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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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*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)*

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 <i>NEW-ENGLAND</i> , for the Worshipping of God	1
Some Considerations Presented unto the King of <i>England, &amp;c.</i> Being Partly an <i>Answer</i> unto a <i>Petition</i> and <i>Addresse</i> of the Gen. Court of <i>Boston</i> in <i>New-England</i> , Presented unto the King (As Is Said) <i>Feb. Last</i> , the 11th Day.	3
A Declaration of Some Part of the Sufferings of the People of God (in Scorn Called QUAKERS) from the Professors in <i>NEW-ENGLAND</i> , Only for the <i>Exercise of Their Consciences to the Lord</i> , and <i>Obeying</i> and <i>Confessing to the TRUTH</i> , as in <i>His Light He Had</i> <i>Discovered It to Them.</i>	17
<i>Here followeth a brief Relation of the Bloody Sentence of</i> <i>Death</i> , passed on <i>Three of the Servants of the Lord</i> , by John Endicot; <i>viz.</i> William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyar; <i>And also the Manner</i> <i>of their Execution at Boston in New-England.</i>	21
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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.

Whereof { <sup>22</sup> have been Banished upon pain of Death.  
<sup>03</sup> have been M A R T Y R E D .  
<sup>03</sup> have had their Right-Ears cut.  
<sup>01</sup> hath been burned in the Hand with the letter H  
<sup>31</sup> Persons have received 650 Stripes.  
<sup>01</sup> was beat while his Body was like a jelly.  
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.

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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.

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*London*, Printed for *Robert Wilson*, in *Martins Le Grand*.

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S O M E  
C O N S I D E R A T I O N S

Presented unto the King of *England, &c.*

B E I N G

Partly an *Answer* unto a *Petition* and *Addresse* of the  
Gen. Court of *Boston* in *New-England*, presented un-  
to the King (as is said) *Feb.* last, the 11th day.

O H 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 Addresse 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 Christs 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 *spoiled* their Goods, *imprisoned* many of their Persons, whipped them, cut off their Ears, burned them, yea, banished and murdered them; and all this *I aver* and *affirm* before thee, O King, wholly *unjustly* and *unrighteously*, and without the Breach of any Just Law of God or Man; but only for and because of *Difference* in *Judgment* and *Practice* concerning *Spiritual things*, & without any transgression of the Law of God, or their own Laws; Saving that they made Laws against them, on purpose *to spoil* their Goods, imprison their Persons, cut off their Ears, yea and kill them; which Laws were made by them, without any Power truly derived from the lawful Authority of *England*, contrary to their Patent.

And now, O King, these same Men have presented thee with a Petition, in which is asserted very many extream Reproaches, 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 reprovng 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 reproaches 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 subjection to the imposition of the*

*then so disposed, and so far prevailing Hierarchy, which we could not do without an evil Conscience, &c.* say thay.

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 murdering 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 maliciousness of these Accusers, and how vehement and fervent their persecuting Spirit is drawn forth with reproachful tearms 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 denyal 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 Governours, 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 hereof, 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 inhumane 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*

*them; this could do no harm (say they) to them that would be warned thereby; their willingly rushing themselves thereupon was their own act; and we with all humility conceive a Crime, bringing their blonds upon their own heads.*

By way of Answer to this, let it be Considered:

1. What Means was for a long time used before they put them to Death, is shameful to mention; was it not by the means of cruel Whippings, Banishment, Imprisonment, cutting off Ears, and taking their Goods by violence? It is true, by this means the Petitioners dealt with the Quakers, and never by any Christian-like means; for the very first of our Friends that ever came among them, they made them prisoners ere they came on shore, and inhumanely dealt with them, and banished them; and this was the first and fairest means that ever was used by them; which are not Gospel-Means, nor the Way by which the Church of New-England ought to have proceeded; had our Friends been in Error, and such, as they say of them, it had been their duty to have gained them by Love, by Mercy, and by long-suffering; these are the Weapons of the Spirit of God, which ought to be used towards them that are in Error, in order to the Converting of them from the Error; but contrary to this, the Magistrates and Church-Members of New-England took Cains Weapons, and dealt Cruelly, and not like Christians, nor like sober men, towards the Innocent; but their thus proceeding was in vain, as themselves acknowledge, for notwithstanding the Gospel of Christ grew and increased, and many were Converted to the Faith of Christ Jesus, throughout New-England.

2. Let it be Considered, *What their dangerous and desperate Turbulency was to States, Civil and Ecclesiastical?* Did ever these poor People, whom they condemned and put to shameful death, lift up a hand against them, or appear in any Turbulent gesture towards them? Were they ever found with any Carnal Weapon about them? Or, what was their Crime, saving that they warned sinners to Repent, and the ungodly to turn from his way? We appeal to the God of Heaven on their behalf, whom they have Martyred for the Name of Christ, That they had no other Offence to charge

upon them, saving 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 the lives of *our guiltlesse Brethren*, than they were before; no more safe, I say, but more liable to the Justice and Terroure of the Almighty, and to the Justice of the King, and the good Laws of *England*, for, and because of their *Barbarous Cruelties*; but, as I have said, we leave *Vengeance to the Lord*, and commit them to the Justice 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 trying against their wickednesse? 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 *Pro-*

*scription*; 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 Conscience towards 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 harmlesly 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 backbiting 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 *Jewes* 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 proceeded 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 satisfie 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 Cæsar, &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 *Gurden*, 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 *numbred 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 un-circumcised *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 Lawes contrary to the Lawes of England, &c.* And I shall not Charge them in the Kings Presence further *of Sedition* and *Schism* than Himself believeth 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 Yoak, 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 *Yoaks* 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 yolk 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 *Yorks* 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 Lawes* and *Authority of England*, and contrary to *their own Pattent*: Hereunto is Annexed a Breif of their unjust Dealings towards the *Quakers* (so called)

E. B.

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# A DECLARATION

Of some part of the SUFFERINGS of the People of God (in scorn called *QUAKERS*) from the Professors in *NEW-ENGLAND*,  
Only for the Exercise of their Consciences to the Lord, and Obeying and Confessing to the TRUTH, as in his Light he had discovered it to them.

1. **T**wo Honest and Innocent Women stripped stark naked, and searched after such an *inhumane manner*, as modesty will not permit particularly to mention.
2. Twelve Strangers in that Country, but free-born of this Nation, received twenty three Whippings, the most of them being with a Whip of *three Cords*, with *Knots at the ends*, and laid on with as much strength as they could be by the Arm of their Executioner, the stripes amounting to *Three hundred and seventy*.
3. Eighteen Inhabitants of the Country, being free-born *English*, received twenty three Whippings, the stripes amounting to *two hundred and fifty*.
4. Sixty four Imprisonments of the Lords People, for their obedience to his Will, amounting to *Five hundred and nineteen weeks*, much of it being *very cold weather*, and the Inhabitants kept in Prison *in harvest time*, which was very much to their losse; besides many more Imprisoned, of which time we cannot give a just account.
5. Two beaten with *Pitched Ropes*, the blows amounting to an *hundred thirty nine*, by which one of them was brought near unto

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 banished 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 Prisoner 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.

13. Five Appeals to *England*, denied at *Boston*.

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 banished 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 occasion 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 Government 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, considering Thou hast been well acquainted with Sufferings, and so mayest 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.

We are Witnesses of these things; Who,

}	Besides long Imprisonments, and many cruel Whippings, Had our Ears cut,	<i>John Rous,</i> <i>John Copeland.</i>
	}	<i>Samuel Shattock.</i> <i>Josiah Southick.</i> <i>Nicholas Phelps.</i> <i>Joseph Nicholson.</i> <i>Jane Nicholson.</i>
}	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 <i>England</i> , and desire that we may have an Order to Return in Peace to our Families,	

*Here followeth a brief Relation of the Bloody Sentence of Death, passed on Three of the Servants of the Lord, by John Endicot; viz. William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyar; And also the Manner of their Execution at Boston in New-England.*

**W**illiam 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 13th 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 *Lawes*, and tryed and endeavoured by several wayes 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 eare* 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 *Accompt* 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 *Goealer* 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 ye came, and from thence to the *Gallows*, and there to be *Hanged* till you are *Dead*: Whereupon these words were uttered forth by *M. Steven-*

*son*, *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, *Yea, 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 Mrs 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*.

*Nowv 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 Chearfulness 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; *We 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 Accompt 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*.

**W**Hereas I am by many charged with the guiltinesse 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 Witnessse 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 countervail the great Dammage 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 perswade 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 perswade all men that I have to do withall, 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 Ahasueras, (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 Witnessse 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 Law, 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 powred 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 he 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 Lawes 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.

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*A further Accompt concerning Mary Dyars  
Martyrdom.*

**M***ary 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 Governour Chosen, and the 31 of the 3d Month, in the former part of the day, she was sent for to the General Court; The Governour 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 Governour said, *You will own your self a Quaker, will you not?* M. D. *I own my self 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 Governour 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 refused to Repeal them, the Lord will send others of his Servants to Witnes 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 perfixt, 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 wilfully 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, *Whether she would have the Elders to pray for her?* She said, *I know never an Elder here.*

They asked, *Whether she would have any of the People to pray for her?* She said, *She desired the Prayers of all the People of God.* Some scoffingly said, *It may be she thinks there is none here, this is a mock.* *M. Dyar* looked about and said, *I know but few here.*

Then they spake to her again, *That one of the Elders might pray for her.* She replied, and said,  *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, *It's false, it's false, I never spoke the words.*

Then one said, she should say, *she had been in Paradise.* And she answered, *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 chearfully 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 *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, *Now M. Dyar is cast off.* Then several of the Court spake to this purpose, and one scoffingly said, *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 *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, *Their Churches are the purest Churches in the World; and that their Magistrates, are godly Magistrates, and godly Ministers:* A fair shew to the World; even another *Beast coming up out of the Earth; and he had two horns, like a Lamb; and he spake as a Dragon; and 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 *England*, that more may follow their *Ensign.*

And we have a further Accompt also, That one of our Friends, named *William Leddra*, being Banished upon pain of Death; he not Departing the Colony, but being moved to Return again to *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, *He that will lose his life for my sake, shall find it:* But we do clearly in the Light of the Lord see, *That he that seeks to save his own life, will kill the Just:* Witness what these Persecutors in *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: 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 *Ignorance* of the Governours of *New-England*, concerning the Scriptures and the Power of God, who know not what spirit they are of.

### POST-SCRIPT.

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 Accusers*; and this is requisite for us to *know*, and just in the King to *grant*, that we may not suffer prejudice or suspicion in the Kings mind in any case, and neither know *what our 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 selves 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 Judgment 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 reprovng 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 15<sup>th</sup> of the  
first Month, 1660.

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T H E E N D .

## Notes

### *About the Author*

EDWARD BURROUGH (1633-1663) was born into a conventionally religious Anglican farming family in Underbarrow, Cumbria, and showed Puritan leanings as a young man. In 1652, he met George Fox and became a Quaker activist, traveling throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland before settling in London in 1654 to become one of the group's leading spokesmen and controversialists. Shortly after the publication of *A Declaration of the Sad and Great Martyrdom*, Burrough obtained an audience with the king, who was persuaded to issue a bill of mandamus ordering the Massachusetts authorities to stop the executions. Burrough arranged for this order to be delivered to Boston by Samuel Shattuck, a Quaker who had previously been banished from the colony. The following year, in June 1662, Burrough was arrested in London for preaching and confined to Newgate prison, where he remained until his death on February 14, 1663. See William and Thomas Evans, *Edward Burrough: A Memoir of a Faithful Servant of Christ and Minister of the Gospel, Who Died in Newgate, 14th, 12 Mo., 1662* (London: Charles Gilpin, 1851). The *Memoir* is online at <http://www.archive.org/details/edwardburroughmeoeevaniala>

### *Historical Note*

The origins of the Quakers (or Society of Friends) as a religious movement can be traced to George Fox's visit to the northwest of England in 1652. Fox had undergone a profound religious experience in 1647 and became an itinerant preacher, but it was his success among the rural and underserved dissenters of this outlying region that ignited the intense campaign that soon spread throughout Great Britain and its colonies. The Quakers believed

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:

George Bishop, *New England Judged, Not by Man’s, but the Spirit of the Lord*. London, 1661.

George Bishop, *New England Judged: The Second Part*. London, 1667.

William Coddington, *A Demonstration of True Love unto You the Rulers of the Colony of the Massachusetts in New-England*. [n.p.], 1674.

William Sewel, *History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress, of the Christian People called Quakers*. London, 1722.

Joseph Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers*. London, 1753.

*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.

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The following notes are keyed to page and line numbers in the present electronic text edition. Line counts do not include hairlines 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 (1630-1685) 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<sup>ty</sup>, in the day wherein yow happily say yow now know that yow are king ouer your British 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; wee meane vpon New England, kneeling with the rest of your subjects before yo<sup>r</sup> maj<sup>ty</sup>, as her restored king; wee forgett not our ineptnes as to these approaches. Wee at present 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 seene aduersity, that he knoweth the heart of exiles, who himself hath binn an exile, the aspect of majesty, thus extraordinarily circumstanced, influenced, and animateth exanimated outcasts (yett outcasts, as wee hope, for the trueth) to make this addresse vnto their prince. Hoping to find grace in yo<sup>r</sup> sight, wee present this script, the transcript of our loyall hearts, into yo<sup>r</sup> royall hands, wherein wee craue leaue

To supplicate yo<sup>r</sup> majesty for yo<sup>r</sup> gracious protection of vs in the continuance both of our civil priuiledges according to (& of our religion & libertjes) the grauntees knowne end, of suing for the pattent conferred vpon this plantation by your royall ffather. This, *this*, viz<sup>t</sup>, our libertje to walke in the faith of the gospell w<sup>th</sup> all good conscience according to the order of the gospell, (vnto which the former in these ends of the earth is but subservient,) was the cause of our transporting ourselves, w<sup>th</sup> our wiues, our litle ones, & our substance, from that pleasant land ouer the Atlanticke Ocean into the vast & wast wildernes, choosing rather the pure Scripture worship, w<sup>th</sup> a good conscienc, in this poore, remote wildernes, amongst the heathens, then the pleasures of England, w<sup>th</sup> submission to the impositions of the then so disposed & so farre preuayling hierarchic, w<sup>ch</sup> wee could not doe w<sup>th</sup>out an evill conscience. For this cause wee are at this day in a land w<sup>ch</sup> lately was not sound, wherein wee haue conflicted w<sup>th</sup> the sufferings thereof much longer then Jacob was in Syria.

Our wittnes is in heaven, that wee left not our countrje vpon any dissatisfaction 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 passiu part through

out these late vicissitudes & successiue ouerturnings of state. Our seperation 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 warrs & temptations of either party wee account as a favo<sup>r</sup> from God; the former cloaths vs w<sup>th</sup> sack cloth, the latter with innocence.

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

Touching complaints putt in against vs, our humble request only is, that for the interim wherein wee are as dumbe, by reason of absence, yo<sup>r</sup> maj<sup>ty</sup> would permitt nothing to make an impression vpon yo<sup>r</sup> royall heart against vs, vntill wee haue both opportunity & licence to answer for ourselves. 'Few will be nocent,' sajd that impleader, 'if it be enough to deny.' 'Few will be innocent,' replied the then emperor, 'if it be enough to accuse.'

Concerning the Quakers, open & capitall blasphemers, open seducers from the glorious Trinity, the Lords Christ, our Lord Jesus Christ, &c, the blessed gospell, and from the Holy Scriptures as the rule of life, open ennemjes to gouernment itself as established in the hands of any but men of their owne principles, malignant & assiduous promoters of doctrines directly tending to subvert both our churches & state, after all other meanes for a long time vsed in vajne, wee were at last constrejned, for our owne safety, to passe a sentence of bannishment against them, vpon paine of death. Such was their daingerous, impetuous, & desperat turbulency, both to religion & the state ciuil & ecclesiasticall, as that, how vnwillingly soeuer, 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 w<sup>th</sup> the point of the sword held towards them. This could doe no harme to him that would be warned thereby: their wittingly rushing themselves therevpon was their owne act, & wee, w<sup>th</sup>

all humillity, conceive a crjme bringing their blood on their owne head. The Quakers died, not because of their other crimes, how capitoll soeuer, but vpon their super-added presumptuous & incorrigible contempt of authority; breaking in vpon vs, notwithstanding their sentence of bannishment made knoune to them. Had they not binn restrained, so farr as appeared, there was too much cause to feare that wee ourselves must quickly haue djed, or worse; and such was their insolency, that they would not be restrained but by death; nay, had they at last but promised to depart the jurisdiction, & not to returne w<sup>th</sup>out leaue from authority, wee should haue binn glad of such an opportunity to haue sayd they should not dye.

Lett not the king heare mens words. Yo<sup>r</sup> servants are true men, fearers of God & the king, not given to chainge, zealous of gouernment & order, orthodox and peaceable in Israell; wee are not seditious as to the interest of Cæsar, nor schismaticks as to the matters of religion; wee distinguish betweene churches & their impuritics, betweene a lving man, thō not w<sup>th</sup>out sicknes or infirmitje, or no man. Irregularitjes, either in ourselves or others, wee desire to be amended.

Wee could not liue w<sup>th</sup>out the publicke worship of God. Wee were not pmittid the vse of publicke worship w<sup>th</sup>out such a yoake of subscription & conformity as wee could not consent vnto w<sup>th</sup>out sinne. That wee might therefore enjoy diuine worship w<sup>th</sup>out the humajne mixtures, w<sup>th</sup>out offence either to God, man, or our owne consciences, wee w<sup>th</sup> leaue, but not w<sup>th</sup>out teares, departed from our country, kindred, & fathers houses, into this Pathmos, in relation wherevnto wee doe not say our garments are become old by reason of the very long journey, but that ourselves, who came away in our strength, are, by reason of very long absence, many of vs become grey headed, & some of vs stooping, for age. The omission of the prementioned injunctions, together w<sup>th</sup> the walking of our churches, as to the point of order, the congegationall way is all wherein wee differ from our Orthodox brethren. S<sup>r</sup>, wee lye not before yo<sup>r</sup> sacred maj<sup>ty</sup>. The Lord God of gods, the Lord

God of gods, he knoweth, & Israell he shall know; if it were in rebellion or schisme that wee wittingly left our dwellings in our owne, or continew our dwellings in this strainge 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 mercjes, who comforteth the abject, shall make the permission of the bereavement of that all for w<sup>ch</sup> wee haue and doe suffer the losse of all pretious, so pretious in yo<sup>r</sup> sight, as that yo<sup>r</sup> royall heart shall be inclined to shew vnto vs the kindnes of the Lord in your highnes protection of vs in those libertjes for w<sup>ch</sup> wee hither came, and which hitherto wee haue heere enjoyed vpon Hezekiahs speaking comfortably to vs as to sonnes, this orphant shall not continew ffatherlesse, but growe vp as a revived infant vnder its nursing ffather. These churches shallbe comforted; a doore of hope opened by so signall a pledge of the lengthening of their tranquillity; these poore & naked Gentiles, not a few of whom thro<sup>g</sup> grace are come and coming in, shall still see their wonted teachers w<sup>th</sup> the encouragement of a more plentifull increase of the kingdome of Christ amongst them; and the blessing of yo<sup>r</sup> poore afflicted, (and yet, wee hope,) a people trusting in God, shall come vpon the head & heart of that great king who was sometime an exile as wee are.

With the religious stippulation of our prajers, wee, prostrate at yo<sup>r</sup> rojall feete, begg pardon for this our boldnes, craving finally that our names may be enrolled amongst

Yo<sup>r</sup> maj<sup>ties</sup> most humble  
Subjects & suppljants,

JOHN ENDECOTT, Go<sup>u</sup>no<sup>r</sup>,  
in the name & by the order of the Generall Court of  
y<sup>e</sup> Massachusetts.

—From *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, ed. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, Volume IV, Part 1 (Boston, 1854), pp. 442-453.

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 Ditched 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 Southwicke, 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 Dyer ] 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 *Actes 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.



- 31.5 *William Leddra* ] He was hanged March 14, 1661; he was the last Quaker executed for religious causes in New England.

### *Note on the Text*

This online electronic text edition presents the text of the 1661 London edition of Edward Burrough's *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*. The text was transcribed from digital page images of the copy in the British Museum, accessed in the Early English Books Online series.

The spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and use of italic and blackletter type preserve the usage of the original edition. Contemporary variant spellings—such as “beleve” and “therfore”—have been allowed to stand. Two typographical errors have been corrected: at page 8, line 11, *Righbteousueß* has been emended to *Righbteousneß*; and at page 28, line 12, Governour has been emended to Governour. (For a work of this length and typographical complexity to show only two errors is certainly remarkable.)

One other typographic anomaly merits mention: the compositor either did not have or chose not to use the blackletter capital E (Ʒ), employing the regular roman character in its place; this feature has been retained in this electronic edition.

The text is set in IM Fell English, a typeface originally cut in the late sixteenth century, probably by Christoffel van Dijck (roman and small caps) and Robert Granjon (italic). The electronic version used here was digitized and furnished by Iginò Marini (<http://www.iginomarini.com/fell.html>). The blackletter type is Old English Text MT, by the Monotype Corporation. Some accommodations have been made for the sake of modern readers and for more accurate searching of the text: the long s (ſ/ʃ) has not been used, nor have its ligatures (ft, fi, ff, fh, fl, ffi, fʃ, fʃb, fʃi, fʃl, fʃr, fʃs, fʃt) or the ligatures ct and ct̄. The lone exception is the italic double-s character ß, which is used throughout the 1661 original.

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