1661

A Declaration of the Sad and Great Persecution and Martyrdom of the People of God, called Quakers, in New-England, for the Worshipping of God (1661)

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Society of Friends

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From 1656 through 1661, the Massachusetts Bay Colony experienced an “invasion” of Quaker missionaries, who were not deterred by the increasingly severe punishments enacted and inflicted by the colonial authorities. In October 1659, two (William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson) were hanged at Boston; in June 1660, Mary Dyar (or Dyer) became the third; in March 1661, William Leddra became the fourth (and last) to suffer capital punishment or “martyrdom” for their Quaker beliefs.

While members of the Society of Friends rushed to Massachusetts to test the harsh sentences under the newly enacted laws, other Friends in England simultaneously petitioned Parliament and the newly restored king for relief from this official persecution. When the Massachusetts General Court sent a petition to King Charles II explaining and defending their actions, Edward Burrough, a leading Quaker writer and controversialist, answered it with the publication that follows. Its first part is a point-by-point refutation of the Massachusetts claims; its second part is a detailed list of the punishments, cruelties, and indignities suffered by Friends at the hands of the colonial authorities; its third section is a narrative description of the three executions of 1659 and 1660, including the public statements of the condemned.

Burrough’s publication (and a subsequent audience with the king) led to Charles’ issuance of an order halting the punishments in the fall of 1661, although they were resumed, in only slightly less severe form, the following year.

The complete text of the 32-page work is presented here, along with pertinent notes and some relevant additional documents.
A

DECLARATION

Of the SAD and GREAT

Persecution and Martyrdom

Of the People of God, called

QUAKERS, in NEW-ENGLAND,

for the Worshipping of God.

22 have been Banished upon pain of Death.
03 have been MARTYRED.
03 have had their Right-Ears cut.
01 hath been burned in the Hand with the letter H
31 Persons have received 650 Stripes.
01 was beat while his Body was like a jelly.

Whereof Several were beat with Pitched Ropes.
Five Appeals made by them to England, were denied by the Rulers of Boston.
One thousand fourty four pounds worth of Goods hath been taken from them (being poor men) for meeting together in the fear of the Lord, and for keeping the Commands of Christ.
One now lyeth in Iron-fetters, condemned to dye.

ALSO,

Some CONSIDERATIONS, presented to the KING, which is in Answer to a Petition and Address, which was presented unto Him by the General Court at Boston: Subscribed by J. Endicot, the chief Persecutor there; thinking thereby to cover themselves from the Blood of the Innocent.

Gal. 4. 29. But as then, he that was born after the flesh, persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now.
God hath no respect to Cains Sacrifice, that killed his Brother about Religion.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS
Presented unto the King of England, & c.
BEING
Partly an Answer unto a Petition and Address of the Gen. Court of Boston in New-England, presented unto the King (as is said) Feb. last, the 11th day.

O King, this my occasion to present thee with these Considerations, is very urgent and of great necessity, even in the behalf of Innocent Blood; hoping that my Work will find such favour with thee, as to induce thee to the reading and serious consideration hereof: my occasion is this, Because of a Paper presented to thee, called The humble Petition and Address of the General Court at Boston in New-England: In which is contained divers Calumnies, unjust Reproaches, palpable untruths, and malicious slanders, against an Innocent People, whom they scornfully call Quakers; whom, for the Name of Christ's sake, are made a Reproach through the world, and by these Petitioners, have been persecuted unto Banishment, and Death; it is hard to relate the Cruelties committed against these People, and acted upon them by these Petitioners; they have spoyle...
And now, O King, these same Men have presented thee with a Petition, in which is asserted very many extream Reproachés, as I have said, in contempt and derision of that People; and all this, as if those People were guilty of heinous crimes, that it might appear to thee as if these Petitioners had done nothing but Justice in what they have done; and they seek to cover themselves, and to hide their Wickedness before thee, in what they have unjustly acted; and this seems to be the current of some part of the same Petition, already presented unto thee; like as if they had done no Evil, though they have unjustly banished, cut off Ears, whipped inhumanely, and taken away lives, as aforesaid; and they would have thee believe they are Innocent towards thee, and towards us; when as it is evident, as the Sun at Noon-day, that they are our persecutors, and that they have unjustly persecuted us unto death for the Name of Christ; and that also they are not unto thee as they hypocritically feign themselves.

And therefore, O King, for the clearing of our selves, and the Name of the Lord which we profess, and for the reproving of their bold and impudent Insolencies, both in what they have already done to us, and now in seeking to cover themselves unto thee; and also, if there be any doubtfulness in thy heart of these matters, for these ends and causes, with respect to the Fear of God, and Honour to the King, I hereby presume to pursue their said Petition, even unto thy Court, and to wipe away the slanders and reproachés of Ungodly men, as much as possible; hoping hereby thou wilt receive due and just information in this matter of proceeding between us and them, that thy Just Judgment may be given accordingly.

And I shall transcribe some few of their own words presented to thee, and thereupon spread some few Considerations before thee also; and I pray God give thee an understanding to judge justly in this and all other cases.

The first thing that I note, is, Whereas they say, *That they have chosen rather the pure Scripture-worship with a good Conscience in this poor remote Wilderneß (to wit, New-England) among the Heathens, than the pleasures of England, with subjectio the imposition of the then so disposed, and so far prevailing Hierarchy, which we could not do without an evil Conscience,* &c. say they.

The Considerations presented to the King, upon these words, are divers.

1. The *Worship, Doctrine, Discipline and Constitution of the Church of New-England, is different and contrary,* and not purely according unto the Scriptures, in the Administration of the Gospel; nor in a pure Conscience, purely guided by the Spirit of God, though they seem to justify their own way and case before the King; and this may justly be made appear in his presence, upon good occasion; only at this time I assert the Case, and, if ever God gives opportunity, I may prosecute it with Proofs and Evidences, and that to the great Reproof of the Church (so called) of New-England, who are not only in Doctrine, Worship and Conversation, contrary to the Scriptures, but impudent and too presumptuous, to affirm their own Self-justification and Innocency before the King; when, as it is manifest, as the Day is from the Night, that the Pastors and Members of the Church of New-England want the Spirit of God that gave forth the Scriptures, and follow the spirit of Persecution, Violence and Cruelty, and are void of a Good Conscience both to God and Men: To prove this, there needs no greater Evidence than their own Deportment towards the Harmless Quakers for these five years time, who, as I have said, have spoiled their Goods, and imprisoned their Persons, cut off their Ears, banished them and Inhumanely put them to death; and all this only, because of difference in judgment and practice in Religious matters; when as no manner of Evil could be charged upon them in the things between Man and Man: And if these be not works contrary to the Scriptures, and the Spirit that gave them forth, and contrary to a good Conscience, I am yet ignorant, and must leave it to the Judgment of the King, before whom this matter is brought to receive his Judgment.

2. Let the King consider, how they have ignorantly condemned themselves in the same things, for which they have judged others; for while they seem to Complain of the *Impositions of the Bishops,* which they stile prevailing Hierarchy; If it was Transgression
in the Bishops in dayes past, to impose upon those Petitioners, and to persecute them for Non-Conformity, How much more are these men guilty of Imposition and Persecution of tender Consciences? Nay, they have exceeded in the same Transgression, and became seven-fold guilty of the sins themselves, which they Complain against in others; for they have gone further in Cruelty and Persecution towards the innocent Quakers, than ever the Bishops proceeded against them, even so far further, as the murthering of a Man is more than cutting off his Ear: and the Cause of the Quakers towards these Petitioners hath been as Innocent as ever theirs was towards the Bishops.

Oh Hypocritical generation! who are Condemning of others for that whereof themselves are guilty; and Imposing upon others in a far higher degree than ever the Bishops imposed on them; witness their Law in New-England, which judgeth every man to pay 5 s. per day, who come not to their Assembly, and imposing fines of 40 s. and 50 s. a piece on such as meet together to Worship the Lord; which are evident Signes of an evil Conscience, as themselves speak.

The next thing that I note, upon which the King ought to Consider, the Petitioners say, concerning the Quakers, open Capital Blasphemers, open Seducers from the Glorious Trinity, the Lords Christ, the Blessed Gospel, and from the Holy Scriptures as the Rule of Life, open Enemies to Government it self, as Established in the Hands of any but men of their own Principles, malignant Promoters of Doctrines directly tending to subvert both our Church and State.

By way of Answer to this, let the King Consider:

1. The envious and detestable Spirit of maliciousnes of these Accusers, and how vehement and fervent their persecuting Spirit is drawn forth with reproachful terms in the highest degree, like as if they could not utter sufficiently the Envy of their hearts, or, as if they wanted words to demonstrate their malignity and devouring malice against that People, whom they in scorn call Quakers; and all this to present us odious and abominable before Thee, O King; I say but this of them unto thee, The Lord forgive them, if they have not sinned unto death and unpardonably; I have no desire of Revenge towards them, but I leave vengeance to the Lord, who will recompence in his season; neither do I desire to provoke or incense the King against them, only duty to God and the King teacheth me, and love constraineth me, and an absolute necessity presseth much upon me, to spread our denial of their bitter and malicious Accusations against us, before the King, unto whom we are thus fowly accused: And I say, I am Confident, That the King hath better experience of us, than to believe these our malicious Accusers; and I do Appeal to him, from the knowledge which he hath already of us, that he believes we are Innocent, and not guilty of those things thus unjustly Charged upon us; and I question not but he will rightly understand that these Accusations are more out of Hatred and Envy against us, than out of desire to benefit the King by such presentation.

2. I do Testifie unto the King, and before the whole World, That we do profess and believe concerning the Father, Son and Spirit, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the blessed Gospel, and the Holy Scriptures; I say, We do believe and make Profession in Truth and Righteousness concerning all these things, and by our Doctrines and Instructions, do perswade all People to believe, and not Seduce any from these Truths of the Gospel: And this is known through these Kingdoms concerning us, though we stand now Accused falsly concerning these Matters before the King. But as for the Scriptures being the Rule of Life, We say, The Spirit of God that gave forth the Scriptures, is the Rule of Life and Faith unto the Saints, and leads not contrary, but according unto the Scriptures, in the beleif and practice of whatsoever the Scripture saith; and if these Petitioners did make the Scriptures the Rule of their Lives and Practices, for the denial of which they here accuse us, they would not have Cut off Ears, Banished and put to Death for the Cause of Conscience, which is contrary to the Scriptures, and proceedeth from another Spirit than that which gave forth the Scriptures.

3. Concerning Government, our Principles and Practices are known to many, and partly to the King; We are not Enemies unto Government it self, as these our Accusers do charge us, but it is our Principle, and hath ever been, and is our Practice to be subject
to whatsoever Government is set up over us, either by doing or suffering; and neither to vilifie nor rebel against any Government or Governors, by any malicious Plots or Contrivances, but to walk in meekness and humility towards all, being subject for Conscience sake, as I have said, either by doing or suffering; and I doubt not but the King is sufficiently informed thereof, and believeth this Testimony.

4. As for our Doctrines tending to subvert both Church and State, this is also a false Accusation and Slander; for our Doctrines are to convert, and not to subvert; even to Convert to God, and Truth, and Righteousness, that men should live in these things, and forsake all that which is contrary; and this effect our Doctrines have wrought in the World, as the Testimony of many Consciences shall bear witness. Oh let the King Consider of our Defence, as well as of our Enemies Charge; who have thought it not enough to whip, most cruelly banish, cut Ears, and put to death the Innocent, but must still accuse them falsely, and seek to cover themselves by fawning and flattering Addresses unto the King, like as if they had done no evil; when as the God of Heaven is witness, to whom we can Appeal, That our Brethren suffered the Tortures of shameful Death in New-England, (through their unjust Lawes and Sentences) as Saints and Servants of the living God, for the Name of Christ Jesus, and for his Truth, which they held until Death, and not for evil-doing; And the Executioners of these inhuman cruelties seem so far from Repentance for their Evil doing, that they rather Justifie themselves in what they have done, and cease not to Smite, and Wound, and Reproach the Innocent, and that before the King, and that after they have martyred them.

Again, These Petitioners say, After all other means for a long time used in vain, We were at last constrained for our own Safety, (say they) to pass a Sentence of Banishment against them upon Pain of Death, such was their dangerous impetuous and desperate Turbulency to Religion, and to the State Civil and Ecclesiastical, as that how unwilling soever, could it have been avoided, the Magistrate, at least in Conscience both to God and Man, judged himself called for the Defence of all to keep the Passage with the Point of the Sword held towards
upon them, saying their Conversation, Doctrines, and Practices, as Saints of the Most High God; and this is witnessed by many of their Neighbours, though themselves have hardened their hearts against the reproof of Gods Witness; And we certainly believe it was their Malice and Envy that constrained them to passe Sentence of Death upon them, and not the Equity of either just Law of God or Man; for they deserved not the merit of Death, such was the Innocency of their Cause: and they are no more safe by the taking away of Gods Hand, which we doubt not but it will passe upon them in his day and season.

3. Whereas they would seem to extenuate their Crime of putting to shameful death the Lords servants, they tell the King, as if they only kept the Passage with the point of the sword held towards them, as if they had no intention to hurt them, and this the Magistrates did both in Conscience to God and Man. I say, it is to be considered what occasions were given them to stand in the passage with the point of the sword towards this People, Was it for any cause on their part, but as aforesaid, for reproving their sin, and erring against their wickedness? when as their lives and conversations were harmless and innocent amongst them: I say, this was no just cause for the Magistrates to stand in the passage with the point of the sword, and therefore they were unjust in so doing, if they had done no more, and proceeded in the way of Insolent Usurpers; for what reason had they to stop the passage with the point of the sword, for hindring of as good Subjects as themselves to passe thorow the Kings Dominions? Is not this derogating from the Honour and Authority of the King, for the subordinate Magistrates of New-England to usurp such Authority over free-born People of England, as to prevent them from Egress and Regress in lawful occasions in any part of the Kings Dominions? and I suppose this will be found contrary to their Patent and Proscription; delivered them by CHARLES the First; even this standing in the Passage with the point of the Sword toward the Innocent, and imposing great Fines upon men that came to their Harbour to sell their lawful Commodities; if they had but the name of Quakers, though no other thing could be charged against them, yet they were imposed upon by Fines and Imprisonment, and the point of the sword was held out against them; and all this, I suppose, is contrary to their Patent, and in Derogation and Dishonour to KING CHARLES the Second.

4. But to extenuate their own fact of putting to shameful death the Innocent, they charge their Death to be a wilfull rushing, and their Death was their own Act, and their Blood was upon their own Heads. Concerning which, let it be considered, they no more wilfully rushed upon their Death, neither is their Blood on their own heads, more than the Prophets and Apostles that were slain for the Testimony of Jesus. But these Petitioners do plead: These Quakers (so called) knew there was a Law proclaimed against them, Sentence of Banishment upon pain of Death; but they would not keep away, but came again, and run themselves upon the Sword point: and after this manner of arguing they would make it appear their death was of themselves, and their blood was on their own heads: But these poor Evasions, and favourable Interpretations of their own Cruelties, ought not to cover them from the Justice of God, nor from the Justice of the King; for it's to be considered, that where God commands one thing, and men another, God ought to be obeyed rather than men; and it is fully believed by us, that these Sufferers did not go into New-England in their own cause, but in Gods Cause, and in the Motion of his Holy Spirit, and in good Consciences toward God: they did rather suffer the losse of their own lives for their obedience towards God, than to disobey him, to keep the Commandments of men; and this was the Apostles case, when they were commanded to preach no more in the Name of Jesus, Did they at all obey it for fear of Man? And when the three Children were commanded to bow to the Image, did they do it for fear of Man? Or, if they had dyed for their disobedience of the Kings Commandment, could it have been said, That their Blood was upon
their own heads, and that they rushed themselves upon it? and this is in part the like case that our Friends suffered, under the Injustice of these Petitioners, who would now cover themselves like men of guilty Consciences; but the God of Heaven will let them know one day, and the King may justly do it, That the blood of our Brethren lyeth upon the heads of the Magistrates of New-England, and they are guilty of their cruel death; for they put them to death, not for any evil-doing between man and man, but for their obedience to God, and for good Conscience sake towards him.

Again, The Petitioners say, The Quakers dyed not, because of their other Crimes, how capital soever, but upon their superadded Presumptions, and incorrigible Contempt of Authority, breaking in upon us, notwithstanding the Sentence of Banishment; had they not been restrained, there was too much cause to fear that we our selves should quickly have dyed, or worse; and they would not be restrained but by death: Nay, had they at last but promised to depart the Jurisdiction, and not to return without leave from Authority, we should have been glad to have said they should not dye.

In Answer to this, it is considerable,

1. What these other Capital Crimes were, which the Sufferers were guilty of; here is a secret Charge of Crimes, without nomination; and this is the part of Slanderers, to accuse in general, without particular proof; but this is still to extenuate their own horrid fact, of putting the Innocent to death, and that the King may believe better of them, than indeed he hath cause; and the superadded Presumption, and incorrigible Contempt of Authority, What, was it any more, than that unjustly and without reason they commanded them to depart, or if they did not, they should be put to death? when as no reason could possibly be rendred for such Law and Commandment, but because they were called Quakers, and were different in matters of Faith and Judgment concerning Spiritual things; for, as I have said, no Sedition, evil-dealing, Drunkenness, Lying, nor any of these things could be charged against them, and therefore the Law and Commandment of Banishment was unjust; and could not be actively obeyed by our Brethren; but they returned again, not in contempt of Lawful Authority, but as they were moved, and upon their occasions, which was lawful and just in the sight of God and Men, deporting themselves harmlessly towards all people; and this is stiled, Superadded Presumption, and Incorrigible Contempt of Authority: but they must needs put a Good Name upon their Bad Work, and render the Innocent as high Offenders, as excellency of speech can demonstrate.

2. There can be no just cause rendred, wherefore they should fear our Brethren, except the Guiltiness of their own Consciences; for, as I have said, they were never seen with any Sword or Staff amongst them, nor any Carnal Weapon, nor ever held Designs of Mischief; and for them thus wickedly to suggest unto the King, as if they would have killed them, or worse, this is back-biting and slandering in the highest degree, and punishable by the Laws of God and Men; and it's true, them whom they have killed, are restrained, but the Principles and Practices of the Quakers (so called) hath entred into New-England, and passes thorow the Consciences of people without restraint; and it's a shame for themselves to mention, how all the Pastors and the whole Church of Boston overcame three Innocent persons, and what weapons they overcame them by; not the weapons of the Spirit of God, but the weapons of Cruelty, and Hard-heartedness; even as Cain overcame Abel; and as the Jews overcame Christ; and so did the Church of New-England overcome our Brethren: And this is all the confession they can make of Restraining our Friends, that they cruelly put them to Death, and thereby overcame them; And it is not known to us, that the Court at Boston hath such Absolute Power, as that the free Subjects of England may not come and return again and again, according to their lawfull occasions, without leave from the Authority of Boston Court; I say, this seems to be usurped Authority, rather than lawfully established upon them by CHARLES the First; but it is apparent, and the King knoweth it, that in this case the Magistrates of Boston have taken too much upon them, and proceed further than they can justifie, either before God, or the King, in Imprisoning, Whipping, cutting off Ears, Banishing,
and putting to Death the good Subjects of England, without either President, Example, or any Power derived from the Lawful Authority of England.

And we have cause to say, They were so far from desiring to spare their lives (as they would suggest to the King) that they thirsted for their blood, and nothing else could satisfy them but the extinguishment of their lives by shameful torture.

Again, The Petitioners fawn and flatter in these words; (say they) Let not the King hear Mens words; your servants are true Men, fearers of God and the King, and not given to Change; zealous of Government and Order; We are not seditious to the Interest of Caesar, &c.

In Answer to this, many things are considerable:

1. Why should the Petitioners seem to exhort the King, Not to hear Mens Words? Shall the Innocent be accused before him, and not heard in their Lawful Defence? Must not the King hear the Accused as well as the Accusers, and in as much Justice? I hope God hath given him more Nobility of Understanding, than to receive or put in practice such Admonition; and I desire it may be far from the King, ever to condemn any Person or People upon the Accusation of others, without full hearing of the Accused, as well as their Enemies; for it is Justice and Equity so to do, and thereby shall his Judgment be the more just.

2. They pretend to be Servants to the King, and that they fear him, and are not given to Change: I shall not seem to intrude into the Matters to which I am a stranger; but I leave this Case to the King to Consider what their former Actings, and the Current of their Spirit hath been towards the King: I shall only instance one Particular, well known to me in a Letter to one Gurnen, dated at Boston, and Subscribed by some of these Petitioners; where they say, There is more Danger in these Quakers (as they call them) to trouble and overcome England, than in the King of Scots, and all the Popish Princes in Germany; these be the Petitioners own words, whereby it is manifest what the current of their Spirit was against the King then, though now they have changed their Tale, and call Him High and Mighty Prince, and Dread Sovereign, and such like; and that they are the Kings Servants, &c. when as not long since they have signified by their words, quoted against them, That there was Danger in the King of Scots (as they called him) and reputed him a Troubler of England; and numbered him with the Popish Princes of Germany, or amongst them: Let but the King Consider their own words, and he shall plainly read as well the temper of their Spirit against him not long since, as he shall see their Hypocrisies and fawning flatteries at this time; and he may fully perceive that these Petitioners are given to Change, though they would make him believe otherwise; And this their Address unto the King, is like the approach of the uncircumcised Gibeonites unto Joshua, ch. 9. who wrought wilily and deceitfully, using the same words to Joshua, We are thy Servants, as these Petitioners have used to the King; whose deceitful Address is equally parallel with that mentioned: The Case is worth observing, Joshua 9. vers. 4, 6, 9.

3. As for being Zealous of Government and Order, not Seditious nor Schismatick, as they say, it is to be Considered, That their Government, and the Order thereof, is not only different and contrary to the Government and Order of the Churches of Christ, but different and contrary also to the wholesome Constitution of the Civil Government of England; who have made Laws, and executed them to Banishment and Death, without any Power derived from the lawful Authority of England, which is absolute contrary to their Patent, by which they Hold their Jurisdiction, which saith, They shall make no Laws contrary to the Laws of England, &c. And I shall not Charge them in the Kings Presence further of Sedition and Schism than Himself beliefeth concerning them.

Again, The Petitioners say, They could not live without the Publick Worship of God, and they were not permitted the use of Publick Worship without such a Yoke, Subscription and Conformity, as they could not Consent unto without sin, &c.

In Answer to this, this is to be Considered:

That these Petitioners have laid heavier Yokes of Subscription
and Conformity upon others than ever was laid upon themselves; Witness their Imposing Fines upon such as cannot conform to their Worship, some ten shillings, some forty shillings, and some five pounds; if any shall be absent from their Assembly it is so much a day; and if any keep any Meetings different from their Way of Publick Worship, it is so much a time; and these are unjust and illegal Impositions; and it is a heinous yoke of Tyranny put upon the neck of the Kings good Subjects, without any Power derived in this case from the King: This they themselves do, and yet are Complaining of such Impositions and Yokes laid upon them by the Bishops, which were not comparable to these; which discovers their own just Condemnation in the same Matters for which they Accuse others.

And thus these CONSIDERATIONS are Presented to the King, in Vindication of that Innocent People, called Quakers, whom these Petitioners have Accused, as Guilty of heinous Crimes, that themselves might appear Innocent of the Cruelty, and Injustice, and shedding of the Blood of Just men without Cause; being men of Guilty Consciences, upon whom the Terror of God and of the King, seems to be, because of what they have done: But now, let the King rightly Consider of the Case between Us and Them, and let him not hide his Face from the Hearing of the Cry of Innocent Blood; And for a further Testimony of the Wickedness and Enmity of these Petitioners, and to Demonstrate how far they have Proceeded contrary to the good Laws and Authority of England, and contrary to their own Patent: Hereunto is Annexed a Breif of their unjust Dealings towards the Quakers (so called)

E. B.
death, much of his body being beat like unto a jelly, and one of
their own Doctors, a Member of their Church, who saw him, said,
It would be a Miracle if ever he recovered, he expecting the flesh should
rot off the bones; who afterwards was banished upon pain of death.
There are many Witnesses of this there.

6. Also, an Innocent man, an Inhabitant of Boston, they ban-
ished from his Wife and Children, and put to seek a habitation in
the Winter; and in case he returned again, he was to be kept Pris-
oner during his life: and for returning again, he was put in Prison,
and hath been now a Prisoner above a year.

7. Twenty five Banishments, upon the penalties of being whipt,
or having their Ears cut; or branded in the Hand, if they returned.

8. Fines laid upon the Inhabitants for meeting together, and
edifying one another, as the Saints ever did; and for refusing
to swear, it being contrary to Christ's Command, amounting to
about a Thousand pound, besides what they have done since, that
we have not heard of; many Families, in which there are many
Children, are almost ruined, by these unmerciful proceedings.

9. Five kept Fifteen dayes (in all) without food, and Fifty eight
dayes shut up close by the Jaylor, and had none that he knew of;
and from some of them he stopt up the windows, hindring them
from convenient air.

10. One laid Neck and Heels in Irons for sixteen hours.

11. One very deeply burnt in the right hand with the letter H. after
he had been whipt with above Thirty stripes.

12. One chained the most part of Twenty dayes to a Logg of
wood in an open Prison in the Winter-time.


14. Three had their right Ears cut by the Hangman in the
Prison, the Door being barred, and not a Friend suffered to be
present while it was doing, though some much desired it.

15. One of the Inhabitants of Salem, who since is banished upon
pain of Death, had one half of his House and Land seized on while he
was in Prison, a month before he knew of it.

16. At a General Court in Boston, they made an Order, That
those who had not wherewithal to answer the fines that were laid
upon them (for their Consciences) should be sold for Bond-men,
and Bond-women to Barbados, Virginia, or any of the English
Plantations.

17. Eighteen of the People of God were at several times ban-
ished upon pain of Death, six of them were their own Inhabitants,
two of which being very aged people, and well known among their
Neighbours to be of honest Conversations, being Banished from
their Houses and Families, and put upon Travelling and other
hardships, soon ended their dayes; whose Death we can do no
lesse than charge upon the Rulers of Boston, they being the occa-
sion of it.

18. Also three of the Servants of the Lord they put to Death; all
of them for obedience to the Truth, in the Testimony of it against
the wicked Rulers and Laws at Boston.

19. And since they have banished four more, upon pain of Death;
and twenty four of the Inhabitants of Salem were presented, and
more Fines called for, and their Goods seized on, to the value of Forty pounds, for meeting together in the fear of God, and some
for refusing to swear.

These things (O King) from time to time we have patiently
suffered, and not for the transgression of any Just or Righteous
Law, either pertaining to the Worship of God, or the Civil Gov-
ernment of England, but simply and barely for our Consciences
to God, of which we can more at large give Thee (or whom thou mayest order) a full Account (if Thou wilt let us have admission to Thee, who are
Banished upon pain of Death, and have had our Ears cut, who are, some of us, in England attending upon Thee) both of
the Causes of our Sufferings, and the Manner of their disorderly
and illegal Proceeding against us; Who begun with Immodesty,
went on in Inhumanity and Cruelty, and were not satisfied until
they had the Blood of three of the Martyrs of JESUS: Revenge
for all which we do not seek, but lay them before Thee, consider-
ing Thou hast been well acquainted with Sufferings, and so may-
est the better consider them that suffer, and mayest for the fu-
ture restrain the Violence of these Rulers of New-England, having Power in Thy hands; they being but the Children of the Family, of which Thou art Chief Ruler; Who have in divers of their Proceedings forfeited their Patent; as upon a strict Inquiry in many particulars will appear.

And this, O King, we are assured of, that in time to come it will not repent Thee, if by a Close Rebuke Thou stoppest the Bloody Proceedings of these Bloody Persecutors; for in so doing, Thou wilt engage the hearts of many honest People unto Thee, both there and here; and for such Works of Mercy, the Blessing is obtained, and shewing it, is the way to prosper.

Besides long Imprisonments, and many cruel Whippings, had our Ears cut,

John Rous,

John Copeland.

Besides many long Imprisonments, divers cruel Whippings, with the seizing on our Goods, are Banished upon pain of Death, and some of us do wait here in England, and desire that we may have an Order to Return in Peace to our Families,

Samuel Shattock.
Josiah Southick.
Nicholas Phelps.
Joseph Nicholson.
Jane Nicholson.

We are Witnesses of these things; Who,

William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, two Servants of the Lord, called Quakers, were imprisoned in Boston in New-England; and at the beginning of the 7th Month, 59. they were called before the Court of Assistance, by whom they both were Sentenced to be Banished upon pain of Death; yet notwithstanding the Sentence aforesaid, they made a Decree to have William Robinson whipt, and Commanded the Constable to get an able man to do it; which thing being accomplished, they caused William Robinson to be brought into the open Street, and there stript him; and having put his Hands through the holes of a Carriage of a great Gun, where the Goaler (a Member of their Church) held him till the Executioner gave him twenty stripes with a Three-fold Cord-whip, with Knots at the ends; which stripes were laid on in a violent manner, according to the Desire of some of the Blood-thirsty Rulers, who commanded him to be Whipt severely; whereupon he, together with his fellow-Sufferer, M. S. were shortly after Released: Yet it being laid upon them from the Lord not to depart that Jurisdiction, they in obedience thereunto passed abroad, and had great Service for the Lord within the Jurisdiction aforesaid, many being by them convinced of the Evil of their ways; for the Power and Presence of the Lord of Life was with them to the confounding of their Enemies.

And upon the 15th of the 8th Month, it being upon them so to do, they Returned again to Boston, where they, with seven other Friends, were Apprehended, and cast all of them into Prison; But William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson were delivered to the
Custody of the Goaler to be kept in Chains in a Room by themselves, which accordingly was done, and they had Chains laid upon their Right Leggs.

But the next Week, on the 20th of the 8th Month, 1659; William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyar of Rhode Island, were had into the Court, where John Endicot, with others of the Council, were Assembled; And being called to the Bar, John Endicot Commanded the Keeper to pull off their Hats, which accordingly was done: Then John Endicot began to speak unto them very faintly, as a man possessed with much fear, in these words, That they had made several Laws, and tried and endeavoured by several ways to keep them (i.e. the Quakers) from amongst them; and neither Whipping, nor Imprisoning, nor Cutting off Ears, nor Banishing upon pain of Death, would not keep them from amongst them: And further said, He or They desired not the Death of any of them: Yet notwithstanding, his following words were, Give ear and hearken to your Sentence of Death; which words (as was said before) passed from him very faintly. Then William Robinson desired that he might give them an Account of the Cause and Reason, why after Banishment upon pain of Death, they stayed in their Jurisdiction: But John Endicot being filled with fury, would not permit it to be done; but soon after in Envy called W. R. by his Name, and said unto him, Hearken to your Sentence of Death: William Robinson, this is your Sentence, You shall be had back to the place from whence you came, & from thence to the place of Execution, to be hanged on the Gallows till you are dead; And then soon after the Goaler was called to have him away; which accordingly was done.

Soon after William Robinson was taken out of the Court; his dear Brother and fellow-Sufferer, Marmaduke Stevenson being present; The Governour being partial, spoke unto him, saying, If you have any thing to say, you may speak; but he was silent and gave no Answer: Whereupon Sentence was pronounced against him also in these words, You shall be had to the place from whence you came, & from thence to the place of Execution, to be hanged on the Gallows till you are Dead: Whereupon these words were uttered forth by M. Steven-

soon, Give ear ye Magistrates, and all who are Guilty; for this the Lord hath said concerning you, who will perform his Promise upon you, That same Day you put his Servants to Death, shall the Day of your Visitation pass over your Heads, and you shall be Cursed for evermore; The mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it: Therefore in love to you all, take Warning before it be too late, that so the Curse may be removed; for assuredly, if you put us to Death, you will bring Innocent Blood upon your own heads, and swift destruction will come upon you: After which words were spoken, he was had to Prison again to his Brother W. Robinson.

The like Sentence was also passed against Mary Dyar, (after they were taken away) by John Endicot, in these words, Mary Dyar, You shall go to the place from whence you came, namely the Prison, and from thence to the place of Execution, and there to be Hanged until you are Dead: Whereupon she made Answer, The Will of the Lord be done. Then Command was given to the Marshal to take her away; she returned Answer, Yes, and joyfully I go: And in her Passage to the Prison she often used Speeches of Praise to the Lord for the same; and spoke to the Marshal to let her go alone, for she would go to the Prison without him: The Marshal Answered, I believe you Miss Dyar, but I must do what I am Commanded. This is a short and true Relation of the Sentence passed upon them, not for evil-doing, but only for bearing their Testimony against all manner of Wickedness, and testifying to the Truth as it is in Jesus, keeping their Consciences clear both towards God and Man.

Now Concerning the Martyrdom of these Three Servants of the Lord; I shall give a short and true Relation.

The 27th day of the same Month, was the day appointed that they were to be Executed, having notice thereof given them the Night before, which accordingly was done; For on the 27th day, being the 5th day of the Week, in the latter part thereof, after their Lecture (so called) was done; William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson were had forth of the Prison into the open Street,
where James Oliver was Captain over a Band of Armed Men, by information 200. which were prepared to Guard them to, and at the place of Execution, with Drums, and Colours, and Halberds, Guns, Swords, Pikes, &c. besides many Horsemen to keep off the Multitude of People: The two dear Lambs being placed near the hinder part, the chief Marshal and Drummer next before them; Then Command being given to march to the Place of Execution, W. Robinson spake these words saying, This is your Hour and the power of Darkness; Then the Drummer made a Noise with his Drum, and shortly ceased again; Then Marmaduke Stevenson said, This is the Day of your Visitation, wherein the Lord hath visited you; Other words being spoke not understood by reason of the sound of the Drum: So they walked along in pure retired Cheerfulness to the Place of Execution, triumphing in the strength of the Lamb, over all the wrath of man, and fury of the Beast, in the pure retired Heavenly Dominion of the Invisible God. And when they came to the Ladders-foot, they took their leave each of other; and William Robinson stept up the Ladder, and spake to the People, saying, This is the Day of your Visitation wherein the Lord hath visited you; This is the Day the Lord is Risen in his Mighty Power to be Avenged on all his Adversaries; And the Rope being about his Neck, as he spake, the Executioner bound his Hands and Leggs; and his Neck-cloth being tyed about his Face, he said, Now ye are made Manifest: So the Executioner being about to turn him off the Ladder, he said, I Suffer for Christ, in whom I live, and for whom I die.

So he being turned off, Marmaduke Stevenson went up the Ladder, and spake to the People, saying; Be it known unto all this Day, that we Suffer not as Evil-Doers, but for Conscience sake; And as the Executioner was about to turn him off, these words he expressed, This Day shall we be at Rest with the Lord. Thus the faithful Witnesses sealed their Testimony for the Lord against the Dragons Power, and blessedly departed with Praises in their mouths, entering joyfully with their Beloved into Everlasting Rest.

This Account was sent from Plimouth in New-England by Peter Peirson.

Mary Dyar having received the same Sentence, only for coming a second time to Boston to visit her imprisoned Brethren there, was with them carried to the place of Execution; and after they two were executed, she stept up the Ladder, and had her Coats tyed about her feet, and the Rope put about her neck; and as the Hangman was ready to turn her off, they cried out, Stop, for she was Reprieved; and having loosed her feet, bad her come down; but she was not forward to come down, but stood still, saying, She was there willing to suffer, as her Brethren did, unless they would null their wicked Law; but they pulled her down, and a day or two after carried her by force out of Town.

Here followeth the Copy of a Letter that Mary Dyar sent to the Rulers of Boston, after she had received the Sentence of Death.

To the General Court now in Boston.

Whereas I am by many charged with the guiltiness of my own Blood; if you mean in my coming to Boston, I am therein clear, and justified by the Lord, in whose Will I came, who will require my Blood of you be sure; who have made a Law to take away the Lives of the Innocent Servants of God, if they come among you, who are called by you, Cursed Quakers; although I say, and am a living Witness for them and the Lord, that he hath blessed them, and sent them unto you: therefore be not found fighters against God, but let my Counsel and Request be accepted with you, To repeal all such Laws, that the Truth and Servants of the Lord may have free passage among you, and you kept from shedding Innocent Blood, which I know there are many among you would not do, if they knew it so to be; nor can the Enemy that stirreth you up thus to destroy this holy Seed, in any measure counterfeit the great Damnage that you will by thus doing procure: Therefore, seeing the Lord hath not hid it from me, it lyeth upon me, in love to your Souls, thus to persuade you, I have no self-ends, the Lord knoweth, for if my Life were freely granted by you, it would not avail me, nor could
I expect it of you, so long as I should daily hear or see the Sufferings of these People, my dear Brethren, and Seed, with whom my Life is bound up, as I have done these two years; and now it is like to encrease, even unto death, for no evil doing, but coming among you: Was ever the like Laws heard of among a People that profess Christ come in the flesh? And have such no other weapons but such Laws, to fight against Spiritual Wickedness withall, as you call it? Wo is me for you! of whom take you Counsel? search with the Light of Christ in ye, and it will shew you of whom, as it hath done me and many more, who have been disobedient and deceived, as now you are; which Light as you come into, and obeying what is made manifest to you therein, you will not repent, that you were kept from shedding Blood, though it were from a Woman: It's not mine own Life I seek, (for I chuse rather to suffer with the People of God, than to enjoy the Pleasures of Egypt) but the Life of the Seed, which I know the Lord hath blessed; and therefore seeks the Enemy thus vehemently the Life thereof to destroy, as in all Ages he ever did: Oh hearken not unto him I beseech you, for the Seeds sake, which is one in all, and is dear in the sight of God; which they that touch, touch the Apple of his Eye; and cannot escape his Wrath, whereof I having felt, cannot but persuade all men that I have to do withal, especially you who name the Name of Christ, to depart from such Iniquity, as shedding Blood even of the Saints of the Most High; Therefore let my Request have as much acceptance with you (if you be Christians) as Esther had with Ahasuerus, (whose relation is short of that that's between Christians) and my Request is the same that hers was; and he said not, that he had made a Law, and it would be dishonourable for him to revoke it, but when he understood that these People were so prized by her, and so nearly concerned her, (as in truth these are to me) as you may see what he did for her; Therefore I leave these Lines with you, appealing to the faithful and true Witness of God, which is One in all Consciences, before whom we must all appear; with whom I shall eternally rest, in everlasting Joy and Peace, whether you will hear or forbear: with Him is my Reward, with whom to live is my Joy, and to dye is my Gain, though I had not had your forty eight hours warning, for the preparation to the Death of Mary Dyar.

And know this also, That if through the Enmity you shall declare your selves worse than Ahasuerus, and confirm your Laws, though it were but by taking away the Life of one of us, That the Lord will overthrow both your Law and you, by his Righteous Judgements and Plagues poured justly upon you, who now whilst you are Warned thereof, and tenderly sought unto, may avoid the one by removing the other; If you neither hear nor obey the Lord nor his Servants, yet will be send more of his Servants among you, so that your end shall be frustrated, that think to restrain them, you call Cursed Quakers, from coming among you by any thing you can do to them; yea verily, he hath a Seed here among you, for whom we have suffered all this while, and yet suffer; whom the Lord of the Harvest will send forth more Labourers to gather (out of the mouths of the Devourers of all sorts) into his Fold, where he will lead them into fresh Pastures, even the paths of Righteousness for his Names sake: Oh! let none of you put this good day far from you, which verily in the Light of the Lord I see approaching, even to many in and about Boston, which is the bitterest and darkest Professing place, and so to continue so long as you have done, that ever I heard of; let the time past therefore suffice, for such a Profession as brings forth such Fruits as these Laws are. In Love and in the Spirit of Meekness I again beseech you, for I have no Enmity to the Persons of any; but you shall know, That God will not be mocked, but what you sow, that shall ye reap from him, that will render to every one according to the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil; Even so be it, saith

Mary Dyar.

A Copy of this was given to the General Court after Mary Dyar had received the Sentence of Death, about the 8th or 9th Month, 1659.

A further Accompt concerning Mary Dyars Martyrdom.

Mary Dyar being freed, as aforesaid, returned to Road-Island, and afterwards to Long-Island, and there was most
part of the Winter, over the Island, where she had good Service for the Lord; and then came to Shelter-Island, (whence she thought she might pass to Road-Island) and being there, sometime she had Movings from the Lord, to go to Boston, and there she came the 21 of the 3d Month, 1660. and the 30th day was their Governor Chosen, and the 31 of the 3d Month, in the former part of the day, she was sent for to the General Court; The Governor said, Are ye the same Mary Dyar that was here before? (speaking of one in Old-England that Returned, and would have made them believe he was not the same man; with more words to that purpose, and said, Have not you such Evasions?) Mary Dyar, I am the same Mary Dyar that was here the last General Court. The Governor said, You will own yourself a Quaker, will you not? M. D. I own myself to be so reproachfully called. The bloody-minded Goaler having now opportunity to have his blood-thirsty Will fulfilled, said, She is a Vagabond. The Governor said, The Sentence was passed upon her the last General Court, and now likewise; You must Return to the Prison from whence you came, and there Remain until to Morrow at Nine of the Clock, then from thence you must go to the Gallows, and there be Hanged till you are Dead. Mary Dyar said, This is no more than that thou saidst before: I, I, (the Governor said) and now it is to be Executed, therefore prepare your self to Morrow at Nine of the Clock (being the first day of the 4th Month, 1660) Mary Dyar Answered and said, I came in Obedience to the Will of God the last General Court, desiring you to Repeal your unrighteous Lawes of Banishment upon pain of Death; and that same is my work now, and earnest Request, because ye refused before to grant my Request, although I told you, That if ye refuse to Repeal them, the Lord will send others of his Servants to Witness against them. John Endicot asked her, Whether she was a Prophet? She said, She spake the words that the Lord spake in her; and now the thing is come to pass: She beginning to speak of her Call, J. Endicot said, Away with her, away with her; So she was brought to the Prison-House, where she was before, close shut up, until the next day. About the time perfixed, the Marshal Michaelson came and called hastily for her; when he came into the Room, she desired him to stay a little; and speaking mildly to him, she said, She should be ready presently; even like a Sheep prepared for the slaughter: But he in the Wolvish Nature, said, He could not wait upon her, but she should now wait upon him. Margaret Smith, her Companion, hearing him speak these words, with others, from the Cain-like Spirit, was moved to Testifie against their unjust Lawes and Proceedings, being grieved to see both him, and many others, in such grosse Darkness and Hard-heartedness: Then he said, You shall have your share of the same, with other violent words. Then they brought her forth, and Drums were beat before and behind her with a Band of Souldiers through the Town, and so to the Place of Execution, which is about a Mile, the Drums beating, that none might hear her speak all the way.

The Words of Mary Dyar upon the Ladder.

Some said unto her, That if she would return, she might come down and save her Life (Bonner and Gardener-like.) She answered and said, Nay, I cannot, for in obedience to the Will of the Lord God I came; and in his Will I abide faithful to the Death.

Their Captain, John Webb, said, she had been here before, and had the Sentence of Banishment upon pain of Death; and had broken this Law in coming again now, as well as formerly; and therefore she was guilty of her own Blood.

To which M. Dyar said, Nay, I came to keep Blood-guiltiness from you, desiring you to repeal the unrighteous & unjust Law of Banishment upon pain of Death; made against the Innocent Servants of the Lord: therefore my Blood will be required at your hands, who willfully do it: but for those that do it in the simplicity of their hearts, I do desire the Lord to forgive them. I came to do the Will of my Father, and in obedience to his Will, I stand even to the Death.

John Wilson, their Priest of Boston said, M. Dyar, O Repent, O Repent, and be not so deluded and carried away by the deceit of the Devil.

M. Dyar answered and said, Nay, man, I am not now to Repent.
Some asked her, \textit{Whether she would have the Elders to pray for her?} She said, \textit{I know never an Elder here.}

They asked, \textit{Whether she would have any of the People to pray for her?} She said, \textit{She desired the Prayers of all the People of God.}

Some scoffingly said, \textit{It may be she thinks there is none here, this is a mock.} \textit{M. Dyar} looked about and said, \textit{I know but few here.}

Then they spake to her again, \textit{That one of the Elders might pray for her.} She replyed, and said, \textit{Nay, first a Child, then a young man, then a strong man, before an Elder of Christ Jesus.}

Some charged her with something that was not understood what it was. But her Answer was, \textit{It’s false, it’s false, I never spoke the words.}

Then one said, she should say, \textit{she had been in Paradise.} And she answered, \textit{Yea, I have been in Paradise several dayes.} And more she spake of her Eternal Happiness, that’s out of mind. And so sweetly and cheerfully in the Lord she finished her Testimony, and dyed a faithful Martyr of Jesus Christ.

And still they are going on in acting their cruel Laws; for the same day, in the former part of it, they sent for \textit{Joseph Nicholson, and his Wife Jane Nicholson, and banished them on pain of Death.} Then sent for three more, and whilest they were examining them, there came one to the Court, and tells them, \textit{Now M. Dyar is cast off.} Then several of the Court spake to this purpose, and one scoffingly said, \textit{She did hang as a Flag for them to take example by.} [But precious in the sight of the Lord is the Death of his Saints.]

But now the fruits of \textit{New-England Professors} are made manifest to the World, who are so far degenerated from the Lord, that they set up the killing of his Saints, as an Ensign, or a Flag, that many may follow their Cruelty. These are the people that say, \textit{Their Churches are the purest Churches in the World;} and \textit{that their Magistrates, are godly Magistrates, and godly Ministers;} A fair shew to the World; even another \textit{Beast coming up out of the Earth;} and \textit{he had two horns, like a Lamb;} and \textit{he spake as a Dragon;} and \textit{he exerciseth all the power of the first Beast before him.}

And their General Court being ended, they left Nine of us still remaining in Prison (it seems) looking for encouragement from \textit{England,} that more may follow their \textit{Ensign.}

And we have a further Accompt also, That one of our Friends, named \textit{William Leddra,} being Banished upon pain of Death; he not Departing the Colony, but being moved to Return again to \textit{Boston,} was Apprehended and cast into Prison, and there lyeth Chained to a Logg with a Horse-lock, Condemned to Die.

By all which it is manifest, That in them is fulfilled the words of Christ, \textit{He that will lose his life for my sake, shall find it:} But we do clearly in the Light of the Lord see, \textit{That he that seeks to save his own life, will kill the Just:} Witness what these Persecutors in \textit{New-England} (who fled to save themselves) have done.

Therefore let all People take notice, That Christ, nor his Apostles, never gave any President, Example or Command, to take away the Lives of any: \textit{Who ended the Jews Law, which was to put to death false Prophets and Blasphemers;} and so all that be in the Power of God, may see the \textit{Ignorance} of the Governours of \textit{New-England,} concerning the Scriptures and the Power of God, who know not what spirit they are of.

\textit{POST-SCRIPT.}

\textit{Let the King hear me one Request more, which I crave of him, and (I hope) will be judged but just in me to intercede for, and noble just and righteous in him to grant.}

Forasmuch as I perceive, that divers Informations and Accusations against us, may come to the Kings Ear, by Word, or Letter, or Petition, whereby our Innocent Cause may be falsly reputed, and we made to seem great Offenders in his presence; upon which I Request, That we may have the knowledge of what any such Informations and Accusations are against us in any relation, and who are our \textit{Accusers;} and this is requisite for us to \textit{know,} and just in the King \textit{to grant,} that we may not suffer prejudice or suspicion in the Kings mind in any case, and neither know what our \textit{Accusa-}
tions, nor whom the Accusers are; And therefore we should account it great favour in the King, and no more than what he may do in Justice and Nobility, to suffer us to have the knowledge of what we are Accused of, in any case, in any manner, by any person; and this for no other end, than that we may make our Innocent and Lawful Defence, and may clear our selvs from all false Accusations before the King, and all the world; that we may not be judged in any matter upon any secret Information and Accusation, without being heard in our lawful Defence; for if the King should so proceed in Judgment against us, upon any Accusation, without hearing our Defence, as well as our Accusers Charge, how should he but endanger himself in passing unrighteous Judgement against us to his own hurt: And therefore that the King may be truly directed to just Judgment, by hearing the Accused in their Defence, as well as the Accusers in their Charge; and that Gods People, and his glorious Truth, may not be unjustly judged without hearing their Defence, and for the avoiding of unjust Judgment and Persecution in the Land, and for the reproving of false Accusers; for these Causes the King ought to shew so much favour and justice, to let us know what our Accusations are, and by whom, in all things that are or may be presented to him; for there is not any thing, whereof we can be accused, concerning either Civil or Religious Matters, but I hope we can make our Defence clear, and prove Gods Innocency, with which we are cloathed, from all false Informations and Accusations; And this Request I present to the King; and not presumptuously, but with all due respect to the honour of God, and love to his People, and Reverence to the King.

E. B.

London the 15th of the first Month, 1660.

THE END.
in an “inner light” or universal capacity for divine revelation, and rejected the use of sacraments and the employment of professional clergy (“hireling priests”); their lay ministry included women as well as men. Quakers generally refused to swear oaths, insisted on using “thee” and “thou” for the second person singular pronoun, instead of the more formal and honorific “ye” and “you,” and refused to remove their hats in church or in the presence of authorities. They were regarded by more conventional Protestants as dangerous radicals.

The first Quakers to openly attempt a ministry to Massachusetts were Ann Austin and Mary Fisher, who arrived in Boston harbor in July 1656. They were arrested before they even disembarked, committed to prison, their books and papers seized and burned, and their persons stripped naked and subjected to physical examination for “witch marks.” After five weeks imprisonment, they were deported to Barbados. Later that summer, another vessel arrived with nine more Quakers—Christopher Holder, Thomas Thirstone, William Brend, John Copeland, Mary Prince, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Whitehead, Dorothy Waugh, and Richard Smith. These were also arrested, detained for eleven weeks, and deported.

In October 1656, the Massachusetts General Court passed the first of its official anti-Quaker laws, calling for fines of £100 for any ship’s master bringing a Quaker into the colony, imprisonment and whippings for any Quakers found within the jurisdiction, and fines, imprisonment, whippings, and banishment for anyone possessing Quaker literature or defending Quaker opinions or beliefs.

In October 1657, a second act called for fines for any resident entertaining a Quaker (40 shillings per hour). It also provided for any male Quakers found within the jurisdiction to have their right ear cut off for the first offense, the other ear for the second offense, and for female Quakers to be whipped for the first two offenses. Three-time offenders were to have their tongues “bored through with a hot iron” and to be banished.

In May 1658, a third act imposed fines for anyone attending a Quaker meeting. In October 1658, a fourth act made all non-resident Quakers subject to arrest, imprisonment and banishment “upon pain of death,” and any resident converts to Quakerism subject to the same penalties upon conviction. (This act was passed by a narrow majority of only one vote.)

Finally, in May 1661, the General Court passed an act providing that apprehended Quakers (of both sexes) be stripped to the waist and “whipped at the cart’s tail” and expelled for the first three offenses; imprisoned, branded on the shoulder with the letter “R” (for “reprobate”), whipped, and expelled for the fourth; and banished on pain of death for further attempts to return.

In September 1661, partly in response to the petitions of Edward Burrough, Samuel Shattuck, and others, King Charles II issued an order commanding the Massachusetts magistrates to cease corporal and capital punishment of the Quakers and to send them instead to England for trial. Upon receipt of this order, the Massachusetts magistrates chose to release those Quakers still in their custody rather than prosecute them in English courts.

The following year, in October 1662, the General Court re-enacted a law for the whipping and expulsion of Quakers, with the more “moderate” provision that it be limited to whipping through no more than three towns and the number of lashes to be determined by the Court.

Further accounts of the persecution of Quakers by the Massachusetts Bay Colony may be found in:


Note on Dates and the Calendar

In the old style calendar in use at that time, the new year began in March rather than January, so that December 1659 was followed by January 1659 (which in the modern calendar would be January 1660). As Quakers were loathe to use the names of the pagan gods to denominate days and months, they referred to them by number; thus "First day" was Sunday, etc., and "First month" was March, "Seventh month" was September, "Twelfth month" was February, etc.

The following notes are keyed to page and line numbers in the present electronic text edition. Line counts do not include hair-lines or page numbers.

3.3 King of England] Following the death of Oliver Cromwell on September 3, 1658, the resignation of his son Richard Cromwell as Lord Protector in May 1659, and the dissolution of the Long Parliament on March 16, 1660, a new Parliament was elected that proclaimed Charles II (1660-1685) king on May 8, 1660. He returned to London to assume the throne May 29, 1660, and his official coronation was held in April 1661.

3.5–6 Petition ... Gen. Court ] Having been advised by their colonial agent, William Leveritt, that various parties were complaining to the new king and to Parliament about their treatment of the Quakers, on December 19, 1660, the General Court drew up and sent the following petition:

To the high & mighty Prince Charles the Second, by the grace of God King of Great Brittain, Fraunce, & Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Most gracious & dread soueraigne: —

May it please your maj[esty], in the day wherein yow happily say yow now know that yow are king over your Brit-

ish Israel, to cast a favorable eye vpon your poore Me-

phibbosheth, now, &, by reason of lamenes in respect of distance, not vntill now, appearing in your presence; we meane vpon New England, kneeling with the rest of your subjects before yo're maj[esty], as her restored king; wee forgett not our ineptnes as to these approaches. Wee at pres-

ent owne such impotency as renders vs vnable to excuse our impotency of speaking vnto our lord the king; yet, contemplating such a king, who hath also scene adversity, that he knoweth the heart of exiles, who himself hath binn an exile, the aspect of majesty, thus extraordinarily circumstanced, influenced, and animateh examinated out-
casts (yett outcasts, as wee hope, for the truth) to make this addresse vnto theire prince. Hoping to find grace in yo're sight, wee present this script, the transcript of our loyal hearts, into yo're royall hands, wherein wee craue leave

To supplicate yo're majesty for yo're gracious protection of vs in the continuance both of our civil priviledges according to ( & of our religion & libertjes) the grauntes knowne end, of suing for the pattent conferred vpon this plantation by your royall ffather. This, this, viz', our lib-er-tje to walke in the faith of the gospell wth all good con-
science according to the order of the gospell, (vnto which the former in these ends of the earth is but subservent,) was the cause of our transporting ourselves, wth our wi-
ues, our little ones, & our substance, from that pleasant land ouer the Atlanticke Ocean into the vast & wast wil-
dernes, choosing rather the pure Scripture worship, wth a good conscience, in this poore, remote wildernes, amongst the heathens, then the pleasures of England, wth sub-
mission to the impositions of the then so disposed & so farre prevayling hierarchic, wth wee could not doe wthout an evill conscience. For this cause wee are at this day in a land wth lately was not sound, wherein wee haue con-
flicted wth the sufferings thereof much longer then Jacob was in Syrria.

Our witnes is in heaven, that wee left not our coun-
trje vpon any dissatsatisfaction as to the constitution of the civil state. Our lott, after the example of the good old non conformist, hath binn only to act a passive part through
out these late vicissitudes & successive overturnings of state. Our separation from our brethren in this desert hath binn & is a sufficient bringing to minde the affliction of Joseph; but providentiall exemption of vs hereby from the late warres & temptations of either party wee account as a favo' from God; the former cloaths vs w th sack cloth, the latter with innocence.

What reception, curtesy, & æquanimitje those gen' & others, adhære's to the royall interest, who, in their adverse chainges, vissited these parts, were enterteined w th amongst vs according to the meanes of our condition, wee appeale to theire owne report.

Touching complaints putt in against vs, our hum-ble request only is, that for the interim wherein wee are as dumbe, by reason of absence, yo' majtje would per-mitt nothing to make an impression upon yo' royall heart against vs, vntill wee haue both opportunity & licence to answere for ourselves. 'Few will be nocent,' sajd that im-pleader, 'if it be enough to deny.' 'Few will be innocent,' replyed the then emperor, 'if it be enough to accuse.'

Concerning the Quakers, open & capitall blasphemers, open seducers from the glorious Trinitie, the Lords Christ, our Lord Jesus Christ, &c, the blessed gospell, and from the Holy Scriptures as the rule of life, open enmemjes to government itself as established in the hands of any but men of their principles, malignant & asiduous promoters of doctrines directly tending to subvert both our churches & state, after all other meanes for a long time vsed in vaine, wee were at last constrejned, for our owne safety, to passe a sentence of bannishment against them, vpon painge of death. Such was their daingeroes, impetuous, & desperat turbulency, both to religion & the state civil & ecclesiastical, as that, how unwillingly soever, could it haue binn avoyded, the magistrate at last, in conscience both to God & man, judged himself called, for the defence of all, to keepe the passage wth the point of the sword held towards them. This could doe no harme to him that would be warned thereby: their wittingly rushing themselves thereupon was their owne act, & wee, wth
God of gods, he knoweth, & Israel he shall know; if it were in rebellion or schisme that we wittingly left our dwellings in our owne, or continue our dwellings in this strange land, saue vs not this day.

Royall Sr: If, according to this our humble petition & good hope, the God of the spirrits of all flesh, the Father of mercies, who comforteth the abject, shall make the permission of the bereavement of that all for which we have and doe suffer the losse of all precious, so precious in your sight, as that your royall heart shall be inclined to shew unto the kindnes of the Lord in your highnes protection of us in those liberties for which we hither came, and which hitherto we have heretofore enjoyed upon Hezekiah speaking comfortably to vs as to sonses, this orphan shall not continue fatherlesse, but growe vp as a revived infant under its nursing father. These churches shall be comforted; a doore of hope opened by so signall a pledge of the lengthening of their tranquility; these poor & naked Gentiles, not a few of whom through grace are come and coming in, shall still see their wonted teachers with the encouragement of a more plentifull increase of the kingdom of Christ amongst them; and the blessing of your poor afflicted, (and yet, we hope,) a people trusting in God, shall come upon the head & heart of that great king who was sometime an exile as we are.

With the religious stipulation of our prajers, wee, prostrate at your royall feete, begg pardon for this our boldnes, craving finally that our names may be enrolled amongst

Yo' ma'jjes most humble
Subjects & suppliants,

JOHN ENDECOTT, Godno',
in the name & by the order of the Generall Court of ye Massachusetts.


14.32 *King of Scots*] Following his father’s death, Charles II had been proclaimed king of Scotland in 1649, and officially crowned in 1651, although he was soon after driven out by republican armies.

17.9 *Two Honest and Innocent Women*] Ann Austin and Mary Fisher, in July 1656; see *Historical Note*.

17.27 *Pitched Ropes*] ropes impregnated with pitch or resin

17.28-18.1 one of them ... being beat like unto a jelly] This refers to the case of William Brend in Boston in 1658. He recovered and was arrested and charged again in May 1659 (*Records of ... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, IV:1, p. 371). He eventually returned to England, wrote several tracts, and died in 1676.

18.23 10. One ... sixteen hours. ] William Brend

18.26 12. One chained ... to a Logg ] William Leddra

18.29 Three had their right Ears cut ] Christopher Holder, John Copeland, and John Rous in 1658.

19.2 *sold for Bond-men*] In May 1659, the General Court authorized the Salem treasurer, Edmund Batter, to sell indentures for Daniel and Provided Southwick, imprisoned for siding with the Quakers and absenting themselves from public meeting (i.e., church), “to any of the English nation at Virginia or Barbadoes” to satisfy the fines and charges they had incurred and had no means to pay. Batter, however, was unable to find any ship’s master willing to undertake the commission.

21.3 William Robinson ] A merchant, originally from London. He and Stevenson came to Massachusetts from Rhode Island in June 1659. They were arrested and held in prison until September 12, when they were tried and banished on pain of death. Robinson and Stevenson remained in Massachusetts and returned to Boston the following month.
21.3-4 Marmaduke Stevenson] He was originally from a farming community in eastern Yorkshire. He experienced a religious conversion in the spring of 1655, and left his wife and children in June 1658 to carry the Quaker ministry to Barbados. There he learned of the Massachusetts law and sentence of death, and he came, via Rhode Island, on purpose to test it. His letters from jail (with some of William Robinson and others) were published as A Call from Death unto Life (London, 1660).

21.4 Mary Dyar] More often spelled “Dyer.” She was born Mary Barrett, although the date and her parentage are unknown. She married William Dyer, a London milliner and merchant October 27, 1633, and her first son was born in October 1634, but died the same month. The couple emigrated to Massachusetts, became members of Boston church in December 1635, and had a second son, William. They became followers of Anne Hutchinson, and left the colony for Rhode Island when she was expelled in January 1637/38. The previous fall, Mary Dyer had given birth (October 17, 1637) to a grossly deformed stillborn fetus, which was buried privately. Subsequently, the authorities learned of the “monstrous birth,” and Governor Winthrop had it exhumed in March 1638, with a large crowd in attendance. He described it thus: “it was of ordinary bigness; it had a face, but no head, and the ears stood upon the shoulders and were like an ape’s; it had no forehead, but over the eyes four horns, hard and sharp; two of them were above one inch long, the other two shorter; the eyes standing out, and the mouth also; the nose hooked upward; all over the breast and back full of sharp pricks and scales, like a thornback [i.e., a skate or ray], the navel and all the belly, with the distinction of the sex, were where the back should be, and the back and hips before, where the belly should have been; behind, between the shoulders, it had two mouths, and in each of them a piece of red flesh sticking out; it had arms and legs as other children; but, instead of toes, it had on each foot three claws, like a young fowl, with sharp talons.” (The Journal of John Winthrop 1630–1649 [Cambridge, 1996], p. 254.) Winthrop sent descriptions to numerous correspondents, and accounts were published in England in 1642 and 1644. The deformed birth was considered evidence of the heresies and errors of Hutchinson’s Antinomianism.

The Dyers settled at Portsmouth, and later at Newport, Rhode Island, and William served as a colonial official. In 1652, they went to England on an embassy to Parliament; he returned after a few months, but she stayed for five years, met George Fox, and became a Quaker convert and preacher.

26.24 as Esther had with Ahasueras] In Esther, chapter 7, Esther appealed to Ahasueras, king of Persia, to spare the Jews, whom he had given over to Haman to destroy. Because he loved Queen Esther, and because her uncle Mordecai had foiled an assassination plot, Ahasueras readily granted her request, and also hanged Haman on the gallows he had prepared for the Jews.

29.15 (Bonner and Gardener-like.)] Edmund Bonner (c.1495-1569), bishop of London 1540–49 and 1553–59, was active in prosecuting Protestant reformers in the reign of Queen Mary, including more than a hundred burned at the stake for heresy. Stephen Gardiner (c.1495-1555), was bishop of Winchester 1531–51 and 1553–55 and also lord chancellor under Queen Mary. Both men feature prominently in John Foxe’s Acts and Monuments (“Book of Martyrs”). This passage may be a reference to Foxe’s account of the examination, torture, and execution of Anne Askew, conducted by Bonner and Gardiner, in which she refused to recant, while a co-defendant, Nicholas Shaxton, did recant, and ultimately preached the sermon that preceded her burning at the stake, July 16, 1546.
William Leddra was hanged March 14, 1661; he was the last Quaker executed for religious causes in New England.