

MISTRESS ANNE HUTCHINSON'S BEST FRIEND,

FRIEND MARY BARRETT DYER OF NEWPORT¹



**“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,
THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY**

1. Beware, it is often overlooked that in the Dyer family, only Mary and her son William ever became Quakers. Farmer, John. A GENEALOGICAL REGISTER OF THE FIRST SETTLERS OF NEW-ENGLAND. Baltimore MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1976, page 91; NOTABLE AMERICAN WOMEN. Register 61:199n, 94:300 (wife); tag 26:229 (wife); ORDER OF FOUNDERS AND PATRIOTS OF AMERICA, FOUNDERS OF EARLY AMERICAN FAMILIES. Cleveland OH, 1985, page 102; Whittemore, Henry. GENEALOGICAL GUIDE TO THE EARLY SETTLERS OF AMERICA. Baltimore MD: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1967, page 163; Wilbour, Little Compton. TEN GENERATIONS FROM WILLIAM AND MARY DYER. Pamphlet, 1949.



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1609

September 19, Tuesday (Old Style): The [Half Moon](#) anchored near present-day Albany, where the crew traded with natives.

THE FROZEN NORTH

Sept. 19. The nineteenth was fair and hot weather. At the flood, being near eleven o'clock, we weighed and ran higher up two leagues above the shoals, and had no less water than five fathoms we anchored and rode in eight fathoms the people of the country came flocking aboard, and brought us grapes and pompions, which we bought for trifles; and many brought us beavers' skins, and otters' skins, which we bought for beads, knives and hatchets. So we rode there all night.

HALF-MOON, HENRY HUDSON

DYER OR DYRE

[William Dyer](#) was born at Kirkby la-Thorpe, Lincoln County. While still in England, he would be a milliner. In England, as we can see in the snippet from [Benjamin Franklin](#)'s memoirs below, “Dyer” is an occupational name, for at least originally a family of dyers was one whose family business was the dying of cloth.

John was bred a dyer, I believe of woolens. Benjamin was bred a silk dyer, serving an apprenticeship at London. He was an ingenious man. I remember him well, for when I was a boy he came over to my father in Boston, and lived in the house with us some years. He lived to a great age. His grandson, Samuel Franklin, now lives in Boston.... I was named after this uncle, there being a particular affection between him and my father.

The Dyer family, ancient in Somerset County, had produced:

- Sir James Dyer, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas 1558, who died in 1581/1582
- Sir Thomas Dyer, Knight, Sheriff of Somerset during 1558
- Sir Edward Dyer, Knight, Chancellor of the Garter, a poet of Elizabeth's time, buried at St. Saviour's Southwark in May 1607

Then, while the family was being persecuted by King James VI and while it was being condemned for its continued loyalty to King Charles I, this wouldn't mean as much as it had before. Some members of the family, including this William, would need to escape to England's colonies in America.

LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?
— NO, THAT'S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN'S STORIES.
LIFE ISN'T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**FRIEND MARY DYAR****“MARIE BARRETT”****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM****1625**

Francis Bacon published his essay “Of Gardens” in which he imagined a princely 30-acre [botanical](#) Eden.

King James I died. The botanist John Parkinson had been his Royal Apothecary.



King Charles I (at this point 25 years of age) would rule as “Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland France and [Ireland](#), Defender of the Faith, etc.” (this rule over France was nominal) to his execution for treason in 1649:



Charles would marry a 15-year-old, Henrietta Maria, a sister of King Louis XIII of France, and the royal couple would produce four sons (Charles, who died as a teenager, Charles again, who would become Charles II, James, and Henry) and five daughters (Mary, Elizabeth, Anne, Catherine, and Henrietta Anne). At some point during this year or later, [Mary Dyer](#) was able to visit the court at Buckingham Palace (presumably she would have been using the name Marie Barrett), in “a dress worked in many colored silks, with gold and silver thread, the groundwork [of which was] ... rich white satin [and the embroidery of which was] butterflies, flowers, grasshoppers [and] other insects.” She would be taking this fancy gown with her to the New World — and according to report some pieces of it are still in the family. (The family also still preserves a gold bodkin bearing the initials MD.)

DYER OR DYRE



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1633

October 27, Sunday (Old Style): According to the standard story, the Marie Barrett who would on this date be becoming Mistress [Mary Dyer](#) (or, as she would mysteriously spell it differently from her husband’s “Dyre,” “Dyar”) had been born in [London](#) of a family from Quendon in Essex. We know that this groom [William Dyer](#) was apprenticed to an importer named Blackborne. There does exist a possibility, however, that the Marie Barrett who married Guillaume Dyre, of a family of Somerset, at St. Martins-in-the-Field in [London](#) on this date, and then came to New England as Mistress Mary Dyar, actually was of the House of Stuart but of a portion of that illustrious family considered at the time to be politically inconvenient, that she had been raised in secret by a lady-in-waiting also named Mary Dyer, after a narrow escape when her royal mother had been sent to the [Tower of London](#) (refer to Ruth Talbot Plimpton’s *MARY DYER: BIOGRAPHY OF A REBEL QUAKER*, Boston MA: Brandon Publishing Company, 1994, pages 12-13). The records are inconclusive, but we may note that except on a hypothesis of this sort we have no real explanation for Mary’s fantastical court-presentation dress, pieces of which still exist, or for the relative economic well-being of the Dyer family, which seemed to be able to purchase a very good farm near the town of [Newport](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#)

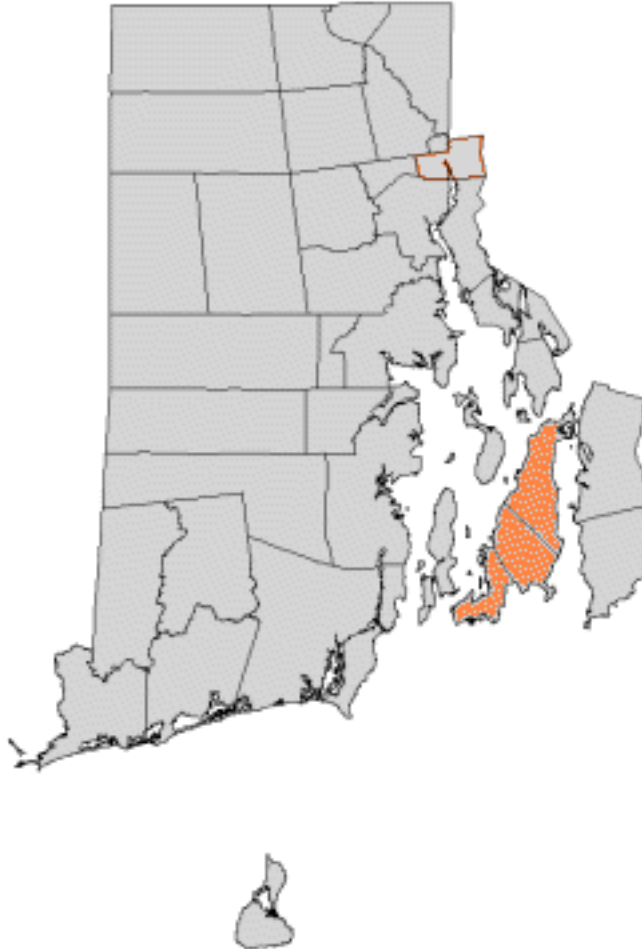


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in Narragansett Bay — and then indulge in extensive travels.



DYER OR DYRE

NOTE: There was indeed such a thing as royal bastardy, as the court’s maids in waiting were always a convenient target. According to Harold Brooks-Baker, director of BURKE’S PEERAGE commenting in 1991 in the New York Times, it is acknowledged at a minimum that the following British monarchs had irregular liaisons (any information from such a likely source must be regarded as a “retreating admission,” which is to say, as acknowledging the incontrovertible, acknowledging only what cannot be denied in order to be able utterly to deny other claimants that may be at least controvertible):

Henry I	21 bastards
Stephen	3 bastards
Henry II	2 bastards
Richard I	1 bastard
John	8 bastards
Edward I	1 bastard



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Edward II	1 bastard, plus a homosexual lover
Edward III	1 bastard
Edward IV	2 bastards
Henry VIII	1 bastard
Charles II	14 bastards
James I	lover of George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham
James II	6 bastards
George I	4 bastards
George IV	2 bastards
William IV	11 bastards

THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





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1634

October 24, Friday (Old Style): In England, the baptism of an infant son of [William Dyer](#) and [Mary Dyer](#).

DYER OR DYRE

October 27, Monday (Old Style): Burial of the infant son of [William Dyer](#) and [Mary Dyer](#).

DYER OR DYRE



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1635

Late Spring: When the Dyers set sail for the New World, [Mary Dyer](#), having lost her first infant at birth, was pregnant again. They would arrive at the peninsula of the Tri-Mountain (Pemberton Hill, Beacon Hill, Mount Vernon) during the 5th month of her new pregnancy. In the Dyer home on Summer Street, the fireplace would be wide enough to accommodate 7-foot lengths, a great saving in the labor of chopping firewood. The couple would be sleeping in a room behind this fireplace while their indentured servants would be climbing a ladder to sleep in the loft under the peak of the roof.

The couple, who would soon apply to join the Reverend John Wilson’s congregation, had been well educated. [William Dyer](#) would occupy himself in [Boston](#) as he had in England, as a milliner, and would become a friend of the Reverend [Roger Williams](#). Mary would become a friend of Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#) and of Assistant [William Coddington](#), who were Antinomians.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT



FRIEND MARY DYAR

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December 13, Sunday (Old Style): Mr. and Mistress [William Dyer](#) and [Mary Dyer](#) were received into the 1st Congregational Church of [Boston](#), the Reverend John Wilson minister. Membership in this church was what would give the husband of a family the status of a “freeman,” that is to say, a citizen. That, plus property, plus an oath of loyalty, could give a man the privilege of the vote!

DYER OR DYRE

THE SCARLET LETTER: The voice which had called her attention was that of the reverend and famous John Wilson, the eldest clergyman of Boston, a great scholar, like most of his contemporaries in the profession, and withal a man of kind and genial spirit. This last attribute, however, had been less carefully developed than his intellectual gifts, and was, in truth, rather a matter of shame than self-congratulation with him. There he stood, with a border of grizzled locks beneath his skull-cap, while his grey eyes, accustomed to the shaded light of his study, were winking, like those of Hester’s infant, in the unadulterated sunshine. He looked like the darkly engraved portraits which we see prefixed to old volumes of sermons, and had no more right than one of those portraits would have to step forth, as he now did, and meddle with a question of human guilt, passion, and anguish.

December 20, Sunday (Old Style): Mistress [Mary Dyer](#) gave birth to a male infant, and he was baptized with the given name Samuel at the [Boston](#) church which they had just the preceding Sunday joined. As a grownup, this Samuel would be of [Wickford, Rhode Island](#) and would be engaged with his father and others during the period 1661-1674 in promoting white settlement of the Narraganset country.

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT



“Marie Barrett”

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project



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1636

In the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Mistress [Mary Dyer](#) became best friends with Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#):



MARY DYER



ANNE HUTCHINSON

[Mary](#) also became pregnant.

DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.

March 3, Thursday (1635, Old Style): The General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony decided that no white man could be considered as a candidate to become a freeman, who belonged to any church organized without the approbation of the magistrates plus the approbation of a majority of the existing churches. [William Dyer](#) took the oath of loyalty to the Massachusetts Bay Colony and was recognized as a freeman, eligible to vote (Elisha Dyer, Governor of [Rhode Island](#) in 1857, would be a descendant).

The colony decided that henceforward Ipswich and five other towns would be allowed to keep a sufficient guard of freemen at home during the general political assemblies of the election period, with these defenders being able to cast their ballots by proxy.



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1637

January 20, Friday (1636, Old Style): In [Boston](#), the Reverend John Wheelright, who had been influenced by Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#)’s commitment to salvation by faith alone, and had denounced the current dogma of salvation by works, was convicted of sedition and contempt. Due to the strength of this Antinomian heresy among the common people, however, their reverend could not immediately be punished.



ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





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May 27, Saturday (Old Style): The outcome of the election was that assistant governor John Winthrop replaced [Henry Vane](#) as Governor. It was well understood locally at the time that this political victory meant that the heresy of



[Anne Hutchinson](#) would not go unpunished, and that [Boston](#) would become in effect a theocracy.



Soon, Governor Winthrop would be shocked and horrified: when [Mary Dyer](#) gave birth, the infant was “a creature so horrible in its malformation as to bear only the slightest terrifying resemblance to mankind. Something such as only a nightmare in hell could conceive.” The infant seemed to have no skull! The Reverend John Cotton, offering the midwives, Mistress [Hutchinson](#) and Goody Hawkins, what was supposed to be a helping hand, buried the body secretly at night. Although this was in accordance with English common law it was in defiance of the theocratic rule of Governor Winthrop.

What could be secretly wrong with these people, that out of them would come such abomination? Thus in evaluating what happened in the Bay Colony to the Dyer family, one must bear in mind not only the Puritan prejudice against what was termed “levelling” in religion, but also the existence of essentialist superstitions. Bear in mind also that there may have also been at work a prejudice against the very name “Dyer,” as in “the stain on the dyer’s hand” — because this image has since time immemorial been a trope for “clearly evident contamination”:



October 26, 1853: Ah! the world is too much with us, and our whole soul is stained to what it works in, like the dyer’s hand. A man had better starve at once than lose his innocence in the process of getting his bread.

What could be secretly wrong with this family, a cause not only for their deformed conception but also for their deformed conception of worship? Thus, when Mistress Hutchinson and those influenced by her were disenfranchised,² [William Dyer](#) and [Mary Dyer](#) were among those who would relocate to [Rhode Island](#).

DYER OR DYRE

2. The Reverend [Peter Bulkeley](#) of [Concord](#) and the Reverend Thomas Hooker were the two moderators of the synod which would ban this group in [Boston](#).



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November 7, Saturday (Old Style): In Cambridge, [Harvard College](#) was officially consecrated.

The trial of [William Dyer](#) in Newtowne. He and others were immediately deprived of their right to vote and effective the next spring they were banished from the Colony. This happened in the morning session of the General Court. In this court, the Governor of the colony was the chair of the court, and the other members of the court were the Deputy Governor, five assistants, and five deputies. The Reverend John Cotton was in attendance both as Mrs. Hutchinson's minister, and as the person who presumably had inspired in her the theological attitudes which she had taken. In the afternoon session, the court took up the important case of Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#).

DYER OR DYRE
MARY DYER

The total to be expelled for sedition and error would reach 73.

Mr. [John] Winthrop, Governor: Mrs Hutchinson, you are called here as one of those that have troubled the peace of the commonwealth and the churches here; you are known to be a woman that hath had a great share in the promoting and divulging of those opinions that are the cause of this trouble, and to be nearly joined not only in affinity and affection with some of those the court had taken notice of and passed censure upon, but you have spoken divers things, as we have been informed, very prejudicial to the honour of the churches and ministers thereof, and you have maintained a meeting and an assembly in your house that hath been condemned by the general assembly as a thing not tolerable nor comely in the sight of God nor fitting for your sex, and notwithstanding that was cried down you have continued the same. Therefore we have thought good to send for you to understand how things are, that if you be in an erroneous way we may reduce you that so you may become a profitable member here among us. Otherwise if you be obstinate in your course that then the court may take such course that you may trouble us no further. Therefore I would intreat you to express whether you do assent and hold in practice to those opinions and factions that have been handled in court already, that is to say, whether you do not justify Mr. Wheelwright's sermon and the petition.

Mrs. Hutchinson: I am called here to answer before you but I hear no things laid to my charge.

Gov.: I have told you some already and more I can tell you.

Mrs. H.: Name one, Sir.

Gov.: Have I not named some already?

Mrs. H.: What have I said or done?

Gov.: Why for your doings, this you did harbor and countenance those that are parties in this faction that you have heard of.

Mrs. H.: That's matter of conscience, Sir.



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Gov.: Your conscience you must keep, or it must be kept for you.

Mrs. H.: Must not I then entertain the saints because I must keep my conscience.

Gov.: Say that one brother should commit felony or treason and come to his brother's house, if he knows him guilty and conceals him he is guilty of the same. It is his conscience to entertain him, but if his conscience comes into act in giving countenance and entertainment to him that hath broken the law he is guilty too. So if you do countenance those that are transgressors of the law you are in the same fact.

Mrs. H.: What law do they transgress?

Gov.: The law of God and of the state.

Mrs. H.: In what particular?

Gov.: Why in this among the rest, whereas the Lord doth say honour thy father and thy mother.

Mrs. H.: Ey Sir in the Lord.

Gov.: This honour you have broke in giving countenance to them.

Mrs. H.: In entertaining those did I entertain them against any act (for there is the thing) or what God has appointed?

Gov.: You knew that Mr. Wheelwright did preach this sermon and those that countenance him in this do break a law.

Mrs. H.: What law have I broken?

Gov.: Why the fifth commandment.

Mrs. H.: I deny that for he [Mr. Wheelwright] saith in the Lord.

Gov.: You have joined with them in the faction.

Mrs. H.: In what faction have I joined with them?

Gov.: In presenting the petition.

Mrs. H.: Suppose I had set my hand to the petition. What then?

Gov.: You saw that case tried before.

Mrs. H.: But I had not my hand to [not signed] the petition.

Gov.: You have counselled them.

Mrs. H.: Wherein?

Gov.: Why in entertaining them.

Mrs. H.: What breach of law is that, Sir?

Gov.: Why dishonouring the commonwealth.

Mrs. H.: But put the case, Sir, that I do fear the Lord and my parents. May not I entertain them that fear the Lord because my parents will not give me leave?

Gov.: If they be the fathers of the commonwealth, and they of another religion, if you entertain them then you dishonour your



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parents and are justly punishable.

Mrs. H.: If I entertain them, as they have dishonoured their parents I do.

Gov.: No but you by countenancing them above others put honor upon them.

Mrs. H.: I may put honor upon them as the children of God and as they do honor the Lord.

Gov.: We do not mean to discourse with those of your sex but only this: you so adhere unto them and do endeavor to set forward this faction and so you do dishonour us.

Mrs. H.: I do acknowledge no such thing. Neither do I think that I ever put any dishonour upon you.

Gov.: Why do you keep such a meeting at your house as you do every week upon a set day?

Mrs. H.: It is lawful for me to do so, as it is all your practices, and can you find a warrant for yourself and condemn me for the same thing? The ground of my taking it up was, when I first came to this land because I did not go to such meetings as those were, it was presently reported that I did not allow of such meetings but held them unlawful and therefore in that regard they said I was proud and did despise all ordinances. Upon that a friend came unto me and told me of it and I to prevent such aspersions took it up, but it was in practice before I came. Therefore I was not the first.

Gov.: ...By what warrant do you continue such a course?

Mrs. H.: I conceive there lies a clear rule in Titus that the elder women should instruct the younger and then I must have a time wherein I must do it.

Gov.: All this I grant you, I grant you a time for it, but what is this to the purpose that you Mrs. Hutchinson must call a company together from their callings to come to be taught of you?...

Mrs. H.: If you look upon the rule in Titus it is a rule to me. If you convince me that it is no rule I shall yield.

Gov.: You know that there is no rule that crosses another, but this rule crosses that in the Corinthians. But you must take it in this sense that elder women must instruct the younger about their business and to love their husbands and not to make them to clash....

Mrs. H.: Will it please you to answer me this and to give me a rule for then I will willingly submit to any truth. If any come to my house to be instructed in the ways of God what rule have I to put them away?.... Do you think it not lawful for me to teach women and why do you call me to teach the court?

Gov.: We do not call you to teach the court but to lay open yourself.... [They continue to argue over what rule she had



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broken]

Gov.: Your course is not to be suffered for. Besides that we find such a course as this to be greatly prejudicial to the state. Besides the occasion that it is to seduce many honest persons that are called to those meetings and your opinions and your opinions being known to be different from the word of God may seduce many simple souls that resort unto you. Besides that the occasion which hath come of late hath come from none but such as have frequented your meetings, so that now they are flown off from magistrates and ministers and since they have come to you. And besides that it will not well stand with the commonwealth that families should be neglected for so many neighbors and dames and so much time spent. We see no rule of God for this. We see not that any should have authority to set up any other exercises besides what authority hath already set up and so what hurt comes of this you will be guilty of and we for suffering you.

Mrs. H.: Sir, I do not believe that to be so.

Gov.: Well, we see how it is. We must therefore put it away from you or restrain you from maintaining this course.

Mrs. H. If you have a rule for it from God's word you may.

Gov.: We are your judges, and not you ours and we must compel you to it.

Mrs. H.: If it please you by authority to put it down I will freely let you for I am subject to your authority.... Deputy Governor, Thomas Dudley: I would go a little higher with Mrs. Hutchinson. About three years ago we were all in peace. Mrs. Hutchinson, from that time she came hath made a disturbance, and some that came over with her in the ship did inform me what she was as soon as she was landed. I being then in place dealt with the pastor and teacher of Boston and desired them to enquire of her, and then I was satisfied that she held nothing different from us. But within half a year after, she had vented divers of her strange opinions and had made parties in the country, and at length it comes that Mr. Cotton and Mr. Vane were of her judgment, but Mr. Cotton had cleared himself that he was not of that mind. But now it appears by this woman's meeting that Mrs. Hutchinson hath so forestalled the minds of many by their resort to her meeting that now she hath a potent party in the country. Now if all these things have endangered us as from that foundation and if she in particular hath disparaged all our ministers in the land that they have preached a covenant of works, and only Mr. Cotton a covenant of grace, why this is not to be suffered, and therefore being driven to the foundation and it being found that Mrs. Hutchinson is she that hath depraved all the ministers and hath been the cause of what is fallen out, why we must take away the foundation and the building will fall.

Mrs. H.: I pray, Sir, prove it that I said they preached nothing but a covenant of works.



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Dep. Gov.: Nothing but a covenant of works. Why a Jesuit may preach truth sometimes.

Mrs. H.: Did I ever say they preached a covenant of works then?

Dep. Gov.: If they do not preach a covenant of grace clearly, then they preach a covenant of works.

Mrs. H.: No, Sir. One may preach a covenant of grace more clearly than another, so I said....

Dep. Gov.: When they do preach a covenant of works do they preach truth?

Mrs. H.: Yes, Sir. But when they preach a covenant of works for salvation, that is not truth.

Dep. Gov.: I do but ask you this: when the ministers do preach a covenant of works do they preach a way of salvation?

Mrs. H.: I did not come hither to answer questions of that sort.

Dep. Gov.: Because you will deny the thing.

Mrs. H.: Ey, but that is to be proved first.

Dep. Gov.: I will make it plain that you did say that the ministers did preach a covenant of works.

Mrs. H.: I deny that.

Dep. Gov.: And that you said they were not able ministers of the New Testament, but Mr. Cotton only.

Mrs. H.: If ever I spake that I proved it by God's word.

Court: Very well, very well.

Mrs. H.: If one shall come unto me in private, and desire me seriously to tell them what I thought of such an one, I must either speak false or true in my answer.

Dep. Gov.: Likewise I will prove this that you said the gospel in the letter and words holds forth nothing but a covenant of works and that all that do not hold as you do are in a covenant of works.

Mrs. H.: I deny this for if I should so say I should speak against my own judgment....

Mr. Hugh Peters: That which concerns us to speak unto, as yet we are sparing in, unless the court command us to speak, then we shall answer to Mrs. Hutchinson notwithstanding our brethren are very unwilling to answer. [The Governor says to do so. Six ministers then testify to the particular charges and that she was "not only difficult in her opinions, but also of an intemperate spirit"]

Mr Hugh Peters:.... [I asked her] What difference do you conceive to be between your teacher and us?... Briefly, she told me there was a wide and broad difference.... He preaches the covenant of grace and you the covenant of works, and that you are not able ministers of the New Testament and know no more



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than the apostles did before the resurrection of Christ. I did then put it to her, What do you conceive of such a brother? She answered he had not the seal of the spirit.

Mrs. H.: If our pastor would shew his writings you should see what I said, and that many things are not so as is reported.

Mr. Wilson: ...what is written [here now] I will avouch.

Mr. Weld: [agrees that Peters related Hutchinson's words accurately]

Mr. Phillips: [agrees that Peters related Hutchinson's words accurately and added] Then I asked her of myself (being she spake rashly of them all) because she never heard me at all. She likewise said that we were not able ministers of the New Testament and her reason was because we were not sealed.

Mr. Simmes: Agrees that Peters related Hutchinson's words accurately

Mr. Shephard: Also to Same.

Mr. Eliot: [agrees that Peters related Hutchinson's words accurately]

Dep. Gov.: I called these witnesses and you deny them. You see they have proved this and you deny this, but it is clear. You say they preached a covenant of works and that they were not able ministers of the New Testament; now there are two other things that you did affirm which were that the scriptures in the letter of them held forth nothing but a covenant of works and likewise that those that were under a covenant of works cannot be saved.

Mrs. H.: Prove that I said so.

Gov.: Did you say so?

Mrs. H.: No, Sir, it is your conclusion.

Dep. Gov.: What do I do charging of you if you deny what is so fully proved?

Gov.: Here are six undeniable ministers who say it is true and yet you deny that you did say that they preach a covenant of works and that they were not able ministers of the gospel, and it appears plainly that you have spoken it, and whereas you say that it was drawn from you in a way of friendship, you did profess then that it was out of conscience that you spake....

Mrs. H.: ...They thought that I did conceive there was a difference between them and Mr. Cotton.... I might say they might preach a covenant of works as did the apostles, but to preach a covenant of works and to be under a covenant of works is another business.

Dep. Gov.: There have been six witnesses to prove this and yet you deny it. [and then he mentions a seventh, Mr. Nathaniel Ward]

Mrs. H.: I acknowledge using the words of the apostle to the



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Corinthians unto him, [Mr. Ward] that they that were ministers of the letter and not the spirit did preach a covenant of works.

Gov.: Mrs. Hutchinson, the court you see hath laboured to bring you to acknowledge the error of your way that so you might be reduced, the time grows late, we shall therefore give you a little more time to consider of it and therefore desire that you attend the court again in the morning. . [The next morning]

Gov.: We proceeded... as far as we could... There were divers things laid to her charge: her ordinary meetings about religious exercises, her speeches in derogation of the ministers among us, and the weakening of the hands and hearts of the people towards them. Here was sufficient proof made of that which she was accused of, in that point concerning the ministers and their ministry, as that they did preach a covenant of works when others did preach a covenant of grace, and that they were not able ministers of the New Testament, and that they had not the seal of the spirit, and this was spoken not as was pretended out of private conference, but out of conscience and warrant from scripture alleged the fear of man is a snare and seeing God had given her a calling to it she would freely speak. Some other speeches she used, as that the letter of the scripture held forth a covenant of works, and this is offered to be proved by probable grounds.... Controversy--should the witnesses should be recalled and made swear an oath, as Mrs. Hutchinson desired, is resolved against doing so

Gov.: I see no necessity of an oath in this thing seeing it is true and the substance of the matter confirmed by divers, yet that all may be satisfied, if the elders will take an oath they shall have it given them....

Mrs. H.: After that they have taken an oath I will make good what I say.

Gov.: Let us state the case, and then we may know what to do. That which is laid to Mrs. Hutchinson charge is that, that she hath traduced the magistrates and ministers of this jurisdiction, that she hath said the ministers preached a covenant of works and Mr. Cotton a covenant of grace, and that they were not able ministers of the gospel, and she excuses it that she made it a private conference and with a promise of secrecy, &c. Now this is charged upon her, and they therefore sent for her seeing she made it her table talk, and then she said the fear of man was a snare and therefore she would not be affeared of them....

Dep. Gov.: Let her witnesses be called.

Gov.: Who be they?

Mrs. H.: Mr. Leveret and our teacher and Mr. Coggeshall.

Gov.: Mr. Coggeshall was not present.

Mr. Coggeshall: Yes, but I was. Only I desired to be silent till I should be called.



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Gov.: Will you, Mr. Coggeshall, say that she did not say so? Mr. Coggeshall: Yes, I dare say that she did not say all that which they lay against her.

Mr. Peters: How dare you look into the court to say such a word?

Mr. Coggeshall: Mr. Peters takes upon him to forbid me. I shall be silent.

Mr. Stoughton [assistant of the Court]: Ey, but she intended this that they say.

Gov.: Well, Mr. Leveret, what were the words? I pray, speak. Mr. Leveret: To my best remembrance when the elders did send for her, Mr. Peters did with much vehemency and intreaty urge her to tell what difference there was between Mr. Cotton and them, and upon his urging of her she said "The fear of man is a snare, but they that trust upon the Lord shall be safe." And being asked wherein the difference was, she answered that they did not preach a covenant of grace so clearly as Mr. Cotton did, and she gave this reason of it: because that as the apostles were for a time without the spirit so until they had received the witness of the spirit they could not preach a covenant of grace so clearly.

Gov.: Don't you remember that she said they were not able ministers of the New Testament?

Mrs. H.: Mr. Weld and I had an hour's discourse at the window and then I spake that, if I spake it....

Gov.: Mr Cotton, the court desires that you declare what you do remember of the conference which was at the time and is now in question.

Mr. Cotton: I did not think I should be called to bear witness in this cause and therefore did not labor to call to remembrance what was done; but the greatest passage that took impression upon me was to this purpose. The elders spake that they had heard that she had spoken some condemning words of their ministry, and among other things they did first pray her to answer wherein she thought their ministry did differ from mine. How the comparison sprang I am ignorant, but sorry I was that any comparison should be between me and my brethren and uncomfortable it was. She told them to this purpose that they did not hold forth a covenant of grace as I did. But wherein did we differ? Why she said that they did not hold forth the seal of the spirit as he doth. Where is the difference there? Say they, why saith she, speaking to one or other of them, I know not to whom. You preach of the seal of the spirit upon a work and he upon free grace without a work or without respect to a work; he preaches the seal of the spirit upon free grace and you upon a work. I told her I was very sorry that she put comparisons between my ministry and theirs, for she had said more than I could myself, and rather I had that she had put us in fellowship with them and not have made that discrepancy. She said, she found the difference.... This was the sum of the difference, nor did it seem to be so ill taken as it



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

is and our brethren did say also that they would not so easily believe reports as they had done and withal mentioned that they would speak no more of it, some of them did; and afterwards some of them did say they were less satisfied than before. And I must say that I did not find her saying that they were under a covenant of works, nor that she said they did preach a covenant of works. [more back and forth between Rev. John Cotton, trying to defend Mrs. Hutchinson, and Mr. Peters, about exactly what Mrs. Hutchinson said] Mrs. H.: If you please to give me leave I shall give you the ground of what I know to be true. Being much troubled to see the falseness of the constitution of the Church of England, I had like to have turned Separatist. Whereupon I kept a day of solemn humiliation and pondering of the thing; this scripture was brought unto me--he that denies Jesus Christ to be come in the flesh is antichrist. This I considered of and in considering found that the papists did not deny him to be come in the flesh, nor we did not deny him--who then was antichrist? Was the Turk antichrist only? The Lord knows that I could not open scripture; he must by his prophetic office open it unto me. So after that being unsatisfied in the thing, the Lord was pleased to bring this scripture out of the Hebrews. he that denies the testament denies the testator, and in this did open unto me and give me to see that those which did not teach the new covenant had the spirit of antichrist, and upon this he did discover the ministry unto me; and ever since, I bless the Lord, he hath let me see which was the clear ministry and which the wrong. Since that time I confess I have been more choice and he hath left me to distinguish between the voice of my beloved and the voice of Moses, the voice of John the Baptist and the voice of antichrist, for all those voices are spoken of in scripture. Now if you do condemn me for speaking what in my conscience I know to be truth I must commit myself unto the Lord.

Mr. Nowel [assistant to the Court]: How do you know that was the spirit?

Mrs. H.: How did Abraham know that it was God that bid him offer his son, being a breach of the sixth commandment?

Dep. Gov.: By an immediate voice.

Mrs. H.: So to me by an immediate revelation.

Dep. Gov.: How! an immediate revelation.

Mrs. H.: By the voice of his own spirit to my soul. I will give you another scripture, Jer[emiah] 46: 27-28--out of which the Lord showed me what he would do for me and the rest of his servants. But after he was pleased to reveal himself to me I did presently, like Abraham, run to Hagar. And after that he did let me see the atheism of my own heart, for which I begged of the Lord that it might not remain in my heart, and being thus, he did show me this (a twelvemonth after) which I told you of before.... Therefore, I desire you to look to it, for you see this scripture fulfilled this day and therefore I desire you as you tender the Lord and the church and commonwealth to consider



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

and look what you do. You have power over my body but the Lord Jesus hath power over my body and soul; and assure yourselves thus much, you do as much as in you lies to put the Lord Jesus Christ from you, and if you go on in this course you begin, you will bring a curse upon you and your posterity, and the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

Dep. Gov.: What is the scripture she brings?

Mr. Stoughton [assistant to the Court]: Behold I turn away from you.

Mrs. H.: But now having seen him which is invisible I fear not what man can do unto me.

Gov.: Daniel was delivered by miracle; do you think to be deliver'd so too?

Mrs. H.: I do here speak it before the court. I look that the Lord should deliver me by his providence.... [because God had said to her] though I should meet with affliction, yet I am the same God that delivered Daniel out of the lion's den, I will also deliver thee.

Mr. Harlakenden [assistant to the Court]: I may read scripture and the most glorious hypocrite may read them and yet go down to hell.

Mrs. H.: It may be so....

Gov.: I am persuaded that the revelation she brings forth is delusion. [The trial text here reads:] All the court but some two or three ministers cry out, we all believe it--we all believe it. [Mrs. Hutchinson was found guilty] Gov.: The court hath already declared themselves satisfied concerning the things you hear, and concerning the troublesomeness of her spirit and the danger of her course amongst us, which is not to be suffered. Therefore if it be the mind of the court that Mrs. Hutchinson for these things that appear before us is unfit for our society, and if it be the mind of the court that she shall be banished out of our liberties and imprisoned till she be sent away, let them hold up their hands.

[All but three did so]

Gov.: Mrs. Hutchinson, the sentence of the court you hear is that you are banished from out of our jurisdiction as being a woman not fit for our society, and are to be imprisoned till the court shall send you away.

Mrs. H.: I desire to know wherefore I am banished?

Gov.: Say no more. The court knows wherefore and is satisfied.



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

November 12, Sunday-17, Friday (Old Style): Since Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#) as a woman had not signed any offending petition, she could not immediately be banished farther than house arrest in Roxbury. However, all the followers of the Reverend John Wheelwright were summarily disarmed as Antinomians.



It was at about this point that the Puritan physician [John Clarke](#) arrived at [Boston](#). It was with the greatest consternation that he discovered discord in this New World, noting that the emigrants “were not able to bear each with other in their different understandings and consciences as in these utmost parts of the world to live peaceably together.”





“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1638

March 22, Thursday (1637, Old Style): Part of the problem was that [Mary Dyer](#), a woman associated with Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#), had given birth to a child, stillborn, characterized by Governor John Winthrop as a “monster.” The Reverend John Cotton, repentant, confided to the court his role in the secret burial. When exhumed, the body had seemed to lack a skull. Goody Hawkins, who assisted at the birth, was summoned to provide a description of the child as born. The baby’s “thornback” birth defect was being ascribed by the Puritans to the influence of antinomianism.

The group led by Mistress Hutchinson was expelled by an ecclesiastical court upon a charge of “traducing the ministers,” and she herself was excommunicated and ordered “as a Leper to withdraw yorselwe owt of the Congregation.”



Forasmuch as yow, Mrs. Huchinson, have highly transgressed & offended, & forasmuch as yow have soe many ways troubled the Church wth yor Erors & have drawn away many a poor soule, & have upheld yor Revelations: & forasmuch as yow have made a Lye, &c. Therfor in the name of our Lord Je: Ch: & in the name of the Church I doe not only pronownce yow worthy to be cast owt, but I doe cast yow out & in the name of Ch. I dow deliver you up to Sathan, that yow may learne no more to blaspheme, to seduce & to lye, & I dow account yow from this time forth to be a Hethen & a Publican & soe to be held of all the Bretheren & Sisters, of this Congregation, & of others: thefor I command yow in the name of Ch: Je: & of this Church as a Leper to wthdraw yorselwe owt of the Congregation; that as formerly yow have dispised & contemned the Holy Ordinances of God, & turned yor Backe one them, soe yow may now have no part in them nor benefit by them.

She would take refuge by abandoning [Boston](#) for Paumanok Long Island in New York, and a number of people influenced by her heresy would take refuge, initially with the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) at [Providence](#)



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Plantations and then at [Portsmouth](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#), an island also known as Rhodes Island.³



RHODE ISLAND RELIGION

3. So named because mistaken with [Block Island](#), which had originally been compared as similar in coastal outline on the map, or in appearance from the sea, or in some respect or other, to the much larger island of Rhodes, of the Eastern Mediterranean.

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“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

A

Chronological TABLE

*Of the most remarkable passages in that part of
America, known to us by the name of NEW-
ENGLAND.*

Anno Dom.

1638. *New-Haven* Colony began.

Mrs. *Hutchinson* and her erronious companions banished
the *Massachusets* Colony.

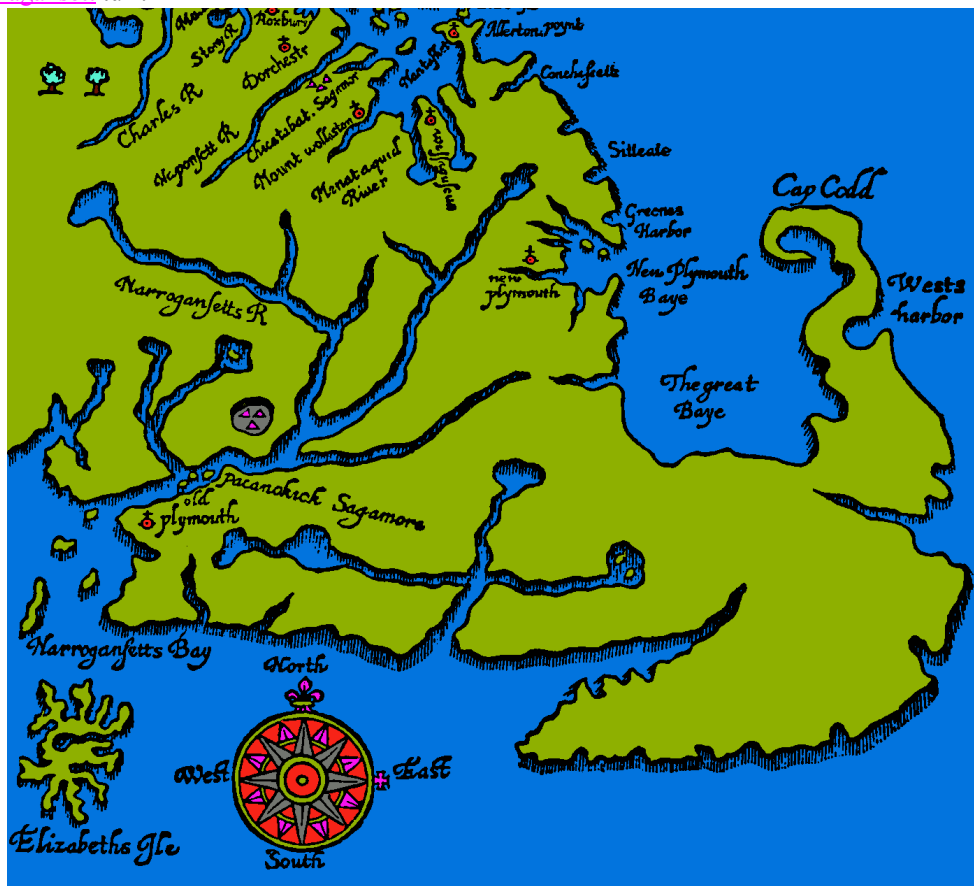
A terrible Earth quake throughout the Country.¹

Mr. *John Harvard*, the Founder of *Harvard* College
(at *Cambridge* in *New-England*) Deceased, gave 700 *l.* to
the erecting of it.

¹ Compare Winthrop, N.E., vol. i. p. 265; Johnson's Wonder-working Prov. lib. ii. c. 12, *cit.* Savage; and Morton's Memorial, by Davis, p. 209, and note, p. 289.

“MARIE BARRETT”

William Dyer and Mary Dyer were of course among those who sought refuge in Rhode Island on this Narragansett turf.



Note that at this point the Dyer family had not yet been tainted by [Quakerism](#) — the Reverend [Williams](#), in tolerating them at this point, was not by that fact tolerating Quakers.⁴ It may be that the Reverend's track record was good, overall, at least for that era, but in fact he didn't like Quakers in the same way he didn't like Papists, which in our own day and age would be taken as a sign of religious intolerance rather than as a sign of religious tolerance:

They admit no interpreter but themselves, for the spirit within, they say, gave forth the Scripture, and is above the Scripture, ... and that all they do and say is scripture – Papists and Quakers most horribly and hypocritically trample it under their proud feet.

4. In addition, this is often overlooked but in fact in the Dyer family, only **Mary Dyer** and her son Will ever became **Quakers**.

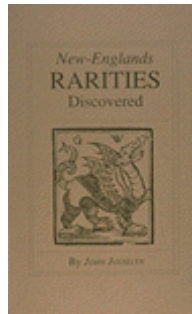


“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

July 3, Tuesday (Old Style): [John Josselyn](#), Gent. and his aged father, Sir Thomas Josselyn, originally of Essex, England, arrived with the ship *New Supply* in Boston Harbor for a week of small pox quarantine while [Boston](#) was “rather a village than a town, there being not above 20 or 30 houses, and at Casco-Bay there being even less.”⁵ While at Scarborough on the New-England coast the Puritan grand jury would twice reprimand this visitor John for absence during local Divine Services, and he would retaliate with sustained written mockery. Ever the gentleman, he would close his first book, *NEW-ENGLANDS RARITIES DISCOVERED: IN BIRDS, BEAFTS, FIFHES, SERPENTS, AND PLANTS OF THAT COUNTRY...* with a spicy poem to a young American



(*Indian SQUA*, or Female *Indian*, trick’d up in all her bravery”) to whose allures he had found himself receptive. While the older squaws were “lean and ugle” he had found the younger ones “plump as Partridges,” “very comely, having good features, their faces plump and round, and generally plump of their Bodies, ... as soft and smooth as a mole-skin,” and “seldome without a *Come to Me*, or *Cos Amoris*, in their Countenance.” Well-educated, Josselyn was able to salt his writings with extracts from C. Plinius Secundus or [Pliny the Elder](#) and Lucretius as well as with Italian proverbs. He may well have been trained as a physician ([Henry Thoreau](#) presumed this) as he enumerates the “excellent medicines” to be found in the New World and carefully tabulates their uses.⁶



CAPE COD: Old Josselyn, who came to New England in 1638, has it among his weather-signs, that “the resounding of the sea from the shore, and murmuring of the winds in the woods, without apparent wind, sheweth wind to follow.”

**PEOPLE OF
CAPE COD**

JOHN JOSSELYN

Upon arrival, presumably after release from small pox quarantine on July 10th, Josselyn would be alerted by “a grave and sober person” to the fact that the family of [William Dyer](#) and [Mary Dyer](#) had just produced an infant born with a “thornback,” and advised that this the birth of such a monster was being interpreted locally as the strongest evidence of Mary’s having given offense to God.

One of the things that this gentleman would do upon arrival in the New-England port would be to seek out “Mr Cotton the Teacher of the [Boston](#) Church,” in order to hand-deliver to him “from Mr. Quarles the poet, the Translation of the 16, 25, 51, 88, 113, 137 Psalms into *English Meeter* for his approbation.”⁷

JOHN COTTON

FRANCIS QUARLES

5. Those who find this sort of thing interesting will be interested to learn that Josselyn came to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the same year that European honeybees (*Apis mellifera* L.) brought here first escaped from domestic control in a hive. Soon the native Americans would be referring to this species as “the white man’s fly” — but after awhile everyone would be presuming that this sort of Old World honeybee was indigenous to the New World.

6. “Beaver-glands” for “Wind in the Stomach and Belly,” the tusks of sea-lions “beat to a powder and drunk with convenient liquors” as “a gallant Urin-provoking medicine.”



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1639

April 28, Sunday (Old Style): After a brief dispute with the other whites occupying [Portsmouth](#) at the north end of [Aquidneck Island](#) (people such as Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#) and [Samuell Gorton](#)), a group under [William Coddington](#) obtained permission from the [Narragansett](#) to resettle at the southern tip of that island, founding [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#).⁸



7. In fact, however, the committee that would select the translations for the Bay Psalm Book, made up among others of Richard Mather, John Eliot, and Thomas Welde, would reject these translations from the Hebrew by Francis Quarles of Essex, evidently as not being sufficiently literal.

8. In Algonquian, “Aquidnet” means “a place of security or tranquility,” from “aquene” or “aquidne” meaning secure or peaceful, and “et” meaning place.

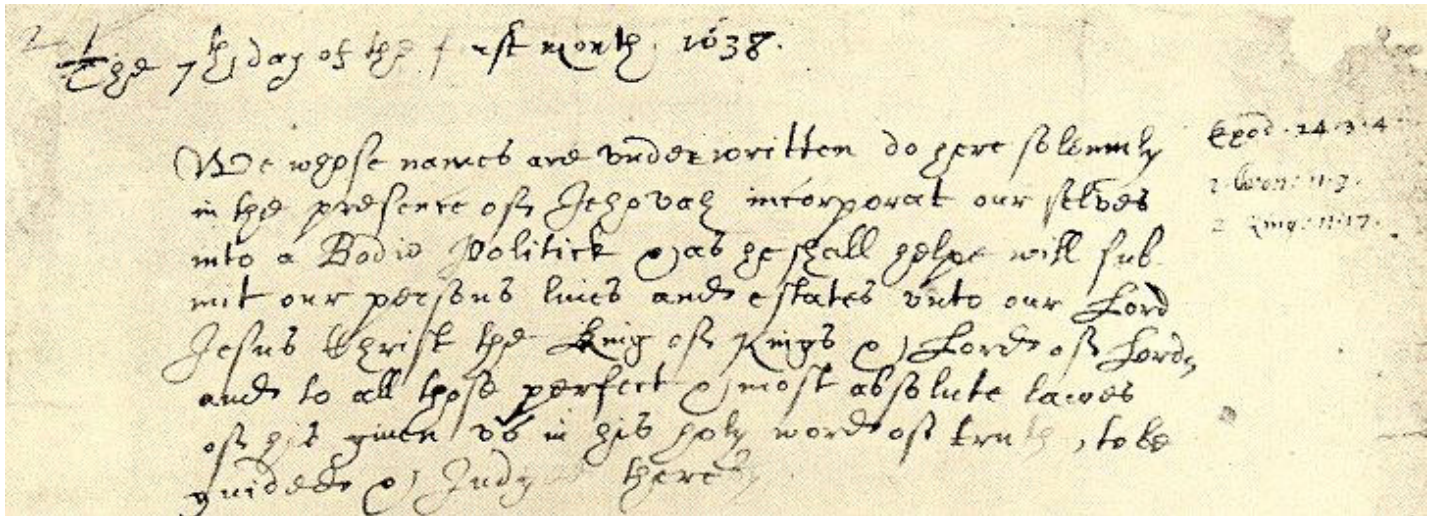
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“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

A “Portsmouth Compact” was signed by, among others, [John Clarke](#), [William Coddington](#), [William Dyer](#), Nicholas Easton (1593-1675),⁹ John Coggeshall, William Brenton, Henry Bull, Jeremy Clarke, and Thomas Hazard.



Willm Hutchinson.
 Samuell Gorton
 Samuell Hutchinson
 John Wickes
 Richarde Maggson.
 Thomas Spiser,
~~William Aspinwall~~
~~Willm Hauler~~

John Roome, **R** mark

John Sloffe **I** mark

Thomas Beddar **U** mark

Erasmus Bullocke
 Sampson Shotten

The arrival of the group made up of the Hutchinsons and about eighteen of their followers would bring the white population of [Aquidneck Island](#) to a total of 93 souls.

9. In this year Mr. Easton had been fined five shillings for coming to Puritan meeting without his weapons. He would become a [Quaker](#), and a governor of [Rhode Island](#).

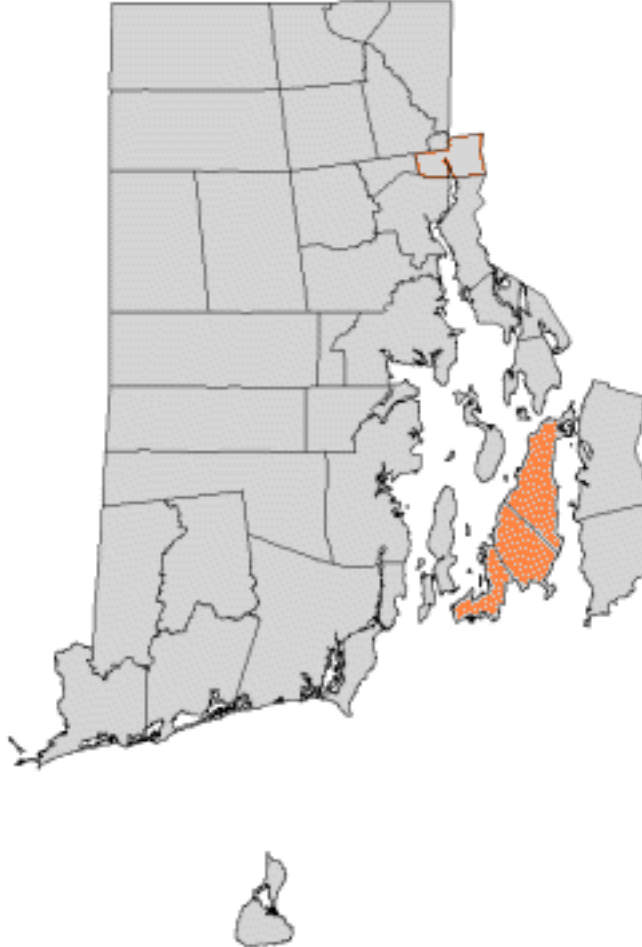


FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Mistress [Hutchinson](#) would be living on the island for four years.



It would be there, in [Portsmouth](#) (then known as Pocasset) during the late summer of one year, that she would have what according to NOTABLE AMERICAN WOMEN amounted to a “menopausal pregnancy which, according to a modern interpretation of a doctor’s report, was aborted into a hydatidiform mole and expelled with great difficulty.” (She would then also be condemned, like [Mary Dyer](#), as the creator of a monster.)

**WHAT I’M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF**

“Marie Barrett”

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project



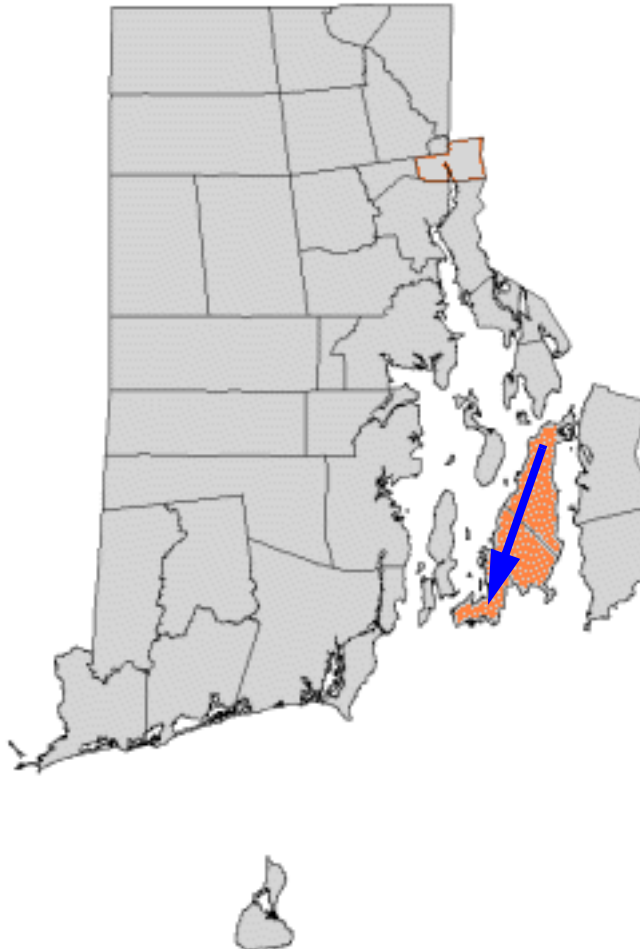
“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1640

On [Aquidneck Island](#), the little family of [William Dyer](#) and [Mary Dyer](#) relocated from [Portsmouth](#) (then known as *Pocasset*) to [Newport](#).¹⁰



After his maidservant had been accused of assaulting an old woman and he had behaved outrageously in court while rising to her defense by for instance calling upon the people to put their governor in prison, and after terming the magistrates of the town “just asses” and a freeman of the town “jack-an-apes” —and so on and so forth for a list that added up to fourteen such offenses— [Samuell Gorton](#) found himself being publicly flogged.¹¹

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

10. There’s still a very small street just north of the Claybourn/Pell Bridge between [Aquidneck Island](#) and Conanicut Island, that used to be called “Dyers Gate” but is now shown on the map as “Dyre Street.” As time went on, their farm would be useful in the manufacture of boom-boom torpedoes, their little island offshore would be useful for a major boom-boom fortification — stuff we need.



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1643

September: Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#), the “American Jezebel” whom God had previously punished for her obstinate sins by giving to her at her fourteenth lying-in a stillborn “monstrous birth,” after her expulsion from the Bay Colony in 1638, was punished yet again by a righteous God. At Eastchester where she had taken refuge near the present limits of New-York City, a place now termed the Bronx (this was the year in which settler Jonas Bronck, from whom the name derives, died), one of her little girls was taken captive and she and five of her children were slaughtered, dismembered, and burned by a band of the Americans.

And therefore God’s hand is the more apparently seene herein, to pick out this wofull woman, to make her and those belonging to her, an unheard of heaieve example of their cruelty above al others.

Here is the sad scene of race atrocity as it would be imagined as of 1880:



[Mary Dyer](#) would conduct a service for them at the home of Anne’s sister, Friend Katherine Marbury Scott, in [Providence](#). There were five surviving Hutchinson children, including the little girl who was taken captive by the natives. The Dyer and Hutchinson families would intermarry.

RHODE ISLAND

(It was in this year that Mary gave birth to the son who would bear the name “Mahershalalhashbaz.”)

Material relating to the above, per Governor John Winthrop’s Journal:

The Indians near the Dutch, having killed 15 men, as is before related, proceeded on and began to set upon the English who dwelt under the Dutch. They came to Mrs. Hutchinson’s in way of friendly neighborhood, as they had been accustomed, and taking their opportunity, killed her and Mr. Collins, her son-in-law, (who had been kept prisoner in Boston) and all her family, and such of Mr. Throckmorton’s and Mr. Cornhill’s families as were at home; in all sixteen, and put their cattle into their houses

11. One is tempted to suppose that a more reasonable man might have anticipated such an outcome — but all his life Gorton dearly loved playing the righteous victim:

“My ancestors have not been so used, as the records in the Heraldry of England can testify.”



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

and there burnt them. By a good providence of God, there was a boat came in there at the same instant, to which some women and children fled, and so were saved, but two of the boatmen going up to the houses were shot and killed.

These people had cast off ordinances and churches, and now at last their own people, and for larger accommodation had subjected themselves to the Dutch and dwelt scatteringly near a mile asunder: and some that escaped, who had removed only for want (as they said) of hay for their cattle which increased much, now coming back again to Aquiday, they wanted cattle for their grass. These Indians having killed and driven away all the English upon the main as far as Stamford, (for so far the Dutch had gained possession by the English,) they passed on to Long Island and there assaulted the Lady Moodey in her house divers times, for there were 40 men gathered thither to defend it.

These Indians at the same time set upon the Dutch with an implacable fury, and killed all they could come by, and burnt their houses and killed their cattle without any resistance, so as the governor and such as escaped betook themselves to their fort at Monhaton, and there lived and eat up their cattle.

Also in Governor Winthrop's Journal:

A daughter of Mrs. Hutchinson was carried away by the Indians near the Dutch, when her mother and others were killed by them; and upon the peace concluded between the Dutch and the same Indians, she was returned to the Dutch governor, who restored her to her friends there. She was about eight years old, when she was taken, and continued with them about four years, and she had forgot her own language, and all her friends, and was loath to have come from the Indians.

JOHN WINTHROP JOURNAL



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1647

May 19, Wednesday-21, Friday (Old Style): Although the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) had brought back from England a royal charter for a united “Providence Plantations and Rhode-Island” colony in 1644, based upon the legitimacy of his actually having obtained permission to settle there from the owners of the land, the native Americans (!), it had taken several years to work out a political alliance of the four previously independent settlements actually involved, to wit, [Providence](#), *Shawowmet* (later known as [Warwick](#)), [Newport](#), and



[Portsmouth](#). On this date the first meeting of the united colony took place in Portsmouth and an anchor was selected as the colonial brand.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Dr. [John Clarke](#) was assigned to write up a Code of Laws for the new colony, and asked [William Dyer](#) to assist him.



The document they would author would declare the freedom of the individual conscience. Dyer would become the Secretary of the Council and then the Attorney General of [Rhode Island and Providence Plantations](#), and eventually, during Henry Thoreau's lifetime, one of his descendants would become the governor of the state.

This code of laws they would draft, would conclude as follows:

These are the laws that concern all men, and these are the penalties for the transgressions thereof, which, by common consent, are ratified and established through the whole Colony. And otherwise than this (what is herein forbidden) all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his GOD. AND LET THE LAMBS OF THE MOST HIGH WALK IN THIS COLONY WITHOUT MOLESTATION, IN THE NAME OF JEHOVAH THEIR GOD, FOR EVER AND EVER.



FRIEND MARY DYAR

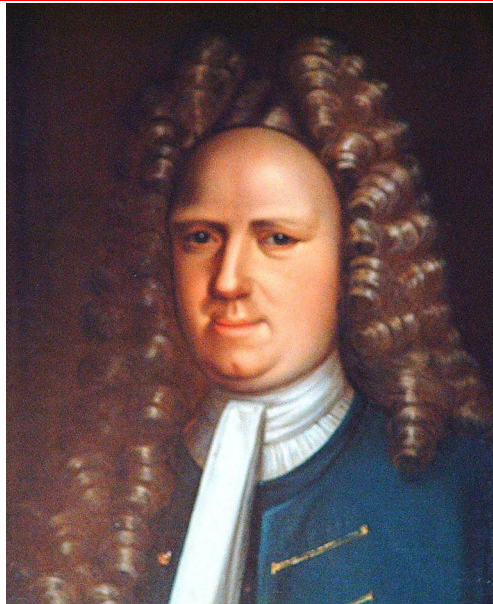
“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1648

May: When the [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly met at [Providence](#), the first order of business needed to be the suspension the newly elected President, [William Coddington](#), pending a complaint of assault and battery that had been made against him, after a confrontation with [William Dyer](#) (the two men would eventually sign a reconciliation document, but that closure would not come until March 14, 1656). As Coddington did not appear before the Court of Trials (was he already departed for England?), he was replaced as President by Jeremy Clarke, the assistant from [Newport](#).

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT





“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1650

In [Rhode Island](#), [Friend](#) Nicholas Easton was governor. [William Dyer](#) would be serving as Attorney General until 1653.

HDT

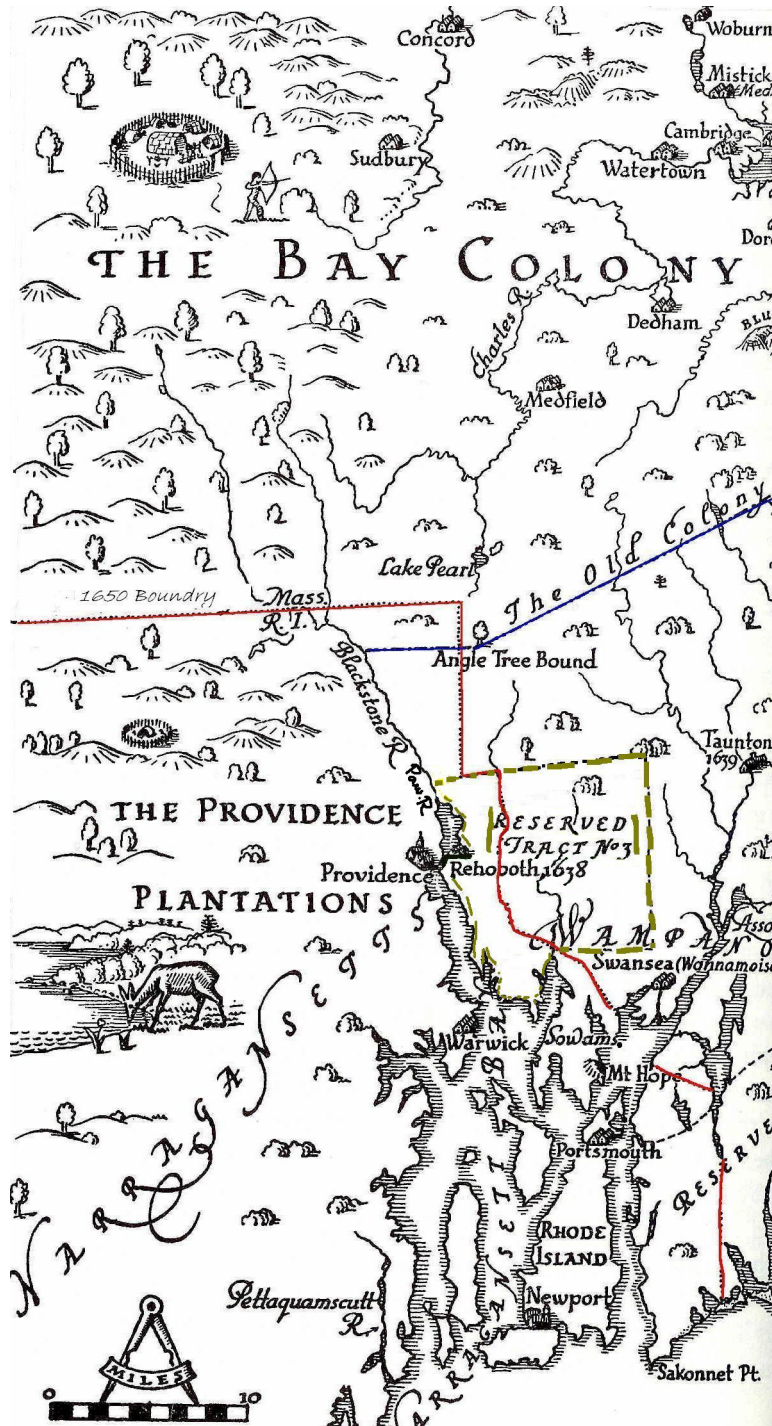
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“MARIE BARRETT”

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1651

The Dyer family on [Aquidneck Island](#) became entangled in a sectarian dispute and sailed to England to get it resolved.

MARY DYER
WILLIAM DYER
DYER OR DYRE



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1653

[William Dyer](#) returned alone from Old England to New England, bringing with him the great news that the commission that had been granted to [William Coddington](#) had been withdrawn, and the great news that the colonies of [Rhode Island](#) might govern themselves for the time being as before the issuance of that fraudulently obtained commission.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

25 3mo: [Thomas Angell](#) was appointed as a commissioner to meet with the [Warwick RI](#) commissioners regarding Captain Underhill and [William Dyer](#) and the manner and means of making war upon the Dutch. Due to the merchant trade up and down the coast, there were several intermarriages between Dutch and [Providence](#) colonists. This did not prevent the Council of State from directing the people to annoy the Dutch and forbidding them to send provisions. In one of the most aggressive responses from a New England colony, [Rhode Island](#) voted cannon and small arms and 20 volunteers be sent to the English on Paumanok Long Island.



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1656

March 14, Friday (1655, Old Style): Back in 1648 some sort of confrontation had occurred in [Rhode Island](#) between [William Coddington](#) and [William Dyer](#), which had resulted in Dyer filing charges of assault and battery. On this day the two men signed a reconciliation document.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT



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1657

Early in the year (1656, Old Style): [Mary Dyer](#) and Ann Burden arrived in [Boston](#) by ship from England, Mary as a former Bostonian relocated to [Rhode Island](#) who was returning after a trip to England (begun in 1650), and Ann as a Boston widow who was returning home to settle her dead husband's estate. However, it was learned that while in England the two women had been converted to Quakerism.¹² Unexpectedly, instead of a warm homecoming, they were carted off to jail. This would be the year in which:

“Christopher Holder and John Copeland, Quakers, were whipped through town with knotted cords, with all the strength the hangman could command. The prisoners were gagged with a stick in the mouth, to prevent their outcries.”

What had happened with Friend Christopher Holder was that he had caused a disruption by attempting to speak in church in Salem after the Sunday sermon (it was during this year, incidentally, that [Quaker](#) meetings for worship were beginning locally). A guard there had brought him to the floor and stuffed his glove and handkerchief into Holder's mouth. When a member of the Puritan congregation, [Samuel Shattuck](#), got the glove and handkerchief out of Holder's mouth, and resuscitated him, Shattuck was taken to the [Boston](#) lockup and had to pay a 20-shilling fine to get released. (Shattuck would become a Quaker and be exiled.) Holder was given 30 lashes and then had to spend the next three days and nights in jail without any food or bedding. All told, he and two other Quaker ministers would be held in this jail for the next three and a half months.

During this year Friend [George Fox](#) would be sending out a number of epistles, including one entitled “To Friends, To Dwell in that which Keeps Peace”:



*Number CXXXVI, Volume VII, page 132. Dear Friends, - Dwell in that which keeps your peace, and comprehends the deceit, and answers that of God in everyone. And let Friends keep their meetings, and never hearken to tales, nor things without; but keep their peace, and know the life and power, union and fellowship, which stands in God, in and with which ye may stand over the world in the one power, life, and wisdom, and therein be kept to the glory of the Lord God. So, in that which is pure, the Lord God Almighty preserve you!
G.F.*

His epistle entitled “To The Prisoners” dates to this year:



Number CXXXVIII, Volume VII, page 133. Friends, - Ye that are the prisoners of the Lord Jesus Christ in outward bonds, who witness him by whom the world was made, who is the King of saints, and who are his, and come under his dominion and government, ye are not your own; but purchased with his blood, which washes and makes you clean, and justifies, whose bodies

12. In the quite numerous Dyer family, only [Mary Dyer](#) and her son William, Jr. (Will) would ever be converts to Quakerism.



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are his temple. Though he suffers you to be imprisoned, yet in his power your bodies are kept, and your spirits also; ye standing witnesses for your master, for your king, for your prophet, for your covenant of light, for your wisdom of God, (him by whom all things were made,) for the word and power, by which all things were made and upheld, against the powers of darkness, who are out of the light, out of the truth, who cannot bind, stop, nor limit the unlimited power, which is over it, and comprehends it. They who are born of the world, and in the power which upholds all things, over that, (and the power of the evil one,) have victory, and sing over the false prophet. For the devil was the deceiver, who abode not in the truth; and there is the false prophet, who speaks of his own, and not from the Lord; and there is the beast, that makes the war against the lamb and his saints, who witness the testimony of Jesus, and the word of God. Therefore mind the word of God, ye children of the light, who are in the light, that comes from the word; mind the word of the Lord, which is a hammer, and as a fire, and sharper than a two-edged sword. And ye who are the Lord's, are not your own; but they who are in their own time, see not the time which is in the Father's hand; their time is always, and they do their own works, and not the works of God, which the son of God did. G.F.

George Fox

Friend [George](#)'s epistle entitled “Know The Praying in the Spirit” also dates to this year:



Friends, - Know the praying in the spirit, and with the understanding; then ye will come to know the sighs and groans than cannot be uttered. For such as have not the spirit that gave forth the scriptures to guide them, are as the Pharisees were, in the long prayers, and in the wrath, and in the doubting, and do not lift up holy hands. This makes a difference between praying in the spirit, and the Pharisees' long prayers, that devoured widows' houses. And none owns the light as it is Jesus, but he that owns the light that Christ lighteth him withal. And none owns the truth, but who owns the light that cometh from Christ, the truth. And none cometh to the Father, but such who owns the light that cometh from Christ, which leads to him. Nor none owns the son, except he owns the light that cometh from him. For all dwelling in the light that comes from Jesus, it leads out of wars, leads out of strife, leads out of the occasion of wars, and leads out of the earth up to God, out of earthly-mindedness to heavenly-mindedness, and bringeth your minds to heaven.



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G.F.

His epistle entitled “Dwell in Unity and Love in the Power of God.” also dates to this year:



GF, To Friends, to live in love and unity together, in the power of God. Friends all every where, in the life and power of God live and dwell, and spread the truth abroad. Quench not the spirit, but live in love and unity one with another; that with the wisdom of God ye may all be ordered to God's glory. And live all in patience one with another, and in the truth, that ye may feel and see to the beginning, before the world and its foundation was, in the faith which gives the victory; that nothing may reign but the life and power amongst you. And live all as the family of God in love, in life, in truth, in power, having your house established atop of all the mountains and hills; that ye may answer that of God in every man, and the word of the Lord ye may witness to go forth among you and be among you. So in this the Lord God Almighty preserve you and keep you. And in the son of God's power live, for all power in heaven and earth is given him; who is to subdue all the powers of darkness, and to make the kingdoms of the world his kingdom. And none go beyond the measure of the Spirit of God, nor quench it; for where it is quenched it cannot try things. So if any have any thing upon them to speak, in the life of God stand up and speak it, if it be but two or three words, and sit down again; and keep in the life, that ye may answer that of God in every man upon the earth. To you this is the word of the Lord God.

G.F.

His epistle entitled “To Friends Beyond the Sea, That Have Blacks and Indian Slaves” also dates to this year. He did not implore slave-holding Quakers to free their captives, but merely to treat them well. The slaves of Quakers should be allowed to hear the Gospel, so they would know of the equality of all men in the eyes of God. Later, he would find it necessary to salve the fear, among the planter class of the New World islands, that with such appeals the Quakers had been creating a dangerous situation:



Dear Friends, - I was moved to write these things to you in all those plantations. God, that made the world, and all things therein, giveth life and breath to all, and they all have their life and moving, and their being in him, he is the God of the spirits of the flesh, and is no respecter of persons; but "whosoever feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him." And he hath made all nations of one blood to dwell upon the face of the earth, and his eyes are over all the works of his hands, and seeth every thing that is done under the whole



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of heaven; and "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof." And he causeth the rain to fall upon the just and the unjust, and also he causeth the sun to shine upon the just and the unjust; and he commands to "love all men," for Christ loved all, so that he "died for sinners." And this is God's love for the world, in giving his son into the world; that "whosoever believeth in him should not perish." And he doth "enlighten every man that cometh into the world," that they might believe in the son. And the gospel is preached to every creature under heaven; which is the power that giveth liberty and freedom, and is glad tidings to every captivated creature under the whole heavens. And the word of God is in the heart and mouth, to obey and do it, and not for them to ascend or descend for it; and this is the word of faith which was and is preached. For Christ is given for a covenant to the people, and a light to the Gentiles, and to enlighten them, who is the glory of Israel, and God's "salvation to the ends of the earth." And so ye are to have the mind of Christ, and to be merciful, as your heavenly Father is merciful.
G.F.

George Fox

Friend [George](#)'s epistle entitled "Concerning the Light" also dates to this year:



Friends, - Ye that be turned to the light in it wait, in it meet together, that with it your hearts may be joined together up to Christ, the head, from whence the light doth come; with which ye may see all the world and all the gatherings that are out of the light, which are in the vanities of their minds, and in the rebelliousness of their hearts, and stubbornness of it from the light. But ye believing in the light and receiving it, he receive and come into the covenant with God, and peace with God; and into that which gives the knowledge of his glory and of his image, And this belief giveth the victory over the world, and brings unto God, and into his likeness, and separates you from the world, and its likeness, and image, and its fashion, which or out of the light; and its knowledge, and its wisdom, and its honour, and its fear, and its love, and its rejoicing, which are out of the light in the flesh, and it the iniquity, where the soul is in death. But in the light rejoicing and walking, ye receive the love of God shed abroad into your hearts, which love rejoiceth in the truth, (mark,) in that which the devil abode not in. With that ye know and will know the increase of God, and know God and his law put in your minds, and in your hearts written, where the fear is placed, where the secrets of the Lord are revealed, and the light, which is the truth, comes to be walked in. Here is a joy in the Lord where no flesh glories, In this waiting, (in the light,) the world where there is not end it gives you to see and the power of the world which is to come, ye will come to see and be partakers of. Which power ye receiving



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(who are in the light,) it brings you to become the sons of God and to be heirs of the world where there is no end, and of the everlasting inheritance which fadeth not away, and the riches which are durable, where no thief can come, nor nothing to rust or canker; for that is out of the light that doth thief, rust, or canker, and in the transgression. Therefore, ye saints in the light of the most high God, whose name is dreadful amongst you, and his power made manifest in measure, and his glory appearing, walk worthy of the high calling! Keep your dominion, keep your place of rest in the power and strength of the Almighty, and meet together in the love, unity, and peace, and know one another in this love that changes not; which being received, ye walk in that which condemns that which is changeable. This love rejoiceth in the truth, and hath dominion over him that abode not in the truth, but rejoiceth in that which the devil abode not in. And here the spirit is received in which God is worshipped, that Father of spirits, He that believeth here believes in the Lord, and shall never be confounded, for he believes in that which doth confound and condemn those who are out of the light, and gone from the word of God in the heart, and from the power of God, and from the light of the glorious gospel, which is the power of God. The God of the world hath blinded their eyes that abide not in the truth, they are gone from the light which is the truth; and all that are blinded by the god of the world, these are out of the light and out of the truth. Therefore ye being in the light, and to it turned, (the light of the glorious gospel,) the image of God is seen, and the glorious gospel received, Therefore walk in the light as the children of the light, and know the wisdom that is of her children justified; that ye may answer the light in every one (that comes into the world) that hateth it. And keep your habitations, that ye may every one feel you spring in the light which comes from the Lord, and feel your nourishment and refreshment; which waters the plants and causeth them to grow up in the Lord, from whom the pure, living springs come. And here is the water which is the witness in the earth, which doth wash, and here come the spirit to be known, the witness that doth baptize. and the witness the blood, which doth cleanse, which agrees with the witness in heaven. So, he that believe hath the witness in himself. (Mark and take notice.) And so, ye being in the light, every one in particular feed upon the bread of life which comes from above, which nourisheth up to eternal life; wherein as every one grows up, here every one gives glory to the Father, and to the son, and knows the light which is the way, the truth, and the life. Every one of you that are turned to it, ye are in the one way, truth, light, and life, feeding upon the one bread which comes from above; which whosoever doth eat of lives for ever, and shall never die. Let this be read among all Friends everywhere, in this nation and elsewhere, that to the light are turned and in it are kept, that in the unity they may all be kept. And in it God Almighty preserve and keep you, that ye may feel his promises, which are to the seed; and



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know the seed to which the blessing is, and know the flesh of Christ, that ye may be flesh of his flesh. And friends, live at peace among yourselves, waiting upon the Lord; and the Lord God of life and peace be with you. Let no Friends be discouraged; but walk in the truth and the love of it, and to it bend. G.F.

George Fox

During this year, also, Friends William Brend and John Copeland were on their way from [Scituate](#) in Massachusetts to [Rhode Island](#), on a missionary journey, when intercepted by officials of the Plymouth Colony who demanded that they pledge to be out of the colony within 48 hours. Well, it was one thing for these [Quakers](#) to be on their way directly out of the colony, and quite another for government types to come around and make such a demand — the two missionaries instantly scrupled against obedience and would need to be hauled before a judge. The judge would classify their attitude problem, accurately it would seem, as “contemptuous perverseness.” (And, we may add to the historical record as an inference, the response of these Quakers to that judge would likely have been something on the order of “Hey, dude, deal with it!”)

During this year, also, the [Quakers](#) were establishing a meeting house at [Aquidneck Island](#) in Rhode Island, and [William Dyer](#) came up to Boston and obtained his wife’s release upon condition that he not allow [Friend Mary Dyer](#) to speak with anyone until they were beyond the frontiers of the Bay Colony. Friend Ann was not allowed to settle her estate, and eventually the captain of the vessel was forced to take her back to England — at his own expense.

At about this period, many married [Quakers](#) were beginning to take vows of celibacy, and refrain from sexual intercourse with their spouses. This would go on for like two, three years. There is a suggestion that Friend [Mary Dyer](#), although her husband was not and never would be a Quaker, joined in this movement for some time prior to her execution.

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1658

At least nine [Quakers](#) went from [Rhode Island](#) to [Boston](#) and there attempted to speak at the end of a sermon. They were of course arrested and whipped for their disruptiveness, but when the Quakers in Rhode Island heard of this, they sent off two more Quakers to Boston to attempt to tend to their wounds. The entire scheme of penalties collapsed as not only barbaric but also ineffectual, and the public raised moneys by general subscription to return all these Quaker hornets to their hive in Rhode Island. However, three of them promptly returned again, and suffered the penalty of removal of one ear. “In the strength of God we suffered joyfully.”

The first person in [Providence](#), who adopted the principles of Friends, is stated by tradition to be Richard Scott. He was one of the early settlers of the town; at first he joined the [Baptists](#), but remained with them but a short time. His wife Catharine, and two daughters Patience and Mary, were also among the first members of the Friends’ Society. All three of these suffered corporeal punishment in Massachusetts, at an early period, the wife as early as 1658. One of the daughters subsequently intermarried with Christopher Holder, whose name appears, more than once, among those who suffered corporeal punishment in Massachusetts, as Friends. That these met together for worship with such others as agreed with them in principles, is highly probable, though there is no direct proof of the fact.¹³

Three expelled Quaker ministers – [Friend Marmaduke Stevenson](#), a farmer from Yorkshire, [Friend William Robinson](#), a young resident of London, and [Friend Mary Dyer](#) – determined to test the barbarous new law requiring death for return to Boston after an initial expulsion. Would it be enforceable or, only another idle threat, would it also collapse upon a challenge from those of sufficient faith? Six Salem Quakers, keeping faith, prepared “linen wherein to wrap the dead bodies of those who were to suffer.” (These people, you see, were playing hardball.) Friend Mary was convicted of “rebellious sedition, and presumptuous obtruding herself after banishment upon pain of death,” and was sentenced to be executed, but upon the petition of her son Will Dyer, Jr. was reprieved on condition that she depart the jurisdiction of Massachusetts colony in 48 hours — and if she return, to suffer the sentence as imposed.

A friendlier attitude was being taken in [Providence, Rhode Island](#):

1658. This town refuses to banish such Quakers as are here, or to prohibit others from coming, though strongly urged to such a course by the Commissioners of the united Colonies, and replies to the intolerant request, that they prize freedom of conscience as the greatest happiness men can possess in this world. This place had then become a city of refuge to the cruelly persecuted Quakers of Massachusetts. By a municipal vote, all those who enjoyed lands within the jurisdiction of the town were freemen.

13. William Read Staples (1798-1868). ANNALS OF THE TOWN OF [PROVIDENCE](#), FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT, TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT, IN JUNE, 1832. Providence, [Rhode Island](#): Printed by Knowles and Vose, 1843.

VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES



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1659

[William Dyer](#) and [Friend Mary Dyer](#) had established their new farm in what is now [Newport, Rhode Island](#).¹⁴ In this year Friend Mary and two other expelled Quaker ministers –Friends [Marmaduke Stevenson](#) and [William Robinson](#), who were youths of little more than 20 years of age– would determine to test the barbarous new [Boston](#) law requiring death for return after an initial expulsion. Would it be enforceable or, only another idle threat, would it also collapse upon a challenge from those of sufficient faith?

Six [Quakers](#) of Salem, keeping faith, prepared “linen wherein to wrap the dead bodies of those who were to suffer.” (These people, you see, were playing hardball.)¹⁵

After training for the ministry, John Higginson had succeeded his father-in-law Henry Whitfield or Whitfield (1597-1687) as minister at Guilford, Connecticut. At this point he became the pastor at Salem.

14. There is still a very small street, Dyer’s Gate off 3rd Street just next to the overpass from the Newport Bridge, to mark where they had lived. The island just off Newport that was associated with this farm, [Goat Island](#) where the family kept livestock, was then about a hundred times larger than it now is in this era in which this now tiny island has been transformed into a US Navy weapons-development facility.

15. Sewell, William. THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE, AND PROGRESS, OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. A NEW EDITION IN TWO VOLUMES. Philadelphia PA: Uriah Hunt, 1832, Volume I, pages 253-5



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“I HAVE BEEN RESERVED FOR THIS—TO FREE THE LAND FROM
SPIRITUAL TYRANNY”



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**LETTER TO THE GENERAL COURT AT BOSTON,
AFTER BEING SENTENCED TO DEATH,
27TH OF 8TH MONTH, 1659.**

To the General Court 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 be 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 his holy seed in any measure countervail the great damage that you will, by thus doing, procure.

Therefore seeing the Lord hath not hid it from me, it lieth 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 the seed with whom my life is bound up, as I have done these two years: and now it is like to increase, 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 withal, as you call it? Woe is me for you! Of whom take ye counsel? Search with the light of Christ in you, and it will show you of whom, as it hath done me and many more, who have been disobedient and deceived, as now ye are: which light as ye 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 by a woman. It is not mine own life I seek, (for I choose 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 to destroy the life thereof, as in all ages he ever did. O hearken not unto him, I beseech you, for the seed's sake, which is one and 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's had with Ahasuerus, whose relation is short of that that is between Christians: and my



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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 those people were so prized by her, and so nearly concerned her, as in truth these are to me, 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 die is my gain, though I had not had your forty-eight hours warning, for the preparation of the death of Mary Dyar.

And know this also, that if through the enmity you shall declare yourselves 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 judgments and plagues poured justly upon you, who now, whilst ye 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 ye 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-more labourers to gather, out of the mouths of devourers of all sorts, into his fold, where he will lead them into fresh pastures, even the paths of righteousness for his name's 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 ye sew, 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 be it, saith

Mary Dyar.

October: Samuel Dyer and Mahorshalehliashbash Dyer, non-Quaker sons of [Friend Mary Dyer](#), got in trouble in [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#) for “Nontrayneinge,” that is, for failure to show up for militia training. They would be charged with larceny against the state, but the General Court of Trials would dismiss the charge brought against them.

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October 20, Tuesday (Old Style): In [Boston](#), the young [Quaker](#) ministers [Marmaduke Stevenson](#), [William Robinson](#), and [Mary Dyer](#) were sentenced to be [hanged](#) by the neck until they were dead from the Great Elm (*Ulmus americana*) on Boston Common, on Lecture Day.



[Friend Daniel Gould](#) of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) would accompany Friend Marmaduke and Friend William to their gallows tree, and for doing that he would be tied across a big gun and flogged.



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October 27, Tuesday (Old Style): This was “Lecture Day” in [Boston](#). The Reverend John Norton fulminated against “diabolical doctrines” such as those of “the cursed sect of the Quakers.” (This would be printed up and distributed at government expense.) A large company of soldiers escorted the three religious prisoners from the jail near what is now Dover Street at Washington Street, onto the Common.¹⁶

[Friend Daniel Gould](#) of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) accompanied Friend Marmaduke and Friend William to their gallows tree, and for doing that would be sentenced to be tied across a big gun and flogged.

[Friend Mary Dyer](#) was between two guards with her arms and legs bound. She was seen to have covered her face with a handkerchief, loaned to her for this purpose by her former pastor in the Boston church, the Reverend John Wilson. With the drums rolling to drown out the voices of the condemned (they were nevertheless heard briefly, as below), Friends [Marmaduke Stevenson](#) and [William Robinson](#) were [hanged](#) from the limb of a tree on Boston Common. When the corpse of Robinson was cut down, the head hit the ground and the skull broke. Their bodies were cast naked into a hole, and soon were covered over with water. “A Mr. Nichols built a fence about the place to protect them.”¹⁷

A week earlier, in the prison in [Boston](#), Friend Marmaduke had written a brief summation of his life.¹⁸

In the beginning of the year 1655, I was at the plough in the east parts of Yorkshire in Old England, near the place where my outward being was; and, as I walked after the plough, I was filled with the love and presence of the living God, which did ravish my heart when I felt it, for it did increase and abound in me like a living stream, so did the life and love of God run through me like precious ointment giving a pleasant smell, which mad me to stand still. And, as I stood a little still, with my heart and mind stayed upon the Lord, the word of the Lord came to me in a still, small voice, which I did hear perfectly, saying to me in the secret of my heart and conscience, “I have ordained thee a prophet unto the nations,” and, at the hearing of the word of the Lord, I was put to a stand, seeing that I was but a child for such a weighty matter. So, at the time appointed, Barbados was set before me, unto which I was required of the Lord to go and leave my dear and loving wife and tender children; for the Lord said unto me, immediately by His Spirit, that He would be as an husband to my wife and as a father to my children, and they should not want in my absence, for He would provide for them when I was gone. And I believed the Lord would perform what He had spoken, because I was made willing to give up myself to His work and service, to leave all and follow Him, whose presence

16. The illustration that one commonly sees, of these three being taken along to the Common with a drummer in front and a small dog cavorting in the foreground, is by William Bell Scott and dates to his own perfervid imagination as of the late date of 1888. Representative [Daniel Gould](#) of [Newport](#) accompanied Friends [Marmaduke Stevenson](#) and [William Robinson](#) to encourage them as they were being [hanged](#) and for that act of sympathy would be “tied to a big gun” and given thirty lashes in [Boston](#) during November 1659.

17. After this execution a military man of highest esteem in the colony, John Hull, whose take on such topics was of course always that of discipline, felt that if ever an enemy deserved to die, then someone who had made themselves an enemy of God especially deserved to be put to death. He wrote in his diary that “the rest of the [Quakers](#) had liberty, if they pleased to use it, to depart the jurisdiction though some of them capitally guilty,” and piously ejaculated into prayer: “The good Lord pardon this timidity of spirit to execute the sentence of God’s Holy Law upon such blasphemous persons.”—One is reminded of the little sermon that was given to the German soldiers used as concentration camp guards, which amounted to “We know this goes against your natural feelings, and we hope you will be able to overcome such weaknesses in yourselves.”

18. Besse. SUFFERINGS, 1753, Volume II, pages 201-2



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

and life is with me, where I rest in peace and quietness of spirit, with my dear brother [Friend William Robinson] under the shadow of His wings, who hath made us willing to lay down our lives for His name's sake, if unmerciful men be suffered to take them from us. And, if they do, we know we shall have rest and peace with the Lord for ever in His holy habitation, when they shall have torment night and day.

So, in obedience to the living God, I made preparation to pass to Barbados in the Fourth month [June] 1658. So, after some time that I had been on the said island in the service of God, I heard that New England had made a law to put the servants of the living God to death if they returned after they were sentenced away, which did come near me at that time; and, as I considered the thing and pondered it in my heart, immediately came to word of the Lord unto me, saying, "Thou knowest not but that thou mayst go thither."

But I kept this word in my heart and did not declare it to any until the time appointed, so, after that, a vessel was made ready for [Rhode Island](#), which I passed in. So, after a little time that I had been there, visiting the seed which the Lord had blessed, the word of the Lord came to me saying, "Go to Boston with thy brother William Robinson," and at His command I was obedient and gave up to His will, that so His work and service may be accomplished. for He had said unto me that He had a great work for me to do, which is now come to pass. And, for yielding obedience to and for obeying the voice and command of the everlasting God, which created heaven and earth and the foundations of waters, do I, with my dear brother, suffer outward bonds near unto death.

And this is given forth to be upon record, that all people may know who hear it, that we came not in our own will but in the will of God.

Given forth by me, whom am know to men by the name of MARMADUKE STEVENSON, but have a new name given me, which the world knows not of, written in the book of life.



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

It turned out that the plan of the authorities was only to frighten this Quaker woman by the sentence of death and the witnessing of the execution of her fellow ministers. When it came time for her to be “turned off” – as the expression then was– upon the gallows tree, the authorities announced that she had been reprieved. Her bonds were loosed.



One of the Bostonians in the assembly, one John Chamberlain, however, announced then and there that he had been converted into a [Quaker](#), and he was taken back to town and thrown in jail. Shortly afterward, that jail released 17 religious prisoners.

After not being hanged, Friend Mary Dyer once again wrote to the court:¹⁹

19. Sewell, William. THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE, AND PROGRESS, OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. A NEW EDITION IN TWO VOLUMES. Philadelphia PA: Uriah Hunt, 1832, Volume I, pages 256-7



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

**LETTER TO THE GENERAL COURT AT BOSTON,
AFTER BEING UNEXPECTEDLY REPRIEVED,
28TH OF 8TH MONTH, 1659.**

Once more to the general court assembled in Boston, speaks Mary Dyar, even as before. My life is not accepted, neither availeth in comparison of the lives and liberty of the Truth, and servants of living God, for which in the bowels of loved and meekness I sought you: yet, nevertheless, with wicked hands have you put two of them to death, which makes me to feel, that the mercies of the wicked are cruelty. I rather choose to die than to live, as from you, as guilty of their innocent blood: therefore seeing my request is hindered, I leave you to the righteous Judge, and searcher of all hearts, who, with the pure measure of light he hath given to every man to profit withal, will in his due time let you see whose servants you are, and of whom you have taken counsel, which I desire you to search into: but all his counsel hath been slighted, and you would have none of his reproofs. Read your portion, Prov. i. 24 to 32. For verily the night cometh on you apace, wherein no man can work, in which you shall assuredly fall to your own master. In obedience to the Lord, whom I serve with my spirit, and pity to your souls, which you neither know nor pity, I can do no less than once more to warn you, to put away the evil of your doings; and kiss the Son, the light in you, before his wrath be kindled in you; for where it is, nothing without you can help or deliver you out of his hand at all; and if these things be so, then say, there hath been no prophet from the Lord sent amongst you; though we be nothing, yet it be his pleasure, by things that are not, to bring to nought things that are.

When I heard your last order read, it was a disturbance to me, that was so freely offering up my life to him that gave it to me, and sent me hither so to do, which obedience being his own work, he gloriously accompanied with his presence and peace, and love in me, in which I rested from my labour; till by your order and the people, I was so far disturbed, that I could not retain any more of the words thereof, than that I should return to prison, and there remain forty and eight hours, to which I submitted, finding nothing from the Lord to the contrary, that I may know what his pleasure and counsel is concerning me, on whom I wait therefore, for he is my life, and the length of my days; and as I said before, I came at his command, and go at his command.

Mary Dyar.



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Famous Last Words:



“What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth.”

— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787



“The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows.”

—Thoreau’s JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1601	Tycho Brahe	unsolicited comment	<i>“Let me not seem to have lived in vain.”</i>
1618	Sir Walter Raleigh	his wife would embalm his head and keep it near her in a red leather bag	<i>“Strike, man, strike.”</i>
1649	Charles I	the chopper was to wait for a signal that the king had prepared himself	<i>“Stay for the sign.”</i>
1659	Friend Marmaduke Stevenson and Friend William Robinson	unsolicited comments made over the muting roll of a drum intended to prevent such remarks from being heard	<i>Friend Marmaduke: “We suffer not as evil-doers but for conscience’ sake.” Friend William: “I die for Christ.”</i>
1660	Friend Mary Dyer	asked at her execution whether they should pray for her soul	<i>“Nay, first a child; then a young man; then a strong man, before an elder of Christ Jesus.”</i>
... other famous last words ...			

November: In the previous month [Friend Daniel Gould](#) of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) had elected to accompany Friends [Marmaduke Stevenson](#) and [William Robinson](#) to encourage them as they were being [hanged](#) as [Quakers](#) in [Boston](#). For that act he was “tied to a big gun” and given thirty stripes.



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FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

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1660

May: Friend [Mary Dyer](#), mother of six, banished from Massachusetts for preaching in the [Quaker](#) mode, returned to [Boston](#) to continue her outreach and was condemned to be [hanged](#).²⁰



CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

20. In general, it was the custom in Massachusetts to dispose of troublesome [Quaikers](#) by [hanging](#) for only three years, from 1659 through 1661. In 1945, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts would rectify this error in this one egregious case by spending \$12,000.⁰⁰ to erect a statue in the memory of this preacher.



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

June 1, Friday (Old Style): Friend [Mary Dyer](#) of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) was escorted along a back way about a mile from the jail near what is now Dover Street at Washington Street to the municipal gallows on [Boston Neck](#), at the edge of town on the path leading to Roxbury and life and freedom,



Friend Mary was once again asked politely, whether she could commit that she would go away and stay away.

Nay, I cannot, for in obedience to the will of the Lord, I came, and in his will I abide faithful to the death.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

As Friend Mary's body swung on the [gallows](#) a local wit, [Major-General Humphrey Atherton](#), came up with something to yell out to the rubbernecks. If the minister was not yet strangled into unconsciousness at that point, we may hope that the marvelous and spontaneous summation this Major-General unintentionally uttered could be the last thing she heard:²¹

She hangs there as a flag!

21. One wonders whether her husband [William Dyer](#) and her five boys William, Jr., Samuel, Henry, Mahershallalhashbaz, and Charles were present on the occasion of this scheduled public ceremony — the record we have of their lives is entirely silent on this score so the presumption unfortunately may need to be that they had absented themselves, deliberately leaving their errant wife and mother to face the Boston gallows entirely alone; I also do not know whether her Quaker son William, Jr. was at this point already convinced, or became a [Quaker](#) only later. This is the way, however, that historians today fudge the probability that Friend Mary had in her extremity been deserted not only by her husband but also by her offspring: “A small group of colonists had gathered around the walls of the prison in the vain hope of getting word to the prisoner. Earlier, when she had been found talking with friends gathered around her prison window, she had been moved to a remote part of the prison where none could speak or signal to her. All night the faithful band of friends remained outside the walls” (Page 1 of Robert S. Burgess's *TO TRY THE BLOODY LAW / THE STORY OF MARY DYER* (Burnsville NC: Celo Valley Books, 2000)).



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

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“THE LORD HATH SENT ME HERE TO DIE LIKE STEPHEN AT THE FEET OF SAUL”



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Famous Last Words:



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They buried the body near where they hanged her, south of Dover Street on the east of what is now Washington Street. Perhaps it is there still — or perhaps not, for an undiseased fresh female cadaver would have been quite a prize for the “resurrectionists” who regularly exhumed such for sale to local physicians.²²

A Boston sheriff at the scene, Edward Wanton, after going home and discussing the events of this day with his mother, became a [Quaker](#).²³

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

22. I have been indignantly informed via email that Friend [Mary Dyer](#) was hanged from the Great Elm on Boston Common, because near the Common now there’s a sort of officious monument (but not at the spot where the Great Elm had been located), and the inscription at the base of said monument reads in part: “Witness for Religious Freedom — Hanged on Boston Common 1660 — ‘My life not availeth me in comparison to the Liberty of the Truth.’” QED, this email concluded, the historical record that she was hanged at the gallows on Boston Neck, and her body discarded there, can only be in error.



“MARIE BARRETT”

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1661

September 16, Monday (Old Style): [Major-General Humphrey Atherton](#) was on his way somewhere on horseback when he passed by the spot at which Quakers had ordinarily been being cut loose from the cart behind which they had been lashed through the colony, just before being turned out into the wilderness. At this spot his horse was spooked by a cow and Atherton was thrown hard, striking his head.


A


Chronological TABLE

*Of the most remarkable passages in that part of
America, known to us by the name of NEW-
ENGLAND.*

Anno Dom.

1661. Major Atherton Dyed in New-England.

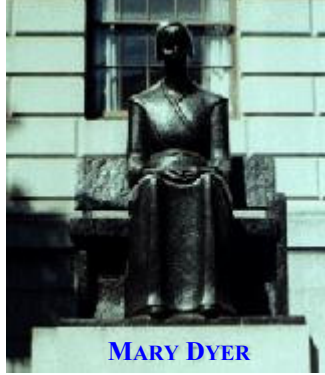
Since it was this man who had on June 1, 1660 mocked the hanging body of Friend [Mary Dyer](#),  the bloody-minded among the [Quakers](#) would note with satisfaction as a punishment by God that the officer's eyes were out of their sockets, he had brain tissue coming out of his nose and blood dripping out of his ears, and his

23. Major-General Atherton would be on his way somewhere on horseback on September 16, 1661,  when he would pass by the spot at which Quakers had ordinarily been being cut loose from the cart behind which they had been lashed through the colony, just before being turned out into the wilderness. At this spot his horse was spooked by a cow and Atherton was thrown hard, striking his head. The bloody-minded among the [Quakers](#) would note with satisfaction as a punishment by God that the officer's eyes were out of their sockets, he had brain tissue coming out of his nose and blood dripping out of his ears, and his tongue was protruding from between his teeth. (Watch out, ye blasphemers, God'll get you!)

Michael Crook <mcrook@IGC.APC.ORG> of the Annapolis Friends Meeting has sent me an email of his oral family history to the effect that “A man named Stanton, I’m forgetting whether it was William or John, was captain of the guard that escorted Mary to the gallows. He’s one of my wife’s ancestors. That day, after the hanging, because of the accepting, compassionate and forgiving demeanor of Mary and other Friends, he said to his mother, ‘Mother, we are persecuting the people of God.’ He became a Friend, was persecuted himself, and eventually moved to Rhode Island, where he married into the Gould family.” This could **not** have been a William Stanton, for the only person of this name on the record would have been much too young during 1660 to have served in such an official capacity, and could **not** have been a John Stanton, for there was such a man attending Harvard College during 1661 but in 1676 this man was a soldier rather than a [Quaker](#). We know of a John Stanton but his only recorded marriage was to a Mary Clark. If this man had married into the Gould family, he would have married a daughter of Representative Daniel Gould of [Newport](#), the gentleman who had accompanied Stephenson and Robinson to encourage them as they were being hanged and for that act of sympathy had been “tied to a big gun” and rewarded with thirty lashes in Boston during November 1659. The putative daughter might have been a Mary born on 2 March 1653, or a Priscilla born on 20 June 1661, or a Content born on 28 April 1671 or a Wait born on 8 May 1676 — but we know nothing of any of the marriages of any of these Gould daughters. The name the Kouroo database has, for the sheriff who went home and spoke to his mother after the hanging and turned Quaker, is Edward Wanton. We do not have the names of his parents. This Boston sheriff was by trade a ship-carpenter and in 1660 was of an age to have a young child and another on the way, and shortly after this hanging of Mary Dyer removed from Boston to [Scituate RI](#). Later, the three of his sons whom we have track of lived in three towns in [Rhode Island](#), and one of them became a long-term governor of the colony at a time when many of that colony’s governors were Quakers, but we do not know of any connection between the Wanton family and the Gould family. Thus, this proffered family history seems to be entirely unsupported.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**FRIEND MARY DYAR****“MARIE BARRETT”****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

tongue was protruding from between his teeth. (Watch out, ye blasphemers, God'll getcha!)



November: A shipload of [Quakers](#) arrived in Boston harbor, among them Friend [Samuel Shattuck](#). He appeared before Governor John Endecott with his hat on, and his hat was struck off. When he presented the king's writ, the governor, sweeping off his own hat, ordered that Shattuck's hat be replaced upon his head. A new era of tolerance of dissenting opinion seemed to have arrived nonviolently, through sheer patience in suffering, for rather than submit to the authority of the mother country by sending its religious prisoners to England for trial, the Boston authorities clearly preferred to take no more religious prisoners, and to release all religious prisoners then in custody. (Friend Samuel Shattuck had managed to arrive just in time to intercept the planned hanging of Friend Winlock Christian. This new era of tolerance would endure all of ten months.)

The obstreperous Quaker witness of this era, which involved the constant disruption of the church services of

HDT

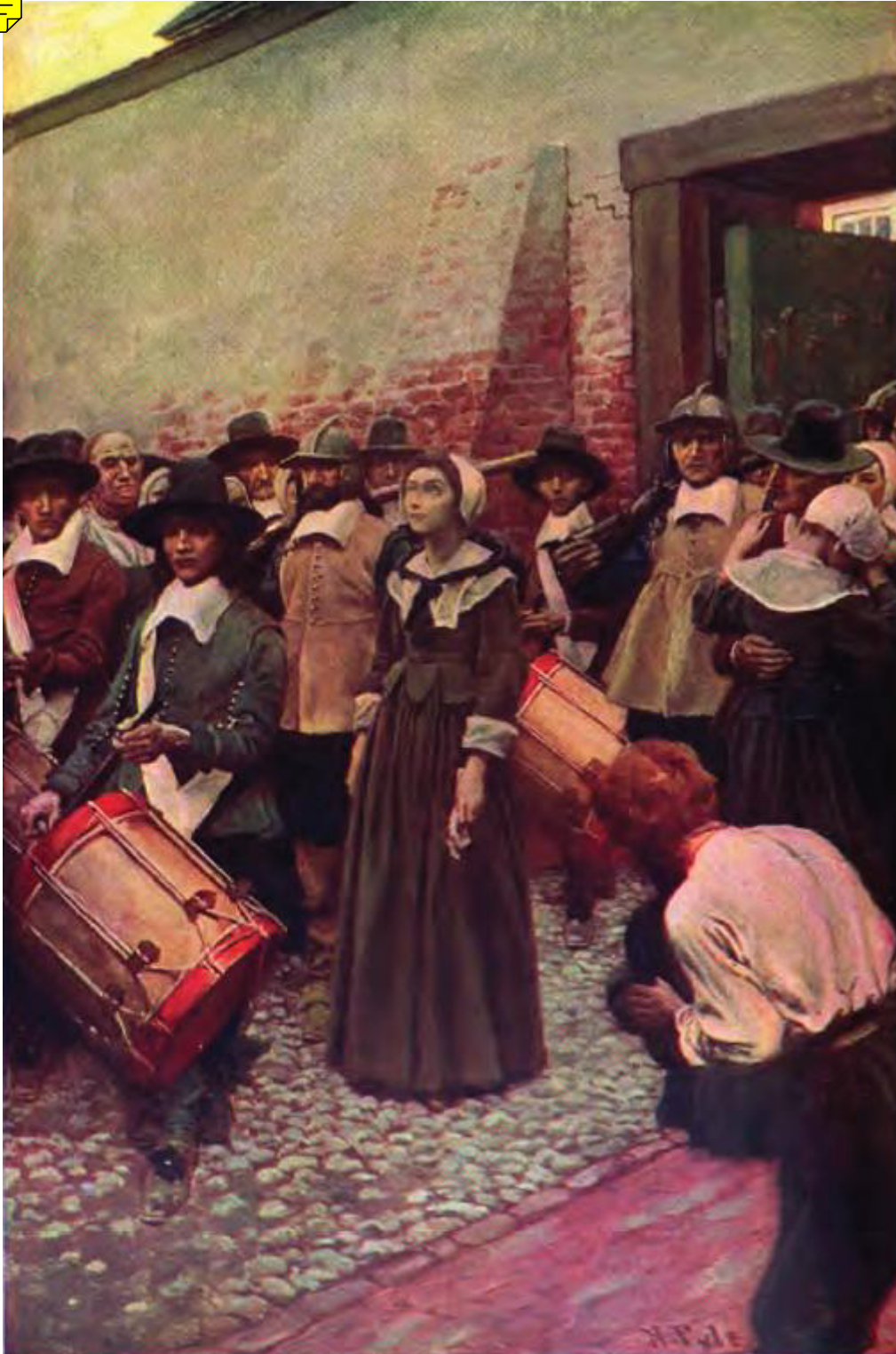
WHAT?

INDEX

“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

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**‘AT HER APPEARING THE MULTITUDE WAS HUSHED, AWED BY THAT
AIR SHE WORE’**



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“MARIE BARRETT”

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other groups, may well be the origin of New England’s “come outer” tradition:

Upon a lecture day at Boston in New England, I was much pressed to Spirit to go into their Worshiphouse among them, where I stood silent until the Man had done Preaching, then my mouth was opened to the People with a word of Exhortation, but through the violence of some of the People was haled to Prison, from whence, about three hours after, they fetched me out to the Court, where I was examined, and so returned to Prison again until the Morning: and into the Court I was brought again, where they had drawn up a Paper against me, as they thought, of what I had said the day before: and they said, *Come thou Vagabond, and hear this paper read with two Witnesses, their Hands to it, for we will handle thee:* and I said, *Read on;* Where I stood until they had done: And they asked me, *Whether I owned it, or no:* and I said, *Yea, every Word and would make it good by sound Proof if I might have Liberty to speak.* But they cried, *Away with him;* and some took me by the Throat and would not suffer me to answer it, but hurried me down Stairs, to the Carriage of a great Gun, which stood in the Market-Place, where I was stripped and tied to the Wheel and whipped with Ten Stripes, and then loosed, and tied to a Cart’s-tail; and whipped with Ten more to the Town’s End; and at *Roxbury*, at a Cart’s-tail, with other Ten; and at *Dedham*, at a Cart’s-tail, with Ten more, and then sent into the Woods.

—Thomas Newhouse, per AN ADDITION TO THE BOOK... by Ellis Hookes

Prior to the manifesto that had been issued by Friend [George Fox](#) and a few other elder Quaker males on January 21st of this year, [Quakers](#) had not been predominantly pacifist. George Bishop had, in NEW ENGLAND JUDGED, PART I, described in detail the treatment accorded to such unregulable religious dissenters in New England, and this book had come to Charles II’s attention. Upon the urging of one of the Quakers who had been expelled from [Boston](#), subsequent to his coronation on April 23rd the king had signed a *mandamus* requiring that henceforth all such cases should be forwarded to England for their trial, and had entrusted this paper to Friend Samuel Shattuck of Salem, who had himself recently been expelled from the Bay Colony.

In result of this communication from the king, the death penalty for Quakers would be rescinded, the only thing left being a somewhat less Draconian “Cart and Whip Act.” When Friend Wenlock Christison and 27 other Quakers would be dragged from the prison behind carts and whipped to the borders of the colony, they would



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there find themselves untied and released rather than martyred by the neck until dead.



Eventually, in 1884, a memorial would be created in Boston in honor of Friend Nathaniel Sylvester of Shelter Island (so named because he sheltered Quakers there), and the four [hanged](#) Quaker ministers William Ledra, Marmaduke Stevenson, William Robinson, and Mary Dyer:



In a somewhat related piece of news, this year Massachusetts was censuring the Reverend [John Eliot](#) for an antimonarchical attitude.

In another somewhat related piece of news, the town meeting of Hartford CT in this year would vote to extend a limited degree of tolerance toward a particular family of wayfarers, despite the fact that they were Unchristians: “The [Jews](#), which at present live in John Marsh his house, have liberty to sojourn in the town seven months.”



To oversimplify perhaps, the town meeting solved the problem of enforcement by evading it. The meeting gave institutional expression to the imperatives of peace. In the meetings consensus was reached, and individual consent and group opinion were placed in the service of social conformity.



— Michael Zuckerman, ALMOST CHOSEN PEOPLE:
OBLIQUE BIOGRAPHIES IN THE AMERICAN GRAIN,
1993, page 59

Now here is Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)’s somewhat tendentious and overly positive later rendition of the main dramatic scene of this year:



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

THE KING’S MISSIVE

1661

Under the great hill sloping bare
To cove and meadow and Common lot,
In his council chamber and oaken chair,
Sat the worshipful Governor Endicott.

A grave, strong man, who knew no peer,
In the Pilgrim land, where he ruled in fear
Of God, not man, and for good or ill
Held his trust with an iron will.

He had shorn with his sword the cross from out
The flag and cloven the may-pole down,
Harried the heathen round about
And whipped the Quakers from town to town.

His brow was clouded, his eye was stern,
With a look of mingled sorrow and wrath;
“Woe’s me,” he murmured: “at every turn
The pestilent Quakers are in my path!

Some we have scourged, and banished some,
Some hanged, more doomed, and still they come,
Fast as the tide of yon bay sets in,
Sowing their heresy’s seed of sin.

“Did we count on this? Did we leave behind
The graves of our kin, the comfort and ease
Of our English hearths and homes, to find
Troublers of Israel such as these?

Shall I spare? Shall I pity them? God forbid!
I will do as the prophet to Agag did:
They come to poison the wells of the Word,
I will hew them in pieces before the Lord!”

The door swung open, and Rawson the clerk
Entered, and whispered under breath,
“There waits below for the hangman’s work
A fellow banished on pain of death—

Shattuck, of Salem, unhealed of the whip,
Brought over in Master Goldsmith’s ship
At anchor here in a Christian port,
With freight of the devil and all his sort!”

Twice and thrice on the chamber floor
Striding fiercely from wall to wall,
“The Lord do so to me and more,”
The Governor cried, “if I hang not all!”

“Bring hither the Quaker.” Calm, sedate,
With the look of a man at ease with fate,
Into that presence, grim and dread,
Came Samuel Shattuck, with hat on head.

“Off with the knave’s hat!” An angry hand
Smote down the offence; but the wearer said,
With a quiet smile, “By the king’s command
I bear his message and stand in his stead.”

In the Governor’s hand a missive he laid
With the royal arms on its seal displayed,
And the proud man spake as he gazed thereat,
Uncovering, “Give Mr. Shattuck his hat.”

He turned to the Quaker, bowing low,—
“The king commandeth your friends’ release;
Doubt not he shall be obeyed, although
To his subjects’ sorrow and sin’s increase.

What he here enjoineeth, John Endicott,
His loyal servant, questioneth not.
You are free! God grant the spirit you own
May take you from us, to parts unknown.”

So the door of the jail was open cast,
And like Daniel out of the lion’s den
Tender youth and girlhood passed,
With age-bowed women and gray-locked men.

And the voice of one appointed to die
Was lifted in praise and thanks on high.
Broad in the sunshine stretched away
With its capes and islands, the turquoise bay...

But as they who see not, the Quakers saw
The world about them; they only thought
With deep thanksgiving and pious awe
On the great deliverance God had wrought.

Through lane and alley the gazing town
Noisily followed them up and down;
Some with scoffing and brutal jeer,
Some with pity and words of cheer.

So passed the Quakers through Boston town,
Whose painful ministers sighed to see
The walls of their sheep-fold falling down,
And wolves of heresy prowling free.

But the years went on and brought no wrong;
With milder counsel the State grew strong,
As outward Letter and inward Light
Kept the balance of truth aright.



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

It was all well and good that King Charles II had prohibited further executions of [Quakers](#) in the Massachusetts

... Edward Burrough named Samuel Shattuck, who, being an inhabitant of New England, was banished by their law, to be hanged if he came again; and to him the deputation was granted. Then he sent for Ralph Goldsmith, an honest Friend, who was master of a good ship, and agreed with him for three hundred pounds (goods or no goods) to sail in ten days. He forthwith prepared to set sail, and with a prosperous gale, in about six weeks' time, arrived before the town of Boston in New England, upon a First-day morning.

With him went many passengers, both of New and Old England, Friends, whom the Lord moved to go to bear their testimony against those bloody persecutors, who had exceeded all the world in that age in their bloody persecutions.

The townsmen at Boston, seeing a ship come into the bay with English colours, soon came on board and asked for the captain. Ralph Goldsmith told them he was the commander. They asked him if he had any letters. He said, "Yes." They asked if he would deliver them. He said, "No; not to-day."

So they went ashore and reported that there was a ship full of Quakers, and that Samuel Shattuck, who they knew was by their law to be put to death if he came again after banishment, was among them, but they knew not his errand nor his authority. [Friend [Mary Dyer](#), Friend [William Ledra](#), Friend [Marmaduke Stevenson](#), and Friend [William Robinson](#) had already been executed.]

So all were kept close that day, and none of the ship's company suffered to go on shore. Next morning Samuel Shattuck, the King's deputy, and Ralph Goldsmith, went on shore, and, sending back to the ship the men that landed them, they two went through the town to Governor John Endicott's door, and knocked. He sent out a man to know their business. They sent him word that their business was from the King of England, and that they would deliver their message to no one but the Governor himself.

Thereupon they were admitted, and the Governor came to them; and having received the deputation and the mandamus, he put off his hat and looked upon them. Then, going out, he bade the Friends follow him. He went to the deputy-governor, and after a short consultation came out to the Friends, and said, "We shall obey his majesty's commands."

After this the master gave liberty to the passengers to come on shore, and presently the noise of the business flew about the town; and the Friends of the town and the passengers of the ship met together to offer up their praises and thanksgivings to God, who had so wonderfully delivered them from the teeth of the devourer.

While they were thus met, in came a poor Friend, who, being sentenced by their bloody law to die, had lain some time in irons expecting execution. This added to their joy, and caused them to lift up their hearts in high praise to God, who is worthy for ever to have the praise, the glory, and the honour; for He only is able to deliver, to save, and support all that sincerely put their trust in Him.



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Bay colony, but they weren't about to take that lying down. The Puritans of the colony sent the Reverend John Norton to [London](#) at an expense of £66 to reason with their monarch. The General Court of the colony feared that heretics were being tolerated to “ruin sincere servants of God,” and declared a Day of Humiliation.



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

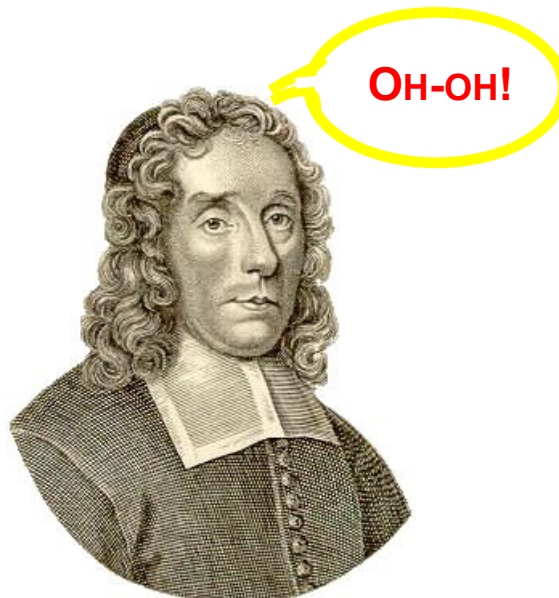
GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1675

In the American colonies, three [Quakers](#), at night, were erecting a memorial over the graves of [Marmaduke Stevenson](#) and [William Robinson](#), the first Quakers to be hanged in Boston (we believe that Friend Edward Wharton of Salem is likely to have been among these three). Here is the inscription on the memorial:

Although our Bodyes here
in silent Earth do lie,
Yet are our Righteous Souls at Rest.
Our Blood for Vengance cry.

Of course such a memorial would cause a great outcry and would promptly be effaced, but the affair was regarded as one of ill omen and in particular, the Reverend Increase Mather was believed to have reacted with fearfulness of its supernatural outcome.



CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

The Reverend Increase Mather pioneered a new form of sermon: the jeremiad. Named after the weeping prophet of old, the jeremiad's purpose was to single out specific groups amid the community for exhortation. Private concerns began to be recognized in the sermons, in particular the magistrates of the law. The jeremiad would play a key role in Mather's activities to save the future generations of Puritans. A large part of the problem lay in the overwhelming corruptness of the third generation, a problem which their parents did little or nothing to stop. Gradually the interests of New England were shifting from a religious aspect to a more worldly one. The older generation –Mather and his contemporaries– looked upon the Church of New England as a direct tie with the historical, Apostolic Church of old. As the community started to pull away from the traditions of their forefathers, the Church began to become more and more identified with New England as a whole. The colony had a Divine mission; like Israel of old, they were the chosen people of God, a model, a “citie” set upon a hill. Thus, ministers felt even more the need to reform the land.



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1677

December 24, Monday (Old Style): [William Dyer](#) died on or before this date. Unlike his wife, and his son Will, he had never become a [Quaker](#).



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1685

August 5, Wednesday (Old Style): As Magistrate Samuel Sewall was riding from [Boston](#) to Dorchester Lecture, he noticed that a few feet of ground had been enclosed with boards,

which is done by the [Quakers](#) out of respect to some one or more [hung](#) and buried near the gallows though the governor forbade them when they asked leave.

This would have been the location of the hollow into which the bodies of [Marmaduke Stevenson](#) and [William Robinson](#) had been dumped on Boston Common, where in 1675 at night three Friends (one of them probably Friend Edward Wharton of Salem) had put up an illegal memorial. The marker that they had also put up had been immediately effaced by the citizenry, leaving only their little fence of boards:

Although our Bodyes here
in silent Earth do lie,
Yet are our Righteous Souls at Rest.
Our Blood for Vengance cry.



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1728

In his diary, the Reverend [John Comer \(3\)](#) of [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#) wrote of the “murder” of “Mary Dye.”

DYER OR DYRE

SOME PAGES OF THE DIARY

The Reverend described a small earthquake, a shipwreck, the ordination of John Adams, the apparent precognition of Deborah Grinman of Narragansett of her own death by lightning, a dispute between the Reverend Mr. Daniel White and his congregation, the pursuit of a pirate schooner by Captains Clark and Elliot, the appearance of an aurora borealis, and the drowning of William Gardner, Stephen Mumford, David Mumford, Peter Ayrault, and two unnamed negroes while smuggling in prohibited goods from Holland. Memorable phrase:

“There was no Publick Singing till I came and by ye blefsing of heaven Introduced it.”



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1740

The General Court of Massachusetts, upon the suggestion of the royal governor, Jonathan Belcher, considered awarding to a descendent of [Friend Mary Dyer](#), one Samuel Dyer, a sum of money in compensation for sufferings inflicted by [Boston](#) upon his ancestor. The offer of blood money was declined, the descendant writing to the court that he found “their sense of the injury and injustice committed” to be sufficient for him and his family. He added that they

freely forgave all the actors in that dismal catastrophe.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

COLDBLOODED MURDER



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1828



In a novel RACHEL DYER, a failed Quaker from Maine named John Neal, who had sought [disownment](#) from the [Religious Society of Friends](#), reworked the [Mary Dyer/Anne Hutchinson](#) stories in the context of Salem [witchcraft](#), initially for [Blackwood's Magazine](#).



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1857

In [Rhode Island](#), Elisha Dyer, a descendant of [William Dyer](#) and [Mary Dyer](#), became the governor.

DYER OR DYRE

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

The daybooks for the Machine Shop business at [Saylesville](#) indicate that at this point its primary activity was the manufacture of braid, in particularly laces, for the Greene and Daniels Mill in Pawtucket, for a wholesale outlet in Philadelphia, etc.



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1865

Emma Stebens prepared an authoritative statue of Horace Mann, Sr. for the State House grounds in downtown [Boston](#).²⁴

24. It would be only later that this paradigmatic dead-white-male erection would be flanked as now by the bronzes in honor of Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#) on the one side and Friend [Mary Dyer](#) on the other — of which one might be adorned with the locution “You have stepped out of your place, you have rather been a husband than a wife,” the other with the locution “My life not availeth me in comparison to the liberty of truth.”

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“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1869

August: Bronson Alcott wrote to [Julia Ward Howe](#) in [Rhode Island](#):

You invite my views on the subject of your proposed American Woman's Suffrage Association. I am accustomed to defer to woman the questions that are properly hers. But I will venture say that women ought to be admitted to full citizenship, via these measures: The Convention, The Lecture, The Press, and The Conversation, especially the last named, as being the simplest, the most natural, and in keeping with this humane reform. I trust your American Suffrage Association will be organized on the broadest principles, and set its machinery in motion forthwith.

At this point, it would seem, Alcott must have been wrapping up the work he had been doing since April, of preparing materials for a book on CONCORD DAYS that would see publication in 1872.²⁵

During this year the US Navy purchased what remained above water level of the [Goat Island](#), which once had been part of the farm of Friend [Mary Dyer](#), in [Newport](#) harbor. This would be the site for their Newport Torpedo Station. Its Mark 14 proximity torpedo was to be developed there, as the brainchild of Ralph Waldo Christie.



25. Bronson Alcott. CONCORD DAYS. Boston MA: Roberts Brothers, 1872 [bound in green cloth, blind-stamped; “Concord Days” stamped in gold in center of front cover; spine stamped in gold; brown wove endpapers]



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1880

As of this year, the naval torpedo facilities at what little of [Goat Island](#), which once had been part of the farm of Friend [Mary Dyer](#), in [Newport](#) harbor, had not been washed away by the tides and the years, had been built up to this level:



At the mill in [Saylesville, Rhode Island](#), an iron water turbine replaced the breast-style water wheel. The Moffetts seem to have been discontinuing their manufacture of braid in favor of the construction of wagons and of the manufacture of ice tip-ups.²⁶ The family was also raising hives of bees for beeswax (dentists used quantities of such wax in molds for dentures and false teeth).

26. The ice tilt or ice tip-up was a flag or semaphore device used by ice fishermen to indicate when a line needed tending.



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1884

A memorial was created in [Boston](#) in honor of Friend Nathaniel Sylvester of Shelter Island, and the four hanged [Quaker](#) ministers [William Ledra](#), [Marmaduke Stevenson](#), [William Robinson](#), and [Mary Dyer](#):



Famous Last Words:



“What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth.”

— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787



“The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows.”

—Thoreau’s JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1601	Tycho Brahe	unsolicited comment	<i>“Let me not seem to have lived in vain.”</i>
1618	Sir Walter Raleigh	his wife would embalm his head and keep it near her in a red leather bag	<i>“Strike, man, strike.”</i>
1649	Charles I	the chopper was to wait for a signal that the king had prepared himself	<i>“Stay for the sign.”</i>



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1659	Friend Marmaduke Stevenson and Friend William Robinson	unsolicited comments made over the muting roll of a drum intended to prevent such remarks from being heard	<i>Friend Marmaduke: “We suffer not as evil-doers but for conscience’ sake.” Friend William: “I die for Christ.”</i>
1660	Friend Mary Dyer	asked at her execution whether they should pray for her soul	<i>“Nay, first a child; then a young man; then a strong man, before an elder of Christ Jesus.”</i>
<i>... other famous last words ...</i>			

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FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1890



The memory of Captain [Oliver Hazard Perry](#) was assured by the reissuance of a particularly repulsive 90-cent stamp:



The “defense” industry was alive and well, as witness this illustration of the torpedo-manufacturing station at what little still remained of what had been [Goat Island](#) in [Narragansett Bay](#):



(Mary had been a Dyer, or so it seems — and her farm at this point had come to grow only a crop of death.)

MARY DYER

RHODE ISLAND



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1892

W.D. O'Connor's THE CARPENTER, a sequel to his 1866 THE GOOD GRAY POET in which he even more straightforwardly portrayed Walt Whitman as a Christ figure.²⁷

Whitman managed an oblique reference to the hanged Friend [Mary Dyer](#) in his NOVEMBER BOUGHS, in a snippet anent the [Hicksite](#)/Orthodox split among Friends, as an assertion regarding there having been “no persecution worth mentioning” of Friends in America subsequent to her hanging:

“The Separation”

Note. — The Separation. — The division vulgarly call'd between Orthodox and Hicksites in the Society of Friends took place in 1827, '8 and '9. ...A reviewer of the old dispute and separation made the following comments on them in a paper ten years ago: “It was in America, where there had been no persecution worth mentioning since Mary Dyer was hang'd on Boston Common, that about fifty years ago differences arose, singularly enough upon doctrinal points of the divinity of Christ and the nature of the atonement. Whoever would know how bitter was the controversy, and how much of human infirmity was found to be still lurking under broad-brim hats and drab coats, must seek for the information in the Lives of Elias Hicks and of Thomas Shillitoe, the latter an English Friend, who visited us at this unfortunate time, and who exercised his gifts as a peacemaker with but little success. The meetings, according to his testimony, were sometimes turn'd into mobs. The disruption was wide, and seems to have been final. Six of the ten yearly meetings were divided; and since that time various sub-divisions have come, four or five in number. There has never, however, been anything like a repetition of the excitement of the [Hicksite](#) controversy; and Friends of all kinds at present appear to have settled down into a solid, steady, comfortable state, and to be working in their own way without troubling other Friends whose ways are different.”

(It is to be noted that Walt Whitman forwards the notion that Friend [Mary Dyer](#) was hanged on Boston Common despite the fact that there is no preserved historical evidence whatever that she had not been hanged at the usual place for such events — at the municipal gallows on the Boston Neck.)

Had he made a more careful study of the records of Revolutionary persecution of male Friends, persecution in which our Peace Testimony was taken to be equivalent to traitorous Loyalism to the Crown, of course Whitman would have been able to forward no such simplistic opinion.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

27. NOVEMBER BOUGHS, published in this year of Walt Whitman's death, contains additional material on the [Hicksite](#) split among Friends:



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Walt Whitman also mentioned, in NOVEMBER BOUGHS, a collection of 5,000 poems that had been donated to [Brown University](#):

“Five Thousand Poems”

There have been collected in a cluster nearly five thousand big and little American poems — all that diligent and long-continued research could lay hands on! The author of ‘Old Grimes is Dead’ commenced it, more than fifty years ago; then the cluster was pass’d on and accumulated by C. F. Harris; then further pass’d on and added to by the late Senator Anthony, from whom the whole collection has been bequeath’d to Brown University. A catalogue (such as it is) has been made and publish’d of these five thousand poems — and is probably the most curious and suggestive part of the whole affair. At any rate it has led me to some abstract reflection like the following.

I should like, for myself, to put on record my devout acknowledgment not only of the great masterpieces of the past, but of the benefit of **all** poets, past and present, and of **all** poetic utterance — in its entirety the dominant moral factor of humanity’s progress. In view of that progress, and of evolution, [Page 1185] the religious and aesthetic elements, the distinctive and most important of any, seem to me more indebted to poetry than to all other means and influences combined. In a very profound sense **religion is the poetry of humanity**. Then the points of union and rapport among all the poems and poets of the world, however wide their separations of time and place and theme, are much more numerous and weighty than the points of contrast. Without relation as they may seem at first sight, the whole earth’s poets and poetry — *en masse* — the Oriental, the Greek, and what there is of Roman — the oldest myths — the interminable ballad-romances of the Middle Ages — the hymns and psalms of worship — the epics, plays, swarms of lyrics of the British Islands, or the Teutonic old or new — or modern French — or what there is in America, Bryant’s, for instance, or Whittier’s or Longfellow’s — the verse of all tongues and ages, all forms, all subjects, from primitive times to our own day inclusive — really combine in one aggregate and electric globe or universe, with all its numberless parts and radiations held together by a common centre or verteber. To repeat it, all poetry thus has (to the point of view comprehensive enough) more features of resemblance than difference, and becomes essentially, like the planetary globe itself, compact and orbic and whole. Nature seems to sow countless seeds — makes incessant crude attempts — thankful to get now and then, even at rare and long intervals, something approximately good.



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1896

Mark Twain's PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF JOAN OF ARC, BY THE SIEUR LOUIS DE CONDE appeared in book form.

The Rhode Island Historical Society published Horatio Rogers's MARY DYER OF RHODE ISLAND: THE QUAKER MARTYR THAT WAS HANGED ON BOSTON COMMON. The title of this treatise tells us how accurate the treatise is and what sort of publishing house the Rhode Island Historical Society is, since the sheriff in Boston hanged Friend Mary Dyer not on Boston Common but at the margin of the town where Boston had its gallows, on the neck connecting it with the mainland.

During the last quarter of the century various comic and advertising almanacs had been being issued in Providence, Pawtucket, and Westerly, Rhode Island, and a series of French Catholic almanacs had been published in Woonsocket from 1882 to 1893, and an almanac had been printed in Swedish in Providence in 1894. The annual almanacs being put out in Providence had been becoming more and more of the nature of a business directory, until in this year the label “almanac” was dropped.



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1907

Friend [Mary Dyer](#) was a feature character in a work of fiction “The Hanging of Mary Dyer” by Basil King, the author of “The last Love Feast,” etc., published in McClure’s Magazine, and illustrated from paintings by an illustrator of children’s literature, Howard Pyle. (Curiously, not all Friends have always recognized that this piece, although it purportedly deals with historic circumstances, actually is a work of the imagination. It for instance has Friend Mary as being hanged from the Hanging Elm on Boston Common, when in actuality, on the second occasion when she was hanged by the neck until she was dead, she was hanged at the public gallows which stood at the fortification fence guarding Boston Neck, at the juncture between Boston and Roxbury.)

VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1922

At its Newport Torpedo Station on what little of [Goat Island](#)²⁸ in the harbor of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) still remained above water level, the US Navy began work on its Mark 14 proximity torpedo, the brainchild of Ralph Waldo Christie.

MARY DYER

28. The native name of Goat Island had been Nomsussumuc, and it had been purchased from its local occupiers as early as 1658. The 26 pirates hanged at Gravelly Point in Newport in 1723, between high and low water mark, had been buried on the beach here between high and low water mark. Fort Anne (name to be changed several times) had been built in 1700 and had been still the only fort in Rhode Island at outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Fort Wolcott had been constructed here in 1794. The navy had taken over the island in 1869 and the Naval Torpedo Station begun. The city of Newport would purchase what was left of the island in the 1960s.



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



“THE LORD HATH SENT ME HERE TO DIE LIKE STEPHEN AT THE
FEET OF SAUL”

HDT

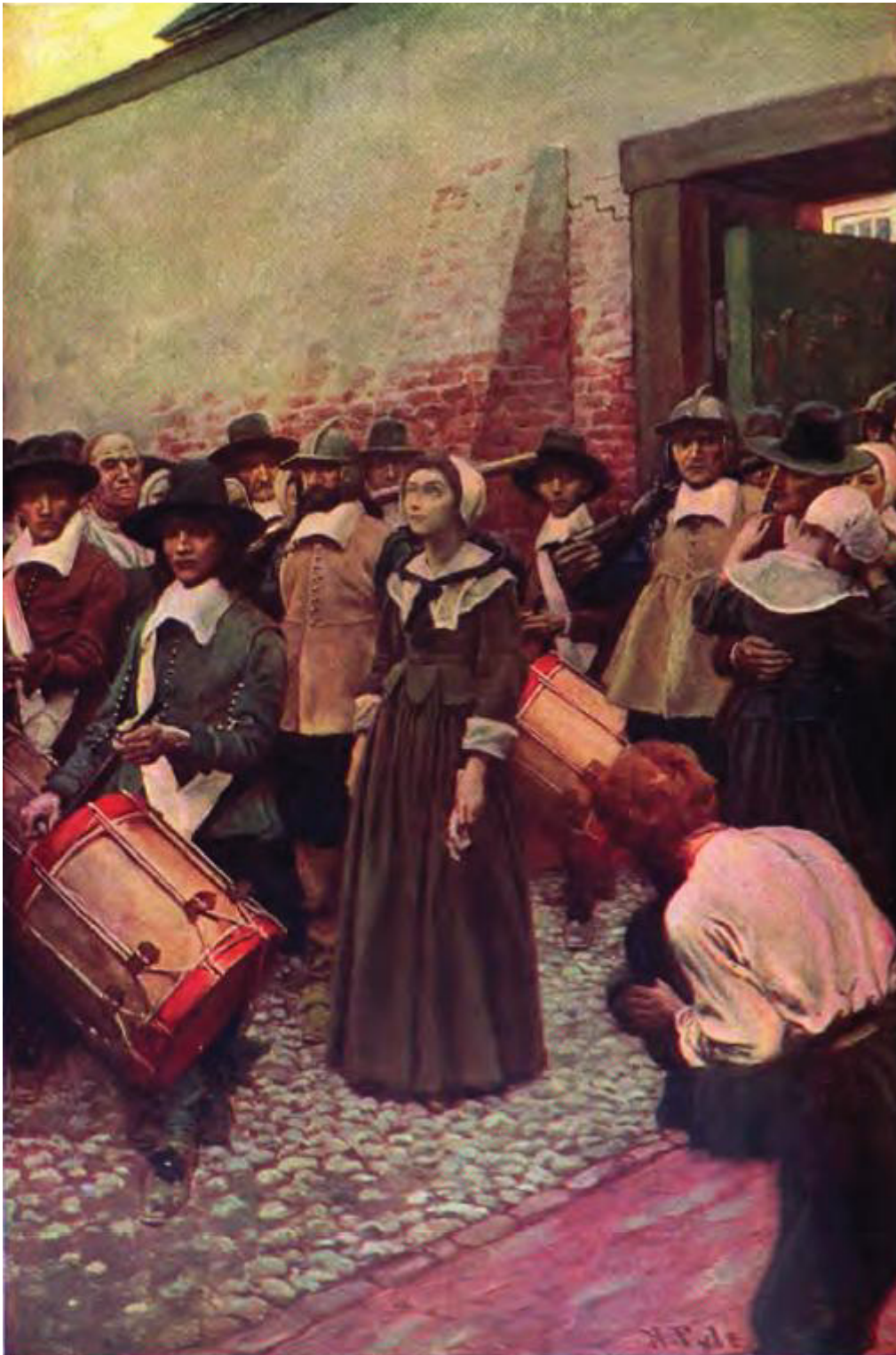
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“MARIE BARRETT”

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‘AT HER APPEARING THE MULTITUDE WAS HUSHED, AWED BY THAT
AIR SHE WORE’



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



“‘I HAVE BEEN RESERVED FOR THIS—TO FREE THE LAND FROM
SPIRITUAL TYRANNY’”



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1924

At its Newport Torpedo Station on what little still remained above water level of [Goat Island](#) in the harbor of [Newport, Rhode Island](#), the US Navy completed the development of a Mark 14 proximity fuse, brainchild of Ralph Waldo Christie, that would fit on the nose of a torpedo.

MARY DYER

During the 1920s the [Ku Klux Klan](#) was active in [Rhode Island](#), with one of its monster rallies being held during June of this year on the Old Home Day grounds of [Foster](#), with 8,000 in attendance and the honor of delivering the keynote address going to a white Protestant man from the South, United States Senator J.



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Thomas Heflin of Alabama.



The focus of this KKK anger in the rural northwest corner of Rhode Island was largely upon the Catholic immigrants of the cities rather than upon the local black citizenry.



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1926

The US Navy allowed Ralph Waldo Christie to fire two of his expensive new Mark 14 proximity torpedoes at an anchored scrap submarine. One of the two went off and the old sub sank! That was the end of expensive live testing, and production of thousands of these torpedoes proceeded forthwith. The torpedoes and fuses the Newport Torpedo Station on what little still remained above water level of what had been [Goat Island](#) in the harbor of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) continued to test with would grow more and more different from the ones that were actually being manufactured and put untested into the naval inventory.

MARY DYER



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1942

[Elbert Russell](#)'s THE HISTORY OF [QUAKERISM](#) (New York: Macmillan Company).²⁹ The Quaker group initiated by Friend Elbert in [Durham, North Carolina](#) would swell with the addition of [conscientious objectors](#) working at the Duke Hospital during [World War II](#).

[Dr. David Tillerson Smith](#) became president of the North Carolina [Tuberculosis](#) Association.

At the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), a summer session was added so that students who would be seniors in the following year could complete their studies before being drafted and going off into “service” in the US military during [World War II](#). At night the city of [Providence](#) was blacked out, to make it harder for the German bombers to fly all the way across the Atlantic Ocean and bomb Providence the way they were flying all the way across the English Channel and bombing London. Military searchlights criss-crossed the skies.

The US Navy began to make use of Rear Admiral Ralph Waldo Christie's³⁰ expensive new Mark 14 proximity torpedoes in live combat situations. Field commanders reported back again and again from the battle zones: “This new torpedo doesn't go off.” The Bureau of Ordinance, of course, refused to credit such reports. At the Newport Torpedo Station on what little still remained above water level of what had once been [Goat Island](#) in the harbor of [Newport](#), production of the deficient devices continued apace.



29. This book would receive the [Mayflower Cup](#) award of the [North Carolina](#) Literary and Historical Association for works of nonfiction by local authors.

30. Commander, US Submarine Force, Southwest Pacific (ComSubSoWesPac).

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**FRIEND MARY DYAR****“MARIE BARRETT”****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

Summer: After the US Navy had fired some 800 of Ralph Waldo Christie's expensive new Mark 14 proximity torpedoes in live combat, with many of them failing to go off, someone thought to test the devices and see how deep they were running. The calibration of the depth device on the torpedo was off, and the torpedoes were running about ten feet too deep. Was that why they were refusing to go off, and refusing to blow enemy ships out of the water? If so, a simple adjustment rule-of-thumb would be all that was necessary. At the Newport Torpedo Station on what little still remained above water level of what had once been [Goat Island](#) in the harbor of [Newport, Rhode Island](#), production of the deficient devices continued apace. But, would adjusting these



devices to run at a shallower depth correct the problem? Well, no. According to the design records that had been a problem — but it had evidently not been the whole problem. So, the commanders of American submarines began to inactivate the proximity fuse, and attempt to make these reluctant devices of war explode by colliding them directly against the hull of the target ship, at the waterline. But, would these devices go off when they rammed directly into a ship hull? Well, no. —It seems there was yet another problem. According to the design records, the contact fuse in the device's nose was of such delicate manufacture that when it struck a ship hull it would instantly deform and become inoperative, and therefore not ignite the torpedo's main explosive!

This thing was a dud, it was a dud, it was a dud! This thing was full of the spirit of Friend [Mary Dyer](#) the Quaker martyr — on whose farm it had been developed!



“MARIE BARRETT”

FRIEND MARY DYAR

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1945

When, at the end of [World War II](#), some British members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) went to Buckingham Palace seeking an audience with King George VI, the monarch inquired who these people were. Informed that they were Quakers, he allegedly responded “Oh, I didn’t know that there were any of them left.”

[Dr. Elbert Russell](#) spent the year teaching at Guilford College.

Friend [Rosalind Gower Smith](#) graduated from Duke University in [Durham, North Carolina](#).

Rebelling against their 79-hour work week, some of the [Conscientious Objectors](#) serving as attendants at the Eastern State Mental Hospital in Williamsburg, Virginia refused to report for duty. After extensive negotiations the American Friends Service Committee sent more attendants to the hospital and their work week was pared down to a minimum of 60 hours.

During [WWII](#) 46 alumni of the [Moses Brown School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) had been killed. (Is there a monument to honor their war dead, anywhere on this supposedly-[Quaker](#) campus?)

The legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts revoked the Edict of Banishment which had been enacted against Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#) and authorized \$12,000.⁰⁰ to erect a bronze in the memory of the missionary martyr, Friend [Mary Dyer](#) (the statue would actually depict Friend Nancy St. John, wife of the Headmaster of the [Moses Brown School](#)). In downtown [Boston](#) Nancy now faces the bronze of Mistress Hutchinson.³¹



31. In 1865, a paradigmatic old-school dead-white-male thingie in honor of Horace Mann, sculpted by Emma Stebens, had been positioned on the State House grounds, and so these new bronzes in honor of Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#) and Friend [Mary Dyer](#) were in this era positioned in such a manner as to outflank that old erection — a positioning which has given rise to the idea that the one bronze might be adorned with the so-Mannly locution “You have stepped out of your place, you have rather been a husband than a wife,” the other with the so-Mannly locution “My life not availeth me in comparison to the liberty of truth.”



FRIEND MARY DYAR

“MARIE BARRETT”

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1959

July 9, Thursday: In front of the State House in [Boston](#), dedication of the [Mary Dyer](#) statue by sculptor Sylvia Shaw Judson. She had been the winner of the competition sponsored by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and by Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana, and by the Fairmount Park Commission in Philadelphia.



(The model for this statue was [Friend](#) Nancy St. John, wife of deposed Headmaster George C. St. John at [Moses Brown](#) School in [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#).)

The central inscription reads:

MARY DYER

QUAKER

WITNESS FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

HANGED ON BOSTON COMMON 1660

**“MY LIFE NOT AVAILLETH ME
IN COMPARISON TO THE
LIBERTY OF THE TRUTH”³²**

At about this point an entirely new situation had been inaugurated at the [Moses Brown](#) School. The interests of the school as an institution had decidedly diverged from the interests of the owners in perpetuity of the Moses Brown farm bequest (the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends) when the school had left off being a boarding establishment for Quaker children from all over the New England states and had begun to cater exclusively to local students living with their local families. This was simply because these local students who had become the overwhelming bulk of the student body were not Quakers, nor had their parents any particular interest in Quakerism. What these families needed from the Moses Brown School was an affordable whitebread college-prep education that would prepare their progeny for entry into ivy league colleges. The name of their game was upward mobility over the generations.

So what was the school administration to do? The staff of the school had begun to consist, more and more, of teachers and administrators who had no connection whatever with Quakerism. They were teachers, period. They were administrators, period. –And along would come these representatives from the New England Yearly



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Meeting, and harass them while they were out and about in their function of prepping these upper-middle-class local kiddies for taking their ivy-league matriculation examinations. The things the Quakers wanted were utterly irrelevant — and they owned the place.

The solution was simplicity itself. The school administration delegated teachers and administrators to go turn Quaker and begin to attend the annual get-togethers of the New England Yearly Meeting, and infiltrate the committees that dealt with education issues. The Quakers of course suspected nothing. Pretty soon these infiltrators were more Quaker than the Quakers.

Meanwhile, the Friends monthly meeting in Providence had relocated its meetinghouse from Meeting Street downtown (where the city needed to erect a fire station) to a nearby lot on former Moses Brown farm land, at the corner of Morris Street and Olney Street. This meeting “on campus” would provide a perfect cover story, as the Quaker content of the education offered by the school reached a vanishing point. “Of course Moses Brown School is a Quaker school, see, it’s named after a Quaker! Of course it’s Quaker, look, its football team is named ‘The Quakers’! Look, we have a Quaker meeting on campus! Look, the children are taken over to this meetinghouse once a week, during their class day, to sit in silence for twenty minutes! Look, we actually have a Quaker teacher here, to teach the children how to build boats! Nobody can accuse us of not being a Quaker school!”

To ensure that the Providence monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends remained compliant and convenient for the school, the school’s infiltrators infiltrated its Ministry and Counsel Committee. Once ensconced in this central committee, these infiltrators ensured their continuity by arranging that the only Quaker names that could be nominated by the Nominating Committee once a year, to become new members of this all-important M&C committee, would be names pre-selected by the school’s infiltrators. Thus no “unsafe” person would ever be allowed to become a member of the controlling committee (this is called self-perpetuation). They also ensured their continuity by decreeing that the only issues that could be brought before the meeting’s monthly Meeting for Business were items on the pre-established agenda, and that the M&C

32. [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) has beautifully told the story of [Samuel Shattuck](#)’s mission in his poem, “The King’s Missive.” Henry Wadsworth Longfellow has made the sufferings of the [Quakers](#) the subject of his dramatic poem, “New England Tragedies.” The story of Quaker sufferings is told in George Bishop’s “New England Judged.” The best modern book on the subject is Hallowell’s “Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts.” A total of four [Friends](#) were executed — [William Robinson](#), [Marmaduke Stevenson](#), [William Ledra](#), and [Mary Dyer](#). Even [Waldo Emerson](#) would see a moral in this, although he would come at the facts in a simplified manner:

We are always coming up with the emphatic facts of history in our private experience, and verifying them here. All history becomes subjective; in other words, there is properly no history; only biography. Every mind must know the whole lesson for itself, — must go over the whole ground. What it does not see, what it does not live, it will not know. What the former age has epitomized into a formula or rule for manipular convenience, it will lose all the good of verifying for itself, by means of the wall of that rule. Somewhere, sometime, it will demand and find compensation for that loss by doing the work itself. Ferguson discovered many things in astronomy which had long been known. The better for him. History must be this or it is nothing. Every law which the state enacts indicates a fact in human nature; that is all. We must in ourselves see the necessary reason of every fact, — see how it could and must be. So stand before every public and private work; before an oration of Burke, before a victory of Napoleon, before a martyrdom of Sir Thomas More, of Sidney, of Marmaduke Robinson, before a French Reign of Terror, and a Salem hanging of witches, before a fanatic Revival, and the Animal Magnetism in Paris, or in Providence. We assume that we under like influence should be alike affected, and should achieve the like; and we aim to master intellectually the steps, and reach the same height or the same degradation, that our fellow, our proxy, has done.



FRIEND MARY DYAR

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committee had total control over the setting of this agenda. They also ensured their continuity by decreeing that the only way to bring an issue before the meeting was to get it on the agenda to be discussed at the monthly Meeting for Business. They also ensured their continuity by decreeing that members of M&C could serve two terms, and then if they laid off for one term, would be able to come back.

And, of course, no conflict of interest rules would ever apply. For instance, it would always be perfectly proper for paid employees of the Moses Brown School to sit on the Quaker boards that made decisions about the school, and for paid employees to serve as advocates of the interests of the school in all Quaker discussions of the goings-on at the school. Their self-interested pronouncements would always have full weight, and no accusations of conflict of interest or of concealed agenda could ever be brought. Nor would it ever be possible for the Quakers even to know who was on the school's payroll, or the extent to which these infiltrators were being financially compensated for this infiltration efforts — since it would be a violation of their privacy to ask these people where their money was coming from, or how much was in it for them.

Thus it would come to pass, over the years, that instead of the Quakers controlling the school and its endowment, the school and its endowment would control the Quakers.



“MARIE BARRETT”

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1965

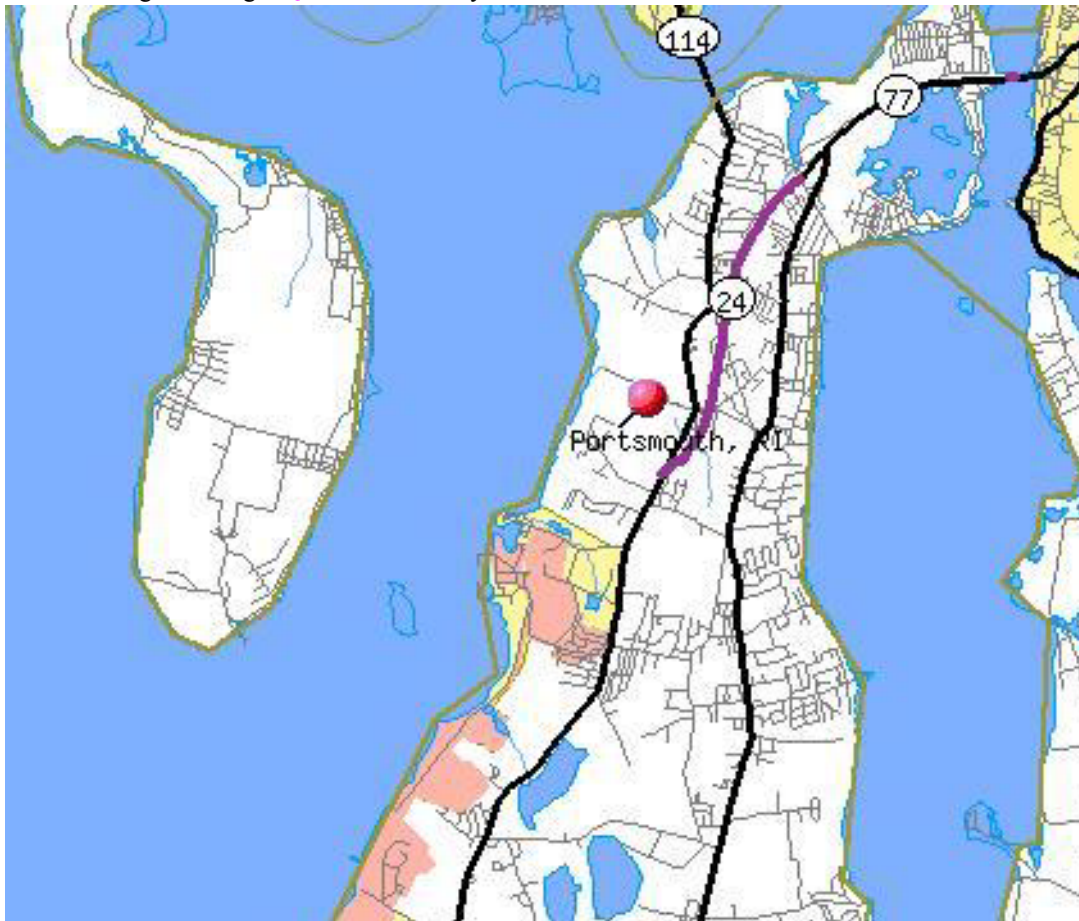
November 2, Tuesday: Outside the Pentagon in Washington DC, making a personal protest against the war in [Vietnam](#), [Friend Norman Morrison](#) handed off his 1-year-old daughter Emily, or put her down, and then immolated himself.³³

33. This Baltimore [Quaker](#) was the husband of Anne Corpening Welsh, a member of the [Durham, North Carolina](#) monthly meeting of Friends (their wedding had been the 1st to be performed in the new meetinghouse, on September 7, 1957). Friend Norman's self-annihilation would apparently spawn other such gestures. For instance, a couple of weeks later a non-Quaker would immolate himself in front of the United Nations in New York City as a protest against the war in [Vietnam](#), and in 2006 a peace activist would immolate himself at the Millennium Flame sculpture on the Kennedy Expressway near downtown Chicago as a protest against wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Perhaps, therefore, it is time for us to take a look at the origins of [Quaker](#) self-martyrdom, something which goes way, way back, all the way back at least to Boston — for when Friend [Mary Dyer](#) traveled there from the safety of her [Aquidneck Island](#) home in the [Narragansett Bay](#) to preach yet again, after once already having been excused and warned by the Puritans only at the foot of the hanging tree on Boston Common, she had well known what fate she was choosing for herself.



[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**FRIEND MARY DYAR****“MARIE BARRETT”****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM****1996**

April 27, Saturday: A memorial was dedicated to Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#), honoring her as a theologian, preacher, wisewoman and religious rebel in colonial America whose profound influence on religious thinking in America is gaining increasing recognition, was placed in Founders Brook Park, [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#). Commemorated with her was Friend [Mary Dyer](#), her friend and loyal supporter who became the only female to be hung for being a [Quaker](#) missionary in Puritan Boston.





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2006

November 3, Friday morning: During our own lifetimes, on November 2, 1965 outside the Pentagon in Washington DC, making a personal protest against war in [Vietnam](#), [Friend](#) Norman Morrison immolated himself, and, on this day almost 41 years to the day later, there was another such self-immolation, this one at the Millennium Flame sculpture on the Kennedy Expressway near downtown [Chicago](#). This time it was peace activist Malachi Ritscher and this time the self-immolator's protest was against war in Iraq and Afghanistan. Perhaps we need to use this occasion take a look at the origins of [Quaker](#) self-martyrdom, something which goes way, way back –all the way back at least to Boston– for when [Friend Mary Dyer](#) traveled there from the safety of her [Aquidneck Island](#) home in the [Narragansett Bay](#) to preach yet again, after once already having been excused and warned by the Puritans only at the foot of the hanging tree on Boston Common, she had well known what fate she was choosing for herself.

While preparing to sacrifice himself Malachi put up the following Love-Is-Anti-Entropy message at <http://www.savagesound.com/gallery99.htm>:

- mission statement -

My actions should be self-explanatory, and since in our self-obsessed culture words seldom match the deed, writing a mission statement would seem questionable. So judge me by my actions. Maybe some will be scared enough to wake from their walking dream state – am I therefore a martyr or terrorist? I would prefer to be thought of as a “spiritual warrior.” Our so-called leaders are the real terrorists in the world today, responsible for more deaths than Osama bin Laden.

I have had a wonderful life, both full and full of wonder. I have experienced love and the joy and heartache of raising a child. I have jumped out of an airplane, and escaped a burning building. I have spent the night in jail, and dropped acid during the sixties. I have been privileged to have met many supremely talented musicians and writers, most of whom were extremely generous and gracious.

Even during the hard times, I felt charmed. Even the difficult lessons have been like blessed gifts.

When I hear about our young men and women who are sent off to war in the name of God and Country, and who give up their lives for no rational cause at all, my heart is crushed. What has happened to my country? We have become worse than the imagined enemy – killing civilians and calling it “collateral damage,” torturing and trampling human rights inside and outside our own borders, violating our own Constitution whenever it seems convenient, lying and stealing right and left, more concerned with sports on television and ring-tones on cell-phones than the future of the world ... half the population is taking medication because they cannot face the daily stress of living in the richest nation in the world.

I too love God and Country, and feel called upon to serve. I can only hope my sacrifice is worth more than those brave lives



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thrown away when we attacked an Arab nation under the deception of “Weapons of Mass Destruction.” Our interference completely destroyed that country, and destabilized the entire region. Everyone who pays taxes has blood on their hands.

I have had one previous opportunity to serve my country in a meaningful way – at 8:05 one morning in 2002, I passed Donald Rumsfeld on Delaware Avenue, and I was acutely aware that slashing his throat would spare the lives of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, of innocent people. I had a knife clenched in my hand, and there were no bodyguards visible; to my deep shame I hesitated, and the moment was past.

The violent turmoil initiated by the United States military invasion of Iraq will beget future centuries of slaughter, if the human race lasts that long. First we spit on the United Nations, then we expect them to clean up our mess. Our elected representatives are supposed to find diplomatic and benevolent solutions to these situations. Anyone can lash out and retaliate, that is not leadership or vision. Where is the wisdom and honor of the people we delegate our trust to?

To the rest of the world we are cowards – demanding Iraq to disarm, and after they comply, we attack with remote-control high-tech video-game weapons. And then lie about our reasons for invading. We, the people, bear complete responsibility for all that will follow, and it won’t be pretty.

It is strange that most if not all of this destruction is instigated by people who claim to believe in God, or Allah. Many sane people turn away from religion, faced with the insanity of the “true believers.” There is a lot of confusion: many people think that God is like Santa Claus, rewarding good little girls with presents and punishing bad little boys with lumps of coal; actually God functions more like the Easter Bunny, hiding surprises in plain sight. God does not choose the Lottery numbers, God does not make the weather, God does not endorse military actions by the self-righteous, God does not sit on a cloud listening to your prayers for prosperity. God does not smite anybody. If God watches the sparrow fall, you notice that it continues to drop, even to its death. Face the truth folks, God doesn’t care, that’s not what God is or does. If the human race drives itself to extinction, God will be there for another couple million years, “watching” as a new species rises and falls to replace us. It is time to let go of primitive and magical beliefs, and enter the age of personal responsibility. Not telling others what is right for them, but making our own choices, and accepting consequences.

“Who would Jesus bomb?” This question is primarily addressing a Christian audience, but the same issues face the Muslims and the Jews: God’s message is tolerance and love, not self-righteousness and hatred. Please consider “Thou shalt not kill” and “As ye sow, so shall ye reap.” Not a lot of ambiguity there. What is God? God is the force of life – the spark of creation. We each carry it within us, we share it with each other. Whether we are conscious of the life-force is a choice we make, every



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minute of every day. If you choose to ignore it, nothing will happen – you are just “less conscious.” Maybe you are less happy (maybe not). Maybe you grow able to tap into the universal force, and increase the creativity in the universe. Love is anti-entropy. Please notice that “conscious” and “conscience” are related concepts.

Why God – what is the value? Whether committee consensus of a benevolent power that works through humans, or giant fungus under Oregon, the value of opening up to the concept of God is in coming to the realization that we are not alone, establishing a connection to the universe, the experience of finding completion. As individuals we may exist alone, but we are all alone together as a people. Faith is the answer to fear. Fear opposes love. To manipulate through fear is a betrayal of trust. What does God want? No big mystery – simply that we try to help each other. We decide to make God-like decisions, rescuing falling sparrows, or putting the poor things out of their misery. Tolerance, giving, acceptance, forgiveness.

If this sounds a lot like pop psychology, that is my exact goal. Never underestimate the value of a pep-talk and a pat on the ass. That is basically all we give to our brave soldiers heading over to Iraq, and more than they receive when they return. I want to state these ideas in their simplest form, reducing all complexity, because each of us has to find our own answers anyway. Start from here....

I am amazed how many people think they know me, even people who I have never talked with. Many people will think that I should not be able to choose the time and manner of my own death. My position is that I only get one death, I want it to be a good one. Wouldn't it be better to stand for something or make a statement, rather than a fiery collision with some drunk driver? Are not smokers choosing death by lung cancer? Where is the dignity there? Are not the people who disregard the environment killing themselves and future generations?

Here is the statement I want to make: if I am required to pay for your barbaric war, I choose not to live in your world. I refuse to finance the mass murder of innocent civilians, who did nothing to threaten our country. I will not participate in your charade – my conscience will not allow me to be a part of your crusade. There might be some who say “it's a coward's way out” – that opinion is so idiotic that it requires no response. From my point of view, I am opening a new door.

What is one more life thrown away in this sad and useless national tragedy? If one death can atone for anything, in any small way, to say to the world: I apologize for what we have done to you, I am ashamed for the mayhem and turmoil caused by my country. I was alive when John F. Kennedy instilled hope into a generation, and I was a sorry witness to the final crushing of hope by Dick Cheney's puppet, himself a pawn of the real rulers, the financial plunderers and looters who profit from every calamity; following the template of Reagan's idiocracy.

The upcoming elections are not a solution – our two party system



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is a failure of democracy. Our government has lost its way since our founders tried to build a structure which allowed people to practice their own beliefs, as far as it did not negatively affect others. In this regard, the separation of church and state needs to be reviewed. This is a large part of the way that the world has gone wrong, the endless defining and dividing of things, micro-sub-categorization, sectarianism. The direction we need is a process of unification, integrating all people into a world body, respecting each individual. Business and industry have more power than ever before, and individuals have less. Clearly, the function of government is to protect the individual, from hardship and disease, from zealots, from the exploitation, from monopoly, even from itself. Our leaders are not wise persons with integrity and vision – they are actors reading from teleprompters, whose highest goal is to stir up the mob. Our country slaughters Arabs, abandons New Orleans, and ignores the dying environment. Our economy is a house of cards, as hollow and fragile as our reputation around the world. We, as a nation, face the abyss of our own design.

A coalition system which includes a Green Party would be an obvious better approach than our winner-take-all system. Direct electronic debate and balloting would be an improvement over our non-representative congress. Consider that the French people actually have a voice, because they are willing to riot when the government doesn't listen to them.

“Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up, and shake off the existing government ...”

– Abraham Lincoln

With regard to those few who crossed my path carrying the extreme and unnecessary weight of animosity: they seemed by their efforts to be punishing themselves. As they acted out the misery of their lives it is now difficult to feel anything other than pity for them.

Without fear, I go now to God – your future is what you will choose today.

Malachi had also put his own “blogobituary” on the internet, at <http://www.savagesound.com/gallery100.htm>:

Malachi Ritscher

- out of time -

Chicago resident Malachi Ritscher passed away last (day of week), a (tragic, baffling, mundane) death at the age of (subtract 1954 from current year). He was the modern day version of a “renaissance man,” except instead of attaining success in several fields, he consistently failed, and didn't really worry too much about it. For example, his boxing record in Golden Gloves. The eldest son of Richard C. Ritscher, a music educator, he collected and played many exotic instruments, without mastering any. Most recently, he had been playing a vintage Conn C-Melody saxophone that once belonged to free-spirit Hal Russell. Malachi was best known for his live concert recordings,



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mostly of local jazz groups who couldn't afford expensive studios. His license plates said AKG C 414, after his favorite microphones. Upwards of fifty recordings were eventually released commercially, with some acclaim for their natural sound. His archive of live recordings he had documented exceeded 2000 shows. Mostly he was just a big fan.

Also he was a film photographer, with a picture of a peregrine falcon chick published in a local Audubon magazine, and related video footage shown on local television news. He wrote poetry that was not published, painted watercolors in a quirky naive style, and participated passionately in the anti-war and free speech movement. He was arrested at a protest on March 20, 2003 and spent the night in jail, then became a member of the pending class-action suit against the City of Chicago. Arrested again two years later, he successfully sued the City of Chicago for false arrest on 1st Amendment/free speech grounds. One of his proudest achievements was an ultra-searing hot sauce recipe, which he registered under the name "Undead Sauce – re-animate yourself!" It was a blend of tropical peppers, which he grew indoors in 5-gallon buckets, and a few secret ingredients that gave it a unique flavor (pomegranate, pistachio, and cinnamon). Born Mark David Ritscher in Dickinson, North Dakota on January 13, 1954, he lived most of his life in the mid-west, ranging from small-town Madison, South Dakota to Chicago, where he moved in 1981, changing his first name to Malachi. As a child, he was intensely afraid of many things, especially heights; he spent the rest of his life trying to face his fears, without ever coming to terms with his fear of people. He dropped out of high school and married at the age of 17, a union that lasted almost 10 years. He became an ordained minister with the Missionaries of the New Truth in 1972, and had performed several weddings. He provided for his family with a variety of trade positions, eventually reaching Journeyman High-Voltage Technician status with the electric utility in Lincoln, Nebraska. He became a Licensed Stationary Engineer in 1987. He was a member of several unions throughout his career, including IBEW, IUOE, and SEIU. He was proud to be a dues-paying proletariat intellectual. After getting divorced, he relocated to Chicago to work with friends in an art-rock band, which inevitably led to forming a trio called "wantnot," recording and releasing a CD in 1990, with Malachi on bass and vocals, Mike Mansfield on guitar, and Janna Brooks on drums. The cover design received an award from the American Center for Design, which didn't increase sales. He also designed skateboard decks, flyers, and t-shirts, with similar commercial results.

He was a collector of several things: books, records, meteorites, butterfly knives, keris, glass eyes, fossil tully monsters, microphones, medium-base lightbulbs, and instruments, especially snare drums. He was a man of strong contrasts, and fierce loyalties. There was a joy of life, which balanced a suspicious misanthropy. Endless pondering of existential gray areas could be interrupted by a totally spontaneous act: jumping



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in his car to drive downtown and participate in the Sears Tower stair-climb (2003). When he read Goethe's words "Nowhere but in his own Montserrat will a man find happiness and peace," his first thought was to find out where it is, and then book a flight there. He had memorized Pi to the 1101 decimal place, and would recite it at will. He could shave with a straight razor. He loved cinnamon rolls. He loved the smell of turpentine. He also loved motorcycles, which he wisely avoided. In the words of Stephen Wright, he was a "peripheral visionary." His sense of humor was droll – he theorized that surprise and not tragedy was the most important element of comedy. His favorite joke was to walk into a room, sniff the air, and observe "it smells like snot in here." His favorite word was "ominous." His favorite two words were "Tahitian hiatus." He always carried his passport with him. He owned and maintained several web-sites:

<http://www.savagesound.com>

<http://www.unwinnablewar.net>

<http://www.killthepresident.net>

<http://www.warwhores.us>

In addition, he was preparing

<http://www.publicparkingparty.org>

... to promote protection of residents' rights in Chicago. A lover of literature, even more than music, he had always dreamed of being a writer. The handwritten manuscript of his "fictional autobiography," titled "Farewell Tour," was under consideration by publishers. It had a general theme of shared universal aloneness, and was controversial for seeming to endorse suicide after the age of fifty. His favorite classic authors were Proust and Shakespeare.

The metaphor for his life was winning the lottery, but losing the ticket. In the end, the loneliness was overwhelming. He was deeply appreciative for everything that had been given to him, but acutely aware that the greater the present, the higher the price. He was a member of Mensa, and of Alcoholics Anonymous since 1990. For him, sobriety was virtually getting a second chance at life. He practiced a personal and private spirituality, seeking to connect across the illusion that separates us from each other. Reportedly, his last words were "rosebud ... oops."

Near his end, he was purchasing real estate in Vancouver with the intention of eventual emigration, unable to reconcile his conscience with his tax dollars financing an unjust war. He frequently took short trips to New York City and New Orleans, where he made more recordings of concerts. Europe seemed more civilized to him, and he experienced Paris and Amsterdam, Germany and Switzerland, as well as Madrid and Barcelona.

His family was far-flung, surviving parents Richard and Betty Ann, older sisters Carol and Susan, younger siblings Paul, Jon, and Ellen; nieces Laurel, Carol, Julia, Jessica, Marissa, and



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nephew Aaron. He had a son, from whom he was estranged (at the son's request), and two grandchildren. He had many acquaintances, but few friends; and wrote his own obituary, because no one else really knew him. He has a plot at Calvary Cemetery in Evanston, Illinois; and the epithet he chose is "I Dreamt That I Was Dreaming."

Bruno Johnson of Okkadisk will have the dubious honor of maintaining archives and dispersing collections.

“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING, HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY



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“It’s all now you see. Yesterday won’t be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago.”

– Remark by character “Garin Stevens”
in William Faulkner’s INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: June 24, 2014



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ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot “Laura” (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.