had spoken from the ladder and moved the people to tears, and it was feared that the bystanders would hinder the execution, but finally the hanging had been accomplished, that Mather then and there declared that the Devil was often transformed into an angel of light, and quieted the people so that the executions could go on. And after Mary Easty had taken her last farewell of her husband, children and friends, in such affectionate and solemn way that all were moved to tears, and so suffered the pains of death with seven others, Mr. Noyes, minister of Salem, turning him to the bodies, said, "What

\* *Wonders of the Invisible World*, p. 256.

a sad thing it is to see eight firebrands of hell hanging there." Mr. Hale, minister of Beverly, was very forward in the executions, but when his wife was accused he was speedily brought to a humbler mind. We may rejoice that in that hour, when the reverend clergy encouraged and advised the arrests and executions with one consent, John Wise dared to befriend the friendless and declare himself out of sympathy with the sad errors of the time. Years later, his plea for the removal of the attainders attaching to the families of those convicted, was rewarded with full success.

Once more it fell to his lot to champion a great cause. In the year 1705, some new theories of church government were broached by the Mathers and others. Sixteen proposals were drawn up and submitted to the churches for consideration. The independence of the churches was covertly assailed by a proposal to place the control of many matters in the hands of certain councils. Mr. Wise scented Papal infallibility and abuse of popular liberty of choice and action, but he held his peace until the Colony of Connecticut adopted measures of like import. Then his blood stirred hotly. Nearly a score of years before he had suffered for his steadfast declaration that the privilege of self-government was the inalienable right of the colonists. Self-government was as vital a part of the religious as of the political life. The independence of the local church was essential to a right form of church government. He published a pamphlet, "The Churches Quarrel Espoused" (1710), a reply in satire to certain proposals made, etc. He discoursed of the principles of government: "That government which is in any good measure formed, and does agree with the natural freedom of human beings, and is adopted by the law of wisdom and honor and plainly and fairly established: is too much of God in the world, and too great a royalty belonging to men, for any to play the knave or fool with." (Page 99.)

Again, he affirms the native right of the Englishman to govern himself. He lays down several principles, the last of which is: "Englishmen hate an arbitrary power (politically considered) as they hate the devil."

"The very name of an arbitrary government is ready to put an Englishman's blood into a fermentation, but when it really comes, and shakes its whip over their ears, and tells them it is their master, it makes them stark mad, and being of a memical genius and inclined to follow the Court mode, they turn arbitrary, too."

"That some writers, who have observed the governments and humors of nations, thus distinguish the English: 'The Emperor, say they, is the king of kings, the king of Spain is the king of men, the king of France the king of asses, and the king of England the king of devils, for that the English nation can never be bridled and rid by an arbitrary prince.' (147-148.)

No more acute and stinging satire was ever written than that which makes the pages of this pamphlet flame with fiery vehemence. Mr. Mather and his fellows must have writhed as the ancient St. Laurence on his gridiron, under his merciless rallying.

In milder mood he set himself a few years later, 1717, to write "A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches." He considers the fundamental principles of government. He discovers "an original liberty instampt upon his (man's) rational nature." (Page 25.)

"Every man must be acknowledged equal to every man."

"The first human subject and original of civil power is the people. For as they have a power, every man over himself in a natural state, so upon a combination they can and do bequeathe this power unto others, . . . and when they are free, they may set up what species of government they please."

"The end of all good government is to cultivate humanity and promote the happiness of all, and the good of

every man in all his rights, his life, liberty, estate, honor, etc., without injury or abuse done to any." (Page 40.)

The philosophy is lucid, the argument is direct and convincing, and the literary style is of surprising finish. The Chebacco pastor struck a blow for liberty that made it impossible for the free self-government of the churches to be fettered by any scheme of arbitrary or aristocratic rule. And when the Revolution was impending, and some simple, convincing statement of the rights and liberties of the colonists was needed, these two pamphlets were put to press again in Boston in 1772, being published by subscription. The list of subscribers is appended, and Mr. Mackaye calls attention to the fact that John Scollay, Esq. of Boston, who was to be a leader of the Boston Tea Party, subscribed for four copies; that Ebenezer Dorr, messenger of the Committee of Safety, who, on the night of April 18, 1775, crossed Boston Neck and carried the alarm to Cambridge while Paul Revere was riding to Lexington, had three copies; Colonel Barret of Concord had one; Hon. Artemus Ward, Esq., of Shrewsbury, first Commander-in-chief of the Revolution, had six; and Capt. Timothy Pickering of Salem, six. Rev. Edward Emerson of Concord subscribed for twenty-four, and Mr. William Dawes of Boston, Ephraim Fairbanks of Bolton, Peter Jayne of Marblehead had a hundred each.

It was good reading for those tense times, and the popular orators of the day may have been familiar with it. Certain it is that when the Declaration of Independence was written, Jefferson might have found some sentences already framed in the calm, philosophic deliverance of John Wise. Not without reason then, has the minister of Chebacco been styled "The Founder of American Democracy," the first clear expounder of those principles of popular government of the people by the people, upon which the fabric of the American commonwealth has been built.

He died on the 8th of April, 1725. Felt records that his son-in-law, Rev. John White of Gloucester, sat by him, and the dying man said: "I have been a man of contention, but the state of the churches made it necessary. Upon the most serious review I can say I have fought a good fight, and I have comfort reflecting upon the same. I am conscious to myself that I have acted sincerely."

His house still stands, built by himself in 1703, in which he wrote these famous pamphlets, and wherein he died. To the door of his house, perchance, the wrestler of Andover, Capt. John Chandler, came to try conclusions with the dominie, who had been a famous wrestler in his youth. From his window Mr. Wise called down to the doughty Captain that he was not in trim, but he yielded to his desires and came down to the front yard. In a trice, the boastful Andover man found himself flat on his back in the highway. He picked himself up, and looking over the wall, begged Mr. Wise to kindly throw his horse over and he would ride his way forthwith.

His grave is in the old burying ground near by, and on the simple table stone the epitaph is inscribed: "For talents, piety and learning, he shone as a star of the first magnitude."

It is strange that he has been forgotten, but some have remembered him. Prof. Moses Coit Tyler, in his "History of American Literature," well observes: "It is an illustration of the caprice which everywhere prevails in the domain of the Goddess Fame, that the one American who, upon the whole, was the most powerful and brilliant prose writer in this country during the Colonial time, and who in his day enjoyed a sovereign reputation in New England, should have passed since then into utter obscurity, while several of his contemporaries . . . who were far inferior to him in genius, have names that are still resounding in our memories."

MICHAEL FARLEY, FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD,  
OF IPSWICH.

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BY EUNICE WHITNEY FARLEY FELTEN,  
GREAT GRANDDAUGHTER OF MICHAEL, THIRD.

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The first definite, reliable statement that I ever heard, after the arrival of the Farley family in Massachusetts Bay Colony, was that Michael Farley, 1st, a middle-aged married man with wife and two grown sons, has petitioned for a piece of land on the Ipswich River near Saltonstall's mill, in order to build a homestead.

His next request was to obtain seats for himself and wife in the Parish Meeting House.

These two petitions were granted by the town. The highest seats in church were granted only to settlers called Freemen, who probably brought letters of recommendation.

The story goes that Michael Farley, 1st, before sailing from England had met Mr. Richard Saltonstall (son of Sir Richard) and had made a covenant with him to take charge of the Saltonstall mill property in Agawam, Essex County, New England, for the term of two years. The worshipful Mr. Saltonstall was an elderly gentleman, not strong, not likely to live long. This covenant was signed by Mr. Michael Farley and his two sons. At the expiration of the lease, Mr. Saltonstall came to America and desired to continue the lease, but the Farleys did not agree to it, and purchased the rights on the river from Saltonstall, who returned to England, dying soon after.

The first event of romantic interest in the family was the betrothal of the eldest son Michael to the daughter of Major Burnham. The record says Mrs. Farley, his mother, gave up her dower rights. Whether this was to



FARLEY CASTLE, *in* SOMERSETSHIRE.

help her son, I know not. The marriage took place, and we hope the young couple prospered.

The mill, which at first was a grist mill, was changed to other purposes,—I think a fulling mill to make cloth. The Farleys, father and sons, carried on the mill and continued to work together as Michael Farley and Sons. Before long they desired to build a bridge across the river near the site of the dam. About this date a covenant is made between Oliver Appleton and Michael Farley, wherein the latter promises to pay a sum of money, I think 15 pounds sterling, to the former, signed by Michael Farley, 1st, and son. Perhaps this debt was made to raise money to build the bridge, which would be a great convenience, not only to the miller but to the neighborhood, connecting the two parts of the town.

It was a foot-bridge, the first one on record. This passageway was never closed to the public until the Lawrence Company bought the mill property in 1870. In my childhood I loved to stand on the bridge and watch the water pour over the dam.

The era beginning with 1700 was about the most pleasant and prosperous of the American Colonies. They had cleared the forests of the dark menacing giant trees which cast a gloomy shade, and turned them into productive farms. The Indian tribes had retired into remoter regions and had begun to have a proper respect for the laws of the newcomers. There was frequent communication between seaport towns, but the clouds of unrest were gathering on the horizon. The increase of taxes was beginning to oppress the faithful subjects of King George, who had not created an ideal colony for his benefit, but to enable the colonists to live in peace and independence.

Everybody was busy, the men outside, and the women mostly indoors, bringing up their large families of children, taking care of the aged members and observing

the Sabbath with great strictness. One of their trials was lack of medical knowledge and remedies, and if an epidemic occurred, a great proportion of victims succumbed. A record speaks of five children in a Farley family dying of quinsy sore-throat, but one son lived who was destined to take quite an important part in the history of his native town of Ipswich—Michael Farley, 3d. On his mother's side he was descended from Deputy Governor Symonds, one of the officials appointed by the Crown in the earliest days of the Colony.

In 1720 Michael Farley, 3rd, married Elizabeth Choate, the daughter of Robert Choate of Chebacco, a district of Ipswich which is now the town of Essex, where were early shipyards. My great-grandfather and his wife had a fine family of sons and daughters, of whom three sons, John, Jabez, and Robert my grandfather, were respectively 25, 20 and 16 years old when the Revolutionary call to arms was declared. A courier from Boston came to tell General Farley that he must come with as many men as he could muster, as the British were evidently preparing an attack on Boston by their men-of-war, and no time must be lost. Accordingly, he called his sons and said that he was to start on horseback at once and they must follow as soon as possible. He told his wife that he must leave the ammunition, which was stored in their garret, in her care. She was ready to help.

The two older boys were soon off, and my grandfather Robert begged to join them. She was slow to give her consent, but said, "If you go, behave like a man." He promised to do this, and left with her blessing, to walk or beg a ride the 30 miles to Boston. She had no time to think of her own soldiers, as neighbors came rushing in for shot and powder to fill their powder-horns. Some hours later, when she came downstairs, her younger children did not recognize her, as her face was as black as a negro's from the ammunition which she had been

pouring into the powder-horns. This was the glorious battle of Bunker Hill.

Michael Farley, 3rd, held many public offices. The most important under British rule was High Sheriff of Essex County, appointed by the Crown. He was said to have been a man of very kind heart, but some of the punishments imposed on wrongdoers were very severe and mortifying. An incident is related of one man who had his ear cut off for robbery, but grandfather kept the piece of flesh in his mouth, so that it could be replaced on the man's head, to save him from being disgraced for life as a robber, without chance of reinstating himself.

My grandfather, Robert Choate Farley, was a very independent fellow and joined a crew on a privateer. The ship was captured by the British, and the officers and crew made prisoners on the British prison ship "Jersey," off Brooklyn. He was a handsome, gay young chap, and was offered bribes by the British to join their service. One of the temptations was the use of a saddle-horse to ride on the beach of Long Island. He accepted this offer, and had a daily gallop,—but did not become a traitor. Several of his companions died, but he survived. When he returned home, he was nearly bald, and had to wear a wig the rest of his life. He was only nineteen years old at this time, and had been nine months a prisoner. His last exploit was to be aide-de-camp to General Lincoln, who went to Petersham, Mass., to put down Shay's Rebellion.

After the country was free from English rule, there was much work and suffering to be met. The currency was changed, and there were numerous debts, public and private. The seaport towns suffered greatly. The Constitution was not accepted by Massachusetts for nearly a year. Michael Farley, William Choate, and Mr. Cogswell, of Ipswich, were elected as judges to pass on the document which has been our guide ever since.

These details of the public duties of Michael Farley, 3rd, were mostly found in Felt's History of Essex County. There are many family stories of the privations which they endured for the sake of patriotism. The great-grandmother said, "Mike would give his last penny for his country," and it became almost a true statement of events. After victory was won and the British were anxious to leave their inhospitable and uncomfortable quarters, the real trials were experienced. The embargo imposed on our shipping by the Government was a terrible blow to the seaside towns. Ipswich and Gloucester felt it keenly, and many patriotic families were reduced to poverty. They were obliged to undertake long voyages to distant countries and run great risks to life, in order to support their families.

Last summer, as I was passing several weeks at Bath, England, and knowing that Farley Castle was within a short distance, I took an open carriage with one horse, and was driven to the village of Farley, or Farleigh, as it is more often spelled nowadays. We took the highway to Bristol, and then turned off into a lane with hedgerows. I should say it was over a mile to the old picturesque hostelry of Farleigh Arms. There a party of country people were having a merry time in a sort of rustic arbor at the back of the inn, where the remnant of an old garden was extant. Box hedges and various flowers were still growing, but uncared for.

We ordered tea and bread and butter, while the old coachman and his horse were refreshing themselves, and then drove to the ruins of the Castle. The country here is called the Downs, and indeed it expresses the idea. At the gateway of the Castle is still seen the Arms of the Hungerford de Farley family, as the last inmates of the Castle were called. They had been there over three centuries, but after that time various owners had despoiled it. Now it is not habitable, but the county

keeps it in order. The owner, a titled personage, lives at Farley House, which was made of remnants of the Castle, and is almost a mile distant. The drawbridge of the Castle is no longer existing, but the iron bolts show where it used to be. We entered, to find a well-kept lawn enclosed by ruinous walls and towers, and the only buildings in any condition are the chapel and dairy, both with little gardens. A ruined tower still standing shows the great thickness of walls.

Sitting outside the chapel door was a man, and to him I paid a shilling—the entrance fee—and descended a few steps to the chapel, which was quite well restored. Some pieces of old armor hung on the walls, and a very fine tomb of white marble stood in a little side chapel. The escutcheons of the Hungerford de Farley were added to the long Latin epitaphs. On leaving the chapel, I said my name was Farley before I married. Another bystander called out, "If your name is Farley, you came from Boston." I said, "From very near there," and I was amused with this episode in the manor. Farley must have been a very large grant of land from William the Conqueror, as some 25 miles from the Castle is Farley Heath, where a battle was said to have been fought, and relics of old weapons and coins have been found. In a *London Times* I read recently that a number of cottages were being built on the Heath.

My impression is that many of the colonists came in groups or neighborhoods, not necessarily related by blood, and after they arrived they separated, as the country became more settled. At least a branch of Farleys is found in old Virginia, and a General Farley was in the Secession Army, whom one of my cousins met. I know of but one Farley now in Ipswich, Mass., Mr. George Farley, president of a savings bank. His sister, Miss Lucy Rogers Farley, died almost ten years since. She showed me the family papers which had belonged to her

grandfather, Jabez Farley. This grandfather, Jabez Farley, was a brave man and brought up nineteen children. He had two wives, one a Rogers, who had ten children, and his second wife, a Swazee, who had nine children. He lived to a great age and was present at the dinner given in honor of Lafayette in 1825. He was generally spoken of as Uncle Jabe by my father and his family. His nineteenth child, James Phillips Farley, named his youngest son Jabez for his grandfather.

## THE IPSWICH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The Annual Meeting of the Ipswich Historical Society was held on Monday evening, December 6, 1926. The officers elected were as follows:

*Honorary President*—FRANCIS R. APPLETON.

*Acting President*—RALPH W. BURNHAM.

*Vice Presidents*—HOWARD N. DOUGHTY, JAMES H. PROCTOR.

*Secretary*—MRS. T. F. WATERS.

*Treasurer*—CHARLES M. KELLY.

*Directors*—MISS SARAH E. LAKEMAN, HENRY S. SPAULDING,  
ROBERT S. KIMBALL, AMOS E. JEWETT.

*Trustees*—JOSEPH I. HORTON, CHARLES M. KELLY,  
ROBERT S. KIMBALL.

## ANNUAL REPORT

FOR THE YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 30, 1926.

Balance, Dec. 1, 1926....	\$926.52	Postage .....	\$31.92
Annual Dues .....	483.00	Association dues .....	2.00
Life membership .....	50.00	Ipswich Savings Bank	
Admission fees .....	70.00	(Addition to Building	
Books sold .....	11.25	Fund .....	600.00
Post Cards sold .....	15.00	Printing .....	131.65
Annual supper .....	37.91	Express .....	1.26
		Fuel .....	164.75
	<u>\$1,593.68</u>	Water .....	10.50
		Kitchen utensils .....	65.63
		Insurance .....	71.69
		Surveying .....	75.00
		Miscellaneous .....	4.25
		Balance, Nov. 30, 1926...	<u>435.03</u>
			\$1,593.68

## IN ACCOUNT WITH IPSWICH SAVINGS BANK

Balance, December 1, 1926 .....	\$3,933.66
Addition to Building Fund (from Current Account)....	600.00
Legacy (Everard H. Martin .....	200.00
Dividends:	
Ipswich Savings Bank .....	\$173.72
Edison Electric Ill. Co. of Boston .....	202.50
Public Service Electric & Gas .....	150.00
Atlantic City Electric .....	180.00
Ohio Power .....	112.50
American Gas & Electric .....	7.50
Electric Bond & Share .....	7.50
Interest:	
U. S. Third L. L. 4¼ .....	231.16
Gandy Bridge .....	65.00
Peninsular Telephone .....	60.00
Anaconda Copper .....	210.00
United States Rubber .....	195.00
	<u>1,594.88</u>
	\$6,328.54
Withdrawn (in payment of Am. Gas & Elec, and Electric	
Bond & Share .....	<u>1,129.32</u>
	\$5,199.22

## CAPITAL VALUE

	Book Value	Market Value
Ipswich Savings Bank .....	\$5,199.22	\$5,199.22
U. S. Liberty Loan @ 100 .....	3,050.00	3,072.87
Atlantic City Electric Prfd. 30 sh. @ 85 .....	2,550.00	2,955.00
Public Service Elec. & Gas Prfd. 25 sh. @ 94½ .....	2,383.33	2,568.75
Anaconda Copper 7's, Feb. 1, 1938, 3M @ 101 .....	3,089.33	3,202.50
Edison Elec. Ill. Co. Boston, 1/15/28, 3M @ 99.32 .....	2,979.30	2,996.25
U. S. Rubber 6½, Mar. 1936, 3M @ 102 .....	3,138.04	3,030.00
Gandy Bridge 6, Dec. 1945, 2M @ 100 .....	2,006.66	1,960.00
Peninsular Telephone 5½, Jan. 1, 1951, 2M @ 100 .....	2,000.00	2,000.00
American Gas & Elec. Common, 10 sh. @ 90¼ .....	902.50	1,060.00
Electric Bond & Share Common, 10 sh. @ 83¾ .....	839.50	680.00
Ohio Power Co. Preferred, 25 sh. @ 93½ .....	2,337.50	2,387.50
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$30,475.38	\$31,112.09

## INSURANCE

Whipple House .....	\$5,000.00
Furniture .....	1,500.00
Cabinet .....	1,500.00
Books, etc. ....	1,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$9,000.00

CHARLES M. KELLY, Treasurer

ROBERT S. KIMBALL	} Trustees
JOSEPH I. HORTON	
CHARLES M. KELLY	

Ipswich, Mass., December 2, 1926.

## FORM OF BEQUEST

I give, devise and bequeath to the Ipswich Historical Society, Inc., the sum of.....  
to be applied to the erection and maintenance of a fireproof  
Memorial Building.

.....

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## LIFE MEMBERS

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Albert Farwell Bemis .....	Boston, Mass.
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Sherman L. Whipple, 3rd .....	Webster, Mass.
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Joseph Spiller .....	Boston, Mass.
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W. F. Warner .....	St. Louis, Mo.

The Ipswich Historical Society was organized in 1890, and incorporated in 1898. It has purchased and restored to its original architecture the ancient house it now occupies, one of the finest specimens of the early Colonial style. It has issued a series of Publications which have now reached to No. XXVI, which are of general interest.

We wish to commend our work and our needs to our own citizens, to those who make their summer home with us, to all scattered throughout our land, who have an ancestral connection with the old Town, and to any who incline to help us. We can use large funds wisely in sustaining the Society, and erecting and endowing our new building, and in establishing a permanent endowment.

Our membership is of two kinds: An Annual Membership, with yearly dues of \$2.00, which entitles to a copy of the Publications as they are issued and free entrance to our House with friends; and a Life Membership, with a single payment of \$50.00, which entitles to all the privileges of membership.

Names may be sent at any time to the President. Orders for the Publications, sent to the Secretary, will be filled at once.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE IPSWICH HISTORICAL  
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