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REPLY

TO THE

SHAKERS' STATEMENTS,

CALLED A

"REVIEW OF THE PORTRAITURE OF SHAKERISM,"

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SICKNESS AND DEATH

OF

BETSY DYER;

A SKETCH OF THE JOURNEY OF THE AUTHOR:

AND

TESTIMONIES FROM SEVERAL PERSONS.

BY MARY M. DYER,
Author of the "Portraiture of Shakerism."

"*We both labor, and suffer reproach, because we trust in the living God*"—I Tim. iv. 10.

CONCORD:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.
1824.

PREFACE.

It is a thing unexpected for me, to appea again in a publication of this kind. But the old Pharaoh (or Shakers) will not let me go. They have again produced a publication, the materials of which appear to have been obtained through the greatest intrigue, oppression and fallacy of any collection ever heard of. It is strange to me, that people will be so foolish as to fight against light and truth, when their own conscience and knowledge bears witness against them. It is hard for them to kick against the truth it is like fire-brands at the tails of the foxes which caused the destruction of the Philistine's corn. I hope the truth will preven their gathering so great a harvest amon the innocent youth as they have done. don't wish to contend for any thing bu truth.

I make the following remarks, and leav it with the public to judge.

M. M. D.

REPLY, &c.

.N the Shaker book, called a *Review*, page 5, they: ate, "Whereas there is now before the public a *bellous* publication, entitled a "Portraiture of Sha- .erism," published by Mary M. Dyer, *the materials f which she and her accomplices have been more than* ix *years in collecting*."

As to the time, places, and persons who assisted me, I offer the following statement:

In the year 1818, I petitioned the second time for the liberty of my children, which, by fraud, were kept among the Shakers. I found no redress. The reasons offered by the Committee were, there was need of more witnesses of the same nature—if those could be produced there would be a law of protection. I was sensible such might be easily obtained, as many people, who had left the Shakers, were acquainted with similar circumstances. Being willing to do all possible for redress, I moved forward in my duty—which led me among strangers; nothing but a mother's dearest affections could induce me.

My finding the Shakers a banditti, caused such a dread, that at times I declined, when the weight of the cause so rolled on my feelings, I was reduced to a sick bed. After suffering days, with much reasoning in my mind, I would again proceed. All people were strangers, and I went where I was recommended to go by christian friends; and ever requested the people to tell me the truth, and I wanted nothing but the truth. I was not in the presence of but three when the Justice gave to them their oaths on all those attested, which were Joshua

Stevens, Mehitable Pattee, and Clement Beck, as follows:

I, *Clement Beck*, of Weare, do testify, that I am son of Henry and Alice Beck, formerly of Concord, N. H. They joined the Shakers when I was a child—moved to Canterbury, N. H. where I lived with my parents a short time; then was placed in a family of Shakers, under the care of Ezekiel Morrill. Here I began to learn sorrow; I worked in a blacksmith's shop, and from eleven years old to fourteen, I not only worked hard days, but worked many a time all night, heading nails. If I declined, my master would swing his cane over my head, and say, "I will beat you until the blood runs down in streams." I secretly sent to my father that I wished to go away—he came after me. My elder told me I should certainly go to hell if I went away—he talked so frightful, I dare not go. In anguish I fell to the ground, where I cried myself to sleep—through much fear I got away, and stayed in my father's family about a year—then, by orders from the ministry, I was placed in the church family to live. I had brothers and sisters in the church, an equal share of my father's property carried with us. This by order—I was allotted to the blacksmith's trade, where I worked very hard. After I got the trade, a day's work for me was to make eight hoes, or six scythes, or six axes in a day. I worked seven years, and was not allowed, neither did I go forty-five rods from the shop; then I passed my bounds, went a few rods beyond a rise—where I could have more prospect—for this I was punished, though I was twenty-two years old. In consequence of hard work, I have been so decrepid and in such pain, that I could not lay upon a bed; what sleep I had, for three months at a time, was when setting in a chair—meantime work hard days. They allow of no indulgence—they teach their subjects that the more work they do, the greater treasure they will lay up in heaven—and such as will not work for this prize, are punished to make them work. I lost no time, but work-

ed in this manner until I was thirty-eight years old—the last of the time I had the care of the shop—although, for a trifling offence, they treated me so unreasonable, I was glad to leave them. I was brought to such distress, life was no object, if I could have died suddenly—but to stay as I was, in such a lingering tormented dying state. To go away, I thought would be offensive to God—and I was in years, and ignorant of education or information—nothing to help myself with but my labor—and the best of my days for health were gone. They would not allow me any thing for my work—meantime said, I had done to the amount of two thousand dollars worth, extra of my expense to them; neither would they let me have so much with interest as I had of my father's property. The reason they gave was, because I had signed their Covenant; this is required soon after we become of age. I knew nothing about law, or the effect of the Covenant when I signed it. The elder said it was the orders, and if I did not sign it I should be out of union—and could not be owned, and if I held back, God would hold my blessing from me—but if I would sign I should come into full union, and should have that heavenly treasure which I had been laboring for. I believed and obeyed, and endeavored to be as faithful to them as possible—but never found the blessing which was promised—but found many grievous hours. Many of their subjects, I think, would not stay there under such slavery and bondage, if they thought there was any other way for eternal happiness; but there is such absolute testimonies against all other way of salvation, it weakens their confidence in every thing else, and destroys the power of mind to escape. At the time I offended them, they falsely accused me of crimes, then requested me to kneel before the Society and own it—I dare not, I knew it was false, and believed they did it to shame me before the Society; reason would teach that I was vexed with abusing language in addition, all of which was very distressing; as I saw no relief, hard work in comparison was a pleasure to it; because I would not own

this scandal, I was sent forty miles to another Society, among strangers.

I will name some circumstances of cruelty on others. I was kept so recluse, I had but little opportunity to know what passed on others; and they are not allowed to tell their troubles or punishments to each other. A sister of mine, by the name of Hannah Beck, who lived in the same family with me, was very industrious, became sick, and was some deranged, but was gentle; she being ill, refused to work, as they said. They ordered me to make a chair, that they could confine her to a spinning wheel; and of sufficient length to spin on the great wheel; also to reach her couch, which lay upon the floor, for her to sleep on. This was in cold weather,* and the place she was confined in was a wash-shop, in a chamber over the wash-room, and had a single floor with open cracks, which made her uncomfortable. There was a small stove in the room, but she was chained so far from it, that she could not reach it, and was dependant on others for wood and fire,—it was an apartment separate from the men's concerns. However, as I was passing there, I heard her crying and lamenting. I went to the shop, and looked through the cracks; she saw me, and said, "do make me some fire, and light my pipe." She begged again and again; my feelings were sensibly struck, and I attempted to go in, but saw two of the sisters coming; and knowing I was out of my order, I stept a little aside, and heard her continue in supplication, and think she got no relief. Again I was passing there, heard contention and hard talk; went to Hannah's room, and there saw one of the leading sisters, with a large stick in her hand, threatening Hannah to make her work. My sister said, "I am sick and cannot spin." I saw the woman strike her three times with the stick. It would not do for me to interfere; I could not bear it, and went away. I afterwards heard that they made her work, and that they stripped her a number of times naked, and whip-

* It appears they got tired of watching her, as it was cold.—*Author.*

ped her ; after that, they sent her to what they called world ; and she became better in health, and regular in her faculties.

She again was induced to live with the Shakers, and was placed in Enfield Society, in N. H. Just before I left the Shakers, I was sent to Enfield, and lived in the same family, and there saw her treated cruelly. She was out of health, and much decrepid with the rheumatism, and her stomach bones and joints were much drawn out of place in consequence. She worked in the dairy to assist others, and brought water for this use from a distance, as they were depending on water brought artificially, which had become mostly dry, as it was a dry season. She frequently passed the shop where I worked, when I took her pails, and carried her water for her. She was then so lame she could scarcely walk,* and constantly attended with a pain in her stomach. I left the Shakers the autumn following, in September, 1815 ; have since heard of my sister's death, and was glad to hear she was removed from her slavery.

The beautiful appearance of the Shakers, and of their villages, also their good deeds, have no need of being spoken of, as they themselves endeavor to make all these manifest. Another circumstance I minute, that light and understanding may spring forth.

A girl by the name of Comfort Smith, who was with them, I think was treated with such cruelty, that it shortened her life. The reason they gave for this cruelty, they said she sinned against her order, which was the ministry, as she lived in the meeting house with them. They said she left the house at night, and talked with the man on the watch, who was set to guard the meeting-house. The girl was chastised different ways, some I will mention. She was secluded or absent for a time—then a writing was drawn, which was called her confession—many of the Shakers were collected in a room, where she must kneel in the midst,

* I heard by one in the family, that Hannah died of consumption sores.—*Author.*

and hear the confession read. While they were reading. she fainted as lifeless. I was not an eye witness, being a youth, but was in a room underneath the chamber where they were collected, and heard the noise when she fell, as I was afterwards informed of the whole circumstance by some who were then present. A few weeks after this, a number of us were called in where she lay expiring; she was past speech—one made a remark that she thought she did not understand what they said. The head elder said, he a short time before, had been chastising her, and had awakened her senses. I was at a loss to know why it was so—he said "because she had sinned against so high an order*—if

* The following statement is written by Mary Dyer—not knowing as I should have any further information on the subject, I neglected getting it then attested to. However, as I have learnt the foregoing statement from Clement Beck, I repeat a statement on the same subject, (and leave it for the present) which I received by the mouth of John Heath, of Enfield, N. H. In May, 1818, I was making some remark on the Shakers, when Mr. Heath said, "I have reason to believe the Shaker leaders do not live in that purity which they profess; from certain circumstances which passed while I lived at Canterbury." I was anxious to hear—he stated, that "the Shaker father made me promise before I left Canterbury, not to say any thing about it." I told him he ought to tell the truth—and that was all I wanted." At the time I lived at Canterbury, I was set at night to guard the village. After all was still, Comfort Smith, who lived in the meeting-house, came to me and said, she wished me to assist her in going away. I asked her why she should be discontented, knowing that was considered the most holy and highest station among the people—she said her fears were such she dare not stay, and that father (Job Bishop,) was rude with her—he would clasp her in his arms, hold her upon his lap, hug and kiss her—his treatment to her was such, she felt in danger." "I did not," said Heath, "then think her in so great danger as perhaps I ought—was anxious to have the rest of the Society know how the father managed, accordingly reported the same to others—it soon got to the father's ears—I was called in question by him, and told him what Comfort said. Father owned that she told the truth—"but," said he, "I took such liberties, that she might be contented, and not wish to go to the world;" and further said, "you have broke your orders in hearing her complaint, she has also broke her orders in speaking to you—now, if you will say nothing about it, you shall be forgiven, and have your choice, to go to Enfield or stay here"—he knew I had previously desired to go to Enfield to live—by which means I consented to his proposals, went to Enfield, and knew no more about it." Mr. Heath appears like a candid, steady man; was he brought under oath, I think he would attest to the same, if not word for word. Mr. Heath is some embarrassed with debt—and perhaps the Shakers by means of, may try to obstruct the truth. But this

she did not confess she could not die in peace ; it hath caused such judgment of God upon her, it hath shortened her days." Those judgments spoken of, are punishments from the head Shakers, as I shall hereafter shew. There was four of the most sprightly females who went one after the other into the meeting-house to live with the ministry, and all died when adults, and a short time after they were allotted to this situation. Their names were Hannah Looge, Comfort Smith, Mary Chase, and Abigail Sanborn. There are two men, and two women living together in the meeting house. These give orders for the rest of the Society to obey—which are called gifts from God ; at times, those gifts come in severity, which are called the judgments of God—other times they shew favor, which is called mercies from God. The Shakers are so taught, that they think their salvation, or damnation, is pending on their superiors. Those give orders for such a man and woman to be united as one in the church. They also state, that these have arrived to such a state of perfection, that they do not commit sin ; there are many coupled out in this manner. There are different grades among them—those which are behind, are left ignorant of the liberty of the forward ones—however, this we know, they are more together, the different sexes. I have seen Job Bishop with his arms around Hannah Goodrich—he said it was no sin, as he had no desire. Those were the father and mother of Canterbury and Enfield Societies. They would punish others to extremes, for putting their hand on the different sexes. The elders and eldresses have their apartments wherein we must not go, without liberty. They lodge in those rooms, which are in upper lofts in the dining or dwelling house. The father and mother sleep in the third loft in the meeting-house, while their waiters, as they say, sleep in the second loft. The common people in shops, some

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I would have all remember, that there is a powerful God, who will not hold any one guiltless, who seeks to cover the truth by falsehood. "Because there is wrath, beware lest he take thee away with a stroke ; then a great ransom cannot deliver thee." Job xxviii. 18.

in the dwelling-house. My education is poor; when I was a child and a youth, the Shakers did not allow their subjects to have learning—what I have, I obtained by stealth, contrary to orders—since that the authority has compelled them to give their children some learning—and I desire that the authority would remove other of their evils. I think it is wrong for their convenant to have force in law; when they compel their subjects, (in their ignorance) to sign it, and thereby wrong them out of their just rights.

The Shakers call themselves deceivers, and yet true—they consider it a crime to speak against their way, though it is true; and any thing they could say, or do, that appeared to be upholding their society, was right. If they give you orders to do or say that which you think is wrong and false, you must obey, and the sin will fall on the one that orders you, as they say, thereby they make their subjects do and say almost any thing. I have known them, when people were coming to inspect their schools, make some write composition—then another copy it off better, and show the copy, saying it was the former ones' writing. I have known others make a mark on paper, then another write composition on the same paper, and call it the person's writing who made the mark.

It is a common thing for the Shakers to refuse people seeing their relations; they have different ways of deceiving. I was one day with the Deacon, when some people came and inquired after their relations desiring to see them. Deacon Winkley spake out to me, said, "Clement, go and tell such such and persons, that their friends are here, and wish to see them;" he stepped a little one side, spake low, and said, "do you go out around the shed, and stay there a little time, then come and tell the people, their relations do not wish to see them;" which I obeyed. Thus the strangers went away disappointed in not seeing their relations. I have known them do similar to this many times. They say these things are deceiving satan, and true to God. They call themselves the kingdom of peace; yet I have seen

more contention among them in one year, than I have among what they call world, since I have left the Shakers, which is three years. I saw one man so mad with another, that he seized him with his teeth, and bit him so the wound had to be wrapped up. I afterwards heard the biter say, he had committed no sin for twenty years. They say the word of God is revealed by the word of mouth, from the leaders. Some among them profess to converse with departed spirits. I have heard Job Bishop say, speaking of himself, "I have seen the Apostles, and they told me, my day was greater than theirs; and that I was before them in glory;" and further said, "The spirit of Hannah Looge, came to me, the night she expired, and wished to gather with us, (the ministry,) but I told her she must go to the family that was her order." She was dismissed from the meeting-house and ministry, about three months before, because she was sick. This is a skort sketch of the Shakers, being in haste.

CLEMENT BECK.

State of New-Hampshire, }
HILLSBOROUGH, SS. }

Weare, Sept. 14, 1818.

Attested before me,

ISRAEL PEASLEE, *Just. Peace.*

Clement Beck is a regular citizen.

The Shakers made him deny some part of it, as you will see by the following:

This certifies, that September 14, 1818, Clement Beck came to my house, where I gave him his oath to an affidavit which I have since seen in a book called "A Portraiture of Shakerism," published by Mary M. Dyer. As it was something new to me, I criticised him on the subject: he was frank and told me the particulars. I further state that I have seen much of it contradicted by a statement in the N. H. Patriot, April 19, 1824. Said Beck is a neighbor; I went to him, to know how he could get along in denying it. He said the Shakers said if he did not take some of it back they would take all his property from him. He does not pretend to deny any sentence named in the statement given before me. I feel clear in my mind, that the Shakers,

by threatening, imposed on his ignorance. I consider Beck a civil industrious citizen,but his being brought up among the Shakers, caused that lack of information which he had need of for protection.

ISRAEL PEASLEE, *Jus. Peace.*

Weare, July 9, 1824.

In October, 1818, I finished my task; returned to Enfield among my friends; began to prepare clothes for winter—when my husband, to embarrass me, compelled me to go among strangers, under a pretence of finding me a home, when previously he had refused me before the selectmen and many other witnesses.

"I, *Ruth Payne*, wife of William Payne, of Lebanon, N. H. do certify, that in October, 1818, Joseph Dyer, of Enfield, N. H. engaged us to board his wife Mary. She came in November. When she came, her health was bad—she appeared to be oppressed with trouble—he said he should find his wife work, and lay out the benefit to his own profit. She said she had not provided any winter clothes, and he had taken her from her employment*—said she was so far from her friends she should suffer, if he did not get her some clothes. In four weeks, he came again, but brought her no clothes. She was sick, and I lent her clothes. I, with my husband, talked to Mr. Dyer about it, and were dissatisfied with him. After six weeks he brought her a few articles, which she said was the only clothing he had found her in five years. He did not deny it. In my acquaintance with Mrs. Dyer, she appeared like a peaceable, industrious woman, behaved herself with prudence, and I esteem her piety.

RUTH PAYNE."

The Shakers finding Mr. Payne's family to condemn their proceedings, I was moved to a Mrs. Flood's, who is a friend to every one's face. While

* In the fall and winter, I worked at tailoring.

at Mrs. Flood's, my husband came in my absence, and took a number of pounds of my wool; he also had the privilege of searching my trunk for my papers—but I had carelessly laid them in another place. At another time I was out, when I saw my husband go to my boarding house; I went across the field, went into one end of the house, while he was in the other end. I caught my papers and went to a neighbor's. He sought every way possible to embarrass me, but the Lord made for me friends. When no other way would answer their evil minds, my husband, by his authority as a husband, placed me in confinement among the Shakers,* where, for five weeks, I had not a change of garment; and I was not permitted to write a word to my relations, who were at a distance from me. The Shakers were unwilling to let me speak to any person separate from them. I was shut in this place for the purpose of obtaining my papers. [*See Mary Willis and Polly Clifford's statements—Portraiture of Shakerism, pp.* 400, 401.]

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*I, *Rhoda Flood*, do certify, there is a statement in the N. H. Patriot, published in my name, wherein is some mistake; first, the writing spoken of,* which was brought the first time the Shakers came for Mrs. Dyer's things, it was brought to my husband. Second,—the trunk, spoken of, was mine, with contents of Mrs. Dyer's; this trunk, with its contents, Pettingill, a Shaker, wished me to give up, and offered me the money for, while she was shut up with them. This hath since occurred to my mind. I thought Mrs. Dyer meant her trunk. I feel it a duty to correct this mistake, that she shall not lay under this blame.

RHODA FLOOD.

Attest,—NATHANIEL FLOOD, husband to Rhoda.
MARCIA FLOOD.

Mrs. Flood also said, the Shakers betrayed her in another statement, making her deny one given in the Portraiture. When I shew her the original, with her name signed, she said she remembered the circumstance, and told the particulars. This I leave, as it is of no consequence.

* This was an order with my name signed to it, written and sent without my knowledge.

I, *Joshua Stevens*, of Enfield, N. H. do certify, that in the year 1782, two men, Ebenezer Cooley and Israel Chancy, came to this town ; called themselves men of God, and ministers of the gospel. They said Christ had come the second time to judge the world ; had made his second appearance in Ann Lee, and that she was the woman spoken of in Rev. xii., clothed with the sun, and that she was in the resurrection, judging the world. They asserted, that in four years the earth would lose its increase, and all that did not obey their testimony would be swept off by war, famine and pestilence ! They said they considered a lease of a farm for four years, as good as a deed ; for they (the Shakers) should live and reign a thousand years. They manifested great power, and told what was done at the mother church ; that they restored broken bones, healed the sick, &c. I exercised every mean possible, to know if there ever was an instance of miraculous healing among them ; but have never learned an instance of the kind ; instead of healing, they have brought on many deep wounds. By their fair appearance, and severe testimony against sin, they cast a mist over the minds of most of the people in this town, who fell in with their doctrine ; some have since escaped. Such havock was made in families, as is past imagination to any, only those who are acquainted with similar—husbands and wives contending—mothers deprived of their children, and brought into a forlorn state—there has heen more or less such wounds until the present day. The summer of 1819. I heard they had a woman by the name of Mary Dyer in confinement—went six miles to the Shakers to know if it was true. I found her under strict watch by her husband and another Shaker—she appeared disheartened and out of health—she said it was about four weeks since she had any clothes to change—was desirous to have some clothes, if she could not have her liberty. The appearance of her situation was affecting. Knowing the Shakers' despotic government, I made many proposals for her release. I offered to be.

come bound to any amount that she should return, if they would liberate her until she could get her clothes. Her husband positively refused every proposal. I asked him why he was not willing to let her go? He said, "it is not my pleasure." I gave them to understand if they did not treat her better, they would have trouble. —I further state that there ought to be a provision made by law for women and their offspring, in case the husband becomes duped to the Shaker principles. Their deception is such, men of abilities are liable to be ruined by them. A man of my acquaintance (John Sanborn) was sprightly, well educated; yet he became duped to the Shakers, was fully of their faith, believed they had power to save or damn the souls of men. After much faithful servitude, they sentenced him to hell!! He endured this sentence a number of months, found no remission, but condemning him more and more; greater and greater torments were threatened—he became discouraged—hanged himself—left a wife and family of children. [I saw him just after he was taken down.]

JOSHUA STEVENS.

State of New-Hampshire, GRAFTON, SS } Lyme, Jan. 9, 1820.

Then personally appeared the above-named Joshua Stevens, and made solemn oath that the above, by him subscribed, is just and true.

Before me, JONATHAN FRANKLIN, *Just. Peace.*

My husband even said, *I should never escape, unless I would give up my papers.* I had no liberty in my feelings to give them up, though I perished there. When I had been there more than three weeks, the Shakers asked me, if I did not wish to see my children? I told them, "No;" and for these reasons: when I was in a condition suitable to see them, I was prohibited; now when I am dirty and almost disheartened, you want me to see them, that you can mock at them, saying, "there see your old dirty world's mother, full of trouble, and you will be just like her, if you go to the world." The children were soon conducted in. I soon found that

the children had been told that I was there of choice. After the children came in, the number of persons in the room were eleven. There was but three chairs, a shaving horse and shavings, where my husband shaved wheel-stuff, and a number of large handspikes, which were kept as weapons to defend with, in case any should come to relieve me. I had previously told them, I thought they did not hold to fighting. They said they had a right to fight "dogs and sorcerers; and all without the gate are dogs and sorcerers." When I began to talk with my children, I felt very much overcome —I told them I was ever glad to see them, but did not wish to see them as I was placed, but I was kept there, and could not help myself. My daughter attempted to sooth my grief; she said, "if you don't think you are confined, you will not feel so bad— I don't think of that, and I do not feel confined— and your clothes do not look bad." I saw tears fall from some of my children's eyes. Ah! poor captives,—they left the room. Awful to consider, that any mother is as liable to be parted from their children as I was. The only difference in protection is, the information which hath been produced by the most severe sufferings and cruelty, which I have endured; still some are short sighted enough to look on me with derision, because I am reproached by Shakers and their cruel advocates—not even consider that they will strive to injure me all in their power, without any regard to truth or innocence.

After the children went out, grief so seized me, it set me puking, until it seemed insupportable. My husband said he thought I could not live, while I was kept in this place. A number of persons came for my relief, when my husband said he would fight

as long as he had strength, and then he would take them into the law, if they offered to touch me. I was held in this condition until a friendly stranger helped me away. A defenceless woman, or a duped man, the Shakers encroach on their rights as they please. I sorrow in my heart that I was ever the mother of a child to suffer. My health was so reduced in this prison, that after my escape, I was not able to attend to my writing for two years.

Nov. 1820, I came to Concord, N. H. to have the work published. I shew the work to Mr. Moore, and requested his assistance in arranging the work, as it was in a promiscuous position. He looked over the sheets, said if he could find leisure to attend to the work himself, he could do it from those sheets without being transcribed. Shortly he said he was so pressed with business, he could not attend to it, and advised me to have the work carefully examined and re-written. I then applied to Judge Gale, of Gilmanton. He is a literary man, and a good judge of law. I requested him to examine the depositions, and see if the Shakers could get the advantage of those who gave them. He read the whole work, assisted in arranging it, and in numbering the pages. After which, I applied to Judge Philbrick's family at Weare, N. H. for board, who himself assisted me in drawing the work over.* I was of ill health, and could do but little writing in a day.

Here I pause, and bless Providence for my inability at this time, which caused those three men, and these only, to have perfect knowledge of my proceedings, and whose characters for good morals are not exceeded by any. These are the persons whom the Shakers call my "accomplices." I asked their advice in the greatest confidence. I shall be heartily

* but composed not a sentence

glad to have them say freely whether they ever saw any attempt of mine to alter any statement, making it more unfavorable to the Shakers.

I met with obstructions in printing. In February, 1822, it was sent to the press of Mr. Goss, at Haverhill—and was ready for sale, June, 1823.

I have related the time and manner I was employed, and the persons who assisted me. If the Shakers had not confined me, the work would have been accomplished in eighteen months. What I have done, hath been with a real desire to convince the Shakers of their errors, and give the public at large a knowledge of the foundation of Shakerism. And when on a sick bed, I have desired to see the work accomplished, (fearing it would be neglected) that after I was gone it might save thousands from suffering. The Shakers discover the manner of spirit they are of, by their bitter manner of expressions. If they could prove against me what they pretend, they would rejoice to devour me. The truth hath so far bruised them, they cannot devour; and further, there are so many who know those statements in the Portraiture to be correct, it is impossible for them to be erased, though the Shakers endeavor to cover them with falsehood—imposing mostly on the unlearned, who have been disciplined by their terror, as you can see when reading their book, by their statements and their crosses, ⋊ signed with their names! Those are the statements produced, which the Shakers say, "may serve as a master-key to all the rest," when there is more than thirty other witnesses attested under oath, now in the Portraiture, standing against them. And those statements given by persons whom they have since imposed on, I consider ~~them~~ perfectly according to truth, and may be relied on as such, the same as

those whom you could not frighten nor deceive. They gave their statements candidly, without threatenings, and nothing to compel them to vary. I hope the Lord will have mercy on their ignorance, and forgive them in what they have done by your imposition.

You, Shakers, have made these deny facts which were generally known. If my pamphlet and Portraiture were not true, why are you afraid to let your subjects read them? which they are absolutely forbid, as I have been credibly informed. Your young subjects don't know all of it to be true; but they know so much of it, that it leads the mind into the whole. You can bray and make a great noise; still the rational reader can see as much fallacy in this last attempt of yours, as any thing yet produced.

By reading the following statements, a person can see that you were governed in this, by the same wicked principle which causeth you to tantalize your subjects.

I, *Miriam Dickey*, of Wilmot, N. H. depose and say, that I am wife of Robert Dickey, who was always a kind husband, until he joined the Shakers, and we were in easy circumstances. He was a professor of religion, and a teacher to the people, prior to his joining them. At a time he was out on business, (as he afterwards stated) he fell in with the Shakers in Enfield, N. H. and believed their principles to be right. He joined them and set up their ceremonies in our family. The Shakers said the duty of a wife was to obey her husband—I had always been willing to obey, while he used his reason; but now I must come into all the Shaker's ceremonies and wear a Shaker cap. My mind was distressed, I did not believe with the Shakers, and the separation in my family was a great trouble, without being obliged to conform to their ceremonies. I was not suf-

ficiently acquainted with them to know their practice, but I could not believe in the *first mother*, or Ann Lee, as a Savior to the lost world; from the best information I could get, I believed her vile. Soon there was a proposal for my husband to sell his farm and have his property united with theirs. I observed I was willing he should be a Shaker, if he would keep his interest, and let me take the care of the children. I told the justice, as my husband was a Shaker, they would wrong him out of his property; I shall be left to suffer. The justice thought it proper that I should have a reasonable part of it secured to me. My husband was not willing, but said I should not be wronged. He conveyed his farm away, and gave the security which he received for it, to a Shaker.* I was wounded, I went home sorrowful; I think I realized the deplorable situation we were about to be plunged into. Shortly my husband appeared against me; I felt dejected and alone, (*I was in circumstances.*) They soon began to strip the farm. We had a large family of children. I felt as though we should be left destitute of a living shortly. Soon there was orders for us to move into another house not so good as ours, where were three families. This was distressing in my situation, to be away from home, among a people continually condemning me with their awful denunciations. A few weeks before my confinement, Thomas Ward, an old elder, in the time of meeting, came to me with his fist doubled; he put it in my face, stamped and said I should go to hell! that he could see the devil in my face; he appeared in a rage, and I thought he would have struck me; I was so frightened I could scarce stand on my feet; my husband smiled to see him treat me thus. My husband frequently told me he must hate me, and strive against me; I thought I had as much trouble as I could live in, by being separated from my dependence, deprived of my

*When a man joins the Shakers, he must first give up his wife, next his property, then his children; then he must be a slave through life, if he abides with them.

home in my difficult situation, without such treatment. I looked around and saw that my family was undone; they all joined in their meetings but myself; they sung, danced, stamped, doubled their fists, and ran at each other, spit at one another, screamed and screeched and jumped so as to split the floor boards. I thought I should lose my reason. (I was confined.) When my child was three weeks old, my husband removed me to an open shop, where the rain came down through the roof; there was not a place dry to keep my bed. I was distressed about myself and children, (as I was brought up tenderly) and always treated so by my husband, until he gave his right hand and reason to the Shakers. To add to my affliction in this miserable situation, a woman was put to our house, to order me in my work, and to govern my children, by the name of Betty Dockum. Soon, other Shakers were put into our family, in consequence of which, I had to suffer. I sometimes thought I had better destroy myself, to get out of trouble. We had now removed to another house, where they continued to treat me ill; if I made any objections, it was the devil in me. Now I had the cooking to do for a large family, and my mistress to order me—she would tie my children, hang them up, tie their hands behind them, then tie them into the chair, tie them to the doors; this with menacing language. Any thing that was requested of the children by this mistress, if they disobeyed, they were sure to be punished. Thus exasperated, I found I could not endure—I went to a brother of mine, told him my difficulty—he offered me a home, as I could be no comfort to my children, and wasting in torment, I concluded to leave the Shakers. I returned to tell them I could not stay and live, my brother would take care of me. They gave me a bed, with a small part of my furniture, and made me give an acquittance to my husband's property. Then my brother with a compassionate heart, moved me to his home. It was every way distressing to leave my children, but to see them treated cruelly and be treated so myself,

was insupportable. Had not my friends assisted me, I must have perished with the Shakers. I lived with my brother a few months, when my husband came for me to go back. I told him I could not, and have him follow the Shakers, and keep them Shaker women there—he said the Shaker women made our daughters do all the hard work, and he thought it injured them—and his trouble was such, he could not live as he was, and he could but die, if he left the Shakers. I consented to go back. He turned the Shaker women away, and I once more was restored to my family in peace. We were now very poor—but poverty was no trouble compared with my past affliction. It appeared like a new world, that I could have the care of my dear babes. In eight or nine months, the Shakers came and again persuaded my husband to believe that they were the only accepted people of God, that he could never find redemption but by them, and without obedience to their principles, he must go to hell! They got such hold of his mind, it appeared as though he would lose his senses—he could neither eat nor sleep—was in absolute agony. He joined them again. Shortly after, there was orders for him to carry his family to the Shakers in Canterbury, upwards of sixty miles. This was dreadful to me; I was racked with trouble. I expected shortly to be confined. He took six of our children, left our two oldest daughters—I was distressed to part with my little babes. I soon began to consider on my situation—the house I was left in, was not my husband's, our property was all gone;* the only consolation was, that I had the best of neighbors, and my two oldest daughters with me. After my husband carried the little children, he was sent immediately back for the other two—he said it was the orders, and they must go. My eldest daughter wept and said, "Mother will die, if we leave her alone." She wept as though she would break her heart, until she went out of sight. Oh my sorrows, I did not know as I should ever see any of my children

* He was a wheelwright by trade, which supported us.

again; consider, reader, my situation—was left in a strange house alone—was distressed and sick—pen cannot describe my sensations, (I cannot realize it without tears.) I walked around the house—looked around, no husband to protect me in sickness—no children—no home; grief rushed upon my mind. I endeavored to nurse myself, by taking some herb tea. Esq. Buck of Norwich, Vt. came in to see me—said, "I could not have thought your husband would have treated you so;" he shew pity, and offered me a home at his house. My kind neighbors took care of me through my sickness. After I was better, my husband came and said to me, "If you will go to Canterbury, I will provide for you a good home, and you shall live with your children." For their sake, I went, but all in vain; he afterwards left the Shakers—has four times joined and left the Shakers; and I have passed through scenes of disappointment too lengthy to mention. It is my desire and prayer, for a protection for helpless women and children. My husband, and myself, and part of my children, are now separate from the Shakers. Providence, so favored us, that though we were made destitute of property, we are now comfortable for support. My husband is now having his testimony written, shewing the manner of the Shakers' compulsion, which caused him to treat his family as he did. MIRIAM ✗ DICKEY.

mark

I, *Miriam Dickey*, testify and state, that a short time since, John Lyon, a Shaker Elder, and another Shaker man, from Enfield, N. H. came to my house, in Wilmot—there tried, by every exertion, to make me deny my statement, now published in a book entitled, "A Portraiture of Shakerism," published by Mary M. Dyer. I told them it was the truth, and I could not, in conscience, deny it.—They stayed and contended with me, from dusk until two o'clock at night—and against threats and cavils, I still contended that it was the truth. And now, I still say, that it is truth; and more wicked and base things I could state.—They requested me to state the names of those to whom our property was given.

I did. They then said, those were not Shakers. I contended that they were ; and many of the same number are now with the Shakers—some of them, years afterwards, left them. They then requested me to sign my name to a paper, that such and such were the persons who were the ones since left them. I was unwilling to do any thing about it, fearing I should do wrong. They, with my husband, contended against me (he is of their principle) saying, " you shall prove your statement, if you do not, we will make it worse for you, as your statement is not attested." I then consented to sign my name that such and such were the names ; and this was all that I signed to, that I have knowledge of, and this did not contradict my former statement. Since I saw their publications in the Patriot, of April 19, 1824, I feel glad of a privilege to affirm to this, and that also.—I surely consider the Shakers the most treacherous people I ever knew. They had some writing on a paper when they came to our house, and they wrote more while there ; but what it was, I do not know.

her
MIRIAM ⋈ DICKEY.
mark.

Attest, WILLIAM GAY,
MARGARET GAY.

State of New-Hampshire, } Wilmot, April 21, 1824.
MERRIMACK, SS.

Then personally appeared, the within named Miriam Dickey, and made solemn affirmation, that the within statement, by her subscribed, contains the truth, and nothing but the truth ; likewise, her statement in a book entitled, " A Portraiture of Shakerism."

Before me, JABEZ YOUNGMAN, *Just. Peace.*

This certifies, that we, the undersigned, have been personally acquainted with the within named Miriam Dickey, for ten years last past, and consider her to be a woman of truth, and strict veracity.

JABEZ YOUNGMAN,
WILLIAM GAY,
MARGARET GAY,
NANCY KIMBALL,
ANNA GAY.

Wilmot, April 21, 1824.

[Extract.]

I, *Martha Stanley*, have seen a statement in the N. H. Patriot, of April 26, over my signature, the most of which I deny ever stating or hearing read. The first part, I utterly deny; also, the last—much of the rest of it, is false—and the face of the whole is changed.—I was at the Shaker Village at a certain time, when they questioned me to know how those things were—read some in the Portraiture—some sayings were a little different from my understanding as to words merely, but the meaning amounts to the same.—As to the writing I signed, I was at the Shakers when four of the elders and their father, Job Bishop, all contended against me, because of the variations above stated, saying, Mary Dyer made me a liar; they said much, and shew temper, because I told them the truth. At length, they appeared more pleasant, and said, sign, (shewing those variations) we will be satisfied. They wrote and read something frivolous, that was of no consequence. This I signed. Those men that witnessed, never read it, and I could not read writing.—After I saw their statement in the Patriot, I was dissatisfied—was desirous to have something written shewing their fraud.—I further state that I have seen in meetings (when there were no spectators) between men and women, leaders and people, the most bestial conduct—too bad, to name—and all was called gifts of God to mortify! I thought rum produced this effect. I further state, that the statement given by Sarah Meacham, published in the Portraiture, was made in my presence. I went with Mrs. Dyer to shew her the way—which statement Sarah has commonly reported.

her
MARTHA ⋊ STANLEY.
mark.

Attest, J. A. Liscom,
Catharine Payne.

April 30, 1824.

We, the undersigners, do state, that we were present and heard Mrs. Stanley give the above statement. We have reason to believe her conscientious in it ; she thinks it wrong to take an oath, because the Scripture forbids it. We believe her a pious woman.

RUTH PAYNE,
CATHARINE PAYNE,
LUCY PAYNE.

I, *Joseph Stanley*, of Enfield, N. H. do testify and say, that the Shakers have tried to make me deny my statement, published in the Portraiture of Shakerism, by Mary M. Dyer. I would not ; it is a fact.

JOSEPH STANLEY.

April 26, 1824.

I, *Lemuel Dow*, of Hanover, in the county of Grafton, State of New-Hampshire, of lawful age, testify and say, I have been informed, that the Shakers are reporting, that a letter in the Portraiture of Shakerism, published by Mary M. Dyer, which was sent to her from Sarah Curtis, is forged, endeavoring to throw scandal on Mrs. Dyer ; as I was personally acquainted with the circumstances, I feel it a duty to make the following statement :

Sarah Curtis, who had lived with the Shakers, (when she left them) came to my house, and made it her home for more than two years, and we considered her an innocent but deluded girl. She said, she was shamefully used by the Shakers, when she went to see them, and visit her brothers and sisters. Still she believed on them, as being a good people, until she read the Shaker's book, the title of which is " Dyer's Narrative" ; which was calculated to injure Mrs. Dyer. Sarah's reading this seemed to convince her of their fallacy ; she appeared much dissatisfied about the statement, to which her name was affixed. She hearing that Mrs. Dyer was living with Mrs. Flood, of Lebanon, she took my horse and sleigh, and conveyed Mrs. Dyer to my house ; she appeared desirous to make some compen-

sation to Mrs. Dyer, for the injuries imposed on her by the Shakers, in the statement with her name attached; and another with her sister Susanna's name attached. Mrs. Dyer questioned her with regard to the propriety of some things in her affidavit, in Mr. Dyer's book. Sarah said, she did not understand it so at that time; but she was sensible now of the injury done Mrs. Dyer; and concluded to write her a letter, that Mrs. Dyer might publish it in her book, that she was about publishing, to do away the stigma of her affidavit, as published in Mr. Dyer's book. Sarah made the attempt, but could not answer her own mind. She then informed me of what had transpired, requested me to write for her, accordingly I did; and after I completed the letter, I read it to her, she examined it, and signed it, and further saith not.

LEMUEL DOW.

Tryphena Dow, wife of Lemuel Dow, testify and say, that I can attest to the truth of the foregoing, with the following addition: that Sarah said she had given Mrs. Dyer a good letter, and appeared to be relieved in her mind; this was the first time she had seen Mrs. Dyer after she had left the Shakers, (as she said.)

TRYPHENA DOW.

State of New-Hampshire, }
GRAFTON, ss. } April 27, 1824.

Lemuel Dow made solemn oath, that the foregoing affidavit, by him subscribed, is just and true. Before me,

TIMOTHY OWEN, jun. *Jus. Peace.*

Whereas I have lately heard a statement read in the N. H. Patriot, with my signature annexed to it, which is calculated to contradict some statements made in my affidavit and letters, published in the Portraiture of Shakerism, by Mary M. Dyer, I now feel it my duty to state the particulars to the public. A short time since, two Shakers came to my house, and read to me the aforesaid affidavit and letter, and criticised me on the subject. I then observed before them and others, that I recollected every sentence, except the dragging Mrs. Beck down stairs, which are correct, and I think that

was fresh in my mind at the time of writing said affidavit, for she was often treated with great severity. I have of late had a severe sickness, which has wholly deprived me of my sight, and greatly impaired my memory, and every faculty and power of mind, and I am now in the eighty-fifth year of my age. And now if my name is annexed to such a statement as has been published in the N. H. Patriot, I did not understand what it contained. My affidavit doth not state the manner in which I was separated from my wife and children, or by which I lost my property.

I was asked by the above Shakers whether I parted with my property or my children without my consent. I answered them that it was the orders; and whilst we were Shakers, we must consent to the orders or gifts. As to wilful falsehood spoken of, there is no such thing named in my affidavit; but this I am sure, that they made many false statements, and I still believe them deceived and deceiving others as respects their religious principles.

EBENEZER KIMBALL.

Attest, JONATHAN FRANKLIN,
D. C. CHURCHILL.

Lyme, May 7, 1824.

The above named Esq. Franklin was the justice who took Mr. Kimball's first deposition.

Haverhill, N. H. May 20, 1824.

This certifies, that I the subscriber, printer of the Portraiture of Shakerism, did publish in said Portraiture a correct copy of the original affidavit signed by Ebenezer Kimball, of Lyme, N. H., which original copy being lost or mislaid, is the cause of this certificate.

SYLVESTER T. GOSS.

The following is a copy of a letter addressed to the editor of the Patriot, by Obadiah Mooney, Esq.*

To Isaac Hill, Esq.

DEAR SIR—In seeing those statements in the N. H. Patriot, of April 19th and 26th, 1824, treating on the

* After the receipt of this letter, the Editor would publish no more against Shakers —

subject of the Portraiture of Shakerism, published by Mary M. Dyer, I consider those statements produced by treachery and falsehood, imposing on the public and individual persons. I, being a justice of the peace, make the following remarks :

The statements of Sarah Tibbets, Joshua Fletcher, Betsy Looge, Josiah Watson, Noah Wiggin, I administered to them the oath ; and also to others that have not appeared in the Patriot. And each of those depositions was done without partiality, or deception. After those depositions were written, I read each of them to the persons, when they signed the same, and I gave them their oaths. Since those statements were published, denying some part of those statements in the Portraiture, I have examined and compared with some of the original affidavits and copies, which I have now in possession, and find the Portraiture correct, except the statement of Josiah Watson, the most vulgar of which is omitted, being published in the Portraiture. The said Watson wrote his affidavit with his own hand, (as he said) and brought it to me, at Canterbury, and made oath to the same. I, therefore, request the printers, who have printed for the Shakers, to publish this, for I consider myself injured in my own feelings, and in the eye of the public. Whenever I transact any business as a magistrate, I consider myself under oath.

Respectfully yours,

OBADIAH MOONEY, *Jus. Peace.*

Stewartstown, May 10, 1824.

Northfield, June 1st, 1824.

This certifies, that in August 1818, I gave Sarah M. L. Sewell her oath to an affidavit, which I have seen in a book, called a Portraiture of Shakerism, by Mary M. Dyer. I further state, that I read the affidavit, above alluded to, in her presence, and asked her, if she could safely attest to it. She answered "yes." And I further recollect, in reading the affidavit, when I came to the passage where she stated about the improper conduct shewn to her, by one of the brethren, I stopped,

and asked her if it was possible it could be true. She answered, "yes, it was." Then I proceeded, and read the remainder of the affidavit; and according to the best of my recollection, I think that the affidavit, in said book, contains the same which she gave oath to, before me.

CHARLES GLIDDEN, *Just. Peace.*

This may certify, that I was present when Esq. Glidden read the above named affidavit to Sarah M. L. Sewell—saw her sign her name, and give her oath, and can witness to the above recollection stated; and that Mrs. Dyer was not present at the time of taking said affidavit.

JOHN LYFORD, *Just. Peace.*

This may shew, that the fifth day of June, I called at Thomas Sewell's, brother to Sarah L. Sewell, where I had some talk with his wife. I asked her how the Shakers got their statement with Sarah's name to it. She said, "Sarah was here, when they came, and asked her about her statement published in the Portraiture. She told them it was the truth, (and I had before heard Sarah tell all the particulars—and that Stephen Merrill, a Shaker leader. was the one who compelled her to his passion) the Shakers appeared in a rage, and frightened her to sign. When they read their statement, (which was written when they came*) I told them before the justice, that Sarah could not take a safe oath, to what they had written. I found they were determined to make her comply, and I left the room. After they were gone, Sarah said she was so frightened she did not know what she signed her name to—and she appeared almost distracted; she is a poor weak, disheartened creature, and had no power of mind to defend herself." I told her to tell Sarah, from me, that the truth would clear her now, and the way that was true; to be sure to say, at

* I learnt at Meredith, that the Shakers took the Portraiture into a shop, where they prepared the statement to their mind, before they went to Mr. Sewell's.

all times, when she said any thing about it, for I was sure there was no comfort for her in this life, and I hoped she would not destroy her soul, if she had her body. They said, they wished I could see her. I told them I thought I should not know her, as I had never seen her but a short time once.—Mrs. Sewell said I might state the above.

MARY M. DYER.

At Meredith Bridge, I saw two receipts, belonging to a couple of merchants, which were previously given to Israel Sanborn, a Shaker deacon, when those receipts were returned for settlement ; on one, the figures were altered in two places, and the other in one—favoring the deacon in the price. If any doubt the truth of this assertion, the receipts and witnesses can be produced.

If the Shakers take the advantage of those who have been their subjects, I hope other people will find power to detect them.

MARY M. DYER.

I, *Josiah Watson*, would inform the public, that the Shakers came to my house to make me give them some statement, to contradict my statement, published in the Portraiture of Shakerism. 1st. They questioned me to know if it was worded just as I worded it ; I told them not exactly, but was the same in essence. This I still say, only the worst was omitted, because of immodesty. 2d. They wrote their statement, published in the Patriot, and equivocated about some things like this, of the Bible not being read. Our Leaders said, the Bible was of no use more than an old almanack, for it was an old back dispensation, and wished there was not a Bible in the world. 3d. They have stated as though Dolly M'Horn was all the one that kneeled to Ann Lee, when at a distance. But I have seen and heard Elder Joseph Meacham say in meeting, that he felt to kneel down before Mother and Elder William, and he kneeled down, and all the rest, which was near three years after their death.

Their third statement I deny. I told them that among all their professions, they did live in whoredom. Some of their improper conduct was done by orders, and some by gifts.

4th. The child being carried to the woods, another hung out of the chamber window, I was informed of was orders, and believe it to be true. 5th. The women nursing the men, was a gift of Edmund* and James Lougee, which I saw. 6th. My deposition doth not state the way I had my information how the minister attempted to heal a sick man, but one of his own brothers told me. 7th. The girl who was stripped and whipped so unmercifully, and then put out of the window naked, was done by orders, as I heard. 8th. It is not in my deposition, that Abraham Blodgett was an Elder. I never said, nor stated to Mary M. Dyer, any thing contained in my deposition, for I wrote it myself, and this I also write. And I have now a pamphlet of sixty pages, which I wrote for my own satisfaction. Let the truth reign.

JOSIAH WATSON.

Attest, MARY WATSON,
JOHN LYFORD.
Northfield, June 3, 1824.

I have of late heard, that the Shakers have said, that the unseemly conduct among them was conducted by me. I utterly deny it; and further state, that if the Shakers don't let me alone, I will expose their filthy abominations, which hath not yet been exposed.

JOSIAH WATSON.

Northfield, June 7, 1824.

I wish the printers to publish what this contains.

Betsy Foster had previously given a statement to the Shakers, on the promise she made before she left them, to speak well of them. *See her testimony in the Portraiture, p.* 210.

* Who died when an Elder among them.

I, *James Foster*, of Canterbury, N. H. do state, that I am husband of Betsy Foster, who hath her statement published in the Portraiture of Shakerism, which is true, as far as I had any knowledge of the circumstance. By attending the Shaker's meeting, conversing with them, seeing their neatness and regularity, I was persuaded to believe them the only true church of God, and that I could find salvation no other way but that. In 1801, I set out in obedience to their orders, which is the first requirement. After a time, by this obedience, I gave up my family and property—this in 1807. Soon after I moved into their family—they requested me to sign their Covenant—which if I did not, they could not own any union with me, (or fellowship) which would shut me from their salvation, which I believed would make me miserable here and hereafter—I signed. Next, I must be rid of natural affections; and in case my children were sick or in trouble, I was not allowed to take any notice of them. I had to sign a bond, to bind myself not to have any care or controul over them in any condition while with them, or to molest in their work, government, or faith in principles. When I moved in with them, I carried to them about seven hundred dollars, free from expense. This, with interest, and twelve years and a half of hard work, which I have done for them, they have got; except about two hundred dollars which I have since paid out for my family. The most for a sick son, who came from the Shakers, and who afterwards died at Mr. Kimball's, in Concord, N. H. And since I left them, I have requested of them to let me have my just rights in property—they said they were under no obligation to pay me any, as I had signed their Covenant; but if I would give them a receipt in full, they would do something. They have let me have in all, by much interceding, what they called about three hundred dollars' worth—some in old furniture. All I had could not be called of more value than two hundred dollars in money, which is all I can obtain.

I left them in 1820—am now fifty-eight years old. All persons who unite with them, must be in obedience to their orders or gifts. The last reason for my leaving them was, old people are neglected, and I was also neglected, and found I must take care of myself, or not be took care of. This, with other things, shew me that their religion was vain.

It is now my humble prayer, that the authority would do something to protect the families of such men as should be deceived by the Shakers; and that they should have no more power to hold a man's property, or profit of his labor, than any other people. This I humbly pray.

JAMES FOSTER.

State of New-Hampshire, }
MERRIMACK, SS. } June 8, 1824.

Then came the above named James Foster, and made solemn oath, that the above statement, by him subscribed, is just and true.
Before me, SAMUEL FORREST, *Jus. Peace.*

I, *Asa Pattee*, of Canaan, do testify, that some time in the month of March, 1824, the Shakers sent for me and my wife, to come and see them. They came and carried us over very kind, saying, to see my wife's brother among them. When we got there, they contended for two days. Their chief discourse was to make me counteract the statement given by me, in the Portraiture of Shakerism, published by Mary M. Dyer. I utterly refused, for it is truth; and as I before stated, only some sentences are put more modest, than I before stated. The Shakers handed forth a paper with writing on it, which they wished me to sign, (shewing this variation.) I told them the statement published, was not so bad as they had conducted—if they would let me give a statement in full, I would sign it. They then were willing to withdraw their paper.—It would be a real satisfaction to me, to have the privilege of relating to the General Court, by word of mouth, these facts. I feel as though the Shakers are trying to injure Mrs.

Dyer by stating falsehood, as I have seen their statements in the Patriot.

ASA PATTEE.

Attest, THOMAS MINER,
AMOS MINER.
April 26, 1824.

The following is stated by Colonel Pattee, son to the above.

I, *Daniel Pattee*, of Canaan, state of New-Hampshire, state, that I have heard that the Shakers have denied my statement, published in the Portraiture of Shakerism, published by Mary M. Dyer. I now state, that the statement is a fact; and such conduct was common in Ann Lee's day; and it was not called, by them, indecent or improper.

DANIEL PATTEE.

Attest, JAMES PATTEE,
MOSES D. PATTEE.
April 26, 1824.

I, *Alice Beck*, of Canterbury, N. H. state, that I was born in Greenland, N. H, near District of Maine, certify, that a few months since, two Shakers (Francis Winkley and John Whicher) came to my house very plausible. They handed forth a book, (the Portraiture of Shakerism) began to read a statement published, which I had given. As they read, they questioned me. I told them it was true—this again and again. They disputed me. I told them it was certainly true. They shut their book, appeared in anger—tried to beat me down, that it was a lie. I felt to confirm it in such a way, they ceased their imposition on me for that time. After a few weeks, they sent for two of my sons (Henry and Charles) who iive with, and by me, to come and see them. When they went, the Shakers had a writing drawn up for them to sign, which if they would not, the Shakers threatened, saying, they could and would take the advantage of them in some land, in consequence of the bounds being lost.

My sons read the writing—found it not according to truth, and calculated to cut some part of my statement, published in the Portraiture. Henry said, he would not sign any such thing—he would lose all his land first. He returned, home and related to me the above. They afterwards came with some of our townsmen, and a surveyor—pretended they could take some of our land; but if my sons would sign the writing, they would do nothing about it. Henry said it made his title no better by his signing their writing—if it would be his then, it was now—that his father felt himself injured in the thing until his death—but he wished for no quarrel, and would do nothing about it—if they wanted a quarrel, they might begin as soon as pleased. He hath since found a writing, showing the particulars, which was then mislaid. Thus they equivocate, to cover the truth. And my distressed son, at Weare, N. H. (Clement Beck) who lived with the Shakers until he was thirty eight years old—and since he came from them, he has been very diligent accumulating some property—thus he was entirely ignorant of law. In their condition, as I understood, they went to him to make him sign to a statement denying the truth, which was also published in the above-named book. I have since learnt, that when they could not make him deny it with fair reasoning, they threatened him, saying, if he did not sign to satisfy them, they had power to take from him his property, and put him in the State Prison; and that lawyer Webster told them so. After staying four hours parlying with him, he signed their statement. They wished him to attest to it. He said he would be drawn in quarters first. They could get none to witness, only one of themselves, and a man deaf, and almost blind; and who never had common abilities. This son's statement was written in my presence and is what he has stated among the neighbors, (the same published in the Portraiture) and they believing him an honest man hath caused to be more dissatisfied with the Shakers for their last treatment to Clement, than any thing before done. I feel to reflect,

that I was any way the cause of having my children placed where those of good natural abilities are brought up so ignorant of the authority and protection as to be thus imposed on. Since my son left the Shakers, he has accumulated a pretty property—hath enjoyed himself very well, until this last imposition of the Shakers, which, I learn, hath much affected him in mind and health—I hope it will be a warning to all others. Great in the insinuation of the Shakers, I feel hurt seeing the Baptist professors' names attached to statements denying some part of their statements, published in the Portraiture, which I know they have frequently stated. I also know, that the same was thought and practised among the Shakers. I have seen children taken out of bed (by our elder brothers) and put into water, to punish them ; and we were taught, that scriptures were of no use—we must know our duty, by our elders, and be in strict obedience to their orders, whether right or wrong to us. It has been frequently the case, that people were forbid seeing their children and relations. Any one that has been acquainted with the Shakers, know these things are true. Threats and bribes are frequent.

ALICE BECK.

Attest, ISRAEL DAVIS, ISAIAH CHASE.

State of New-Hampshire, }
MERRIMACK, ss. } July 14, 1824.

Personally appearing, the within named Alice Beck, and made solemn affirmation that the within affidavit, by her subscribed, contains the truth. Before me, THOMAS BROWN, *Just. Peace.*

We, the undersigners, have heard it suggested, that the Shakers have stated that Alice Beck is a person deranged in her mental faculties. We state that we have been acquainted with her for years, and consider her of a sound mind and understanding, and a person of uncommon good abilities.

THOMAS BROWN,
NANCY BROWN,
ISRAEL DAVIS,
A. E. THOMPSON,
PHILIP BROWN,
JOSIAH SARGENT.

See the testimony of Alice Beck, Portraiture p. 141 to 17.

Are not those sufficient to shew how the Shakers got their statements? In the Shaker book, pages 7, 8, I am challenged to prove one instance of abuse or immoral conduct whatever, transacted or patronized by any true member of the Society. I refer you to the Portraiture, where are many attested witnesses. I insert the following, they being short.

I, *Moses Jones*, of Enfield, N. H. do testify, that I once was a member of the Shaker society; and in the time I was an eye-witness of many surprizing scenes—some I will mention. When they were gathered in a meeting, they clenched a female of their Society with severity, tore off her cap, pulled her hair, threw her down, kicked her, pushed her, dragged her around the room by her hair, jammed and beat her to that degree, that it was with difficulty that she got her breath. They left her on the floor; and from her appearance she was almost lifeless. I was surprized, and asked the Elder why they treated her so—he answered, "because she had testified in public, as a duty, that Ann Lee was lecherous, and cohabited with the Elders."* I see them attempt to cast out devils, heal the sick, but to no effect. A woman whom I was acquainted with from a youth, who was a regular steady person, until she, with her husband, joined the Shakers; after that, she became crazy, and continued so until her death. This woman was a subject of their pretensions in healing. This, with drunkenness, and other conduct too indecent to pen, caused me to believe them deceivers, and I left them. MOSES JONES.

State of New-Hampshire, } Enfield, May 30, 1818.
GRAFTON, SS. }
Attested before me, JESSE J. FOGG, *Jus. Peace.*

I, the subscriber, certify that Moses Jones is a man of respectability, and is a deacon in regular standing in the church in Enfield. JESSE J. FOGG.

* I have since learnt that the woman who attested against Ann Lee, was a second, or waiter to Ann.

I, *Daniel Pattee*, of Canaan, county of Grafton, State of New-Hampshire, do testify, that when I was nineteen years of age, I joined (and my father's family) a society of Shakers in Enfield, N. H.—continued with them about two years, when I went to the State of New-York, to visit the Elect Lady, and the Elders of the church. They assembled at their house of worship, in which were about fifty persons; there I saw Ann Lee locked in the arm of a naked man; they placed themselves in the centre of the company. One man asked Ann Lee if he might strip off his clothes—answer, "yes, you may all strip," and likewise all of the men stripped off their clothes! and continued in that situation dancing and carousing for the space of three or four hours. I further state, this and other conduct caused me to leave them, as this was the conduct of the church and leaders of the Society. DANIEL PATTEE.

GRAFTON, ss. Canaan, May 27, 1818.
Attested before me,
JESSE J. FOGG, *Jus. Peace.*

[*See Daniel Pattee's statement, page* 35.]

I, *Betty Morse*, of Salisbury, N. H. do state, that in the first days of the Shakers' doctrine being preached at Loudon and Canterbury, N. H. I was present, was soon induced to believe they were a good people, and joined them, (I was twenty-one years of age); which joining was to confess my sins, and be in obedience to their commands. We were ordered not to read the Scriptures; my being a professor of religion previous, it caused me to shade my windows at night to read, and at times have read the Bible the most of the night through. They prophesied, that the world should stand but four years—their assertions were such, they frightened many to join them. After I joined them, my friends were dissatisfied, and threatened taking me away, when I was conveyed to Enfield for concealment,—where I was astonished at a circumstance, viz. Lydia Williams, wife of William Williams, who was a woman esteemed among the Shakers, one evening, she having great

signs and operations, prophesied to the family, that the world would be destroyed that night, sat them in great terror and horror. She then fell on the floor in agitation ; John Johnson, uniting with her in the prophesy, also fell, when they rolled at times together, other times apart. After awhile all ceased, the judgment passed, and the world still remained. At this time I was an unbeliever of the prophesy, and I was ordered to fall to the floor and lick the dust, which I did. Soon after I joined them I was promoted to ride with the ministry from place to place, which caused me to become acquainted with many singular circumstances. Some I will name. Once when I was going with Ebenezer Cooley and James Jewet, they pretended that they had a suffering to bear for one of the Society, which had confessed a sin. Cooley said he would not bear it, when Jewet, to prepare himself, stripped part of his garments off, so as to set bear in the water, which he did for sometime. When night came, rum was the antidote, when our Elder was dead drunk, and he puked shamefully. In the morning he wished me to start a journey with him to the eastward—I refused going—then he gave orders to have all the Shakers reject me —this for a punishment.

After this, I, with three of the head Elders, started a journey to the Mother Church, at New-York. When we came to a spring or brook of good water, they would say, here is a good tavern, when we stopped, [they kept the best of spirits,] we were ordered to drink half a pint of rum each. I took mine, instead of drinking it, I poured it over my shoulder, and dipped water, and drank—thus deceived them. While with them I have spilled gallons of spirit in this way—thus keep sober, while they have been so drunk they were not able to ride, and have gone into the thick woods and lay for hours, before they could ride. When we got to the church, I found it the common practice to drink hard, and I believe rum was the cause of the death of Ann Lee, William Lee, and James Whitaker. Ann Lee died while I was at the church, and buried.

While at the church, Love Meacham, neice of Joseph Meacham, a young woman, said she thought the Mother was drunk—then she was reprimanded for false judging the Mother—after much reproving her, she confessed she was wrong; then, for her punishment, she was stripped naked, and walked between two rows of the brethren, when each one struck her a blow, then followed her and whipped her further.

They had a custom at the church of stripping the females and putting them in a creek of water, which practice was continued while the Mother lived. I saw a man, by the name of Joseph Bennet, when he asked the Mother if he might put Rhoda Chace into the creek? the Mother said, "Yea, Joseph"—when he stripped and the girl was stripped, and he took her into the water—she cried all the time. She was ever considered a clever girl. All those females who were not willing to go in, she would order to it, to humble them and mortify their pride.

When at Niskeuna, I saw Hannah Kendall, [afterwards Mother of Harvard and Shirley Society.] When living with Ann Lee, came to the Elder's room naked, and talked with them. This I think was done in obedience to the order of Ann, first Mother.

One night, there was many men and women stripped naked, and danced together—I was in another room, but heard them, and saw seven of them when they came out to dress, while others went another way. The description of Ann Lee was, shortish, thick set, of a hardy countenance; she was vulgar in her conversation, she wore a strap cap, with a chip hat, she had a large scar on her forehead—William Lee was a large boned man, sandy complexion—James Whitaker was a middling sized man, dark hair, well looking—Ocknal was shortish, thick set—Partenton was also shortish, all of which were foreigners.

Ann Lee professed to be the second appearing of Christ, and her followers must believe the same; she said she knew the minds of all men, and that she con-

versed with angels and departed spirits ; and that Moses and Elias, the Apostles, and all the ancient saints, come and confessed their sins to her and the Elders, and that they could find no salvation, until this confession of sin to them ; they professed to have the only power to forgive sin, or save lost men. We were compelled to obey every order from our superiors, otherwise we were sentenced to judgments, which sometimes had a powerful effect upon us. I found them fallacious in many things—was not at all times willing to obey their orders, for which I was chastened. Once a judgment was sentenced on me, I was bound in a condition helpless, for hours ; we were ordered to kneel to our leaders and worship them—we were forbid speaking of any dissatisfaction or discontent, and positively forbid saying any thing against that way, though it was truth, for that was the way of God.

As to children, none were permitted to live with their parents. I have taken some from the water pit, when put in by orders from the one who had the care of them. This was practiced, till I told them I would enter a complaint to the selectmen of the town. When children eight years old were stinted to knit a feeting a day, bearly for turning their head from their work, I have seen this mistress wring their nose until the blood run. I have seen children kept on their knees through the day, knitting, only when they went to eat ; if they attempted to rise, be further punished. I was with them twelve years, six years trying to find my salvation by this obedience, then six years in trying to get confidence to leave them. Their threatenings were such, I thought I must go to hell if I left them—their conduct was such, I was in trouble among them. At length a brother came, and assisted me in getting away. After which, I was so terrified for fear they would come after me, or that they had power to make me miserable, that I could not rest for a considerable time. There is certainly great infatuation on all who believe on them. During the time I was with them they made me pass

receipts every year—When I left them I had not clothes decent to wear.

This is but a short sketch of the many scenes I have seen and passed through while with them, written according to the best of my memory.

BETTY MORSE.

State of New-Hampshire, MERRIMACK, SS. } May 24, 1824.

Personally appeared the above named Betty Morse, and solemnly affirmed the above named deposition, by her signed, was just and true, according to the best of her remembrance. Before me,

BENJAMIN LITTLE, *Jus. Peace.*

The above named Betty Morse is a member in regular standing in the Congregational church, in Salisbury, N. H.

Taken from the mouth of Leavit Clough, of Canterbury, N. H. in September, 1818 :—

I was once a member of the Shakers' society. I left the Baptists and joined them, believing them a more godly people. Their outward appearance always is fair. I continued among them, until I found bad practices among the leaders. In the time I went to the State of New-York to see the first Mother and her Elders. When I arrived there, the Shakers said she was under great sufferings, and could not be seen—I waited a number of days—at length I told them I should not leave until I had seen her, as it was a great distance I had come—they consented. I had much anxiety, with fears, concerning her. I had heard so much of her greatness and power, my apprehensions were, that the rays of God's glory shone so about her, that my eyes could not behold her for the dazzle.—But alas, when I entered the room, my disappointment was great. She appeared like a drunken woman—the smell of her breath was like the smell of a rum hogshead opened. She ordered me to sit before her—she attempted to talk, but her sentences were broken. She appeared unable to walk. I believed her intoxicated—(this was Ann Lee.) At another time there was a report in Canterbury of a mob arising against the

Shakers. I went immediately to the Elders' room to acquaint them—run up stairs, and rushed in, without liberty. The first Elder sat in a chair, to appearance so drunk, that he was unable to arise—a bottle of rum stood near, by his side, on the table. The assistant Elder, with a woman, sprang from the bed—they appeared frightened—the man's clothes were not natural—the woman had her cap off, and her hair was much tangled—the bed had the like appearance—this Elder, as soon as convenient, flew to the bottle of rum—brought it to me—urged me to drink. The Elders' names were Ebenezer Cooley and Israel Chancey.* At another time I saw Deacon Zadock Wright raging with temper—he swore, and called some of the Shakers damn'd devils and bitch whores—a married man had seduced the girls to his will. Their abuse to children, breaking up families, turning off their poor, I think is wrong.

Stated by LEAVIT CLOUGH.

The reasons that Mr. Clough's testimony was not attested by a magistrate, were, he said it was true, and he had told all the neighbors of it now, and there was no need of his giving his oath to it. He is considered a very pious man, and I thought it would appear as though I doubted his veracity if I insisted on it. The Shakers have been to him, as I understand, trying their influence, but they cannot move him. Among thirty or forty depositions of this nature, it is not impossible that the Shakers, by their threats and importunity, catching at words, should decoy some of those injured persons, who had once been duped by them. The Shakers have no conscience of truth or error, only to carry their point.

Page 11, the Shakers ask why their accusers do not bring them to justice? I answer—The manner-

* They both continued with the Shakers.

of your proceedings is thus : Orders are given out, (obedience is always required) that when performed, produces cruelty and injustice. If this is borne with, all is well—If it gives uneasiness—is likely to bring disgrace or loss of numbers, the serpent will twist about, the orders are denied, the one who in obedience must obey his orders to save his soul, and avoid punishment—must now take the blame on himself, and perhaps be punished as for a fault, to screen the head or church from blame. You know this is truth.

The sufferings of *Comfort Smith* are proveable by witnesses, who have appeared since the Portraiture was published, (which are reserved.) I ask, who shall be taken for the crime? The orders of course were from the head "Bishop," spitting his venom on her, because she exposed him, but it was those ordered who put her in the horse-barn ; then she was cruelized according to further orders. She died !! Now, in case any one could be convicted of any of this cruelty, the reply would be, "All this would not have been allowed of, if the ministry* had known it ;" when in truth all those orders are from the head Shakers; and my husband said he must obey his orders, keeping me imprisoned, if my grief was such as to cause my death. A person might as well go to the infernal regions and convict old Beelzebub of his crimes, by his tormented subjects, as to convict those head Shakers, while their subjects think they ought to support them in all their orders and acts, and even take a fault on themselves to screen their leaders from blame—which my husband said was his faith, and must be mine, or I could not be a good Shaker. This was ap-

* The ministry are Job Bishop and others, residing in the meeting house.

plauded by the elders, who were then present—and I told them then, "It was enough for me to bear my own faults; other folks might bear theirs." They were then trying to make me take a fault, as I have above described. The day is soon coming, when all will see as they are seen by Omnipotence, and know as they are known by him.

Page 12, the Shakers refer all to read their publication, "Christ's second appearing," or Shaker Bible, to learn their principles. Your second edition, in places which most expose you, are altered from your first. This work condemns all other people, whatever, because no others have *Ann Lee* for a Saviour. If any person or people, are disposed to uphold them, against all others in life—and particularly against those who have suffered by them, worse than a common death—I desire such to come under her institution, and taste a little of the bitterness which her subjects partake of, or otherwise be honest, and act for the liberty of others, that yourselves would like to possess.

Page 13, they "challenge Mary M. Dyer, or any other person, to substantiate the abominable principles and conduct which she has slanderously palmed on us." As to your principles and conduct, they are abominable; but as to your being slandered, I deny it. That which is stated, is effectually proved by the most substantial evidence; and you say, page 6, "But if the foundation of any theory is proved false, what truth can be expected from that which is built thereon?" I apply this to yourselves—see *Ann Lee* and her elders—a drunken set of robbers. Not only robbing people of their properties and families, but their characters, if possible. Indeed you possess such a filthy spirit and disposition, that none can touch you with the least confidence in your prin-

ciples, without being blackened as with indelible ink—unless it can be forgotten that they ever knew you. I never even thought, that I could be reproached, until my husband fell in with your principles; and what hath passed since, God knows, and will judge in his own time. You have crushed hundreds down by your cruel, overbearing spirit. This you know, and tremble. Now, Shakers, as you know those things published in the Portraiture are correct, why do you urge me to expose you further? I was in hopes you would cease in your wickedness. But you are determined to cover the truth with falsehood—break up families—horde up the property of others—make slaves and monsters of other people's children. Better for you to have your own lawful children—this might prevent the destroying young females from off the earth! My family are perishing and dying among you, and those who have assisted the Shakers in their power to hold my children, may consider themselves as assisting in holding my daughter in those flames which have consumed her!! She was my only daughter and darling child—and admired by all who saw her. She is gone—she is no more!! I now plead for my sons, and a law of protection for mothers and children when the father joins the Shakers. My sons are of some bigness; yet the sooner they are away the better. I wish their escape before they get the capitals of *Ann Lee* stamped upon them; and as they are not learning any trades, when they are of age, they will have nothing to help themselves with.

A letter from Mary Crain, wife of Robert Crain.

Dalton, July 17, 1818.

Dear Friend—I now embrace an opportunity of writing to you, as like circumstances have been our lot. As you were acquainted with my circumstances while with

the Shakers, you must needs know what my troubles were and now are. Mary, I have waded through scenes of trouble since I saw you. Through the influence of the Shakers, my family have been broken up, and my dear children torn from my arms! I lived there afterwards, five months, and only saw them once, that the Shakers knew of, except at meeting. My poor little Mary Ann was taken from me—she went like a lamb to the slaughter! She went to meeting the next sabbath; so did I. The poor child sat crying and sobbing, as though she would break her heart; but I was not allowed to speak to her. Oh, the distress I was in. I could not eat, sleep nor work. Eldress Molly Mills told me, under this weight of trouble and distress, if Mary Ann would not stay where the place was provided for her, we must bind her to the world. Such a healing balm I had for my wounded heart, when they would not let me have the care of her. I found my health wasting fast—I knew not what to do. To go any further from my children, I thought I could not; but I found I could not stay in such a condition—I was almost distracted. Their influence over me was so piercing it captivated my reason, brought me into a delirium. A great part of the time after they took my children, I was incapable of any work.

I long to see you and converse with you. I was not allowed to speak to my husband, nor look towards him; if I did, I broke orders—we were faithfully watched. I am not writing to one who is a stranger to such customs. After I moved to the North house, where you used to live, I found things very different from what I ever had seen, or was taught. The testimony to me had been, all peace and union, without one single jar. All faces wore a solemn cheerfulness when I saw them formerly; but when I became one of the family, I found contention, sisters with brothers contending; brothers with brothers, sisters with sisters. They said I might contend, but not as the world contended. Oh, the deceitfulness of this people. I believe if one half of our

leading men knew as much about the Shakers as I do, they would not be suffered to go on in their unfeeling, unnatural, deceitful way. Of all people they have the most deceit covered. I believe the Lord will search them out. You know their gathering gifts, and sifting gifts. O Lord, let their deceit be laid open to the world of understanding. Must parents and children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, be torn asunder ? I am almost overcome with grief, while I write. Please to excuse my writing ; my mind is so pressed with grief, which causeth it to be scattered. Mary, I am anxious to obtain my children in some way, but know not how to accomplish it. I am in hopes to see you when I come down in September. I subscribe myself your affectionate friend, MARY CRAIN.

Mrs. Mary M. Dyer.

N. B. One thing I mention, hearing so much said about it, that is—John Lyon, in the presence of Robert Crain, Louisa Childs and myself, said, that what he said, was the same as though God Almighty spoke, or Jesus Christ, his Son. John Lyon was then an Elder.

Page 23, is Samuel Winkley's statement. He is son to Francis Winkley, a ruler at Canterbury Society. If Samuel is a dupe, of course he will sign what his father requests of him ; and I find his father has been as officious in this last attempt, as any in the society. His very looks belie his professions. If Samuel hath common sense, he had better be honest, for he has got out of the reach of Ann Lee, or Job Bishop, to pardon his sins ! If the Shakers so far excel all other people in goodness, holiness, tenderness and indulgence, as you have stated, why do you leave them, and live among " the nasty, filthy world, anti-christians"—Shaker style.

Page 33, Doct. Chadbourne, hath again shewn himself with the Shakers. As to what you deny, I can prove that Sarah Sewell stated to me, that you

made that remark concerning her sickness. I do not doubt, but the sisters told a good story to clear themselves. As to her recovery, her health has been desperate ever since ; and though she has been wished dead, she still lives, and I think, in the memory of some, in eternity. [*See Esq. Glidden, and Mrs. Sewell's statement, p.* 29.] I think it very dangerous, for females in particular, if it changes their constitution as Sarah's was : i. e. *Mores feminorum totatis mutantis.** I think something more than honor caused you to make your first statement, favoring the Shakers. Your proceedings were every way opposed by the General Court committee referred to, who gave their testimony against you and others of the craft;† and your statements on the subject shew to any able physician, fallacy or weakness.

Page 35, is Thomas Ward's statement, denying the following statement of his son Andrew, who is since dead.

I, *Andrew Ward*, of lawful age, depose and say, I was son of Thomas Ward, when a lad my father joined the Shakers ; my mother did not believe in all their principles. Some of the Shakers were gathered into our family. My father and a Shaker woman, who was put in mistress, governed the family. My mother, when in a feeble state, would have her orders from this mistress, to do such and such work. She must obey or my father would be offended, and treat her cruelly—she was ever afraid of my father. They obliged her to stand at the wheel and spin, when so ill, she ought to have been in bed. What this woman said, we must obey as the word of God. I observed that my mother constantly shed tears. My father said he intended to overcome natural affections—sometimes he said he had overcome them, which caused the following conduct, and similar. I had a younger brother, who, for a trifling offence, my

* Portraiture, p. 349. † Portraiture, p. 383.

father called to this mistress to hand him a string; she handed him some linen thrumbs; with these he tied the child's hands together around the wrists—by it hung him upon a tree, from the ground, and left him—he screamed a considerable time. I went to him—his hands were turned black—I pulled the limb down so that his feet could touch the ground—the limb split from the tree, and my brother ceased screaming. My father came to know the cause; began to reprimand my brother for breaking the limb, and my brother told him it was Andrew; for which my father tied me up in the same manner. I hung until the pain exceeded all I had ever experienced. I screeched according to my pain—my father took pitch, and stuck upon leather, and put it on my mouth, so I could make no noise. A man by the name of Brown took me down. I was tied up in different ways, and punished to that degree, I thought I could not live. Once I was tied and hung up in this manner so long, I lost the natural feelings in my hands for three years. I had brothers and sisters treated as cruel as I was, and by my father and this Shaker mistress. My sisters appear to have their natural capacity much injured—I think by no other cause. I left the Shakers, and had brothers and sisters, who also left them. My sisters have suffered much for the want of a home; as their capacity was not sufficient to be in an unprotected state. My father had a good interest when he joined the Shakers, but none of us have been favored with any of it. My father, for many years, has been an elder with the Shakers.

My mother lived a number of years after I left the Shakers; and I think pined away through grief. A short time before her death, she sent for me to come and see her; I went—the Shakers would not let me see her—I entreated of them, with tears in my eyes, to let me go into her room—they would not. I stayed a number of hours, used every argument possible to see her, but in vain; they peremptorily refused. I knew their cruelty, and my impressions were, that she was

in trouble, in addition to her sickness ; my heart was wounded in pity towards a tender mother—she was ever kind to her children, when it was in her power ; naturally kind hearted. My distress was great, but I must depart. My father has continued with the Shakers, and ever has treated me like a brute, until since the trial of Mary M. Dyer, in 1818. I called to see him, he treated me like a child. Since I left the Shakers, fortune has so favored me, that I have property sufficient to live upon the interest of my money, though my health is poor.

ANDREW WARD.

State of New-Hampshire, ROCKINGHAM, ss. Attested before me,

Northfield, Sept. 10, 1818.

OBADIAH MOONEY, *Jus. Peace.*

A man cruel enough to treat his family as Ward did, is wicked enough to deny it, and bear down the name of the dead ; and his being a Shaker, he must of course. There are persons now who, at that time, lived so near Ward's house, as to get water from his well, eye and ear witnesses of the cruelty. Their being neighbors to the Shakers, I leave their names until a time of necessity.

Sarah Meacham's statement, the Shakers can harp upon, as they please. She hath since moved to N. Y. state. Now you can form what you please and get her husband's consent—for he was before bribed by you to prevent her statement being attested, as I understood by Esq. Fogg, when he returned, after he went to see her ; but her willingness to have it known, and her being a very smart woman, I thought it duty to publish it. See the following.

I, *Jacob Sibley*, of Hopkinton, N. H. do certify and say, that I lived a neighbor to Jonathan Basford's family, when he and his family joined the Shakers. Many families joined and moved into Basford's family. I was once in company with a number of the town officers

there, to get a child from them for its mother, who was in great distress about it. The Shakers resisted for a time, when one of the town officers seized the child, and took it from their hands. Another day in the morning, a very cold day in winter, I went there for blacksmith work. When I had been there about half an hour, I saw a boy coming from the barn, (I should judge he was nine or ten years old) entirely naked—he ran for the house—appeared in great agony; his flesh appeared frozen in places, (he was put into the barn before I went there.) I asked the blacksmith why they treated him so? He said, for his wickedness. Still he never named any thing of offence. I shew resentment—I expected to see him drove back again—I had made up my mind to fight for his protection; but I saw him no more at that time. Afterwards he was at my house, when I spoke to him about it. The lad said he was treated worse at another time—He was gagged, then burned in the face with a coal in the tongs. From what I have frequently heard, they treat the children among them the most cruel and abominable that creatures could invent. This evidence is true.

JACOB SIBLEY.

Attest, HENRY MURDOUGH,
ANNA SIBLEY.

I, *Mary Paige*, of Weare, N. H. have been well acquainted with Jonathan Basford's family, before and after they joined the Shakers, and I was very near joining them; until, by their cruelty, I was convinced of their delusion. There was many gathered into Mr. Basford's family, where I went to meeting, and there saw a child laying in a sog, its flesh much bruised, and black and blue, and much swollen. I asked the reason—when the mother said, God told her to kill it, and bring it to life again, and she had done it. I then said, your god is the devil—then a number came towards me, said—shew, shew! you devil! shew, shew! I also heard, that Jonathan Basford whipped Sarah, his daughter, near to

death, to make her own that she had been unlawfully with another man. This I certify.

MARY PAIGE.

Attest, TRISTRAM B. PAIGE,
DAVID PAIGE.

Mary Paige is the widow of Samuel Paige, Esq. late of Weare.

This Basford was Sarah Meacham's father; and this was the place and family where Sarah and others were treated as her statement describes. [*See Portraiture, p.* 129 *; also, Martha Stanley's statement in this book, page* 25.]

Page 42, is Nathaniel Smith's statement, favoring the Shakers—when it is proveable that he has confessed his fault to Mr. Beck's folks, for making a false statement against Mr. Beck, favoring the Shakers—which statement, was the evidence he speaks of, which gave satisfaction to the committee referred to, at Canterbury. The money spoken of, was for the purpose of purchasing the lot with the Shakers equally, as was the agreement between Mr. Beck and them; and Mr. Beck was to purchase it; but they neither waited for Mr. Beck to purchase, nor would they let him have his part, after it was purchased. But instead of his having 50 acres at five dollars per acre, as they agreed, they said, "you may have ten acres, if you will give twenty dollars an acre; and the Shakers still hold the land; and to make their side appear fair, they, by some means, got this Smith to make *a false oath, to screen them.* See the following.

I, *Josiah Sargent*, of lawful age, do testify and say, that I heard Alice Beck ask Nathaniel Smith how he could make a false statement to the Shakers, concerning a piece of land in dispute between them and her husband.

Said Smith replied, that he was wrong in what he said to the Shakers, (or before the committee.)

JOSIAH SARGENT.

THOMAS BROWN,
ISRAEL DAVIS.

State of New-Hampshire, } Loudon, July 14, 1824.
MERRIMACK, ss. }

Personally appearing, the above named Josiah Sargent, and made solemn oath to the above affidavit, by him subscribed.

Before me, THOMAS BROWN, *Jus Peace.*

There is in the Shaker book two statements more from persons (by the name of Clough) on the same subject, who were references at the time above spoken of, the whole business was determined by Smith's statement at that time; but it is no matter what the Shakers get to carry their point, whether a knave or a fool. Persons acquainted with Mr. Smith may judge for themselves what sort of a person he is; still a man's evidence is good, until he is convicted of perjury. The Shakers will crawl into their holes, cover themselves with rotten wood, mulch or stones, to screen from the face of justice. But the day will come, when the heavens shall roll together like a scroll, and the earth shall melt with fervent heat, and the wicked shall call for the rocks and mountains to fall on them and cover them from the face of the Almighty; they will find that falsehood and deception will vanish; while innocent and injured persons, who have possessed their souls in patience, shall come forth standing on the sea of glass mingled with fire.

I, *Henry Beck*, of Canterbury, of lawful age, do testify and say, that I am son of Alice Beck, who has given a statement, published in the Portraiture of Shakerism, and a brother of Clement Beck, of Weare, N. H. My mother lives with me. My being a neighbor to the Shakers has caused me to be willing to bear wrongs rather than to enter into a controversy with them; and

have hitherto declined to make any statement concerning them. But their imposition is such, I feel it a duty to make the following remarks.

One evening when I was absent from home, (as I was informed,) two Shakers came to my house, and talked very hard to my mother, to make her deny her statement published in the said Portraiture ; but they had no influence over her mind. After which they sent for me and my brother Charles to go to their dwellings. I think it was about the last of May, 1824. When we came there, they had a writing formed for us to sign, which was calculated (in my opinion,) to destroy my mother's statement, endeavouring to shew that my father was satisfied with a settlement about some land, which I knew he never was, he spoke of his dissatisfaction a few hours before his death. I told them I should not sign ; it was incorrect. They then laid claim to some of our land, and said if we did not sign, they could, and would take it from us. I told them I should not, if they took all my land. This land we had enjoyed in quiet possession about twenty years, and the reason why they attempted to make the imposition, is because the bounds have been destroyed by the Shakers crowding the road on us. I returned home; the next day three Shakers with Ezekiel Morrill, Esq. who was surveyor, John Kezar, Esq. and Miles Hodgedon, came to my house, notified me to attend to the business. I told them I wished for no quarrel, and would do nothing about it. They said if I would sign their writing, they would settle, and never trouble me about it. I said that I considered that signing their writing, would make my title no better, if it would be mine then, it was now, and I should do nothing about it; if they wanted a quarrel, they might begin as soon as they please. After much threatening they left me. HENRY BECK.

Attest, PHILIP BROWN, Jr. LEVI BROWN.

State of New-Hampshire, } July 14, 1824.
MERRIMACK, ss. }

Personally appearing, the within named Henry Beck, and made solemn oath to the truth of the within affidavit by him subscribed.

Before me, THOMAS BROWN, *Jus. Peace.*

About five pages in the Shaker book are covered with deception, endeavoring to disprove the cruelty to John Oncal and wife. Dr. Plastridge was her physician, who attended her day and night. The thing was not done in a corner, it was well known to the neighbors, as this family of Shakers lived a little out from their village. Oncal, Stanley and Delano all gave their statement at one time, about the same cruelty, at Col. Delano's, in Lebanon, N. H., Feb. 24, 1819, before Jesse J. Fogg, justice peace, who is since dead.

The Shakers make much handle about some typographical errors, as the printer hath made a number, and mostly in figures, some where I have referred to other books. Their catching at such frivolous things, and making such ado about it, is a sure evidence of the general truth of the thing. Was it not for making the work bulky, and the expense larger, I could produce evidence to shew their fallacy in every particular of their book. Still their breath is so strong, in their expressions of writing, that it is like the fluid of a distillery, which will fuddle those who are not accustomed to it, though they partake of none of the liquor.

Next, there is about five pages covered with a statement from my eldest son, Caleb Marshall Dyer. I desire the God of Jacob to have mercy on him, and the rest of my children, who all have their names signed to statements in the Shaker book. Their statements appear to be signed in the same manner that a person would be compelled to drink poison that would destroy them. Not long since, my daughter's name was to one similar, but they cannot compel her to sign any thing more. If my children are not all personally destroyed, yet their abilities will be, if they continue with Shakers.

Though my eldest son expresses that he has no feeling of tenderness towards me, still he is my child, he was a son of my youth, and the one who first drew the tender cords of a mother's love from my heart, which are stronger than the love of life. I have ever been willing to risk my life for the protection of my children, and have been made willing to give my life, if it would relieve them from the Shakers; but this would not do it. My children are all dear to me. As to my eldest son, he is made a sort of an leader among the Shakers, and, without doubt, his affections are fixed on some one, as this is the last cord they attempt to bind with; of course, he must do something to bring honor to the church, or he will be put down—then he must lose his union in this attachment, which his ignorance thinks to be an attachment in Christ, because the leaders have consented to it. Here the affections are given up to the greatest pitch, and the ignorant youth imagine themselves near to heaven, when, in truth, it is nothing but perishable, and will decay with that which perisheth. The old Shaker leaders must know this, (which causeth some of them to be deists) still they hold their young subjects, and some weak minded men like my husband, in this way, which is the greatest weapon they have for many. If the subject is unwilling to comply with orders, the old leaders will threaten them, that they can break their union to God, and make them feel the judgments of hell—this is often done, and the youth loses his confidence; the same affections, which were once justified, are now condemned, and the subject feels as though he was rejected of God, and despised by the brethren—he is like a love-sick heart-broken creature. Many of both sexes are imposed on in this way, and have no opportu-

nity for knowledge of this deception, why it is, or what it is—thus go down to ruin. Let the mind of any youth be chopped up in this way, it will destroy the most capable faculties. The word is, "If you will do something to bring honor to the church, the church will honor you, otherwise you must be dishonored." By such means the Shakers' testimonies are generally produced—truth is not consulted.

I here observe that though I do not give heed to dreams, particularly, still I name a circumstance which did assist my mind to bear with those new aggravations. Perhaps three nights before I saw this Shaker book, I dreamed that I saw my daughter laying quietly dead. As I looked at her, I thought I saw Mary Stevens (a Shakeress) with a cup of new rum, and something more fiery, mixing with it. When stirred, she with my husband, pried her teeth open, and poured it down her throat. My daughter moved. Still she appeared dead. As she stirred, I thought my husband attempted to croud out her eyes. I begged of them to let her alone. They continued, and she arose from the bed, and came towards me. They followed her with aggravations. She looked ghastly, and I thought she was dead—I plead with them to let her alone, and awoke with agitation, when it seemed as though by some means she was to be brought to view in an aggravated sense, which is certainly the case. I told my dream the next morning, and I think Mary Stevens and my husband are the cause. Mary Stevens was her nurse; she prepared the cup of mixture, which my husband assisted in giving to Betsy, inflaming her mind against me, at the time she was sick; then the attempt to put out the eyes of her understanding. Her coming towards me was

her confidence, gaining in me as her friend, which I will show in the sequel.

In page 57, is a statement from Dr. Muzzey, which brings my sufferings up afresh. I saw the doctor but once to know him, and I should have thought the condition he found me in, and the conversation which then passed, would have been sufficient to have taught him better than to have aggravated me with such an imposition. You must know for years I had been deprived of all opportunity to be acquainted with my children, and the Shakers continually trying to set their minds against me; and now when you saw me she was in a death like position, and I was willing to be in a retired room, where you saw me, rather than give any occasion for controversy, as it was what the Shakers sought for, by every possible means, because they said that when I was with her, I got her affections, which should not be done. I told you the circumstances as they had occurred, and in the presence of the Shakers, so that it is impossible but you must know their cruelty and oppression. If you think my past sufferings for my children, and the then aggravated situation of my dear daughter was not sufficient to try a mother's feelings, I hope God will make you sensible by self-experience, in some way similar. I don't wish your children among Shakers, nor your wife to be your enemy; but I desire God to deal with you in some way until you have better feelings, than to be willing to aggravate the deepest wounds; I note the following, and leave the reader to judge:

I first heard of my daughter's sickness, by a son of Abel Hutchins, of Concord, N. H., when he returned from commencement at Dartmouth College, the 20th day of August, 1823. He said it was not

expected that she was then alive. I went immediately to Enfield—when I arrived in town it was thought she was dead. This was the first information for about four years. Only a few months previous I heard she was calculated by Shakers for a Deaconess. I then told a number of persons that her health would be reduced to a skeleton—as I knew it was the case with all young females who were selected Eldresses or Deaconesses. My heart is big with sorrows, and my eyes full of tears, when I realize what I know of Shakers. Oh that God would deal with them according to their deserts, is my desire and prayer. Many an inoffensive female hath been made a prey of among them. Who but a God can know my feelings! The Shakers cannot go unpunished, for their wickedness and lies.

When I left the stage, I asked the inhabitants if they thought the Shakers would shut me up, if I went among them. The people said, "if they shew you any misdemeanor, they shall be taken off: and your daughter's sickness is so well known they dare not insult you;" and further said, that people had said so much to them since her sickness, they had sent for me. I then said it was only to take away the reproach, or speech of people. I went with a female, where I found my daughter helpless, as pale as death; she manifested gladness, and tried to tell me how she was. I found she had bled at the lungs four days successively—which was abated by bleeding in the arm, and giving her sugar of lead which was ordered by Dr. Mussey. This bleeding at the lungs I consider was in consequence of an unnatural change in the constitution or habits, as she had no cough, only at times a little hack. I asked my daughter if she was not started at my first coming—she said, "nay, I expected you." I told her I

was glad she was so comfortable; from what I heard, I did not expect to see her alive. She said, "I am glad you have come; I always knew you was a good nurse." After this I saw her no more while in town. The female who went with me, asked if I should return with her. I said, I wish to stay and watch with Betsy to-night, and wish some of my friends to come after me in the morning. My daughter could not then lift her head from the pillow. Soon as the woman was gone, my husband came in, urging me to leave the house. I told him he had a bad spirit—I wished not to contend. I was then in such distress, it seemed as though I could not contain myself; my daughter looked like death, and my husband sent in to scold me. He continued to urge me away; I asked him what he meant, as they said the Shakers had sent for me to come and see Betsy. He said "that I might come and look at her, and go away, as other folks did." He urged me to go to the office. My feelings were much injured, and I dared not shed a tear in sight of my daughter. I said if I could lie down in this house, I should be glad to—he urged me out. My daughter said, "there is a bed in this chamber over head, which she might lay on as well as not." Mary Stevens then consented. As I write, I am ready to meet my enemies at the day of judgment, and my absent daughter as a witness. After retirement I walked out; when I returned, my husband, with three Shaker women, were in the room with Betsy. Soon as I entered, they began to contend about my going away. I asked them why they were so inconsistent; they need not fear, I could not carry her away, if they were ever so willing, she was not able to be moved; and as to principles it was no time for that; I wished for her health, and if there

was a blessing for her, I wished she might be better. I requested of them to keep a still spirit, as much as possible, and she might get better. I took hold of her, and assisted her in turning; this offended. My husband said he could see the devil in me, trying to get her affections; he further said he would not leave the room until I did—that he was a going to watch. This was a very warm day, and six in a small room, I thought Betsy could not get her breath among so many. Oh, I thought, what shall I do? I arose from my chair and said, "I am sure the number in the room makes it difficult for Betsy, she is so distressed at the lungs, I will go out if you will"—(this to my husband.) My daughter then spoke against my going out. When I took my seat beside her, my husband stayed in the room until nine o'clock, and said no more that time, then left. Three women kept in the room with me until one o'clock, when I went to bed. The weakness of my daughter was such, she must be awaked once in 8 or 10 minutes; when I put my hand to her's she would squeeze mine with tenderness—she rested quietly. In the morning, she said she had rested well. This morning I left, returned at evening with elder Chase—he desired to see my daughter, but was refused; he said, "I hope you will let her mother see her." I went to the house where my daughter was—they appeared very cross; my husband came in and said, "We did not expect you again so soon." I asked my daughter how she was—she appeared dejected, looked miserable. I told him he could not expect but I should wish to stay with her what I could until some alteration. When I spoke to Mary Stevens, she would not answer, but looked surly. My feelings were so pressed I was faint. I went to the

outer door, for air—I attempted to return—the door was fastened against me—I heard stepping and strange voices within—I went around to another door, where I entered—found my husband with some of the leaders persuading my daughter that my spirit was so against the Shakers, it was the cause of her sickness, and if they could not keep me away she would certainly die; here they were pouring down their mixture. I told them I had natural affections, and I wished to have, and they felt very tender now; and I was sure that could not hurt her nor any other, and epecially when I had not seen her for so long time. They urged this on my child, and said the Governors had been there; were sensible of it, and spake of it. I asked them what Governors? They said, Gov. Woodbury and Gov. Eustis. I then told them that Gov. Eustis said at the tavern below, that Betsy could not live if she was not moved from there; and that he told True Heath,* a deacon, the same thing, and urged it on him. They utterly denied it. My husband afterwards said, Heath would take his oath that the Governor never said a word to him about it. You will see, in the sequel, the statement which the Governor made concerning it; I saw and talked with him myself. I mourned with distress, but still kept my tears. I asked him what he thought my feelings were to keep me so long from my children, and now to see the condition of my daughter, and you trying to irritate her feelings, thus to press me from her. I was conducted into a room with a glimmering lamp—you could only discern that there were people. Here were my sons; I found their minds had been irritated in the same manner—from what

* This Heath was all the one of the name that belonged to the Society in that place.

I discovered from looks and actions, I should as soon thought they had been other people's children as mine. The scene through so preyed on my health, that I was miserable. My husband said, if he had thought Betsy would have lived until I could have got there, they would not have sent for me! and intimated to her and the other children, as though I would willingly do something to end her days, if I could not get her from the Shakers any other way.* When in truth they were afraid I

* Friendly reader, you may think there was some uncommon cause for this conduct, and that they would not have treated any other so cruel, but they certainly do. I had personal knowledge of their treating a mother equally as cruel when I lived with them, as you may read.

A family moved from the country of my acquaintance. The woman was not so strong a Shaker as her husband. After a time, her youngest child was sick, when a number of days had past, the old Eldress came into my room, looking very grave, with a drawn down face, she said, "Mary, I have something to say to you; Daniel's folks have got a very sick child, they want you should go up and see it, and advise them about it; they sent before for you to come up, but we thought Benjamin had better go, he could doctor it so as to answer, but they have sent again, and perhaps you had better go, if you feel to." Yes, be sure, and I would have gone before if I had known it, why did not you tell me? Oh, we thought it want best, but you may go in—Nelly is going with you, (she was for a watch, to see and hear what was said.) When I went in, (as I was in a shop,) Mr. Aldrich said, "Daniel's folks are very anxious to have you come—said they knew you so well, that they were sure you would come and see them, if you knew the child was sick, and that they wished you to come." I said, I had not heard of it before. He then said, "Daniel told me not to leave the place until I saw you myself." The Shakers looked beat. Nelly and I fitted off. When we got there, (which was three and a half miles) the child was dead and laid out. I told them how it was—Daniel said nothing had shaken his faith like this. He said, if I had come when they first sent for me, he thought the child would have been better. It appeared to have had a bad cold, and I think was choked with worms, from what they said. When we returned, and told the circumstance, this sanctimonious hypocrite, (Eldress) said, "Well, it is no loss, the child hindered its mother more than it would ever be profit." The child was two years old, yet it needed some care. The next day the child was brought to this house for the funeral—When this old Eldress said, "I wish to have the funeral conducted as people of the world do theirs," and asked me the custom. I told her, and as far as she liked, it was conducted so, but there was little similarity. Just before we went into the room, where the corpse was this eldress came to me and said, "Mary,

should become acquainted with her and her complaint. I told my husband the Shakers could not be blessed in such cruelty towards me. Oh, I thought, how can I endure! I retired early. Was I as full of falsehood and wickedness as the Shakers pretend, I should certainly destroy some of them: as to my life, I should not value it a straw, to see my children in such a condition. It is only the fear of offending Omnipotence, that makes me endure those awful

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I don't know but you may think strange, but we are going to take this opportunity to deal with Lucy, (the mother of the child) we think now is a good time—her mind is tender, and may be easily subdued," (be broken, she might have said.) I pitied the mother, but said not a word, They had Lucy up stairs dealing with her a time—then we all went into the room where the corpse was—when Lucy was set back into the world's place, (as they call it) to humble her. They stood in ranks and sung; then the Elder said something about their being in obedience to God in the leaders—but no prayers. I never heard a prayer from one of them while I lived there, nor never heard of a vocal prayer among them—but they must think of Mother and the Elders. After those few words from the Elder, the coffin was opened, when the Elders first looked in—the mother must stand behind in derision, and was the last who came to see the corpse. The grave was near to the house, When they went to the grave, she went behind, bore her burden alone —inhuman! They appeared to aggravate her feelings as much as possible—I pitied the woman, but must not say a word to her—I thought what would be the case if one of my children should die.

I was now promoted next to the Elders, and was all the time I was there, until after I made it manifest that I meant to leave them. I never left the Shakers because they did not applaud me; for they did; and I thought were much pleased with me,—but I left them because their principles were not honest—and they lived in an adulterous spirit, and cruelised all whom they pleased, whether innocent or guilty—to break their spirits down, and submit them, to any obedience. And now when my daughter was sick, they thought it a good time to break my spirits, and make me believe, my spirit against them was the cause of her sickness, and would be her death. This, to make me deny the One God, and believe on them. But God is light, and in him is no darkness nor variableness of changing, which hath ever helped me to see their fallacy—and it is He alone, who knows what contradictions I have endured by Shakers. May He ever protect me in my sincere desire.—I was never at another funeral while with them—they do not manage all alike; such as are ordered to attend, do; others pay no attention. There has been a custom among them, for the man to bury his own wife—to put the dirt on, to shew his dislike to natural affections; and for old travellers among them. The parents must take no notice, when their children are buried—nor children of their parents. For a person to cross

aggravations in patience; common murder is not more cruel. Still, I never attempted to injure them in the least thing, no further than to expose them in the truth; and this I did in mercy to leaders and people, in hopes of reformation, and consider it no injury. But they never will cease in their abuse until they are compelled to, although I am by their means accused of all manner of evil: still I defy them or any other, to produce a person who knows me guilty of any immorality. As to my inveterate spirit, as they term it, I think I have had enough to try me; and it is not my fear of them or any other person, or of death, that has prevented me from revenge, if that had been my object. They even pretend that I would set fire to them; (I suppose they mean their buildings.) This I could do with all ease if I wished; but this would not remove the cause of my complaint. I have sometimes thought I would give up my life in defence of my children. Scripture says, "No greater love can any man have, than to give up his life for his friend." As to life here, it is nothing, to be imposed on as I am. If I once disbelieved in a God of rewards and punish-

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their natural affections, as the Shakers do, makes them worse than the brute; and I think the meanest reptile might teach the Shakers wisdom. Almighty God, make thy power known, and awfully shake their rotten foundation. At another time, when I lived with the Shakers, my Elders requested me to go to one of their new families, and assist in laying out a child which they said, had been some hours dying. When I got there, I found life was in it, though you could not perceive it breathe. I asked them some questions about it, when a thought struck me that it might be brought to. I sent all out of the room but its parents, then I applied some liquid nutriment to its mouth, the father thought it presumptuous—I told him it could do no hurt, if it did no good. I dropped a drop or two into its mouth, until some ran down its throat; a second time the child stirred—it revived, and afterwards got well. Now when Betsy was sick, (after they had talked so hard to me) five of them were taken down with a fever, the Shakers wished me to go in and see them—and I don't doub would have been glad to have had my advice—(but my own child I should kill.) I refused going in, Reader, what do you think of such things?

ments, the Shakers would not dare to treat me as they do: whatever I feel to be right, I shall certainly do; and I feel at times as though I had endured nearly enough. To think we should have a law for a woman to be subjected to a husband, and by this subjection must have a family of children, then, by the same law, have her children taken from her and placed where they are taught to treat her with barbarity, and that she is a monster in the world, is too much to be borne with. It would be better that there never was a woman, or that the men should never have one, unless they will make a law for their protection, with their children.

After my early retirement, the next morning I found my daughter very ill; she lay in a sog with her eyes fast closed the most of the day—she looked like death. My husband was in, placed himself at the foreside of the bed as a defiance to me. I sat at the other part of the room—said nothing until about eleven, when I said, we shall not have her long. His feelings seemed a little moved, when he spake to one of the sisters to take his place, and left the room. Just before night, I seated myself at the foot of the bed where I could look in her face; I raised my desires to God in her behalf, that he would drive back this power of death, which then was preying upon her. She soon opened her eyes, and saw and spake to me, when I gave her some information about our relations in the country, which was the first information she had had from them since she was eleven years old; she was now twenty-one—she appeared satisfied in hearing from them. She was never again in such a death-like posture while I continued in the neighborhood, which was five weeks. I returned to my boarding place that night, which was a mile and a half—returned the next

morning, when all looked with sourness; my daughter appeared afraid of me—was very ill; I suppose she had had another lecturing about me. I soon told them, if I could assist or advise in any thing for her comfort I was willing; otherwise, I would retire to the chamber, as I wished to be near her until some alteration. They refused all assistance, and were not even willing that I should brush the flies from off her. I withdrew to my chamber, where in my feelings, I buried my daughter: she looked as though every hour would be her last. I kneeled and desired the eternal power to assist me, and have mercy on the soul of my poor distressed child. The scene was so aggravating that I felt the need of divine assistance to bear my spirits up.

In the afternoon, Doctor Mussey was escorted into the chamber by my husband, when I was introduced to him; other Shakers stood in the spaceway through the door. I was glad to see the Doctor—was thankful he had some charge of my daughter. I soon learned, from an observation my husband made, that they had been trying to sour the mind of the Doctor against me; I then told him the particulars as I have above named, which must have shewn to the Doctor why my daughter made such an observation, which I do not doubt she did, if she believed any thing which her father or the Elders said. (This caused her to be afraid of me—when previously the Shakers said, I had the best understanding of sickness of any among them, and intimated abroad (as I have since learned) that I had the healing power, which was in consequence of my being favored in nursing; but now I was of the world.) My husband said in an aggravating way, that I said I knew what ailed my daughter and what would cure her, as though I knew more than the

Doctor; but that was not the case. It was this:—When Betsy told me how she was, I told her I understood her case well; I had been similar myself, while I was with the Shakers, and it is a wonder I am alive. I did not bleed at the lungs as she did; the reason was, my blood was very low, but hers was full. I had bled some at the lungs, and was otherwise affected as she was, and the same that helped me, I thought would her. One of the Shaker women said then, 'Betsy and her mother are very much alike every way.'

Had not my daughter been intended for the Deacon's Office, she might have been well now. That Office, a den of abominations, your union and relations produced by what you call "first mother's spirit," you old Shakers must know it is the essence of adultery; but your ignorant children and youth what can they know, only as you teach them? How can I endure this imposition on my family! (I desire the Lord to teach them by his wisdom in the stillness of their minds.) If you old Shakers are pleased to call this fire or flame the fire of the Holy Ghost, how shall they know the difference? While the delicate constitution is soon devoured, I desire Jehovah to interfere in behalf of the innocent—to display that light which shall discover all false religion.

I conversed with the Doctor perhaps half an hour, when my husband, to shew his kindness to me, offered in a gift, Marshall my son, to go with me to my boarding place, and that he should carry and fetch me at any time. Oh, this intriguing deception to make a fair appearance, when previously he had been as cruel as possible! I did not refuse the offer, though I could see it was to blind the eyes of strangers. This was the last opportunity I had

with my son; they had got the good name, and accomplished their cruelty. After this, I saw my daughter only once in four or five days. When I had been in town two weeks Betsy was still feeble; her flesh wore off, and she grew more faint. I asked her if she took any thing to nourish her; she said nothing but the water of boiled wheat, barley, thin gruel, &c., with frequent cathartics. I found the Doctor did not come to see her now, and those drinks appeared to sicken her. I was sure she could not endure in this way, and in my absence I had got some courage. Now, for the first time, I interfered in the nursing; I told them to let her have something to eat. "Nay," said they, "we must obey the Doctor's directions." I said the Doctor did not visit her now, and she could not live as she was; if they would let her have something nourishing to eat and it hurt her, I would bear the blame; otherwise, she would die at any rate. I soon returned; the second day after, I went again—she was more comfortable. Ruth, her cook, said she gave her some victuals the day before, and more that day; it relished well, and she was better.

After this, she got better very fast, and her attachment was towards me from that time; she tried to shew me favor in every possible thing. The nurses were more pleasant, and I think if I had stood more for my right, they would not have dared to treat me so bad before. The next time I went to see her, she sat up some; she asked why it was that our family was there and I away, and why this controversy. I told her she was not able to talk nor hear me talk, if she was I would tell her; she then said, if ever I am able, come and tell me; I told her I would—all this before the Shakers. They would not let me see her one minute alone.

I stayed in the neighborhood three weeks after she began to eat food, and she gained as fast as I ever saw one from so low a state. I concluded that in a few weeks more she would be able to leave, if it was her choice, and then I would tell her my history of the family being there, and why the controversy; and she knowing so many circumstances, it would help to explain the rest, which would convince her so as to break those bands of ignorance which now held her mind. This I intended before I left town. I soon found, that by the Shakers' intrigue, I was compelled to take a journey. The day before I left, I called to see my daughter; she had left her room, was sitting up, and did all the time I was with her—said she eat her food well—was comfortable—thought she should soon be about—she had no cough—said if she should never be as rugged as formerly, she was as likely to live years as any one. I told her I was under the necessity of going away, but hoped I should hear from her, and that she would be well when I returned. I further said, if you are dealt with as other children are when their parents are away, you will be told all manner of evil about me; but let you hear what you will, you always remember that I try to live every day so as to be accepted by that God who sees me at all times. She said, "what I see and know, I know, but I shall not believe every report."* I was sorry she said this, as the Shakers were present, and if they thought she had any confidence in me, and would be likely to leave them, they would rather she would die: and this could be easily accomplished—and I do not feel as though she was fairly dealt by in the first place, nor in the last. It makes my heart ache when I think of it.

* This was in the presence of Elder Chase's wife, who went with me.

I bid her farewell, with as much expectation of seeing her again, and relieving her from that place, as I ever expected to return.

I now sketch my journey. I returned to Concord, forty miles, by stage, the last of September. From thence took a number of hundred books, by stage went to an uncle's of mine in Hampstead. The 10th of October, my uncle went with me to Newburyport, Mass. He left me at Maj. Swett's. I found my feelings brought to a critical place—among strangers, on business the most unexpected to me. This was the first view I ever had of a seaport—people were very humane. I told them the necessity of my feelings to have the public know the Shaker principles, that they might avoid suffering by their deception. I also informed people how the Shakers had managed to obstruct the sale of my books. I felt the presence of the Lord with me at all times, which bore my spirits up. After two weeks in this excellent family, and the sale of a number of books, I went by stage to Ipswich, Mass., where I stayed one day, and sold many books. From thence to Essex, where were my ancestors—(where I found my Marshall name descended from the Scotch.) Here I stayed some days—held thanksgiving with them—sold many books. In all places I made calls on ministers, and persons in authority, that the information might be of use for protection in a temporal and spiritual sense. The next I went to Manchester, where I was received very cordially by the Rev. Mr. Emerson and wife, and by many other worthy people, one who is designated by the title of the good Mrs. Martha Lee. Here I made a short tarry—sold many books. From thence I went to Beverly farms, to a relation, Timothy Marshall. Providence

is bountiful in wealth to this family. Of one of his son's wives I had a beautiful mahogany work box for my daughter, it contained every convenience. John Marshall, son of this Timothy, commanded the vessel which conveyed Harriet Newell, with her husband, to the East-Indies, the first missionaries from America. I enjoyed myself so well in this place, I should like to have stayed months, would my business allowed of it. I passed from this to Windham, where I made a call on Deacon Dodge; here I enjoyed religious conversation. Called on Mr. Sperry, the minister; he appeared a pleasant man, of delicate feelings—I thought he would hardly endure the task Providence had allotted to him; but we are all fitted to our condition. From thence I went to Danvers, Beverly town, and the edge of Salem, where I stayed three weeks, sold out my books, sent for more, sold them. In those towns are various denominations of professors, and I think good people in all. My being a stranger, gave me opportunity to prove the charity or humanity of all; and I have reason to render gratitude to professor and non-professor, as far as I had any acquaintance.

The last of December I returned to Concord, N. H., where I expected to hear from my sick daughter, as I had sent particular word for them to write, if there was any alteration. I found no letter; therefore concluded she was mending. I was much agitated in my sleep about her, and thought her discontented, which I often observed while on my journey—and further said, if I lived to finish my task, I would relieve her from that place, or die myself, (that was if she was alive.)

The 3d day of January I took the remainder of my books, went to Salem, Mass., from thence to Lynn, where I had many pleasant visits with people

of various sects and denominations, and among all, are those who may be designated Friends, according to Scripture, which says, "Ye are my friends, if you do whatsoever I command you," that is, friends to the Lord. It is not any particular sect, referred to, as friends, but they who do the commands of God, some of which I think may be found among professors and non-professors. The Lord looks at the heart or intent of the mind. My business of selling books, introduced me to many people, also to religious principles; and I shall have reason continually to praise God, and the people, for the many blessings and favors shewn me in my singular journey. At Lynn, I soon found myself with those I formerly boarded with at Concord, N. H., and those who helped me to bear my afflictions at that awful time when first I petitioned for my childrens' release, in 1817. At that time I was with my brother; still I was such a stranger in the world, it seemed more than I could endure. Had there then been made a law of protection, it would have saved my family from much trouble, my friends from anxiety, and my daughter's life.*

There hath been many arguments against a petition of this nature, and by Shakers. One is, taking up the time of the Court, which is a great expense to the State—When there are frivolous things dwelt upon, such as altering persons names from John to Peter, or something similar, such as a tax on some non-resident land, for a road which will never be travelled, and if granted, only a road bushed out;

* You will begin to think I am not a predestinarian—I am so far as this, I believe it is predestinated, that a large quantity of poison will kill a man if he takes it, and to cut a man's throat he will bleed to death, or to stop his breath he will die, &c.; but the case is here, we have discretion sufficient to teach us these things, and that we ought to avoid it, otherwise we are accountable, which brings the judgment near.

which is all done by some jockey who wants the job, to draw a booty from some land holder in New-York, or get his land at vendue. This all goes well; but when a mother is pleading for the life and safety of her children, her dearest self, the expense of the State is sounded, or the Constitution is in danger. Although this is the case, I don't mean to reflect, for I believe every candid person, who had an understanding, would have been glad to have had a law of redress in such cases. But we know that courts and laws are governed by few persons, and these govern the community; and the Shakers are subtle enough to use all the intrigue possible to blind the minds and get influence over this few. If the larum of expense, or the danger of the Constitution does not answer, they will begin to cry down the petitioner—send their hounds out, who, for a ham, a cheese, a keg of butter, or a little cash, will misrepresent and calumniate with serpents' stings; and surely they must be faithful to insinuate as much as possible in the minds of those strangers, who sit at the head of business, and soon there is such a mist cast over the mind, that it will look like a disgrace to meddle with any thing for such a character, though of ever so great consequence to thousands.

My friends, I think this circumstance pleads for itself: was I guilty of any immorality, as they and their advocates attempt to insinuate,* they would rejoice to devour me. No earthly wealth would be that gratification to the Shakers, that it would to get any real occasion against me. I defy them to do it; I am willing my character should be searched. Was it more known as it is in reality, it would be better for me. I am not only calumniated in print, but persons, (or a person) who call themselves hon-

* They accuse me of forgeing Depositions—
are our Magistrates duped?

orable, (to favor the Shakers) have in large assemblies reported defamation against me, which I can prove has not the least color of truth. Such things are not to be borne with, and such persons, if they do not desist, I shall call them by name, and they shall prove their assertions, or I will prove them guilty of falsehood. For a man to contend with men of equal rights, would be more of a conquest, than to contend with a defenceless woman who hath a husband, and a banditti of Shakers against her. One Shaker in other men's clothes, are worse than ten with a broad-rimmed hat and a drab coat—those people know where to look for them. That God who searches all hearts, knows I am not guilty of any foul conduct. I do not say this for promotion in life; I have nothing to live for but to wait God's time and do his will: why I say it is, because it is truth and for truth's sake. It is unpleasant to speak in favor of one's self, but in this case the truth ought to be defended as well as in any other.

If this session should pass, and no redress, after all the exertions made and sufferings endured, I do not know what other woman would dare to make an attempt for relief, though they suffer ever so much: we might as well die by the Shakers' cruelty, as by the unfeeling disposition of others. I was but thirty years old when my husband entered into their base principles. We were growing in property, had a pleasant family, and lived in christian harmony. Age had not cast a frown upon me. Since then, what a destruction hath taken place! my family destroyed—property gone—health injured—constitution wrecked, which is caused by unjust cruelty in consequence of the Shakers. The thoughts of those injuries are bowing me, as a worm at the root of a well grown branch; it withers and

falls by means unseen. I am willing to meet all my adversaries at that day, when all are brought before a righteous tribunal.

I return to my journey.—After being in Lynn some weeks, I was invited to a Quaker family, near Harvard and Shirley Shakers. I thought it duty to scatter my books as much as possible, for information. I went by stage through Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge, and other towns, to Marlborough, Stow, Bolton, Shirley and Harvard. When in Harvard town, I heard that my daughter was dead; it shocked me very much, as I had not heard any thing from her, and so far expected her that I purchased a number of articles of clothing for her. The news so shocked me as to take away my strength: my disappointment was such, I felt unable to attend to my business. After selling a few books, I returned to Marlborough, where I stayed a few weeks and sold about seventy dollars worth of books. I returned to Brighton, where I sold—and in Medford and Cambridge, many more. From thence I went to Roxbury, where I called on Governor Eustis; a lady from town went with me. I first sent a line to him, when he sent for me in; when he said, "Is this Mrs. Dyer?" I answered it is; he said, "I am glad to see you; how does your daughter do?" I told him she was dead; he then related to me the following circumstances, and requested Mrs. Hawes to give me a statement of the same, which I here insert.

Roxbury, Massachusetts.

This may certify, that this 12th day of March, 1824, I went in company with Mrs. Mary M. Dyer to the house of Governor Eustis, of this State, who related to her in presence of the Attorney-General and myself, the following circumstance respecting her daughter (Betsy Dyer)

whom he saw with the Shakers at Enfield, N. H., when on his journey to Hanover, to Commencement. That he attended their worship on Sabbath in August last, and without any information, his attention was drawn to this daughter—that he requested to know who she was, and wished to see her, and that she came in with an old lady. Then he spake with emphasis: "Never did I behold a more interesting countenance on a female than hers"—said he conversed some with her; found her health bad. He left and went to Hanover. Shortly after, *Heath*, a *Shaker*, came to Hanover to fetch some articles to him of their manufacture which he had previously purchased: then said he, "I asked after this young woman; Heath said she was worse, and that he had come for Doctor Muzzey. I told him if he should get all the physicians in the country, she will be no better, unless she be taken out of that family: then said he made many proposals for this purpose, but to no effect. Heath insisted she must be there; then he with resolution observed, 'What, not to save life, won't you let her go? not to save life!' Heath then hesitated and said, 'we will think of it, but there are many difficulties which attend it." Mrs. Dyer said, "No wonder he was not willing to let her go, she was calculated for his spiritual companion." The Attorney-General spoke and said, "what is this you say?" Mrs. Dyer observed; "every leading man in the Society hath a spiritual companion." He said, "I ever considered them a deluded, but innocent people." The Governor then said, "there are no greater villains (in my opinion) on earth, than these head Shakers." He said his feelings were such, that he talked with Governor Woodbury on the subject, and also said "there ought to be a law of protection." He also requested me to give Mrs. Dyer this statement.

MARY HAWES.

I learnt that Governor Eustis was a regular bred physician, and Governor Brooks* also, whom I cal-

* He purchased a book, as did the other.

led to see, with one of his acquaintance. These two men feel for the liberty of their countrymen, women, and children. My time was every where spent more agreeably than I expected. In Cambridge, a merchant lady (Mrs. Fanewell) made me a present of a mourning Bonnet; in Lynn, Capt. Bachelder's wife, a pair of mourning Beaver Gloves; at Boston, Mrs. Sutherlin took a ring from her finger, placed it on mine, said that was friendship. Boston was the last place of my selling books: I had but a few with me. I went in town Saturday, left Tuesday for Concord, N. H. When I went to Bolton, I stayed a few days in Boston—left some books at the Book-stores. Now and then, I found acquaintance, with a number of very respectable people—Mrs. Willis and family, Dr. Baldwin and family, where I visited. Elder Lindsey, Elder Hedden, and wives, where I had an invitation to visit, which would have been very pleasant, but I was otherwise engaged; I had a pleasant visit at Mrs. Boidens. I was made acquainted with Dr. Jarvis, and a number of ladies of respectability. Instead of finding people with a haughty aspect, they were every way pleasant, humane, and of tender feelings. I was delighted with their affability; I often thought, this is the perfection of good manners. I was sure, though I was country born, I should be happy in such society as this. Those who are independent in Boston, are not seeking to attain some popular standing or dignity, like some who have not attained—afraid to speak or stir, lest they shall lose some of their preferment. Those have already attained, and it appears to be their delight to treat people with politeness.

When I found the time of my daughter's death, I thought by the condition I was brought to at that

time, I had sympathy with her in her distress. Some may think strange at this remark; but the Apostle Paul said, "though absent in body, yet present in spirit." I relate as follows:—from some time in December I was much worried about her; if I had any retirement, she was present in my mind more than any of the family ever was. This I often mentioned to the friends wherever I kept. The week she died my rest left me; I felt unfit to see company: but I was now at Lynn with my old acquaintance, and for many days we met for religious visits. The day of her death, many were invited to Sylvanus Newel's; my feelings were such I thought I could not attend, yet there appeared no proper excuse. I went, and at dusk I went out—was distressed in my feelings about my family. There were as many as thirty people in the room when I came in; I began to speak my feelings. I was affected with a tremor, so that I felt almost helpless, (as I did afterwards, when I heard of her death.) I kneeled, prayed for myself, for those present, for my family, and for my poor daughter: and I recollect uttering these words: "O Father, thou knowest our condition, and that I cannot be with her nor help her; but thou, O God, art every where present: wilt thou have mercy, and reach thy hand down and take her." (the hand of his power.) I was so distressed it was manifest to all in the room, and I think they had sympathy with me. This was about six o'clock, which I afterwards learnt was her dying hour. Had I been with her I could not have felt more; but I should have had an opportunity of telling them the cause of her death; which, if it was my last and dying words, I believe it was by unfair means produced by those leaders. which they must know; and when those subjects get their death

wound, by their Mother's fiery gospel, they will sometimes send out for a physician; and when they come, it is difficult knowing the cause of their complaint. The reason is, they cannot imagine, as things are. If they knew your gifts for the fire of your Holy Ghost, and gifts for Mother's love, then for your gospel union and relation—if they understood this, they could understand that those youth could not exist, with Betty Andress Draper, and True Heath in the Office. They are so immersed into that power that brought death into the world, that their very spirit preys on the delicate constitution, by being constantly with them, if they are not guilty of such wicked acts. I should think reason would teach them, that such a fire as you possess, is that which is unquenchable. Won't you have mercy on yourselves, nor your subjects? No! not so long as you are governed by your desires. If those old monsters knew half of their subjects would die similar, they would not cease in their——(I don't know what to call it) for they could come to the world, and supply their stock, as they say.

There are many among them who live years in a sort of dying state, like a dim taper; whose constitutions have been previously destroyed by their Mother's Gospel. And those selected ones will no more cease in this wickedness, than fire will cease consuming fuel, unless Omnipotence should interfere by some means of protection. The old Shakers can understand what I mean, but I do not know as other people can. I leave it after observing, that to doctor one of those sick, and they continue with the Shakers, is like throwing water on a person who stands scorching by a fire; if you would stop the disease, you must take them from the Shakers, or remove the first cause.

After I heard of my daughter's death, I delayed my journey. I went to Enfield in April, where I inquired of the neighbors about Betsy. They said they understood she grew worse soon after I left town in the fall; and that the Shaker women said she was very anxious to live, and for four weeks before her death, they did not expect her life from one day to another. After her death, my husband came into the neighborhood, and said, some of the young sisters shed tears when they heard she was dead, but he did not, they had not travelled so far as he had. It seems he had travelled farther than Jesus; when *he* was at the grave of Lazarus, he wept. But now the travel is, to overcome natural affections, hardened in tyranny. I went to the Shakers with Elder Chase and wife; my eldest son soon came in, he spoke of Betsy's reconciliation to death—I thought of what I heard by the neighbors. I asked if she had her senses when she died, he said she had. I asked if he saw her when she died, he said, "Nay, I was at supper, but heard by the sisters." I asked the hour of her death, he said, "about six in the evening." I could not learn that one of the family was with her. Oh. if I could but have rested her dying head!! but no—I desire the spirit of Omnipotence to bear my spirit up. If she was so happy, why was not the family with her? The nurses of course must tell a good story, to content the rest of the children and their infatuated father.

I carried each of my sons an orange, which I suppose was the first my three youngest ever saw—I offered to the youngest son first, he reached his hand towards it, then drew it back. I then said, I did not know as you would dare take it for fear of being pestered. My eldest son said, "Nay,

we are not so afraid of being pestered as you think for, take it." He then took it. As I before observed, my eldest son is a sort of an overseer, or waiter to the higher deacons, when he consented, it would do. This I tell, to see the strictness of the orders.

The Shakers brought forth my husband's name in public to vindicate their cause, until his bitterness hath been a disgrace to them. Now my children's names are made use of. My youngest child was but three years old, the next five, when the Shakers stole them from me, when I knew nothing of it, nor expected it, no more than I did their death, and I knew not where they were for weeks. Next my daughter was taken in the same way. Now they are duped or compelled to sign a writing against me. The Shakers had rather every child of mine would die in an hour, than to leave this deception—indeed, they would be glad never to have one leave the Society, if they would die as soon as they become useless or unprofitable ; but when they don't, they sometimes drive them off.

My second son boasts of his stature. Watts measures a man by his mind. However, my children were of good natural abilities; but their talents will be metamorphosed and spoiled if they stay with Shakers. Some people blame me for ever consenting to go to the Shakers with my husband. Ignorance was my weakness; had people been faithful in circulating knowledge, the Shakers would never have got me there alive ; for this cause I have endeavored to be faithful. I asked Elder Stone, a baptist, why his connections had not published those facts about Shakers, that people might know, as they were well acquainted with Shakerism, and had suffered much by them ? He said, " People were afraid to publish, the Shakers' enmity was so

violent." I told him we had as good die one way as another; and I could not rest to have people exposed to such afflictions and not make it known; if they killed me, I could not die but once.

The following is a short sketch, but correct:—1st, I never had seen a Shaker, to my knowledge, until the time my husband joined them. 2nd, I never consented to unite with him in their ceremonies, until my husband said, if I did not he would carry my children to the Shakers, but if I would, I should have the care of them. 3d, I never should have consented to have removed in with them, had not my husband first placed some of the children there by deception, by which means they stole the rest. After they got all of them, I was brought to distraction, at times. My husband then said I should go and have the care of them. I went, but never had the care of them; but lived in hopes nine months. There has no promise been fulfilled, since my husband joined the Shakers, for my safety. I asked him what he had done with his promises; he said, "I made them in the carnal mind; when I came here the gift of God could not comply with it." It is now my sincere desire, that he might see the Shakers' deception, understand their obscenity, and save his soul. But if he hath an understanding, and makes it his choice to worship Lucy Lyon, I am perfectly willing he should; only I do not like for him to destroy the children by holding them there; or otherwise, he must be parted from his Lucy. The word is, "you must give all in your power, or be rejected." It would be a mercy to any man, if he joins the Shakers, not to have power over his family; then if he was pleased to stay or leave, his children are protected.

In the Shaker Book, are nine pages covered, trying to disprove that Ann Lee was ever at Concord, N. H. The same testimonies are published in the N. H. Patriot, June 1823; when I made the following reply:—

TO THE PUBLIC.

By the advice of some of the members of the Legislature, and a request from the inhabitants of Concord, and to do justice to my own feelings, I publish the following.—In the N. H. Patriot of June 30, 1823, is brought to view statements from the Shaker Society, endeavoring to prove that Ann Lee and William Lee her brother, were never in New-Hampshire. It appears that no one instance hath been such an absolute witness to the people of Concord, that the Shakers intend to cover truth with error, as this circumstance. I here present affidavits, as specimens, from as respectable people for truth and veracity as any in town. There are more similar, who are ready to attest the same. You will find in the Shaker Bible, first publication, page 30, they have stated, that the Shakers were, after they came to America, three years scattered for a living; which, if they settled at Watervliet in 1776, as you have stated in this Shaker Book, (called a review) she must have come to America in 1773; but according to the statement of Farnum and others, they were in Concord in 1773 or 1774: and they further say, that they were here in the fall of the year. And one of those who have asserted in the Patriot or Review, says she did not come from England until the next year after Ann; but that is of no consequence whether she ever saw her or not; the very principle of the Shakers, is to testify favoring their Church or Gospel, (as they call it.)

Why don't the Shakers bring some other witness besides their own society, to prove that Ann Lee was in New-York the time after she came over, until she went to Watervliet. Mary Partington does not say, that Ann Lee and William Lee were not in Concord, N. H., but says—" It looks very unlikely that Mother and Elder William, should ever go to New-Hampshire at any time; and I never heard of it till this time." She says she was with the Mother continually. Why does she not tell the particulars, as well before they went to Watervleit as afterwards? They must be *somewhere*, and such sort of people never went unnoticed. I think this very woman was at Concord with Ann Lee.

Let people read the following statements of Farnum and others:

We, the undersigners, do testify, that between 47 and 49 years ago, a number of people, four or five strangers, and outlandish, came to Concord, New-Hampshire —made tarry of a number of months—the names of those who appeared to be the head ones, were Ann Lee and William Lee—their singularity caused many people to call and see them. Ann was short, thick set—she wore a strap cap, and a large flat straw hat. William Lee was stout built, of a sandy complexion. They proved themselves a people of the most vulgar sort—they lived near us—we often saw them—was acquainted with much of their conduct. They pretended in telling fortunes—also, where stolen or lost goods were. They used ardent spirits to excess—they frequented Samuel Farnum's house, a near neighbor, and at times stayed all night—the family united with them in drinking, and the report from the family was, that Ann Lee lodged with Farnum, and William Lee with Farnum's wife. Their conduct left with Farnum and wife a dirty complaint. From many circumstances, it is an undeniable fact, that those strangers were afflicted, and doctored

while here, for the v——l disease. Those foreigners appeared destitute of furniture—their lodging was boards nailed together for a large stead, on which lay straw, with their wearing clothes, this was said to be the lodging for all of them. They practised singing, dancing, gambling with cards, gaming and lounging about. Ann told Samuel Farnum he had a pot of money hid under earth, if he would give her and William each a suit of good clothes, she would tell where the money was. Farnum believed it, and got the clothes for them. Ann then pretended to tell where the money was—Farnum, with others, went to digging for the money, but found none. Ann found the inhabitants aroused against them—borrowed some outside garments, pretending to go to a neighbor's—and that night fled. They were followed towards the State of New-York, in hopes of recompense, but got none.

STEPHEN FARNUM.

I, Marther Farnum, wife to the above, testify, that the above named persons were here, and that the foregoing is a true statement of their character.

MARTHER FARNUM.

Also,

HENRY MARTIN, JOSEPH FARNUM,
ESTHER MARTIN, RUTH FARNUM.

State of New-Hampshire, }
ROCKINGHAM, ss. }
Attested before me,

Concord, Dec. 10, 1821.

ISAAC DOW, *Jus. Peace.*

I hereby certify, that the above named persons are people of respectability and truth.

ISAAC DOW.

I, *Samuel Farrington*, of Hopkinton, N. H., do state, that I was formerly a resident of Concord, N. H.; when a young man I saw in that place a number of people who were outlandish. They came there in 1774, in the early part of the fall. I lived in the street when they came to our house to tell fortunes—there were two men and two women, who proved to be dissolute characters. The conductors were Ann and Wm. Lee, who she said was her brother. They went to West-Parish, in Concord, where they made a tarry of some

months. Soon after they were established there, Ann left town, when it was said she went to the sea ports. She returned the same fall, walking with a pack on her back. It was a day of general muster when she came in this manner to town—the report was, that she had been among sailors—her appearance attracted the attention of the people—When the men gathered around her, she was very talkative and flippant among them. She was a stout thick set woman. (We were often called together for trainings, expecting a war with the British, who were frequently sending in ships loaded with soldiers and war accoutrements—we were under the command of Col. Walker.) After the return of Ann, the attention of the people was drawn to the West-Parish, to those strangers. The report was, they practised singing, fiddling, dancing and whirling, telling fortunes, playing cards, drunkenness, with other conduct too bad to write. Ann professed to have knowledge of past, present and future events. She seemed to enchant some of the people. A number of people suffered loss by her. But the more particular were, Samuel Farnum, Zephaniah Pattee, and Pompey, a black man, belonging to Esq. Bradley, of Concord; said Bradley was a relation and neighbor of mine. She made Farnum and Pattee believe they had hid treasures, which she could assist them to find, if they would first supply her request, and without she could not. By this intrigue, she caused those men such expense, as to compel them both to sell their farms in consequence of poverty. They searched for hid treasures, but found none. Pompey had three hundred dollars loaned to Mr. Dimond, which he called in, and gave to her, when in return she gave him such a complaint that he rotted alive, as his master told me. It was said, she brought this from the sailors, when she returned from the shipping, for which she was doctored in Concord. Their conduct was such, the inhabitants were enraged against them. Those took borrowed garments and other things, and absconded at night—this was in March. Pattee was

dissatisfied, and followed them, as he said, to North river, where it crossed at Albany, New-York, in hopes of recompense, but got none. I afterwards made inquiry about those foreigners, when I heard they settled a few miles from Albany. Further saith not.

SAMUEL FARRINGTON.

Merrimack, ss. *Hopkinton, Aug.* 2, 1824.
Solemnly attested before me,
NATHANIEL KNOWLTON, *Jus. Peace.*

I, *Miriam Farrington*, wife of the above named Samuel Farrington, do state, that the above written testimony is true. MIRIAM FARRINGTON.

The above named Samuel Farrington, and his wife Miriam, are worthy members of the Congregational church, in Hopkinton, N. H.

Compare those characters with Ann and her disciples, after they preached Shakerism. See the testimonies in the preceding pages.

Let others trust what names they please,
Their Saints and Angels boast,
I have no such advocates as these,
Nor pray to the heavenly hosts.

Jesus alone, shall bear my cries,
Up to his Father's throne,
He, dearest Lord, perfumes my sighs
And sweetens every groan.

MARY M. DYER.

Truth bruises the head of the Serpent when applied; he cannot devour, though he bruises the heel.

The following statements are published in consequence of a Shaker book, published, (called Dyer's Narrative) which the Shakers drew up, and caused my husband to sign his name to, in a gift. He has since owned to me that *he did not write it*, neither did he consider it truth, and asked me to forgive him in what he had done.

We, the undersigned, testify and say, that we were neighbors to Joseph and Mary Dyer, during their residence in Stewartstown, N. H. They were two of the first five persons, baptized in the reformation in 1809; were united with us in Christian fellowship, under the administration of Elder. Benjamin Putnam, a worthy brother and faithful laborer while with us, which was but a short time. Joseph and Mary walked worthy of the vocation, wherewith they were called, and in real harmony together, until the circumstance of the introduction of the Shaker doctrine, which was as follows:—

We consider Mr. Dyer the first cause of the Shakers' doctrine being introduced in this place. For years, he was anxious to have the professors put their property in one joint interest After Mr. Crooker (a minister)came here, he united with Mr. Dyer in this scheme. At a time we furnished him with proper means to move his family here, he went to the Shakers in Lebanon, N. Y. (as he afterwards stated) made enquiry how to lay a foundation for a church in this way. When the Shakers induced him to believe they were right in every sense. Instead of fetching his family, he bought some Shaker books and a writing from them, encouraging others to go to them; said he had joined them, and that they had got a church established in gospel order, therefore it would be unnecessary to attempt to establish again. We were much disappointed and could not fellowship his doctrine—we had highly esteemed him. He had been but a short time in the place, and came as a stranger, but was much favored as a preacher. He baptised upwards of thirty persons while here; and the only offence he gave while among us, was his joining the Shakers. This brought a grief on us which was enlarged by the said Dyer's uniting with him in those principles. Shortly after, Mr. Crooker left the place, and since has not returned. After a few months we received a letter from him in New-York, stating, that he had lived with the Shakers until he found them deceivers, and that he found himself in Babylon's darkness, and under the bond-

age of Egypt. And that the Lord had again delivered him, for which he was thankful; then desired us to overlook his misstep in going to the Shakers; also, that he was again living with his family.—We have seen Dyer's Narrative, which appears to be written with an intent to injure the innocent. We consider it without foundation. From a constant acquaintance with the family, we know much of it is false, and believe it all libellous. We never heard the least intimation of any kind against Mrs. Dyer's character, while she lived in this country. She was from a respectable family; we ever considered her a virtuous neighbor, faithful wife, and tender mother. She never journeyed with any minister, only her own husband. Mr. Dyer ever appeared to respect her, and after he became religious it was considered, that they lived in as great union nnd harmony as ever persons did, until he joined the Shakers, which we think, caused her great trouble. We have, since Mr. Dyer moved his family to the Shakers, heard him say "Mary was very pious." We consider her worthy to be commended into any family or christian society. Elder Putnam is a man with whom we have had some acquaintance and information; his character is irreproachable.

John James, Elizabeth James, Rebekah Morrison, Rebekah Dennet, Hannah Weeks, Abagail Weeks, Mary Morril.

Canaan, Essex, ss. May 8th, 1819

Sworn before me, Moses Morril, Justice Peace. I the subscriber, do testify that the above declaration is true.

MOSES MORRIL.

I Nathan Frizzle of Hanover, testify and say, that I have been acquainted with Joseph Dyer and his wife, as neighbors and christians. I was acquainted with Mrs. Dyer from her youth; and that I never knew, or heard, of the least blemish in her character. For several years, I lived a near neighbor to her family in Stewartstown—was a religious professor with them—saw them baptized August 1809, and in all, never knew or heard

of the least complaint on either side, but love and union to God and each other, until June 1811, when the Shaker doctrines entered the place: soon after that, Mr. Dyer's family was secluded among the Shakers. Yet I have often since seen Mr. Dyer, as he was in the country on business; he always gave a good report of his wife, said "she was a pious faithful woman, and much favored of God." She ever had more candor, than was natural to him; lack of which I think, has caused her great grief, since the difficulty arose between them on the account of the Shakers. I have talked with Mr. Dyer about certain accusations in Dyer's Narrative, he gave me to understand that he did not consider either of those persons guilty of a crime, but "Mary had accused the Church of God, and that must be defended." And I certainly know that Mr. Dyer had, or appeared to have great fellowship with each of those persons, when they left the country at last. And as for Mrs. Dyer's ever journeying with a minister, or to preach, it is certainly a mistake, unless with her own husband, who used at times to preach, and she did sometimes journey with him to their friends. I am some acquainted with the Shakers, and do believe Mr. Dyer has crossed his own mind, in defending their cause.

NATHAN FRIZZLE.

Grafton, ss. Hanover.

March 18*th*, 1819. Attested before me, SILAS TENNEY, Justice Peace.

Mr. Frizzle is now an Elder of the Baptist order in Hanover, N. H.

Several gentlemen in the upper towns of Vermont, hearing that I was soon to appear before the General Court, from their charitable hearts, unknown to me, sent the following.

Essex, ss. May 8*th*, 1818.

We the undersigned, have for a number of years been well acquainted with Mrs. Mary M. Dyer, wife of Joseph Dyer, and believe her reputation for truth and veracity is irreproachable, and her character in every respect,

fair and unspotted. We therefore with pleasure recommend her to that support, countenance and encouragement, which a virtuous and unfortunate woman merits, from a just, humane and enlightened community.

O. Ingham, Chief Judge.	M. Rich, side Judge.
S. Gates, side Judge.	J. Cushman, Judge Prob.
Z. Perkins, Jus. Peace.	J. Berry, State's Attorney.
W. Gates, Clerk C. Court.	R. Cutler, Justice Peace.
S. Cushman, Esq.	John Dean, High Sheriff.

This may certify, that we the undersigned are personally acquainted with Mrs. Mary Dyer; she has lived in our family, in Concord, and at Mr. Hazen Kimball's, a door neighbor, for a considerable space of time, and we have seen nothing in her deportment, but what is agreeable to a profession of piety. We further state, that we have seen her in the most aggravating affliction and persecution, all of which she bore with patience and fortitude to our astonishment, which must be by the assistance of grace only.

BENJAMIN KIMBALL,
ABIGAIL KIMBALL,
ELIZA R. KIMBALL,
MARY B. KIMBALL,
CLARISSA KIMBALL.

Sept. 6, 1822.

Letter to the Ministers of the United Society, commonly called Shakers.*

BY R. I. CLARK.

In January, 1818, I called to see your Society in Canterbury, N. H. and had some conversation with your Elders, upon religious subjects. As they then revealed their sentiments and doctrines, I fell in with them. On my return home to Weare, the place of my residence at that time, I conversed with my wife about joining the Shakers. She had some fears about moving to your village, because, if reports were true, the time would come, when we should not believe in the Scriptures of truth, but should be induced to believe in your Bible, which you had written among yourselves, and which condemned the scriptures as being inferior to your testimony; and that we should hate each other, and become bitter enemies. On seeing some of your Elders, they assured me, that such reports were false, and that such

* *United Society*—United in what? United in a belief, that Jesus is not a sufficient Savior; united in deceiving the world to gain proselytes to the faith in Ann Lee; united in condemning the true Church of Christ, which Christ had chosen out of the world; and said, that they were no more of the world than he was of the world, and said, that they were the Light of the world, as being inferior to themselves—their language is, *Stand off, for I am more holy than thou.* United in setting husbands and wives against each other, so as to cause them not to love each other, nor provide for each other, neither in sickness nor health. United in going forth in the dance, in direct opposition to the precepts and examples of Jesus Christ, in obedience to the Ministry. United in reproaching all that do leave their Society; united in saying, that *Ann Lee* is the Lord our Righteousness, as much as the followers of the Pope of Rome in styling him their Lord God the Pope, whose friars the people were to confess heir sins to. Therefore, let the people behold them as a united company, who are without natural affections, and covenant breakers, except of the law revealed through Ann, which is contrary to every manifestation of the dealings of God with man; is calculated to break up families that live in love and peace, and make them bitter enemies. This is done in deception, in a gift from "the lead."

fears were entirely groundless. Christ come, said they, not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it; and that love was the fulfilling of the law. No person could be a true christian, who was not desirous of performing all his duties to his Creator and his fellow men. We render to all, their dues; custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, and honor to whom honor is due; and he that provided not for his own household or family, denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel. If we joined their Society, all our civil and religious obligations would be still in force; and as we had promised in our marriage covenant, to provide for, and take care of each other, until separated by death, agreeably to the civil law, we were bound to perform our contract, as much as any duty whatever.

My wife and myself, confiding in these statements, made up our minds to join your society; upon the express agreement, however, between ourselves, that we were to be as kind and attentive to each other as we had ever been. Accordingly, we moved to Loudon, to a place near your village, and, as we were treated kindly by your society, we afterwards, at our own request, took up our residence in your village. There were some sentiments in your testimony or bible which appeared to me at that time, to be inconsistent with the scriptures of truth; but the Elders assured me, that such *had been* the opinion of others among them, who were *now* firm believers; and that they would soon appear plain and clear to my comprehension.

I read the remonstrance of the Society, addressed to the Legislature and published in 1818, and found you there said, (page 38) "We believe the Holy Scriptures to be a record of divine truth; we appeal to no other religious creed for the propriety

either of our faith or practice. We believe in one true God, who is a spirit, the fountain of all good. We believe in Jesus Christ, as the only Savior of mankind. We teach no other doctrine than what Jesus Christ and his Apostles taught, nor obey any other than what is comprised in their words—therefore we obey them that are over us in the Lord; doing service unto God, and not unto man." On the 84th page, your Deacons say; "Wherefore we do not pretend to dissolve or disannul any thing that either the law or gospel requires in this respect, notwithstanding the statement of Mary Dyer and others, to the contrary; but on the other hand, we counsel those that come in amongst us, to fulfil all that the law requires of them; as well in regard to the marriage contract as any thing else." This I expected to find true, because you had published it as such to the world.

It was in July 1822, that I moved into one of your families, with my wife and children, to live on trial: not binding myself or family, or giving up my property, only the use of it until I called for it. Soon after this, you published a book, entitled "A summary View of the Millennial Church," which contained doctrines very different from those in the above extracts, and the practice of the Society and what we are taught in it, varied materially from what you addressed to the Legislature.

In this "Summary View," page 9, concerning the wonderful revelations to Ann Lee, it is stated, they saw at once that the candle of the Lord was in her hand, and that she was able by the light thereof, to search every heart and try every soul among them. From this time, she was received as the first visible leader of the Church of God upon earth."—This looks more like blasphemy than it does like teach-

ing no other doctrine than that which Christ and the Apostles taught.—Christ said he was the first and the last, Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end—leaving no place for Ann to be either the *first* or the last.

Your Society sing anthems and hymns, as much in praise of Ann, as the Son of God! esteeming the Bible and those whom God inspired to write it, inferior to the doctrines and children of Ann! The Elders do not appeal to the Scriptures for the rule of their faith and practice, so much as they do to the sayings of Ann and her first Elders.

In the Scriptures, we have no account of such a March as you have instituted; when the singers stand in the middle of the room, and the elder brother and sister lead the dance followed by the men and women in pairs. In these marches, and in your separate union meetings it was so managed, that I was not permitted to walk or meet with my wife but once for more than a year before I left your Society. My wife met in the same room with me in the union meetings, until the Deacon came to me with a gift, and said I had a greater privilege than he had when he sat out; for he had then to walk by faith and not by sight, but now we had the old believers for an example; and in the days of Christ's first appearing, the Apostles taught saying, be ye followers of us, as we are followers of Christ. Again, as you have us for an example, and it is the *gift* in this day of Christ's second appearing, young believers ought to pattern after the old believers, and take them for an example. And he added, when he moved into one of the large families, he did not speak to his wife for two years, nor she to him—to prove his hatred to his wife, and that he had forsaken her. Soon after this, my wife left the

union meeting which I attended. I asked her to return; for I believed the law was a shadow of good things to come; and it never shadowed forth that a man should be more in company with another man's wife than his own. I only asked the *same privilege* that the Ministers or Elders enjoyed in the society of their spiritual mates; but this was denied me. My wife informed me that she did as she was taught, and must obey her leaders. On consulting your Elders, they said, we do not come together to build up this relation, but to destroy it. It was merely flesh that induced a man to prefer his wife to any body else; and this affection must be done away, or we could not be admitted into the kingdom of Heaven. I asked them if the Apostles were ministers of satan, and taught this doctrine of the flesh which precluded their followers from entering the kingdom of Heaven. Peter writes to the believers, (Chap. 2. Book 1.) and calls them a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people. And in the third Chapter, he gives the duty of husbands and wives of this holy people, which, so far from countenancing hatred or neglect between them, urges them to be heirs together of the grace of life, that their prayers be not hindered. This does not look like encouraging meetings where the husband and wife must be separated; or your HOLY MARCH where they are not permitted to travel on together!

Again: St. Paul in his 2d chapter to Titus, says, "But speak thou the things that become sound doctrine, that the aged men be sober, temperate, sound in faith, in charity, in patience; the aged women likewise that they be in behavior as becometh holiness, not false accusers, not given to much wine, teachers of good things; that they may teach the

young women to be sober, *to love their husbands*, to love their children ; to be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good, obedient to their *own husbands*, that the word of God be not blasphemed." Do you teach this sound doctrine? If you do, I never heard it after I went in amongst you to live. If this be sound, yours must be unsound.

But to return—In your remonstrance to the Legislature, you say that you teach no other doctrine than what Jesus Christ and the Apostles taught; and in your "Summary View" published in 1823, page 219, you say, "Hence the image and likeness of the Eternal Mother was formed in her, (Ann Lee) as the first born Daughter, as really as the image and likeness of the Eternal Father was formed in the Lord Jesus, the first born son. Thus was she constituted the second heir in the covenant of promise, and was placed in a correspondent connexion with Jesus Christ, as the second pillar of the Church of God in the new creation!" Is not this teaching *another doctrine?* The doctrine of the Bible is, that it pleased the Father that in his Son all fulness should dwell, and that salvation was complete in him, and in no other, not even in Ann Lee.

Your Society are verily guilty of prevarication and falsehood, in telling me you counselled those that come in among you to fulfil the marriage covenant as much as any thing else; and after I moved into one of your families, to teach another doctrine, and practice upon other principles: and now to refuse to pay me any thing for the labor of my wife, to assist in supporting my children whom I could not in conscience leave with you, to be brought up to believe Ann Lee to be the WIFE of the SON OF GOD! and to be taught to hate their father, who has watched over their infantile years, with that so-

licitude, anxiety and tenderness, which none but a parent can fully comprehend; and you utterly refuse to give me any obligation for her maintenance, if she should live to be old and infirm. If she should ever become like Jonathan Durgin and be unable to labor, you would probably throw her upon the town, (as you have him) or me, for support.

I do not blame my wife for remaining with you. She has become a believer in your doctrines and follows your counsel, but I appeal to you. You say, page 58, "The visible head of the Church of Christ on earth, is vested in a Ministry, consisting of male and female, not less than three, and generally four in number, two of each sex!" The first in the ministry stands as leading Elder of the Society. And on the 59th page you say, "as faithful ambassadors of Christ, they are invested with wisdom and authority, by the revelation of God, to guide, teach and direct his Church on earth, in its spiritual travel, and to counsel and advise in other matters of importance, whether spiritual or temporal." Now if your Elders possess this power, I wish you would counsel, advise and direct my wife, respecting her duty to her children and husband; to fulfil her marriage covenant; and as you have wisdom and authority, to carry your advice into effect, and as I have done nothing which can be a cause of divorce according to Christ's Sermon on the Mount, I shall hold you responsible for the course which she may take. My wife believes in your testimony, and will obey the *gift;* she will therefore, now show to the world by her conduct what she is taught.

You say in your last publication, that the believing wife is bound to live with her unbelieving husband; to treat him with all christian kindness, and to give him no just cause of offence. But your acts

are not conformable to your sayings; you do not practice as you *teach*. You pretend to no new inventions in church government; but your practices, your MARCHES, are directly opposed to this declaration. You profess to believe with the Holy Scriptures, that Jesus Christ is the *only* Savior of mankind; yet you place beside him Ann Lee, a woman, to say the least, of doubtful character, as a co-equal and a co-worker with him in the mediatorial office! Why did you not tell the Legislature this? Why did you say that you appealed to no other book than the Bible, for the rule of your faith and practice, when in truth, you make no more use of it than you think necessary to make people have faith in you; and to induce your dependants to put their trust in the Elders, and to follow them whithersoever they choose to lead. Indeed it is to be regretted that you paid so little regard to truth in the exhibition of your creed to the Legislature.

You appear fair to the world; your conduct in public seems to be correct; your deportment meek; your language simple, and apparently sincere. This is your *outside* appearance; but alas! to my cost, I have found you too much like "whited sepulchres." Had you not practised deception upon me and my wife, we should never have joined your Society. Your Elders condemned a Cochranite of Concord, for walking from your meeting-house to the North-house, before a large number of people, by the side of a young woman. They said, let every man walk with his *own wife*, and shun the very appearance of evil; for we have no faith in a man who, under any religious pretext whatever, chooses to walk or ride about with another woman in preference to his own wife. Such an inclination arises from the instigation of the devil, and is one of his deepest plots to

lead men astray. Yet, I found that you practised the same thing, which you condemned in such pointed terms, in another. After I moved into one of your large families, you, by degrees endeavoured to prevent my associating with my wife, meeting with her in the union meetings, or walking by her side in the marches you have instituted. Finding you approved in yourselves, what you condemned in others, and that you had given an untrue account of your tenets and practices, I became dissatisfied. Your Elders said I might leave them if I chose, but they guessed I would have a struggle to get my wife. Your words have proved too prophetic; the struggle has indeed commenced, and you alone can tell how long it will continue. Give me my wife, whom you have not the shadow of right to retain, and the struggle will end.

You may reply, that you do not detain my wife; that you use no restraint, or authority in keeping her with you, but that she chooses of herself, to stay. You may make the world believe such a declaration, but you cannot deceive me. You know my wife is a believer in your doctrines, and you know that saying to her, that you shall not counsel her to leave you, operates upon her, the same as a positive command to stay. After this manner you reason; if indeed reasoning it ought to be called. The command under the law, thou *shalt* observe all my statutes, is no more positive and imperative than the liberty which is granted in the first appearing of Christ, "whosoever will come, may come." Therefore, when liberty is granted to do any thing, every believer must consider it as a positive command to do it. Again: You say, Deity does not reveal himself to the people generally, but to chosen vessels, or the Elders. So that what the leaders

counsel their followers to do, they are in duty bound to perform; and what they will *not* counsel them to do, must not be done. Therefore, when you say to my wife, you do not counsel her to go, you very well know it has the same effect upon her, as a positive command to stay. Such a course you take to detain my wife, and yet avoid the penalties of the civil law. An ingenious device to accomplish your unhallowed purposes.

On page 288, of your "Summary View," you say, that "many who profess great union and submission to the spirit of Christ, and object to a visible LEADER in the Church, they are looking for Christ to reveal himself as an invisible guide and teacher to every individual in a separate capacity, without any dependance on the union of the Body; and expect to be guided by the invisible spirit of Christ in their own souls, separately and independant of any visible LEADER. (Shakers' Answer.) But this doctrine is contrary to every manifestation of the dealings of God with man, and is calculated to destroy the union and harmony of the Church, by rendering every individual independant of the Body." From the above extract, it is plain that a Society that believes in such a sentiment, has great strength in this world with few members; because the obedience of every faithful soul, is to centre to the Ministry and Elders. Here you can prove by your obedient subjects, who reject the inward teachings of the Spirit in their own souls, as contrary to every manifestation of the dealings of God with man, what you feel a gift to. And we find that where husbands and wives have lived in love and peace all of their days, till they have set out to live with you, that some have obeyed your pretended Gospel to that degree, as to make void the law of God through

faith, and to scandalize their bosom companions as much as they can, to prove their hatred to them; when they have acknowledged that they always have used each other well in every respect. The public can see whether this Christ is a true Christ or a false one, by your works; or whether Pope has made his second appearing.

You say that Ann Lee was willing to do any thing for her husband, that either reason, justice, or humanity required; and you have said that Ann is a pattern of righteousness to all women, as much as Jesus Christ was to all men. Is this spirit gone? or has the stream rose higher than the fountain?

Perhaps you may say that this letter is written to persecute you; and will say that all manner of evil was to be spoken of the followers of Christ. But this was to be falsely. Jacob Osgood says, that *he* has got the Gospel, and all mankind *must come to his Society* and confess their sins, or be damned; and this is the sentiment of the Cochran Society: and for a proof of their statement, they say, that all manner of evil is spoken of *them* falsely, and that they have been actually to prison, as really as Ann Lee has, for their testimony against sin.

An answer to this is required, and I will write to you again if my health is spared.

LETTER TO MARY H. CLARK.

Canterbury, August 8, 1824.

Dearly beloved and respected companion—As I feel an interest in your welfare, both here and hereafter, I wish to inform you that I have not forgotten you, although we are separated from each other's company at present; but I hope the time will soon arrive when we shall enjoy each other's company, and our little children the care and attention of their mother, who they long to

see. I have hired them boarded in Sandwich, at Enoch Hoag's, and give him fifty dollars a year for their board, and I find their clothes. I have the privilege of seeing them every week. They often meet me, and ask when you are coming to see them, and say it is a great while since they saw you; and will often burst into tears, and say they are afraid that they shall never see their mother. These babes are not without natural affections; they say that the people use them well where they live, and that they do not want to come to the Shakers to live; but want you to come where they are and live. I have provided a house for us to live in, and I wish you would consent to believe in the Holy Scriptures, instead of Ann Lee and her elders. I know that you never received this sentiment of the Shakers from the Bible, nor from any light of God revealed in your own conscience to condemn the doctrine of the Bible; for God is an unchangeable Being, and has revealed his law in Zion, according to the Apostle's declaration, for he says, "God who at sundry times and in divers manners spake to our fathers by the prophets, hath in these LAST days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds; who being the brightness of his glory and the EXPRESS image of his person," &c. It appears plain from the language of the Apostle, that *Ann Lee* was *not* revealed to fill up the image of Deity, by his saying that the Son of God was the express IMAGE of his person; nor her Elders to send forth the law from Zion in these last days, contrary to what the word of God revealed through the holy Apostles in these last days. If Christ had meant that we were to forsake all, even our lawful duties, to inherit eternal life, he never would have told his followers to have rendered to all their dues, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honor to whom honor is due. It appears plain from the Shakers' writings, that Ann Lee was a pattern of righteousness to all women, as much as Jesus Christ was to all men, and that she came to America in

1774, with her husband and a number of their followers; that her husband was a believer in Christ's second appearing; that soon after he fell away, and wished her to live with him again as she used to live. Her Ministry say, on the 16th page of their Summary View, that Ann said she was willing to do any thing for him, which justice, reason or humanity required. Is this the increase of Ann's gospel to travel to that? They are not willing to do any thing that justice, reason or humanity requires, and is this the increase of light that they can do so and feel no remorse of conscience? If in one thing a person can make void the law through faith, they can in another, and feel contented, and by being led by blind guides, will grow darker and darker, so as to call good evil, and evil good—call light darkness, and darkness light, &c. If it be a sin for a person to set out with you to that degree as to break the marriage covenant, so as you can say the Lord's prayer, Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors, forgive me this sin if you wish to be forgiven, I could not in conscience leave my children to be brought up to hate me, nor to forsake me in my old age; nor to be taught to believe it their duty to follow the Elders' counsel in disbelieving the Bible, and to make no more use of it than an old almanack, or a mere history of past events; and to believe that the Elders were endowed with greater light than the Apostles were, when filled with the Holy Ghost.

If it is right for a man to forsake his wife and children, and to give all his earnings to somebody else, or to spend his time so that his family must suffer for want of his kind attention, saying he is to forsake all for the Gospel, and he shall take no thought for the morrow, for whosoever Christ makes free is free indeed, even from all of his lawful duties; then it is right for the woman; yea, even for you.

I do not wantonly arraign you at the bar of the public, but it is time to speak plainly in this case, as I have suffered much in my mind when I look back to

see when we had each other's company and social affections, and the light of our own conscience was to make each other happy and comfortable in this life, and to be prepared to leave this world for an everlasting eternity. We believed in one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus. Whilst this was our faith, we lived happy together, and strove to provide for each other all that laid in our power; but being led astray by the Shakers to believe in them as the true ministers of Christ, how soon the scene changed! We were not allowed to let each other know our trials after we went in amongst them to live, and the greatest gift was to set husbands against their wives, and wives against their husbands, and to forsake them, and to be *more* distant there than any where else. Many have proved this by their works and words, and said that against their companions that was no love or reverence in according to the gospel of Jesus Christ. Therefore, I wish you to hand this letter to your ministry, and counsel them in future to take in none but those that *do hate* their relations to that degree as to choose a stranger rather than a relation; as there are many now that have not moved into their Society, that have traveled out of natural affections, and have proved their hatred by their works, and are more kind to those that the law or gospel does not require, than they are where it does require it.—Such ones could say, Mother's gospel or yoke is easy, and her burden is light. And now, that they will not do any thing more for them, so that all mankind shall know that they believe in the Elders and obey them, and loathe their husbands and children, and will not live with them, nor work for them.

It is true I am no Shaker, but I do not feel to hate you or to scandalize you in the least degree. I have owned before those evidences that I took to the Shakers, and you, that we always lived in love and peace together, and you owned the same, and that I always used you well in every respect. I do not expect you will ever contradict this, unless you are taught to by your Elders, who you have agreed to obey.

Had I requested you to come and live with me and the children, and to live under a mistress, I should not have expected you to have come ; but this is not the case : I wish you to come and fulfil your lawful duties, and no longer make void the law through faith in Ann Lee. From your loving companion,

R. I. CLARK.

Mary H. Clark.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

We the subscribers hereby certify, that Robert I. Clark resided in this town and vicinity, a number of years, and while here, he was an industrious, prudent, economical young man, and sustained an irreproachable moral character; and after having entered into the married state, always understood he made ample provision for his family.

CHARLES WHITE, *Town Clerk.*
DANIEL HOIT,
SAMUEL AMBROSE.

Sandwich, May 29, 1824.

Strafford, ss. May, 29, 1824.

Personally appearing Samuel Ambrose, and made solemn oath, that the above declaration, by him subscribed, is true.

Before me, DANIEL HOIT, *Jus. Peace.*
PAUL WENTWORTH, } *Selectmen of*
JOHNSON D. QUIMBY, } *Sandwich.*
B. M. BEAN, *Jus. Peace.*
JACOB MARSTON, *Citizen of Meredith.*
ASAHEL ADAMS,
NEAL M'GAFFEY,
Representatives of Sandwich, N. H.

The above named have been personally acquainted with R. I. Clark, from 1812 to this date, and for about five years lived in said town.

Meredith, June 22, 1824.

This may certify, that I lived in the Society of Shakers fifteen or sixteen years, and when I went among them they pretended to believe in the Scriptures of truth, and that there was no other name given under heaven nor amongst men whereby we could be saved, but by the name of Jesus. But in process of time, the Elders said that the Scriptures was not the word of God, but a mere history of past events, and that the word of God was in them, and that a full salvation was not known till Ann Lee revealed it, and obeying the Elders was obeying God or Christ in his Second Appearing; that the Apostles were not born again, and could not be, until the Gospel was preached to them through Mother and her Elders in the world of spirits. I have often heard Mary H. Clark, who I believe to be an honest woman, say that her husband, R. I. Clark, was always very kind to her, and always used her well in every respect; and I have heard the Elders say, that Robert and Mary were two very honest persons, and always understood that they bore this character where they have lived. The Elders, in their union meeting, generally meet together two men and two women, which were examples for the family, but they did not feel a gift for the rest of the family to be so free together as they were! and in the march the Elder Brother walked with his spiritual Elder Sister, and taught us that we must hate our natural relations, and prove it by our works.

I believed them to be a very hidden and deluded people, and left them in May last; yet I believe there are a number of conscientious people among the Shakers, which live in obedience to what they are taught by the Elders.

ANNA RUNDLET.

Witness, JONATHAN LADD, BETSY LADD.

Remarks on the Shakers' principles of virgin purity, in their Summary View, published in 1823, *pages* 274 *and* 275.

Besides the fanaticism, mysticism and blasphemy, in making Ann Lee superior to Jesus Christ, generally through the book, in these pages there are principles called moral virtues, which sap and destroy the foundation of all social affection and civil government. We must *absolutely* hate all our natural relations. Not merely love them less than God, but hate and despise and forsake them as the worst of enemies, to be a Shaker. This must be proved by our works. Men must hate their wives —wives their husbands—parents their children, and children their parents. This hatred must be manifested by all their words, signs, gestures and actions, by which we show our hatred to our worst and bitterest enemies. Passing over the blasphemous sneer of the note in page 275, which reaches to our Saviour in the garden and on the cross, who had something to submit at the last hour to his Father; what civil government on earth can subsist, countenancing such principles and works? Suppose all the Legislators on earth should combine to enact laws, that parents should hate their children and forsake them, and so of the rest of their relations, could their laws be maintained or executed, unless under the dominion of Ann Lee? What a Millenium indeed, if all the kingdoms of the earth should enlist under Ann Lee, and hate every one his father, mother, wife and children! What a spectacle! If it shocks us to the very soul, why should a Society be tolerated in the bosom of the best and most enlightened civil government on the globe—a Society which does, by profession and practice in open day, tear and rend the dearest relations on earth from

one another, and teach them to hate each other, and separate and abuse each other, under the idea of worshipping God in Ann Lee and her ministry. Rights of conscience can extend no farther than the mere worship of that God who formed all the endearing ties of nature, and ordained civil government for the benefit of man. A family was the first society that ever was formed on earth, and is the origin of all other societies, civil or sacred; and can it be for the benefit of civil society to indulge a body of people, whose principles and practices tend to subvert and destroy the first principles of all social felicity? Our legislators have a right, and are bound by their oath and the Constitution, to protect all in the enjoyments of their civil and natural privileges; but they are not bound to allow robbery and deception in regard to the dearest enjoyments of life, though it may come from the authority of Mother Ann.

To enlightened minds, all the talk of voluntary action in their dedication, (see pages 54 and 56) amounts to nothing, when it is recollected what arts, sophistry and perversion of the Bible is practised to obtain this voluntary consent. We may type and figure the Bible into as many shapes as there are in a Shaker dance, and after all this, we can never have authority to violate our previous obligations to obey the laws of nature, civil society, or God.

SAMUEL HIDDEN.

The Rev. Samuel Hidden is a worthy minister, settled in Tamworth, N. H.

New hampshire passed a law against Shakers Dec 1824