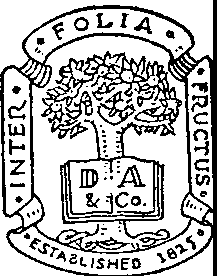


MAYHEW FAMILY TREE

**Governor** Mayhew bore as arms, "Argent, on a chevron sable between three birds of the last, five lozenges of the first, with a mullet for difference...



THOMAS MAYHEW

**PATRIARCH TO THE INDIANS**

**(1593 -1682)**

*The Life of the Worshipful Governor and Chief Magistrate of the Island of Martha's Vineyard; Proprietary of*

*Mart ha' s Vineyard, Nantucket and the Eliza beth Islands, and Lord of the Manor*

*of Tisbury in North America*

BY

**LLOYD C. M.** , **H**.. **ARE**

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**D. APPLETON AND COMPANY**

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TO

BRIZAIDE G. HARE

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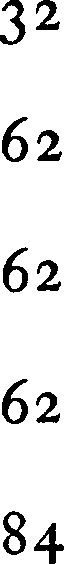
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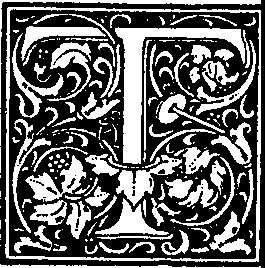
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**PREFACE**

HIS life of Thomas Mayhew brings into focus the little known and scarcely ever recounted story of the aristocratic social and political tendencies of the English colonists who settled America's first frontier. The early fathers of our

country lived in a transitional stage between Old World feudalism and New World democracy, and this fact is exemplified in the history of the colony of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and the Elizabeth Islands.

The peculiar institution of the town proprietary, its similarity to the English manor, and its conflicting interests with the town as a political unit, the author has endeavored to clarify against the social and the legal backgrounds of the seventeenth century. Attempt has been made to revisualize the oft pictured story of the Nantucket Insur­ rection, heretofore described as a purely local event rather than a localized phase of a general clash of interests, largely economic.

Historians of New England have given emphasis to political strug­ gles between the colonists and the mother country and devoted little attention to the relations of the settlers with the Indians. The belief is widespread that the only successful efforts made to civilize the Indians of North America were made by the French in Canada and the Spanish in California. This is not true, and the author hopes that this book will somewhat rectify the tradition of English disregard of Indian welfare.

For source material the author has drawn largely from the Rec­ ords of Plymouth Colony in New England, the Records of the Gov­ ernor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, and the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The Minutes of the Executive Council of New York, Hough's Papers Relating to the island of Nan­ tucket, New York Colonial Manuscripts, the several histories of Nan­ tucket Island, the "History of Martha's Vineyard" by Charles Edward

**Xii** PREFACE

Banks, M. D., and diaries, narrations and histories by colonial writers, have been among sources consulted. The author is indebted to the "History of Martha's Vineyard" for most of his facts concerning Governor Mayhew's English ancestry, and much information con­ cerning the social and political history of Martha's Vineyard Island.

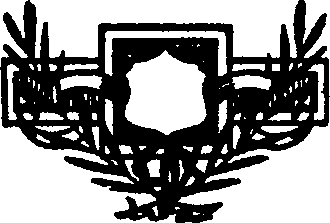
The author takes this means to express appreciation to Walter F. and George F. Starbuck, sons of Alexander Starbuck, for the use of illustrations used in their father's exhaustive history of Nantucket;

also to L. & J. G. Stickley, Inc., of Fayetteville, New York, repro­

ducers of early American furniture, for the illustration of the Mayhew Family Tree; and Mr. Marshall Shepard, president of the Dukes County Historical Society ( of Massachusetts) for numerous plates originally appearing in Bank's "History of Martha's Vineyard."

LLOYD C. M. HARE.

Berkeley, California.



THOMAS MAYHEW

PATRIARCH TO THE INDIANS

**Thomas Mayhew, Patriarch to the Indians**

THOMAS MAYHEW …. deserves to be ranked with   
Bradford, Winthrop, and the other worthies, who estab­   
lished or governed the first English colonies in North   
America. The little band of adventurers, whom he boldly   
placed on an island, amidst numerous bodies of savages,

have not become a large and flourishing people; his fame consequently   
is less; but his toils, his zeal, his courage were equally great. In pru­   
dence and benevolence he stands preeminent. Whilst on his part he   
abstained from all acts of violence and fraud against the Indians, he   
gained such an ascendency over their minds, that they on their part   
never did him or his people the least injury, or joined in any of the   
wars, which their countrymen on the main land waged against the   
English. He seemed to come among them, not like a robber to dis­   
possess them of their lands, not like a conqueror to reduce them to   
slavery, but like a father, to impart to them the comforts of civilized   
life, and the blessings of the gospel of peace.-James Freeman, in   
"Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1815*."*

CHAPTER I

THE PRELUDE OF EMPIRE

In 1588 the Spanish Armada was destroyed by the grace of God   
and the sea dogs of England. On the bleak coasts of Ireland and Scot­   
land lay the bones of Philip's ships. Britannia had become mistress of   
the seas.

The sun ofempire had broken on Elizabethan England. It was   
the morning of the seaman, the middle class, and the merchant prince.   
Feudal barons no longer ruled supreme in councils of state with visions   
proscribed by the bounds of ancient manors. In this day commerce   
reached its peak, unconfined to the counting of pennies and the dick­   
ering of traders.

England sloughed provincialism; turned from broad acres to the   
swelling sea and took root beyond the ocean, ambitious to be something   
other than a mere island outpost of Europe.

Merchant adventurers and mariners went forth to vex distant seas   
in strange corners of the globe. Ships sailed the oceans laden with   
cannon and spices and furs.

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THOMAS MAYHEW, PATRIARCH TO INDIANS

Great commercial companies were formed to trade in all the parts of   
the earth. Under the seals of state a stream of charters passed, grant­   
ing new domains in savage untrammeled wildernesses. Vast tracts of   
land, mighty unexplored territories reaching from the Atlantic to the   
fabled South Sea, passed to favorites of the royal hand. Pioneers of   
empire dreamt of power.

In home ports all was bustle. Wooden ships creaked at wharves

piled high with merchandise from strange lands. The music of lap­   
ping waters, the clank of chains, grating blocks, and straining haw­   
sers lulled the air like gentle zephrys and belied the dangers of foreign   
enterprise in barbaric lands. Hulls that had sailed uncharted waters   
pounded gently against their mother piers. In the counting houses   
merchants and masters planned new voyages.

Royal captains, explorers, and grizzled sea dogs ventured out of   
the harbors of England in cockelshell boats to explore the shores of   
North America. The prelude to the empire was being brilliantly   
dramatized.

To the stern forbidding shores of America were transplanted names   
ancient in the United Kingdom. Where the Indian roved in snow and   
forest, maps pictured New Scotland, New Dartmouth, New Somerset­   
shire, the Colony of New Plymouth, and a host of home loved names,   
many of which took no root in the barren soil of the New World, but   
passed from all but the memory of man and the pages of history.   
Others flourished for a time or were merged in greater units.

Governors to strange lands were appointed, admirals of new seas  
commissioned, trading posts were settled, forts erected, and the founda­   
tions of empire laid.

In this hurly-burly of colonization and commerce were established   
close to the middle of the seventeenth century the colonies of Martha's   
Vineyard and Nantucket, the private proprietary of an English mer­   
chant from the seaport town of old Southampton-the Worshipful   
Thomas Mayhew, Esquire, father of a colony, governor of an island,   
feudal lord in the nobility of the New World, judge, educator, patri­   
arch and missionary to the Indians of New England.

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CHAPTER II

THE EARLY LIFE

On April 1, 1593, in the ancient church of St. John the Baptist, in the parish of Tisbury on the downs of south Wiltshire, England,   
Thomas, infant son of Matthew and Alice (Barter) Mayhew, was   
baptized.

The father of Thomas was a yeoman of gentle origin. Perhaps as   
his son was carried from the font of the parish church, he prayed that   
the infant who was destined to become one of a long line of British  
governors of dominions over-seas, would live to revive the fortunes   
of his branch of the Mayhew family, to bring again to his line the   
social rank from whence he sprang.

The Mayhew family of Tisbury was a cadet branch of the family of Mayhew, spelled Mayow, of Dinton, an armigerous county family of considerable distinction, with its pedigree registered by the heralds in the Visitations of 1565 and 1623. The name is of Norman origin and is most frequently met with in the south and west of England. It is often spelled Mahu and Mayo and not infrequently appears clipped down and reduced to May. There can be little doubt but that it is a softened form of Matthew. The name De Mahieu is found in the sixteenth century in the southern provinces of the Netherlands among the noble Walloon families of French-speaking Belgium.

Thomas Mayhew, of Tisbury, a younger son of Dinton, was father of Matthew and grandfather of the infant Thomas. He is the first of his family to have lived in Tisbury, the home of his mother's people, where he was taxed for goods as of the Tithing of Tisbury in 1540. This Thomas was the third son of Robert Mayow, Gentleman, "eldest sonne and heire of Dynton," who married Joan Bridmore, daughter of John, of Tisbury.

Thomas, of Tisbury, was a yeoman, a member of that free-born class of small landholders, in the social scale of the feudal system rank­ ing below the gentry.

The line of demarcation between younger sons of the gentry and   
prosperous yeoman was not firmly fixed and was apt to fluctuate in   
accordance with the wealth of the parent stock and the size of their

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THOMAS MAYHEW, PATRIARCH TO INDIANS

families. Thomas, as one of five sons and two daughters, and the third   
son of his stock, underwent this transition.

It has been suggested that he inherited his mother's estate at Tis­   
bury while the eldest son and heir of the family retained possession of   
the Mayhew property at Dinton. These were the days when the eldest   
son was favored in inheritance to the exclusion of the younger. The   
drop of a step in the social scale in all probability accounts for the fact   
that descendants of Thomas are not recorded in the family pedigree   
prepared at the Visitations. The great art of the heralds of England   
was the elimination in tabular pedigrees of the names of younger sons   
and daughters and those not in the direct line of ascent from the head   
of the family at the time of the Visitation.

These were also days when the Puritan movement was growing in   
strength. The branch to which Thomas Mayhew belonged, becoming   
Protestant, may have lost association and recognition by the parent   
stock. The Mayhews of Dinton are said to have been of the Roman   
Catholic faith.

Thomas was buried in I *590,* in Tisbury, predeceased by his wife,   
Alice.

Robert, father of Thomas, although named in the Visitations as   
"eldest sonne," is the only son of his generation recorded. He was   
doubtless that Robert Mayhew who, with John Todeworth, in a   
"Chirograph" dated 7 Henry VI, granted two messuages, three shops,   
and ten acres of land in New and Old Sarum to Robert Asshton and   
Alice, his wife, for life, remainder to John, son of the said Robert and   
the heirs of his body.

Simon Mayhew, Gentleman, father of Robert, and grandfather of   
Thomas, of Tisbury, heads the family in the recorded pedigrees, and   
bore as arms, "Argent, on a chevron between three birds sable, five   
lozenges of the field."

Matthew, son of Thomas, of Tisbury, and father of the infant   
Thomas, was born about I *5 50.* He was a resident of the parish of   
Tisbury, where he was buried 26 February, 1614. In his will he is   
described as a yeoman. For his rank he appears to have been a man of   
substance. In his will, after minor bequests to the parish church at   
Tisbury and "to the poore people" of the parish, he bequeaths two hun­   
dred and twenty-four pounds of "good and lawfull monie of England"   
to his several children, and in addition "all the rest" of his goods,   
including his landed holdings, to his eldest son John.  
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THOMAS MAYHEW, PATRIARCH TO INDIANS

Alice, the wife of Matthew, to whom he was married in 1587, was   
a daughter of Edward and Edith Barter, of Haxton, in the parish of   
Fydleton, County Wilts, and a granddaughter of James and Margaret   
Barter, of Fovent, in the same shire.

A prominent member of the Mayhew family was Edward, born   
at Dinton in I *5* 70. He became a noted monk of the Benedictine Order. According to the writer in the "Dictionary of National Biography" he   
was "descended from an ancient family who had suffered for their   
attachment to the catholic faith." It is probable that he was a son of   
Henry, of Dinton, and a cousin to the father of *Governor* Mayhew.   
Edward, with a brother or cousin, Henry, not named in the Visitations,   
was admitted a student of the English College at Douay, then tem­   
porarily located at Rheims. Later attending the English College at   
Tome he took orders and was sent to England, where he exercised his   
functions for twelve years as a secular priest. Desiring to *revive* the   
Benedictine Order in England he took the habit and at the end of his   
novitiate was professed by the famous Father Sigebert Buckley, sole   
survivor of the order in England, and aggregated to the Abbey of   
Westminster. Edward was one of the two monks to keep unbroken the   
link in England connecting the old order of St. Benedictine with the   
new.

When Governor Thomas Mayhew was born, Elizabeth was Queen,   
Shakespeare was still living, and the fame of Raleigh and Drake and   
worthy John Hawkins and of a thousand more that by their powers   
"made the Devonian shore mock the proud Taugus" resounded still in   
the Briton's ear. In the same year was passed the Conventicle Act that   
provided the imprisonment without bail of any non-conformist who   
should be present at a religious gathering not authorized by the estab­   
lish church. During the ten years preceding the ascension of James I   
to the throne large numbers of Puritan worshippers were sent to jail   
by the terms of this act and many others went into voluntary exile.

The formative period of Thomas Mayhew's life, no doubt, was   
spent in the parish of his birth. In times of leisure we may picture that   
he tramped the hills and downs of the countryside and mirrored his   
reflections in the still waters of the Nadder, quietly flowing, by whose   
banks ancient Tisbury slept with her past deep in Saxon history and the   
days of Ethelred.

The land where he lived was a land of pleasant villages and ancient   
churches, trees and parks and manor houses, dusty highways that lead  
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THOMAS MAYHEW, PATRIARCH TO INDIANS

up hill and over rolling downs, where one saw thousands upon thou­  
 sand, of sheep cropping grass, the source of England's woolen trade.   
It was home. All about him in neighboring parishes, Chilmark, Font­   
hill, and Dinton, lived a race of Mayhew squires and country gentlemen.   
 At Dinton, home of his parent stock, was born the Earl of Claren­   
don, Lord High Chancellor of England, whose daughter was to marry   
James, Duke of York, destined to become James II of England. The   
church at Tisbury contains a Brass to the Earl's father, Lawrence   
Hyde, great-grandfather of two of England's Queens. In later years  
 Clarendon was to procure a patent of the province of New York from  
 the King for his son-in-law, the Duke. In the history of that province   
it was destined the boy Mayhew should play a role.

But of this the youth foresaw nothing in the peaceful days that   
passed all too quickly. On Sundays he sat in the noble church that   
stood in the fields of the village and read inscriptions to the great   
Arundels, lords of the countryside, whose castle of Wardour stood not   
far distant. He did not know that some of England's history lay in the   
womb of that little countryside that seemed so peaceful and stable and   
far removed from the stirring world. He saw the Lady Arundel, a   
noblewoman of rank and influence, a sister to the Earl of Southampton:   
that Southampton who was patron of Shakespeare and who sent Cap­   
tain Gosnold to America to establish the first English colony in New   
England upon an island of which Mayhew was later to be lord, and   
from which a town was to grow called Gosnold.

Perhaps the boy saw, too, Lord Arundel's daughter, the future   
wife of Lord Baltimore, of Maryland. She was to be buried in the   
church at Tisbury, where he sat.

On week days he attended the English school and perhaps the   
grammar school of the parish. The extent of young Mayhew's educa­   
tion can be no more than guessed.

In the early sixteen hundreds there were three main types of   
schools in England-the Dame School, the English School for instruc­   
tion in the three *R's,* and the Grammar School, devoted chiefly to the   
study of Latin and Greek with occasionally a bit of Hebrew. The lat­   
ter was preparatory to the universities. To the Grammar School at   
Stratford-on-Avon went William Shakespeare, who had "small Latin   
and less Greek." The education of the great majority of English   
boys ended at the English School. It shunted pupils able to read the

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THOMAS MAYHEW, PATRIARCH TO INDIANS

catechism and the Bible, to write a fairly legible hand and to wrestle   
with simple problems in addition and subtraction.

Judging from the letters of Thomas Mayhew and his conduct in  
 life, we are justified in concluding that his education was greater than   
that of the average Englishman of his times. Education throughout   
the world was at a low ebb. Not to be illiterate was a matter of pride.   
The peculiarities of orthography found in Mayhew's writings are   
those common to his day. *U' s* are habitually used in place of *v' s* and   
*v' s* in place of u's; *e's* are \_placed in words where not now used, as in   
*doeing* and *yeares;* and the tendency to double letters is found, of   
which examples are *sitt, donne,* and *ffive.*

Another peculiarity common to the times was the shaping of the   
letter *i* so that the word *if* when reproduced in modern type appears   
*yf.* The elimination of letters to avoid the laborious use of a quill  
pen and poor ink was prevalent. The sign m nual of this practice was   
the use of the apostrophe or the elevation of the last letter of a word   
above the line to denote the elimination of preceding letters.

Rules of capitalization were not hardened. Early writers gave free   
rein to the art of this expression, and astonishing were their results. We   
find educated writers and clergymen capitalizing inconsequential words   
whenever fancy strikes them and in the same sentence writing *god* and   
*christianity* in the lower case.

Past school age the picture of Thomas Mayhew may more clearly   
be limned. Major-General Daniel Gookin, the New England magis­   
trate, who knew him personally, says he was "a merchant, bred in Eng­   
land, as I take it, at Southampton." This is verified by an entry in the   
Book of Free Commoners of the corporation of Southampton:

Nono die ffebr' 1620 (i.e., 1621)   
 Thomas Mayhew late servant and  
 apprntice unto Richard Masey

of the Towne and countie of   
 Southampton mrcer havinge well   
 and truely served his apprntiship   
 with his said mr whoe beinge   
 prsent testified to the same

And he the said Thomas Mayhewe  
 ( desieringe to be admitted a

free commoner of the said Towne   
 to use his trade of a mrcer in  
 this said Towne and his said mr

###### 7

THOMAS MAYHEW, PATRIARCH TO INDIANS  
  
 likewise desieringe the same)   
 was therefore this present daie   
 admitted and sworren a free   
 commoner accordingly.

The privilege of a Free Commoner at Southampton entitled the   
licensee to engage in any "arte, scyence or occupation withyn the   
towne."

By this record a number of years in the life of Thomas Mayhew   
may be pieced. At the age of twenty-one his father had died leaving   
him an estate of forty pounds. A turning point in life had come. A   
few miles distant lay the seaport of Southampton, one of the great mer­   
cantile centers of south England. No occupation offered so great an   
opportunity for adventure, travel, wealth as did the mercantile life.   
So the youth determined at this time, if he did not do so sooner, to seek   
his fortune in the field of trade, the occupation then popularly pursued   
by sons of the gentry and wealthy yeomen.

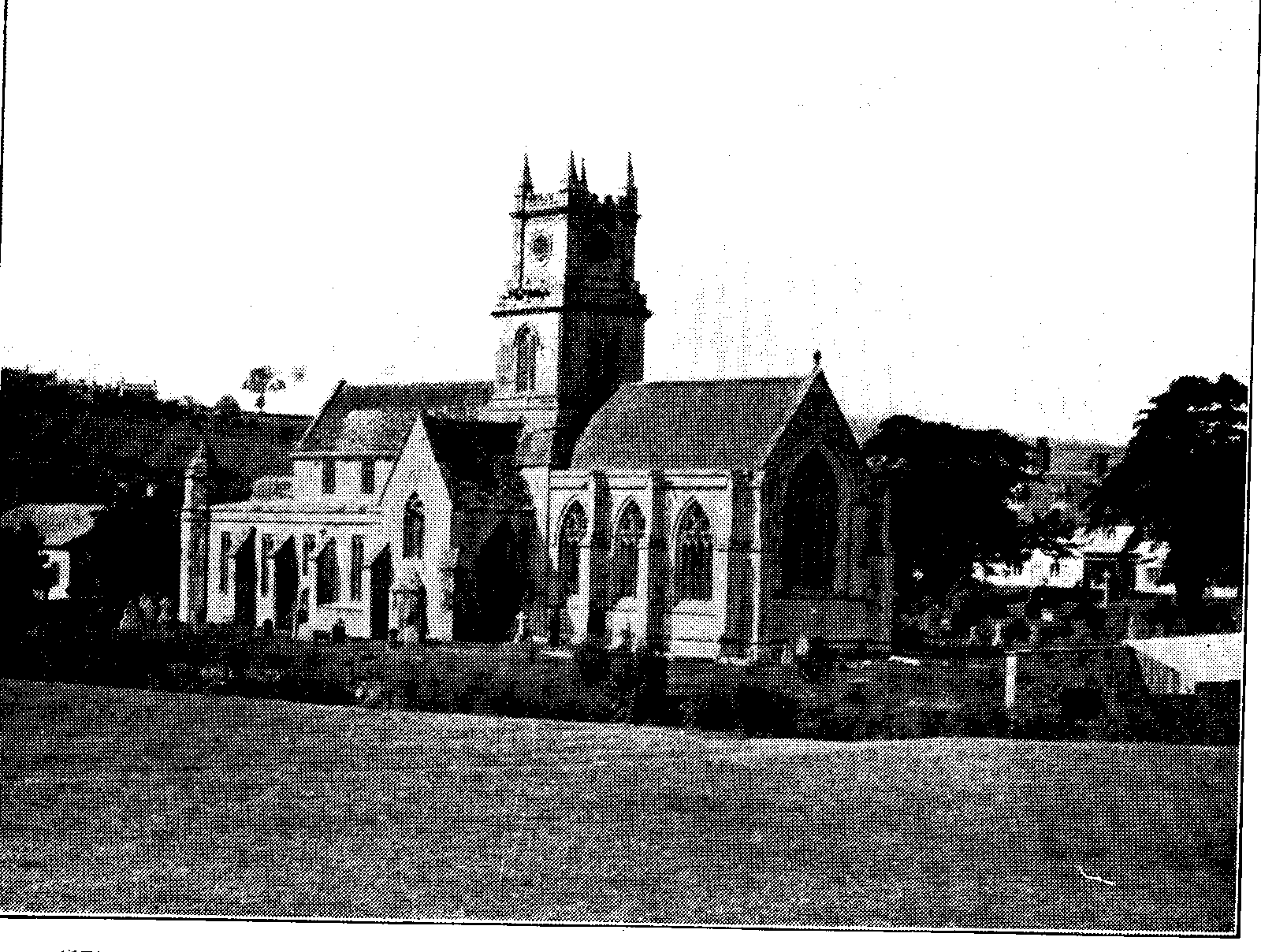
Behind him he left the quiet fields of Wiltshire and its country   
families, its traditions of agriculture and woolen cloths. Opening   
before him was a vista of commerce and trade, ships and wharves and   
foreign enterprise.

It is thought that Richard Macey, with whom Thomas Mayhew   
served his apprenticeship, was a kinsman. Macey was a native of the   
adjoining parish of Chilmark, where young Mayhew had relatives,   
and it is not unlikely that the two were known to each other, if in no   
other way connected.

At the time of his freedom, Mayhew was close to twenty-eight   
years of age. We may infer that he was soon established in business   
for himself, plying as a mercer, a trade in silks and woolens.  
 The mercers were the great merchants of England. In their  
ranks were the most powerful traders of the day. No simple trades­   
men they, we are told, but persons who dealt in a large way in a varied   
assortment of goods, such as linen cloths, buckrams, fustions, satins,   
fine woolen and other English cloths, cotton thread and wool, silk and   
other commodities.

In business at Southampton, Thomas Mayhew, Free Commoner   
and Merchant, followed the fortunes of the colonizing ventures of the   
great mercantile companies. The history of Southampton is replete   
with the exploits of merchant adventures concerned in the first settle-

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CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, TISBURY, ENGLAND WHERE THOMAS MA YHEW WAS BAPTIZED



INTERIOR VIEW OF CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST   
 TISBURY, ENGLAND

THOMAS MAYHEW, PATRIARCH TO INDIANS

ment and maintenance of plantations in the West Indies and on the   
mainland of America.

The year prior to Mayhew's freedom the "Mayflower" met the

"Speedwell" from Holland in Southampton waters and rode at anchor.   
From the quays of the town the merchant must have seen the begin­   
nings of that great voyage which was to terminate with the arrival   
of the "Mayflower" at Cape Cod in the dead of winter. Already the   
Pilgrims were suffering the horrors of those first months and nearly   
one-half their number lay beneath the untamed sod of the Western   
World.

Mayhew's pursuits brought him close in contact with New World

colonization. He is thought to be the Mr. Maio of whom the Massa­   
chusetts Bay Company ordered material for beds, bolsters, and ticks   
in 1628.

From the harbors of Southampton and the Isle of Wight sailed the

great fleet of eleven vessels with 700 settlers under the leadership of  
 John Winthrop an& Sir Richard Saltonstall that established the colony   
of the Massachusetts Bay.

The abilities of Thomas Mayhew in time reached the ears of Mat­   
thew Cradock, potent London merchant, one time governor of the com­   
pany of the Massachusetts Bay. This was accomplished "by the reports   
and advize of maney & more especially" of John Winthrop, with whom   
Mayhew appears to have been acquainted and with whose son he was   
later an intimate friend and business adventurer.

Cradock was one of the great merchants of the kingdom who   
traded in all the seas. He is said to have invested in the trade with   
Persia and the East Indies and to have sent ships to the Levantine, the   
Mediterranean, and the Baltic provinces. He was heavily interested   
financially in the Massachusetts Company, under whose auspices John   
Endicott was exercising the chief authority over a small colony at   
Salem. As early as the spring of I 629 Cradock was instrumental in   
sending over shipwrights, gardeners, coopers, cleavers, and a wheel­   
wright to the new plantation, and there is evidence that in this year   
was established his great private estate at Medford on the banks of   
the Mystic.

The many interests of Cradock in New England required supervi­  
 sion and this he accomplished from time to time by the appointment of   
an agent or factor to have general oversight and charge of his ship­   
ping, fishing, trading, and plantation interests.

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THOMAS MAYHEW, PATRIARCH TO INDIANS

One such factor was Philip Ratcliffe, who early clashed with the  
Puritan leaders in the colony, and being censured by the local court, was   
returned to England minus his ears by judicial decree. Sometime   
thereafter Thomas Mayhew arrived in the "Bay." This event is fixed   
by contemporaneous records in the year I 63 I, and as Ratcliffe was   
summoned before the colonial authorities in the summer of that year,   
it is thought that the purpose of Mayhew's coming to New England   
was to fill the place left vacant by Ratcliffe.

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CHAPTER III

**THE MERCHANT**

Immediately upon his arrival in the "Bay" Thomas Mayhew   
became identified prominently with the social and political life of the   
country. He was throughout the duration of his residence in Massa­   
chusetts one of the foremost merchants in the colony that was founded   
by members of the wealthy mercantile class of Old England, from   
which stratum of society it derived many of its leaders in the early days   
of settlement.

Johnson, in his "Wonder Working Providence," published in  
 16*5* 4, writes with serious profundity:

The richest Jems and gainfull things most Merchants wisely venter:   
Deride not then New England men, this Corporation enter:  
Christ call for Trade shall *never* fade, come Cradock factors send:   
Let Mayhew go another move, spare not thy coyne to spend.  
Such Trades advance and never chance in all their Trading yet:   
Though some deride they lose, abide, here's faine beyond mans wit.  
  
 Thomas Mayhew's first known New England residence was at   
Medford on the environs of Boston. Medford at this time was the   
private plantation of Matthew Cradock and did not have the status of   
township standing. The plantation, with its green meadows and stately   
forests, lay on the north bank of the Mystic, situate upon a grant of   
thirty-five hundred acres. Here Cradock impaled a park where cattle   
were kept until it could be stocked with deer.

On an early map Medford is delineated as a cluster of six build­   
ings. That one of these buildings was to a degree pretentious may be   
inferred by the fact that it is mentioned in the records as "Madford   
house." It was here that Cradock's chief agents lived and Thomas   
Mayhew in the course of time.  
 As Cradock's factor Mayhew became the head of a large corps   
of employees, occupied in furthering Cradock's business interests in   
numerous and diverse activities.

In 1634, Mayhew erected a water mill in Watertown, referred to   
 by a contemporary as an "excellant" mill. This Mayhew eventually   
 purchased for himself, which "brought him great profit." In a letter   
 addressed to the "worshipfull John Wynthropp," Mayhew requests the

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use of Winthrop's team "a day or two, to hellpe carry the timber for   
building the mill at Watertown." The mill, which was the first in   
Watertown, was built at the head of tide-water on the Charles River   
at Mill Creek, which was a canal partly or wholly artificial, leaving the   
river at the head of the falls, where a stone dam was built.

Mayhew also requested of Winthrop delivery of certain hemp   
for calking "the pynnase," from which it may be gathered that he was   
engaged in shipbuilding.

The construction of ships comes early into the history of the Mys­   
tic plantation. The town of Medford was at one time noted for ship­   
building. Cradock sent over skilled artisans to promote the industry   
and as early as 1632 they had a vessel of one hundred tons on the   
stocks. In the year following a ship of three hundred tons and another   
of sixty tons were built. It may not be doubted that smaller vessels,   
such as pinnaces, galleys, and snows were launched upon the Mystic   
tides that flowed by the banks of the Medford plantation.

The smaller of these vessels were engaged in the coastwise trade,   
the larger in a three-cornered trade with the ports of Catholic Europe,   
the mother country, and the plantation on the Mystic.

The market for fish was poor in the mother country due to the fact   
that English merchants sent out their own fishing fleets. As fish was   
the staple article of New England export, trade necessarily sprang up   
with the Catholic countries of south Europe. There the New England   
ships would take on cargoes of wines and oils for Britain. Arrived in   
England these would be exchanged for clothing, food, and supplies   
needed in New England.

The fishery was one of the first and most flourishing trades estab­   
lished in the New World. It was the corner-stone of New England pros­   
perity. Captain John Smith referred to its possibilities as a trade of   
more solid value to the country than the richest mine the King of Spain   
possessed in Spanish America. Cradock is said to have maintained   
fishing stations at Medford, Marblehead, and Ipswich. At Medford   
was a great weir which had come into the possession of Cradock and  
Governor Winthrop. Here "land fish" were taken, *i. e.,* fish caught  
without the use of boats. The weir was at the outlet of Mystic Lake,   
where today High Street, Medford, crosses the Mystic River at what   
is known as the Weir Bridge.

Something of Thomas Mayhew's activities as merchant, miller,   
plantation steward, and shipbuilder is expressed in a letter to the

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younger John Winthrop. In this Mayhew tells of a voyage to the   
Isles of Shoals "to buy 80 hogsheads of prouission" and reports that   
upon his arrival he "fownd noe such thinge as vnto me for trueth was   
reported: to procure 8 hogsheads of bread I was fayne to lay out one   
hundred pownds in ruggs & coates vnnecessarily: and for pease I got   
but I hogshead & *½,* whereof I sowed certain bushnells. Had things   
beene free at the coming in of this vessel, I woulld haue had a greater   
share of what she brought, yett I confesse, as matters hath beene car­   
ried, I haue not ought against that which hath beene donne."

Continuing, he writes, "I haue made out th accompt betweene vs.   
Concerning the Bermuda Voyadge and accompting the potatoes at *2d.*the corne at *9s.* per bushell, the pork at 10 *li.* per hogshead, orrenges   
and lemons at 20s. per c, wee two shall gaine twenty od pownds."  
 Winthrop, an accomplished scholar, a member of the Royal Society,   
and a governor of Connecticut, was the friend most dear to Mayhew   
hroughout life. Him he addressed as "Deseruedly Honoured Mr.   
John Wynthropp, and my loueing Friend" and "my approued Freind."   
Meanwhile, Cradock, in London, had become dissatisfied with the   
results of Mayhew's factorage. Like the London merchants who had   
financed the "Mayflower" pilgrims, Cradock was imbued with the   
belief that his investments in the new hemisphere should produce great   
revenue. But North America was not India, nor did it contain the   
wealth of the Caribbeans. The sterile and forbidding shores of New  
England produced timber, and in adjoining waters fish were caught   
in abundance, but in the markets of the home country such commodi­  
ties did not bring the prices of an East Indian cargo.

Dissatisfied, Cradock became thoroughly convinced that the lack of   
"great returnes" was attributable to "vyle bad dealinge" on the part of   
Mayhew. In lengthy letters to the senior Winthrop, Cradock poured   
forth his grievances, real and imaginary, going so far as to intreat Win**­**throp to take steps to make Thomas Mayhew account for Cradock's  
property in New England, which the London merchant valued at  
11*,500* pounds, besides increase of "Cattell," improvement of grounds,   
"& proffitt by the labors of seruants," set off against charges and losses.   
Cradock "truely" hoped Mayhew would give him reasonable satisfac­   
tion, and in so doing, says Cradock, "I ame confydent it will doe him­   
selffe a great deale of right."

Immediately Cradock sent over a new agent, one Joliffe, who   
reported in regard to Mayhew's accounts, "that what is not sett downe

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is spent.' "Most extremely I ame abused," bewailed Cradock, "My   
seruants write they drinke nothing but water & I haue in an account   
lateley sent me Red Wyne, Sack & acqua vitae in one yeere aboue 3oo   
gallons, besids many other intollerable abuses, 101£ for tobacco etc.   
My papers are misselayd, but if you call for the coppyes of the   
accounts sent me & examine vppon what ground it is made, you shall   
fynd I doubt all but forged stuffe." Cradock complained that bills   
came almost daily to him of one kind or another. By these his mind   
was much disquieted, as he thanked God never anything did in the   
"lyke" manner before.

Continues he, "When it shall appear howe he hath dealt with me,   
you & all men shall seey it I ame persuaded will hardely thinke it   
would be possible that a man pretending sincerity in his actions could   
deale so vilely as he hath & doeth deale by me."

"Yeet," writes Cradock again, "what shall I say, Mr. Mayhew is   
approued by all."

Not alone Winthrop, but Sir Henry Vane, the then governor of the  
colony, was favored with letters from the London merchant.

Mayhew's version of this controversy cannot be presented with   
much wealth of detail. His story is gleaned imperfectly from Cra­   
dock's letters, from the conduct of compeers, and collateral circum­   
stances. Cradock himself mentioned the good reputation which the   
factor held. Rather testily he had referred to Captain Pearce, the   
trusted confidant of the leaders of the Massachusetts Colony in Eng­   
land and America as one who was a Mayhew "well-willer."

Men in New England who knew Mayhew personally rallied to his   
aid, including the "heavenly minded" Haynes, himself a merchant.   
Cradock "marvels," as he expressed it, that Mr. Haynes, a former   
governor of the colony and the son of a privy councillor in England,   
should "drawe" himself "into such a buseynes," but is "perswaded"   
that Mr. Haynes is laboring under a misapprehension as to May­   
hew's dealings and will be enlightened when the factor's methods are   
''unmasked.''

The gist of Cradock's spleen was business losses. He had invested   
many thousands of pounds in the new plantation, yet his New England   
interests totaled in the debit column. Wounded in his pocketbook, his   
soul writhed in a torment of pain. Upon Mayhew he turned with all   
the frenzy of a mind "much disquieted." Mayhew's cardinal sin was a   
failure to live up to the expectations of his employer. There can be  
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little doubt but that Mayhew was honest. The entire course of his life   
is a demonstration of a rugged integrity.

It may be that Mayhew made business errors and failed to report   
with sufficient detail to the satisfaction of Cradock. More than this  
the evidence does not sustain.

It must not be forgotten that Cradock's source of information was   
Joliffe, a man anxious to secure Mayhew's position, as he did.

Steps taken by Winthrop to make Mayhew "answerable" are not   
known. The judicial records of the colony disclose that court action  
 was not pursued. This was a day when no controversy was too small   
to solicit the solemn attention of the magistrates. It is probable that   
the local governor of the colony paid small heed to the cry of the Eng­   
lish merchant. It is not known that Mayhew suffered anything from the controversy other than that his position as the New England repre­ sentative of the London merchant was not renewed upon the expiration of contract. His social and political prestige suffered nothing in the   
eyes of his colleagues who better understood the difficulties of his   
tasks and the expenditures necessary to further new and extensive oper­   
ations in a pioneer country.

The letters of Cradock contain one of the few attacks upon May­   
hew's private character, remarkable in that he was a man long and   
strenuously before the public, whose varied career as merchant, gov­   
ernor, manorial lord, and Indian missionary extended over a period of   
fifty-one years in America.

In later years Cradock had business dealings with Mayhew, an indi­   
cation that he no longer believed in the charges he had been so hasty in   
bringing.

The termination of Mayhew's employment as factor necessitated   
his removal from Medford. He took up residence in the nearby vil**­**lage of Watertown, where already he had business interests. Here, a   
few miles outside the principal town of Boston, the merchant resided   
the following seven or eight years, continuing his identity in colony   
affairs and enlarging his business and landed interests.  
 He was one of the great landowners of the colony. He held a   
large farm in Watertown of two hundred and fifty acres and three   
tracts of "upland," totaling more than one hundred and twenty acres.   
In addition he possessed thirty acres of meadow at the "westpine   
meaddows" in the township.

The other large landowners at Watertown were Sir Richard Sal-  
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tonstall, the Rev. George Phillips, Robert Feake, Gentleman, and John   
Loveran.

Mayhew also owned for a time the Oldham farm of five hundred   
acres located at the junction of the Charles River and Stony Brook in   
the present town of Waltham, and the so-called Bradstreet farm of an   
equal number of acres in Cambridge Village, now Newton.

At Watertown the former factor continued his commercial activi­   
ties and the operation of the mill which by this time had come into his   
ownership, as well as the fish weir which had been constructed by the   
town a number of years before. The fishery in the Charles River was   
one of considerable importance. Wood, the early chronicler, testifies   
that at this weir were taken "great store of Shads and Alewives. In   
two Tydes they have gotten one hundred thousand of those Fishes."

Not far removed fr'om the mill and weir was the proprietor's home   
lot of twelve acres with residence and orchard.

To span the Charles River in this center of commercial activity,   
Mayhew constructed a bridge, the first and most important in Water­   
town. It was usually called the Mill Bridge or the Great Bridge.   
Although successful as a structure of use, it proved a failure to its   
builder as a means of financial remuneration.

As early as 1641 its sponsor applied to have granted him the right   
to charge tolls. The application was referred by the colonial legisla­   
ture to the governor and two magistrates to settle for seven years. But   
after some dickering, the privilege was refused, and by some unknown   
process of logic it was determined that the bridge should "belong to the   
Country" and that Mayhew should have in return for his investment   
and enterprise a tract of three hundred acres of land, which was voted   
him without thanks. The transaction was closed to the satisfaction of   
all but Mayhew. The colony reaped the fruits of private enterprise   
and, as has been aptly stated, "Mayhew got a lot of land in the woods   
thirty miles west of Boston" for his pains, in what is now Southboro   
and Framingham, on the north bank of Hopkinton River.

It is not known exactly under what arrangements, if any, the   
builder undertook the construction of the bridge, but it is apparent that  
the paternalistic government of the colony did not favor private enter­   
prise and monopolies.

The outcome of the bridge episode was of special grief to Thomas   
Mayhew for the reason that the years 1640 and 1641 were a time of   
financial depression.

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Matters reached a state where the General Court of the colony   
took a hand and passed an act that no man should be compelled to sat­   
isfy any debt, legacy, fine, or other payment, in money, but that credi­   
tors should accept satisfaction in corn, cattle, or other commodities   
because of "a great stop in trade & comerce for want of money."

Late in 1640 came the news that the Scots had invaded England in   
rebellion against the efforts of Charles I to force Episcopacy upon their   
people. The sending to New England of supplies fell off abruptly.   
Through the colony spread the news that the calling of a parliament   
and the possibility of a thorough reformation was imminent in Eng­   
land. The convention of the Long Parliament and the uprising of the   
Puritans in civil war was soon to come. Many of the settlers in New   
England decided to return to England. Others, despairing of supplies   
from the home country under the circumstances, and doubtful of the   
opportunity to earn a living should they return, moved southward,   
where subsistence was more easily secured than in the sterile soil of   
Massachusetts.

To effect removal a great many estates were put upon the market at   
low prices that the emigrants might raise quick cash. "These things,"   
writes Governor Winthrop, "together with the scarcity of money, caused   
a sudden and very great abatement of the prices of all our own com­   
modities." The price of corn and livestock, two staple articles of   
exchange, dropped sharply, "whereby it came to pass that men could   
not pay their debts, for no money nor beaver were to be had," and he   
who the year prior had been worth 1,000 pounds could not now, con­  
cludes Winthrop, raise 200 pounds.

The times were difficult for a man involved in as many enterprises   
as Thomas Mayhew. Bills and debts became pressing. An orgy of   
mortgages ensued. Between 1639 and 1643 the mill at Watertown,   
the fish weir, the Bradstreet farm, the Watertown farm, and other   
miscellaneous tracts of land and properties were either mortgaged or   
sold.

Something of the merchant's efforts to raise money he recounts to   
Winthrop, a fellow victim, who suffered reverses at the time from   
which he never fully recovered. Mayhew was threatened with having   
goods distrained by the government for failure to pay a tax. At the   
same time the colony owed him more than seventy pounds, which he   
had been attempting to collect for a year and a half. Mayhew could   
not see equity in it.

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Writes he, "I may safely say that if I had had my money as was   
then fully intended, being then 100 li., it had donne me more good, in   
name & state, then now wilbe made whole with double the money."   
Continuing, he writes, "Mony is verry hard to gett vpon any termes.   
I know not the man that ca ffurnish me with it .... when I was syck   
& in necessitie, I could not gett any of the Tresurer." In conclusion,   
he adds briefly, "I delight not to compleyne."

The letter was carried to the governor by the constable, whom,   
says Mayhew, "I thinke he comes vnto yow for counsell" in the mat­   
ter. Developments are not known. Perhaps Winthrop joined in May­   
hew's view that there was no "equitie" in the matter and legal process   
was abandoned.

In the words of the merchant's friend, Daniel Gookin, the time had   
come when it pleased God to frown upon Mayhew "in his outward   
estate."   
 In a new and undeveloped country still in the pioneer state, where  
life was mainly agricultural and piscatorial, and men found it neces­   
sary to till the soil and build with their hands to eke a livelihood, the   
trials of the entrepreneur and capitalist were many and fraught with   
peril even under the most favorable circumstances.

Winthrop, Senior, Cradock, Mayhew, Oldham, and others found   
New England a source of financial loss. The era of great mercantile   
wealth and the growth of rich and powerful families with fortunes   
grounded on foundations of exports and imports was not to come for   
another quarter of a century.

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CHAPTER IV

THE LEGISLATOR

In the early days of the Massachusetts Colony politics were, as in   
England, a profession pursued by gentlemen. Citizens of the best   
brains and education were called upon toserve the country in its several   
branches as a matter of civic duty. An office of trust, whether great   
or small, was an office of honor. A wealthy merchant of Boston   
expressed the spirit of the day when he questioned in his diary his   
worthiness to exercise the office of corporal of militia.

The name of Thomas Mayhew appears on the records of the colony   
as early as March 6, 1632, on which day he filed a report as chairman   
of a committee appointed to settle the boundaries of Charlestown and   
Cambridge. In July of the following year he was appointed by the   
General Court to act as administrator of the estate of Ralph Glover.

For reasons unknown the merchant failed to become a freeman for   
a number of years. Whether he was unwilling to throw off allegiance   
to the Church of England, or whether with that caution which was char­   
acteristic of him he was not yet ready to cast his fortunes with the new   
colony, cannot at this day be said.

In the spring of 1634, however, he applied and was admitted a   
Freeman of the company of the Massachusetts, Bay, entitled thereby to   
actively participate in the government of the colony as an elector and   
to hold offices of public trust. In the list of candidates admitted at this   
time hut six are accorded the title "Mr.," a prefix then conferred with   
care, and denoting the possessor to be a man of rank. Three of these   
men of quality were the celebrated clergymen, Thomas Hooker, John   
Cotton, and Samuel Stone. The others were William Brenton, a mem­   
ber of an ancient and wealthy English family; Captain William Pierce,   
the distinguished voyager and shipmaster, author of New England's   
first almanac; and Thomas Mayhew.

Says the historian of Watertown, "For the ensuing 13 years, it   
appears by the Colonial Records, that few, if any, other persons so   
often received important appointments from the General Court" than   
Thomas Mayhew.

The status of a Freeman is one of interest. It is commonly known   
that the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New  
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England was chartered by royal patent as a trading company. In the   
establishment of the colony in America the administration of the trad­   
ing company became the government of the colony. The board of   
directors of the company, known as Assistants, became the magistrates,   
 and the stockholders or Freemen the electors.

Of two thousand inhabitants in the colony in 1630 not more than a   
dozen had political competence. Not until the year following was the   
first class of Freemen admitted after the transfer of the charter to the   
New World. Freedom soon became restricted to colonists who held   
fellowship with one of the churches in the jurisdiction.

A small percentage of the population had become voters. These   
met in the stockholders' meeting of the company, where the higher   
officers of the colony were elected. The Freemen growing unwieldly   
in number for mass meetings, it was determined that the several planta­   
tions should send Deputies instead. In time the stockholders' meeting   
became the supreme legislative body of the colony.

On the day of his admission to Freedom, Mayhew, as a welcome,   
was fined by the General Court for a breach of its order against   
"imployeing Indeans to shoote with peeces." Mayhew had employed   
Indian servants for hunting purposes, perhaps to provide provisions for   
Cradock's numerous employees under his care, or for animal fur. That   
the offense was not heinous is gathered by the further order of the   
General Court that the Court of Assistants who had illegally, as they   
deemed, given Mayhew permission to do the act complained of, should   
pay a part of the fine levied. This is an early example of the control   
of the Freemen of the colony assembled in General Court over the jur­   
isdiction of the magistrates.

On the same day a committee of the court was appointed to bargain   
with Mr. Mayhew and Mr. Stevens, or either of them, for the building   
of a seafort at Boston for the defense of the colony: the court agreeing   
to perform whatever bargain the committee might strike "for manner   
& time of payemt." Mayhew's connection with this enterprise is there­   
after veiled in obscurity. It may be that a "manner & time of paymt"   
were not satisfactorily arrived at.

All in all, Thomas Mayhew, honored with the title "Master,"   
fined as a miscreant for permitting Indians to shoot with "peeces," and consulted as an engineer, appears to have been busily occupied at his   
first attendance at the General Court as a Freeman.

A few weeks later he was intreated by the court to examine what

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hurt the swine kept by the men of Charlestown had done among Indian   
"barnes" of corn on the north side of the Mystic, the inhabitants of   
Charlestown promising to give the Indians satisfaction in accordance   
with his findings in the matter. Already he was a man of influence with   
the Indians, a phase in life for which he was to become famous.

An example of the paternalistic character of the Massachusetts   
government and its control of private trade is found in an act of the   
General Court passed the succeeding year. This statute provided that  
no person should buy commodities of any ship coming within the juris­   
diction of the colony without license first obtained from the governor,   
under penalty of confiscation of goods so purchased or their value. The   
act then proceeded to authorize Mayhew and certain other merchants   
in the colony, "or any one of them," to board any ship that had lain   
twenty-four hours at anchor and discovered to be a friend, to take   
note of what commodities it had for sale.

The boarding merchant was then to report the results of his obser­   
vations to his fellow licensees, the majority of whom were at liberty to   
buy such commodities as they should judge to be useful to the country.   
It was provided that goods purchased should be landed by the mer­   
chants and stored in some magazine near the place where the ship lay   
at anchor, and that at any time within the space of twenty days after   
the landing, and notice given the several towns, sales should be made   
from the stock to any inhabitant within the jurisdiction, of such com­   
modities as might be needful. The act concluded with a maximum   
profit specified to the merchant, "& not above."

An incident in the life of the colony at this time in which Mayhew   
played a part was that which has been made famous by Hawthorne:   
the cutting of the red cross of St. George from the King's colors by   
John Endicott for the reason that it savored of papery. This pic­   
turesque incident, more widely known than any other one event in early   
New England history, threw the colony into a furor.

The cross in the flag had early troubled the tender conscience of   
the Puritan exile. Whether this flaunting symbol of "Anti-Christ"   
should be carried in the flags of the militia had early been referred to   
the ministers at Boston for decision, but the clergy being divided in   
opinion, the question was deferred to another meeting. Meantime   
Roger Williams, who could split a theological hair or create a political   
schism better and with more eloquence than his worst persecutor ever   
hoped to do, continued to express his opinion that the cross should be

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discarded. Endicott, inspired by the young cleric's logic, on the green   
at Salem, before the assembled train band, with his own sword, had   
purged the ensign of Old England of its stigma, and the embattled   
militia men had proudly marched away with the amputated remains   
unfurled to freedom's breezes. The scruples of the yeomen who had   
refused to follow the flag in its former sinful condition were satisfied.   
But not so the government. The problem involved a magnitude too   
great to be solved by a Caesarian operation. Such means savored of   
treason. For a time it was ordered that all ensigns should be laid   
aside. The ministers rallied to the harassed administration and prom­   
ised to write to the most wise and godly of their faith in England for   
advice.  
 Complaint was made to the General Court that the King's colors  
had been defaced. "Much matter was made of this," writes Winthrop,   
"as fearing it would be taken as an act of rebellion, or of like high   
nature, in defacing the king's colors; though the truth were, it was done   
upon this opinion, that the red cross was given to the king of England   
by the pope, as an ensign of victory, and so a superstitious thing, and a   
reluque of antichrist."

Endicott was hailed before the Court of Assistants to answer for   
his act, but the court was unable to agree to any conclusion in the   
premises. The entire question was deferred to the next meeting of the   
General Court, convened at Newton. The question came early to the  
attention of that body. A committee of thirteen Freemen, including   
Thomas Mayhew, was appointed to consider Endicott's act and "to   
reporte to the Court" how far they judge it "sensureable." After one   
or two hours' time, the committee returned to the floor of the court   
and rendered its report:

The commissionrs chosen to consider of the act of Mr Endicott con­   
cerneing the colrs att Salem did reporte to the Court that they appre­   
hend hee had offended therein many wayes, in rashness, vncharitablenes,   
indiscrecon, & exceeding the lymitts of his calling, wherevpon the Court   
hath sensured him to be sadly admonished for his offence, wch accord­   
ingly hee was, & also disinabled for beareing an office in the common  
wealth, for the space of a yeare nexte ensueing.

Thisreport Winthrop amplifies in his journal saying the committee   
found Endicott's offense to be rash and without discretion in that he   
took upon himself more authority than he had without advice of court;   
uncharitable because, although he considered the cross to be a sin he  
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contented himself in reforming it only at Salem, taking no step to   
reform it elsewhere; and that he laid a "blemish" upon the rest of the   
magistrates in intimating that they would admit of idolatry. A heavier   
sentence was not levied, explains Winthrop, because the court was per­   
suaded the captain had done the act out of tenderness of conscience, and  
 not of any evil intent.

In the end the military commissioners of the colony ruled that the

cross of St. George as a device upon the national colors should be left   
out of the flags carried by the militia, and that the ensign flown at the   
King's fort in Boston Harbor should bear the sovereign's arms in   
substitution.

Endicott, in later years, in his capacity as a Commissioner of the   
United Colonies, was able to exercise considerable influence in connec­   
tion with the activities of the Indian mission at Martha's Vineyard,   
then under Mayhew's supervision. There is nothing to show that Endi­   
cott harbored any grudge against Mayhew as a consequence of service   
on this committee. In fact, considering the enormity of the offense of   
mutilating the nation's flag, the sentence of the court was innocuous.   
The entire proceeding was a play to the British gallery. The Britons   
were watching the Puritans of New England with suspicious eyes and   
charging them with sedition.

In September, I 636, Thomas Mayhew was elected for the first time   
a Deputy to the General Court. This dignified body of lawmakers and   
judges recruited its membership from the wealthy and landed proprie­   
tors of the colony, its members representing the higher level of society.  
 At the time of his election the new Deputy was about forty-three   
years of age.

For the ensuing eight years Thomas Mayhew was returned to the   
General Court at nearly every session, being a member of at least fif­   
teen courts during that period. Upon occasion he was fined for   
absences, it being voted once that "The fines of this weeke are agreed   
to bee given to George Munnings who lost his eye in the countryes   
servise."

As a Deputy he was appointed to many important committees in   
company with the leaders of the colony. His name appears as a mem­   
ber of committees appointed to lay out land grants ordered by the   
General Court, to judge and establish boundaries between the several   
towns, to levy tax rates, to audit the books of the colony's treasurer, to   
adjust accounts between individuals, and similar duties.

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THOMAS MAYHEW, PATRIARCH TO INDIANS

With the husband of the "heretic," Anne Hutchinson, he was

ordered by the Court of Assistants to gather up the debts and estate of  
Captain John Oldham, recently murdered by the Indians at Block  
Island. The murder of Oldham, a prominent merchant, was a chief   
cause in bringing on the Pequot War, the first of the Indian wars of   
New England.

When the judicial system of the colony was revised, Thomas May­   
hew was one of three gentlemen appointed to hold court for Water­   
town to hear and determine all causes not exceeding twenty shillings in   
amount. Business had grown apace in the colony with the increase of   
population, and although lawyers were looked upon as fathers of   
strife and were practically nil in the colony as a profession, the calen­   
dars of the law courts, nevertheless, had become choked with petty   
actions, and merchants found themselves at great expense in pursuing   
debtors and in adjusting accounts among themselves.

An important committee on which the deputy and judge served   
was one appointed by the General Court from its membership to con­   
sider a letter received by it from the Indian sachems Canonicus and   
Pesecus, of the Narragansetts. The members were ordered "to returne   
theire thoughts & conclusions" to the "howse" for action.

Canonicus was the ancient sachem of the restless Narragansetts of   
Rhode Island. Pesecus was his nephew, who ruled with him as a sort  
 of sachem-coadjutor on account of the former's great age. Pesecus'   
brother, Miantonomo, had been slain by the chief Uncas, outcast leader   
of a band of malcontent Indians, and the Narragansetts were prepared   
to embark upon the customary war of retaliation and extinction. The   
move was frowned upon by the Massachusetts government.

Samuel Gorton, a settler, who for his "damnable errors" had been   
banished from the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, is charged as   
the inciting influence behind the activities of the Narragansetts. Writ­   
ing over the marks of the chiefs Canonicus and Pesecus, Gorton had   
addressed a letter to the Massachusetts authorities, pleased at the   
opportunity to bait his former persecutors. In the letter surprise is   
expressed that the Massachusetts authorities should disapprove of the   
war, and with ingenious reasoning the writer suggests, in light of the   
fact that the Narragansetts had recently submitted themselves to the   
protection of the English crown, that any difference between the Massa­   
chusetts government and the Narragansetts should be referred to the

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Kingfor ·settlement on the theory that the settlers and the Narragan­   
setts were fellow subjects of a common sovereign.

The submission of the Narragansetts was made directly to that   
great and mighty prince, Charles, King of England, at the suggestion   
of some of Gorton's followers for the reason that both the Gorton   
faction and the Narragansetts feared to come under the sway of their   
neighbors to the north. The Massachusetts leaders were jockeyed into   
the position where they appeared in the light of attempting to control,   
with overbearing strength, the conduct of others of his Majesty's loyal   
subjects.

The committee of the General Court perceived the delicate hand   
of Gorton in the epistle, or thought they did, and two messengers were   
hastily dispatched to Canonicus to convey the court's answer, with   
instructions to query the Narragansett chiefs if they "did own" the let­   
ter, by whose advice they had done as they wrote, and why they coun­   
tenanced counsel from such evil men as Gorton and his followers.   
These diplomats were illy received by the Narragansett's chief, who   
compelled them to wait two hours before giving them audience in his   
wigwam. Entering at length, the envoys found Canonicus stretched   
upon a couch from which he failed to arise. He would give them but   
few grudging words. After four hours of this treatment, Pesacus   
removed the party to an "ordinary" wigwam, not suitable for the recep­   
tion of English ambassadors, where a conference was held through most   
of the night. That it was unsuccessful may be gathered from the fact   
that the Narragansetts, with the Mohawks and the Pocomoticks, betook  
themselves to the warpath against Uncas in a long drawn war in which   
Uncas received support from the English. This assistance he repaid   
in later years by siding with the colonists against King Philip. The   
merits of the war is a contested bit of history and the exact part played   
by Gorton's men cannot now be estimated with impartial accuracy.

During all the time that Thomas Mayhew was playing a role in   
the affairs of the colony, he was prominent in the smaller sphere of   
town affairs at Watertown. Immediately upon taking up residence in   
the town he was elected one of eleven selectmen empowered to "dis­   
pose of all the Civill Affaires of the Towne for one whole yeare." The   
members elected constituted the legislative body of the town, and exer**­**cised also judicial powers in the enforcement of local ordinances, sitting   
as a police court. The office of selectman Mayhew held a number of   
years, at times acting as chairman of the board.

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He was one of two townsmen appointed by the town to make a   
rate for the discharge of town obligations covering in part charges for   
"fencing ye burying place," and for the support of "ye Poore."

In the midst of stirring events in England and depression in New   
England, came the great event in the life of Thomas Mayhew that was   
to change the entire tenure of his future-the opportunity to acquire   
the title and sovereignty of the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nan­   
tucket and those adjacent, to become like William Penn and Lord Bal­   
timore, on a smaller scale, the proprietary of a colony in America.

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CHAPTER V

THE LORD OF THE ISLES

In the September of I 64I appeared at Boston, as General Deputy   
to the Right Honorable the Earl of Stirling, one James Forrett, with   
authority from his principal to dispose of lands for the colonization of   
Long Island and parts adjacent.

William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, had for some time been   
endeavoring to colonize the vast domains granted him upon the divi­   
sion of the territories of the Council for New England. Stirling was   
an eminent Scotch poet of ancient family. A favorite of the King, he   
held the post of Secretary for the Kingdom of Scotland. He was the   
recipient of prodigious gifts of land. He received from the New Eng­   
land Company the lands of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Stirling   
planned the settlement of these territories by the sale of baronies to   
gentlemen of rank who would contract to place on the soil of their   
grants a certain number of inhabitants. For the furtherance of this   
enterprise the King created a new order, the hybrid Knights Baronets   
of Nova Scotia, each member of which was to be a little more than a   
knight and a little less than a baron. Every purchaser of a barony was   
entitled to the orange tawny ribbon of the new order upon payment of   
requisite fees.

Although the new titles were conferred upon a number of gentle­   
men, and the royal pocket reaped a harvest each time the royal sword   
dubbed a baronet, the scheme as a means of settlement failed. The   
bleak fields of New Scotland bloomed with naught else than knights   
and passed into the possession of the French, leaving the landless pro­   
prietors of Nova Scotia with the orange tawny ribbon of their order   
and a title derided by the older nobility.

Of Stirling, an early satirist made the comment that "It did not   
satisfie his ambition to have a laurel from the Muses, and be esteemed   
a King amongst Poets, but he must be King of some New-found-land;   
and like another Alexander indeed, searching after new worlds, have   
the sovereignty of Nova Scotia. He was borne a Poet, and aimed to   
be a King; therefore he would have his royal title from King James,   
who was born a King, and aimed to be a Poet."

After the Seigniory of New Scotland might be said to have ceased

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to exist, so far as Stirling was concerned, he, or his son, was granted   
another gift of land in the New World with which to experiment.  
 In the charter of this grant the new lordship was delineated as  
embracing within its boundaries all that part of the mainland of New   
England adjoining the late New Scotland on the south, from the river   
St. Croix along the sea coast to Pemaquid, and up that river to the   
Kennebec and the river of Canada, to be called the county of Canada,   
together with Long Island to the west of Cape Cod, thereafter to be   
titled the Isle of Stirling, "with all & singular, havens, harbours, creeks,   
and Islands, imbayed and all Islands and Iletts lyinge within ffive   
leagues distance of the Maine being opposite and abuttinge vpon the   
premises or any part thereof not formerly lawfully graunted to any by   
speciall name.''

Another great adventurer in the New World contemporary with   
Alexander was Sir Ferdinando Gorges, a hero of the war in France;   
like Stirling, a kingly favorite and a prominent member of the Council   
for New England. It was Gorges who had been instrumental in pro­   
curing from that company a charter for the Pilgrim founders of Plym­   
outh Colony.

In 1622 Gorges and Mason were granted the territory between the   
Merrimac and Kennebec rivers, extending inland sixty miles. Upon   
a division of this grant in I 629 the northern part between the Pisca­   
taqua and Kennebec rivers fell to the lot of Gorges, and was named by   
him New Somersetshire, after his home county in England. Ten years   
later Gorges was able to procure the King's confirmation to this terri­   
tory. By the terms of the royal patent, vice-regal powers of govern­   
ment were conferred upon Gorges, who was to act as Lord Palatine of   
the Province of Maine, the name under which New Somersetshire   
emerged in the royal christening.

Sir Ferdinando, remaining in England, sent over his nephew,   
Thomas Gorges, to act as local governor. Richard Vines, a gentleman   
sent out for trade and discovery, was already in the country.

At Boston, Stirling's emissary, James Forrett, came into contact   
with Thomas Mayhew, and being ready always to further his master's   
interests and to encourage the colonization of his lands, negotiations   
were opened with the Puritan merchant to accept a grant of one or   
more of the unsettled islands of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and   
those adjacent, eastward of Long Island; a part of the domain claimed   
by Stirling.

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Martha's Vineyard, the largest and most fertile of these islands,   
had already been described in print by a number of early explorers,   
although Nantucket was not so well known. With a purchaser in   
sight it may be assumed that Stirling's agent pictured in glowing terms   
the forest-clad island of Martha's Vineyard, with its belt of hills to the   
north, its rolling plains and wild moors, its salt ponds leading to the   
sea, its cliffs at Nashaquitsa two hundred and twenty feet high, and the   
vast solitude of beach along the south shore where the waters of the   
Atlantic roll eternal. Perhaps with the book written by the historian   
of the Gosnold expedition before him as a text, he pictured the   
"chieftest trees" of this island which are beeches and cedars, the latter   
"tall and straight, in great abundance," and described the luxuriant   
flora which crowded the island from the waters of Vineyard Haven to   
the great south beach, from the multi-colored cliffs at Gay Head to   
the pasture lands of Chappaquiddick, the "Cypress trees, Oakes, …

Elmes, Beech, Hollie, Haslenut . . . . Cotten trees," high timbered   
oaks, "their leaves thrice so broad as ours," and walnut trees in abun­   
dance; cherry trees that "beareth" fruit like a cluster of grapes, "forty   
or fifty in a bunch," and sassafras trees in "great plentie all the Island   
over."

Further the agent recounted how strawberries grown there were red   
and sweet and "bigger than ours in England," and raspberries, goose­   
berries, and huckleberries, and an "incredible store of Vines" extending   
even into the wooded parts of the island so dense that Gosnold's men  
could not "goe for treading upon them"; the vines from the presence   
of which the island took its name.

In surrounding waters nature, too, was lavish. Here whales, por­   
poises, cod, mackerel, herring, lobsters, crabs, muscles, and other fishes   
habitated in splendor and abundance. Oysters were found, and the   
succulent clam in shallow shores and coves.

To this endowment of flora and fauna Stirling's exclusive sales   
agent was able to add healthful breezes that swept in from the Atlantic   
on all sides. The location was one ideal for the maintenance of life   
and the settlement of colonies.

And to clinch the deal, where else in America could a man, not of   
the high council with the King, become the feudal proprietary of a   
group of islands, to rule like Alexander of Ross, Lord of the Isles,   
king of all he surveyed?

The arguments were convincing. As proprietary, Mayhew fore-

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saw how he could sell or lease the lands of his domains and gain a com­   
fortable livelihood for himself, the main end of all such grants. Here,   
too, he could found a family with hereditary privileges, and restore   
the prestige of the Mayhew name. The colonization of these unsettled   
islands afforded an opportunity to restore a waning fortune, weakened   
by the prevailing business depression. The vastness of the project   
intrigued. We are told by Mayhew's grandson that nothing but the   
largeness of the grant induced the merchant to essay the settlement of   
these distant islands inhabited by unfriendly and murderous Indians,   
as current knowledge had it.

After proper deliberation the Watertown merchant concluded to   
accept in part the opportunity to become the William Penn and Lord   
Baltimore of a New England barony. Choosing to purchase Nan­   
tucket Island, Forrett executed a patent to the merchant and his son,   
authorizing them to "plant and inhabit" that place and other "small   
Islands adjacent," designating thereby Muskegat and Tuckernuck isles,   
and to set up a government upon the islands similar to that established   
in the Massachusetts.

Ten days later a second instrument was drawn up which amplified   
Mayhew's territorial jurisdiction and authorized him to plant and   
inhabit also Martha's Vineyard and the Elizabeth Islands.

Meanwhile, in a manner unknown, Richard Vines, the agent of Sir   
Ferdinando Gorges, became cognizant of the transactions pending   
between Forrett and the Puritan merchant. Vines, who was the trusted   
overseer of the Gorges interests in Maine and a councillor of the prov­   
ince, was at times a visitor to Boston. His opportune arrival in the   
metropolis during the negotiations may have been chance, but it is more   
probable that Mayhew, unconvinced of Stirling's title, had communi­   
cated with Vines relative to the Gorges claim. Mayhew refers to   
Vines as one he "then had much interest in."

Vines was a cavalier and Episcopalian and, although he had consid­   
erable trouble with the :Massachusetts authorities in respect to encroach­   
ments in Maine, appears to have been on friendly terms with a number   
of the Puritan leaders. Mayhew and he, doubtless, had become   
acquainted through overlapping mercantile interests. It is difficult   
otherwise to account how Vines could have so quickly become aware   
of what was being done at Watertown and Boston. Vines "inter­   
rupted," says Mayhew, and presented for consideration the Gorges

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claim to the islands, showing Mayhew his master's patent--which   
would denote that he had come armed for the express business at hand.   
The merchant was convinced by Vines "and Thomas Gorges, who   
was then Governor of the Province of Maine," that the right to the   
islands "was realy Sir Ferdynandoe's Right." From Vines he, accord­  
 ingly, procured a second grant to the islands Capowack and Nautican,   
the deed running from "Richard Vines of Saco, Gentleman, Steward   
General for Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight and Lord Proprietor of the   
Province of Maine," to "Thomas Mayhew, Gentleman, his agents and

associates."

Capowack was an Indian name sometimes applied to Martha's   
Vineyard, and Nautican is thought to be the name left Nantucket by   
the Norsemen during their venturesome voyages in the tenth and elev­   
enth centuries.

It is not believed that Stirling had legal claim to any of these   
islands. His grant from the New England Company, confirmed by the   
King, purported to grant, among other tracts, islands lying within five   
leagues distance of the mainland, being opposite and abutting upon the   
premises of any part thereof. The islands of Martha's Vineyard and   
Nantucket lay fifty to eighty miles east of Long Island and were not   
within the terms of the grant. But the geography of the New World   
was not an exact science in the seventeenth century. In accordance with   
well established precedence, where doubt existed, Stiriling's agent   
claimed in his master's behalf all that a liberal conscience would per­   
mit, thereby demonstrating himself a true and faithful servant. It was   
Mayhew's belief throughout life that his best title was derived from   
Gorges.

Writing of these transactions in later years, he says:

It came to pass, that Mr. Forrett went suddenly to England before   
he had showed me his Master's Pattent whome afterwards I never saw;   
Some Yeares after this came over one Mr. Forrester, furnished with   
Power, who was here with me, and told me he would cleare up all   
Things, and that I should be one of his Counsel; but he from hence   
went to Long Island, and from thence to the Dutch, where the Gou­   
ernor put him in Prison, and sent him a Prisoner into Holland, as I   
heard and I never saw him more.

Then follows the significant statement, "Soe wee remained under   
Gorge."

Consideration is not mentioned in the several grants, but it is known

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that the new proprietor paid forty pounds for his rights from Stirling,   
and we have his own words that he paid Gorges "a Some of Money"   
for the islands Capowack and Nautican. Gorges appears to have made   
no claim to the Elizabeth Islands and Mayhew's title to these "many   
faire Islands" was derived from Stirling alone.

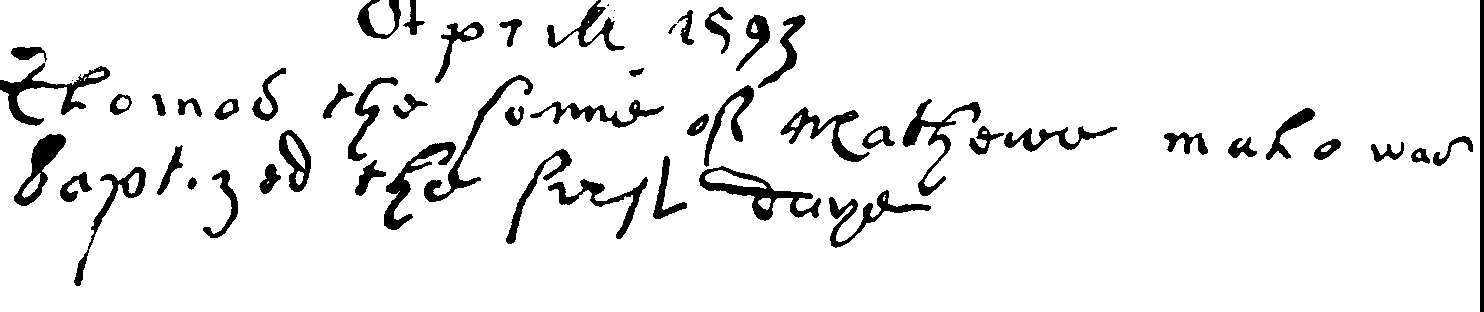
It is noticeable that ten days elapsed between the execution of the   
two Sterling deeds. In the interim it is thought Thomas Mayhew, or   
someone in his behalf, made a hurried trip to Nantucket in an attempt   
to secure Indian rights, but that the purpose of the visit was not affected   
in so short a time. After the visit the new proprietor concluded to   
purchase the entire group with a hope of obtaining from the Indians   
gradually what could not at once be procured.

Both Gorges and Stirling reserved annual quit-rents to be paid by   
Mayhew in feudal fashion, but effort was made by neither to collect  
this tribute. The distant isles of the sea, far flung from the shores of   
Maine, were soon forgotten by the Gorges proprietors, who were busy   
defending their rights elsewhere, and the several Earls of Stirling,   
whose rapid succession of deaths left little time for attention to islands   
that constituted but a small fraction of their family's g,reat landed hold­   
ings. In fact, the first Earl of Stirling was dead at the time of For­   
rett's grant to Thomas Mayhew.

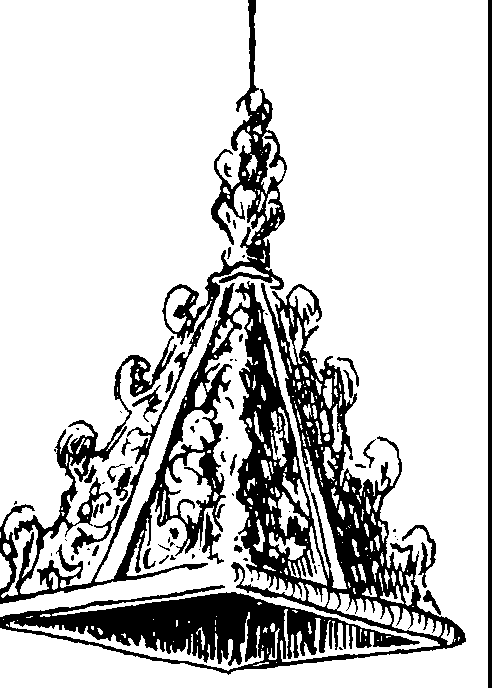
The proprietary granted Thomas Mayhew comprised sixteen   
islands, constituting at the present day two counties and eight townships   
in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The islands of Martha's   
Vineyard, with an area approximating one hundred square miles, and   
Nantucket with an area of about forty-seven square miles, made up the   
bulk of the grants. Lesser islands were Tuckernuck, nearly two square   
miles in area, and Muskegat, three hundred acres, which with Nan-   
tucket and two small islets known as the Gravelly Islands, constitute   
the present county of Nantucket.

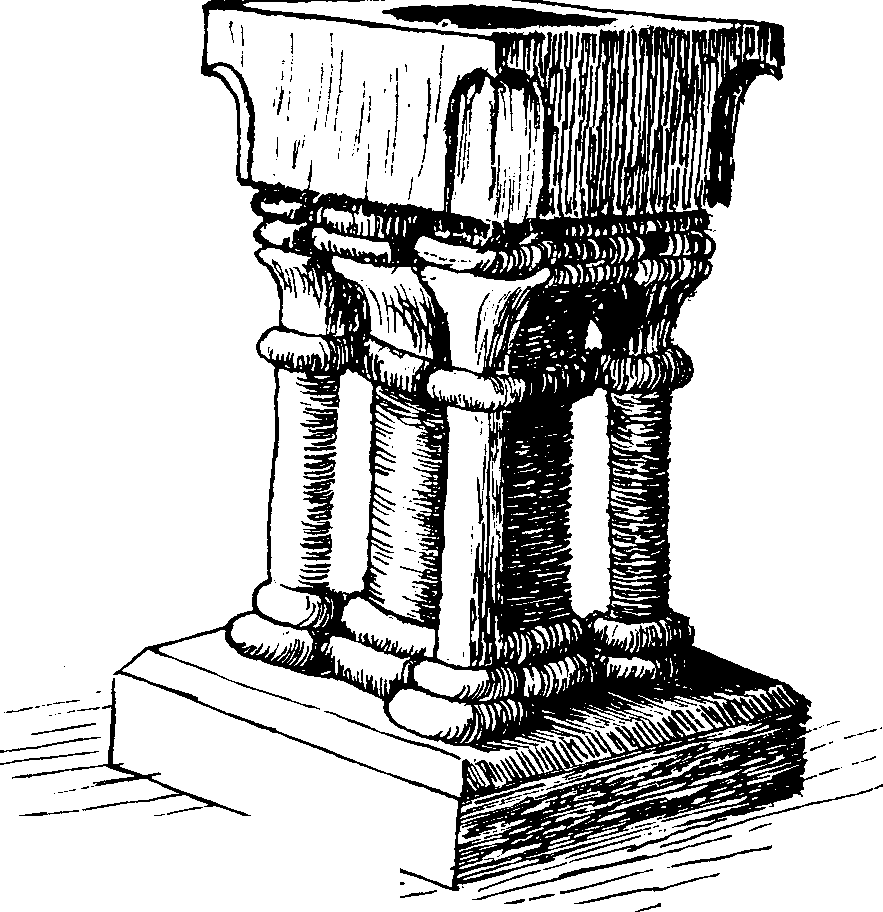
To the westward of Martha's Vineyard lie the Elizabeth Islands,   
named in honor of the Virgin Queen by Gosnold the explorer. Thischain of a dozen islands, large and small, are principally: Nunnames­   
sett, two miles long by one-half mile wide, Monohanset, Uncatena,   
Naushon, '\Veepecket, Pasque, Cuttyhunk, Nashawena, Penekese, and   
Gull Island, a small islet. Territorially these form the present town of   
Gosnold, and together with Martha's Vineyard and the island of No   
Man's Land constitute the County of Dukes.

For more than two centuries a number of the Elizabeth Islands  
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PAHISH RECORD OF BAPTISM OF 'THOMAS MAYHEW





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STONE FONT USED AT THE BAPTISM OF THOMAS MAYHEW

THOMAS MAYHEW, PATRIARCH TO INDIANS

have been maintained as country seats by distinguished masters, includ­   
ing members of the noted families of Winthrop, Bowdoin, and Forbes.   
On Cuttyhunk. the explorer Bartholomew Gosnold, in r 602, estab­   
lished the first English settlement in this region of North America. A   
granite shaft on the island now stands to perpetuate the memory of   
this event. Penikese Island was for a time the location of Professor   
Louis Agassiz's school of comparative zoology known as the Ander­   
son School of Natural History, immortalized by Whittier in his poem,   
opening with the lines:

On the isle of Penikese,   
Ringed about by sapphire seas,  
Fanned by breezes salt and cool,   
Stood the Master with his school.

One of the earliest medical men in the country to conduct a hospital   
for inoculation against the smallpox was Dr. Samuel Gelston, who   
opened a hospital for that purpose on one of the Gravelly Islands,   
before the Revolution.

The islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket are lonely isles   
of the sea, yet their names have been heard in every port of all the   
oceans. At Nantucket in particular was nourished the American whale   
fishery, which in the full vigor of its maturity startled the world with   
the scope of its activity and the extent of its daring. From Nantucket   
nurseries sprang a race of hardy and daring seamen in whose veins   
flowed the blood of the sea kings of Saga days. These were the Norse­   
men of New England. In frozen waters north and south their keels   
plowed beyond the known limits of navigation; under the blazing light   
of the tropics they pursued the great leviathan of the deep in wide seas   
never before traversed by vessels of a civilized country. "Exploring   
expeditions followed after to glean where they had reaped."

To the merchants and mariners of Nantucket must be accredited   
the brilliant development of the golden days of American whaling, an   
epoch of big game hunting on turbulent waters.

So identical was maritime life with the thrift and prosperity of the   
island that a Nantucket goodwife asked no better fortune than "a   
clean hearth and a husband at sea."

The men who bore the names of Coffin, Folger, Bunker, Starbuck,   
inherited names of seamen as great as ever stepped between the stem   
and stern of a ship.

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Gone are the fleets of the Golden 'Forties, the many hundreds of   
sail that explored distant waters and carried "the name and fame of   
Nantucket" into unknown seas, where a harvest was gleaned in blubber   
and oil. The stern, hardy, brave, workaday race that flew the Ameri­   
can Flag first in an English port after the Revolution of I 776, that   
opened seas into which flowed the commerce of the civilized world, and   
discovered islands in the South Pacific before scientists dared to ven­   
ture, is no more.

In silent graves the captains lie, upon the sea-girt Island of Nan-

tucket, or far away in Pacific waters where aeons of tides surge over   
their bones. Their names are given to the world wherever strange   
little islands lie on maps like isolated dots. The flow of water on   
sandy shores was their lullaby in childhood, its unceasing surge is their   
requiem.

Overshadowed by her neighboring island in the commercial aspect

of the fishery, Martha's Vineyard, too, has been the nursery of a hardy   
race of seamen, amphibious men able to plow the waters and the land   
with equal facility. Grizzled mariners have come home to spend the   
twilight of life upon a farm in bucolic safety to reap fields of hay and   
shear flocks of sheep.

Martha's Vineyard, unlike Nantucket, is agricultural to a degree   
and whaling has not been its sole life. It was not until the first half of   
the nineteenth century that a great proportion of its male population   
found its way to the sea.

Although the majority of whaling ships in the heyday of the indus­   
try were owned and registered at Nantucket and New Bedford, a great   
number of them were commanded by Vineyard men, who were consid­   
ered the best navigators and whalemen in the world. Due to the bar   
that rendered dangerous access to the harbor of Nantucket, Edgar­   
town on the Vineyard was for many years the port of Nantucket, and   
at Edgartown wharves nearly all the Nantucket whaling ships unloaded   
their cargoes and fitted out fresh voyages.

J. Hector St. John, the eighteenth century traveler, observes in   
his account of a visit to the Vineyard a lack of drunkenness and debauch­   
ery on the part of returned seamen. "On the contrary," writes he, "all   
was peace here, and a general decency prevailed throughout; the rea­   
son, I believe is, that almost everybody here is married, for they get   
wives very young; and the pleasure of returning to their families   
absorbs every other desire. The motives that lead them to the sea are

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very different from those of most other seafaring men. It is neither   
idleness nor profligacy that sends them to that element; it is a settled   
plan of life, a well-founded hope of earning a livelihood." "Here I   
found without gloom a decorum and reserve, so natural to them, that I   
thought myself in Philadelphia," adds the Pennsylvania author.

After the decline of the whale fishery in eastern ports, Vineyard   
captains, sailing from San Francisco, pursued the industry in its last   
brilliant glow among the icebergs of the Arctic.

Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket are now the "Summer Isles" of   
the vacationist. They have for many years been popular watering   
places. Their hospitable shores know annually thousands of pleasure   
loving people who come to boat, swim, fish, and ride, *to* walk quaint   
streets and view dwellings that have housed generations of elders,   
judges, merchants, and sea captains, clustered about with the traditions   
of the salt water aristocracy. The nobility of its olden days was not   
that of the Sacred Cod, but the Royal Whale, the kingly mammal  
which, when cast up by the sea upon his shores, the sovereign claimed a  
share.

Every year visitors listen to the legend that the islands were once   
the property of a lord who, like King Lear, saw fit to apportion them   
among his daughters. The story goes that Rhoda took Rhode Island,   
Elizabeth took the Elizabeth Islands, Martha took Martha's Vine­   
yard, and as for the remaining island, Nan-took-it. The credulous   
should be warned that this interesting bit of romance cannot be traced   
with certainty back of 1870.

Martha's Vineyard has another claim to fame better supported.   
It is believed by such eminent authorities as Edward Everett Hale and   
the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge to be the island scene of Shakespeare's   
play, "The Tempest." Gosnold's voyage was sent out by the Earl of   
Southampton, a patron of the arts, with whom Shakespeare was   
friendly. It is said that the trees, plants, fish and animal life of the   
island in the play are described in th very words used by John Brere­   
ton in his "Brefe Relation" of Gosnold's voyage, and that whole   
phrases from the tract are reproduced and fitted to Shakespearean   
blank verse.

In the years following Gosnold's voyage these almost fabled islands   
off the coast of North America fired the imaginations of men. Through­   
out all England they were a popular subject of conversation. Walter   
Raleigh fitted out an expedition under Martin Pring which brought

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back sassafras; Southampton, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Captain   
John Smith sent out vessels in search of gold. The Plymouth Com-  
pany was formed. Then came the "Mayflower" Pilgrims and the great   
Puritan migration to the adjoining coasts, "that strange, psalm-singing   
race of amphibious fighters, who alike could shatter the Armada and   
the squadron of Prince Rupert at Marston Moor."

America was born.

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CHAPTER VI

THE CHILDREN OF THE FOREST

A number of early writers have left detailed descriptions of the appearance and habits of the Indians who inhabited the woods and   
shores of New England and the islands of the Mayhew proprietary at   
the coming of the white settlers.

The habits and customs of the red man and his mode of life were   
strange to the eyes of the European fresh from the civilization of the   
old hemisphere, and still more strange to the ear of the skeptic at home.   
It is not to be marveled at that narrations of the new country early   
appeared in print which touched with detail the native inhabitants of   
the land.

Among the better known of these accounts mention may be made   
of Josselyn's "Account of Two Voyages to New England" and William   
Wood's "New England Prospect." Both of these are written in a   
lively tone with an ambition to entertain the stay-at-home in England.   
Josselyn's reputation as an observer is not highly rated, but fortunately  
the New England Indian was described by other than dilettant writers.   
Missionaries went among a number of the Indian tribes and in their   
writings is found a minute and faithful portrayal of the red man in his   
native surroundings.

Daniel Gookin's "Historical Collections of the Indians of Massa­   
chusetts" is one of the best of the early narratives, presenting as it does   
a continuous uninterrupted story of Indian life and character.

Gookin exercised for many years civil supervision over the Indians   
of Massachusetts who acknowledged English government. As superin­   
tendent of Indians and as a magistrate sitting in determination of their   
disputes, he was in a position to gain an accurate first hand knowledge   
of the Indian psychology. Gookin's history bears the hall mark of   
years of conscientious observation and the attitude of a friendly mind.   
It is the standard Puritan account of the Indians of New England.

Better authorities cannot be found to picture the seventeenth cen­   
tury Indian as he actually was than Gookin and the several missionaries,   
John Eliot, Thomas Mayhew, Jr., Matthew Mayhew, and others;  
some, if not all, of whom went among the Indians, slept in their wig-  
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warns, sat in their councils, spoke their language, and won their confi­   
dence in spiritual and civil affairs.

Unlike Cooper and Longfellow, their observations are photo­

graphic likenesses of the New England Indian of pioneer days, not   
conclusions drawn from tradition or studies made two hundred years   
after the landing of the Pilgrims. The missionaries were sober, observ­  
ant, unromantically minded men, writing what they knew to be the  
truth after intimate association with all ranks of Indian life. In their  
writings one finds little to justify the prosy thoughts of the literati of   
the nineteenth century.

Although later studies by students among isolated tribes disclose

traits substantially akin to those which characterized the red man of   
New England in. the seventeenth century, a difference, nevertheless,   
existed. More than two hundred years of contact, occasional or other­   
wise, with traders, frontiersmen, and missionaries had left their mark,   
in some respects good, in others bad.

To deduce by belated observations among distinct tribes living   
under different geographic conditions what the Indian of New England   
was like before he was "corrupted" by European civilization seems a  
ridiculous thing in view of the fact that we have contemporary accounts   
accurately penned by qualified observers. A number of missionary   
tracts were written while the Indian was still "untouched and unspoiled   
by the European," to borrow a sonorous phrase from the philanthropic   
literati.

The abstractions of ethnological speculation pursued along modem   
lines of philosophic appreciation by certain students would appear vis­   
sionary to the early settlers and missionaries who came into rugged con­   
tact with the untutored savage.

Roger Williams, whose knowledge of the Indian nature was so   
great that he was able to exercise a tremendous influence in their affairs,   
could only speak of them as "a few inconsiderable pagans, and beasts,   
wallowing in idleness, stealing, lying, whoring, treacherous witch­   
crafts, blasphemies, and idolatries."

Gookin, who suffered persecution by his countrymen for his friend­   
liness to the Christianized Indians in time of Indian war, described the   
natives as very brutish and barbarous, "not many degrees above beasts."   
The Reverend John Wilson referred to them, we are told with   
compassion, as the most sordid and contemptible part of the human   
species, while the great Hooker said of them that they were the verist  
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ruins of mankind upon the face of the earth. Even the saintly John   
Eliot, whose labors and sacrifices among the Indians became a house­   
hold word, could speak of them only as "the dregs of mankind."

It was Parkman who said, "The benevolent and philanthropic view   
of the American savage is for those beyond his reach. It has never yet   
been held by any whose wives and children have lived in danger of his  
scalping knife."

He is lovingly referred to as a child, but he was a man bloodthirsty   
and revengeful to the point of horror, and only a child in his lack of   
mental development.

The literati have found it easier to write of the Indian in the con­   
ventional style than to present him in sober words. It is not the first   
time truth has been prostituted for the sake of a well turned sentence   
or the repetition of a poetic thought. There is not much about the   
Indian that is romantic to one who must associate with him. He is   
only romantic to the cloistered student, the detached tourist, or the   
novelist.

To gain an accurate picture of the Indian of New England in the   
early years of the seventeenth century, one's mind must be purged of   
many preconceived notions implanted by the "Leather-Stocking Tales"   
and "Hiawatha."

Such works are executed with applications of Turner-like colors by   
word artists of vivid imagination. They seize a few of the Indian's   
most picturesque qualities, his dignity, his lust for freedom, his con­   
tempt for manual labor, his vaunted prowess as a hunter, and by the use   
of adjectives, establish a literature. Throughout the whole civilized   
world the concept of the Indian character promulgated by this school   
has taken permanent hold of the imagination of the reading public.   
These tales are often read in the earlier years of life. They lend so   
indelible an impression on the juvenile mind that, while individuals in  
years of discretion may cast out these Cooper-colored lithographs of   
brain thought, no amount of denials will ever erase their colorful lines   
in the minds of the masses.

James Fenimore Cooper was born more than a century and a half   
after the "Mayflower" sought refuge in the harbor at Cape Cod.   
Cooper is said to have made a study of the Indians, but his studies were   
among the Indians of the Six Nations, who are considered a superior   
group, and who had for centuries been in contact with the whites.  
 In order that he might better study their habits, Cooper is said to

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have followed numerous Indian delegations that passed his house in  
 upper New York on their way to interview the Great Father at Wash­   
ington. He saw the Indian at his best, in councils of oratory. If there   
was any one thing in which the Indian excelled, it was oratory, mainly   
an oratory that pictured himself in glowing colors and belittled his   
enemies. We are told by missionaries that the Indian was so emi­  
 nently satisfied with his own inherent goodness that it was difficult at  
 times to inculcate in him a fear of damnation. Hell he conceived as a  
 fitting punishment for his enemies, but something apart from himself.  
 The Indians of the plains and of upper New York and Canada are   
the Indians most studied by the literary authorites as remnants of the   
aboriginal inhabitants of America. But the whooping Indian of the   
plains pursuing herds of buffalo upon ponies were not the Indians of   
New England seen by the missionaries Eliot, the Mayhews, Bournes,   
and Tuppers. The Indians of New England appear to have been a   
far less romantic race than the Indians of Cooper and Longfellow.

The "Puritan Indians" did their hunting with ineffectual weapons,   
arrows pointed with bits of crude stone or eagle's claws. Thus armed   
the huntsman was able to wing an occasional unsuspecting bird, more   
often by attributes of stealth and cunning than with the full lunged  
boldness of open spaces. With the psychological development of a   
child, the red man could concoct a jungle of living beasts pursued by   
mighty hunters out of a picture copy-book.

Governor Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, who lived in the middle   
of the eighteen century, suggests in his history of Massachusetts the   
possibility that the Indians of New England were inferior to tribes   
residing elsewhere. Tales that came to him of Indians to the north   
plentifully endowed with virtue, dignity, courage, and hardihood, did   
not coincide with his own personal ·observations. One suspects the   
farther away the Indian, the more noble his qualities appeared.

As time diminished the Indian ranks and his menace grew less, the   
more he was romanticized in wild west shows, motion pictures, and   
poetry by effete descendants of the hardy pioneers, or those whose   
ancestors waited until the country had been made safe for the immi­   
grant. To the city dweller, the author, and the poet, there is some­   
thing romantic about outdoor life and communion with· nature; and so   
long as the individual is surrounded with all the conveniences of civil­   
ization, nor goes without them for any length of time, the illusion is not   
dispelled.

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It isnot the purpose here to decide whether the Indian has received   
the treatment justly his due in the many years that have passed since   
the establishment of the United States government. It may be said in   
passing that a recent Indian writer has said that the red man had little   
to complain of in his relations with the colonists, but that the cause of   
his disgruntlement has arisen largely since the advent of Federal   
supervision.

The following description of the American Indian of the seven­   
teenth century is confined to the Indians of New England, and is   
grounded on contemporary sources, in main the writings of Gookin,   
Thomas Mayhew, Jr., Matthew Mayhew, and Roger Williams.

The aborigines whom the early settlers found inhabiting the islands   
of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket were members of that great race   
known as the Algonquin, to which family the numerous New England   
tribes mainly belonged. In southern New England these tribes were   
united into a number of great confederacies. One of these, the Paw­   
kunnawkutts, claimed a tract bounded laterally by the Taunton and   
Pawtucket rivers for some distance, in the present county of Bristol,   
Rhode Island, and held sway along the shores of Buzzard's Bay.

It was this nation that claimed fealty of the Indian's of Martha's   
Vineyard and Nantucket. There were nine separate cantons or tribes   
holding membership in this confederation, each governed by its own   
petty sachem, but all subject to the great sachem of the Wamponoags,   
the dominant tribe of the confederation.

Of the Pawkunnawkutts it is said they "were a great people here­   
tofore. They lived to the east and northeast of the Narragansitts;   
and their chief sachem held dominion over divers other petty saga­   
mores; as the sagamores upon the island of Nantuckett, and Nope, or   
Martha's Vineyard, of Nawsett, of Mannamoyk, of Sawkuttukett,   
Nobsquasitt, Matakees, and several others, and some of the Nipmucks.   
Their country, for the most part, falls within the jurisdiction of New   
Plymouth Colony. This people were a potent nation in former times;   
and could raise, as the most credible and ancient Indians affirm, about   
three thousand men. They held war with the Narragansitts; and   
often joined with the Massachusetts, as friends and confederates,   
against the Narragansitts. This nation, a very great number of them,   
were swept away by an epidemical and unwonted sickness, An. 1612   
and 1613, about seven or eight years before the English first arrived in   
those parts to settle the colony of New Plymouth."

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Wamsutta, chief of this confederacy and elder brother of the famed   
King Philip or Metacomet, once attempted to sell his rights to the   
island of Martha's Vineyard to a merchant of Rhode Island.

\Vamsutta and Philip were sons of Mattasoit, the great chief of the   
Wampanoags. Following the practice of the Indians that if any of   
their sachems or neighbors died who were of their name they should lay   
down that name as dead, the eldest son of Wamsutta appeared at Plym­   
outh after his father's death with the request that English names be   
given him and his brother.

The request was granted. Wamsutta received the name of Alex­  
ander, the great conqueror of the world, which doubtless pleased the   
vanity of the Indian king. Upon Metacomet was bestowed the name   
of Philip.

Wamsutta died within a year after his succession to the office of  
chief sachem, and was in turn succeeded by Philip.

An interesting story is told how Philip's home village at Mount  
 Hope was pictured on European maps as the "seat" of King Philip,   
and how English publishers in preparing year books fell into the error  
 or recounting the "interesting" fact that King Philip of Spain had a   
country seat in the wilds of America. The English annalists knew their   
Almanac de Gotha, but were weak on the orders of Algonquin nobility.   
As early as I 66*5* Philip appeared at Nantucket in company with a   
large band of warriors for the purpose of killing a Nantucket Indian   
who had spoken the name of one dead, supposedly Philip's father or   
brother, in violation of Indian custom. In its several publications the   
story varies, but substantially it is told that Philip, landing at the west   
end of Nantucket, proceeded to travel along the shore under the pro­   
tection of the bank, in order that his presence might not be divulged.   
But his approach and purpose were divined by one of the island Indians   
who sped ahead and warned the intended victim, Assassamoogh, known   
to the English as John Gibbs, in after years a .noted Christian Indian   
and preacher of the gospel to his countrymen. Assassamoogh fled to   
the English settlement, where he sought protection, and where Philip   
appeared with his army, vastly superior in numbers to the handful of   
English settlers then resident on the island, and made demand for the   
delivery of the refuge. The English parried with Philip and after   
considerable persuasion and pow-wowing were able to buy him off,   
although the amount they were able to collect in so short a time was  
barely sufficient to appease the haughty Philip for his forbearance.

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Philip is known to have planned his war of extermination many   
years before 167*5* and it is probable that he took advantage of the   
opportunity afforded him at this time to strengthen his claim of juris­   
diction over the Nantucket Indians, but without success. At a town   
meeting the sachem Attaychat signified himself with all the Tomokom­   
moth Indians subject to the English government of Nantucket and that   
they did own themselves subjects to King Charles II "in the presence of   
Molocon, *alias* Philip Sachem of Mount Hope."

The territory of the Mayhew islands was divided into several gov­  
ernmental cantons. At Martha's Vineyard these were four in number:   
Chappaquiddick at the far eastern end of the island and Aquiniuh or   
Gay Head at the far western end, the former an island, or nearly so,   
and the latter a promontory connected by a narrow neck. The main   
body of the island was divided into two sachemships known as Nunne­   
pog and Takemmy, embracing roughly the present towns of Edgar­   
town and Tisbury, respectively. Four chiefs or sagamores ruled these   
several divisions, which in turn were subdivided into petty sachemships,  
 where ruled local magnates within defined limits.

There does not appear to have been any single chieftain on the   
island to whom the four great sachems yielded precedence, and it is   
probable that these head men were directly responsible to some chief   
on the main or to the great chief of the Wampanoags himself "in   
capite."

On Nantucket the native population was divided into two tribes.   
One tribe occupied the west end and was supposed to have come from   
the mainland by way of the island of Martha's Vineyard. The other   
lived at the east end and is said to have come directly across the Sound   
from the mainland.

Nantucket was divided into three or perhaps four primary sachem­   
ships. The senior sachem or prince when the English came to the   
island was W annochmamock, who was sachem more particularly of the   
northwest part of Nantucket, but who, with an Indian named Nicka­   
noose, exercised general control over all the Indians of the island. He   
and Nickanoose are termed "head sachems," but it is believed that   
Wannochmamock was senior in rank, and that Nickanoose ruled coad­   
jutor on account of the farmer's great age.

The home life of the Indian was simple and largely nomadic.   
Upon Martha's Vineyard the tribes lived in several villages or towns.   
These were of no permanency, composed as they were of loosely con-

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structed wigwams, which their owners moved about as they willed in accordance with the food supply and the season. Josselyn tells of hav-  
ing seen half a hundred wigwams together on a piece of ground, where.   
they showed "prettily" yet within a day or two, or a week, were all   
dispersed. Each tribe, however, moved freely only within the confines   
of its particular sachemship. The Indians of New England were not   
nomadic in the degree popularly believed.

The principal village in Nunnepog was on the shores of the Great   
Herring Pond, near Maschachket, while that of Takemmy was on the  
Great Tisbury Pond. Chappaquiddick and Gay Head each had its   
chief village. Within the territorial limits of each petty sachem smaller   
communities or abiding places of more or less permanence exisited.

The Indian wigwams, described by the younger Mayhew, were   
made of small poles like an arbor covered with mats; "their fire is in   
the midst, overwhich they leave a place for the smoak to go out at."   
They did not use skins for a covering as the animals of the island were  
not numerous enough for that purpose.

To the Indian mind, life on the Vineyard, although it lacked ani­   
mals necessary to make it a "happy hunting ground," was somewhat   
idyllic. Nature had been bountiful in her lavishment of wealth. Its   
sandy soil responded favorably to the cultivation of squashes, beans,   
and maize. Shellfish lay in profusion on the shores, and fish and eels   
abounded in surrounding waters. For this reason the island supported   
a larger population for the area than did the mainland.

The fact that the islanders had not been smitten by the plague   
which had swept the mainland a few yea·rs before the coming of the   
"Mayflower" is attributable, in part, to the fact that the Indians were   
better nourished and less susceptible to plagues than their brothers on   
the main.

The native population on the several islands at the time of the   
first settlement is generally estimated at Martha's Vineyard to have   
been not less than 3,000 and at Nantucket 1,500. Accounts have set   
the figure at Nantucket as high as 3,000. Matthew Mayhew, grand­   
son of Thomas., estimates the number of adult persons on both islands   
at about 3,000, in reference to which he states, "I have taken the more   
particular care to make an exact computation, that I might vindicate   
Mr. Cotton Mather from the imputation of over reckoning, when in   
the life of Mr. Eliot he reckons the number supposed on Martha's  
Vineyard professing the Christian religion, to be sixteen hundred."

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It is difficult at this late day to do more than generalize the dis­   
position of the island Indians. A number of early writers describe the   
Algonquins as a courteous and well disposed people, yet warlike and   
revengeful. Brereton describes the Vineyard Indian as courteous and   
gentle of disposition, yet these Indians are known to have killed a   
number of English seamen, and it is of record that at Nantucket a   
number of ·sailors and others wrecked upon its shores were murdered   
by the natives.

The lawyer Lechford reports that the Indians of Martha's Vine­   
yard were very savage and Josselyn tells us that while he was in the   
country certain Indians at Martha's Vineyard seized a boat that had   
put into a cove and killed the men on board and ate them up in short   
time. It may be inferred that the island Indian was relatively cour­  
 teous and well disposed, considering his state of savagery, but that his   
good nature was more or less subject to barometrical disturbances. He   
was not above an occasional massacre, either for the purpose of fulfill­   
ing the fine exactments of revenge which constituted the aboriginal   
code of honor, or as a bit of legitimate warfare to vary the monotony  
 of life. The lust of battle was as much a part of the Indian's life as the   
cry of the chase.

The earliest record of warfare at the Vineyard is a record of the   
white man's perfidy, and the brutality that followed may be cited   
as an example of the Indian's exactment of revenge. One Captain   
Edward Harlow sailing from England in I 6I I touched at the island   
where he "tooke" two savages, one of whom was known by the name of   
Epenew. In the course of time Epenew came into the possession of   
Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who it will be remembered, was much inter­   
ested in the colonization of America. Observing a similarity of lan­   
guage, Gorges had the native lodged with another Indian servant.   
Epenew was a bold, artful, and cunning individual. With the servant   
he contrived a plan of escape which hinged on the Englishman's lust for   
gold. Ascertaining that this was what the English wanted most, the   
natives assured Gorges that it was to be found in abundance at a cer­   
tain place on Martha's Vineyard.

Gorges was not entirely duped. He suspected Epenew's good   
faith. However, he fitted an expedition under command of Captain   
Hobson, which set sail within the year, carrying Epenew and two other   
savages under strict surveillance. Coming to the harbor at Martha's   
Vineyard, where Epenew was to make good his undertaking, the prin-  
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cipal inhabitants of the place came aboard, some of them brothers of   
Epenew, and others near relatives. These were kindly entertained by   
the captain, and before departing in their canoes, the natives assured   
the captain that they would return the following morning for the pur­   
pose of trade. Meantime Epenew had privately plotted with his   
friends to effect an escape.

Upon the morrow, at the appointed hour, the natives appeared in   
twenty canoes, but laid off the vessel at some distance without closer   
approach. Failing to respond to the captain's invitation to board,   
Epenew was ordered forward to where the captain was standing, to   
speak to his friends. Evading his guards he stepped forward quickly   
and calling to the natives in English to come aboard, slipped over the   
side of the vessel. Although caught hold of by an Englishman, he   
effected a release, being a strong and heavy man.

No sooner was he in the water than the natives in the canoes dis­   
charged a volley of arrows toward the ship. The attack was returned   
by the fire of the English, who also attempted the life of Epenew. In   
the exchange of fire, some of Hobson's men were wounded and a num­   
ber of the Indians killed and wounded. Epenew says Sir Ferdinando,   
was carried away by the rescuing party "despight of all the musquet­   
teers aboard, who were, for the number, as good as our nation did   
afford."

A Captain Thomas Dormer, in the employ of Sir Ferdinando, later   
touched the Vineyard, where he met with Epenew who "laughed at his   
owne escape."

In the words of Gorges, "This savage was so cunning, that, after   
he had questioned him [Dormer] about me, and all he knew belonged   
unto me, conceived he was come on purpose to betray him; and [so]   
conspired with some of his fellows to take the captain; thereupon they   
laid hands upon him. But he being a brave, stout gentleman, drew   
his sword and freed himself, but not without 14 wounds."

It is probable that Gorges was wrong in his thought that Epenew   
feared recapture. It is more feasible to believe that the attack upon   
Dormer resulted from a desire by Epenew to be revenged for his late   
captivity, and that in accordance with Indian custom he had resolved   
that the first white man should atone for his capture. It is believed   
that this is the last time that the soil of Martha's Vineyard was stained   
with human blood, for from that day to the present no Indian has been   
killed by a white man nor white man by an Indian.

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Much of the bloodshed at Martha's Vineyard arising out of the   
Epenew incident was aggravated by the capture by Captain Thomas   
Hunt of twenty-four natives in the vicinity of Cape Cod a number of   
years prior. Hunt was a commander in an expedition under Captain   
John Smith, the famous explorer, more famed in school books as the   
object of the grace of Pocahontas than as the admiral of New Eng­   
land. Hunt's conduct was contrary to the orders of Smith, who was   
greatly incensed over the conduct of his subordinate. The Indians long   
remembered the conduct of Hunt, and it was a factor in their early plot   
to massacre the settlers of Weston's Colony, to which conspiracy the   
Capawock or Martha's Vineyard Indians were party.

The Indians of Nantucket appear to have been more ferocious than   
their Vineyard kinsmen if numbers of extant accounts of brutalities and   
bloodshed are accepted as a criterion.

Tradition recounts how a feud was engendered by the tribes of   
west and east Nantucket arising out of a difference as to a boundary line   
dividing the territories of the tribes, and that bloodshed was avoided   
only by the love of a maiden princess of one tribe for the son of the   
ruler of the opposing tribe.

More serious than this Hollywood drama of native life was the   
murder of the crew of a shipwrecked vessel cast on the island during   
the government of Thomas Mayhew, and the murder of an Indian   
youth in the same manner while returning to Harvard College after a   
visit with his father at Martha's Vineyard. Nantucket in early days   
was not so healthful a retreat for strangers as it is today.

Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the tractability of   
the Indian, there is uniformity in the accounts respecting his personal   
appearance. It is agreed that the aborigine was tall in stature and well   
formed, that his skin was olive or copper in color, not so much by the   
science of nature as by the constant application of oil and grease and   
exposure to the elements, and that his hair was black and straight.

A companion of Gosnold has left us the first known description of   
the island Indians: "These people as they are exceedingly courteous,   
gentle of disposition, and well conditioned, excelling all others that we   
have seen; so for shape of bodie and lovely favour I thinke they excell   
all the people of America; of stature much higher than we; of com­   
plexion or colour much like a dark Olive; Their eie browes and haire   
blacke, which weare long tied up behinde in knott, whereon they pricke   
feathers of fowles, in fashion of a crownet; some of them are black

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thin beared; they make beards of the haire of beasts; and one of them   
offered a beard of their making to one of our sailors, for his that grew   
on his face, which because it was of a red colour they judged to be   
none of his owne."

"They are quicke eied, and stedfast in their looks, fearelesse of   
others harmes, as intending none themselves; some of the meaner sort   
given to filching, which the very name of Saluages (not weighing their   
ignorance in good or will) may easily excuse: their garments of Deere   
skins, and some of them weare furres round and close about their   
necks."

Josselyn adds to this, "as the *Austreans* are known by their great   
lips, the *Bavarians* by their pokes under their chins, the *Jews* by their   
goggle eyes, so the I*ndians* by their flat noses, yet they are not so much   
deprest as they are to the Southward."

A number of the early chroniclers were gallant gentlemen and   
interested in the Indian woman, whose complete subjection to her   
"lazie" husband was to them a matter of amazement and comment.

Witness the admiration of Brereton for the island squaws: "Their   
women (such as we saw), which were but three in all, were but lowe   
of stature, their eie-browes, haire, apparell, and manner of wearing,   
like the men, fat, and very well favoured, and much delighted in our   
companie."

And likewise writes jovial "John Josselyn, Gentleman," "The men   
are somewhat horse-fac'd, and generally faucious--i. *e.,* without  
beards: but the women, many of them, have very good features; sel­   
dome without come-to-mee, or cos amoris, in their countenance; all   
of them black-eyed; having even, short teeth, and very white; their   
hair black, thick, and long; broad brested; handsome, straight bodies,   
and slender, considering their constant loose habit; their limbs cleanly,   
straight, and of a convenient stature,-generally as plump as part­   
ridges; and, saving here and there one, of a modest deportment."

William Wood approaches the subject of universal interest diplo­   
matically thus: "To satisfie the curious eye of women-readers; who   
otherwise might thinke their sexe forgotten, or not worthy a record,   
let them peruse these few lines, wherein they may see their owne happi­   
nesse, if weighed in the womans balance of these ruder Indians, who   
scorne the tuterings of their wives, or to admit them as their equals,   
though their qualities and industrious deservings may justly claime the   
preheminence, and command better usage and more conjugall esteeme,

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their persons and features being every way correspondent, their quali­   
fication were more excellent, being more loving, pittifull, and modest,   
milde, provident, and laborious then their lazie husbands."

It is the woman who does the camp work and tends the fields. So   
improvident is the male that she must even hide the corn crop from   
her master's inquisitive gaze, else he would eat the seed reserved for   
future crops, if he but knew where to find it. The Indians would raise   
large crops of corn and sell it to the English with an eye so little to the future that ere another crop could be harvested, they would be obliged   
to buy it back at much higher rates.

The male was accomplished only in fishing, eating, and sleeping.   
When he deigned to fish, in order that it might not smack of labor, but   
be classed as a purely athletic pastime, his wife needs must trudge along   
and bait his hooks; and be the weather hot or cold, waters calm or   
rough, she must dive "sometimes over head and ea res for a Lobster,"   
which often shook her hands with a "churlish nippe" and bid her   
"adiew." A husband having caught fish at sea, will bring it as far as   
he can by water, whereupon the wife must fetch it home by land.

"These womens modesty drives them to weare more cloathes than   
their men, having alwayes a coate of cloath or skinnes wrapt like a   
blanket about their loynes, reaching downe to their hammes which they   
never put off in company. If a husband has a minde to sell his wives   
Beaver, petticote, as sometimes he doth, shee will not put it off until   
shee have another to put on." It is doubtful if a garment was worn   
before the advent of the European. It was customary for both sexes   
to wear the beech-clout only, indoors, and in early days it was not   
uncommon dress for both sexes out of doors.

The discontent of the Indian women became great after the arrival   
of the English for seeing the kind usage of the English to their wives.   
The native women much condemned their husbands for their compara­   
tively hard lot and would "commend the English for their love" for   
their women, while the Indian husband, on the other hand, commended   
himself for his wit in keeping his wife industrious and did much con­   
demn "the English for their folly in spoyling good working creatures."   
When the Indians see "any of the English women sewing with their   
needles, or working coifes, or such things, they will cry out, Lazie   
squaes ! but they are much the kinder to their wives, by the example of   
the English," we are told.

In domestic life the Indian took many wives and put away wives  
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frequently upon occasions other than adultery and wives left husbands   
upon grounds of displeasure or dissatisfaction: In the words of an   
early bard:

each one is granted leave,

A wife or two, or more, for to receive.

The Rev. Thomas Shepard, described in a foreword to an early   
tract as "a minister of Christ in New England, so eminently godly and   
faithfull, that what he here reports, as an eye or an eare witnesse is not   
to be questioned," recites the instance of an Indian who propounded the   
question which of two wives he should put away upon his adoption of   
the Englishman's moral code. He informs that his first was "barren   
and childlesse, the second fruitfull and bearing him many sweet chil­   
dren .... if hee puts away the first who hath no children, then hee   
puts away her whom God and Religion undoubtedly binds him unto,   
there being no other defect but want of children; if he puts away the   
other, then he must cast off all his children with her also as illegitimate,   
whom he so exceedingly loves." It is not known how the ingenuity of   
the Puritan mind met this puzzling query in ethics and religion.

Roger Williams attributes the multiplicity of wives to two causes,

first the desire of riches because of the fact that the women did all the   
farm work and second their long "sequestring themselves from their   
wives after conception, until the child be weaned, which with some is   
long after a yeare old." The same authority adds, however, a knowl­   
edge of many couples having lived together twenty, thirty, and forty   
years.

Revenge was a cardinal attribute of the Indians, they being not   
"unmindful of taking vengeance upon such as have injured them or   
their kindred, when they have opportunity, though it be a long time   
after the offence was committed."

They were much given to lying and "speaking untruths" and steal­   
ing, especially from the English, who had something to steal.

In personal sanitation, they were lax. "Tame Cattle they have   
none," chortles Josselyn, "excepting Lice, and Doggs of a wild breed,"   
Hutchinson, the famous governor of Massachusetts, writes, "I have   
seen a great half naked Indian sitting at a small distance from the   
governors and commissioners of several of the colonies, in the midst of   
a conference, picking lice from his body for half an hour together,   
and cracking them between his teeth," One of the first laws made by

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the Christian Indians laid a penalty of one cent upon each louse cracked   
by an Indian with his teeth. Le Jeune, the Jesuit, tells us that the   
Iroquois ate the fleas and lice with which they were infested, not for   
any food value the vermin might contain, hut in a spirit of revenge for   
the annoyance the insects had occasioned them.

The Indian did not bathe. Instead he annointed his body with oil.   
Says Hutchinson, "More dirty, foul and sordid than swine, being never   
so clean and sweet as when they were well greased." But we are   
assured by another observer that the use of oil on the body was their best antidote against the "Musketoes" and stopped the pores of their   
bodies against the nipping winter's cold.

A naturally improvident people, the Indians were greatly given to   
gambling, and were willing to play away all they had, says Gookin with   
the restraint of a Puritan speaking of sin. But the livelier Wood ven­   
tures greater detail. Admiringly write he: "And whereas it is the   
custome of many people in their games, if they see the dice runne crosse   
or their cards not answere their expectations: what cursing and swear­   
ing, what imprecations, and raylings, fightings and stabbings oftentimes   
proceede from their testy spleene. How doe their blustering passions,   
make the place troublesome to themselves and others? But I have   
|knowne when foure of these milder spirits have sit downe staking their   
treasures, where they have plaied foure and twentie hours, neither   
eating drinking or sleeping in the Interim; nay which is most to be   
wondered at, not quarreling, but as they came thither in peace so they   
depart in peace; when he that had lost all his wampompeage, his house,   
his kettle, his beaver, his hatchet, his knife, yea all his little all, having   
nothing left but his naked selfe, was as merry as they that won it."

Continues Gookin: "And also they delight much in their dancings   
and revellings; at which time he that danceth (for they dance singly,   
the men, and not the women, the rest singing, which is their chief   
musick) will give away in his frolick, all that ever he hath, gradually,   
some to one, and some to another, according to his fancy and affection.   
And then, when he hath stripped himself of all he hath, and is weary,   
another succeeds and doth the like : so successively one after another,   
night after night, resting and sleeping in the days; and so continue   
sometimes a week together."

The Indian has been pictured as a mighty warrior and a great hunter. But the attributes of stealth and cunning, rather than physical courage, underlaid both callings. As a soldier the Indian was subject

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to no particular discipline. In an unorganized manner he stole upon   
his enemy when his presence was unsuspected and massacred until the   
tide of battle had turned, or his lust for blood was satiated, whereupon   
he would melt into the forest as silently as he had come.

His hunting before the advent of the musket constituted attempts   
to lure deer and other wild animals into pitfalls. He would build   
miles of fencing so arranged as to narrow at one end, where his trapped   
prey, caught in a net or pit, was slaughtered by his captor with all the   
picturesqueness of a butcher in the slaughter-house. He would kill a   
moose by running him nigh to exhaustion in the deep snow, whereupon   
he would stab him to death with a short spear.

Stoicism is a popularly believed Indian trait that seems to stand the   
test of contemporary research. Ordinarily no braver than the white   
man, the Indian was more unflinching in pain. Roger Williams tells us   
that the toothache was the only pain that would force their stout   
hearts to cry.

The missionary in various parts of the world has been ridiculed for   
his attempt to clothe the naked savage, the result not meeting with the   
approval of aesthetic eyes on account of combinations affected. It is   
not known that any great attempt was made to force European gar­   
ments upon the Indian. The Indian was attracted by the novel apparel   
of the English and in time sought to wear much of it of his own accord.   
In the use of European clothes he did not subject himself to the vascil­   
lating dictates of fashion. So strange were they to him and so happy   
was he in his new possessions that in a rain he is known to have stripped   
them off in order to keep them dry while he exposed his skin to the  
elements.

Before the coming of the settlers the Indian costume was simple   
because his limited mentality had conceived nothing better, not because   
he had ideas concerning the healthful qualities of a skin exposed to   
nature.

The male wore "a paire of Indian Breeches to cover that which   
modesty commands to be hid, which is but a peece of cloth a yard and   
a halfe long, put between their gronings tied with a snakes skinne about  
 their middles, one end hanging downe with a flap before, the other like   
a taile behind." In the winter time the more aged of them wore   
drawers "in forme like Irish trouses" and shoes cut out of hide. In   
winter most of them carried a "deepe furr'd Cat skinne, like a long  
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large muffe," which they shifted to that arm that lay most exposed to   
the wind.

Thus clad the Indian bustled "better through a world of cold in a   
frost-paved wildernesse, than the furred Citizen" in a warmer clime.   
They like not to be imprisoned in our English fashion, thinks Wood,   
"they love their owne dogge-fashion better (of shaking their eares,   
and being ready in a moment) than to spend time in dressing them,   
though they may as well spare it as any men I know, having little else   
to doe."

What the Indian lacked in costume he remedied by painting or tat­   
tooing his body. The heraldry of the Indian was emblazoned upon his   
body. The "better sort" are described as bearing upon their cheeks   
portraitures of bears, deer, moose, wolves, and fowls such as the eagle   
and hawk. Others have round impressions down the outside of their   
arms and breasts in form of mullets or spur-rowels.

One early writer reproves the squaws for use of that "sinful art of   
painting their Faces." The women were especially addicted to this   
practice and the men also, says Gookin, especially when marching to   
their wars, making themselves thereby as they conceived more terrible   
to their enemies. The face might be daubed a bright vermillion or   
painted a black and white, one part of the face one color and the other   
another, "very deformedly."

The young men and soldiers wore their hair long on the one side,   
"the other side being cut short like a screw; other cuts they have as   
their fancie befooles them, which would torture the wits of a curious   
Barber to imitate."

A great sagamore with a humming bird in his ear for a pendant, a   
black hawk on his occiput for his plume, "Mowhackees" for his gold   
chain, good store of wampum begirthing his loins, his bow in his hands,   
his quiver at his back, with six naked Indian "spatterlashes at his heeles   
for his guard" thinks himself little inferior to the great khan; "hee is   
all one with King Charles. He thinkes hee can blow downe Castles   
with his breath, and conquer kingdomes with his conceit." In this   
state he can see no equal, till comes the dawn of a night of adverse gam­   
ing, during which he is robbed of his conceited wealth and left with   
nothing till a new taxation of his subjects furnishes him with a fresh   
supply.

The Indian diet was not noted for any balance of food values, nor   
did its preparation involve any of the finer subtleties of the culinary

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art, although one authority is informed by his readings that the Indians   
to the south "would not eat a Spaniard till they had kept him two or   
three dayes tender, because their flesh was bad."

In England, observes a writer, the Indians eat little, whether "it   
be to shew their manners, or for shamefastnesse, I know not; but at   
home they will eate till their bellies stand forth, ready to split with   
fullness." Their table conduct is described "as all are fellows at foot­   
ball, so they all meete friends at the kettle, saving their wives, that   
dance a Spaniell-like attendance at their backes for their bony   
fragments."

The peculiarities of a people are often expressed in burial cere­   
monies. When the life of an Indian had expired, those about the   
corpse would break into throbbing sobs and deep fetched sighs, "their   
griefe-wrung hands, and teare-bedewed cheekes, their dolefull cries,   
would draw teares from Adamantine eyes, that be but spectators of   
their mournefull Obsequies." The "glut" of their griefe being past,   
they commit the corpse of the deceased to the ground, "over whose   
grave is for a long time spent many a briny tea re, deepe groane, and   
Irish-like howlings."

The mourners knew nothing of rings and scarves or other niceties   
of the seventeenth century civilization, or of the Prince Albert coat of  
 a later day. Instead, on their faces, they wore a "black stiffe paint."  
 The missionary Experience Mayhew speaks of black faces, goods   
buried, and the howlings over the dead of Indian burials.

Mention has been made of a number of Indian traits and practices,   
some of them bad, others ridiculous to the modern reader, just as char­   
acteristics of our own ancestors in various ages appear preposterous in   
the light of evolution, and as our present civilization will appear   
tomorrow.

Of good qualities the Algonquin had a share. Yet even these were   
oftimes the results of his improvident nature. With equanimity he   
gambled away his worldly wealth, for his wealth was little and easily   
replenished. Yet it was a virtue that he was ready to communicate his   
wealth to the mutual good of another: "he that kills a Deere, sends for   
his friends and eates it merrily: So he that receives but a piece of   
bread from an English hand, parts its equally betweene himselfe and   
his comrades, and eates it lovingly." He was as willing to part with his   
mite in poverty as his treasure in plenty. The thrifty Puritan settler

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must have viewed the improvidence of the Indian and his neglect of the   
future as something well-nigh irreligious.

Credit is accorded the American Indian that the women of the   
English had little to fear of sex relations. Perhaps unkindly it was   
the explanation of one contemporary that the English women had   
nothing to fear on this score as the Indian had his choice among his   
own women.

The story is told of the capture of three white women by members   
of the Pequot tribe. One of the women, fearing the consequences of   
her predicament, bit and scratched her captor so heartily that in retalia­   
tion he slew her with a blow from his tomahawk. The other two   
women were carried into camp, where the Indians offered their persons   
no abuse, but questioned them as to whether they could make gun­   
powder, a commodity greatly desired by them and only illegally pur­   
chased from the whites. Finding that their captives were not versed   
in the art any more than their own squaws, and convinced, says the   
narrator, that they would fall abundantly short in industry compared   
with the native women, and being of little attraction physically, as the   
Indian esteemed "black beyond any color," the English women were   
released.

The besetting sin of the Indian was drunkenness. Before drunken­   
ness was introduced among them, "Nothing unclean or filthy, like the   
heathen's feasts of Bacchus and Venus, was ever heard of amongst any   
of them."

Prior to the advent of the white man, the Indian drank nothing but   
water. This was not because he was a sober individual, but because   
of the pertinent fact that he had no drink that would intoxicate. He   
had never stumbled upon the receipe of an intoxicating liquor. A peo­   
ple who did not know how to boil food was not likely to distill spirits.   
After the arrival of the Europeans some few of the Indians, who were   
ordinarily not enterprising, planted orchards and made cider. Many   
of the Indians became lovers of strong drink, aqua vitae, rum, brandy,   
and the like, and were greedy to buy it of the English.

The sale of liquor to Indians was strictly prohibited in the Massa­   
chusetts Colony, but there existed those among the Europeans who   
were willing to sell what the Indian greatly demanded. Bootlegging   
became a profession early in American life. And the Indian with his   
rugged love of freedom, demanded the right to exercise his personal   
liberties even unto extinction, which was what nearly happened.

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Although whipped for drunkenness, the Indian would seldom report  
 the source of his supply.

In

In the words of Gookin, the Europeans, especially the English in  
New-England, have cause to be greatly humbled bde!ore God, that they  
 have been, and are, instrumental to cause the In 1ans to commit this  
great evil and beastly sin of drunkenness."

The Indian was a creature of passion and self-indulgence. But these  
traits alone do not account for his whole-hearted submission to the evils of   
over-indulgence in drink. The Indian nature was tinged with melan­   
choly. He lived in constant dread of bewitchment. He saw evil spirits   
about him in every stick and stone. A prey to mental fears, he suffered   
from causes over which he had no control. A drought, a thunder, a   
comet, everything in nature typified the wrath of an angry god. The   
Indian was afraid. He sought solace in the burning liquor that made   
him forget for a time the shadow that hovered in his mind.

The Indian was heavily endowed with arrogance, self-esteem, and  
lordly pride. A manifestation of these attributes was the dignity inher­   
ent in him. His pride was quickly wounded and his suspicions easily   
aroused. A trader who chanced to smile in the course ofa barter with  
an Indian was sure to lose his deal.

The Indian was a great orator. In unstudied eloquence he has at  
times rivaled the lofty flights of the Greeks and Romans. Red Jacket   
was declared by Governor Clinton to be the equal of Demosthenes.   
Jefferson called the best known speech of Logan, the Mingo chief, the   
eight of human utterance, but the full originality of this speech is

rightfully questioned.

The aborigine's poetic eloquence and love of mysticism adapted   
him to the white man's religion, and those who became its converts have   
filled the pages of missionary lore with speeches surprising to the car   
of one not versed in its history. In prayer he is said to have exceeded   
the expectations of Eliot. Matthew Mayhew tells of a speech by a   
pow-wdow heard by a kinsman who said had it been to the true God, it   
excee ed any prayer he had ever heard.

But with the weakness of orators, the speech of the Indian was  
verbose and prolix. His recitations upon occasion became so tediously  
miniute that even the long suffering Eliot was obliged to cut him short.  
 It is an antithese of character that although an orator, the Indian  
was not talkative. Out of the circle of council he spoke seldom and   
then with much gravity.  
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The religion of the American Indian was a primitive psychology.   
Polytheistic in nature, it was untempered by philosophy. Before the   
advent of the European the Indian had not attained the spiritual level   
that perceives god as a moral preceptor. His gods were mere dis­   
pensers of good and evil fortune, more often evil. Not to suffer the  
anger of a god, was to be happy. The joy of moral exaltation was to   
him unknown.

The various tribes worshipped different gods, the sun, moon, earth,   
or fire, "and like vanities." Yet generally, says Gookin, the Indian   
acknowledged one supreme doer of good and another that was the   
great doer of mischief. The god of evil they dreaded and feared more   
than they honored and loved the god of good.

A knowledge of the religion of the Indians on the Vineyard has   
been preserved in the writings of the younger Thomas Mayhew. Upon   
his coming among them, writes he, "they were mighty zealous and   
earnest in the Worship of False gods· and Devils; their False gods were   
many, both of things in Heaven, Earth, and Sea: And they had their   
Men-gods, Women-gods, and Children-gods, their Companies, and   
Fellowships of gods, or Divine Powers, guiding things amongst men,   
besides innumerable more feigned gods belonging to many Creatures,   
to their Corn and every Colour of it." These lesser gods Roger Wil­   
liams compares in principle to the St. George, St. Paul, St. Dennis, and   
the Virgin Mary and similar "saint protectors" of the Roman Catholic   
faith.

"The Devil also with his Angels," continues the younger Mayhew,   
"had his Kingdom among them, in them; account him they did the   
terror of the Living, the god of the Dead, under whose cruel power   
and into whose deformed likeness they conceived themselves to be   
translated when they died; for the same word they have for *Devil,*they use also for *Dead Man,* in their Language: by him they were   
often hurt in their Bodies, distracted in their Minds, wherefore they   
had many meetings with their Pawwaws ( who usually had a hand in   
their hurt) to pacifie the Devil by their sacrifice and get deliverance   
from their evil." They had, continues the writer, "only an obscure   
Notion of a god greater than all, which they call Manit, but they know   
not what he was, and therefore had no way to worship him."

Josselyn well expresses the Indian knowledge of immortality with   
the statement that they have "some small light" of the soul's immor-

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tality, "for ask them whither they go when they dye, they will tell you   
pointing with their finger to Heaven beyond the white mountains."  
 The concept of the Great Spirit is largely a manifestation of the   
white man. Romance and tradition has painted an august conception   
of an Indian deity, a great spirit, omniscient and omnipresent, which   
has deceived many a reader into believing that the Indian possessed a   
high type of religion. We are called upon to admire, says Parkman, in   
the untutored intellect of the Indian, a thought too vast for Socrates   
and Plato.

Thomas Cooper, a half-blooded Gay Head Indian, born about

1725, once gave a description of the Indian form of worship at Mar­   
tha's Vineyard. "Whenever the Indians worshipped," said he, "they   
always sang and danced, and then begged of the sun and moon, as they  
thought most likely to hear them, to send them the desired favor; most   
generally rain or fair weather, or freedom from their enemies or sick­   
ness." The *Dancing Field* at Christiantown was one of the places of   
congregation for such ceremonies.

The Indian priests were called Pow-wows, famed to later genera­   
tions of Americans as medicine men. These exercised a potent influ­   
ence in all the phases of life, religion, peace, war, and health. As an   
institution the pow-wows were the most picturesque feature of the red   
man's life. They maintained a strange and powerful influence over   
their superstitious fellow-tribesmen.

Betaking themselves to exorcism and necromatic charms, they were   
credited with bringing to pass many strange things. One is reported   
to have made water burn, rocks move, and trees dance. Not only were   
strange stories of the sorceries of the pow-wows confidently confirmed   
by Indians, but examples of their powers are seriously recounted in   
print by educated Englishmen whose reputations for veracity stand   
unimpeached. It is probable that a number of the pow-wows had stum­   
bled upon certain elemental truths of chemistry and physics. It was   
fear of the pow-wows that the early missionaries were obliged to break   
rather than the power of sachems and sagamores.

The pow-wows professed the possession of imps through which   
they were able to perform their miracles. Says the younger Thomas   
Mayhew, "The *Pawwaws* counted their Imps their Preservers, had   
them treasured up in their bodies, which they brought forth to hurt   
their enemies, and heal their friends; who when they had done some   
notable Cure, would shew the Imp in the palm of his Hand to the  
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Indians who with much amazement looking on it, Diefied them, then   
at all times seeking to them for cure in all sicknesses, and counsel in all   
cases."

The pow-wows exercised their craft both by bodily hurt and by   
"inward pain, torture, and distraction of mind." Their greatest influ­   
ence was psychological. The superstitious Indian so lived in fear of   
the pow-wow's power that once told by a pow-wow that he was   
bewitched he would begin to suffer the most terrible mental pains and   
bodily symptoms. In this way account may be made for paralysis,   
lameness, and other impotencies inflicted by the pow-wows.

To effect their purposes the pow-wows were wont to use a bone,   
which was sometimes shot into the Indian, so they claimed, by a ser­   
pent coming directly towards the victimized man in the house or in the   
field, looming a shadow about him like a man. Matthew Mayhew adds   
that they oft formed a piece of leather like an arrow-head, tying a   
hair thereto, or using the bone of a fish, over which they performed   
certain ceremonies, to let the bewitched know his fate. The terrified   
victim, seeing the sign, would become seized with fears and distrac­   
tions, convinced that in time the bone and hair would enter his body   
and begin its work of bewitchment.

Another method employed by the pow-wows was to pretend to seize  
something of the spirit of the one they intended to torment while it   
wandered in the victim's sleep, which spirit they would represent to   
keep in the form of an imprisoned fly, and accordingly as they dealt   
with the fly, so fared the body it belonged to. The power of a pow­   
wow over a victim whose spirit he kept in such close captivity need be   
no more than hinted.

The pow-wows, being able to create harm and disease, were also   
able to cure such evils. This they accomplished with "horrible out­   
cries, hollow bleatings, painful wrestlings," and smitings of their   
bodies, and similar antics so extreme that Governor Winslow described   
them as combining the attributes of physician, priest, and juggler.   
They would make extraordinary motions with their bodies for so long   
a time that they would sweat until they foamed, continuing thus for   
hours stroking and hovering over the sick until cured or beyond repair.   
The pow-wows made use also of herbs and roots which they sometimes   
applied externally, combining medicine with psychology and witchcraft.   
They were known upon occasion to set bones.

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The ritual of a seance has been described in the following language:

The parties that are sick or lame being brought before them, the   
Pow-wow sitting downe, the rest of the Indians giving attentive audi­   
ence to his imprecations and invocations, and after the violent expres­   
sion of many a hideous bellowing and groaning, he makes a stop, and   
then all the auditors with one voice utter a short Canto; which done,   
the Pow-wow still proceeds in his invocations, sometimes roaring like a  
 Beare, other times groaning like a dying horse, foaming at the mouth   
like a chased bore, smitting on his naked breast and thighs with such   
violence, as if he were madde. Thus will hee continue sometimes halfe   
a day, spending his lungs, sweating out his fat, and tormenting his body   
in this diabolical worship; sometimes the Devill for requitall of their   
worship, recovers the partie, to nuzzle them up in their divellish   
Religion.

Such was the religion of the American Indian. Peter Oliver,   
antagonistic to the Puritans and all their works, with a spleen so far   
developed as to enable him to attack the missionary activities of John   
Eliot, well expresses the popular misconception of the Indian religion.   
Writes he of the red man, "His very religion, though incomplete, was   
gentle and harmonious. It was the religion of Nature. He saw the   
Great Spirit in all his glorious works, and they furnished him with an   
adequate ritual. And he, too, could find language in which to express   
his adoration of the mysterious God; not invisible, for had he not   
expressed himself in flowers, in streams of running water, in the light­   
ning and the tempest? He could Worship and praise as well as his   
white brothers, for the voice of nature sounded fresh in his ears, and   
he echoed her truths in strains of glorious eloquence."

In similar outbursts of eloquence is the Indian religion rarified by   
the imaginative white man. Only a joyous Cooperite could metamor­   
phize the terrible howlings of the pow-wow and his uncouth gestures   
into paeans of "glorious eloquence," and call the indescribable mental   
anguish of bewitched Indians a "gentle and harmonious" religion. The   
Indians did not worship nature. They feared nature.

Much has been written of what the white man may learn from the   
Indian. But sober investigation renders it doubtful if there are many   
attributes found in the better class of redskins that the better class of   
Caucasians do not possess. There is too great a tendency to compare   
the best of primitive people with the dregs of the white race in picturing   
the nobility of the aborigine.

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Talk is made of the Indian's good sense in the way of simple living   
and mastery of the outdoors. But the truth is the Indian ate to excess   
when his larder was full and lived in starvation when it was depleted.   
The healthful virtues of wigwam life, apparent at first blush, fade upon   
deeper thought. Life in a foul, smoke-laden wigwam, where the   
occupants breathed over and again the stench of human bodies   
crowded in small areas, coupled with the sudden shock of a body   
thrust from such an atmosphere into the chilling winds of a New Eng­   
land winter, vitiated the constitution of the Indian and made him a   
victim of plague and a prey to consumption.

It is said with unction that through the Boy Scout and Camp Fire   
Girl movements the young people of today are learning the wisdom of   
the first American and emulating his noble qualities. That these great   
movements are affording the youth and girlhood of today an immeas­   
urable benefit no thinking person denies, but it is a sad commentary on   
the accuracy of romantic thought that Camp Fire Girls should be   
called upon to adopt Indian names in their struggle to make life a   
thing of beauty, happiness, and romance, when it is recalled that the   
Indian woman was so pitifully the slave and inferior of her lordly   
master, good only to bear countless children and to perform menial   
tasks. The pioneer mothers in nameless millions from Copps Hill   
Cemetery in Boston to obscure mounds in the Rocky Mountains   
must turn in their graves.

Longfellow sang the song of Hiawatha, the picture of an "extinct   
tribe that never lived." Scholarly, urbane, he penned only the beauti­   
ful in life for the benefit of the Victorian public. He avoided the   
shadows of reality. He lived in a famed old mansion in Cambridge   
and taught in the classic halls of Harvard. He was the epitome of all   
that made conservative New England culture in the nineteenth century.   
Had Longfellow spent a night with Wood in an Indian wigwam or sat   
by the side of Governor Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, while a brave   
buck sat cracking lice with his teeth, the world would have lost   
Hiawatha.

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CHAPTER VII

THE COLONIST

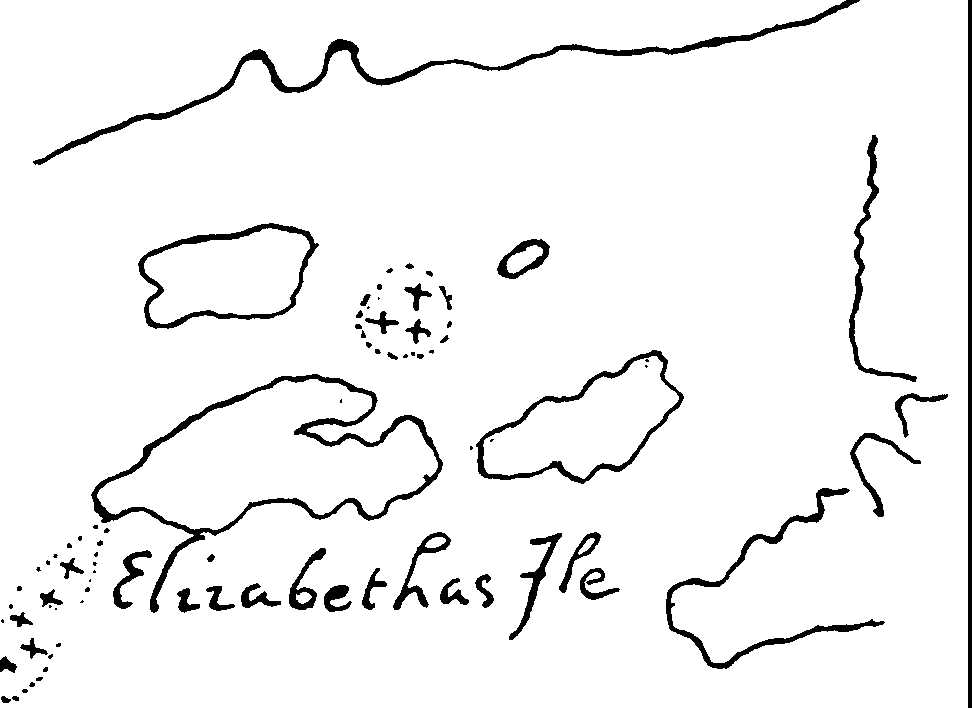
The first settlement effected by Thomas Mayhew within the   
bounds of this patent was established in r 642 at Great Harbor, now   
Edgartown, on the island of Martha's Vineyard, by a small band of   
planters under the leadership of Thomas Mayhew, Jr. As the elder   
Mayhew did not settle permanently on the island until after the lapse   
of a number of years, the son acted as the plantation's governor until   
the arrival of the senior patentee.

The beginnings of the history of Great Harbor date back to a   
meeting in the parent settlement of Watertown when the two Mayhews   
granted unto five of their neighbors a patent for the establishment of a   
"large Towne" upon the Vineyard with equal power in town gov­   
ernment.

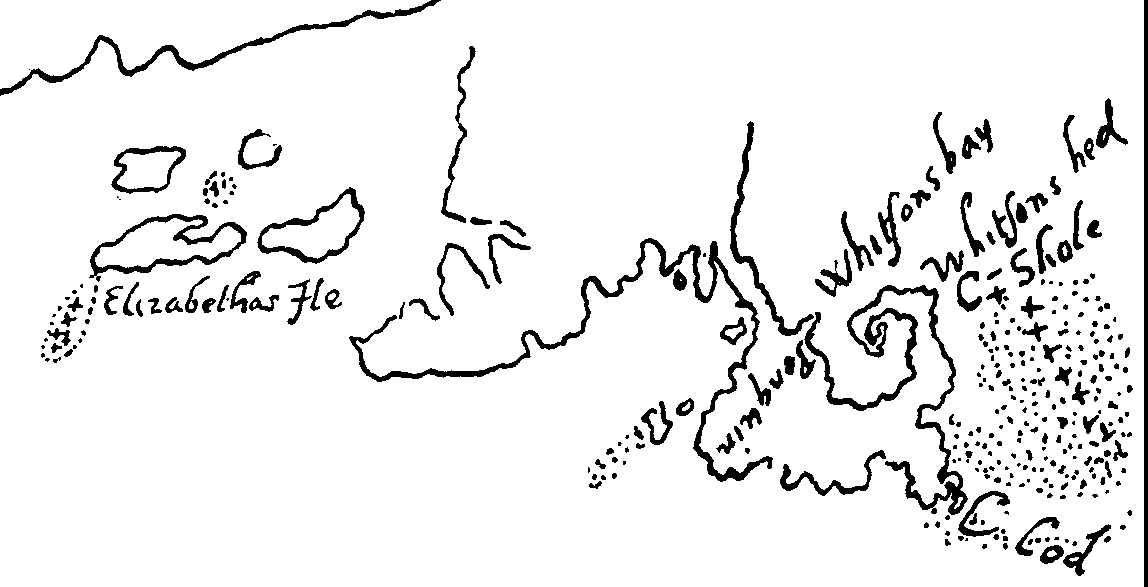
The grant effected the formation of a town proprietary. The town   
proprietary played a vital part in the colonization of New England and   
was its distinctive social and economic feature for many years. The term proprietary is used in American history in two senses. The   
one use refers to the great proprietors or lords who held territorial  
grants as feudal seigneurs and who were endowed with governmental   
powers. The other has reference to town proprietaries; groups of   
men who held title to lands in common ownership for the founding of   
towns.

In the settlement of a town it was the practice of the proprietors

to first parcel out home lots to the inhabitants of the new settlement   
and to set off public tracts, such as a lot for the use and support of the   
town's future ministers, a plot for a burying ground, and often a town   
commons. After the general plan of the township had been laid out   
with home lots, streets, paths, and burying ground, it was customary   
for the proprietors to divide up parts of the remaining lands into farms   
with convenient allotments of plough lands, meadows, and similar   
tracts, useful for various purposes. Usually these several divisions lay  
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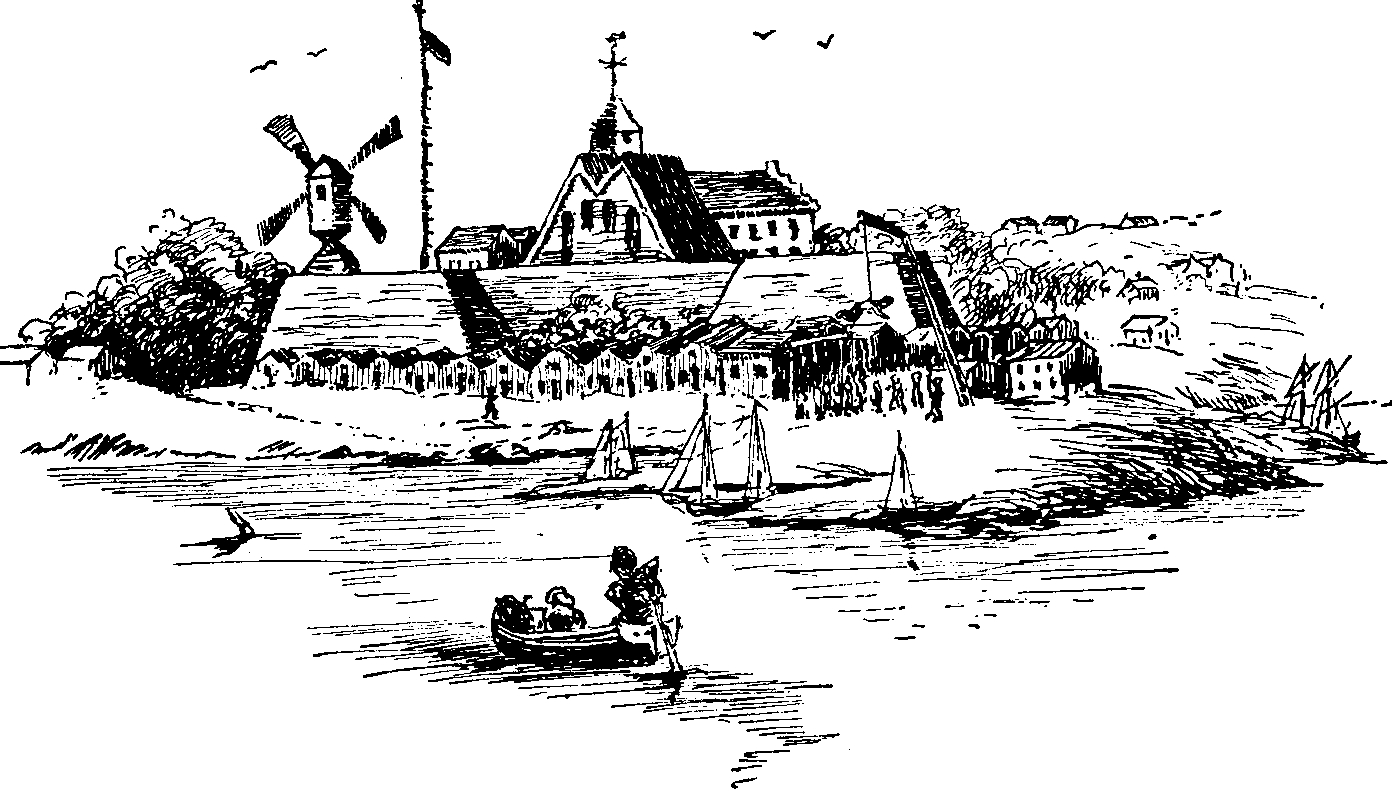
EARLIEST MAP OF THE ELIZABETH ISLANDS, NOW THE TOWN OF GOSNOLD, MASS.





EARLIEST MAP OF MARTHA'S VINEYARD AND THE ELIZABETH ISLANDS, DATED 1610

From the Archives of Simancas, Spain

 FORT JAMES, NEW YORK, 1671

TOMAS MAYHEW, PATRIARCH TO INDIANS

scattered about the township, due to the fact that lands were divided   
for their usefulness. A tract best used as meadow land might lay far   
removed from a tract adaptable as plough land. Thus it was that the   
lands of a settler never lay in one contiguous tract.

As soon as a division of land was laid out in severalty, the proprie­   
tary as an organization ceased to have control over it. Lands not   
assigned in severalty were held in common for the benefit of the pro­   
prietors as a body, awaiting the time when it should be desirable to set   
them off to individual proprietors.

In these lands the proprietors held rights of commonage, that is,   
the right to graze cattle, to take thatch for roofing, or to gather wood   
for fuel.

Firewood was an indispensable commodity in days when other fuel   
was not obtainable. The consumption of the available wood supply was   
to the Indian signal for migration to a place where a more plentiful sup­   
ply could be found. For this reason the Indians enquired of the Euro­   
peans if they had come to America for reason of a dearth of wood in   
the Old Country.

A town proprietary was divided into shares. At Great Harbor   
newcomers were admitted into the proprietary from time to time,   
either by an increase in the number of shares, at first, or the sale of a   
share or fraction of a share by an individual proprietor. The pro­   
prietary shares early became twenty-five in number and at that figure   
remained, although the proprietors, by the purchase of fractional   
shares, and by inheritance, steadily increased.

Long after the original settlers had died, subsequent proprietors   
transferred their lots under the names of the first owners, as the lot   
"commonly known by the name of William Weeks his lot," or "the lot   
formerly belonging to Malachi Browning."

The task of the pioneers of Great Harbor who settled this far-flung   
outpost of civilization, known to men of the day only as an island   
containing harbors where ships en route from New York to Virginia   
might find refuge from contrary winds, was a difficult one. The enter­   
prise necessitated leaving home and friends and the intercourse which   
the more or less closely related towns upon the mainland afforded, and   
also a renewal of the struggle for economic existence under pioneer  
conditions that had been partially overcome in the more established  
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communities. The Indian menace was a thing to be feared upon an   
island where the aborigine outnumbered the settlers at first perhaps   
three hundred to one. In Massachusetts the possibility of Indian attack   
followed fishermen even twenty miles at sea in their boats. At Mar­   
tha's Vineyard the threat was greater.

The settlement planted by the first company was located on a tract   
of land known to the English as "The Old Purchase," being the first   
tract purchased of the Indian chief Towantquatick. For a decade all   
divisions of land in severalty were confined to this section of territory,   
which proved sufficient for the needs of the little community.

Here the fathers of Great Harbor spent their days in clearing the   
land east of Pease's Point Way, felling timber, building houses, laying   
out lots, tilling the soil, and fishing in the adjoining waters.

Economic life was not easy. Roads, paths, and bridges had to be   
built where nature had ruled supreme. If a plow existed at all upon   
the island in the first decade it was at best a large clumsy affair, con­   
structed of wood and motivated by oxen, capable of disturbing but a   
few scant inches of soil after an expenditure of much effort and com­   
motion.

Felling trees with rude tools, sawing lumber, building homes and a   
mill and public buildings, laying out roads and paths, removing rocks   
and stumps from the land, planting crops of corn and vegetables, pas­   
turing horned cattle and sheep, and fishing were tasks that required   
stout hearts, ingenious minds, and unflagging industry. At all times   
the settlers were watched by lurking savages, who remained at a dis­   
creet distance and refused to hold intercourse with the alien race,   
adopting the customary aloofness of old families toward immigrants of   
a different culture.

In accordance with the practice in New England the home lots of   
Great Harbor were grouped together in village style in order to facili­   
tate military protection against possible Indian forays, and to afford   
the inhabitants the advantages of communal life derived from a com­   
pact settlement. The original home lots bordered on the harbor,   
stretching in a contiguous line from Pease's Point Way to Katama.   
The lots varied in size, anywhere from eight to forty acres, the greater   
number containing about ten acres. Thomas Mayhew and his son   
held the only two forty-acre stalls.

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THOMAS MAYHEW, PATRIARCH TO INDIANS

Here was located the heart of the new plantation, the homes and   
gardens of the settlers, the church, schoolhouse, and the acre for the   
dead set aside on Burying Hill.

A church was early gathered in the new plantation and the leader   
of the first band of settlers, Thomas Mayhew, Jr., not more than   
twenty-one or twenty-two years of age, was ordained its pastor. A   
"meeting house" was erected by the males of the town upon a day   
appointed; the townsmen assembling at the pastor's house, where each   
man was "set" to his work under the leadership of the chief military   
officer of the colony. We will not go far wrong in guessing that the   
simple edifice which resulted from the united labors of the town's   
manpower was set by the cemetery in pattern of other New England   
towns and the parish churches of Old England.

Next to church and school the necessary want of every new town   
was a mill. Early in the life of the settlement Mayhew is found writ­   
ing a letter to the younger Winthrop expressing the plantation's "greate   
want of a mill" and asking that he might borrow the services of a cer­   
tain "goodman Elderkin," who was reputed a very "ingenious" man in   
the building of mills, whom Mayhew understood to be under contract   
to Winthrop.

But the greatest problem confronting the founder of a colony was   
the difficulty of adjusting the land problems of native and European.   
In this relation Thomas Mayhew showed unceasing diplomacy, sympa­   
thetic understanding, and unimpeachable honesty.

Contrary to popular belief the American Indian of New England   
was not robbed of his lands by the early settlers. The charge that the   
Indian was duped and exploited is one of the common statements made   
by Puritan detractors, a free and easy charge unsubstantiated by docu­   
mentary evidence. In view of the cruel practices of the Spanish con-  
quistadores, and the treatment received by the Indians in other parts  
 of the country in later years, it is surprising that popular prejudice con­   
tinues to confine itself so largely to purported Puritan misconduct.

The relation of the white man with the Indian is one of the unhappy   
blots of history. Ethically the European should not have settled where   
an Indian population existed. But having settled, there appears no   
part of America where Indian rights of land were more faithfully   
preserved than in New England. The town records of New England   
abound with references to lands purchased from the native proprietors.

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Vattel, the great Swiss publicist, in his "Laws of Nations," says:   
"We cannot fail to applaud the moderation of the English Puritans   
who first established themselves in New England, who bought from   
the savages the land which they wished to occupy." Chancellor Kent   
states that "the people of all the New England colonies settled their   
towns upon the basis of title procured by fair purchase from the   
Indians with the consent of government, except in the few instances of   
lands acquired by conquest after a war deemed to have been just and   
necessary."

The charge is bandied that large tracts of land were purchased of   
the Indians in exchange for an inadequate consideration. Just what   
would have been an adequate consideration is never stated. The defi­   
nition is, of course, relative. It is beyond dispute that sums paid for   
lands in these early days were far beneath present values. But this   
in no way detracts from the honesty of the transactions. Wilderness   
lands in the seventeenth century had a small value. That in three hun­   
dred years the purchase price of business property in Boston would   
command a fortune was not within the ken of the early bargainers, nor   
would that knowledge have much influenced negotiations. It should be   
remembered that while the English proprietors paid the Indians small   
sums for land, they in turn received similarly small sums upon resale   
to English buyers. William Penn customarily sold lands at forty shill­   
ings per hundred acres, or five pounds for each one thousand acres.

Criticism is made of beads and other trinkets as tender for lands.   
Beads were desired by the Indians as articles of ornament. The prefer­   
ence of gold to brass or beads is entirely a working of the mind. The   
intrinsic value of either is nothing. Today Woolworth stores sell   
jewelry to untutored whites at a five, ten and fifteen cent counter, and   
buyers are glad to get the trinkets.

Transactions entered into between the settlers themselves were   
customarily adjusted in medium other than hard cash. Practically all   
transactions were consummated in kind, that is, produce, corn, furs,   
even Indian wampum. Students at Harvard College paid their tute­   
lage in slaughtered cattle and bushels of corn evaluated in pounds   
and shillings. So much was this the case that at times the college   
corporation would find itself overwhelmed with one kind of com­   
modity to the exclusion of another. Hard money was scarce in   
America.

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It would be difficult to conceive what value coined pounds and shill­   
ings would have had to the Indian, even had they existed in sufficient   
quantities. The Indian had not attained that civilization which pro­   
duces millionaires hording up silver dollars for the edification of an admiring world.

The Indian wanted axes, firearms, and similar items of hardware,   
just as did the white pioneer. Such commodities might not satisfy a   
paunchy banker of the twentieth century sitting behind a four-ply   
mahogany veneer desk, but they were preeminently satisfactory to the   
banker's ancestor and his Indian contemporary. One generation yearns   
for an axe, the next for stocks and bonds. Doubtless the axe has con­   
tributed most to the advancement of civilization.

We should not too greatly criticise the white man for giving the   
Indian what he wanted and what was often best for his purposes. Too   
many critics find it difficult to view the Indian problem in all its rami­   
fications with the "then minded" attitude.

But whatever room exists for argument in respect to Indian rela­   
tions, criticism cannot be directed toward the proprietary of Martha's   
Vineyard and Nantucket. There, certainly, no effort was made to   
crowd the Indian out of his possessions. Even had the settlers been   
so disposed, the vast preponderance of Indian inhabitants would have   
made such a proceeding exceedingly inadvisable. It is not easy to now   
realize that in the early days of America it was the Indian who had   
the upper hand and the white man who feared.

Every foot of territory within the bounds of Mayhew's patent, set­   
tled by a white man, was purchased from its lawful Indian proprietor.   
Although Mayhew held an English title that purported to descend   
from the crown, he chose to consider that title as granting him merely   
the exclusive right among Europeans to purchase lands from the abo­   
riginal occupants. He professed no control or ownership of any tract   
of land remaining in Indian ownership. When Mayhew sold land to a   
settler which he himself had not purchased of the natives, he sold   
merely a right to the settler to perfect title from the proper Indian   
sachem.

It was the general consensus of opinion in New England that a   
patent of land derived from the crown conferred on the grantee the   
English title subject to the Indian right of occupancy. It was the right  
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of occupancy which the English purchased from the Indians, as the   
red man had no conception of title in fee.

Some there were among the English who believed that the right of   
the King was paramount, but in practice these agreed that it was either   
justice or expediency to purchase the Indian rights, whatever might be   
their technical nature. The "gentle Roger Williams, who wherever   
he lived managed to stir up strife," harangued that no title existed in   
the King at all; that all ownership of land was derived from the   
Indians alone.

As the Massachusetts authorities were at all times circumspect in   
purchasing Indian rights, the perorations of Williams were uselessly   
moot, and only served to strengthen the opinion held by English   
enemies of Puritanism that the country was a hot bed of traitors. As   
much for the protection of the precarious state of Massachusetts as   
any other cause, Williams was banished, his disputations on the theory   
of land titles being one of the grounds leading to exile. It is typical of   
Williams' veering views that, founding a colony of his own upon lands   
purchased of the Indians, he journeyed to England to secure a royal   
patent.

The relations of Thomas Mayhew with the Indians have received   
the approbation of historians. No man in America was fairer to the   
aborigines nor more of a father to them, not excepting William Penn,   
whose personal contact with the Indian was much less than Mayhew's.  
 The story of Penn's treaty with the Indians under the great elm   
at Shackamaxon on the banks of the Delaware is admittedly based on   
nothing more substantial than "reverently cherished tradition." Fortu­   
nately for the fame of Penn the imaginary conclave was many years   
ago perpetuated on canvas by a celebrated artist. In the popular mind   
William Penn towers alone in American history as the man who   
treated the Indians fairly, but the honor is one that should be spread   
over a field of candidates. Penn was in America but twice for periods   
of two years each and could not have been personally responsible for   
all the good relations that existed between the government of Pennsyl­   
vania and the Indians.

The statement of a Penn biographer that no one save the proprie­   
tor of Pennsylvania ever kept faith with the Indians for a stretch of   
forty years is made without acknowledgment to the record of Thomas  
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Mayhew. Centuries have passed, but the peace at Martha's Vineyard   
has never been broken, while in Pennsylvania war broke out after the   
death of the great Quaker founder.

The government of Pennsylvania was greatly assisted in its pro­   
gram of peace by the fact that the Indians of that territory were so   
thoroughly subdued and broken in spirit by the raids of the Iroquois   
that they had been forced to assume the opprobrious name of "women."   
Thomas Mayhew had no artist on his staff at Martha's Vineyard,   
and had there been one among the settlers he would doubtlessly have   
been too busy ploughing or fishing to have devoted time to painting  
 any one of the many conferences held by the island proprietor with the   
Indians during the forty years of his ownership. For something less   
than half a century Thomas Mayhew was father, adviser, and mis­   
sionary to the Indians. He established churches, courts, and civil gov­   
ernment among them. Yet his fame is known only to a limited few.   
Naturally there were settlers among the English at Martha's Vine­   
yard who attempted to purchase lands of the Indians without due   
acknowledgment of the rights of Thomas Mayhew, as holder of the   
English title, or those holding under him in the town of Great Harbor.  
It early became necessary for the townsmen to order that no man   
should "procure from the Indians in any place within the town bounds   
any land upon Gift or Purchase upon the Penalty of Ten Pounds for   
every acre so purchased without the consent of the town first had."

A conspiracy to purchase lands of the Indians at Takemmy was   
fomented. Thomas Mayhew, to protect his rights, called a great   
council of the principal Indians of the district and, after a harangue,   
the chief, Papamek, and twenty-nine other "gentlemen and common   
Indians" agreed with him that there "shall be noe land sold within the   
bounds of Takemme without the consent of the two sachims. . . . .  
That is Wanamanhut [and] Keteanum." And it was further declared   
by the Indians that the sachems making the sale in particular were   
never owners of the land sold, and they all agreed "as one man to   
withstand and reject that bargain."

Meanwhile Thomas Mayhew had inaugurated the practice of buy­   
ing lands of the Indians in all the islands, whenever the native pro­   
prietors were willing to sell, in order to perfect his title. Both he and   
his son, and at a later date Peter Folger, schoolmaster at Great Harbor   
and maternal grandfather of Benjamin Franklin, acquired a knowledge

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of the Indian tongue. The purport of native deeds was fully explained   
to the grantors, that they might understand the nature of their acts.   
Most of the lands in the islands were bought in parcels and a con­   
siderable number of deeds were executed over a long period of years,   
at Nantucket so late as 1774. It cannot, therefore, be said that the   
Indians were deceived into an early sale of all their lands in toto.

Payments to the Indians were of various sorts. The purchase   
price of one tract was a "cow and a suit of clothes from top to toe"   
and seventeen pounds in money. When it is recalled that Mayhew paid   
Forrett, as agent for Lord Stirling, but forty pounds for the island   
of Nantucket and its dependencies, a comparison of the sums paid the   
natives for much smaller tracts demonstrates clearly that the Indians   
were fairly treated.

Large purchases of land at the west end of Martha's Vineyard were   
made by the patentee, who was already contemplating the establish­   
ment of a baronial estate for his family and posterity. Portions of this   
tract he had fenced by a stone wall apart from the rest of the island.   
The Cape Higgon district today is a corrupted form of the Indian name   
Keephikkon, meaning an artificial enclosure.

A typical Indian deed follows:

This doth witness that I Cheesechamuck, the Sachim of Holmses   
hole doth by these presents sell and set over unto Thomas Mayhew   
the Elder of the Vineyard one Quarter part of all that land which is   
called Chickemmow for him the said Thomas Mayhew his heires and   
assignes to In joy for ever: the said one quarter of the land of Chickem­   
mow is to begin at Itchpoquaset Brook and so to run by the shore till   
it comes to the sea side ward and so the said quarter part of land is   
to runne into the Iland from the sea side to the Middle line of the said   
land called Chickemmow; the said Thomas Mayhew is to have four   
spans round in the middle of every whale that comes upon the shore of   
this quarter part and no more: the hunting of Deire is common, but no   
trappes to be set:

In witness to this Deed of sale I have set my hand unto it this tenth   
Day of August 1658. THE MARKE

X

OF CHEESCHAMUCK

In purchasing a neck of land called Chappaquiddick, at the eastern   
end of the island for the town of Great Harbor, Mayhew agreed that   
the town should give the sachem making the sale twenty bushels of corn

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THOMAS MAYHEW, PATRIARCH TO INDIANS

a year for three years, and that the sachem's sons should have two   
lots when divided. Referring to this transaction, Charles E. Banks,   
the island historian, says:

This form of quit-rent was doubtless a concession to the dignity of   
the chieftain, and was renewed in another form in I 663, when Mayhew  
agreed to pay him "one Good Goat Ram yearly or as much in Good pay   
as Good Goat Ram should be worth …. and one yarde round   
every whale." It is significant of the scrupulous spirit which actuated   
Mayhew in his dealings with them, that this agreement was in effect   
and presumably observed as late as 1724, when the great grandson of   
this chief man, named Seiknout, also a sachem, commuted his quit-rent   
for £*5* in money to the successor of the old Governor."

Chappaquiddick was of great value to the proprietors of the   
town for grazing cattle. It was held intact many years. Elaborate   
regulations were drawn up by the townsmen to guard against overload­   
ing the quotas of each share. From the records the reader is edified   
to learn that one settler put over "one steer upon Dorcas Bayley,"   
another "a young horse upon his grandfather Bayes," and a third "for   
his wife's former rights he put over I 3 head," meaning that the suc­   
cessors of these people were entitled to rights in pasturage which had   
descended to them from predecessors so named.

The history of every colony, no matter how small, has its era of   
expansion. By 1667 Great Harbor was an established community with   
a population of perhaps more than one hundred souls. On the island   
of Nantucket another plantation had been started, and already the   
planters of that tight little island were demonstrating the enterprise   
and intelligence that was to make the Nantucket stock celebrated in   
the world of commerce and learning.

In his grant of the patent of Great Harbor, Thomas Mayhew had   
made reference to the establishment of "another Townshipp for Pos­   
terity," which he had visualized would some day be necessary. For   
twenty-five years the boundaries of the "great" town at the eastern end  
of Martha's Vineyard had sufficed the needs of the inhabitants of that   
island, but in I 668 Thomas Mayhew deemed the time ripe for the   
founding of the second town.

This he established in the interior of the island at a place called   
Takemmy, the garden spot of the Vineyard, a place of rich meadows   
and fine water courses. Already a millwas in operation connected with   
Great Harbor by a road called the old Mill Path.

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The first purchasers of the district were three men of Plymouth   
Colony. One of these, Josiah Standish, was son of the famous Myles   
Standish, of Duxbury, who is said to have claimed the right to the own­   
ership of Duxbury Hall in England. A few years ago Duxbury Hall   
was in the possession of Mr. Walter Mayhew, an English residing   
descendant of the Thomas Mayhew who granted land at Martha's   
Vineyard to the son of Myles Standish.

In the establishment of the new town Thomas Mayhew reserved   
to himself and heirs certain rights and privileges as patentee, including   
the right to approve of inhabitants coming to settle in the community,   
and participation in local government in cooperation with the majority   
part of the freemen. The new township received the name Middle­   
town, due to its central position between Great Harbor and the Indian   
community of Nashawakemmuck at the western end of the island, later   
Chilmark.

The inhabitants of Middletown purchased title of the Indians and   
from time to time admitted new members into their ranks, including the   
patentee's grandson, Thomas Mayhew, III, who early became town   
clerk and a justice of the peace. Another landowner in the town was   
Benjamin Church, of Duxbury, the famous Indian fighter of his gen­   
eration in New England. He owned a gristmill "on the westermost   
brook of Takemmy." Isaac Robinson, son of the Rev. John Robinson,   
pastor of the Pilgrim Church at Leyden, Holland, was also a settler.   
The first minister called to the town was the patentee's youngest   
grandson, the Rev. John Mayhew, who for the balance of his life per­   
formed the duties of spiritual adviser to the inhabitants of Tisbury and  
Chilmark "united."

The Elizabeth Islands were, likewise, involved in the land specula­   
tions and colonizing schemes of the day. Mayhew's acquaintance   
with many of the leading men of the surrounding colonies facilitated   
his efforts to find purchasers for these islands. The first buyers were   
merchants trading between the southern colonies of New England and   
the northern colony of Massachusetts. The Elizabeth Islands, at the   
gateway between Buzzard's Bay and Vineyard Sound, were convenient   
ports of refuge for trading vessels. Here warehouses were erected and   
in later years a lighthouse.

An early purchaser from Thomas Mayhew of lands on the Eliza­   
beth Islands was Governor William Brenton, of Rhode Island, who

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willed his interest to his son-in-law, Peleg Sanford, a later Governor of   
the same colony.

Other purchasers were James Bowdoin, Governor of Massachu­   
setts, whose name has been perpetuated in the foundation of Bowdoin  
College; John Haynes, Governor at different times of Massachusetts   
and Connecticut; Peter Oliver, the eminent Boston merchant, whose   
grandson was Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts; Thomas Ward,   
treasurer and father of Governor Richard Ward, of Rhode Island;   
and Major-General Wait Winthrop, son of Governor John, of Con­   
necticut, and grandson of the great Governor of Massachusetts of the   
same name.

In each plantation the Indian rights were carefully purchased and

every effort made to propitiate the inhabitants. The Indian system of   
land ownership was monarchical. The sachems alone owned land, and   
it was from the sachems that the English purchased title. Having sold   
his rights for a consideration, the sachem was content, but occasionally   
one of his subjects or an underling sachem who had not shared in the   
fruits of the deal, finding himself barred from his customary haunts,   
would turn to his sachem and demand something concrete in exchange   
for tribute paid by him.

At Nantucket, "Mr." Larry Ahkermo, Peterson Obadiah, and   
George Nanahuma, petty sachems and "gentlemen in the Indian way,"   
complained to the English court that their sachems had sold the lands   
they formerly lived on to the English and refused to allow them to live   
on land unsold. It was ordered by the English court that the com­   
plainants should have twenty acres apiece granted elsewhere, without   
payment of tribute.

The parties to the action "declared themselves well satisfied and   
contented" with the order. Obadiah, however, was ever a thorn in the   
side of the island authorities. Upon one occasion he was summoned   
before the island court for resisting the authority of the Indian court   
in attempting to rescue a prisoner about to be whipped and in using   
"Reviling Speeches" and "opprobious words" to its members.

In the practice of the courts of both islands, so far as the records   
show, there seems to have been no distinction made between English   
and Indian suitors. The law was administered with conscientious   
impartiality.

A chief source of irritation between the races was the Indian prac-  
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tice of trespassing on the lands of the English. It is the suggestion of   
some writers that the niceties of Anglo-Saxon theories of land titles   
and their conveyance were never fully understood by the Indian. They   
state that the idea that one man could become entitled to real estate so   
as to prevent others from using it was not comprehended by the Indian.   
Land was to him as free as the water or the air. Nobody could have   
an exclusive right to it. So when the white man came and obtained   
deeds from the sachems, it was merely the admission of the new settlers   
on equal terms with themselves. It was not that the Indian 4ad ceased   
to have the right to enjoy the land but that another had become his   
cooccupant.

This argument is open to criticism. In the first place research has   
developed the fact that the Indian was not so freely nomadic as was at   
one time believed. Ruling sachems governed within well defined   
limits, beyond whose boundaries his subjects had no rights. Hence the   
statement that land to the Indian was as free as the air and that no   
one could have an exclusive right to it is not entirely accurate. Roger   
Williams tells that the Indians were "very act and punctual in the   
bounds of their Lands." He adds that he has known them to "make   
bargain and sale among themselves for a small piece or quantity of   
ground."

Neither can it be said that the Indians could have been long deluded   
with the belief that they were selling a mere right of cooccupancy, if   
ever they so believed, as they must have learned the effect of their acts   
in the course of a short time.

It is possible that what the Indian did not always clearly under­   
stand was the legal effect of "consideration."

Moneys or goods paid for lands were received by some as a gift in   
the nature of a quit-rent or tribute rather than final payment in full.   
So when the beads were scattered, the powder gone, or the hatchets   
rusty, the native grantor would come back for more, and if denied  
would seek revenge in primitive ways. By this procedure land was   
sometimes sold a number of times over. The cupidity of a few of   
the shrewder Indians made this practice a means of revenue of no mean   
proportions. But an example of this form of petty brigandage is not   
of record at the islands. So far as is known the island chieftains per­   
formed their bargains with an exacting honesty worthy a people in a   
higher stage of civilization.

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The sachems kept their faith, and with the exception of Obadiah at   
Nantucket, no breath of unfairness on the part of the English was   
anywhere raised until long after the death of Thomas Mayhew and   
the island fathers.

It was left for the descendants of the original Indians to complain.   
Forgetting that their fathers had the right to sell their lands, and   
realizing that at one time their ancestors were the sole owners of all   
the lands inhabited by both races, the Indians of Nantucket com­   
menced to murmur and find fault, making the easy charge that the   
English had unfairly purchased the lands of their fathers, although the   
latter had always been satisfied with the bargains made. The English   
endeavored to satisfy the recalcitrants by appealing to the records and   
stating to them of whom the purchases were made, that the sachems   
had a good right to sell, and their descendants ought to be satisfied   
therewith. Says Obed Macy in his early history of Nantucket: "These   
reasonings quieted them for a series of years, and always would have   
sufficed, had they kept clear of rum; for they seldom called this subject   
into view, unless they were in some degree intoxicated."

The last stand of the Indians to repudiate the bargains of their

fathers was made in the middle of the eighteenth century and the con­   
troversy was decided against them by a committee appointed by the   
General Court of the province.

At Martha's Vineyard little of this state of affairs was experienced.   
The island was larger and more fertile and a crowded condition did not   
develop. The several Indian plantations at Chappaquiddick, Chris­   
tiantown, and Gay Head have sufficed to support the natives of the   
island down to modern day.  
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CHAPTER VIII

THE PATENTEE'S GOVERNMENT

The simple government necessary for the needs of the little band   
of settlers placed on Martha's Vineyard island by Thomas Mayhew   
was essentially democratic in its nature, and patterned on the town   
meeting plan prevalent in New England, controlled to a certain extent   
by the junior Mayhew in his capacity of co-patentee. In the meantime   
the senior patentee continued his residence at Watertown to adjust and   
wind up his business affairs, and perhaps, as a matter of precaution, to   
observe first the success of his colony before severing home ties. His   
arrival at the island for permanent settlement is believed to have taken   
place in the spring or summer of I 64*5.* He immediately assumed the   
government of the plantation, weaving his personality so intimately   
into the political and social history of Martha's Vineyard as to make it   
difficult to disentangle the story of his life from the history of the   
community.

The grant from the Earl of Stirling provided for a government to   
be set up by Thomas Mayhew, "his son and their associates,." such as   
was then established in the Massachusetts Colony. The vagueness of   
the powers granted and their lack of definite limitation were to give   
rise to contentions between the senior patentee and the freemen of the   
Vineyard. The conflict was in no degree to be eased by reference to   
the patent of the Massachusetts Colony because the charter of that   
colony was itself the subject of innumerable ambiguities, complicated  
further by the fact that departures from its letter and spirit were more   
common than uncommon. Over and again the Bay charter was   
transcended to suit the exigencies of occasion.

The charter of the Massachusetts Company passed the seals as a   
document providing for the creation and regulation of a trading cor­   
poration. It was not a charter for the government of a colony,   
although the corporation was authorized to establish and govern   
colonies as units dependent on the company. Pursuant to this power   
the company sent John Endicott to America with orders to exercise the   
chief authority at Naumkeag (Salem). By the company Endicott was   
termed the governor of the settlement.

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In the latter part of the year 1629 a number of persons in England   
"of figure and estate" proposed to remove to New England upon con­   
dition that they be permitted to take with them the charter of the com­   
pany and be allowed to exercise its corporate powers in the New   
World. The members of the company, ready to further the establish­   
ment of a Puritan commonwealth, willingly consented to this proposal.   
Arrangements were effected whereby members who remained in Eng­   
land were to be allowed to share in the trading profits of the settlement   
while the control of the company's concerns was committed to those   
who emigrated. By this agreement the members in England ceased to   
act as a corporation. After the transfer of the charter the corporate   
body conducted itself in America, not as a trading corporation, but as   
a political unit. Thus in New England a commonwealth was reared   
upon so slender a basis as the charter of a trading corporation.

This course of conduct was not the procedure followed by other   
trading companies of the day. The Virginia Company retained its   
identity distinct from that of the body politic subject to its control, as   
did also the Dutch West Indies Company in the maintenance of New   
Netherlands, and others.

The transfer of the Massachusetts Company to New England   
necessitated the conversion of the machinery provided by the charter   
for the management of a trading corporation into a political mechan­   
ism for the government of a colony; and numerous were the difficul­   
ties and dissensions which grew out of the metamorphosis. Many of   
the solutions worked out in America were not strictly within the terms   
of the patent and were of doubtful legality. It is the contention of one   
authority that the first meeting of the company in England was the   
only one that was held in conformity to the charter or the principles of   
English law.

Mayhew, therefore, was early confronted with the question whether   
by the terms of his grant he was empowered to establish a government   
pursuant to the language of the charter of the Massachusetts Com­   
pany, of which he doubtlessly had no copy, or one modeled upon the   
form of government actually in operation in the Bay Colony; a gov­   
ernment of exigencies and convenience, which like little Topsy, had   
"just growed," and was still in a state of flux.

At the time of the grant from Lord Stirling to Mayhew the gov­   
ernment of the Massachusetts Bay in New England had been functioning

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eleven years, and it is fair to assume that it was the intent of Forrett   
in authorizing Mayhew to set up a government "such as is now estab­   
lished in Massachusetts" that the grantee should set up a frame of gov­   
ernment coincident in general features with that in the Bay; consisting   
in framework of a Governor, Deputy Governor, assistants, and free­   
men; a government that would meet the needs of the inhabitants, sub­   
ject to growth and any modification as should be meet in the premises.   
A wide latitude for discretion was intended to this end.

To illustrate the improbability of any other intent the following   
example may be cited: in the early days of the Massachusetts Colony   
freemen were entitled to meet in General Court, but as the population   
grew and towns developed in number, it was enacted in 1636 that   
henceforth towns should elect deputies or representatives to the Gen­   
eral Court. This was the government "now established in the Massa­   
chusetts" at the time of Mayhew's patent, yet it would be ridiculous   
to suppose that Mayhew was expected by the terms of his grant to hold   
a court of delegated freemen in a jurisdiction consisting at first of a   
handful of settlers located within the confines of a single town.

By reason of the impracticability of launching a complete civil   
establishment on an island peopled with a scant hundred souls, no   
immediate attempt appears to have been made by the patentee to   
create freemen or to provide a suffrage unless it was done informally,   
without record. The patentee kept the reins in his own hands and   
that of his family. Naturally, he acted as the chief executive officer   
of the colony, and soon came to be regarded as "governor."

He early elaborated a system of military defense and organized a   
militia for protection against Indian forays. Laws were passed by   
Mayhew and the townsmen concerning training days for the exercise   
of the company in arms. Men not "complete in armes" were fined as   
were also colonists who wilfully neglected to appear at muster.

The first semblance of popular government is found eleven years   
after the foundation of the colony when, in r 6*5*3, the townsmen of   
Great Harbor elected Thomas Mayhew, Sr., and six others to "stand   
for a year." A similar body was elected the following year "to end   
all controversies." This form of government may be identified as a   
Court of Assistants with Mayhew as Chief Magistrate. In accordance   
with the practice in Massachusetts it may be assumed that the court  
exercised both legislative and judicial powers.

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The patentee was now following out the provisions of his patent   
from Lord Stirling in respect to the conduct of a government based on   
the Massachusetts model, if not in all details at least in major substance.   
Within a number of years we find a further change in the form of   
government. In 1658, Mr. Thomas Mayhew was chosen magistrate   
without assistants. It was voted that "all cases are to be Ended this   
present year by the magistrate with an original jury." Mayhew was   
again the sole executive officer of the island. In effect this had been the   
situation from the day of his first coming to the island. His personal­   
ity, his experience in life, his landed interests, and the fact that he had  
impelled the founding and building of the little commonwealth had   
been reason sufficient to the settlers to submit to his control over their  
mutual affairs.

But as conditions prospered and the inhabitants increased in both   
numbers and wealth, a feeling of discontent became manifest among a   
number of them who began to voice a desire for greater partici­   
pation in the administration of government. The earliest settlers had   
been admitted into the fellowship of the town by the "approbation" of   
the patentees; for a time they felt their obligation to the proprietors   
who had granted them their substantial acres and an opportunity to   
prosper in a worldly way, but there were others who had paid for their   
lands, and all being Englishmen jealous of their "liberties," they began   
to chafe under the patriarchal rule of Thomas Mayhew.

Matters reached a crisis late in the year 1661, when the patentee   
deemed it wise to prepare a form of "submission to government,"   
unusual and unique in scope, for the signatures of those discontented   
with his rule.

Mayhew was convinced that he was entitled to the ultimate power   
of control over the political affairs of the settlement and that he had   
powers equal at least to those exercised by the Governor and Assistants   
of Massachusetts.

The submission prepared by him was signed by eighteen of the   
freemen. Those not signing are known to have been adherents to his   
rule because of family connections or other reasons.

After the signing of the submission which proclaimed a proprietary form of government, laws were enacted in the name of the "pattentees and freeholders" or "by the Single Person and the freeholders." The single person was Thomas Mayhew. The plural form of patentee

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sometimes used had reference either to the three children of the   
younger Thomas Mayhew, now deceased, or to the original patentees   
of Great Harbor, who, it will be remembered, were granted equal   
power in town government with the two Mayhews. It may be that   
laws for the town were passed by the patentees of the town and the   
majority of the freemen, while laws for the island as a whole were   
passed by Thomas Mayhew ( as sole proprietary) and the majority of   
the freemen, thus giving the patentees within the town and Mayhew   
over the island a practical power of veto. Town and island affairs   
at this time were so closely interwoven that it is difficult to distinguish  
between local and general concerns.

Language used in 1663 in the passing of an act "itt is ordered by   
myself and the major part of the freeholders," indicates that the rec­   
ords at that time were being kept by Mayhew in person.

The rule of Thomas Mayhew as patentee and chief magistrate   
of an independent colony was now about to end. In high places in   
England the fate of the islands of Martha's Vineyard and those adja­   
cent was being shuttled without the knowledge of their New England   
proprietor.

As early as I 663 the Earl of Clarendon had purchased, on behalf   
of his son-in-law, the Duke of York, the pretentions of the fourth Earl   
of Sterling to his territories in America. The Stirlings had never right­   
fully had jurisdiction over the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nan­   
tucket, but their claims were passed along to the Duke, who, although   
he failed to pay the Stirlings the full consideration agreed and inserted   
in the deed territories not offered for sale, failed not to exact his full   
quota of benefits.

In due time the King confirmed the purchase to the Duke by a   
royal patent which included in it "all those severall Islands called or   
known by the names of Martin's Vineyard and Nantukes otherwise  
Nantukett.''

It was .a day of conflicting grants, vague geography, and royal pre­   
rogatives. The fact that the islands had already been granted   
Gorges afforded no embarrassment to the King. Nor was Charles II   
in any way disturbed by the fact that the bulk of the territories included   
in the grant to his brother was in possession of the Dutch, and always   
had been.

Deciding to accomplish two results with one commission, he, in  
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1664, appointed a royal commission composed of Colonel Richard   
Nicolls, Sir George Carteret, Sir Robert Carr, and Samuel Maverick,   
Esq., to settle disputes with and between the New England colonies and   
to "reduce" New Netherlands by arms.

Arriving with a fleet in Gravesend Bay in August of the same year,   
Nicolls demanded of Director-General Stuyvesant the surrender of   
Dutch New Netherlands. After conferences lasting less than two   
weeks, articles of capitulation were agreed upon. On the 8th of Sep­   
tember the Dutch troops marched out of Fort Amsterdam. The flag   
of the High and Mighty States of Holland fluttered to the ground.   
The air resounded to a salvo of guns, and Britain's proud ensign   
whipped the breezes. A country builded by the energy of a foreign   
people became England.'s by the mighty quill of Charles II and the   
doubtful virtue of a voyage by Cabot. The city of New Amsterdam   
and the province of New Netherlands became the city and province of   
New York, and with it the islands of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket,   
and those adjacent became a part of the lordly holdings of America's   
newest viceroy, James, Duke of York and Albany.

Richard Nicolls became the first Governor-General of the newly­   
captured province and dependencies. It was sometime before he   
opened correspondence with the proprietor of Martha's Vineyard.   
Mayhew says he had "noe Newes of either" Gorges or Stirling, after   
securing his patents, "till his Ma'ties Commissioners came over," and   
then John Archdale, brother-in-law to Ferdinando Gorges, came to see   
him, armed with a printed paper, wherein his majesty most strongly   
confirmed "Ferdynando Gorges Esquire to be Lord of the Province   
of Maine." Further, states Mayhew, Archdale informed him that   
Nicolls laid claim to the islands in behalf of the Duke, but that con­   
flicting claims would be adjusted at the first meeting of the com­   
missioners.

In the winter of I 664-6 *5* Archdale repaired to New York with his   
"printed paper," where he demanded Nicolls to deliver the terri­   
tories of Maine and the islands into his control. The request was   
refused.

Here matters hung fire for a number of years. During Nicolls'  
administration little was done to enforce the Duke's claim. A desul­   
tory correspondence was maintained between Nicolls and Mayhew but   
without definite results.

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In one letter to the proprietor of Martha's Vineyard, Nicolls set   
forth a lengthy order entitled "general heads of directions and   
advice," how to proceed in the administration of an Indian matter.   
Mayhew was advised that to "threaten and terrify the natives was not   
to be spared."

Considering that Nicolls had been in the New World but two   
years and a half, this offer of advice to Thomas Mayhew, who had had   
twenty years' experience in dealing with the natives and had gained   
for himself an enviable reputation as a diplomat and missionary, was   
presumptuous even for a British official imbued with the importance   
and grandeur of a royal master across the sea.

How Mayhew received this royal bull from Nicolls, who is   
described by some of the Dutch officials of New York as "so gentle,   
wise and intelligent" that they were confident and assured that under his   
wings they would "bloom and grow like the cedar on Lebanon," is not   
of record. It may be assumed that Thomas Mayhew acted in the   
premises, although perhaps not under the commission sent by Nicolls,   
as such a procedure might too easily have been construed as a recog­   
nition of the ducal authority which Mayhew was not ready to   
acknowledge.

As early as r 664, Mayhew had commented to Winthrop on the   
coming of the commissioners, saying: "I hope the effecte wilbe good,"   
modestly adding, "I see at a greate distaunce, therefore can say litle   
to it.'' As Winthrop was well acquainted with Nicolls, the island   
patentee took pains to add: "I pray, Sir, take occasion to mynde me to   
him, & to the rest of them, that they would be pleased to doe me all the   
lawfull favour they can. I have written to Mr. Samuell Maueryck my   
sellfe; whome I heare is one of them."

With the aid of Nicolls, and Maverick whose influence in obtain­   
ing American appointments was considerable, Mayhew hoped to settle   
the suzerainty of his islands. He seems to have preferred the claims   
of Gorges to those of the Duke, but for the time being he saw no   
reason why he should hurry into the fold of either lord. Stirling, he   
felt, had small claim to the islands, and the Duke no greater.

The appearance at New York of Archdale with a paper from the   
King confirming Maine to Ferdinando Gorges left the commissioners in   
a quandary. Nicolls admitted that he could make no intelligence of   
Archdale's document, which conflicted with the King's grant to the

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Duke. Archdale was in error when he prognosticated to Mayhew that   
the title paramount to the islands would be decided by the commis­   
sioners at their first meeting. The commissioners decided to leave the   
solution of the conflict to the King himself.

Nicolls, before his return to England, acknowledged to Mayhew   
"that the Power of these Islands was proper in ye Hands of Ferdi­   
nando Gorges." But the King had yet to speak.

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CHAPTER IX

THE FOREST PAUL

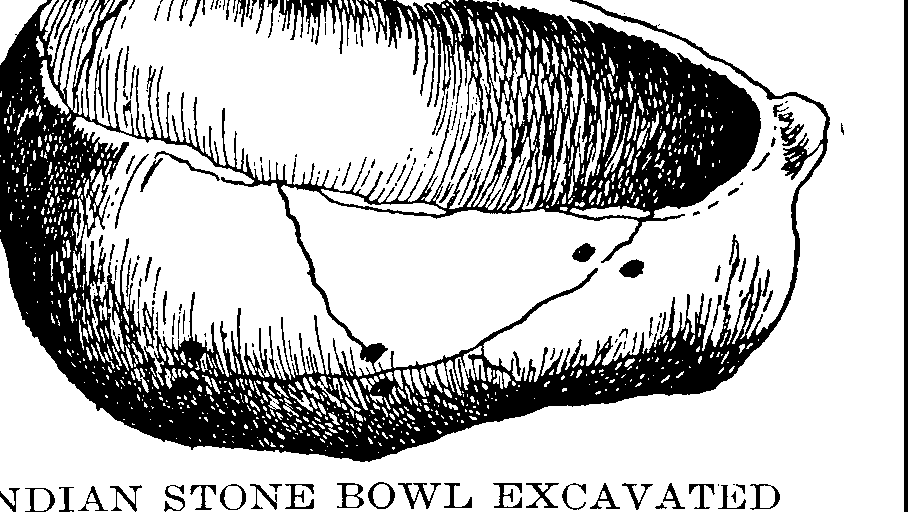
In past chapters has been recounted the life of Thomas Mayhew as   
a colonist and colonial governor. We are now to look upon another   
phase of character. Seldom is found a man whose personality can be   
so accurately divided into parts as that of the governor of Martha's   
Vineyard island. The story of one part of his life is a story of colonial   
enterprise, feudalism, and political strife; the other part an idyl of   
self-sacrifice and labor as a missionary among a humble people. Yet in   
Thomas Mayhew the two personalities were so blended as to render   
each the complement of the other, rounding out an individuality that   
was dedicated to the improvement of the Indian.

Coming to the island as a feudal lord to found a family of landed   
magnates and to better his financial condition, Thomas Mayhew found   
himself drawn by a sense of pity to the unfortunate Indian. In the   
end, every gesture and action of his life was bended, in politics or reli­  
gion, to the purpose of bettering the Indian's material and spiritual   
welfare.

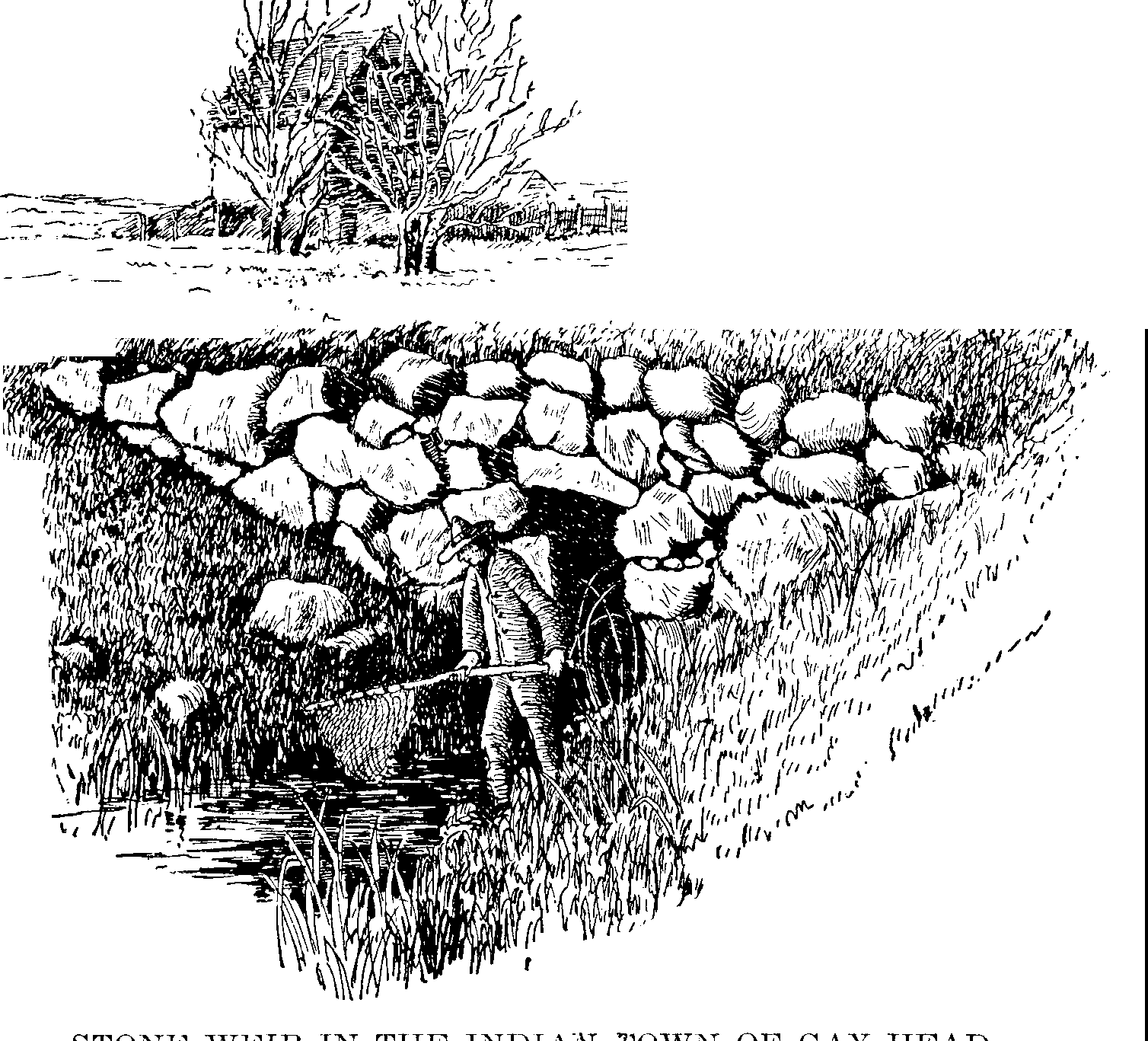
The story of Thomas Mayhew is the life story of the red-coated   
governor of an English colony who daily laid aside his sword of office   
to pursue in Indian tepees the humbler avocation of teaching the pre­   
cepts of the Prince of Peace.

In the role of missionary or governor he carried with him the dig­   
nity of a great soul. Although he slept in Indian wigwams and walked   
miles through the forests to teach his Indian subjects, he never lost his   
hold upon their respect and admiration. His dignity was not the pose   
that comes with patents from royal dukes, appendant with seals of   
state, and resounding with titles of office. It was the dignity of a soul   
ennobled by its Maker; a soul above the petty distinctions of mankind.   
Upon the basis of his life as an Indian missionary, the fame of   
Thomas Mayhew rests best. The great achievement of his life was   
not the settlement of islands or the founding of towns and villages, or   
the establishment of a government over planters. In these things he   
was preeminently successful, but the triumph which endears him to   
posterity was his administration of Indian affairs, his generous self-

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INDIAN STONE BOWL EXCAVATED   
 AT GAY HEAD



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A STONE WEIR IN THE INDIAN TOWN OF GAY HEAD

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devotion to the noble design of civilizing and Christianizing the Indian   
inhabitants within his domains. In his relations with the red man he   
achieved a success far beyond that of any other British governor in   
North America, unique in that he was the one alone to become a mis­   
sionary among them. He was a man of remarkable character and con­   
sequently lived a remarkable career. A manorial lord, a British colo­   
nial governor, he became one of the great missionaries of his day and   
one of the greatest governors in all ages to govern and pacify a savage   
race. To the Indian he was father, counselor, and ruler; "sachem,"   
as they upon occasion called him.

Missionary work at Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket was not   
begun by cajolings or force of arms. It was not maintained by peon­   
age, nor its memory perpetuated in the minds of men by the erection of   
cathedrals in the name of the Lord. It was not in the mind of Thomas   
1\fayhew to place wealth and labor in edifices dedicated to the lowly   
prince born in Bethlehem, who scorned the riches of this world. Pos­   
terity does not travel to Martha's Vineyard or Nantucket to view   
awesome monuments of the Englishman's "civilization" built by the   
sweat and labor of a subject race.

The religion of Thomas Mayhew was a religion of the heart and   
mind, not a religion of pomp and heaps of stone. By his righteous   
living and precepts, example and mental persuasions, he brought the   
children of the wilderness to the faith of the white man's God and to a   
knowledge of the white man's justice. He taught them the religion of   
love and salvation and everlasting life; and so the Indian knelt in   
prayer to God, awed by no pomp of ceremony, lulled by no strains of   
music, bedazzled not by gilt and tinseled trappings. The dwelling of   
their church was the open fields, the trees, and the birds; their music   
the lapping of quiet waters upon island shores; the rostrum of the mis­   
sionary a nearby stone; their heaven the common heaven of all righte­   
ous men, be they white, black, or red.

In later years rude buildings were constructed of wood-no less  
 houses of the Lord than cathedrals filled with gold and silver vessels.   
It was the wise advice of Lord Bacon to colonists that "If you   
plant where savages are, do not entertain them with trifles and gin­   
gles; but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard, never­   
theless; and do not win their favor by helping them to invade their  
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enemies; but for their defence it is not amiss." Save the last phrase,   
the words might well have been the counsel of Thomas Mayhew.

The labor of gospelizing the Indians at Martha's Vineyard was   
first begun by Mayhew's son, the co-patentee. Following his death   
the work was continued by the father, and he in turn was succeeded by   
his grandson John, a great-grandson Experience, and a great-great­   
grandson -Zachariah. Other members of the family preached to the   
natives upon occasion, or were empowered in government over them,   
for a period of time extending over two hundred years. For centuries   
they were rulers, teachers, and civilizers. Their service is said to be   
the longest of any one family in the annals of missionary history.

Says Alden Bradford: "The family may justly be said to have   
been a remarkable one; both on account of their efforts in Christian­   
izing the Indians, and for their personal moral worth."

The diligence, fortitude, and moral worth of the early Mayhews,   
John Eliot, the Tuppers of Sandwich, and the Bournes of Mashpee,   
have saved the English people the shame of neglect with which the   
European has been charged in Indian matters.

The problems and vicissitudes of a pioneer people left little time   
for evangelism. The struggle for existence was too intense. The   
pioneer had first to establish himself in the New World, to hew a   
home in the forest, to maintain life. Unlike the modern immigrant, he did  
 not find the comforts of civilization awaiting him on the shores of the   
New World-aid societies, travelers' bureaus, employment agencies,   
and the laws of a paternalistic government-striving to make easier   
for him life in a strange land.

Often persecuted in the home country, harried from pillar to post,   
and deprived of property by many wanderings, the pioneer had little   
time in the New World to think of civilizing the race that stood ready   
to wipe him into extinction, at the first convenient moment.

The settler left behind him the snug fields of England, where home   
meant a garden plot and a few acres of arable land, where forests were   
parks and every tree hallowed by the touch of ancestral hands, where   
every little fragment of acreage bore its ancient name, bestowed genera­   
tions before. He found himself in a howling wilderness of great   
unlimited stretches where forests were immeasurable tracts peopled by   
a race as wild and untamed as the unfamiliar beasts that gave vent to   
strange cries in the dark hours of night. With the scant tools for  
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which he had found room in the small boat that had brought him to   
America, he attempted the cultivation of rock strewn spaces. In a   
strange climate and a sterile soil he attempted the planting of Eng­   
lish crops, avoiding starvation by a diet of berries and fishes. Life was   
not a reflection of Merrie England, where precedent prestiged man's   
every move. Life had become something grim, earnest, and real.

Gentlemen did not keep fine horses and ride hounds in America.   
Hunting was not a holiday tournament. Game was not kept behind   
palisaded parks to be slaughtered in accordance with rules as detailed   
as those circumscribing the sports of the card table.

With such changes and hardships to tax his mind and ingenuity,   
with privations and anxieties besetting him on every side, the pioneer   
father found himself surrounded by a race of suspicious people, at   
times and places in open hostility. Indians were they who fired on the   
"Mayflower" Pilgrims during one of their first expeditions ashore;   
who sent into the peaceful settlement of Plymouth, mustering an army   
that was hardly more than a corporal's guard, a snakeskin of arrows as   
a challenge of war; who hired a pow-wow to make hideous the night   
with his wailings and necromancy in a · effort to bewitch the English   
out of the country. Who can blame the pioneer that his breast was   
not warmed with the ardor of missionary fervor?

The American Indian is today an unimportant minority, but for a   
number of years he was a hard-pressing majority, and few were the   
prophets in the new Canaan who would predict with any degree of   
assurance that that majority would ever be dispelled. The new-born   
Puritan church was not advantageously equipped with an order like the   
French Jesuits or Spanish Franciscans, whose unwearied efforts and fear­   
less energy and self-forgetting devotion to the interests of their orders   
and their church have left an impress upon the pages of American his­   
tory that must win the admiration of all readers of whatever faith.   
To claim that the struggling pioneer, before food and clothing had   
become secure, should have engaged in missionary work among the   
Indians that menaced his existence, is to expect a great deal of human   
nature. But such were the lofty standards prescribed by a number of   
contemporary writers secure in the warmth of their hearths in Old   
England, and such has been the cry of modern critics living in an age   
where morals have not kept pace with the tremendous growth of mate­  
rial progress in the three hundred years that have elapsed.

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It required men with the spirit of total self-sacrifice to preach the   
gospel to the Indians. Such men are few in any age. Yet, notwith­  
standing the newness of America and the relative poverty of the coun­   
try, the Indian mission at Martha's Vineyard, following close upon the  
missionary activities of the Dutch at Java, Formosa, and other islands   
in the Indian Archipelago, was one of the first Protestant missions in   
the world of more than ephemeral existence and success.

That we may better understand the work of Governor Mayhew as   
a missionary, a brief sketch of the life of his son, who ploughed the   
first furrow in propagating the gospel in New England, must of neces­   
sity be here inserted.

The Rev. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., eldest child and only son of Gov­   
ernor Mayhew, was born in Old England about the year 1620-21. The   
name of his mother is not known and few of the details of his early life   
are extant. It is supposed that he came to America with his father in   
1631 and spent his boyhood days at Medford and Watertown in the   
Massachusetts Colony.

He was "tutored up" in New England, states a contemporary   
author, by which it may be inferred that he received his education at   
the hands of private instructors. Harvard College was not opened   
until he was at an age when his education was too far advanced for him   
to matriculate at that institution. He was an early, if not the first   
student, educated in the higher branches of learning in the New World,   
and was known as New England's "young scholar." The Rev. Thomas   
Prince, writing in 1727, says of him: "He was a young Gentleman of  
liberal Education, and of such Repute for piety as well as natural and   
acquired Gifts, having no small Degree of Knowledge in the Latin and   
Greek languages, and being not wholly a Stranger to the Hebrew,"   
that he was called to the ministry at Martha's Vineyard.

With his father he became, in 1641, joint patentee of Martha's   
Vineyard, Nantucket, and the Elizabeth Islands. As a patentee he   
was leader of the planters who made the first settlement at the eastern   
end of Martha's Vineyard in 1642. His grandson, the Rev. Experi­   
ence Mayhew, speaks of this event: "In 1642 he [the elder Thomas  
Mayhew J sends Mr. Thomas Mayhew Junior his only Son, being then  
a young Scholar, about 21 years of Age, with some other Persons to   
the Vineyard, where they settled at the East End."

Soon after the establishment of Great Harbor a church society was  
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organized and the plantation's youthful leader called to its pastoral  
office. As pastor of one of the early churches of New England, he is   
ranked by modern authorities as one of the founders of the Congrega­   
tional Church in America.

He married, in I 647, Mistress Jane Paine, daughter of a prosper­   
ous London merchant, whose widow had become the elder Mayhew's   
second wife. The young bride had come into the Mayhew household   
as a child and had been raised with her future husband like a sister. In   
her mature years she proved a faithful and sacrificing helpmate.

The minister's *"English* Flock being then but small, the Sphere was   
not large enough for so bright a Star to move in. With great Com­   
passion he beheld the wretched *Natives,* who then were *several thou­   
sands* on those Islands, perishing in utter Ignorance of the *true* GOD,  
 and eternal Life, labouring under strange Delusions, Inchantments, and   
panick Fears of *Devils,* whom they most passionately worshipped."   
God, who had ordained him an evangelist for the conversion of   
these Indians, stirred him up with a holy zeal and resolution to labor   
for their illumination and deliverance. But the Indian was not eager   
to be served; with one noteworthy exception. Living near the English   
settlement was a native, called Hiacoomes. His descent was mean, his   
speech slow, and his countenance not very promising. He was looked   
on by the Indian sachems and others of their principal men as an object  
scarce worthy of their notice or regard.

Occasionally a settler would visit him in his wigwam and discourse   
with him concerning the English way of life. "A Man of sober,   
thoughtful, and ingenuous Spirit," he attended religious meetings,   
where he attracted the attention of the pastor of Great Harbor, who   
was even then contriving what he might do to effect the salvation of the   
Indian inhabitants. Writes Thomas Mayhew, Jr., "he came to visit   
our habitations and publike meetings, thinking that there might be bet­   
ter wayes and means amongst the English, for the attaining of the   
blessings of health and life, then could be found amongst themselves:   
Yet not without some thoughts and hopes of a higher good he might   
possibly gain thereby." Mayhew's compassion was aroused by the   
wistful eagerness of the simple Hiacoomes. He took pains to pay   
particular notice of him and to discourse with him as often as possible.   
He invited him to his house each Sunday night and instructed him in  
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the principles of the Christian religion, with such success that in 1643   
the conversion of Hiacoomes had become an accomplished fact.

Before the conversion of Hiacoomes a few isolated instances are of   
record of an occasional Indian professing an interest in the white man's   
religion. Report is made of an Indian in Plymouth Colony who as   
early as I 622 was induced, by the prompt reply of Heaven to the   
white man's prayers for rain, to seek a better knowledge of the new   
God, palpably in the interests of better and more frequent rains. The   
thirst of this novitiate appears-to have been more scientific and agrarian   
than theological.

Shortly after the arrival of the English in the Massachusetts   
Colony, a chief known to the settlers as Sagamore John, contracted an  
affection for Christianity concurrent with an attack of the smallpox.

A Pequot Indian named Wesquash was so impressed by the destruc­

tion of his tribe by the military genius of the English soldier that he   
importuned the Christians to make him acquainted with their God,   
whom he pictured the militant God of the Jews of old. Having   
become, as was supposed, says the chronicler, a sincere convert, this   
poor Indian died of poison given him, it is charged, by fellow-savages   
incensed by his deflection from the gods of their fathers. This is the   
nearest approach to an actual conversion known prior to the unqualified   
and well authenticated acceptance of the new faith by Hiacoomes.

In all three cases no real conversion to religion appears; only an   
expressed desire to become better acquainted with the force that   
endowed the white man with superior knowledge. Baptism was not   
administered.

It remained for Hiacoomes to become the first Indian convert to   
Christianity in New England, and the first American Indian to be   
ordained a clergyman.

At Martha's Vineyard was turned the first furrow in New England   
by an Englishman in the missionary field among the Indians. This was   
three years before similar labors were begun on the mainland by the   
great John Eliot.

Eliot first successfully preached to the Indians on the 28th of Octo­   
ber, 1646, in a wigwam at a place afterwards called Nonatum. A few   
weeks prior he had made an unsuccessful effort at Dorchester Mill. In   
the year of these efforts Thomas Mayhew, Jr., addressed his first pub­   
lic concourse of size, having for a number of years used Hiacoomes as  
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an "Instrument" to spread the seeds of the gospel. As early as 1644   
Mayhew had begun to "visit and discourse them *himself,"* going some­   
times to the houses of those he esteemed most rational and well quali­   
fied, and at other times treating with particular persons.

In the many letters of John Eliot and those written by persons   
interested in his labors, there is no evidence of the conversion of an   
Indian before the meeting of I 646.

The great successes that crowned the efforts of Thomas Mayhew,   
Jr., as a missionary sprang from his judicious interest in his first con­   
vert, Hiacoomes, who growing in faith "now earnestly desired to learn   
to read," writes the Rev. Experience Mayhew, "and having a primer   
given him, he carried it about with him till, by the help of such as were   
willing to instruct him, he attained the end for which he desired it."   
At first these actions brought down upon Hiacoomes the scorn of his   
fellow-countrymen, who "set up a great laughter" at their apostate   
neighbor pacing the paths of the forests, book in hand, as a priest paces   
a churchyard walk. Upon meeting him they would scoff: "Here comes   
the Englishman.''

One detractor, Pohkehpunnassoo, is quoted as having said to Hia­   
coomes: "I wonder that you, that are a young man, and have a wife   
and two children, should love the English and their ways, and forsake   
the Pawwaws. What would you do if any of you were sick? Whither   
would you go for help? If I were in your case, there should nothing   
draw me from our gods and Pawwaws."

Pohkehpunnassoo upon another occasion struck Hiacoomes "a   
grievous blow in the face" for saying that he was gladly obedient to   
the English in things both civil and religious. Of this incident Hia­   
coomes said: "I had one hand for injuries and another hand for God;   
and while I received wrong with the one, I laid the faster hold on God   
with the other." Hiacoomes' attacker, who was a sagamore, later   
became a convert. Before his conversion he was smitten with light­   
ning "and fell down in appearance dead, with one leg in the fire, being   
grievously burned before any of the people were aware of it." He   
as indeed a brand plucked from the fire.

Another native unfriendly to the new religion, asking Hiacoomes   
how many gods the English worshipped and being answered one,   
reckoned up thirty-seven principal gods worshipped by the Indians and   
said: "Shall I throw away these thirty-seven gods for one?"

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It was indisputable that the Indian gods were mathematically supe­   
rior to the divinity worshipped by the English; nevertheless, the labors   
of Mayhew continued to bear fruit, largely through the teachings of   
Hiacoomes, prompted by the clergyman. The poet Whittier has pic­   
turesquely, but not the less accurately, spoken of Hiacoomes as the   
Forest Paul of his people.

Diligently Hiacoomes continued to spread the lessons taught him   
at many Sunday evening conferences in the minister's house at Great   
Harbor. The Indians marveled that Hiacoomes, who formerly had   
been considered of little consequence among them and had had nothing  
 to say at their meetings, was now the teacher of them all.

The Indians, having many calamities fallen upon them about this   
time, laid the cause of all their wants, sicknesses, and death upon their   
departure from their old heathenish ways. In one year a strange dis­   
ease came amongst them. The Indians ran "up and down till they   
could run no longer, they made their faces as black as coale, snatched   
up any weapon, spake great words, but did not hurt." Only Hiacoomes   
held out against the belief that Christianity was the cause of all the ills   
of his race and continued his care about the things of God.

In 1646 a general sickness swept over Martha's Vineyard, but this   
time it was observed by the superstitious Indians that those among them   
who had harkened to the missionary's "pious Instructions" did not   
taste so deeply of the plague, while Hiacoomes, whom they had scoffed   
as an "Englishman," entirely escaped its ravages. They were amazed   
by the fact that one of their number who had repudiated the powwows   
should escape illness, while the orthodox were stricken. Improved sani­   
tary conditions among the Christianized Indians and a fear of disease   
on the part of the pagans, which lowered their powers of resistance,   
may account in part for the phenomenon.

Whatever the cause, a deep impression on the Indians was the out­   
come. Hiacoomes was sent for by M yoxeo, the chief man of a village   
of Indians, and by T owanqua tick, a "sovereign Prince," to disclose to   
them all that he knew and did in the ways of God. The great men of   
the island, who had scorned Hiacoomes when a pagan, received him   
with respect as a Christian teacher. At this meeting many Indians   
were "gathered together." Hiacoomes "shewed unto them all things   
he knew concerning God the Father, Sonne and Holy Ghost." He   
told them that he feared not the thirty-seven principal Indian gods, yet

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was preserved; that he feared the great God only, and worshipped   
Him. He reckoned up to them many of their sins, as having many   
gods and going to the powwows. For the first time the Indians seemed   
sensible of having sin; formerly they had thought of sin as something   
not nearly concerning them, but somebody else. The chief result of   
the meeting was the conversion of l\1yoxeo, who appears to have been   
the first of the chief men of the Island to become a Praying Indian.   
Hiacoomes and Myoxeo-the lowly and the high-within three years   
of each other had seen the Light.

Soon after this event, Towanquatick, encouraged by other pagan   
Indians, invited Mr. Mayhew to give a public meeting in person, to   
make known to the Indians the word of God.

Said Towanquatick to the missionary: "You shall be to us as one   
that stands by a running river, filling many vessels; even so shall you   
fill us with everlasting knowledge."

It is an interesting insight into human nature to know that as long   
ago as I 647 the degeneracy of the younger generation was lamented   
among the Indians just as it is today in other quarters. In what May­   
hew identifies as "an Indian Speech worthy of consideration," the old   
sachem recounted: "That a long time agon, they had wise men which   
in a grave manner taught the people knowledge, but they are dead, and   
their wisdome is buried with them: and now men lead a giddy life in   
ignorance, till they are white headed, and though ripe in years, yet they   
go without wisdome unto their graves." He wondered how the   
Indians could be fools.still, when the English had been thirty years in   
the country, to give them good example.

The meeting held with Towanquatick and his braves was the first   
held in a public forum by the missionary, who theretofore had confined   
his preaching to individual Indians or to small groups kindly disposed   
to the new way.

The conversion of Towanquatick, a nobleman, was the cause of   
much encouragement to the missionary for, on the Vineyard as else­   
where, the native ruling class was jealous of the influence of the new   
religion that threatened to wreck their power over a tribute paying   
peasantry. The introduction of Christianity among the Indians had   
the tendency to mitigate the arbitrary rule and oppression of the   
sachems. The humble Indian learned from the white man something   
of the laws of natural right. He was content no longer to live in a  
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generally he spent more time *after sermon* in reasoning with them than   
*in sermon;* whereby I must tell my reader, it came to pass that their   
religion was as well in *head* as *heart."*

It had been Mayhew's intent to give the Indians a meeting in per­   
son once a month, but after the first meeting the Indians, thirsting for   
knowledge, desired that he preach to them oftener than he could well   
attend, so he determined to give them audience once a fortnight, and   
upon other occasions that they should be attended by Hiacoomes.

To these lectures came men, women, and children. The mission­   
ary would open services with a prayer, then he would preach, catechize,   
and close by singing a psalm, all in their own language.

The missionary, continues Matthew Mayhew, "is incessant" in his   
labor, "he spares not his body by night nor day; lodges in their houses,   
proposes such things to their consideration he thinks firstly requisite,   
solves all their scruples and objections, and tells them they might   
plainly see, it was in good will for their good, from whom he expected   
no reward; that he sustained so much loss of time, and endur'd wet and   
cold.''

Says another writer: **"**Histalent lay in a sweet affable way of   
conversation" that won the affections of his wild converts.

"He treats them in a condescending and friendly manner. He   
denies himself, and does his utmost to oblige and help them. He takes   
all occasions to show the sincere and tender love and goodwill he bore   
them; and as he grows in their acquaintance and affection, he proceeds   
to express his great concern and pity for their *im.mortal souls.* He   
tells them of their deplorable condition under the power of malicious   
devils, who not only kept them in ignorance of those earthly good   
things which might render their lives in this world much more com­   
fortable, but also of those which might bring them to eternal happiness   
in the world to come-what a kind and mighty god the English serve,   
and how the Indians might come into his favor and protection."

Numerous obstacles, however, impeded the progress of the mission.   
Many of the Indians objected to the new religion saying that their own   
meetings, ways, and customs associated with dance and song, incanta­   
tions and gymnastics w re to them more advantageous and agreeable   
than the sober ritual of the English, who had nothing to offer but "talk­   
ing and praying." Others feared the sagamores, who generally were   
against the new way. There were three things that the Indians gen-

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erally inquired into. They wanted to know what earthly riches they   
would get by becoming Christians; how the sagamores and rulers   
would look at it; and what the powwows would do. Greatest of all   
was the fear of the anger of the powwows who bewitched enemies and   
unbelievers. This was the strongest cord that bound the Indian to   
to the old order.

The powwows by their diabolical sorceries kept the Indian in a   
slavish state of fear and subjection. In many places and in many   
tongues, earthly priests have professed strange powers from above   
over the destination of man's soul in its eternal flight.

We are glad to learn that the persecution of heretics is not an   
attribute of Christianity alone, for we are told that the sagamore   
Towanquatick was exceedingly maligned by the powwows for his devia­   
tion from the Indian faith and that "in 1647 his Life was villainously   
attempted for his favouring the *Christian* Religion: but his great   
Deliverance . . . . inflamed him with the more active Zeal to espouse   
and assert it."

This incident was reported by Thomas Mayhew, Jr., in these   
words:

We had not long continued the meeting, but the Sagamore *Towan­   
quatick* met with a sad tryal, for he being at a Weare where some   
Indians were a fishing, where also was an English man, as he lay   
along upon a matt on the ground asleep, by a little light fire, the night   
being very dark, an Indian came down, as being ready fitted for the   
purpose, and being about six or eight paces from him, let flie a broad   
headed arrow, purposing by all probability to drench the deadly arrow   
in his heart blood, but the Lord prevented it; for notwithstanding all   
the advantages he had, instead of the heart he hit the eye-brow, which   
like a brow of steele turned the point of the arrow, which, glancing   
away, slit the top of his nose to the bottome. A great stirre there was   
presently, the Sagamore sate up, and bled much, but was not much   
hurt through the mercy of God; the darknesse of the night hid the   
murtherer, and he is not discovered to this day. The next morning I   
went to see the Sagamore, and I found him praising God for his great   
deliverance, both himself and all the Indians, wondering that he was   
yet alive. The cause of his being shot, as the Indians said, was for   
his walking with the English; and it is also conceived, both by them   
and us that his forwardnesse for the meeting was one thing, which   
(with the experience I have had of him since) gives me matter of   
strong perswasion that he beares in his brow the markes of the Lord   
Jesus.

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Another Indian had news "often brought to him that his life was   
laid in wait for, by those that would surely take it from him, they   
desired him therefore with speed to turn back again; The man came to   
me [Thomas Mayhew, Jr.] once or twice, and I perceived that he was   
troubled, he asked my counsel about removing his Habitation, yet told   
me, That if they should stand with a sharp weapon against his breast,   
and tell him that they would kill him presently, if he did not turn to   
them, but if he would, they would love him, yet he had rather lose his   
life than keep it on such terms; for (said he) when I look back on my   
life as it was before I did pray to God, I see it to be wholly naught,   
and do wholly dislike it, and hate those naughty waies; but when I   
look on that way which God doth teach me in his Word, I see it to be   
wholly good; and do wholly love it."

"Blessed be God that he is not overcome by these temptations,"   
concludes Mayhew.

Christian meetings went on "to the Joy of some *Indians,* and the   
Envy of the rest, who derided and scoffed at those who attended the   
Lecture, and blasphemed *the* God whom they worshipped."

In the year 1648 was held a great convention. At this meet­   
ing there was in attendance a "Mixed Multitude, both of *Infidel* and   
*Christian* Indians, and those who were in doubt of Christianity."

In this Assembly the dreadful Power of the *Pawaws* was publickly  
debated, many asserting their Power to hurt and kill, and alledging   
numerous instances that were evident and undoubted among them: and   
then some asking aloud, Who is there that does not fear them? *Others   
reply' d, There is not a man that does not.*

Now it was that Hiacoomes rose to his feet and facing the great   
concourse, defied the Indian gods, challenging, "tho the Pawaws might   
hurt those that feared them, yet he believed and trusted in the GREAT   
GOD of Heaven and Earth, and therefore all the Pawaws could do him   
no Harm, and he feared them not."

The awed multitude gazed upon the speaker, awaiting the wrath of   
thirty-seven gods to descend. Minutes passed, but nothing came. At   
which the Indians "exceedingly wondered," and observing that Hia­   
coomes remained unhurt, began to esteem him happy in being delivered   
from the terrible power of the powwows.

In casting aside the prejudies of yesterday for the light of a new   
day, the lowly Hiacoomes in his speech reached heights attained by few

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men. The episode of Hiacoomes braving the time honored supersti­   
tions of his race and defying the beliefs of generations in demons and   
spirits that struck anathema to unbelievers is worthy the poet's song.

One wonders, with material of this sort upon which to draw, that   
the cherry tree traditions of our country could have so long endured.

The spell of the powwows weakened, several of the assembly took  
courage to profess that they too now believed in the white man's God   
and would fear the powwows no more. They desired Hiacoomes to   
tell them what this great God would have them do, and what were the   
things that offended him. Hiacoomes responded promptly with a list   
of forty-five or fifty sorts of sins committed by the Indians, "and as   
many contrary *Duties* neglected"-or sins of omission-which so   
"amazed" and touched their consciences that by the end of the meeting   
twenty-two novitiates were added to the number of converts, among   
whom was Momonequem, a son of one of the principal Indians, who in   
after time became a preacher.

In this connection it is of interest to note that many of the most   
persevering converts were young men of good family whose minds had   
not been hardened by precedence.

Momonequem was one such convert. It was he who in r 6*5* I accom­   
panied the Rev. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., to Boston, where he was inter­   
viewed by the celebrated Rev.John Wilson, pastor of the First Church   
in that town, by whom he is described as "a grave and solemn Man,   
with whom I had serious discourse, Mr .. *M ahewe* being present as   
Interpreter between us, who is a great proficient both in knowledge and   
utterance, and love, and practice of the things of Christ, and of Reli­   
gion, much honoured and reverenced, and attended by the rest of the   
*Indians* there, who are solemnly Covenanted together, I know not how   
many, but between thirty or forty at the least."

Mayhew tells us that when Momonequem's wife was suffering   
three days in travail, Momonequem refused the "Help of a Pawwaw   
who lived within two Bow-shot of his door," but waited "patiently on   
God till they obtained a merciful Deliverance by Prayer." It is not   
known what Momonequem's wife thought of this exemplification of   
faith without works, but probably it did not matter as women were of   
no great importance in the seventeenth century, particularly among   
the Indians.

When reports of Hiacoomes' defiance of the powwows reached  
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them, the entire island priesthood became greatly enraged. The   
gauntlet which had been cast at them was accepted, and they threatened  
 the utter destruction of Hiacoomes.

A powwow, very angry and loud, broke in upon a meeting one   
Sunday, where Hiacoomes was preaching, and challenged the converts   
with the taunt: "I know all the meeting Indians are liars; you say   
you don't care for the Pawwaws." Then calling two or three of them   
by name, he railed at them, and told them they were deceived, for the   
powwows could kill all the Praying Indians if they set about it.

Hiacoomes retorted that he put all the powwows under his heel,   
pointing to it; that he could stand in the midst of all the powwows on   
the island with safety and without fear, and they could do him no harm   
for he would remember Jehovah.

For a considerable time Hiacoomes was the especial object of the   
sorceries of the powwows. Every trick of their craft was used by them   
in their effort to disable him, but to no avail. Hiacoomes was immune   
to the psychological bugaboos of the pagan priests, one of whom later   
confessed in public of having often employed his god, who appeared   
unto him in the form of a snake, to kill, wound, or lame Hiacoomes.   
His efforts proving ineffectual, he began to seriously consider Hia­   
coomes' assertion that the Christian God was greater than the gods he   
served, and in time resolved to worship the Englishman's God with   
Hiacoomes.

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CHAPTER X

THE FOREST PAUL-- (PART II)

The Rev. Thomas Mayhew was quick to improve the advantage   
offered by the downfall of the powwows. He increased his ministra­   
tions, sparing neither health nor fatigue as he traveled many times   
about the island by foot to preach at various Indian villages.

In smoky wigwams at night, by the flickering light of a tent fire,   
he would relate to a throng of primitive children the ancient stories of   
the Bible; the birth of Christ in a manger in far off Bethlehem, the   
ascent to the mount of Calvary, the sacrifice that purged man of his   
sins and gave him everlasting life.

And the Indians listened in wonder, and only when the night was   
far gone and the fire had burned itself into bright red bits of log and   
smoldering timber, and the cold, damp air of morning had pressed in   
upon their consciousness, would the assembly break up; the listeners   
in little knots stealing forth in the darkness to their hovels, speaking   
to each other in lowered voices of the white man's God and the amaz­   
ing tales they had heard.

The labors of Thomas Mayhew, Jr., on the Vineyard and John   
Eliot on the continent now began to attract the attention of persons of   
wealth in England, who were encouraged to advance money for the   
propagation of the gospel among the Indians. Interest abroad had   
been aroused by letters written by the missionaries describing the   
nature and progress of their work. The first letter written by May­   
hew was dated November 18, 1647, and was published in London in   
1649, in a tract entitled "Glorious Progress of the Gospel."\*

Matthew Mayhew refers to this quickening of English philan­   
thropy: "Thus Mr. *11,fayhew* continu'd his almost inexpressible labour   
and viligant care for the good of the *Indians,* whom he justly esteemed   
his joy and crown: and having seen so great a blessing on his faithful   
endeavours in the making known the name of his Lord among these   
Gentiles, with indefatigable pains, expecting no reward but alone from   
him, who said, *go teach all nations: lo, I am with you:* God moved the  
  
\*Other letters appear in "The Light Appearing," etc., pub. 1651;   
"Strength Out of Weaknesse," etc., pub.. 1652; and "Tears of Repentance,"   
etc., pub. 1653.

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hearts of some godly Christians in *England* to advance a considerable   
sum for encouraging the propagating and preaching the gospel to the   
*Indians* of *New England."*

At first these contributions were individual in character, but as   
reports continued to show satisfactory results, the patrons of the work   
decided that it would be wiser to unite their efforts and so there was   
passed by the Long Parliament, July 27, 1649, an act establishing a   
corporation for the propagation of the gospel in New England, consist­   
ing of a president, treasurer, and fourteen assistants, called "the Presi­   
dent and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England."  
 By direction of Oliver Cromwell a general fund amounting to   
thousands of pounds was raised throughout England and Wales for the  
benefit of this corporation, and invested in real estate. The corpora­   
tion had the distinction of being the only Protestant missionary society  
in the world.

Supervision of the society's work in New England was intrusted to   
the Commissioners of the United Colonies, who agreed to act as local   
agents for the corporation in the management of its affairs and in the   
distribution of its funds.

The work of Thomas Mayhew, Jr., came under the patronage of   
this society some time before 1654, largely through the intervention   
of the Rev. Henry Whitfield.

About the end of the summer of 1650 this gentleman, who was   
pastor of the church at Guilford, Connecticut, while on a voyage to   
Boston in order to take passage to England, was obliged to put in at   
the Vineyard, by reason of contrary winds. "There he tells us he   
found a small Plantation, and an *English* Church gathered, whereof   
this Mr. *1\1ayhew* was Pastor; that he had attained a good Under­   
standing in the *Indian* Tongue, could speak it well, and had laid the   
first Foundations of the Knowledge of CHRIST among the Natives   
there, by preaching, &c.''

Mr. Whitfield spent ten days on the island. His writings preserve   
an excellent account of Thomas Mayhew's mission. He spoke with   
Hiacoomes, Mr. Mayhew acting as interpreter, unto all of which Hia­   
coomes gave him "a very good satisfactory and Christian answer." He   
attended the young missionary to a private Indian meeting where one   
young Indian, he reports, prayed a quarter of an hour, and the next   
day to the Indian lecture, where Thomas Mayhew, Jr., preached and  
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then catechized the Indian children, who answered "readily and mod­   
estly in the Principles of Religion; some of them answered in the   
English and some in the Indian tongue."

Says Whitfield:

Thus having seen a short model of his way, and of the paines he   
took, I made some inquiry about Mr. Mahu himself, and about his   
subsistance, because I saw but small and slender appearance of outward   
conveniences of life, in any comfortable way; the man himself was   
modest, and I could get but little from him; but after, I understood   
from others how short things went with him, and how he was many   
times forced to labour with his own hands, having a wife and three   
small children which depended upon him, to provide necessaries for   
them; having not halfe so much yeerly coming in, in a settled way, as   
an ordinary labourer gets there amongst them. Yet he is chearfull   
amidst these straits, and none hear him to complain. The truth is, he   
will not leave the work, in which his heart is engaged; for upon my   
knowledge, if he would have left the work, and imployed himself   
otherwhere, he might have had a more competent and comfortable   
maintenance.

So labored Thomas Mayhew, Jr**.,** co-proprietary of sixteen islands,   
and son of an English governor. He could easily have overcome his   
slender subsistence had he directed his talents to the buying and selling   
and farming of great tracts of land. But had he done so his name   
would not today be reverenced. He would have been only another   
large planter or prosperous business an, honored in life and unsung in   
death.

He had been in correspondence abroad for a number of years, yet   
his modesty forbade his mentioning his own circumstances. Thus it   
was that the English merchants who had been so liberal with money   
for the Indians had overlooked the missionary who was plowing in the   
Vineyard of God and who had established the first English mission to  
the Indians of America.†

Thomas Mayhew, Jr., knew not the slogan "it pays to advertise."   
He made no effort to "educate" the public in what he was doing. He   
did not spend thousands of dollars in advertising before he had con­   
verted a single Indian. He had no chest, no campaign manager, no   
staff of two-minute speakers dignified with military rank-colonels,

† During the stay of the colonists at Roanoke in Virginia, Thomas   
Heriot, the scientist and philosopher, propounded the Bible to the Indians.   
Manteo in 1587 and later Pocahontas became Christians. A permanent   
mission appears not to have been conducted.   
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majors, and captains-he held no luncheons, but he *did convert* Indians,   
which was his goal, and for which task he conserved all his talents and   
energy.

His methods were not businesslike, they lacked organization, but   
they were lovable. They can be appreciated *even* by gentlemen dedi­   
cated to the task of picturing Jesus Christ as a salesman "selling"   
Christianity, or George Washington as America's great realtor because   
he bought and sold land on a large scale.

We shall make no effort to popularize Thomas Mayhew, Jr., as an   
American business man, because he was not. He suffered financially as   
a consequence, yet in time his merits came to be known. The Apostle   
Eliot heard of him and encouraged him to continue his work notwith­   
standing its many discouragements. He wrote to England mentioning   
the Vineyard clergyman as a young beginner who was in extreme want   
of books, and begged aid for him. It was books that Eliot thought   
the missionary was in need of, for he knew nothing of his financial   
straits. It remained for Whitfield to ferret out the facts.

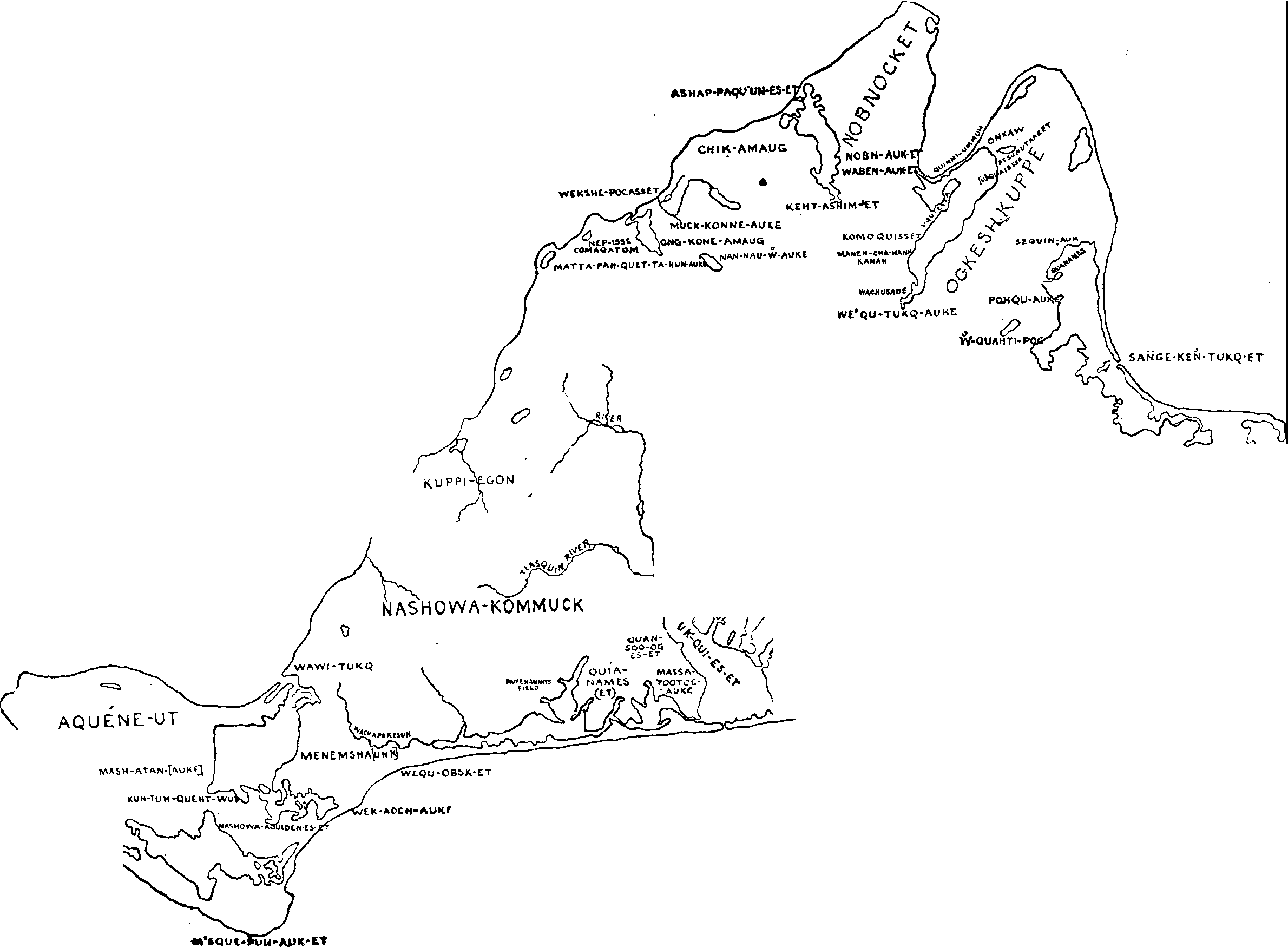
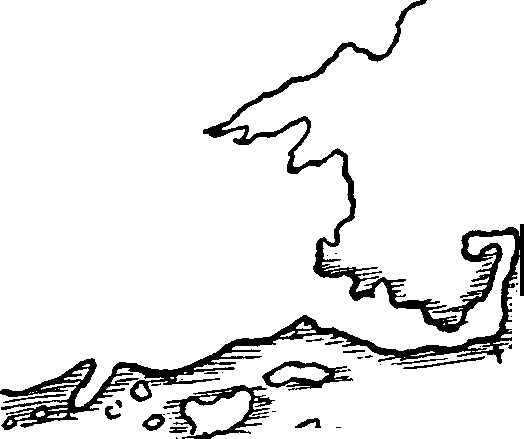
In the year that Whitfield published his book, "The Light Appear­   
ing," the commissioners of the United Colonies wrote Mayhew as fol­   
lows, evidently upon orders of the society in England:

NEW-HAVEN Sep: 12: 1651.

SIR:-- We have heard of the blessing God hath bestowed on youer  
 labours in the Gospel amongst the poore Indians and desire with thank­   
fulness to take notice of the same, and from the appearance of these   
first fruits to bee stirred up to seeke unto and waite upon the lord of   
the harvist that hee would send more labourers with the former and   
latter showers of his sperit that good corn may abundantly Spring up  
 and this barren Wildernes become a frutfull feild yea the garden  
 of God: and that wee might not bee wanting in the trust commit­  
 ted to us for the furtherance and incoragement of this work wee  
 thought good to let you understand ther is paid by the Corporacon in   
London £30 for part of Mr Gennors librarye and as they informe us   
a Catalogue of the bookes sent over ( which is for youer encorage­   
ment) . Wee hope you have Received of els desire you would looke   
after them from Mr. Eliott, or any other that may have them: or if   
ther bee any eror wee desire to heare itt: there are some houes and   
hatchetts sent over for the \_Indians encorragement of which youer   
Indians may have pt 1f you thmk meet, and bee pleased to *give* them a   
note to Mr Rawson of Boston of what shalbe needful for their use   
especially those that may bee most willing to laboure: wee alsoe are

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OF MARTHA'S VINEYARD SHOWING INDIAN NAMES

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informed there is an £100 given by some of Exeter towards this worke   
of which some pt to youer selfe, but know not the quantitie: wee   
should bee glad to heare how the work of God goes on amongst them   
with you that soe wee might enforme the Corporation in England, and   
have our harts more inlarged to God for them, soe with our best   
Respects wee Rest

As far as can now be ascertained, this was the first remuneration   
received by Thomas Mayhew, Jr., in the eight years of his service as   
an Indian missionary. It had taken the English philanthropists and   
the commissioners of the United Colonies a long time to discover the   
unassuming missionary on the lonely island.

Prospects were now brighter for the successful maintenance of the   
mission than ever before. In a letter addressed to Whitfield, dated   
"Great Harbour, uppon the Vineyard, October 16th, I 6*5* I," the mis­   
sionary describes the progress of his work at this time:

And now through the mercy of God [ writes he] there are an hun­   
dred and ninetie nine men women and children that have professed   
themselves to be worshippers of the great and ever living God. There   
are now two meetings kept every Lord's day, the one three miles, the   
other about eight miles off my house *Hiacoomes* teacheth twice a day   
at the nearest and *Mumanequem* accordingly at the farthest; the last   
day of the week they come unto me to be informed touching the sub­   
ject they are to handle.

This winter I intend, if the Lord will, to set up a school to teach   
the Indians to read, *viz.* the children, and also any young men that are   
willing to learne.

Shortly after the departure of Mr. Whitfield from the island there   
happened a thing "which amazed the whole island" and which greatly   
accelerated the progress of the new religion. At a public meeting of   
converts two powwows came forward and asked the privilege of join­   
ing in membership with the Praying Indians that they might "travel in   
the ways of that God whose name is Jehovah." They revealed and   
denounced the "diabolical mysteries" of their craft, and professing   
repentance, entreated God to have mercy on them for their sins and to   
teach them His way.

One of them confessed that "at first he came to be a *Pawwaw* by   
Diabolical Dreams, wherein he saw the Devill in the likenesse of four   
living Creatures; one was like a man which he saw in the Ayre, and   
this told him that he did know all things upon the Island, and what was

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to be done; and this he said had its residence over his whole body.   
Another was like a Crow, and did look out sharply to discover mis­   
chiefs coming towards him, and had its residence in his head. The   
third was like to a Pidgeon, and had its place in his breast, and was very   
cunning about any businesse. The fourth was like a Serpent, very sub­   
tile to doe mischiefe, and also to doe great cures, and these he said   
were meer Devills, and such as he had trusted to for safety, and did   
labour to rise up for the accomplishment of any thing in his diabolicall  
 craft, but now he saith, that he did desire that the Lord would free   
him from them, and that he did repent in his heart, because of his sin.   
"The other said his Conscience was much troubled for his sin, and   
they both desired the Lord would teach them his wayes, have mercy  
upon them, and pardon their sins, for Jesus Christ his sake."

It was "a great occasion of praising the Lord," concludes Mayhew,   
"to see these poor naked sons of *A dam,* and slaves to the Devil from   
their birth, to come toward the Lord as they did, with their joynts  
shaking, and their bowels trembling, their spirits troubled, and their   
voices with much fervency, uttering words of sore displeasure against   
sin and Sa tan, which they had imbraced from their Childhood with so   
much delight; accounting it also now their sin that they had not the   
knowledge of God," and that they had served the devil, the great   
enemy of both God and man, and had been so hurtful in their lives;   
and yet being very thankful that, through the mercy of God, "they   
had an opportunity to be delivered out of that dangerous condition."  
We are told that the Praying Indians greatly rejoiced at this turn   
of events, which indeed presaged a new era.

A convert about this time was Tequanonim, who was reputed "very   
notorious." That he should forsake his old ways, his friends, and his   
lucrative employment to follow the Christian faith was no small thing.   
He admitted that before his conversion he had been possessed   
"from the crowne of the head to the soal of the foot" with Pawwaw­   
nomas, or imps, not only in the shape of living creatures, as fowls,   
fishes,· and creeping things, but brass, iron, and stone. His faith in the   
efficacy of these things, living and inanimate, had been shaken by two   
things; first, conversations he had held with Thomas Mayhew, Sr.,   
who had taken occasion to discourse with him about the way of true   
happiness; and second, the fact that when his squaw was ill, the more   
he powwowed her, the sicker she became. He agreed that "since the  
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Word of God hath been taught unto them in this place, the *Pawwaws*have been much foiled in their devillish tasks, and that instead of cur­   
ing have rather killed many."

Following the conversion of Tequanonim there came pressing in   
at one lecture about fifty Indian converts. The missionary observed   
that the Indians generally came in families, the parents bringing their   
children with them, saying: "I have brought my children, too; I   
would have my children serve God with us; I desire that this son and   
this daughter may worship Jehovah." And if they were old enough to   
speak, their parents would have them say something to show their   
willingness to serve the Lord.

The new religion now became so popular that it is reported that a   
spy, sent by one of the powerful powwows of the island to the Indian   
lecture to report to him what went on among the Praying Indians,   
became a convert.

The first death among the "meeting Indians," as Thomas May­   
hew, Jr., was accustomed to call them, took away a child of Hiacoomes,   
about five days old. Hiacoomes, secure in the faith of the new reli­   
gion, was able "to carry himself well in it, and so was his wife also;   
and truly they gave an excellant example in this also, as they have in   
other things; here were no black faces for it as the manner of the   
Indians is, nor goods buried with it, nor hellish howlings over the dead,   
but a patient resigning of it to him that gave it; There were some   
English at the burial, and many Indians to whom I spake something of   
the Resurrection, and as we were going away, one of the Indians told   
me he was much refreshed in being freed from their old customes,   
as also to hear of the Resurrection of good men and their children to   
be with God."

In the spring of I 6*5* 2 occurred a noteworthy event. In that year

the Christian Indians of their own accord asked the missionary that   
they might have some method settled among them for the exercise of   
order and discipline. They expressed a willingness to subject them­   
selves to such punishments as God had appointed for those who broke   
His laws; and further requested that they might have men chosen   
among them to act with the missionary and his father to encourage   
those who "walked in an orderly manner," and to deal with those who   
did not, according to the word of God.

A day was designated for fasting and prayer and the Indians were

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assembled by the missionary. A number of converts spoke and ten or   
twelve prayed, not with a set form like children, but like men imbued   
with a good measure of the knowledge of God, their own wants, and   
the wants of others, with much affection, and many spiritual petitions   
favoring of a heavenly mind, we are told.

The missionary drew up an "Excellant Covenant" in the Indian   
language, which he read and made plain to the Indians, who with free   
consent united in it, and promised to keep it faithfully.

The covenant was as follows:

Wee the distressed Indians of the Vineyard ( or Nope the Indian   
name of the Island) That beyond all memory have been without the   
True God, without a Teacher, and without a Law, the very Servants of   
Sin and Satan, and without Peace, for God did justly vex us for our sins;   
having lately through his mercy heard of the Name of the True God,   
the Name of his Son Jesus Christ, with the holy Ghost the Comforter,   
three Persons, but one most Glorious God, whose Name is JEHOVAH:   
We do praise His Glorious Greatness, and in the sorrow of our hearts,   
and shame of our faces, we do acknowledg and renounce our great and   
many sins, that we and our Fathers have lived in, do run unto him for   
mercy, and pardon for Christ Jesus sake; and we do this day through   
the blessing of God upon us, and trusting to his gracious help, give up   
our selves in this Covenant, Wee, our Wives, and Children, to serve   
JEHOVAH: And we do this day chose JEHOVAH to be our God in   
Christ Jesus, our Teacher, our Law-giver in his Word, our King, our   
Judg, our Ruler by his Magistrates and Ministers; to fear God Him­   
self, and to trust in Him alone for Salvation, both of Soul and Body,   
in this present Life, and the Everlasting Life to come, through his   
mercy in Christ Jesus our Savior, and Redeemer, and by the might of his   
Holy Spirit; to whom with the Father and Son, be all Glory ever­   
lasting. Amen.

In choosing rulers under this covenant, the Indians made choice   
of such among them as were best approved for piety and most likely to   
suppress wickedness.

This was the beginning of the Indian church at Martha's Vineyard,   
which the senior Mayhew was to fully organize with Indian officers and   
pastor eighteen years later. By the end of October there were 282   
converts at Martha's Vineyard, not including children. Eight of these   
had been powwows who had forsaken "their diabolical Craft, and   
profitable Trade, as they held it, to turn into the ways of GOD."

Begun in obscurity, the work of the Vineyard mission was growing

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in attention. The pleas of Eliot, the publication of Mayhew's letter   
of 1647 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the   
publicity given the work by the Rev. Henry Whitfield, at length   
brought recognition of a pecuniary character. When Thomas May­   
hew, Jr., became a salaried missionary of the English society is not   
definitely known, but it would appear that it was not until 1654 that   
such a relation was established. Irregular gratuities since the visit of   
Whitfield had come from abroad. During the years of inception the   
mission had been supported entirely from the private purse of the   
Mayhews.

At the annual meeting of the commissioners of the United Colonies   
held in September of 1654 it was voted to allow Thomas Mayhew, Jr.,   
for his "pains and laboure this yeare the sume of forty pounds," and   
for a schoolmaster to the Indians and other employees the sum of ten   
pounds apiece per annum. Added to this was a gift of ten pounds to   
the missionary "to dispose to sicke weake and well deserving Indians."  
 The commissioners also appropriated money for a meetinghouse   
to be built for the Indians in response to a suggestion from Mayhew;   
allowing for that purpose "the some of forty pounds, in Iron worke,   
Nayles, Glasse and such other pay expecting the Indians should  
Improve theire labours to finish the same." A further allowance of   
eight pounds was granted for a boat "for the safe passage of youer   
selfe and Indians betwixt the Island and the mayne" land; it to be   
"carefully preserved and Imployed onely for the service Intended, and   
nott att the pleasure of the Indians Etc: upon other ocations."

Conditions had now radically changed. Instead of laboring upon   
private financial resources inadequate to carry on the work and handi­   
capped by personal wants, Thomas Mayhew, Jr., was the recipient of   
an annual salary from the society, quite excellent in the values of that   
day and place. The grant of salary came after many years of unre­   
munerated service, so that in the fourteen years that he labored as a   
missionary he received no more than an average yearly salary of eleven  
pounds, besides books. From this should be deducted costs paid out of   
his own pocket, and profits he could have amassed had he turned his   
thoughts to the betterment of his personal fortune and not devoted so   
much of his time to the duties of his calling.

In 16*5*6 the commissioners raised his salary to fifty pounds, and   
again allotments were made for assistants. At this time the name of

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Peter Folger appears on the pay roll of the society as .one "Imployed   
by Mr. Mayhew." The staff included two Indian interpreters,   
so-called, one of whom was Hiacoomes, a lay preacher.

In r 6*5* 7, Thomas Mayhew, Sr., was voted ten pounds, the first   
appearance of his name on the salary rolls of the society.

The status of the missionary's work at this period is summarized   
by his son: "This worthy servant of the Lord continued his painful   
labours among them until the year 1657 in which time God was pleas'd   
to give such success to his faithful and unweary'd labour that many   
hundred men and women were added to the church; such who might   
truly be said to be *holy in conversation,* and for knowledge such who   
*needed not to be taught the first principles of religion;* besides the   
many hundred looser professors."

The Vineyard mission had been in existence fourteen years, and its   
organization was well perfected. Its superintendent felt he could now   
afford the time necessary for a short voyage to England, where matters   
connected with the patrimony of his wife and her brother demanded   
attention.

The merchant father of Mistress Mayhew and Thomas Paine had   
died sometime before r 6*53,* leaving estates at Whittlebury and Greens   
Norton in Northamptonshire, one of which produced a revenue of   
one hundred forty pounds a year, a rich inheritance. Thomas Paine's   
mother, Mrs. Jane Mayhew, second wife of Governor Mayhew, had   
gone to England in I 642 "to settle her son's Right" to these estates, at   
which time a Sir William Bradshaw "challenged some interest during   
his Ladyes life, yett none to the Inheritance." A jury at Greens Nor­   
ton found the true heirs to the land to be Thomas Paine, then under   
age, and Thomas Mayhew, Jr., as husband of Jane Paine.

How much of this estate was ever realized is uncertain. As late   
as 1646, and again in the following year, Thomas and Jane Mayhew   
executed powers of attorney to Captain Robert Harding, of Boston, to   
lease lands in Whittlebury. The distant residence of the Paine heirs   
and the unsettled conditions of the time make it problematic whether   
the full revenues of these properties ever found their way into the pos­   
session of their colonial claimants.

Thomas Mayhew, Jr., in 1656, had asked permission of the com­   
missioners to make the voyage, but they assuring him "that a worke of   
higher consideration would suffer much by his soe long absence advised  
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him to send som other man." Permission, however, was granted the   
following year, induced by the fact that one of the purposes of the   
clergyman in making the trip was that he might give the English peo­   
ple a better idea of the progress of missionary work in America than he   
could do by letter "and to pursue the most proper Measures for the   
further Advancement of Religion among them."

In order to strikingly illustrate the progress of the gospel among   
the Indians and the effect of education on them, the missionary resolved   
to take with him one of his converts, a young native preacher who had   
been brought up by him in his own house. Naturally the intended   
departure of the missionary with one of their number aroused the   
greatest interest and excitement o-f the Indians.

The missionary's own projected absence was mourned in advance   
by his native flock, who could not easily bear his absence even so short   
a distance as Boston before they longed for his return.

Before his embarkation, Thomas Mayhew, Jr., arranged a fare­   
well meeting with his native flock, and the legend is that he went to   
the place of the most distant assembly, where was held a service of   
worship and song, and where he gave his converts a parting precept to   
be steadfast in his absence. His faithful followers, loathe to leave   
him, followed him in his journey to the east end of the island, their   
numbers increasing at each meeting place until they neared the spot on   
the "Old Mill Path," since known in song and story as the "Place on   
the Way-side," where had gathered hundreds of Indians in anticipa­   
tion of his return to meet with them. "Here a great combined service   
was held, and the simple children of this flock heard their beloved shep­   
ard give a blessing to them and say the last sad farewells to them indi­   
vidually and as a congregation. It was a solemn occasion, long held in   
memory by all who participated."

It was the last service for the Indians ever held by Thomas May­

hew, Jr. Shortly after, he embarked for London. Says Daniel Gookin,   
"in the month of November, Mr. Mayhew, the son, took shipping at   
Boston, to pass for England, about some special concerns, intending to   
return with the first opportunity; for he left his wife and children at   
the Vineyard: and in truth his heart was very much in that work, to   
my knowledge, I being well acquainted with him. He took his pas­   
sage for England in the best of two ships then bound for London,   
whereof one James Garrett was master. The other ship whereof John

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Pierce was commander, I went passenger therein. . . . . Mr. Gar­   
rett's ship, which was about four hundred tons, had good accommoda­   
tions greater far than the other: and she had aboard her a very rich   
lading of goods, but most especially of passengers, about fifty in num­   
ber; whereof divers of them were persons of great worth and virtue,   
both men and women; especially Mr. Mayhew, Mr. Davis, Mr. Ince,   
and Mr. Pelham, all scholars, and masters of arts, as I take it, most   
of them."

The ship cleared from Boston and headed for Old England with   
its "precious cargo," including Mr. Mayhew, his brother-in-law, and   
Indian convert; never to be heard of again.

It is not known what disaster befell the youthful clergyman. Only   
can it be said that his ship became long overdue, while her companion   
ship reached its destination in safety. Weeks passed into months while   
the clergy of England and the patrons of the Society for the Propaga­   
tion of the Gospel waited expectantly for the arrival of the renowned   
missionary from the wilds of America with his Indian convert.

Hope in time gave way to fear. Word was returned to the Vine­   
yard that Master Garrett and his ship was missing.

It became common opinion on both sides of the .Atlantic that the   
missionary would never again be seen. But the missionary's father, as   
late as August of the following year, wrote: "I cannot yett give my   
sonnes over." In his heart lingered hope that they had been captured   
by pirates and held for ransom, or had perhaps been cast ashore upon   
some strange land to return in after years, to the joy and amazement   
of all their kin.

Anxiously the old man scanned the seas from the shore of his island   
home for the ship that might bring news of his missing son and step­   
son. Prayers choked his throat as each succeeding vessel whose white   
sails gladdened his weary eyes came to anchor in the harbor off his   
house. But none of them brought the news he yearned. The hopes of   
the old patriarch died at last. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., "the young   
Christian warrior," was the first of hundreds of Vineyard sons to perish   
at sea.

Whether he died in some great ocean cataclysm, whether storm or   
iceburg struck his ship and foundered it, or whether it was boarded and   
captured by the crew of some pirate vessel and its passengers put to the   
sword, while its sister ship raced on ahead out of sight and sound, will   
never be known.

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Contemporary writers refer to the loss of Thomas Mayhew, Jr.,   
with sorrowing words. His fellow-worker, John Eliot, in a letter pub­   
lished in London, penned the touching plaint, saying simply: "The   
Lord has given us this amazing blow, to take away my Brother May­  
 hew." The commissioners of the United Colonies referred to his   
death as a loss "which att present seemeth to be almost Irrepairable."  
 Morton, in "New England's Memorial," says: "Amongst many   
considerable passengers there went Mr. Thomas Mayhew, jun., of   
Martin's Vineyard, who was a very precious man. He was well   
skilled, and had attained to a great proficiency in the Indian language,   
and had a great propensity upon his spirit to promote God's glory in   
their conversion; whose labors God blessed for the doing of much   
good amongst them; in which respect he was very much missed   
amongst them, as also in reference unto the preaching of God's word  
amongst the English there .... the loss of him was very great."

The "Place on the Way-side" became to the Indian a hallowed   
spot. In their thoughts it was associated as the place where last they   
had seen their lost shepherd, and it is stated that the ground where he   
stood "was for all that Generation remembered with sorrow." The   
attachment of the converts was genuine, for we are told that "for many   
Years after his departure, he was seldom named without Tears."

It is a part of the legendary lore of this spot that as the Indians   
saw the form of their beloved teacher vanish into distance, and ere   
they themselves turned their heavy hearts homeward, they piled by the   
side of the trail a little heap of stones in remembrance of the place   
where they had parted with their leader with embraces and prayers,   
and many tears, as Paul's converts did with him at Miletus, when they   
"all wept sore and fell on his neck and kissed him."

To the Indian the ocean was a vast illimitable expanse whose   
mysteries and restless solitudes embosomed indescribable dangers and   
terrors. They feared the white man's sails, however wonderful, would   
fail to waft back to them their staunch and gentle friend.

When in time these fears became realized, Indians passing the trail   
dropped in memory a stone upon the sacred cairn, until in time it grew   
into an imposing heap, tribute to the scholar who had deigned to teach   
them the ways of the English and their God.

There by the wayside, the rude monument, more eloquent than the   
greatest cathedral built on blood and conquest, stood until the storms

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and winds of after generations and browsing herds gradually disman­   
tled and overthrew it.

At the place of this historic scene, on July 27, 1901, the Martha's   
Vineyard Chapter of Edgartown, Daughters of the American Revolu­   
tion, dedicated a bronze tablet, set in a large boulder, placed on top of   
the stones. "The boulder was brought from Gay Head by descendants   
of the 'poor and beloved' natives, who raised the foundations when   
passing by in generations since."

The tablet bears the following inscription:

THIS ROCK MARKS THE "PLACE ON THE WAYSIDE"   
 WHERE THE

REV. THOMAS MAYHEW, JR.,   
 SON OF GOV. MAYHEW,

FIRST PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST ON MARTHA'S VINEYARD,   
 AND THE FIRST MISSIONARY TO THE INDIANS OF NEW

ENGLAND,

SOLEMNLY AND AFFECTIONATELY TOOK LEAVE OF THE INDIANS,   
 WHO, IN LARGE NUMBERS, HAD FOLLOWED HIM DOWN

FROM THE WESTERN PART OF THE ISLAND,

BEING HIS LAST WORSHIP AND INTERVIEW WITH THEM   
 BEFORE EMBARKING FOR ENGLAND IN 1657,

FROM WHENCE HE NEVER RETURNED

NC TIDINGS EVER COMING FROM THE SHIP OR ITS PASSENGERS.   
 IN LOVING REMEMBRANCE OF HIM

THOSE INDIANS RAISED THIS PILE OF STONE, 1657-1901   
 ERECTED BY THE MARTHA'S VINEYARD CHAPTER,   
 DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

THE LAND GIVEN FOR THIS PURPOSE BY   
 CAPTAIN BENJAMIN COFFIN CROMWELL, OF TISBURY;

THE BOULDER BROUGHT FROM GAY HEAD, A GIFT  
 FROM THE RESIDENT INDIANS.

TABLET PURCHASED WITH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM MAYHEW'S   
 DESCENDANTS.

The ceremonies at the unveiling of the memorial were closed by   
greetings from an Indian deacon of the church at Gay Head.

Mr. Prince, writing in 1727, states that he himself had seen the   
rock on descending ground upon which the missionary sometimes used   
to stand and preach to the great numbers crowding to hear him: and   
that the place on the wayside where he solemnly and affectionately took   
his leave of that poor and beloved people of his was for all that genera­   
tion remembered with sorrow.

So ended the labors of the Rev. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., America's

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young and courageous scholar who, at the age of twenty-one, forswore   
the pursuit of wealth and power that he might dedicate his life to the   
advancement of an humble people.

His life was one of toil and self-sacrifice, yet at the age of thirty­   
six years he passed to immortality. He had preached in no great cathe­   
dral. He had been pastor to no parishioner of wealth or power. He   
had indulged in no eccentric means to make his name known abroad.   
Modest and self-effacing, he had embarked in missionary work among   
the Indians at his own expense, when the prospects were without hope   
of salary or reward.

In the language of his father, the spirit of Thomas Mayhew, Jr.,   
was "of God and not of man." No stone marks his grave. His monu­   
ment is in the memory of man.

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CHAPTER XI

THE PATRIARCH

When the senior Thomas Mayhew made his first visit to the Vine­   
yard in an attempt to secure an Indian deed to the territory, he is   
thought to have brought with him an interpreter from the mainland.   
Hesoon perceived the practical value of a personal knowledge of the   
native tongue and the benefits that would flow from an understanding   
of the language in harmonizing relations between the races that were   
to contend for a livelihood together. He wished for friendly rela­   
tions unstained by blood. He felt that an understanding of the Indian   
tongue would do much to promote this. He knew that prejudice is   
fostered by the sound of a strange tongue and the inability to grasp   
the psychology of an alien mind.

Both father and son applied themselves to a study of the Indian   
speech. The task was tedious and laborious. It was a disheartening   
work that had to be mastered at the outset, before much else could be   
done; a labor which discouraged many hearts less stout and deter­   
mined. Wood comments that the Indian language was hard to learn,   
few of the English being able to speak any of it, or capable of the right   
pronunciation. Jesuits returned to France unable to master its sounds,   
and Father Ralle tells of his speech being ridiculed by Indians. The   
Franciscans, of California, made no great attempt to learn the lan­   
gauge, but relied largely on interpreters.

The speech was a language which "delighted greatly" in com­   
pounding words. A word in its final state often presented a formidable   
aspect. Cotton Mather jestingly remarks that the language must have   
been growing ever since the confusion of Babel. To demonstrate its   
uncivility in a striking way, he tells us that *demons* of the invisible   
world, who could master Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, were utterly   
baffled by the Algonquin tongue.

The Indian language was a tongue the learning of which offered   
little enrichment to the student who had toilsomely floundered through   
its labyrinths of parts of speech. It had no literature worthy of the   
name, no books, no great saga to offer as a reward to the philologist   
who would master its intricacies; only a few folk stories surpassed by   
the Greeks centuries before.

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Worst of all there was no aid by which the language could be   
learned, no grammar, no written specimens from which word sounds   
could be studied, for the language was an unwritten one. The sole   
mode of procedure open to one who sought to learn it was to strain   
one's ears in an effort to catch its sense in fragmentary bits from Indian   
companions, who knew little or no English.

The language was one which had no affinity with any European   
tongue from which aid might be brought to bear. One who has mas­   
tered a foreign language under the most favorable circumstances can   
appreciate the enormity of the task which confronted the English mis­   
sionary setting out upon his study.

Experience Mayhew, one of the great philologists of the Algon­   
quin dialect, cites a few examples of the compounding length of this   
mystifying speech.

The English words, says he, *"We did strongly Love one another,*may be but one word in Indian, viz, *nummunnukkoowamonittimun­   
nonup:* So, *they strongly loved one another,* is in Indian *munnehk­  
wamontoopanek.* These indeed are Long words, and well they may   
considering how much they comprehend in them. However I will give   
you an Instance of one considerably longer, viz: *Nup-pahk-nuh-to-pe­   
pe-nau-wut-chut-chuh-quo-ka-neh-cha-nehcha-e-nin-nu-mun-nonok.* Here   
are *5*8 letters and 22 Syllables, if I do not miss count ym. The English   
of this long word is, Our well skilled Looking Glass makers. But after   
the reading of so long a word you had need be refreshed with some   
that are shorter, and have a great deal in a litle room, I will therefore   
mention some such, as *Nookoosh,* I have a Father. *N oasis,* I have a   
grandchild. *Wamontek,* Love ye one another."

The Jesuit Ralle found that to acquire a stock of words and phrases   
was of little avail. It was necessary to become acquainted with the   
idiomatic turns and arrangements of expression, which could be learned   
only by familiar intercourse with the natives day by day. It required   
close application to catch from their lips the peculiarities of their   
speech, to distinguish the several combinations of sound and to per­   
ceive the meaning they were intended to convey.

Eliot, in learning the language, hired a "pregnant witted" young   
man who "pretty well" understood English and well understood his   
own language. He then applied himself with great patience to the   
method substantially affected by Ralle, of noting carefully the dif-

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ference between the Indian and English modes of constructing words.   
Having a clue to this, he pursued every noun and verb he could think of   
through all possible variations. In this way he arrived at rules which   
he was able to apply for himself in a general manner.

The methods of these students were the methods applied to the   
task by the Mayhews. Indeed, there was no other way.

Thomas Mayhew early observed that the Indian princes on the   
islands, although they maintained their absolute power and jurisdic­  
 tion as kings, were yet bound to do certain homage to higher lords on   
the continent. "They were no great people" in number, says Matthew   
Mayhew, yet they had been wasted by wars "wherein the great *princes*of the *continent* ( not unlike *European* princes for like reasons of   
state) were not unassisting." In order to win the favor of these   
greater kings on the mainland "the balance to decide their controver­  
 sies" and to render them assistance as occasion required, the island   
sachems were impelled to do them homage and to make them annual   
presents. The island sachems were, therefore, jealous of any effort  
 on the part of the English that would still further limit their influence.   
They feared that the missionary activities of the younger Mayhew   
would result in the detachment of their subjects from their authority.   
Observing this, the senior Mayhew "judg'd it meet that *Moses* and   
*Aaron* joyn hands," the legislator and the priest. He, therefore, pru­   
dently let the sachems know that he was to govern the English which   
should inhabit the islands, "that his master was in power far above any   
of the / *ndian monarchs;* but that, as he was powerful, so was he a   
great lover of justice: that therefore he would in no measure invade   
their *jurisdictions;* but on the contrary, assist them as need requir's:   
that *religion* and *government* were distinct things. Thus in no long   
time they conceived no ill opinion of the *Christian religion,"* and the  
presence of the English.

Thomas Mayhew avoided the error committed elsewhere by offi­   
cials who, impressed by stories of native splendor in India, at first   
treated the American chiefs as kings and princes of European rank.   
He was not thereafter obliged to humor occasional affectations of royal   
dignity which, coupled with the red man's natural arrogance, made him   
difficult to handle. The Indian was best controlled by a display of dig­   
nity and great solemnity, coupled with a firm resoluteness of innate   
(but not ornate) superiority.

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*In* the work of harmonizing relations between the races and in an   
understanding of Indian psychology, Thomas Mayhew is without peer.   
Roger Williams is not his equal, nor William Penn. Williams admit­   
ted his inability to civilize the Indian, and did not even try. Neither   
soared to the heights touched by Mayhew in tutoring the undeveloped   
mind of the aborigine in the art of self-government.

Mayhew's feat of establishing Indian courts and churches and a   
military company among them, presided over by Indian judges and   
clergymen and commanded by Indian officers, should be an epoch in   
American history. Trial by jury was not the least of his triumphs   
among a people long accustomed to arbitrary and autocratic govern­   
ment. The elder Mayhew was not a translator of the Indian tongue   
like Eliot, but in the diplomatic and political aspects of Indian rela-   
tions, he out-shone that great and worthy apostle to the Indian.

There can be little doubt but that the eider's work was greatly   
facilitated by the appeal of both himself and son to the spiritual side   
of the Indian. The white man's religion exercised a strong fascination   
upon the Indian's mind. Christianity was a religion better far than   
his own. What it lacked in number of gods, it over-balanced with   
stories of prophets and warriors who reminded the Indian of his own   
men reputedly wise in council and mighty in battle.

Certain it is the early labors of the younger Mayhew had a large   
practical value. His teachings proved of immeasurable benefit to the   
settlers in the earlier days of the plantation and in later years when   
King Philip stirred the Indians of New England into a war of   
attempted extirpation.

In his administration as patentee and governor, Thomas Mayhew,   
Sr., was ready always to hear and redress native grievances. This he   
made pains to do upon first complaint to prevent ill impression from   
getting into the Indian mind that the English were favored at law.   
Whenever he had occasion to decide a cause between parties of the  
opposing races, he not only gave the Indian equal justice with the   
English, but took care to convince and satisfy the Indian suppliant that   
what he determined was right and equal.

In this way he gave the red men so fair an example of the happi­   
ness of his administration as to fill them with a strong desire to adopt   
the same form for themselves. Far from introducing any form of gov­  
ernment among them against their will, he first convinced them of the

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advantage of it, and then brought them to desire him to introduce and   
settle it.

Thomas Mayhew had early inculcated in the native the theory that

"religion and government were distinct things," that while some of   
the Indians might embrace the white man's god, they still remained   
subjects of the local sachems; but as the Indians in increasing numbers   
adopted the new religion they sought also submission to the English   
government.

By the prestige which he had attained among them, and by his

diplomacy, he was able to persuade the native rules to allow the Pray­   
ing Indians a limited form of self-government, but wisely he recognized   
the authority of the sachems under Indian custom and made no   
endeavor to entirely substitute English authority for that so long   
established. He suggested that the sachems admit the counsel of   
judicious Christian Indians among themselves, and in cases of more   
than ordinary consequence to erect a jury for trial, promising his own   
assistance to the Indian princes, whose assent was always to be   
obtained, though they were not Christians.

To this suggestion he was in time able to secure the accord of   
Indian sachems. "The Indians admired and loved him as the most   
superior person they had ever seen; and they esteemed themselves so   
safe and happy in him that he could command them anything without   
giving them uneasiness, they being satisfied that he did it because it   
was most fit and proper, and that in due time it would appear to be so."   
It did not take the patentee of Martha's Vineyard long to discover   
that the project of civilizing the Indians was so closely related to reli­   
gion that the one could not prosper without the other. From his first   
coming he had yearned to help the unfavored natives of the islands,   
destitute of nearly all the arts of life, that they might no longer live in   
fear of the witchery of powwows and the mental torment of evil spirits.   
He wished to give them courage to break away from old superstitions   
that harnessed their will power and smothered ambition, that they   
might no longer live in "carnal" state in mean and filthy hovels, and   
eke a livelihood from sea and soil that did not suffice. The problem   
was one of economics, government, and religion, all intertangled so   
that the unraveling of each thread was a delicate labor that led the  
 unraveler from one knot to another and from thread to thread. He   
accordingly at an early date gave assistance to his son in missionary

work.

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Gookin, who knew both Mayhews personally, writes:

The first instruments, that God pleased to use in this work at this   
place, was Mr. Thomas Mayhew, and his eldest son, Mr. Thomas   
Mayhew, junior. It pleased God strongly to incline the two good men,   
both the father and the son, to learn the Indian tongue of that island:   
and the minister especially was very ready in it; and the old man had   
a very competent ability in it.

These two, especially the son, began to preach the gospel to the   
Indians …. The good father, the governor, being always ready to   
encourage and assist his son in that good work, not only upon the Vine­   
yard, but upon Nantucket isle, which is about twenty miles from it;   
God's blessing in the success of their labours was and is very great.

Prior to the death of the younger Mayhew, the activities of the   
father were deemed of sufficient importance to warrant the payment to   
him of a salary by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In   
later years Mayhew himself stated that he had always carried "the   
greatest burthen" in the missionary work, even when his son was alive,   
"hardly ever free."

In a letter to the commissioners, in 1678, he states that he had been   
engaged in missionary work thirty-one years, which would carry the   
entry of this work back to the year 1647, not long after Eliot's meeting   
with the Indians on the mainland. Doubtless he had spoken of moral   
and religious problems to individual natives prior to this date.

His place, both as patentee and chief-ruler, obliged him not only to   
a frequent converse with the natives, but also to learn so much of their   
language as was needful to understand and discourse with them. And   
as he grew in this acquirement, his pious disposition and great pity for   
that miserable people lead him to improve it in taking all proper occa­   
sions to tell them of their deplorable state, and to set them in the way   
of deliverance.

His grave and majestic presence and superior station struck an awe   
into their minds, and always raised their great attention to what he   
spake.

The famous powwow, Tequanonim, a member of the native priest­   
hood, whose position gave him great power and influence, denounced   
his profession and became a Christian as early as 16*50,* as heretofore   
related, declaring that his conversion was chiefly owing to some things   
he had heard from the elder Mayhew, who had taken occasion to dis­   
course with him about true happiness and religion, which he could   
never forget.

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Thus this pious gentleman concurred with his lovely son in his   
endeavors to open the eyes of these wretched heathens, and turn them   
from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God.

In Christianizing the Indian the economic element played a promi­   
nent part. It has been a precept with missionaries of the Christian   
faith from the days of the mediaeval monks, who made their monas­   
teries schools of industry as well as· faith, that new occupations as well   
as new doctrines are essential to the civilization of the heathen. The   
outward life had to be changed as well as the inward life.

Civilization is builded upon the sustained toil of man. It was   
early perceived by the missionaries that if the Indian was to cope on an   
equal plane with the European, he must emerge from his lethargic   
state of sleep and ease. He must earn by the sweat of his brow the   
things that go to make a better material life. The spiritual life is   
seldom found in flower where the material life is filled with sloth and   
vermin.

So it was that the Christian Indian was taught to live as near as   
practical the white man's life. It is said of the Praying Indians of  
Massachusetts that they built for themselves better and more substan­   
tial homes [i. *e.,* wigwams], fenced their grounds with ditches and  
stone walls, and cultivated gardens. With equal truth may this be   
applied to the Vineyard Indians. Th ir homes and gardens, being of   
greater permanence, were naturally superior to those of their more   
nomadic countrymen who wandered about with little pride of habi­   
tation.

It is said of Eliot's Indians that as they became better farmers and   
more industrious, they commenced a traffic with their English neigh­   
bors, finding in winter a market for brooms, staves, eel-pots, baskets,   
and turkeys; in summer whortleberries, grapes, and fish, and in the   
spring and autumn strawberries, cranberries, and venison.

The Indian women were taught to spin and with the products of   
their looms were able to buy, or exchange, conveniences of civilization.   
Says one writer with little seriousness, "The hum of the spinning wheel   
might have been heard in many a family, which had been familiar only   
with the whoop."

Of course, in all things the missionaries were watched by a certain   
element of their countrymen with criticising eyes.

Peter Oliver voices in print the popular concepts of those who scorn   
the labors of missionaries. He alleges that the efforts of the mis-  
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sionaries were a failure and assigns this not only to the falsity of their   
religion, as he contends, but also to that ignorant zeal which would turn   
the hunting-paths of the Indian into streets and squares, and convert his   
wigwams into houses. "To denationalize the red men at once was to   
demoralize them," adds Oliver.

Nothing could more clearly demonstrate Oliver's colossal ignorance   
of his subject than these statements. The one thing which Eliot and   
the Mayhews did not do was to attempt to at once denationalize the   
Indian. The Indian was repeatedly advised to pay his tribute to   
Caesar, as the missionaries well knew a lapse upon his part to pay   
tribute to his sachems would bring down upon their work the animosity   
of the ruling classes. An attempt to compel the Indian to substitute   
the English type of house for the native wigwam was not made, for   
it was early realized that the English type of habitation would prove   
too costly to the overwhelming majority of the Indians. The writings   
of the missionaries refer repeatedly to Indian houses, but these were   
mere wigwams; a careful distinction is made by them of Indian houses   
and the "English house," which was the community center and church   
building of English construction customarily found in every Indian   
praying town of size.

But Oliver is fond of sweet flowing language and needs must con­   
tinue to display his sublime, albeit well worded, lack of information   
upon a subject which has lured so many writers into ecstasies. Says he:   
"To civilize these children of the forest, to teach them to dig and to   
wear hats, and their women to spin and make bread, to exchange the   
religion of nature for cold abstractions, was only to degrade them."   
These are fantastic thoughts. To dig and spin could hardly degrade   
one used largely to dog-like baskings in the sun any more than chopping   
wood degrades a tramp.

A people who crack lice with their teeth are not degraded by hon­

est toil, although the arrogant Indian Brave, proud almost solely in   
the fact that he was of the male gender, may have so reasoned.

Thomas Mayhew, Sr., was sixty-four years of age when his son   
set sail for England, in 1657, leaving the affairs of the Indian mission   
to his care.

Involved with the government and material concerns of the island,   
the father found the full responsibility of the missionary task a momen-

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tous one. Yet stoutly he carried on the work of his son, supplying attimes the pulpit at Edgartown, where on the Sabbath Day the vener­   
able patriarch of the island preached to his people, and we may be sure   
as he lifted his voice in prayer, that the thoughts of the father and the   
congregation were with the son who had gone down to the sea and been   
heard of no more.

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CHAPTER XII

THE APOSTLE TO THE INDIANS

As late as April, I 6*5* 8, the Society for the Propagation of the Gos­   
pel at London wrote the commissioners in America that Mr. Garrett's   
ship is "yett mising." Its members had hoped for a report in person   
from young Mayhew concerning the progress of his work, "but wee   
feare that the ship wherin hee was is miscarryed which is noe smale   
greife unto us and therfore wee desire if soe sad a Prouidence haue   
befallen vs that a fitt and able pson might succeed him in carrying   
on the Indian worke which wee leaue vnto youer selues."

In response the commissioners replied that "the losse of Mr Mahew   
in relation to this worke is very great; and soe farr as for the present   
wee can see irreperable; our thoughts haue bine of some and our  
endeauors shalbee Improued to the vttermost to supply that place   
which is the most considerable in that pte of the countrey his father  
though ancient is, healpfull with an other English man [Folger ] and  
two Indians that Instruct the rest vpon the Lords day and att other   
times."

During the period of uncertainty and transition the thoughts of the   
father turned to the appointment of a successor in the Vineyard mis­   
sion. As early as the fall of I 6*5* 8 he addressed the commissioners of   
the United Colonies with the suggestion that they urge either the Rev.   
John Higginson or Rev. Abraham Pierson to take over the superin­   
tendency of the island mission. Even now, hope more than expectation   
lingered that his son might yet return, for he later comments, "If my   
sonne be gonne to heaven, I shall press very hard upon Mr. Higgin­   
son to come here, as I have written the commissioners."

In response to the prayers of the father, the commissioners assured   
him that they would use every diligence to "make a supply as the Lord   
may direct us," but confessed their inability to move either Mr. Hig­   
ginson or Mr. Pierson to take up the crook dropped by the Vineyard  
shepherd "unless the Lord strongly sett in to pswade them."

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That the Reverends Higginson and Pierson did not see fit to   
bury themselves upon the Vineyard among the lowly Indian at a par­   
simonious wage was soon evident, and they were not ''pswaded."

Meanwhile the governor continued to carry the burden that should   
have passed to the shoulders of a younger man. He was resolved that   
the work commenced by his son should not be imperiled for want of   
hearts stout enough to assume its burdens with nothing in sight "but   
God's promises." Something of this he must have written to the com­   
missioners, as his old acquaintance, John Endicott, writing as president   
of that body, addressed him September, 1658:

Youers of the 2 *5* of the sixt month wee receiued and rejoyce that   
it hath pleased god in any measure to beare vp youer hart and support   
you vnder those sad thoughts and feares conserning youer son; wherin   
wee can not but deeply sumpathise with you and Indeed doe mind it   
as that which att the present seemeth to be almost Irrepairable; but   
hee that is the lord of the haruist will ( wee hope) send forth his   
labourers therunto; and you may assure youer selfe that wee will vse   
all Diligence to make a supp [l]y as the lord may direct vs.

Duties as a missionary were labors, as we know, not strange to the   
ageing chief magistrate. The Indians had found him a protector and   
friend. His deportment and fair dealings had won their confidence   
and approval. But the magistrate's advanced years and his numerous   
administrative duties were drawbacks to a missionary career.

Mayhew came soon to the realization that help was not forthcom­   
ing. The commissioners, although professing diligence in persuading a   
clergyman to settle upon the island, appeared fully satisfied that the   
work should continue under his guidance, writing Mayhew that "wee   
thinke that god doth call for youer more then ordinery Assistance in   
this worke and are very well pleased that youer speritt is soe farr   
Inclined thervnto; and desire you may pseuere therein."

The commissioners were potent leaders in the New England   
colonies; their body including governors and ex-governors. As fiscal   
agents of the English society they had been in correspondence with   
Mayhew concerning Indian affairs and well knew his accomplishments.   
They were satisfied with his ability to carry on successfully the work   
that was so important to the peace and welfare of the colonies.

It was obvious that there was none in New England of the same   
spirit as the younger Mayhew, who had spent his strength, yet had

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rejoiced, in the midst of many "Aches, Pains and Distempers," con­   
tracted by lodging on hard mats in exposed wigwams. Thomas May­   
hew, Senior, "sees no Probability of obtaining so sufficient a *Salary* as   
might invite a *regular Minister* to engage in the *Indian* Service; he has   
little or no Hopes of finding any of the Spirit of his deceased *Son,* to   
bear the Burden."

The sorrowing father concluded that the spirit and sacrifices of his

son had been "all of GOD, and not merely of Man: and when he looked   
on the *Indians,* he could not bear to think that the Work so hopefully   
begun, and so far advanced by his Son, should now expire with him   
also." This and a compassion for the souls of a perishing people,   
raised him above all "Ceremonies and petty Forms and Distinctions   
that lay in the Way, and which he accounted as nothing in competition   
with their *eternal* Salvation"; and so, although a governor, he was not   
ashamed to become a preacher among them.

He alone of the colonial governors kept in person the covenant the   
men of England made unto their King when he granted them New   
World charters, that one of the principal ends of their going into   
America was to carry the gospel of Christ to the native inhabitants.

The patentee of Martha's Vineyard was one of the founders of the   
New World, in him was vested powers of government; owning vast   
tracts of land upon numerous islands he was in the light of prevailing   
standards a wealthy man. He might have spent the declining years of   
his life on the laurels of the past; yet he was not content. The great­   
est years of his life lay before him, in his sixty-fifth year.

Having lost the comfort and devotion of an only son, he felt that   
he could build no better memorial to the memory of the one departed   
than to carry on the work which had lain closest to his heart. So the   
Worshipful Thomas Mayhew, Esq., the sixth decade of his life half   
out, came to a resolution to do what he could himself and entered upon   
the arduous duties of the priesthood evangelistic.

He preached to some of the Indian assemblies one day every week s  
o long as he lived, a period of twenty-five years, until the sands of   
time had run their course in his eighty-ninth year. "And," says Prince,   
"his Heart was so exceedingly engaged in the Service, that he spared   
no Pains nor Fatigues, at so great an Age therein; sometimes travel­   
ling on Foot nigh *twenty miles* thro' the Woods, to preach and visit,

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when there was no English House near to lodge at, in his absence   
from home."

At the end of the first year the missionary writes, "I have through

mercye taught them this yeare, and doe still goe on, and the Lord hath   
strengthened me much of late, beyond my expectation." The stout   
heart still beat. And again, he writes, "I thought good to certifye you   
that this ten yeares past I haue constantly stood ready to atend the   
work of God here amongst the Indians. Verry much time I haue   
spent, & made many journies, and beene at verry much trouble & cost   
in my howse."

In his first year Mayhew was assisted by a staff of four workers.   
These were Peter Folger, two Indian interpreters and schoolmasters,   
and a Mrs. Bland "for healpfulnes in Phiscike and Chirurgery."

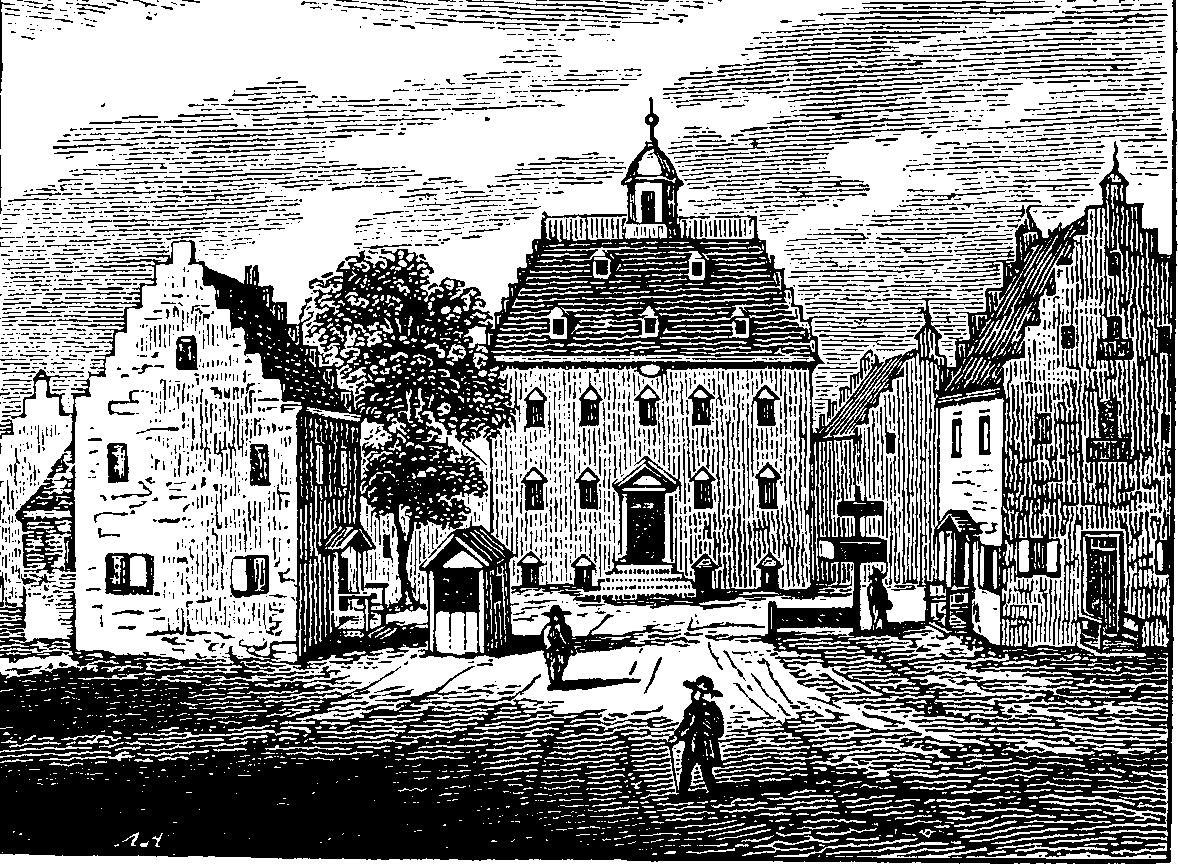
To Mayhew the commissioners, with no very great show of liberal­   
ity, granted a salary of twenty pounds for his "paines in teaching and   
instructing the Indians this year." His assistant, Folger, received   
twenty-five pounds.

Mayhew was not present at the annual meeting of the commission­   
ers, and they were not in a position to realize how completely the old   
man had entered the work nor the extent of the duties performed by   
him, preaching to some of their assemblies one day every week and   
sometimes traveling on foot "nigh *twenty Miles"* in the performance   
of his duties. The commisisoners doubtless believed that during this   
period of adjustment, subsequent to the death of his son, the work of   
the elder Mayhew had been more or less supervisory.

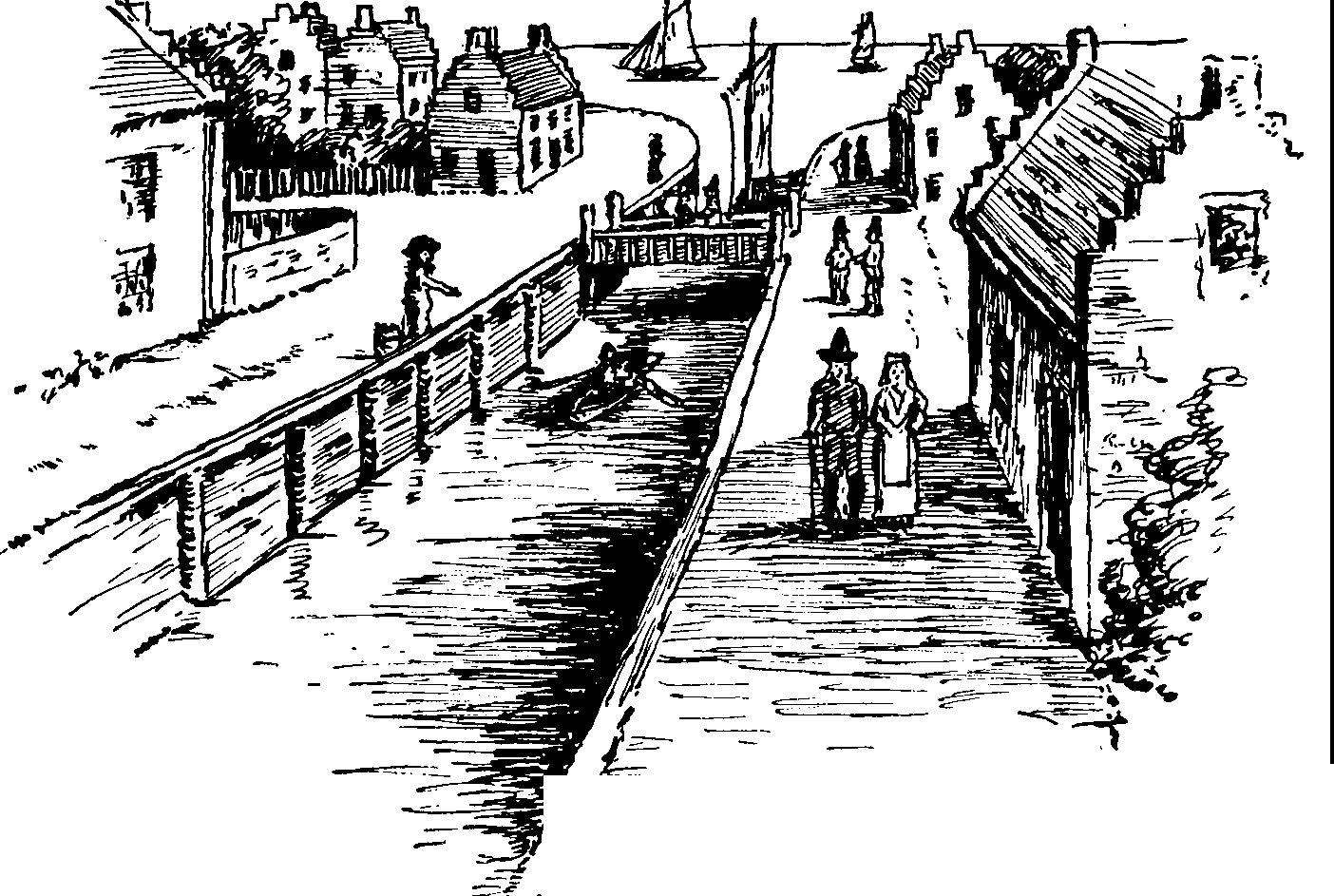
John Eliot, too, at one time had experienced difficulties with the   
picayunish conduct of the commissioners. It is recorded that his com­   
plaints stirred both England and America, so much so that the presi­   
dent of the society wrote the commissioners that Eliot by his lamenta­   
tions which "flyeth like lightening" had cost the society some thousands   
of pounds in gifts from philanthropic Englishmen who had become   
doubtful of the society's integrity. In England the commissioners   
were accused of hindering the progress of the Gospel by their failure   
to allow competent maintenances to the Lord's "Instruments" employed   
in his American vineyards.

The commissioners retorted with figures showing Eliot to be in   
receipt of twenty pounds per annum from their funds besides money

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PROVINCIAL HOUSE, NEW YORK CITY. HERE THOMAS MAYHEW HELD CONFERENCE WITH GOVERNOR LOVELACE



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THE FISH BRIDGE, BROAD STREET, NEW YORK, WHERE THE QUIT RENTS OF TISBURY MANOR WERE PAID BY THOMAS MAYHEW, AS LORD OF THE MANOR

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given him from other sources in England and a salary of sixty pounds   
per annum from his church. But the income, good as it was, did not   
compensate him for his labors, especially as he was in the practice of   
giving away much of his salary to needy Indians. The society defended   
itself with the statement that it was far from justifying Mr. Eliot in   
his "Turbulent and clamorous proceedings," but intreated the com­   
missioners to better encourage the work by the allowance of greater   
disbursements.

Like Eliot, Thomas Mayhew was not satisfied with the honorarium   
which so inadequately recompensed him for many hours of weary   
labor, a situation aggravated by the fact that his income compared   
unfavorably with that awarded others engaged in the same work.   
He took steps to present to the commissioners a picture of what had   
been accomplished by the island mission. He addressed a letter to   
Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut [ one of the commissioners],   
to explain something of conditions at Martha's Vineyard. He writes,   
"I am sorry that the Commissioners did not send some trustye & con­   
siderable person to see how things are carried on here. Mr. Browne   
of Seacunck, ere he went for England, wrote me he would com on   
purpose to sattisfie himsellfe about these Indians, whoe had, as I per­   
ceiued, many doubts of these & all the rest."

The progress of the Vineyard mission was so astonishing that  
stories of its successes were received at a discount by persons not hav­   
ing the cognizance of first hand information. Too, the settlement   
of Martha's Vineyard at this time was no part of any greater colony,   
and was without representation in the meetings of the United Colonies.   
It may be supposed that the commissioners were inclined to spend the   
money of the English society in accordance with economic principles   
not yet dead among merchants and traders. They believed the money   
should be spent at home. The commissioners from the rich and power­   
ful colony of Massachusetts dominated the deliberations of the con­   
ferences and were inclined to spend money more freely for missions   
about Boston, than elsewhere.

Thomas Mayhew, Jr., had originated the work of evangelizing   
the Indians. Not detracting one iota from the greatness of Eliot, it   
cannot be gainsaid that Eliot had the overwhelming advantage of   
laboring near a seat of population, where his activities and triumphs  
were easily brought to the attention of wealthy and influential men.  
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Great sums were given to his work; in comparison only pennies drib­   
bled into the coffers of the Vineyard mission. In l 6*5* 8 less than   
one-fifth of the entire sum of money spent by the society was appro­   
priated for Vineyard workers. From 16*5 5* to l 662, Eliot received   
an annual salary of fifty pounds. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., who had   
received nothing in the early years of his work, received in 1654 a sal­   
ary of forty pounds, a like sum in 16*5 5,* and fifty pounds the year suc­   
ceeding. The elder Mayhew, who had helped commence the work   
and who was now ably continuing its existence, was for the year 16*57-*1658 paid a salary of twenty pounds compared with Eliot's fifty.

But the commissioners were good men and willing to encourage the   
poor old gentleman. With the twenty pounds they conveyed the hope   
that God would afford him strength who had given him a "hart" for   
the great work.

However, the missionary-governor was not satisfied with divine aid   
alone. He recalled the treatment his son had received. He com­   
pared the progress of the Vineyard natives with those elsewhere, and   
the number of converts which was uniformly greater on the islands   
than at any mission on the mainland, and determined to win justice for   
his cause. As he expressed it, the main end of the society and the   
money raised by it was "for the comfort of those that began it," but   
these were not the ones liberally provided for. "Methinks," writes   
Mayhew, "that which I haue had is verry little. Truely yf were now   
to be hired to doe ass much yearely as I haue donne, thirtie pownds per   
annum & more to would not doe it."

Not only were the salaries paid the Mayhews discriminatory, but   
the moneys appropriated the Vineyard mission for the pay of assistants   
and other purposes were less than allotments to the Eliot mission.

The financial administration of the society's funds did not pass   
unnoticed. Samuel Maverick, one of the four commissioners appointed   
by Charles II in 1664 to settle American problems, in a written descrip­   
tion of New England referred to the matt\_er thus:

Almost South some what Westerly from Billingsgate is Natuckett   
Island on which many Indians live and about ten leagues west from it   
is Martines Vinyard, whereon many Indians live, and also English. In   
this Island by Gods blissing on the Labour, care and paines of the two   
Mayhews, father and sonn, the Indians are more civilized then any­   
where else which is a step to Christianity, and many of them have   
attained to a greate measure of knowledge, and is hoped in a short

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time some of them may with joy & Comfort be received into the Bos­   
some of the Church. The younger of those Mayhews was drowned   
comeing for England three yeares since, and the Father goes on with   
the worke, Although (as I understand) they have had a small share of   
those vast sumes given for this use and purpose of the Revenues of it.   
It were good to enquire how it hath been disposed of I know in some  
measure or at least suspect the business hath not been rightly carryed.

The truth of the statement that the Indians of the islands were   
"more civilized than anywhere else" is attested by the historian Hub­   
bard, a contemporary. Says he:

The greatest appearance of any saving work, and serious profes­   
sion of christianity amongst any of them, was at Martin's Vineyard,   
which beginning in the year, I 64*5* hath gradually proceeded till this   
present time, wherein all the i5land is in a manner leavened with the   
profession of our religion, and hath taken up the practice of our man­   
ners in civil behaviour, and our manner of cultivating of the earth.

Elsewhere he refers to "The Cape Indians, upon Cape Cod and some  
 other islands neere adjoyning, as at Martin's Vineyard, where civility   
and Christanity hath taken a deeper roote than in any other plantation   
of the Indians."

Hubbard is wrong in setting the year I 64*5* as the date of the   
beginning of missionary activity at Martha's Vineyard, but his state­   
ments in other respects are amply supported by the facts.

Edward Godfrey, governor of ·the Province of Maine, alludes to   
the financial activities of the commissioners in an indictment against   
the Massachusetts government. Says he, "I have endeavoured to   
screw into the Great Benevolences that have been so publicly knowne   
to propagate the Gospell in New England . . . . there is a snake in   
the weeds." Justice requires the comment that Godfrey and Maverick   
were unfriendly to Puritan Massachusetts. It is not believable that   
the commissioners were guilty of anything worse than favoritism, and   
sloth in making investigations.

In his letter to commissioner Winthrop, Mayhew concludes with   
the hope that if he finds himself unable *to* attend the next meeting of   
the commissioners "that the Commissioners of the Bay may haue some   
power granted to consider with me, & determine what they shall see   
good grounds for. . ... Yow may be pleased to tell the Commis­   
sioners that I say, & tis true, that I haue great neede to haue what   
may be justly comminge to me for this work, to supply my wants."

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The work done by Mayhew was a drain not only upon his bodily   
strength, but upon his private purse.

It is not to be wondered that as he saw the outlays made to the   
Indians of Massachusetts for books and spectacles and salaries of   
assistants he was convinced that the work at the Vineyard was being   
slighted so far even as to hinder its progress if in fact it did not jeop­   
ardize what had already been accomplished.

"Y f I had not seene my help had beene necessary & allso muche  
desired," writes the missionary, "I woulld neuer haue followed affter   
them [ the Indians J as I haue donne, I pray take it for graunted, but yf  
such an imployment as myne amongst the Indians be not to be consid­   
ered, or verry litle, I hope I shall sattisfie my sellffe whether the call of   
God by the Indians, which is still contynued by them verry lately   
expressing themselves to that purpose."

With these words the old man placed the issue squarely before   
the commissioners. If his work was valued so little by them that they   
would not even investigate its progress so as to fix the amount proper   
for its support, at least he could satisfy himself that the Indians con­   
tinued to desire his services in the call of God.

By this time he is convinced that there it "litle or no hopes of Mr.   
Peirson" accepting the call of the Vineyard Church. But he still  
 hoped that a clergyman might be obtained to fill the pulpit of the Eng­   
lish church and perform the duties of a missionary to the natives:   
"though he hath litle or noe Indian language, he will soon attaine it,   
with the hellpes that are here now." Further, "I desire, yf it may be   
a sollid man & a scholler for both works. Yf not, for the present the   
Indians are comfortably supplied. Yf I should be taken by death, here   
is hellpe that the Schoolemaster, who hath some languadge, and my   
sonne Doggett that hath, I think, much more than any English man   
vppon the Iland, and is a considerable youn [g] man."

With these words the sixty-five-year-old missionary-magistrate   
planned the future of his Indians beyond his grave.

At this time he gives a picture of his methods. "I doe speake to   
them sometimes about an howre. I ask sometimes where they vnder­   
stand; they say yes; and I know they doe, for in the generall I really   
know they vnderstand me, but sometimes I doubt mysellfe, & then I   
ask." Occasionally he uses the services of an interpreter who can   
clearly make known "what I know my sellfe."

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Notwithstanding scanty revenues, the progress of the Vineyard   
mission grew apace. At the next meeting of the commissioners, May­   
hew's salary was increased and the native staff of assistants doubled in   
number. The commissioners continued to make amends and in the   
following year their accounts show an island staff of ten teachers,   
Mayhew, Folger, Hiacoomes ("An Indian Scoo[l]master and Teacher   
of them on the Lords day"), and "seaven other Indian Teachers   
comended to us by Mr. Mahew that are healpful in Teaching others."   
There appears to have been a falling off in the need of "Phiscike and   
Chirurgery." In neither year is there a record of any payment for   
medical treatment.

The large number of native teachers utilized by Eliot and the   
missionary-governor of Martha's Vineyard in their work is notice­   
able. Both leaders were advocates of a teaching method that made   
use to a great extent of the services of Indian instructors. By this   
use the missionaries were able to reach the psychology of the native,   
so that religion would be to him something more than an outward   
observance of rites, the significance of which he would be unacquainted   
and which he would in time continue to heed only for profit or love   
of his teachers. Profit, in a material way, there was little. Geo­   
graphic reasons forbade the mission stations from holding large and   
fertile tracts of lands that could be farmed by the natives in communal   
fashion, and gifts to the natives were few, beyond books, and salaries   
to teachers. The Indian was converted by an appeal to the mind and   
soul and it was hoped that he could be held in the same manner.

In furtherance of this hope John Eliot had undertaken the stag­   
gering task of translating the Bible into the Algonquin tongue. It was   
thought that the Indian could be easier taught to read his own tongue,   
and with better understanding, than English. A Catechism was printed   
at Cambridge as early as 1653 or 1654. The New Testament in   
Indian followed in 1661 and the Old Testament two years later.

Before the printing of these books the younger Thomas Mayhew   
had opened a school for Indian children. We have the authority of   
Prince that "quickly there came in about thirty Indian children; he   
found them apt to learn; and more and more were coming every day."   
A modern writer states that this school was the first Indian school   
opened within the present confines of the United States. Eliot is   
known to have given some of the funds received by him from England  
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to instructors for the purpose of teaching Indian children around Bos­   
ton, but there is no evidence that such tutoring was carried on in an   
exclusive Indian school or that it was any more than occasional, as   
appears the case.

After the death of the son the father continued the education of   
the Indian children with the ambition that a number of the more prom­   
ising pupils might be given an opportunity to study at the grammar   
school at Cambridge, and in time attend Harvard College.

The fathers of New England had founded Harvard College while   
the country was a wilderness in order to maintain the supply of an edu­   
cated clergy. At this institution the missionaries hoped to train Indian   
scholars to carry the gospel to their countrymen and to fill the pulpits   
of Indian churches to be formed when the natives were far enough  
advanced on the road to civilization.

As early as 16*53* the society suggested that half a dozen "hope­   
full Indians" should be trained at the college under some fit tutor that,   
preserving their own language, they might attain the knowledge of   
other tongues and "disperse the Indian tonge in the college."

In half a decade students of the Vineyard schools were ready for  
 the higher branches of education. When Matthew Mayhew was sent   
off-island to Cambridge for schooling, about the year 16*5*7, he was   
accompanied, or soon followed, by a number of Vineyard Indians. In  
 September, r 6*59,* the records of the commissioners disclose payments  
 to Mr. Thomas Danforth "for dieting fiue Indian Scollars and cloth­   
ing them; and Mr Mahews son; Att Cambridge," and to Mr. Cor­   
lett, master of the grammar school, for his "extreordinary paines in   
Teaching the Indian Scollars and Mr Mahews son about two yeares."  
 It was the intent of Thomas Mayhew to send four more converts   
the following year, for we find the commissioners cautioning him that   
they desired the scholars to be well grounded in their grammar, or fit   
for the "accidence" as it was then termed.

A grammar school at this time in New England was an institution   
where Greek and Latin grammar were taught and in no wise cor­   
responded to the grammar school of later years. In accordance with   
English practice, it was the purpose of the school to fit students for col­  
lege. The grammar school at Cambridge was a noted school. Its  
building adjoined the college and appears to an uncertain extent to   
have been part of it.

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Two decades after the settlement of the island of Martha's Vine­   
yard, inhabited by a savage people known to have murdered English   
sailors, four Indian youths sat at the feet of Master Corlett in the   
grammar school at Cambridge to enter upon the study of Latin and  
Greek. Of the five subjected to the "extreordinary paines" of School­   
master Corlett, death removed one the following year; the records   
disclosing a debit "for Charges of burial!."

In r 6*59* there were five Indian youths at Cambridge in the gram­   
mar school whose diligence and proficiency in studies were reported   
very encouraging. They were described as being very prudent and   
pious, diligent in their studies and civil in their carriage. Examined   
openly by the president of Harvard College at commencement, for the   
edification of the Godly in the colony, they gave good satisfaction   
of their knowledge of the Latin tongue to the examiner and the "honored   
and Reuerent ouerseers."

In a couple of years, two had made sufficient progress to matricu­   
late at Harvard. In this year appears an item for "clothing an Indian   
att his first coming" to Cambridge. The year following, the commis­   
sioners ordered several of the Indian scholars at Mr. Weld's school   
in Roxbury to be removed to the grammar school at Cambridge "att   
the expiration of this yeare and hee is alowed to take another youth   
now sent from Martins Vineyard that came to him about the 9th of this  
Instant."

For the encouragement of the students, books, papers, inkhorns,   
and even "blanketts and Ruggs for the Indian Scollars of Cambridge   
and Roxburry" were supplied by the society, with firewood and candles   
in addition.

It may be that two of the "scollars" at the grammar school were   
not Vineyard Indians, but certain it is that one was from that place and   
that the two in the "colledge" were Mayhew proteges. The latter   
were Joel and Caleb, chosen for the honor from among the most apt   
and studious of their race; the first Indians in America to matriculate   
at an English college. In order to do so they passed an examination   
including among other accomplishments "so much Latin as was suffi­   
cient to understand Tully or any like Classical author, and to make and   
speak true Latin, in prose and verse, and so much Greek as was   
included in defining perfectly the paradigms of the Greek nouns and   
verbs.''

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The student Caleb was son of Cheschachaamog, sachem of Holmes   
Hole, a district now embraced within the beautiful and more euphoni­   
ously named town of Vineyard Haven. He was destined to be the   
only Indian to climb the long road from barbarism to the bachelor's   
degree at Harvard. "At the conclusion of two Latin and Greek   
elegies which he composed on the death of an eminent minister, he   
subscribes himself Cheesecaumuk, Senior Sophista. What an incon­   
gruous blending of sounds!"

At the close of the collegiate year in which this triumph of learning   
was profounded, Caleb took his degree with the class of I 66*5.* His   
name appears in the catalogue of New England's oldest institution of   
higher learning as *Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck, Indus.* Included in the   
class of seven members is the son of Governor Thomas Dudley-the   
Honorable Joseph Dudley, President of the Council of the Massachu­   
setts Bay, Chief Justice of the Province of New England, Chief Justice   
of the Province of New York, Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of  
wight, Member of Parliament, President of New England, Captain­   
General and Governor of Massachusetts, and a Commissioner of the   
United Colonies. Such was Harvard College!

The career of Caleb was unfortunately terminated by his death of   
consumption at Charlestown, where he had been placed under the care   
of a physician in order to regain his health. "He wanted not for the   
best means the country could afford, both of good and physick; but God   
denied the blessing, and put a period to his days."

Joel, the other of the two Indians to enter the college at Cam­   
bridge, was an especially "hopefull" young man and is said to have   
made "good proficiency" in his studies. Being ripe in learning he was   
about to take his first degree of bachelor of arts when he took voyage   
to Martha's Vineyard in a bark to visit his father and kindred. On   
his return, the vessel with other passengers and mariners suffered ship­   
wreck on the shores of Nantucket. The bark was found and it was   
believed that its passengers reached shore safely to be murdered "by   
some wicked Indians of that place; who, for lucre of the spoil in the   
vessel, which was laden with goods, thus cruelly destroyed the people   
in it; for which fault some of those Indians was convicted and executed   
afterwards," informs Gookin.

"Thus perished our hopeful young prophet Joel. He was a good   
scholar and a pious man, as I judge," continues our authority, "I

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knew him well; for he lived and was taught in the same town where I   
dwell. I observed him for several years, after he was grown to years   
of discretion, to be not only a diligent student, but an attentive hearer   
of God's word; diligently writing the sermons, and frequenting lec­   
tures; grave and sober in his conversation."

Meantime the friends of Indian education had induced the English   
society to erect a brick building at Harvard for the use of the natives,   
called the Indian College, of sufficient size to accommodate about   
twenty scholars. In a letter to the society the commissioners estimated   
the cost of such a structure at a hundred pounds, being desirous that   
"the building may bee stronge and durable though plaine." They were   
authorized to proceed with the erection of the same; "which Rome[room] may bee two storyes high and built plaine but strong and dur­   
able the charge not to exceed one hundred and twenty pounds besides   
glasse which may bee allowed out of pcell the Corporation hath lately   
sent ouer vpon the Indian account."

According to Gookin the building was constructed of brick, fitted   
with convenient lodgings and studies. As is customarily the case, itsultimate cost exceeded the original estimate and ran between three and  
four hundred pounds. The edifice failed of the purpose for which it   
was designed. We are told that "There was much cost out of the   
Corporation stock expended in this work, for fitting and preparing the   
Indian youth to be learned and able preachers unto their countrymen.   
Their diet, apparel, books, and schooling, was chargeable. In truth,   
the design was prudent, noble, and good; but it proved ineffectual to   
the ends proposed. For several of the said youth died, after they had   
been sundry years at learning, and made good proficiency therein.   
Others were disheartened and left learning, after they were almost   
ready for the college. And some returned to live among their country­   
men; where some of them are improved for schoolmasters and teach­   
ers, unto which they are advantaged by their education."

It cannot be said of the experiment that it was a total failure.   
Although the primitive savage was not qualified by constitution, men­   
tality or temperament to cope with the arduous and confining labors of   
scholastic life, numbers of them trained in the Latin school went back   
to their people and performed good work as teachers and preachers.   
The scholars attending these schools appear to have been an orderly,   
conscientious, and sincere group of young men. They were of reli-

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gious temperament and impelled by good motives, but generations of   
simple life had not fitted them for the mental rigors of the student's   
lamp. So ended a great experiment in education. Thirty-one years   
after the landing of Winthrop and his colonists at Boston with the   
charter of the Bay Colony, a college was founded for the Indian   
scholar on the frontier of civilization. The charge cannot be made   
that effort was not made to give the red man the opportunities of the  
 white man's civilization.

The halls of the college at Cambridge resounded no more to the

tread of the Indian; his fading footsteps echoed into the stilly silence of   
forces that have spent their strength, and in each feebler resonance the   
dream of his preceptors for a college-bred ministry of native preachers   
flickered into the void of broken hopes.

The missionaries were handicapped now by the tumult raised   
among the "vulgar" who were not in sympathy with any effort to   
raise the standards of the Indian. Much stress was laid on the impro­   
priety of herding the Indian youth into four walled rooms, where his   
constitution was sapped of its strength. The death of Caleb by con­   
sumption was cited as an example of a white man's disease upon a   
body accustomed to the lusty outdoors.

In these charges there was truth, but the situation was not so   
extreme. Contrary to popular information, consumption was a com­   
mon disease among the Indians, and its ravages, then and since, cannot   
be contributed solely to a change of living conditions brought about by   
the white man's civilization.

"Of this disease of the consumption," remarks Gookin, "sundry of   
those Indian youths died, that were bred up to school among the Eng­   
lish. The truth is, this disease is frequent among the Indians; and   
sundry died of it, that live not with the English. A hectick fever,   
issuing in a consumption, is a common and mortal disease among   
them."

General Lincoln, in his "Observations on the Indians of North   
America" adds, "Their tender lungs are greatly affected by colds, which   
bring on consumptive habits; from which disorder, if my information   
is right, a large proportion of them die."

The strength of the Indian was a peculiar phenomenon. He was   
at home in the water, and on land his dog trot would carry him with   
no apparent effort over miles of territory which was the awe of the

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European. But his physique was a brittle thing. In sustained manual   
labor the Indian was found worthless, and this alone saved him from   
the fate that was soon to become the negro's.

Three hundred years have not changed him greatly. Lack of   
initiative and inability of sustained effort is still the handicap of his   
race. Receiving his education, his clothes, and food from the govern­   
ment, he returns to a life that is neither ours nor that of his fathers.   
He fears to strike out to the great cities, but prefers to eke a living on   
reservation lands. Although opportunity is as open to him as to any   
European immigrant, he lives in obscurity, cursing the government   
that aids him, while descendants of immigrants become bankers and   
lawyers and merchants. The barbaric negro in less time is self­   
sustaining. The sin cannot be all the white man's blame.

There are critics who charge the missionaries with all the ills of   
Indian life, as well as those of the savages of the South Pacific islands   
and elsewhere. The missionaries should stay at home and mind the   
sins of their own race, is the well-known cry. The reason for the mis­   
sionary is simple, notwithstanding the writings of some pseudo psycho­  
logical-biographers in the field of religious history.

It was, and still is to a certain extent, a concept of Christianity that   
the soul of man is forever doomed unless he accepts before death the   
teachings of the One who died on the Cross at Calvary. Souls living   
in far away corners of the earth who had never heard His name were   
doomed to eternal torment. It was a sad and harsh picture that was   
held of the great Father of us all, but so man read in the blessed Book   
and believed. And how could the heathen be saved who had never   
heard the message, good men asked one another, unless Christians   
traveled the sands and mountains of far away places and brought salva­   
tion to souls dying for water in the waste places of earth? It was the   
Christian's duty. Noblesse oblige! And so upon the face of the   
earth swarmed men and women, carrying the gospel of the faith into   
every corner and nook of the known world.

Militant soldiers of the cross, in their souls burned a deep desire to   
diet the heathen on Friday, to baptize the infant and to bring all before   
that golden throne upon the great day of judgment-saved, even   
against their will! Superficially at times their tactics and their rituals   
have seemed not far removed from the black paint, the gibberish, and   
the howlings of the Indian powwow. But at heart there was a dif-

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ference. A brilliant fire burned in their souls. For their God they   
suffered indescribable pains, fatigues, disease, and death. Into the   
unforged trails of the wilderness they went, black robed Jesuits, eating   
the nauseating food of the Indians and lifting high their robes that   
they might not overturn canoes getting in and out, as thoughtfully they   
had been instructed; far into China, penetrating the jungles of Africa,   
Protestants and Catholics, the banner they carried, with medicine, law,   
order, and good government.

And small minded men, for a moment detracted from the material   
things of life, have sneered at their efforts and accentuated their errors.   
Authors with figments of imagination that might better be devoted to   
a nobler cause have pictured the idyllic life lead by any number of   
primitive peoples until the missionaries came, reputedly bringing with   
them all the horrors of civilization, the Bible, the Constitution, the   
army and the navy.

The ancestry of this school may be traced to Rousseau. The fable   
of the natural man that so pleased an overly sophisticated world in the   
eighteenth century has long ago been exploded.

In America is heard the cry, the white man spoiled the Indian with   
his teachings. And in the distance resounds another charge, the white   
man has failed to teach the Indian and to do his duty towards him.

The missionary is damned if he does and damned if he doesn't.   
And popular opinion, like the poet's well regulated stream, flows on   
forever.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE DUKE OF YORK

After the return of Governor Nicolls to England, matters drifted   
along at the islands of the Mayhew proprietary in bucolic fashion, the   
inhabitants undisturbed by great events abroad, until a shipwreck   
brought to a focus the undesired attention of the successor of Nicolls   
at New York.

The new governor was another ducal favorite, Colonel Francis   
Lovelace, a cavalier of the court of Charles II. Intelligence of the   
wreck reaching his ear, Lovelace, after a silence of more than a year   
and a half since his arrival at New York, addressed a letter to the   
patentee of Martha's Vineyard, in which he reiterated the duke's claim   
to the islands that lay two hundred miles from the capital.

Respecting the wreck driven on "shoare at Matyns Vyneyard with­   
out any man left aliue in her" ( although fortunately forty hogsheads of   
rum were saved), Lovelace comments that he had hithertofore expected   
an account of the wreck and what had been done in the premises,   
especially, one gathers, with the liquor, which had a great value.  
 Adds he, "As my Predecessor Coll Nicolls did often expect you   
here, but had his Expectation frustrated by yor age or Indisposition I  
haue the same desire, or at least that amongst yor Plantation, you   
would depute some pson to me to give me Account of Affaires there,   
That being undr the same Governmt belonging to his Royall High­   
nesse I may be in a bettr Capacity of giving you such Advice & assist­   
ance as need shall require & send his Royall Highnesse a more Exact   
Account of you then as yett I can, you being the greatest Strangrs to   
me in the whole Governmt. So expecting a speedy a Retorne from you   
in Answr hereunto as can be I comitt you to the heavenly protection &   
remayne."

Mayhew, always deliberate in his actions, awaited a number of   
months before sending his grandson Matthew to New York with a   
reply. John Gardner, of {,antucket, wrote that the letter "was so   
far slighted as to take no notice of it," but it is probable Mayhew was   
awaiting the end of winter before sending a messenger on the long   
journey to ''York.''

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The claims of Thomas Mayhew to the islands of Martha's Vine­   
yard and Nantucket were presented by young Matthew to the Gov­   
ernor in Council at New York the May following the receipt of the   
Lovelace letter. After the hearing it was ordered by the council that   
a letter be sent to the senior Mayhew requesting him to appear in   
person before them to adjust the relations of his islands to the gov­   
ernment of New York, and that he bring with him his patents and   
papers.

You may please to take your best time in coming this summer, in

substance writes the amiable Lovelace, as you shall find yourself dis­   
posed, and shall receive a very hearty welcome and all due encourage­   
ment as to your concerns.

Copies of a notice addressed to all "pretenders" laying claim to   
any interest in lands on Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and the Eliza­   
beth Islands were enclosed in the letter.

These were duly distributed to the several landholders, including a   
number of residents in Massachusetts and elsewhere. Communication   
between the scattered settlements of New England was uncertain and   
irregular in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. The absentee   
landlords were widely scattered over a number of colonies-Massa­   
chusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Plymouth, and Rhode Island.   
Something like a year elapsed before all were heard from.

Meantime the inhabitants of the town on Nantucket met and   
elected Mr. Thomas Macy their agent to present their claims and to   
"treat" with the ducal governor. The town also desired Mr. Tris­   
tram Coffin to assist Mr. Macy in his task. Coffin had previously been   
chosen by his family to represent their great interests on Nantucket   
and their entire ownership of the island of Tuckernuck. Daniel Wil­   
cox, of New Plymouth Colony, possessing two small islands in the   
Elizabeth group by virtue of a "Patent of Right from Mr Thomas   
Mayhew and Matthew Mayhew of Martins Vineyard," had early   
appointed Matthew to appear on his behalf and to act therein "as if I   
myself e were there."

In the summer of 1671 all was ready for the conference with Love­   
lace at Manhattan. Armed with his patents and papers and Indian   
deeds, Thomas Mayhew, now seventy-eight years of age, set sail from   
Great Harbor in the month of June accompanied by his grandson,   
Matthew, who was to represent the proprietary interests of the   
younger Thomas Mayhew, deceased.

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Another crisis had come in the life of the merchant-colonist. At   
an age when the average man is content to mark time and gaze back­   
ward, he was on his way to New York for still greater honors.

From Nantucket went Tristram Coffin and Thomas Macy, the one   
representing the House of Coffin, the other "ye inhabitants" of the   
town of Nantucket.

At Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket all eyes turned westward

where the embarked agents had gone ''in their Behalfe and Stead"   
to "Treat w'th ye Hon'ble Coll. Lovelace concerning ye Affayres of   
the several islands."

\_As the envoys neared the little fort on the Bowling Green they   
must have wondered how the cavalier governor in all the scintillating   
splendor of his great office would greet the planters of the islands   
claimed by ·his Royal Highness, James, future King of England, after   
so many years of waiting.

The fort which they saw at the tip of Manhattan Island in "New   
Yorke towne" was quadrangle in shape, and had a bastion at each   
corner; its earthen parapets frowned over the waters of the Hudson   
River and the Upper Bay. An ancient fort as forts went in America   
in that day, it had witnessed and was to see, considerable history of a   
bloodless sort. This ideal state of affairs was due to no good fortune   
of peace, but instead to the fact that as the fort was chronically in a   
state of disrepair, it was always good policy to surrender it whenever   
the warships of a belligerent nation hove to in a menacing manner, and   
so demanded.

"Forte James" was built under the nomenclature of Fort Amster­   
dam by the officers of the Dutch West Indies Company and was well   
armed with iron cannon and some few small brass pieces, all bearing   
the arms of the Netherlands. It was the social and military center of   
both the city and the colony under the Dutch and English, as well as the   
seat of governmental activity.

Within its walls towered the church of St. Nicholas with its steep   
double-pointed roof. The Dutch, with their love of utilization of   
space, had further encroached the limited area of the interior with a   
windmill, guardhouse, barracks, and a pretentious governor's mansion.   
Outside the battlements on the river side were gallows and a whipping   
post. A distance off in the other direction stood the ancient Stadt   
Huys of the Dutch, which did duty under English administration as

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the capitol house of the province, where the governor and   
council and the royal courts convened in sessions.

As the island envoys neared the scene of their intended conferences

they saw the ensign of England flapping in the breeze from the flag   
pole in the fort and noted the long arms of the Dutch windmill turning   
lazily before the breeze and viewed with uncertain emotions the  
spectacle of gallows and whipping post, eloquently silent testimony of   
the law's eternal vigilance.

It is probable that the Mayhews, Coffin and Macy were enter­   
tained in the governor's house within the fort, and took occasion in   
hours not devoted to business to look at the Bowling Green and the   
Battery. To see New York took but little time in those days and   
necessitated the use of no guide book or personally conducted tour.   
There was no Chinatown. The city itself was wedged in between the   
waters on three sides and the wall which gave present Wall Street its   
name, on the fourth. It was a small village of quaint houses populated   
with a heterogeneous collection of Dutch burghers, English merchants,   
and officials, all living in peace and harmony and intent on the mutual   
object of fattening their fortunes in trade.

The social life of the little city centered around the amiable gov­

ernor's elegant mansion and the tavern which he had judiciously   
erected next the Province House, with a door that afforded convenient   
access ( some say by bridge) to the court room on the second floor, a   
door that was a constant gates-ajar invitation to the honorable mayor,   
aldermen, and sheriff of the city to step into the taproom beyond,   
there to gain inspiration before, and solace after, sessions of court.

The Province House itself was a quaint inheritance from the   
Dutch regime in days when New York was New Amsterdam. It stood   
some distance from the fort with its back to the East River, the wash   
of whose changing tides might plainly be heard within its walls. In   
Lovelace's day its face was the west side, its stoop opening onto Dukes   
Street, the original *Hoogh Straet* of the Dutch, known to the present   
generation as Stone Street. A lane by one side connected the street   
with the open stretch to the rear of the building that bordered on the   
water. This was called by the English, State House Lane. The house   
itself was a substantial edifice of stone, two stories in height with a   
basement underneath and spacious lofts above under its steeply pitched   
roof.

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In this house were held the formal sessions of the Governor in   
Council with the emissaries from Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket.

The Mayhews appear to have arrived in New York a fortnight   
before the stated meeting of the Governor and Council in the matter   
of Martha's Vineyard. The first of the official conferences apper­   
taining to island affairs was convened the twenty-eighth of June. "The   
Matt. under Consideracon was the Business of N antuckett; two Per­   
sons being sent from thence hither." Tristram Coffin and Thomas   
Macy, the "two Persons" designated, produced documents from   
Thomas Mayhew and the Indians to make good their claim of title   
to Nantucket and adjoining islands and tendered "some Proposalls in   
Writing" for the scheme of government to be established thereat.

It may be supposed that the proposals were drawn with the advice   
or consent of the Mayhews as their influence upon the island at that   
time was considerable. They owned an interest in the proprietary as   
well as a tract in severalty.

The plan of government proposed by the emissaries had no doubt   
been submitted to the unofficial scrutiny of the governor and province   
secretary, if in fact it did not originate largely from that source. It   
embraced a comprehensive scheme of government, providing for a court   
of magistrates to be presided over by one "to be Chiefe," and the   
establishment of an annual General Court for all the islands to be   
composed of judges from Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. It was   
further proposed that the Indians of Nantucket should be made sub­   
ject to judicial process in "Mattrs of Trespass, Debt, & other Mis­   
carriages"; that the laws of England should prevail in all matters "soe   
farre as wee know them"; and lastly that a military establishment   
for defense against the Indians or "Strangrs invadeing" should be   
authorized.

On the day the memorial was submitted, the governor was ready   
with a reply "In Answer to ye Proposalls Delivered in by Mr Coffin   
and Mr Macy & on ye behalfe of themselves & ye rest of ye Inhabi­   
tants upon ye Island of Nantuckett."

The reply provided for a frame of government substantially as   
requested. A chief magistrate was to be appointed annually by the   
governor-general from two nominees recommended by the electors of   
Nantucket and Tuckernuck. The inhabitants were to have power by a   
majority vote to elect assistant judges, constables, minor town officers

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and such inferior officers for the military company as should be thought   
needful.

The inhabitants were left a liberal discretion in the handling of

Indian affairs, although warned to be "careful! to use such Moderacon   
amongst them, That they be not exasperated, but by Degrees may be   
brought to conformable to ye Lawes." They were empowered to   
nominate and appoint constables among them who were to have staves   
with the King's Arms upon them, "the better to keep their People in   
Awe, & good Ordr. as is practized wth good Success amongst ye Indyans   
at ye East end of Long-Island."

Tristram Coffin was commissioned chief magistrate of Nantucket   
and Tuckernuck Islands for a term of office extending something   
beyond one year.

A week later came the "Affayre about Martins Vineyard." This   
conference was held in the Province House, where once the painted   
coat-of-arms of New Amsterdam, together with the orange, blue, and   
white colors of the West Indies Company, had hung over the justices'   
bench.

In the dim room the ducal governor, Francis Lovelace, was, of

course, the dominating figure on that summer's day when the first meet­  
 ing was scheduled. The second son of an English baron, he is described   
as a roystering cavalier of the Restoration, a fitting representative of   
the "Merrie Monarch" and his brother James. Notwithstanding his   
Stuart partisanism and the fact that before the Restoration he had   
languished a term in the Tower by order of Richard Cromwell, he   
appears to have been a genial and kindly soul to English Protestant   
and Dutch burgher alike.

Unfortunately for the fame of this governor, his character has   
been epitomized in a statement attributed to him relative to the rebel­   
lious Swedish farmers on the Delaware, that "the method of keeping   
the people in order is severity and laying such taxes as may give them   
liberty for no thought but how to discharge them." In his defense it is   
alleged that the remark was a mere quotation on his part of what a   
Swede had once said to him of his own people. It can be imagined best   
of Lovelace that the remark was uttered with all the amiability with   
which he was endowed.

Nevertheless, the cavalier governor was much that in habit and   
religion was diametric to the Puritan Mayhew.

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Matthias Nicolls was the second man of importance in the room.   
Bred a barrister at Lincoln's Inn, he received from the King an   
appointment as secretary of the royal commission sent to America and   
at the same time a commission as captain in the forces under Colonel   
Richard Nicolls. After the peaceful capitulation of New Amsterdam,   
in which he participated, Captain Nicolls became the first secretary of   
the English province and a member of the Governor's Council.

The first code of English laws in New York was largely the fruit of   
his drafting. It was a just and liberal body of laws. Qualified by   
legal training, the author held several judicial posts. He was presiding   
judge of the Court of Assizes and after the conference was judge of the   
Supreme Court. He was also an early mayor of New York City. He   
was without doubt the best educated and one of the most capable Brit­   
ish officials in America.

The third member of the governor's staff present at the confer­   
ence was Cornelius Steenwyck, a former burgomaster of New Amster­   
dam. His blood antecedents were as clear of definition as his name,   
but his political fealty less certain. He was a prominent officeholder   
under both Dutch and English administrations, willing to lend his name   
to the Dutch civil list when the colony was New Netherlands and to   
the English when it was New York, and back again with alacrity to the   
Dutch when the province was recaptured by Calve two years to the   
month after the conference. Steenwyck was an enormously wealthy  
merchant, and what is popularly termed a "mixer."

On the opposite side of the table sat the Puritan, Thomas Mayhew,   
already famed at home and in the mother country as a successful mis­   
sionary to the Indians of New England. By his side sat Matthew, his   
eldest grandson, a promising youth of twenty-three years of age, later   
author of "The Conquests and Triumphs of Grace," a tract describing   
the Indians of New England and the success of the gospel among   
them.

What took place during the stay of the Vineyard delegates at   
York and the conference that concluded their labors, Thomas Mayhew   
himself describes. He states that he showed the governor his grants,   
which the governor approved, "and the printed paper" from his   
Majesty, at which Lovelace "stumbled much," also he showed the   
ducal representative what General Nicolls had written of his not being   
informed what the King had done, to which the governor "stumbled

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very much likewise"; then he asked if the colonel had Stirling's patent   
with him, to which the colonel gave answer in the negative, whereupon   
Mayhew went to Captain Nicolls and acquainted him of his "dis­   
course" with the governor and "prayed him to search in Matters of   
Long Island" to see if he could not find the date of Lord Stirling's   
patent to the islands. This Nicolls did, finding it more ancient than   
the Gorges patent.

But Mayhew questioned whether it were safe for him to "medle"

or declare the Gorges government. The royal weathercock at Wind­   
sor had spun so many times, there was no telling how it would spin   
again. It was, therefore, agreed between His Honor Francis Love­   
lace and Thomas Mayhew that the latter should be granted a new   
"Charter and Liberties" to the islands, grounded on his first grant from   
Lord Stirling and the "Resignation of L'd Sterling's Heirs to his   
Royall Highness," and that Mayhew should pay an acknowledgment   
to the Duke which under the grant from Forrett he was obligated to   
pay yearly to Lord Stirling.

Thus the patentee of the islands was confirmed in his title by the

weakest of all claims, the grant from Lord Stirling. It has been aptly   
stated that "Loyal subjects were expected to give way and vacate the   
'king row.' "

The time which Mayhew took before acknowledging the Duke's   
authority is evidence of no supine surrender. Writing in regard to the   
search in matters of Long Island conducted by Matthias Nicolls, he   
says, had the date of Stirling's patent been not found, then "I could   
doe nothing at Yorke." He had not been ready to acknowledge ducal   
claims upon terms other than favorable. This stand was made secure   
by the King's attitude in both confirming the islands most strongly to   
be in Gorges and in granting them to his brother. Whichever way the   
conflict was resolved, Thomas Mayhew could find royal support in   
extenuation of his conduct.

A number of other important matters were decided at the con­   
ference. Most noteworthy was the appointment of Thomas Mayhew   
to be governor of the island of Martha's Vineyard for life:

Whereas Mr Thomas Mayhew of Martins or Martha's Vineyard   
hath been an auncient Inhabitant there, where by Gods Blessing Hee   
hath been an lnstrumt. of doeing a greate deale of Good both in set­   
tling severall Plantacons there, as also in reclayming & Civilizing ye

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Indyans; ffor an Encouragement to him in prosecucon of that Designe,   
& in acknowledgmt of his Good Services, It is Ordered & Agreed upon   
That ye said Mr Thomas Mayhew shall dureing his naturall Life bee   
Governor of ye Island called Martins or Marthas Vineyard. . . . .

A commission to Matthew Mayhew as Collector and Receiver of   
his Majesty's customs "as now are or shall bee brought into ye Har­   
bour at Martins Vineyard, or any other Creek or Place upon ye Island,   
or Jurisdiction thereof" was also executed.

The "townes Seated" on the Vineyard were granted new charters   
of confirmation. In the baptism Great Harbor emerged as Edgar­   
town, in honor of the Duke's infant son Edgar, the news of whose death   
had not reached America. Great Harbor became another of those   
many communities that bear the name of some petty princeling tacked   
to the unimaginative and generic term, town, ville, or burg. Distinc­   
tion lies in the fact that it is the only town so named in the world.

Middletown was more fortunate in choice of names, and received   
that of Tisbury in honor of the little Wiltshire village where Thomas   
Mayhew was born.

A government for the towns and the island was discussed and   
decided. The towns were to have such elected magistrates and officers   
as other "corporations" in the province. For the jurisdiction of Mar­   
tha's Vineyard island a local court was provided, to consist of Thomas   
Mayhew and three assistants; the governor to have a double vote as   
presiding officer, a power not granted the chief magistrate of the local   
court at Nantucket.

Minor changes were made in the framework of the General Court   
established during the conference with the Nantucket delegates. It   
was determined that the members of this court should be the governor   
of Martha's Vineyard and four assistants, two from each island. In  
deference to the great experience and reputation of Thomas Mayhew   
it was ordered that he should sit as president during his life whenever   
the court was in session, whether at Martha's Vineyard or Nantucket,   
with the privilege of a double or casting vote.

The plan of government conceived for Martha's Vineyard and   
Nantucket was part of the ducal scheme for a strong government in   
places where the central power was far removed. "No such strong and   
yet liberal scheme of vice-regal government was established under the   
British flag for many a year."  
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The conference closed the history of the colony of Martha's Vine­   
yard and Nantucket as an independent entity. For thirty years   
the islands had been ruled by the proprietor independent of higher  
suzerainty. But Mayhew lost little by the change. His powers and   
prestige, supported now by a closer alliance with royal authority, were   
in fact increased rather than diminished.

The government of the islands was still a government under   
Mayhew's supervision, only henceforth to be subject to the oversight   
of a governor-general at New York. Laws were now to be made by   
Thomas Mayhew as governor, with the aid of assistants, instead of by   
the "patentee" or "the single person."

Other matters at the conference were determined which were   
not of political import. The influence of Thomas Mayhew directed   
the flow of thought into Indian channels. Even in this day while   
honors were being thrust upon him, he thought of the humble Indian   
and the work of the propagation of the gospel among them, which had   
been the lifework of his son who had not lived to share the honors now   
freely bestowed.

The pregnant move of the conference in this respect was the   
appointment of Thomas Mayhew "too bee Governor. over ye Indians   
upon Martin's Vineyard." He was authorized to "follow ye same   
way and Course of quiet & peaceable Governmt amongst them as   
hitherto hee hath done, web will tend to their mutuall Benefitt and Sat­  
isfaction, and by Degrees bring them to Submit to, & acknowledge his   
Maties Lawes Establisht by his Royall Highness in this Province."  
 Further Governor Mayhew was ordered: "You are to cause some   
of ye Principall Sachems to repaire ( as speedily as They can) to mee,   
that soe They may pay their homage to his Matie, & acknowldge his   
Royall Hs. to bee their only Lord Proprietor."

It was a well tamed savage that the ducal governor expected to   
come to him at York, three hundred miles by water, to pay homage to  
 a Scotch-French-Italian-Danish King across the sea.

Lovelace was not much interested in the spiritual or material well­   
being of the untutored savage, but he was an amiable man and willing   
to assist the Puritan Mayhew in anything that would cost the Duke   
of York and Albany, and etc., no extra penny.

In response to request he even addressed a letter to Governor

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Prince recommending that official to use his influence in obtaining  
 added financial assistance for Mayhew as a missionary to the Indians.  
 A unique feature of the conference was the grant to Thomas May­   
hew and his grandson of a charter creating a manor out of parcels of   
territory within the present bounds of Chilmark, Tisbury, and the  
Elizabeth Islands.

At the quiet Vineyard reappeared one of the oldest of English   
social institutions. The wind-swept moors, the occasional parks of   
forests, the green meadows, sheep pastures, and plough lands of the   
island, dotted plentifully with great lagoons and smooth flowing   
streams, like the famed waterways of old England, lent themselves  
geographically to the English manor and countryside.

In the course of time, the island with its quaint mills, two-storied   
houses, miles of fencing and herds of sheep, became a transplanted bit   
of the home country where lords and squires and landowners ruled   
fertile acres and sat as justices of the peace at shire courts.

Thomas Mayhew was of ancient years. He "had risen to a unique   
position among his colonial confreres," says the island historian.   
Doubtless his thoughts harked back to the place of his birth and the   
scenes of his childhood, and the recollections of Tisbury with its manor   
aroused in him a desire to become the head of a like social institution,   
the first of a line of Lords of the Manor in another Tisbury. He had   
recollected the Arundels of Wardour, the hereditary Lords of Tisbury   
Manor in Wiltshire, living but a short distance from his boyhood home,   
and the grandeur of their position, holding dominion over their broad   
acres, with tenants filling the manor barn every harvest, as acknowledg­   
ments of their fealty, in lieu of knightly service; and having already   
had a taste of the headship of a community for many years … he  
now wanted the legitimate fruit of his position made distinctive."

Mayhew was ambitious to establish on the Vineyard the good old   
customs of Merrie England with its armorial gentry and leading fami­   
lies of the shire, but too, he saw in the feudal government of the manor   
ameans whereby he might exercise untrammeled administration over   
Indian tenants without the interference of jealous and encroaching   
Englishmen.

The Manor of Tisbury was the only fully established manor   
erected within the confines of New England, save the Lordship of   
Martha's Vineyard created by a later governor of New York in favor   
of Matthew Mayhew.

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The manor is an estate in land to which is incident certain rights.   
Blackstone tells us that manors were held by lords or great personages   
who kept in their own hands so much land as was necessary for the   
use of their families, which was called demesne lands, being occupied   
by the lord and his servants. The other or tenemental lands were dis­   
tributed among tenants, which from the different modes of tenure were   
called and distinguished by different names.

The proprietor of a manor is a feudal lord, known in the old   
feudal system as a minor baron, in contradistinction of the great barons   
who possessed a number of manors grouped into a lordship called an   
Honor. In the course of time the great barons were patented with   
titles by the kings, and out of this practice grew the present peerage or   
titled nobility. The lesser barons continued to be members of the   
untitled nobility. Although they could and may rightfully follow   
their names with the appendage "Lord of the Manor," they are not   
privileged to use the title "Lord" as a prefix.

Generally speaking the peerage is today considered the nobility of   
England. That nation has always been jealous of the dignity of the   
members of her upper class and their ability to maintain their posi­   
tions in proper style, consequently she is not prone to recognize the   
members of the untitled nobility as anything more than gentry. Strictly   
speaking, however, any person entitled to coat armour is a member of   
the nobility. In many localities on the Continent all the sons of a   
feudal lordship retain their membership in the nobility and bear the   
title of their ancestor, even unto the ultimate generation. This accounts   
for the great number of impecunious Counts to be found in some Latin   
countries, and by marriage in American families.

With the growth of the peerage in England and the ennoblement   
of the great barons, manors ceased to be called baronies, although they   
are still lordships.

The highest privilege appurtenant to manorial lordship was that   
of holding private or domestic courts. At these courts the feudatory  
or his steward sat as judge. Customarily the courts were two in classi­   
fication, called Court Baron and Court Leet. At Court Baron mat­   
ters pertaining to the lands of the tenants were heard, disputes as to   
ownership of properties and rights of commonage adjusted, alienations  
 of land recorded, and new tenants and heirs placed in possession, regu­   
lations and by-laws concerning the upkeep of fences, roads, and other  
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matters relating to the farming of the manor lands, passed. Jurisdic­   
tion also extended in actions for debt and damages in limited sums.  
 The Court Leet was a criminal court exercising the King's jurisdic­   
tion in the punishment of minor infringements of law not grave enough   
to be brought to the attention of the royal courts of the district. At   
the Leets scolds were fined for annoying neighbors, millers for taking   
excessive toll of tenants, and brewers for making flat beer. Petty   
offenses against the customs of the manor, such as bad ploughing,   
improper taking of timber from the lord's woods, and the like, were   
heard. This tribunal was the police court of the manor.

At these courts the tenants played an important role. Aside the   
presiding officer of the court and the bailiff who represented the lord   
as public prosecutor, the generality of the officers of the manor and   
court were elected by the tenants from their own ranks. Among these   
officials were the reeve, the tithing-man or constable, surveyors of   
hedges, ditches, and waterways, the swineherd, and the cowherd.

*It* has been pointed out that the appellation of many municipal offi­

cers in English towns are carried back in their origin to the agricultural  
and manorial officers of early days.

Traces of these officials are found in the records of New England   
towns, where tithing-men, constables, fence viewers, surveyors of high­   
ways, surveyors of lumber, hog reeves, field drivers, and poundkeepers   
were annually chosen in town meeting, much as their prototypes were   
in the manor courts of the mother country.

Manorial lands in the seventeenth century were customarily held   
by either copyhold tenure or in fee. The copyhold tenant held land by   
grants recorded in the books of the manor, which did not descend to   
the heirs by law. Copyhold tenants were not freemen. They consti­   
tuted the peasantry of the country.

Lands in fee were held by freemen. These constituted a smaller   
and more important class in the manor. Unlike the copyhold tenant,   
the freeman was not bound to the soil and owed the lord no menial   
service upon the lord's lands as rent service, but was quit of all obliga­   
tions by the payment of a small rent in money, called quit-rent, or someinexpensive trifle. The freemen of manors were customarily yeomen,   
but they might also be gentlemen and maintain seats, whose lands   
would be farmed by servants of their own.

Although a number of attempts were made to transplant the feudal  
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system to America, in but few provinces did the manor become an   
institution. Nowhere in the New World did it function more nor­   
mally than in New York. Manors were early erected in Maryland,   
where prior to 1676 about sixty were in existence, each containing an   
average of approximately three thousand acres. In North Carolina   
an elaborate feudal system of government was worked out by the   
philosopher John Locke, wherein provision was made that tracts   
of land of more than three thousand acres might be erected into   
manors by special patent. In colonizing Pennsylvania the Proprietary   
divided the lands of that colony into manors, but these, held by the   
Penn family, were hardly more than manors in name. Wealthy landed   
proprietors owned tracts of baronial dimensions in some of the other   
colonies, notably Virginia, and rented farms to tenants, but these pos­   
sessions were not manors in law and only so called by the self-endowed   
courtesy of the owners.

The manors of New York were of enormous acreage. Cortlandt   
Manor contained eighty-three thousand acres, and Livingston one hun­   
dred and twenty thousand acres. Tisbury, itself containing many   
square miles of land, was one of the earliest established in the province.   
The manorial lords of New York were men powerful in the social   
and political history of the Colony and State, and have left an impress  
in both local and national spheres.

Feudalism in America was destined to be a failure notwithstanding   
traces of it lingered in varied form until many years after the Ameri­   
can Revolution. The anti-rent riots of New York, which broke out in  
1839 when the executors of the estate of Stephen Van Rensselaer   
attempted to collect back quit-rents, resulted in the last stand of feudal­   
ism. The great Van Rensselaer manor had to this day remained intact,   
but thereafter it was largely sold to the dissatisfied tenants who, with   
their fathers, had so many years tilled the soil of a lord.

At Martha's Vineyard feudalism lived a healthy existence for   
sixty-nine years until the death of Matthew Mayhew in 1710; there­   
after it lead a precarious life until with the Revolution it passed into   
oblivion. In l 776, Captain Matthew Mayhew, of Edgartown, last of   
the Mayhew lords of Tisbury, accepted a commission as commander of   
of a company in the Dukes County Regiment of Militia on the side of   
the struggling colonists.

The Rev. Experience Mayhew, as late as 17*56,* is known to have

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laid claim to rights as a Lord Proprietor, perhaps in descent from   
Thomas Mayhew as patentee of Martha's Vineyard, and not as an   
heir of the family manor. Others of the family made similar claims.   
As late as r 838 Judge William Mayhew, of Edgartown, as senior heir   
of the first Thomas Mayhew in the eldest male line, conveyed his inter­   
est in the Gravelly Islands, and in the year following, his interest in   
Muskeget Island, to his son Thomas.

During the lifetime of the governor parts of Tisbury Manor were   
fenced and a number of tracts of land sold. These were conveyed   
subject to a nominal quit-rent to reserve the lords' jurisdiction. The  
governor's grandsons, Thomas and John Mayhew, were purchasers in   
the Quansoo region, and John Haynes, of Rhode Island, bought land   
at the Elizabeth Islands, for which he agreed to pay a quit-rent of "2   
good sheep at the Manor House on November 15th yearly and every   
year."

After the death of the elder Mayhew, Matthew, as surviving lord   
of the manor, kept up the custom of exacting quit-rents in true English   
style. One holder of land in the manor was obliged to bring annually   
to the lord "a good chees," another "one nutmeg," and Matthew's   
"beloved brother John" was under duty to pay one mink skin annually   
as tribute "at my mannor house in the mannor of Tisbury" on the fif­   
teenth of November each year.

The lord's brother-in-law, Major Skiffe, held land under a quit-rent   
of "six peckes of good wheat" annually. In 1732, Sarah, widow of   
Thomas Mayhew, III, of Chilmark, in a deed conveying land referred   
to the "Quitt-rents which shall hereafter become due unto the Lord   
of the Manner .... which is one Lamb." The lord at this time   
was Micajah Mayhew, of Edgartown, great-great-grandson of the   
governor.

Due to the peculiar nature of the manor as a feudal institution, its   
early settlement was not effected in the customary manner. Home   
lots were not distributed among the planters, and a town proprietary   
was not formed until 1695, when Matthew Mayhew, as lord of the   
manor, created by document a proprietary of thirty shareholders to   
settle a tract in the manor known as the town of Chilmark. In the   
corporation, Matthew kept a controlling interest of eighteen shares,   
distributing the balance among grantees holding land in the district   
and members of his immediately family, including two sons, a brother,   
and three brothers-in-law.

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After the transfer of Martha's Vineyard to the Province of Mas­   
sachusetts Bay the status of Chilmark was for many years anomalous   
due to the fact that it was not incorporated by the General Court of   
Massachusetts as a town until I 714 when, upon petition of the Rev.   
Experience Mayhew, acting as "Agent for the Manour of Tisbury," it   
was ordered that the manor "commonly called Chilmark, have all   
the Powers of a Town given and granted them, for the better Manage­   
ment of their publick affairs, Laying and Collecting of Taxes granted to   
his Majesty for the Support of the Government, Town charges and   
other affairs whatsoever, as other Towns in the Province do by Law   
enjoy." Thereafter the town and manor had a dual existence, although   
before this a quasi-legal form of town government had been in exist­  
 ence and it had been represented at the General Court as a pocket   
borough controlled by the Mayhew family.

At the close of the conference with Lovelace, Thomas Mayhew   
and his grandson returned to the Vineyard, armed, in the language of   
the elder with "a new Charter and Liberties in it made, grounded upon   
my First Graunt and the Resignation of L'd Sterling's Heirs to his   
Royall Highness, &c., thankfully by me accepted there and by all at   
Home, and also at Nantuckett soe farre as I know."

The conference had heen seven years in partuition, but had proved   
well worth the cost to Mayhew of "29 daies from the Island." The   
Lord of the Isles was now governor and Chief Magistrate for life,   
President of the General Court of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket,   
Chief Justice of the courts at Martha's Vineyard, and Lord of the   
Manor of Tisbury. In addition to these honors he was eligible to sit   
as a justice in the General Court of Assizes, the supreme court for all   
the territories governed by the Duke of York in America.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE DUTCH REBELLION

After the arrival home of Thomas Mayhew from the conference   
with Lovelace he summoned in convenient time a general meeting of   
the inhabitants of Martha's Vineyard. Upon this occasion he related   
the change of island jurisdiction, and had his commission as governor   
publicly read. He acquainted the sachems and chief men of the   
Indians of his appointment over them, "which every man accepted of   
thankfully."

Seizing the enthusiasm of the moment, the newly acclaimed gov­

ernor of the Indians spoke of religion. "After much discourse" he put   
"a vote as to the waie of God and there was not one but helld upp his   
hand to furthere it to the uttmost. Many of them not p'fessed praying   
men diverse allso spake verry well to the thing p'pounded. I remem­   
ber not such-an unyversall Consent till now."

In his new dignity Thomas Mayhew took care to keep up the state   
and authority of a royal governor by means of a constant gravity and a   
wise and exact behavior as always raised and preserved the Indians' reverence.

Insistence for respect of station is well illustrated by an incident   
which took place during the visit of an Indian prince, ruler of a large   
part of the main land, who, coming to Mard1a's Vineyard in royal   
manner with an attendance of about eighty persons well armed, called   
at the governor's house. The governor upon entering the room where   
sat the visiting prince, being acquainted with the Indian custom that   
as a point of honor it is incumbent upon the inferior to salute the   
superior, took no notice of the other's presence. A silence ensued   
which the native chieftain was obliged to break, notwithstanding his   
kingly retinue, saying at length, "Sachem, Mr. Mayhew, are you   
well?" Whereupon the governor gave a friendly reply.

In the inauguration of the duke's government, Mayhew proceeded   
with customary deliberation. Eleven months elapsed before the Gen­   
eral Court provided for in the new scheme of government was con­   
vened by him at Edgartown on Martha's Vineyard, the I 8th of June,   
1672. The fruits of the first session was a body of just, liberal, and   
sensible laws.

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Thus far the transmutation of government had been effected with­   
out dissension. But at the second sitting of the General Court, holden   
at Nantucket the year following, dissatisfaction disclosed itself. The   
Nantucket judges refused to follow the rules of procedure provided   
for their guidance at the Lovelace conference. "After very much   
Debate" the governor and the members of the bench from Martha's   
Vineyard "came away resolving speedily" to apply to the governor­   
general for a ruling. For once Thomas Mayhew moved with alacrity.   
He dispatched Matthew to the capital for the purpose, but Matthew,   
on his way, was met with the news that New York had been captured   
by the Dutch, and returned without completing his journey.

The information that New York had been taken by the Hollanders   
was seized upon by malcontents residing on both islands as an oppor­   
tunity to disavow the authority of the duke's government. A number   
of them arose in open rebellion.

The historian of Martha's Vineyard regards this uprising as an   
endeavor upon the part of the freemen to "get rid of hereditary rulers   
and lords of the manor, of which they supposed their New England to   
be quit." Whatever conjecture may be made as to the cause of dis­   
sension, the facts established from contemporary documents circum­   
scribe the issue of the rebellion at Martha's Vineyard to one grievance.   
According to the tenor of a letter sent by some of "his Majesties sub­   
jects the free houlders in the two towns setled on Martha's Vineyard"   
to the Right Worshipful John Leverett, Esq., governor of the Colony   
of the Massachusetts Bay, complaint is made solely that the inhabi­   
tants no longer had the "Boston form of government." Reference is   
not made to manorial privileges, and it may be added that at that time   
in no document now extant is criticism directed to this form of social   
structure.

There is little likelihood that the relation of the manor at this time   
to the rest of the island, due to any possible discrimination in taxation,   
could have affected materially the state of mind of the rebellious free­   
men. At the breaking out of the rebellion, the manor's population,  
exclusive of Indians, was limited to one white settler, the Rev. John   
Mayhew. The manor is mentioned only once in the course of the   
rebellion. In a letter to the governor of New York Simon Athearn   
comments on the fact that a large number of the Indians on the island   
were Mr. Mayhew's tenants.

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Englishmen of the seventeenth century were accustomed to feudal­   
ism. It was to them no great bogey. The Puritans did not entirely   
cast aside social, even political, distinctions. Far from it, they limited  
 suffrage and office holding to a small select group, and were particu­   
lar to preserve the hierarchy of rank with special attention to gentlemen   
and noblemen. John Haynes, returning to England, was honored   
with a salute of guns at the Castle in Boston Harbor, he being the son   
of a Privy Councillor. The young Sir Henry Vane, when but twenty­   
four years of age and without great experience, was elected Governor   
of Massachusetts soon after his arrival in the country, on account of   
his impressive bearing and title-and ships in the harbor honored the  
event with a volley of shot.

The rebellion at Martha's Vineyard may, in part, have been   
directed against the rule of the Mayhew family and the nepotism that   
thrived under powers granted the ruling family by the ducal govern­   
ment. It may be that the disaffected inhabitants sought to put to an   
end the establishment of the House of Mayhew as an hereditary aris­   
tocracy, and that they rebelled at the existence of a family bench headed   
by a governor holding office under life tenure, assisted by a grandson,   
a son-in-law, and a stepson-in-law as associate justices, and the spectre  
 of manorial lords exacting quit-rents on the fifteenth of each Novem­   
ber annually, or any other time. But mainly the freemen chafed   
because the privilege of representative government in province affairs   
was not accorded.

While Mayhew was not a staunch advocate of democratic govern­   
ment of the unheard of twentieth century type and was not imbued   
with the sophistry that any man is qualified to govern so long as he is   
elected to office by a majority of equally unqualified citizens, it cannot   
be said that under the duke's government Mayhew in any way   
attempted to withhold any privilege from the freemen of the island   
that was rightfully theirs by law.

But the people of New York, unlike those of New England, had   
no voice in the general government of the province. A General Court   
of Freemen was not in the scheme of government established by the   
Duke of York and was denied by him upon several occasions during   
his proprietorship. Laws of the province were enacted by the gov­   
ernor-general with the advice of a council largely supine. It was an   
autocratic government, arbitrary in form, but mild in practice.

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But in local affairs the freemen of the Vineyard had a large share  
of self-government. The members of the Court of Assistant of each  
 island and all the judges of the General Court, save Mayhew, were  
elected by the freeholders.

Thomas Mayhew, as governor, had no power of veto, only a  
double or casting vote in cases of disagreement. With a representive  
General Court for local concerns, an elective bench, and a right to man-  
age town affairs, the freemen of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket   
had a government that was exceedingly democratic for the century.

But it was not the representative government the freemen of the  
 Vineyard had been accustomed to in Massachusetts. It was not the   
government provided for in the Stirling patent, by whose terms many  
 of them had been induced to emigrate from their old homes to the  
new. They had seen Mayhew lay claim to certain vested right supe-   
rior to theirs under the Stirling patent. Now they saw a further cur-   
tailment of liberties under the duke's government.

Considerable unrest seems to have existed among some of the free-  
men on account of the fact that the governor of the island held office  
under life tenure, although elected executives were not common in the   
 seventeenth century. From various complaints it may be gathered that  
 the malcontents objected to the rule of Thomas Mayhew for the reason  
 that he too keenly championed the cause of the Indians.

In an effort to show that Mayhew held sway over the Vineyard as   
a petty tryant, Simon Athearn, in a letter to the governor- general  
launches into an involved account of several incidents, which from his  
own recital do not bear the result wished for by him. On one count   
Athearn complains that Governor Mayhew and his judges allowed  
an Indian servant belonging to Athearn to return to his family because  
struck by Athearn after repeated runnings away. Athearn complains  
 that it was an established rule on the island promulgated by the gov-   
ernor for the protection of the Indians that no master should strike  
 his servant and that if the servant was not willing to abide with the   
master, the master should let him go. This humane rule was irritat-  
 ing at times to masters dealing with refractory servants. These were  
not the harsh laws of England to which Englishmen were accustomed,s  
 but they were the means of preventing the servitude of an inferior race  
and the breeding of ill will towards the English.

In another charge Athearn recounts the tale of an illiterate Eng-  
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lishman named Perkins who called an Indian a lying rogue, whereupon   
the Indian "laid hold with his hand on Perkins his hair and plucked   
him down and swore he would kill him and called to his fellows for a   
knife to kill him." Complaining to the governor and Judge Daggett,   
the Englishman was "much threatened" for his conduct in the matter   
and talk was made that he ought to be fined for calling the Indian a   
lying rogue. And, continues, Athearn, the Indian on the other hand   
was told "very mildly" that if he carried any stick or weapon in his   
hand within a certain period of time he would be fined five pounds.

Athearn claims that bad feeling existed between Judge Daggett   
and Perkins, but the ruling of the court appears fair when one bears   
in mind the primitive psychology of the Indian and the supposed better   
judgment of the Englishman.

It was under laws and rulings such as these that the rebellious free­   
man of the Vineyard chafed. Even in the heat of controversy they   
could think of nothing more disparaging with which to charge Thomas   
Mayhew than friendliness towards the Indians.

Mayhew, with painstaking conscientiousness, writes Governor   
Prince, "Sir, it is so, that my favour unto Indians hath been thought   
to be overmuch; but I say, my error hath been, in all cases, that I am   
too favourable to English; and it hath always been very hard for me   
to preserve myself from being drawn to deal over-hardly with the   
Indians."

Legal cause is a desirable attribute with which to bolster any rebel­   
lion. The disaffected inhabitants of Martha's Vineyard were not long   
in finding one, even if it was not a good one. They professed to doubt   
the power of Lovelace to appoint a governor for life for Martha's   
Vineyard. That Lovelace had power to appoint a governor is indis­   
putable, and having that power the tenure of his appointee was in no   
way dependent upon his own. The appointment made by Lovelace   
was in law the appointment of the Duke of York, and lasted so long as   
the Duke was proprietary of New York or any portion of it.

The malcontents refused to follow this reasoning. They argued   
that as the ducal authority at the capitol had fallen so had fallen May­   
hew's life tenure as governor, that as the island had not been formerly   
within the jurisdiction of New Netherlands and was not comprehended   
in the revived Dutch province established by the Hollanders at New   
York, it was no longer under the Duke's government, but was in a

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state of complete independence of any colony, and without authorized   
government.

Following this line of thought William Root Bliss in his interest-

ing book, entitled "Quaint Nantucket," falls into the error of assum­  
ing that the Dutch capture of New York brought the islands of Mar­   
tha's Vineyard and Nantucket under Dutch control and speaks of the   
inhabitants of Nantucket being put to the test as to their loyalty to the   
victorious flag in connection with a wreck; and that a jury of six men   
of Nantucket did not forget "that they had become Dutchmen," and   
so rendered a verdict "loyal" to the Dutch authorities.

Instead of being loyal subjects of the States of Holland, as Mr.   
Bliss supposes, the jury of six men of Nantucket acted in a spirit   
decidedly to the contrary. The owner of the wrecked vessel claimed   
to be an English denizen of New York, of Dutch blood, and although   
admittedly on his way to Holland, professed that he had been captured   
by the Dutch, along with the province, and been compelled under   
duress to load a cargo consigned to Holland.

Bliss' story is naive, but the men of Nantucket were not nearly so   
quaint as Mr. Bliss indicates by the title of his book, so they found that   
the Dutch-blooded master was not "a subject of the King of England"   
and thereby paved the way for the confiscation of the Dutch vessel as   
a prize of war. The jury did not find that the master was a Dutch   
citizen because they considered themselves Dutchmen, but because   
they were convinced that the defendant was in fact a Hollander not­   
withstanding his English denizenship. It does not require a great   
exercise of the imagination to suppose that the inhabitants of the   
island profited in the master's misfortune by the confiscation of his   
cargo of merchandise belonging to the subject of an enemy nation at   
war with their dread sovereign, Charles II, King of England.

The malcontents of neither island considered themselves Dutch   
subjects. In the very month the chameleon Dutch-English sea captain   
was tried at Nantucket, the malcontents at Martha's Vineyard were   
subscribing themselves in a petition to the Governor of Massachusetts   
as humble and obedient subjects of the King of England.

As the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket were not   
embraced in the new Dutch province, and as the rebels denied the exist­   
ence of the Duke's government after the fall of New York, a technical   
state of anarchy developed. In the language of the insurgents "every   
one Doth that which is right in his own eyes."

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Adds Matthew Mayhew, "about half the People in a Mutinous   
Manner, arose with many contumelious Words and Threats against   
the said Govournour daring him in the Prosecution of his Royall High­   
ness his Government."

The rebels ignored the logic that might have led them to consider   
the Duke's government, by his regularly constituted officers, still exist­   
ant in those parts of his territories not in possession of the enemy, and   
that Mayhew's commission to act as governor of the island, originat­   
ing by authority of the Duke of York, was not necessarily revoked by   
the occupation of a part of the Duke's holdings by the Dutch, especially   
as the Duke was much alive in England and had not relinquished his   
proprietary claims. Title to the island had not passed and never did   
pass to the Dutch; the island itself was never in the possession, actual   
or constructive, of the Hollanders, and the Duke's duly constituted offi­   
cials on the island were at all times present.

The fact that after the surrender of the province by the Dutch to   
the Duke, the King as a matter of precaution and upon the advice of   
constitutional lawyers who, after profound research and argumentation,   
advised that the doctrine of *jus postlimini* was not applicable, made a   
regrant of the province to the Duke, in no way lessens the sins of the   
rebels to whom the fine point of law involved was as so much Sanskrit.   
Apparently the English jurists were unacquainted with the fact that   
Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket had never been in the possession of   
the Dutch, or thought the territories too insignificant to warrant a pro­   
cedure different from that prescribed for the entire province. Be that   
as it may, the islands were included in the second grant of the province   
to the Duke.

Meanwhile the rebel party decided it would better serve its ends   
to declare that no lawful government existed on the island, and then to   
remedy the situation by establishing an unauthorized government of its   
own. This conduct was clearly a subterfuge to gain control of island   
affairs. Like their brethren in Massachusetts, the rebels were not   
above a bit of chicanery in their struggle for freedom.

Legal disputation appears to have been an attribute natural to the   
Puritan mind. By it they were able to meet on equal ground and   
checkmate English authority, royal governors, and Parliament, until   
the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. British officialdom had to   
admit that in the practical art of politics they were no match for the

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freemen of New England trained in open town meeting and service in   
all the offices of government from hog reeve to Speaker of the Colonial   
Assembly.

Recalling days on the Main, the malcontents at Martha's Vine-

yard met and attempted the formation of a rump government pat­   
terned on the Massachusetts plan of electing the chief magistrate   
annually, as had been the vogue, with limitations, on the island when   
Mayhew first set up government at Great Harbor under the Earl of   
Stirling's patent.

As loyal subjects of the crown and as a matter of cooperative good

sense in days of peril and war, the conduct of the refractory party can­   
not be upheld. The incongruity of a part of the inhabitants of the   
island urging that the only government lawfully initiated over them   
was now without legal efficacy while attempting to set up a government   
of their own without a scintilla of legal authority, and representing   
only "about half of the people" is obvious, but the attitude of the   
island historian is not equally so, who lauds the conduct of the rebels   
and depicts them as guardians of liberty and democracy. The good   
judgment of a party crying that they are in need of protection against   
foreign foe because of weakness in numbers, at the same time conduct­   
ing a rebellion among themselves that further weakened their powers   
of defense, is not open to the adulation of posterity.

Although the rebel party was anxious to depose Thomas Mayhew   
as life governor of the island, they made a gesture of compromise by   
addressing him a letter wherein they requested him to lay aside volun­   
tarily his government by commission of the Duke, offering in return to   
elect him chief magistrate for one year, the choice thereafter to be   
determined yearly by election.

The reply of Governor Mayhew was "no, he would not, he could   
not answer it." And, further, he gave them to understand his resolu­   
tion *to* hold and defend the island until it should be forcibly taken out   
of his hands. These words from the lips of the eighty-year-old gov­   
ernor have a virile sound compared with the sanctimonious phrases of   
the rebels who were continually seeking Divine aid to get them out of   
their own difficulties.

Thomas Mayhew was not one *to* treat with rebels in the guise of   
sturd yeoman thirsting for freedom, while seeking to do away with   
established government in time of war, bewailing all the while that

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they were "captured" by the Dutch and without government. The   
nearest conquering Dutchman was miles away and apparently uncon­   
scious of the Vineyard's existence. Perhaps Mayhew felt it was time   
enough to surrender when one saw the whites of the enemy's eyes, and   
not sooner. There was little doubt of his resolution to hold his   
position.

Following the governor's answer, the rebel party went into confer­   
ence. One problem, at least, was solved. It would be unnecessary for   
them to further dissipate their energies in any attempt to win over the   
governor to their persuasion.

The next move of the democrats was the preparation of a petition   
addressed to the governor and assistants of the Massachusetts Bay   
Colony in which the Massachusetts authorities were beseeched "for the   
Lords sake" to lend an ear unto "Gods Covenanting people in this   
wildernesse" and to afford them protection from domestic and foreign   
enemies. It is not certain who constituted the domestic enemies, but   
the inference is that the petitioners feared the Mayhews as much as   
the Dutch. At least the Mayhews were at hand and fear of them had   
virtue in fact for the governor had threatened the insurgents with   
being made "tratcherous." This was something to fear.

Massachusetts refused to interfere in the plight of the Vineyarders   
or to be stampeded by any flattering reference to her governor and his   
court as "the most noble in these parts of Amarika."

Answer was returned by the Court of Assistants of that colony   
advising the rebels to be "best eased" by their quiet yielding unto their   
former government and their wholesome laws under which they had so   
long lived.

This was a crushing blow to "God's Covenanting people in the   
wildernesse." But the rebuff could not stop the momentum of therebellion that had gone so far.

The two factions were openly at war. Warrants posted by the   
official government were torn down and constables sent to serve the   
governor's writs abused; the rebels "disdaining so much as any inti­   
mation of Right title of interest from his Royall Highness." When   
the wife of one of the supporters of the rump government was indicted   
for forcibly taking a warrant out of the marshal's hands, the opposi­   
tion became so aroused that they threatened the governor, challenged   
his family, and shook fists at his retainers. They "managed their pos-  
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sessions with such a high hand as to live according to their Profession,   
by the Sword" and it was only by restraint placed upon the official   
party by the aged governor that they were dissuaded "from using of   
the Sword in their Defence."

Young Matthew Mayhew, twenty-six, imbued by birth and service   
under the crown with the spirit of class distinction, found it hard to   
restrain his temper as he strode the streets of Edgartown and was chal­   
lenged to sword play as one of the family. But the calm good sense of   
the governor prevailed and the blood of fratricidal war was not shed.  
 The rebellion and rump government at Martha's Vineyard were   
short lived. Differences between the English and the Dutch were   
adjusted at Westminster early in 1674- By terms of treaty New   
Amsterdam was again surrendered. On the 3 I st of October a new   
governor-general in the person of a dashing officer of dragoons, Major   
Edmund Andros, Seigneur of Sausmarez and Bailiff of the Island of   
Guernsey, reassumed authority at New York as lieutenant and governor-  
general to his royal highness James, Duke of York and  
Albany.

The rebels at Martha's Vineyard awaited the outcome with omi­   
nous forebodings.

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CHAPTER XV

THE NANTUCKET INSURRECTION

At Nantucket a corresponding eruption broke out, known to local   
historians as the Nantucket Insurrection. The rebellion at this island   
grew out of causes differing from those at Martha's Vineyard. It was   
not essentially a dispute between the Mayhew family and the body of   
freemen. It was primarily a contest between the first purchasers of the   
island, known as whole-shares men, and subsequent purchasers known   
as half-shares men.

Before effecting a plantation at Nantucket, the grantees of Thomas   
Mayhew had each chosen a partner, making twenty proprietors in all,   
thereafter known as the whole-shares men, from the fact that each   
owned a whole share in the island proprietary. Being agriculturists,   
they recognized the necessity of obtaining the services of seamen and   
tradesmen skilled in the several manual arts. They contracted for the   
services of additional proprietors to whom were granted limited or   
half-share rights in the island proprietary. It was not the intent of the   
original proprietors that the half-shares men should have equal   
privileges.

The whole-shares men considered themselves the landed gentry of   
the island, endowed under their purchase rights from Thomas May­   
hew, not only with the ownership of the soil, but with the right of   
government.

The resident leader of this faction was Tristram Coffin, a man of   
good estate from Devon, England, who had been a judge of small   
causes at Salisbury in the Massachusetts Colony. Coffin was one of the   
original planters of the island. The Coffin family, father, five sons,   
and daughters with their husbands, formed a considerable part of the   
landed gentry.

The leader of the half-shares men was John Gardner from Salem,   
invited to the island for the purpose of establishing a cod fishery trade.   
He was a man endowed with a remarkable faculty for leadership, but   
was contentious and rebellious, and as is often the case with petty   
political leaders, a man of no great education, but an extremely good   
opportunist. His brother Richard, a mariner, was also one of the   
half-shares men, but unlike his brother, was a man of some education,

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and lacked John's love for disputation. The Gardner brothers had   
qualities that made them popular, and natural abilities that enabled   
them to become persons of prominence. Coffin and the Gardners were   
men of strong personalities, and having interests diametrically opposed   
were soon locked in a feud that extended over a period of years.

According to Henry Barnard Worth, an early investigator into the   
history of Nantucket: "Wealth, tone and influence were with the Cof­   
fin faction." The others represented the poorer classes composed   
mostly of mechanics. The land-owning aristocracy was supported by   
Thomas Mayhew.

In a character of the governor, the same author writes, "Thomas   
Mayhew lived at Edgartown and was called 'Governor,' for he was   
appointed to that office for life. It is said that his motive in buying these   
islands was to Christianize the Indians. But this will hardly explain his   
actions. The fact probably is that primarily he wanted a place where   
he could rule and govern and establish a manor. He was a born aristo­   
crat and hated anybody who advocated rule by the people. The only   
practical aristocracy was that connected with land ownership. Tris­   
tram Coffin held exactly the same view."

This delineation of the character of Thomas Mayhew is defective   
in that there is nothing in his life to warrant the supposition that he   
"hated" those who advocated rule by the people. Mr. Worth's presen­   
tation of the Nantucket Rebellion is imperfect for the reason that he   
fails to sense the economic problem involved. It was more a politico­   
economic struggle, arising out of the peculiar land tenure of the pro­   
prietary, than a clash of classes.

An attempt has been made to surmount the uprising of the half­   
shares men with a halo not rightfully theirs. To place their revolt   
against the authority and rights of the first settlers on the basis of a   
declaration of independence against wrongs and persecutions is absurd.   
The half-shares men were neither wronged nor persecuted. They vol­   
untarily assumed obligations knowing the conditions under which they   
were expected to live. They knew that under the terms of their con­   
tracts, and as society was then constituted, they were not to be of equal   
authority with the First Purchasers in regard to control and ownership   
of land.

There is no record of any complaint nor, apparently, did the half­   
shares men question the authority exercised by the whole-shares men

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until they found themselves in a position to control island politics by   
reason of their numbers and the capture of New York by the Dutch.   
They then proceeded to overthrow the government, not by and   
through the source under which that authority was held, but illegally   
and by means unethical. In this movement John Gardner, the young­   
est in point of residence, bore the conspicuous part.

When the Gardners obtained control of the local government they   
went in person to New York to submit to the governor-general for his   
choice of chief magistrate the names of the candidates nominated by   
the islanders. The governor commissioned Richard to be chief magis­   
trate and John to be captain of militia.

The Gardners were not satisfied with these favors. They peti­   
tioned for rulings and changes in the plan of government that were   
abusive to the rights of the landowning class who had no representa­   
tive present to protect its interests. From Lovelace, the Gardners   
obtained an instruction which purported to interpret the Lovelace   
charter to the town of Nantucket. This instruction construed all prior   
deeds to island lands derived from Thomas Mayhew to, be of "noe   
fforce or Validity," and that the record of everyone's claim of inter­   
est on the island should bear date from the granting of the Lovelace   
patent.

Further, the governor construed the charter to run only in favor   
of freeholders who lived on the island and improved their property, or   
such others having "pretences of Interest" who should come and   
inhabit there. This was a blow aimed at Thomas Mayhew and the   
several non-resident Coffins and others of the original proprietors who   
had been instrumental in founding the island settlement and who had   
invested their money in its lands. The Gardners hoped to eventually   
confiscate the lands of these proprietors, which would thereupon revertto the undivided and common lands of the proprietary in which the half-  
shares men had an interest.

John Gardner was also able to induce the governor to confer upon   
him as captain of militia the power "to appoint such Persons for   
inferior Officers" as he in his discretion should judge "most fitt and   
capable." It was decreed he should hold office at the governor's pleas­   
ure. In the plan of government promulgated at the first conference   
the inhabitants had been conferred the power to elect all inferior mili­   
tary officers as should be thought needful.

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This had been the arrangement when the "aristocrats," Mayhew   
and Coffin, had represented the people of Nantucket, but as soon as the   
"democratic" Gardners were able to reach the governor's ear, the   
scheme of things was changed and the power of the people in military   
affairs reduced.

One salutary ruling Lovelace passed at this session of errors. This   
was a decree that "in regard of the Distance of the Place and ye uncer­  
tainty of Conveyance betwixt" New York and Nantucket, "ye Chiefe  
Magistrate and all the Civil Officers" should continue in their employ­   
ment until the return of the governor's choice of a new chief magis­   
trate was received. Irony lies in the fact that when this ruling was   
put into force by a political opponent, the Gardners immediately repu­  
diated its effect.

The gorge of the Gardners has been pictured as rising each time   
they thought of Thomas Mayhew and his family endowed with heredi­   
tary and other privileges. Yet these men who had not participated   
in the early struggle of colonization, and who had invested no money   
in the enterprise, were ready and willing to receive to themselves a sur­   
prising number of privileges. They had entrenched themselves in   
power and had hamstrung the liberties of the original planters and   
chief owners of the soil of Nantucket.

Upon their return to Nantucket the newly Worshipful Richard   
Gardner, Esq., and Captain John Gardner deemed it expedient to   
bring with them a letter from the governor addressed to the inhabi­   
tants. In the letter Lovelace extended his thanks to the people of the   
island for the "Token" of "fifty weight of Heathers"; at that time   
legal tender. The "token," which was paid in advance, appears to   
have been efficacious in winning the governor's good graces. In flow­   
ing words, the genial Lovelace, governor and tavern keeper extraordi­   
nary, pays his compliments to the Gardners "who have prudently   
Managed the Trust Reposed in them," and adds the promise that at   
any time the inhabitants had other proposals to make for the good of   
the island, they might rest assured of his honor's ready compliance   
therein (probably upon payment of another fifty pounds of feathers,  
 although this is not mentioned) .

With their return to the island the Gardners brought with them "a   
Book of Lawes of the Government." This was a copy of the "Dukes   
Laws." By the language of the code it is evident that its laws were

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not intended to extend to the province as a whole. The territories   
ruled by the Duke were not uniformly governed. The city of New   
York had one form of government, the three Ridings another, Perna­   
quid and Maine were embraced in neither framework of government,   
while, as we have seen, the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nan­   
tucket had a separate form of government with an independent Gen­   
eral Court. The Duke's laws are said by modern legal authorities to   
have applied originally only to the three Ridings. It was not until the administration of Edmund Andros that the Duke authorized the gov­   
ernor to proclaim them over the entire province.

The justices at Nantucket in their local courts were entitled to use   
the Duke's laws as a guide for internal affairs if they chose, but they   
went further and endeavored to force the code upon the entire island   
jurisdiction, in violation of procedure established at the conference   
of I 67 I, which had not been repealed. It was this book that disrupted   
the second session of the General Court referred to in the preceding   
chapter, and which led to Matthew Mayhew's attempted journey to   
the capitol. It is not known whether Matthew carried a "token of   
ffeathers," but had he done so it would have been useless. The island   
envoy did not reach New York.

The news brought back by Matthew that New York had been cap­   
tured by the Dutch was received by the half-shares men with the same   
joy it had brought the malcontents at Martha's Vineyard. The oppor­   
tunity was ripe for the half-shares men to throw off their contractual   
obligations to the first proprietors and to assert equal rights in the   
lands of the proprietary under the rulings obtained by the Gardners.   
It was a law of New York that any grantee of land, not living   
thereon, failed to perfect his title thereto, and that said land should   
revert to the proprietary. The purpose of this law was to discourage   
land speculation by absentee owners. The application of the law   
to grants of land at Nantucket made by Thomas Mayhew prior to the  
 time that island came within the jurisdiction of New York, was highly immoral. The Gardners, by leading Lovelace to say that the ducal   
charter to Nantucket had cut off prior rights from Thomas Mayhew   
and hence that the charter was not one of confirmation, had shrewdly   
made it possible for them to now go forward in an apparent scheme  
to dispossess some of the whole-shares men of their rights.

Fate having ordained a paralysis of the parent government, the

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Gardner faction was in a position, as expressed by one of their number   
to administer affairs on the island so that every card they played was   
an ace and every ace a trump. They proceeded to establish the   
hypothesis that the Lovelace charter to the freeholders of Nantucket   
proportioned to each person their inhabiting a like and equal interest   
in the lands of the proprietary. In this manner they purported to do   
away with the original distinction of whole and half-shares.

The crux of the situation lay in the fact that if all landholders were   
in equal ownership, each half-shares man in future divisions of land   
would receive a whole share instead of a half share, *i. e.,* twice as much   
land as had been agreed upon in exchange for his services, and would   
be entitled to pasture cattle and sheep in equal numbers with the   
whole-shares men. So far as is known the half-shares men paid nothing   
for their original rights, nor did they offer to pay for the added inter­   
ests which they now claimed.

The Gardners stood for the confiscation of property without com­   
pensation.

The Lovelace charter had been one of confirmation, purporting to   
settle upon each man the interest held by him at the time of its execu­  
 tion. It was a confirmation by the Duke of York, as the new Lord   
Proprietor, of estates acquired upon the island by grants running back   
through Thomas Mayhew to the Earl of Stirling, whose rights had   
been purchased by the Duke from the Earl's heir. The charter did not   
purport to make void earlier deeds, nor did it make the novel attempt   
to proportion to each person holding a freehold a like and equal inter­   
est, each with the other.

In some respects the battle at Nantucket was like that waged in   
many New England settlements between proprietors of the common   
lands and the townsmen, but accentuated with the added problem of   
whole and half shares. Difficulty arose out of the fact that a distinc­   
tion between proprietary and town as separate legal entities was not   
clearly perceived.

The proprietors of Nantucket attempted to control their property   
by permitting non-resident proprietors to vote, and perhaps also by   
proportionate voting, that is, by allowing each landowner to vote in   
proportion to the amount of land owned by him. If he owned a half­   
share he had a half-vote, if he owned a whole share he had a whole vote,   
and so on.

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These rules were fair and equitable in meetings devoted to pro­   
prietary purposes, but they were naturally undemocratic when applied   
to suffrage.

The early proprietors had regulated and divided lands in town

meetings because the town meeting at first had been the meeting of the  
proprietary attending to business customarily handled in the manor   
courts of England. But in time came inhabitants who were small land­  
holders. These claimed the right of suffrage, and claiming an equal   
vote in town affairs with the large landowners, were soon able to con­   
trol and distribute the lands of the proprietary to suit themselves, in   
the guise that these things were town matters.

Writers who praise the conduct of the Nantucket insurgents as democrats fail to perceive the distinction between proprietary and   
town. They see only a struggle for equality in government and over­   
look the plundering of the proprietary. The struggle was not a strug­   
gle for the ballot, but a fight for land. At no time did the Gardnerites   
think of conferring suffrage on inhabitants of the town who were not   
landholders. Landless inhabitants had few rights in the seventeenth   
century, and the ballot was not one of them; this the Gardners in   
no wise thought undemocratic. Neither party was ahead of its day.

The arrival of Andros at New York acted as a temporary check   
to the conduct of the half-shares men. In the summer following the   
resumption of English government in the province, a group of whole­   
shares men met and appointed Mr. Matthew Mayhew and Mr. Tris­   
tram Coffin to go to the capitol to place the island situation before   
Andros.

With these envoys went Thomas Daggett, of Martha's Vineyard,   
son-in-law of Governor Mayhew. The emissaries appeared before   
the governor and council on the 4th of November, I 674. A statement   
of the late uprising at Martha's Vineyard was presented by Daggett   
and Mayhew who, in their address, referred to his Majesty's good sub­   
jects who had been awaiting the Duke's restoration of authority "as in   
Time of great Drouth for the latter Rain."

Acting for Nantucket, Mayhew and Coffin presented a letter rela­   
tive to the land troubles of the island, and also, for the governor's   
perusal, a complete abstract of land titles at Nantucket, including a   
record of every sale and purchase made by the proprietors since the   
grant from Thomas Mayhew. They also informed the governor that

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there appeared several grounds of suspicion of an endeavor by some   
lately admitted to the island and several that formerly had been admit­   
ted to supplant the first proprietors of their rights by defective record­   
ings and uncertain keeping of records, "and also by passing two several   
sorts of laws, the one against the other, and both overthrowing and   
taking away the former right" of the first proprietors. The address   
closed with a request for a ruling as to whether the Lovelace charter   
had been one of confirmation or whether it cut off the prior rights of   
the whole-shares men, and likewise whether any person having land   
on the island might not inhabit it by substitute.

The delegates propounded the question whether under the terms   
of their patent they had not the power "to Erect a Court or Meeting,   
as a Mannour Court," that lands granted by them might accordingly   
be held and enjoyed without interference by the town. They brought   
out the fact that the Nantucket judges of the Gardner party refused   
to sit and hence no legal court could be had on the island to adjudge   
problems. Several times had the judges been appealed to by the whole-  
shares men "but all in vain."

In soliciting the right to erect a manor court at Nantucket, May­  
hew and Coffin were endeavoring to enforce the principle upon which   
the American proprietary was founded. They saw no reason why the   
distribution and control of proprietary lands should not be determined   
by the landowners in proportion to their landed holdings, as stockhold­   
ers act in the modern corporation.

In the early days the government of the proprietary had in many  
respects resembled that of the manor. Disputes criminal and civil   
had been settled by the inhabitants, but mainly the proprietary had   
concerned itself with the control and distribution of lands, the rights   
of the inhabitants to firewood, pasturage, and other interests of like   
nature. Recordations of title and the names of those occupying and   
owning lands were kept in local records much as they were entered   
upon manor rolls.

The New England proprietary might broadly have been defined   
as a transplanted English manor without a lord.

The suggestion of a Manor Court was apparently rejected by   
Andros, but the governor did not entirely fail to heed the prayers of   
the island supplicants.

He ordered that the government "and Magistracy of ye Islands

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Martin's Vineyard and Nantucket" should be settled in the same man­   
ner and in the same persons as were legally invested therein at the   
time of the coming of the Dutch, or who had since been legally elected   
by virtue of his "Royall Highness Authority."

This the governor supplemented with a commission to the judges   
to call "Offenders to Account in Martin's Vineyard, &c.," for partici­   
pation in the rebellion against the government in the days of the Dutch   
occupation of New York.

Pursuant to this power Thomas Mayhew proceeded to quash the

rebellion at Martha's Vineyard, although he was able to do nothing at   
Nantucket for the reason that the Gardners still refused to convene   
in General Court.

The ringleaders at Martha's Vineyard were Simon Athearn and   
Thomas Burchard, the latter an ancestor of President Rutherford   
Burchard Hayes. In the early days of Great Harbor, Burchard had   
been a man of prominence, holding for a number of years the office of   
town clerk and the more important office of assistant to Mayhew.   
Declining for some reason in the favor of the Freemen of the town or   
the Patentee, he failed to again hold office after his election as assistant   
in 16*5*6. At the same time he lost social caste in the eyes of the ruling   
family, as his name appears thereafter in the records without the title   
"Mr." earlier accorded him.

It is remarkable that Burchard was not prosecuted for his partici­   
pation in the insurrection; perhaps due to his advanced years.

The first to feel the wrath of Governor Mayhew after the return   
home of the delegates from New York, armed with authority from   
Andros to punish transgressors, was Simon Athearn.

The dissatisfaction of Athearn with all things emanating from the   
Mayhew family was of chronic duration. Rebellious by nature, he led  
 a strenuous and fruitful life among the early settlers of the Vineyard.   
At the time of his death he was reputed one of the wealthiest men in   
the community, not of the Mayhew family. A bitter opponent of the   
Mayhew rule, he was never a potent officeholder, but if there is merit   
in the belief that politics can be kept pure only by the maintenance of   
more than one party, he afforded his fellowmen immeasurable service   
by constantly keeping an opposition party in life.

He began his long career of breaking lances with the governing   
family by the purchase of land of the Indians without the consent of

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Thomas Mayhew. This brought him also in conflict with his fellow­   
townsmen and resulted in litigation which seems to have brought him   
spiritual comfort as well as material profit. Henceforth he was an  
intractable enemy of both the governor and the governor's grandson,   
Matthew. His battle cry was "lesser taxes" for the "poore" of Tis­   
bury. As one of the largest landed proprietors of that town the slogan   
had to him a deep significance.

Summoned before the court of Martha's Vineyard, Athearn was   
found guilty of "high crime" and was accordingly bound over to the   
Supreme Court of the province where, upon conviction he might expect   
punishment extending to "life Limbe or Banishment."

The sentence of the court took the fight out of Athearn, as well   
it might. He threw himself upon the mercy of the tribunal, and   
although a young man aged about thirty-one years, swore upon oath   
that his fellow-citizen, Thomas Burchard, near four score in years, had   
been the cause which had seduced him to act in opposition to authority.   
Perhaps he reasoned that Burchard had not long to live and might   
well accept the punishment.

The court commuted sentence by levying a fine of twenty-five shill­   
ings in money and seven pounds in cattle or corn, and revoked its   
sentence binding Athearn over to the court at New York; but ordered   
that his "freedom" or right of citizenship be deprived him at its   
pleasure. For speaking against the sentence of the court in another   
case, Athearn was fined an additional ten pounds, one-half in money   
forthwith and the balance in produce.

The punishments were heavy, but the spirit of Athearn was not   
long downcast, and before the year is out he is found addressing a long   
letter to Governor Andros concerning the difficulties experienced by   
subjects at Martha's Vineyard not in the favor of the official circle.   
This was one of the first of a long series of letters concerning affairs   
at Martha's Vineyard with which Athearn was to bombard each suc­   
ceeding governor.

In these letters Athearn recommended candidates for civil, judi­   
cial, and military offices, criticized laws, attacked the characters of the   
officeholders, and in general made himself an unsolicited nuisance.   
When he died the islanders were uniform in their opinion that a great   
civic leader had passed away.

When the conduct of the rebels, in defying Mayhew's authority in

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time of war, in boasting "that the longest sword would bear rule," and   
in challenging "the family of him" to physical combat, is considered,   
the governor of Martha's Vineyard island is to be commended that he   
did not originate a greater number of prosecutions after the restora­   
tion of peace. Only four cases are definitely known to have been insti­   
gated. It is quite possible that the remaining malcontents hastened to   
make their peace, and were forgiven. The conduct of Mayhew was   
gentle in comparison with punishments that would in modern days be   
inflicted for similar offenses.

Yet it is the opinion of the historian of Martha's Vineyard that the   
rebels "were simply being punished for seeking political freedom, and   
naturally had the sympathy of those in other colonies where the ballot   
was the poor man's weapon against oppression and arbitrary rulers."   
The statement overlooks the fact that the poor man in America did   
not have the ballot until the days of Andrew Jackson, long after. It   
further ignores the fact that the freemen of the Vineyard had the   
ballot in all town matters and for the election of all magistrates and   
judges, with the exception of the chief magistrate. Five out of six of   
the judges of the General Court were elected by the people. It is the   
opinion of many qualified legal authorities that the appointive method   
in the selection of a judiciary is preferable to the elective system; and   
that system has always been the vogue in the Federal Government.

The history of colonial America is replete with warfare between   
governors attempting to exercise prerogatives and freemen striving for   
a greater degree of recognition. This controversy constitutes the   
greater part of the political history of many of the American colonies   
prior to the Revolution. It is not surprising that Thomas Mayhew,   
whose administration as a proprietor and governor extended over a   
period of forty-one years, should have been drawn into this maelstrom   
of political thought and the war between proprietary and town.

Victory at Martha's Vineyard lodged with the governor and for   
the balance of his life he ruled unruffled over the island which he had   
colonized with so much genius.

Said he: "I have doune my best in settling these Isles: have   
passed through many Difficulties and Daungers in it, been at verry   
much Cost touching English and Indians."

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CHAPTER XVI

THE DEMOCRATS

At Nantucket the Gardners continued to control the local courts,   
preventing Governor Mayhew from putting into force the authority   
from Governor Andros to call the rebels of that island to account.  
 Unlike the rebellion at Martha's Vineyard, the insurrection at   
Nantucket did not collapse on receipt of the news of the resurrender  
 of New Amsterdam. Between the rebellious factions of the two islands   
a common cause was not effected.

The receipt of the Andros instructions stirred new activity in the   
ranks of the insurrectionists. Capt. John Gardner and Peter Folger  
were appointed by the half-shares men to go to New York to present   
Andros with a report of "the true state of affairs" on the island, as   
they saw it.

After some delay Gardner and. Folger repaired to the capitol   
armed with a petition in which the half-shares men professed to wel­  
come the arrival of the new governor-general as they would "the ris­   
ing Sun after a dark and stormy Night." In the document the signa­   
tories advanced the hope that Andros would grant their "friends"   
Gardner and Folger, a favorable audience and a candid hearing of the   
situation, which they alleged to believe had not been accurately reported   
by Matthew Mayhew, Tristram Coffin, and Thomas Daggett. Much   
that did not appear in the petition would be told the governor by the   
envoys; "There being many Things and that of Consequence which   
by writeing we cannot so well do, which we have committed to our   
Friends, to attend yo'r Hon's Direction in." In the mouth of these   
friends, continue the petitioners, "we are confident will not be found  
 a false Tongue.''

Before the promulgation of the Andros orders, the half-shares men   
had laid great stress on the Lovelace charter and had maintained that   
their conduct was wholly in submission to the Duke's government. But   
the opinion of the governor-general, that the charter did not void May-

\*This is the last of four installments of Mr. Hare's story of Thomas Mayhew.

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hew's patent, cut the ground from under them. Although they pro­   
fessed to Andros their "true and hearty Obedience to his Royall High­   
nesse Lawes," their conduct belied their words. On the island they   
were now openly in opposition to the Duke's government, maintaining   
that the orders of the governor-general "were nothing" because, in their   
opinion, they had been promulgated under a mistaken knowledge of   
the facts.

When Gardner and Folger arrived at the capitol they found there   
Matthew Mayhew and Tristram Coffin on behalf of the whole-shares   
party. A four-day session with the governor ensued. The silvery­   
tongued "friends" harangued the governor and were answered by   
Mayhew and Coffin. ·

On the last day of the hearing a "Draught of what was graunted,   
allowed of, and consented unto by all Partyes" was ordered engrossed.   
It provided a number of radical changes in the scheme of government,   
not the least important of which was a provis,ion that all matters triable   
in the local island courts, involving property or damages over five   
pounds in amount, and all cases and proceedings in the General Court   
should be tried in accordance with the Duke's laws. This changed the   
framework of government established by Lovelace which had permit­   
ted the island legislators to make laws based on selections from the   
Boston, Plymouth, and English law books.

The change sheared the island jurisdiction of a large share of its

autonomy in local government. However, each island and the several   
town corporations were authorized to continue the making of local  
ordinances in matters not exceeding five pounds. By the confirmation   
of this power, Governor Mayhew and those associated with him in   
government were still empowered to make laws at Martha's Vineyard   
that would meet with Mayhew's high standards of morality in Indian   
affairs.

Other changes were made in government which were of no particu­   
lar benefit to either side. The vital question of land titles was left *in   
statu quo.* A ruling that the Lovelace charter was one of confirmation   
was a victory for the landed party, but the ruling that the lands of the   
non-resident owners should not be forfeited, providing they should   
thereafter improve their properties, was a partial victory, not entirely   
fair to the proprietors who had originally acquired their lands without

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qualifications. The absentee owners were entitled to a confirmation of   
their rights in accordance with the terms of their purchase from Thomas Mayhew.

History paints Governor Andros in no pretty attitude as a gov­   
ernor of northern colonies in America, but his conduct of island affairs   
while in charge at New York was on the whole conciliatory.

Hardly had matters been temporarily adjusted at Nantucket when   
Simon Athearn lifted the lance of his pen and dipped into the ink pot   
to enlighten Andros of the "true" state of affairs at Martha's Vine­   
yard. Like his prototypes at Nantucket he was not restrained in the   
use of personalities and criticism. He was particularly laborious in   
detailing the shortcomings of the ruling family at Martha's Vineyard   
as seen from his own angle, and made mention of "rible rable and   
notions of men" in reference to laws not meeting his approval.

Athearn's spleen was aroused by the fact that he had just purchased   
lands of the Indians, in disregard of Mayhew's title, on the principle   
that he was entitled to do so under the terms of the Lovelace charter   
to the town of Tisbury, which was similar in language to that granted   
the town of Nantucket. In this respect Athearn borrowed some of   
Capt. John Gardner's thunder. Because Mayhew refused to record   
the lands purchased of the Indians, Athearn was in favor of a change   
of administration in government. He disapproved bitterly the power   
granted the local court which enabled it to make laws more stringent   
for Martha's Vineyard than those in force in other parts of the   
province.

Meantime the complexion of politics at Nantucket was changing.   
Thomas Macy, one of the few whole-shares men to be affiliated with   
the Gardner faction, had been appointed chief magistrate of Nan­   
tucket. For a reason not now known, at the end of his term of office   
a successor was not appointed. Macy called a meeting of the town   
to consider the matter and the town decided that he should hold over   
in office until a new magistrate should be commissioned by Andros.

Peter Folger writes of the meeting. Says he, "Som of vs said it   
was not the Town's Business to speake of his Commission, but we did   
conceiue that your Hon. had left a safe and plain Way for the carying   
on of Gouernment til further Order. Others sayd that his Commis­   
sion was in Force til further Order, though not exprest and argued it   
out from former Instructions, and began to be very fierce."

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Continues Folger, "We thought their End to be bad and, there­   
fore sayd littel or nothing more, they being the greater Part, but were   
resoulued to be quiet, looking upon it as an evil Time."

Island control had swung again to the side of the whole-shares men.   
A number of inhabitants of the mainland had removed to the island to   
escape the depredations of the Indians stirred by King Philip. Among   
these were Peter and James Coffin, sons of Tristram. Peter, later a   
chief justice of New Hampshire and for a time acting governor of that   
province, was a proprietor of Nantucket and had been one of the first   
Ten Purchasers. His brother James, a prominent merchant, was also   
a proprietor. Both were members of the absentee landlord class that   
the Gardners had been so assiduously attacking. Their appearance   
was embarrassing to the half-shares men.

"Then another Meeting was called to chuse new Assistants to Mr.   
Macy," recites our informant of still more "evil Times," and "We   
knowing that we should be out voted, sat still and voted not. The   
first Man that was chosen was Peter Coffin."

Whereupon rose the gore of Peter Folger. He had been one of   
the "friends" elected by the town who had given Andros "full Sat­   
tisffaction and Information" concerning island affairs. As a reward   
for his efforts he had been appointed Recorder and Clerk of the Writs   
of the local court. In his possession were its records.

The new clerk questioned whether the court now constituted by the   
majority party at Nantucket was "a Legal Court." His quandary   
grew out of the holding over of Macy ( which was in accordance with   
the rules of the Duke's government for which Folger expressed much   
solicitude) and the fact that Peter Coffin was an officer in the Massa­   
chusetts Colony at the time of his coming to Nantucket, and more par­   
ticularly "A Man that brought hither an evil Report of your Hon.  
from the Bay" which "if your Hon. [Andros J did know the Man as  
well as God know him, or but half e so well as some of us know him,   
I do verily belieue that your Hon. would dislike his Ruling here as   
much as any of vs."

In December the Quarter Court of Nantucket convened, and Fol­   
ger as clerk was in a "Strait what to do," but he "Resolued to be quiet"   
and to that end appeared at Court with the court book "thinking   
thereby to while away Time" as peacefully as possible until some fur-

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ther order might be received from New York that would meet with the   
approval of the Gardner faction. At the session Folger refused to   
make any entry of the court's actions or to give up possession of the   
records.

According to Folger's admission the books and records of the court   
were demanded of him several times, before his arrest. At length a   
constable was dispatched with a warrant, whereupon Folger departed   
for the house of Captain John Gardner for solace and advice. Here   
he was found, in bad company as the constable thought, and "haled and   
draged" out of the house and carried to court.

"I cam before them," says Folger, "and carried myselfe every   
way as ciuilly as I could, only I spake neuer a Word, for I was fully   
persuaded that if I spake anything at al, they would turn it against me.   
I remembered also the old Saying that of nothing comes nothing."

The outcome of the adage was the return of Folger to jail, "where   
neuer any English-man was put, and where the Neighbors Hogs had   
layed but the Night before." Court records show that Peter Folger   
was "Inditted for Contempt of his Majis Athority, in not appearing  
 before the Court according to sumons serued on him" and for refusing   
to speak when presented to the Bar "Tho the Court waited on hem a   
While and urged him to speak."

The case was remitted to the Court of Assizes at New York for   
trial, and Folger kept in prison, although upon occasion his kind   
hearted keeper allowed him to visit home.

Every effort was made by the authorities to secure the book of   
records, but without success. Valuable records of the early courts of   
 Nantucket are consequently lost to the historian.

It is quite certain that Folger could have secured ample bail had he   
been so minded, for his family and friends were in a position to give   
him all the needed assistance. But although his adherents failed to   
raise bail, they were outspoken in their expressions of indignation at   
the imprisonment of the "Recorder and Clark of the Writs," "a poore   
old Man, aged 60 Yeares." Sarah, wife of Mr. Richard Gardner,   
being legally convicted of speaking very "opprobriously and uttering   
many slanderous words concerning the imprisonment of Peter Folger,"   
was summoned to appear before the Court, where she was admonished   
at the Bar to have a care in the use of evil words tending to defame His

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Majesty's Court. Fines provided for by law in such cases were remit­   
ted upon her good behavior. Others convicted of speaking evil of   
authority, or in defamation of Court, were Tobias Coleman and Elea­   
zur Folger, the latter a son of the martyred clerk.

Folger's stubborn conduct at this time was particularly unfortunate   
as it stimulated a feeling of unrest among the Indians. King Philip's   
War was waging on the mainland. The times were dangerous and   
troublesome. It is understood that the book withheld by Folger con­   
tained matters of Indian importance which could not be solved without   
the presence of the record.

Folger in a letter to Andros hints an Indian uprising if he is not   
released, and if laws passed by the new magistrates are not revoked.   
It must be inferred that one of these was the law against the liquor   
traffic. It is clear that Capt. Gardner paid little attention to this law   
and there is no direct evidence that either he or Mr. Folger was par­   
ticularly active in quieting the resentment shown by the Indians.

Complaint was made by the Indians, reports Folger's letter, that   
the new magistrates were "Young Men," and that Peter Coffin, a   
"Boston Man," judged their cases. It is doubtful if the Indians would   
have questioned the right of Coffin to act as judge, without English   
instigation, which must have come from members of the half-shares   
faction.

On the other hand it cannot be denied that the Indians were accus­   
tomed to select the aged among them as the wisest. Experience alone   
brings education to men who do not learn by the printed word. In   
primitive communities experience is the result of age. The Indian   
listened in councils of state most flattering to men of the tribe on the   
sunny side of senility as oracles of profound wisdom.

The young men of the tribe were impressed more by the number   
of gray hairs on the speaker's head, the furrows across his withered   
cheek, and the moons that had passed over his venerable pate, than by   
any profundity of thought that poured from his lips. The progress of   
education was slow among the Indians, but for the needs of matrimony   
and war it was sufficient. Each generation in turn listened with   
depressing seriousness to the errors of the former and continued to   
perpetuate them.

This sad picture is not entirely unknown to civilized peoples, who   
are pleased to call the theory "conservatism" and to coin for it such a

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neat slogan as "getting back to normalcy." It is the soul of statesman­   
ship. Lawyers call it precedence. Socialists call it other names.

It should be noted that of the men whom Folger complains were   
so youthful, Thomas Macy was aged sixty-nine years, Peter Coffin   
was forty-six, William Worth probably about thirty-nine, and Nathan­   
iel Barnard thirty-four. Folger was about fifty-nine. As Governor   
Andros was but forty years of age, the argument was not a good one.   
The troubles of Folger and Capt. Gardner were not ended by the   
sentences of the local court. The deflection of chief magistrate Macy   
to the whole-shares party enabled Thomas Mayhew to convene a Gen­  
eral Court.

The first matter which the justices of the court took into consider­   
ation was "how they might best maintain his Majestie's Authortie in   
this Court, espetially with relation to the Heathen among whom it was   
vulgarly Rumored that there was no Gournment on N antuckett and   
haueing good Cause to suspect, the same to proceed originally from   
some English instigating them, or by their practice incourageing them   
in the same, to the great Danger of causing Insurrection," the court   
saw fit to send for Captain Gardner.

The Captain of the local Foot Company, failing to respond to   
summons, was brought forcibly before the court, where he "demeaned   
himself most irreverently, sitting down with his Hat on, taking no   
Notice of the Court, behaveing himself so both in Words and Ges­   
tures" as to declare his great contempt of the court's authority, to the   
great dishonor of his "Majesties Authoritie."

Tristram Coffin, observing the Captain's conduct, spoke to him,   
saying that he was very sorry that he did behave himself with such   
contemptuous carriage in regard to the King's authority, whereupon   
the Captain retorted, "I know my business and it may be that some of   
those that have meddled with me had better eaten fier."

The sitting of the court was a busy one. In modern day it would   
have been covered by a corps of feature writers, pen and ink artists,   
and a staff of photographers. The records of posterity would have   
been enriched by court room photographs of the judge, pen in hand,   
poised over a ledger, a group of blase court attaches, a battery of law­   
yers-chief, assistants, and "attorneys of counsel"-the malcontents,   
and certainly all their female relatives on the witness stand adorned   
in their best hosiery displayed in the most approved fashion in an

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attempt to save their loved ones from incarceration in His Majesty's   
Gaol, where hogs had rooted the night before.

The session closed with the levying of numerous fines, and the dis­   
franchisement of Capt. John Gardner.

With the close of court an epidemic of letters descended on the   
governor at New York like locusts of old in the land of Egypt. Gard­   
ner addressed Andros the 15th of March and again the 31st of May,   
1677. Peter Folger contributed to the deluge with a lengthy epistle   
dated the 27th of March, in which he not only presented the story of   
his imprisonment, but took pains to round out any details that Gardner   
might inadvertently have slighted.

Shortly before this, the pent up emotions of Peter Folger had over­   
flowed, and he took solace in the muses, writing a lengthy poem in   
which he pointed out the evil of magistrates. Upon their bowed   
shoulders he placed nearly all the ills of humanity including Indian   
wars and the persecutions of Anabaptists "for the witness that they   
bore against babes sprinkling."

The rulers in the country I do own them in the Lord:   
And such as are for government, with them I do accord.  
But that which I intend hereby, is that they would keep bounds,  
And meddle not with God's worship, for which they have no ground.

Of course, it must be understood that there are good and bad   
magistrates. It only happened that at Nantucket the good magistrates   
were out of office and the enemy, composed always of bad magistrates,   
in office. Godly men, like the uncrowned poet laureate of Nantucket   
and the literarily inclined Gardner of letter writing fame, were without   
employment.

It is not known that Andros ever saw Folger's poem or would have   
read it had his attention been drawn to it, but he suspected by this time   
that all was not well at Nantucket. It was evident that some of His   
Majesty's well beloved subjects were not living in the bonds of peace   
and brotherly love. There was a great deal more politics than gov­   
ernment at Nantucket.

From the sentence of disfranchisement, Captain Gardner entered   
his appeal to the Court of Assizes, addressing himself to "Mr. Thomas   
Mayhew and Gentlemen all such as are his Majesties Lawfull and   
Rightfully Established Officers," thereby reserving any recognition of   
the legality of the justices on the bench elected by the whole-shares   
party at Nantucket.

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Thereafter, not awaiting the action of the Court of Assizes on   
the merits of the appeal, Gardner brought his case directly to the atten­   
tion of the governor at New York. This extra-judicial procedure   
resulted in an order by Andros that the proceedings against Gardner   
be suspended until further order, "during which Time all Persons  
 [were] to forbear Intermedling Speeches or Actions or any Aggrava­   
tions whatsoever, at their Perills." The action on the complaint against   
Peter Folger was likewise ordered suspended for the time being.

Thomas Macy, however, was ordered to continue in office as chief   
magistrate, notwithstanding the contention of the half-shares men.  
 A few months later Governor Andros issued a further order in   
the premises addressed to "the Magistrates of the Particular and Gen­   
erall Court att Nantucket" in which he declared the sentence of dis­   
franchisement to be illegal and beyond the authority of the court ren­   
dering the same.

The news that Capt. John Gardner had personally journeyed to   
New York and brought his case before the governor, and the report of   
the findings of Andros, was not happily received by the landed party.   
Feeling ran high. Gardner gives his version of what occurred when   
the order was received by Governor Mayhew. He writes: "Three   
Days after hee came to my lodging in as great passion as I judg a man   
could wel be Accu [s]ing me hyly whering I was wholly Innocent, and   
not proued though endeauoured, Mr. Mayhew taking this opportunity   
to vent himselfe as followeth, Telling me I hav bin at York but should   
loose my Labour, that if the Gouernour did unwind he would wind,   
that he would make my fine and disfranchizement too abide on me do   
the Gouernour what he could; that he had nothing against me neither   
was angry but that I had spocken against his Interest and I should   
doune, with maney more Words of like Nature, but to loung hear to   
ensert; and when I came Home to Nantucket, I found the same Mind   
and Resolution there also."

After the pleasure of breaking the news to Governor Mayhew,   
Gardner took satisfaction in delivering Tristram Coffin a letter from   
Andros relative to the same matter. But restoration to citizenship did   
not follow. The local leader of the gentry expressed doubt as to the   
power of the governor-general to take Gardner's case away from the   
Court of Assizes. He informed Gardner of the purpose of the whole­   
shares men to test the governor's power in the matter. Meantime the

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governor's order "was nothing at all but two or three darke words." Gardner's disfranchisement and fine were to stand.

In time reaction expressed itself. Early in 1679 the men of the   
town of Nantucket decided to elect Gardner an Assistant in the gov­   
ernment, notwithstanding the attitude of the General Court. Perhaps   
they thought that Gardner had been sufficiently punished. But Tris­   
tram Coffin was not willing to give in and at the next meeting of the   
General Court he took pains to direct the attention of that body to the   
fact that the town of Nantucket had illegally elected John Gardner to   
public office, whereupon the court ordered that a warrant should issue   
to call the town to answer for its contempt of the order disfranchising   
Gardner.

When it is considered that Gardner had long been under political  
disability, that the townsmen of Nantucket were willing to restore him   
to his former place in their good graces, ·and that rightly or wrongly   
he had the support of Governor Andros, the conduct of the General   
Court was obdurate. It may be thought that Thomas Mayhew, its   
president, now nearing his eighty-seventh year, was more and more com­   
ing under the influence of his grandson Matthew, but any one who has   
studied the old governor's career cannot but know that every act of his   
life to his dying day was the result of his own volition.

In the political history of Nantucket there is little to choose between   
the stubbornness of Thomas Mayhew, Tristram Coffin, Peter Folger,   
and John Gardner. Each was "firm" to the point of eccentricity.

In the end, the General Court was obliged to retract its sentence.   
Gardner's citizenship was restored by Governor Andros after years of   
dilatory tactics on the part of the central government, and he was com­   
missioned Chief Magistrate of Nantucket. The breach between the   
doughty warrior and Tristram Coffin was healed and a substantial   
friendship established, befitting the spirit of Nantucket, destined to   
become a Quaker community.

Following the death of Tristram Coffin, a grandson married a   
daughter of Capt. Gardner. Thus were united the houses of Capet   
and Montague in the bonds of matrimony. Political feuds faded in   
the raising of five sons and three daughters.

A few rods east of the homestead of Richard Gardner, the bride's   
uncle, was built a mansion house, in its day pretentious and elegant,   
still to be seen. Here the united couple made their home. Tradition

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states that the site of the house was donated by Captain Gardner and   
the lumber in its construction sawed in New Hampshire in the mill of   
the groom's father, the Peter Coffin whom Gardner had once accused   
of having his "mouth full of vile reports."

Doubtless the stalwart old Captain quaffed a great glass of "Rom"   
at the marriage festivities and recalled the days when he had said that   
it were better to eat "fier" than to oppose his interest.

Tradition indicates that the Coffin-Gardner feud had not entirely   
subsided at the time of the marriage ceremony. Just prior to the   
event Peter took it upon himself to enquire if a deed had been executed   
to the land upon which the happy couple's home had been built.   
Informed that that little formality had been neglected, he forbade the   
performance of the ceremony until the agreement of the families had   
been consummated in full. The story goes that the Captain had to   
hustle in order to sign, execute, and deliver the deed to the intended   
couple before the time set for the wedding. Peter Coffin took a grim   
delight in the Captain's predicament. The fire-eaters were not all on   
one side.

Gardner in the office of chief magistrate later had trouble with the   
"mouthings" of "sum hote brains" on the island, as he picturesquely   
stated it. Satisfied with his abilities he wrote Andros that if the inhabi­   
tants of the island were left to themselves, it would soon be their ruin.   
Gardner had made the discovery that there is always a fractious party   
out of power to contend with. He had once been a rebel, he was now   
one of the "ins" seeking the support of the governor-general at York   
to whom he had so many times appealed as an "out."

With the ascension of William and Mary to the throne of England   
a new charter was granted the Massachusetts colony, by the terms of   
which Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and their dependencies were   
transferred from New York to Massachusetts.

Under the Massachusetts government the land question of Nan­   
tucket, as well as that of other towns in the province, was settled for all   
time by the passage of an act which authorized the proprietors of lands   
to meet as a body in respect to the handling of land, apart of the town   
as a political unit. Pursuant to the terms of the act the proprietors of   
Nantucket in 1716 formed themselves into a body corporate known as   
"The Proprietors of the Common and Undivided Lands of Nantucket."

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CHAPTER XVII

THE INDIAN CHURCH

The greatest missionary triumph of Thomas Mayhew was the   
conversion of the Gay Head tribe of Indians, a race which for twenty   
years had resisted the influence of the white man, being animated in its   
obstinacy by pagan sachems on the continent near by. On the soil of   
Aquiniuh, as the Indians called this land, close by the multi-colored   
cliffs that are one of New England's marvels, heathen rights were per­   
formed and powwows exercised witchcraft and curative powers as in   
the days of their fathers.

Through the activities of native preachers Thomas Mayhew was   
able to reach the ear of the sachem Mittark, "Lord of Gay Head."   
An account of Mittark's conversion is penned by a contemporary, the   
Rev. John Mayhew: "Mittark, sachem of Gay Head, deceased Janu­   
ary 20, 1693. He and his people were in heathenism till about the   
year 1663, at which time it pleased Him who worketh all things after   
the counsel of his own will, to call him out of darkness into his mar­   
vellous light; and his people being on that account disaffected to him,   
he left them and removed to the east end of the Island, where after he   
had continued about three years, he returned home again and set up a   
meeting at Gayhead, he himself dispensing the word of God unto as   
many as would come to hear him; by which means it pleased God to   
bring over all that people to a profession of Christianity."

Since that time Gay Head has been one of the Christian Indian   
towns of the island. The stronghold of paganism is today the last   
refuge of the Christian Indian.  
 About the time of the conversion of Mittark there came to fill the   
pastorate at Edgartown the Rev. John Cotton, Jr., son of the cele­   
brated Boston preacher of that name and uncle of the still greater   
Cotton Mather. He accepted what the Reverends Pierson and Hig­   
ginson had disdained, and with the enthusiasm of a youth of twenty­   
four years of age entered upon the duties of his first regular church   
office. It was understood that he was to lend himself to the work of   
the Indian mission, now without the services of Peter Folger, who had   
removed from the island.

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Cotton Mather informs us that the new clergyman hired an Indian   
at the rate of twelve pence per day for fifty days to teach him the   
Indian tongue, "but his Knavish Tutor having received his Whole Pay   
too soon, ran away before Twenty Days were out."

In addition to his salary as pastor of the church at Edgartown, Cot­   
ton received an honorarium from the Society for his missionary labors.   
The family purse was further filled, in one year, by a payment of ten   
pounds to the cleric's wife for her more or less professional services   
among the natives in the art and mystery of "Physicke and Surgery."   
The Puritan mind conceived the profession of medicine, like law, a   
democratic pursuit for the well meaning soul rather than the trained   
mind. Perhaps he was not far wrong in reposing his faith in God  
rather than in the sciences of the seventeenth century.

The services of John Cotton were not of long duration. A rupture   
with the governor ensued. Cotton was inexperienced in years, a scion   
of a famous family, and doubtless headstrong in opinion, disinclined to   
submit to minute supervision. Mayhew was old in the arts of his   
labor, and settled in his ways, a man who brooked little interference   
and rebellion: that a clash of wills ensued is not surprising. The dif­   
ferences of the two were laid before the commissioners of the United   
Colonies, and the following is a record of what happened in the matter:  
 Mr John Cotton appeared before the Commissioners and was  
seriously spoken too To Compose those allianations between him and   
Mr Mahew; otherwise it was signifyed to him that the Commissioners   
could not expect good by theire labours wheras by theire mutuall Con­   
tensions and Invictiues one against another they vndid what they taught   
the Natiues and sundry calles ( as hee said) being made him by the   
English to other places hee was left to his libertie to dispose of  
himself e as the Lord should Guid him.

Severing his connection with the Vineyard, the young pastor   
removed to Plymouth, one of the "sundry calles," where he served a   
useful pastorate many years and continued his missionary labors by   
preaching to the Indians of that locality.

Three years after his removal from the island an Indian church   
was formed at Martha's Vineyard. The two Mayhews and Eliot had   
been slow to grant the natives full fellowship in a church body organ­   
ized on the English pattern. John Eliot in 1660 had organized a church   
of Indians at Natick, but without native officers or pastor, due, informs

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Eliot, to the desire of the members that he alone should serve as its   
head.

As early as 16*5* 2 the junior Mayhew had drawn up "an excellent

Covenant" in the native language, which was entered into by a number   
of Indians, who elected rulers from among themselves "to suppress all   
Wickedness" and to encourage goodness. It was the duty of these   
men "to see that the *Indians* walked in an orderly manner; encourag­   
ing those who did so, and dealing with those who did not, according to   
the word of Goo."

Shortly after the death of Thomas Mayhew, Jr., the father organ­   
ized a few of the converts into a tentative church body. Ceremonies   
were arranged by him and invitations sent to Gov. Thomas Prince, of   
Plymouth, and others, "but they came not," says Mayhew. However,   
"the English on the island, and several strangers of divers places,   
present, did well approve of them." Like the church gathered at   
Natick, it had no officers.

Satisfied in time that the Vineyard converts had proven staunch in   
the new faith and were ready and qualified for the full status of church   
membership in accordance with the Congregational order, Thomas   
Mayhew made arrangements for the organization of a church which   
should be the first in both Americas to be regularly organized with   
native officers and presided over by an ordained native pastor.

Again he sent invitations throughout the New England colonies,   
inviting dignitaries interested in the Indian work to attend the cere­   
monies of installation. In response came John Eliot, "the leading light   
in the missionary firmament," and the Rev. John Cotton who had   
quarreled with Mayhew enough years before to have forgiven and   
forgotten.

The presence of Eliot was, in one respect, the return of a compli­   
ment. Years prior to this event, Eliot had dispatched invitations to   
scholars who were acquainted with the Indian language, inviting them   
to assist him at an assembly of converts for the purpose of investigating   
the fitness of Indians resident about Boston for church membership.   
Of those invited, Thomas Mayhew, Jr., alone responded to lend aid.   
Writing of the foundation of the Vineyard church, Prince tells us   
that "The Day appointed being come, which was August 22, 1670, an   
*Indian Church* was completely formed and organized, to the Satisfac­   
tion of the *English* Church, and other religious People on the Island,

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who had Advantage of many Years Acquaintance, and sufficient Expe­  
rience of their Qualifications.''

The rites of the Congregational order were administered by the   
three missionaries. Hands were imposed in ordination by John Eliot,   
Mr. Cotton, and Thomas Mayhew. "We did at the first receive them,"   
writes Mayhew, "they renouncing heathenism and confessing their   
sins."

Dr. Increase Mather in a Latin letter to Professor Leusden, of   
Utrecht, acquaints us that when the people had fasted and prayed, Mr.   
Eliot, of Roxbury, and Mr. John Cotton, of Plymouth, laid their   
hands on the ministers elect and they were solemnly ordained.

The Rev. John Eliot in a letter published at London writes of his   
attendance saying, "Many were added to the Church…both  
Men and Women, and were all of them baptised, and their Children   
also with them" and that "the church was desirous to have chosen Mr.  
Mayhew for their pastor; but he waived it; conceiving, he has greater   
advantageous to stand their friend, and do them good; to save them   
from the hands of such as would bereave them of their lands, &c. But   
they should always have his counsel, instruction, and management in   
their Ecclesiastical affairs, as they hitherto had; that he would die in   
the service of Christ; and that the praying Indians, both of the Vine­   
yard and Nantucket depend on him, as the great instrument of God   
for their good."

The officers of the church ordained by the missionaries were Hia­

coomes, pastor; John Tackanash, teacher; John Nahnoso and Joshua   
Momatchegin, ruling elders.

The ordination of a pastor and a teacher was in accordance with   
the practice of the ancient churches of New England when each church   
was supplied with two ministers who were supposed to be in some   
respects distinct officers in the church.

The church at Martha's Vineyard first gathered its membership   
from all parts of the island and Nantucket, but within two years was   
divided into two churches, one at Edgartown and the other at Chappa­   
quiddick, both on the island of Martha's Vineyard. The Indian offi­   
cers of these churches solemnly and successfully carried on the work   
with which they were charged, proving themselves worthy of the trust   
imposed on them by their missionary father.

The story of Hiacoomes has already been related.

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ABRAM QUARY, LAST MALE NANTUCKET INDIAN HE WAS OF MIXED BLOOD; DIED IN1854, AGED 82 YEARS, 10 MONTHS



OLD COFFIN HOUSE ON SUNSET HILL AT NANTUCKET, BUILT FOR JETHRO AND MARY (GARDNER) COFFIX

*Courtesy of Walter F. & George P. Starbuck.*

*From Alexander Starbuck's- "History of Nantucket."  
 First Starbuck's Coffee shop in America [joke, sic]*

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Tackanash, teacher of the first church and after its division pastor   
of the church at Edgartown, was the most distinguished of the Indian   
preachers and was deemed the superior of Hiacoomes in both natural   
and acquired abilities. He possessed considerable talents and was   
exemplary in his life. Allowing himself few diversions he studied   
much and seemed to advance in piety as he became more acquainted   
with the truths of the gospel. In prayer he was devout and fervent.   
He was faithful in his instructions and reproofs, strict in the discipline   
of his church, excluding the immoral from the ordinances until they   
repented. So much was he respected that the English at Edgartown,   
when deprived of their own minister, received the Lord's supper from   
his hand.

Says the Rev. Experience Mayhew:

The last time Tackanash administered the holy ordinance, I was   
present, and saw with what gravity and seriousness he performed the   
duty, which, though then a youth, I could not but specially notice, as   
did many other English persons present. He was then indeed so weak   
in body as not to be able himself to preach, but desired my father [Rev.  
John Mayhew] to preach for him, which he did [in the Indian lan­   
guage], and immediately repeated to the English then present the  
heads of his discourse. After this our Tackanash was never able   
further to exercise his ministry in public.

This good man, and one of the great converts of the Mayhews  
, died in his faith and was interred January 23, 1683, two years after   
the death of the governor; mourned on the islands and the continent  
 by those who knew him. Like a true Puritan on his death-bed he  
 "gave good instructions and exhortations to his own family and such   
as came to visit him." He was a splendid example of the accomplish­   
ment of English influence, but unfortunately the greater numbers of   
his race were lacking in the qualities that placed him their superior.  
 A great concourse of people attended his funeral. Instead of the   
howlings of the multitude, the gibberish of powwows, and pagan rites,  
 a funeral oration grave and serious was preached over his body by the  
 ancient Hiacoomes who, although too feeble to perform regularly the   
duties of a pastor, returned from retirement to do honor to his departed  
colleague.

Japheth Hannit made also a "grave speech," some of the heads of

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which were preserved. These present a picture of the Indian mind in   
respect to Christianity:

We ought [ said he] to be very thankful to God for sending the   
gospel to us, who were in utter blindness and ignorance, both we and   
our fathers. Our fathers' fathers, and their fathers, and we were at   
that time utterly without any means whereby we might attain the   
knowledge of the only true God.

Before we knew God, when any man died we said the man is dead,   
neither thought we anything further, but said he is dead, and mourned   
for him, and buried him; but now it is far otherwise, for now this   
good man being dead, we have hope towards God concerning him,   
believing that God hath received him into everlasting rest.

Japheth, favored by the author of "Indian Converts," with the title   
"Mr.," succeeded to the office of Tackanash and Hiacoomes, becoming   
the third pastor of the Indian church at Martha's Vineyard. At the   
ordination of Japheth, the superannuated Hiacoomes again appeared  
publicly. "He laid hands on Mr. Japhet, prayed and gave the Charge  
to him; which Service he performed with great Solemnity."

We are told that **J**apheth's father becoming a serious and Godly   
man by conversion, the son had the advantage of a Christian education  
while he was a child, living in a family "where God was daily wor­   
shipped." He married the daughter of a very Godly Indian. She   
proved a very pious person "and did him good and not evil all the days   
of her life." With these advantages. Japheth, after the gathering of   
the Indian Church in I 670 "made a public profession of repentance   
towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, and joined   
as a member in full communion." He was for a considerable time   
employed in offices civil and military, being captain of a military com­   
pany and later a magistrate. In both offices he acted to the accept­   
ance of English and Indians. His death in 1712 removed one of the   
great Indian preachers of the church founded by Thomas Mayhew.

The ruling elders of the church were men well approved among   
both English and Indians. John Nahnoso was known as Aiusko­   
muaeninoug, the Man of Reproofs, for the carefulness with which he   
admonished sinners and offenders against the discipline of the church.   
He died "universally esteemed a good Man." Joshua Momatchegin,   
the second elder, was a resident of Chappaquiddick. He lived to sur­   
vive all his colleagues of the first church.

Religion falling into great decay among the English of Chappa-

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quiddick, so it was among the Indians, insomuch that in a short time   
there were very few "godly persons" left there. "The *Candlestick*which had been there being *removed out of its* Place," and the Indians   
unchurched, the place was "filled with *Drunkards* instead of the Good   
People who had before inhabited it," and these were continually sup­   
plied, with the hot liquors by which they were debauched, from the   
very place whence the people of that district had formerly received the   
good instructions and exhortations which had been a medium of their   
happiness.

Momatchegin, nevertheless, held fast and "tho there was such a   
Flood of strong Drink, as drowned most of the People in the Place   
where he lived, yet he kept wholly free from any Excess in the Use of   
those Liquors by which his Neighbors were destroyed."

At the ceremonies that established the Vineyard church were pres­   
ent a number of Nantucket Indians, among them the teacher of the   
praying Indians of that island. There were at this time ninety families   
on Nantucket that prayed to God. A number of these joined in full   
worship at Martha's Vineyard, who later became a church of them­   
selves at Nantucket. Mayhew speaks of this church as one which   
"relates to me," being as he meant an off-shoot of the Vineyard church,   
and under his missionary supervision.

The first light of the Gospel came to Nantucket by means of the   
Mayhews and Hiacoomes. Governor Mayhew, in 1674, writes that   
he had "very often, these thirty-two years, been at Nantucket," which   
takes us back to the year of his purchase of the island, and before its   
settlement by the English.

No great missionary progress was made at Nantucket during the   
lifetime of the younger Mayhew. From early accounts the native   
inhabitants appear to have been a murderous and less tractable people   
than their neighbors at Martha's Vineyard, but this may have been due   
to the fact that they were far removed from the seat of English influ­   
ence and subject only to occasional visits from the Mayhews. They   
failed to adopt the white man's religion to any great extent until the   
settlement of the island by Tristram Coffin and the company of first  
proprietors. The Indians then so marvelled at the white man's supe­   
rior knowledge and mode of living that they sought a teacher to come   
among them to teach them the new life.

In 1664 the Apostle Eliot wrote that "sundry places in the country

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are ripe for labourers," whose Indian inhabitants intreat that some of   
their countrymen be sent unto them to teach them, whereof "one of the   
brethren of the Church at Martins Vinyard is called by the Nantuket   
Indians to teach them." And because no soldier goes to war at his own   
expense, Eliot promised several of these militant bearers of the Cross   
that they should be completely outfitted with new clothes-shoes,   
stockings, a coat and neckcloth-a costume sadly missing in a necessary   
garment to any but the Indian eye.

The Indian ordered from Martha's Vineyard to Nantucket, in   
response to the request for apostles, was Samuel, a schoolmaster   
employed at the Vineyard as an assistant to Thomas Mayhew. The   
Commissioners at their annual meeting voted ten pounds "More to Mr   
Mahew to dispose to Samuell sent to Natuckett and other deserueing   
Indians there."

It is known that Mayhew at one time sent what he termed ''4

vnderstanding Indians thither purposely, whose goeing was very use­   
full in severall respects too longe to recite." Whether these four   
emissaries were sent before or after Samuel, and whether they preached   
their doctrine openly, or quietly diffused the new religion in the Indian   
ranks, cannot be said.

The work at Nantucket progressed with success. Says Gookin,   
"The Indians upon this island sow English as well as Indian corn, spin   
and knit stockings, and are more industrious t4an many other Indians.   
The truth is," he adds, with a show of philosophy, "the Indians, both   
upon the Vineyard and Nantucket are poor; and, according as the   
scripture saith, do more readily receive the gospel and become reli­   
gious. The rules of religion teach them to be diligent and industrious;   
and the diligent hand maketh rich, and adds no sorrow with it."

The pastor of the first church at Nantucket was Assassamoogh,   
known to the English by the less difficult name of John Gibbs. He was   
Thomas Mayhew's prime convert on this island. By 1674 the church   
had admitted thirty members to full communion; the men in fellow­   
ship being twenty and the women ten-a ratio of sexes in reverse of   
that customarily the rule in church societies. Forty children and youths   
had been baptised and three hundred Indians, young and old, prayed   
to God and kept holy the Sabbath day.

Oggawome was the meeting place of the Indian church, a location   
nearly abreast of the fifth milestone on the Siasconset Road. It is in   
the neighborhood of modern Plainfield, and was one of the largest

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Indian villages on the island. Here John Gibbs for twenty-five years   
preached to his countrymen by the waters of the pond that still bears   
his name, Gibbs Pond.

Elsewhere meetings were held, presided over by Indian teachers­-

Joseph, Samuel, and Caleb; the latter master of the Indian school. The  
school was conducted in the Indian tongue, but Caleb confided to   
Gookin an earnest desire to read and understand English and entreated   
that dignitary to procure him an English Bible, which was accordingly   
done by order of the commissioners. Like numerous others of May­   
hew's best converts, Caleb was the son of an Indian prince.

Shortly after the governor's death there were two Indian churches   
of the Congregational persuasion and one Baptist church at Nantucket.   
All three traced their origin to the first Indian church of Martha's   
Vineyard.

It is a startling fact that for nearly half a century after the settle­   
ment of the island of Nantucket the only Christian churches in the   
community were those gathered among the Indians. Unlike the rulers   
of Massachusetts, Thomas Mayhew made no effort to compel the set­   
tlements to establish churches. An aristocracy of saints was not set   
up and church membership was not a prerequisite to the ballot. Thomas   
Mayhew was a man of deep religious instincts, but he also believed in   
freedom of thought in matters touching man's relation to God.

The early settlers of Nantucket are known to have been men of   
definite religious convictions, but differing widely in doctrinal beliefs,   
they determined to let each go his own ecclesiastical way. A diversity   
of beliefs prevented the formation of an early church. In after years   
the island became a Quaker stronghold-the natural outcome of an   
independent spiritual attitude.

A number of the early settlers, including Peter Folger, were Ana­   
baptists. The members of this sect tried at first to hinder the Indians   
from administering baptismal rites to infants, but were soon prevailed   
on to be "quiet and meddle not" with missionary activities. The Bap­   
tist churches at Gay Head and Nantucket are said to be the fruition of   
Folger's teachings.

A picture of an Indian church in r 792 portrayed by a Quaker may   
suffice to give a glimpse of the native mode of worship:

I will say something more in recommendation of some of our old   
Indian natives. They were very solid and sober at their meetings of

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worship, and carried on in the form of Presbyterians, but in one thing   
they imitated the Friends or Quakers, so called; which was to hold   
meetings on the first day of the week and on the fifth day of the week,   
and attended their meetings very precisely. I have been at their   
meetings many times and seen their devotion; and it was remarkably   
solid; and I could understand the most of what was said: and they   
always placed us in a suitable seat to sit; and they were not put out by   
our coming in, but rather appeared glad to see us. A minister is called   
cooutaumuchary. And when the meeting was done, they would take   
their tinder-box and strike fire and light their pipes, and, may be,   
would draw three or four whifs and swallow the smoke, and then blow   
it out of their noses, and so hand their pipes to their next neighbor.   
And one pipe of tobacco would serve ten or a dozen of them. And   
they would say "tawpoot," which is, "I thank you." It seemed to be   
done in a way of kindness to each other.

It has been said of the Puritan missionaries of New England that   
had they been satisfied with the "coining" of Christians by baptism   
they could have greatly increased the number of nominal converts.

Notwithstanding the high standards of conduct set by the mission­   
aries, the progress and numbers of converted Indians in the New Eng­   
land missions compare favorably with those elsewhere. Comparison   
may be made with the famous California missions, the first of which   
was established in I 769, one hundred and twenty-six years after the  
conversion of Hiacoomes.

Although the Indian population of California was large, the   
growth of the missions was not fast. By the end of the fifth year the   
five Spanish missions had a total of 49 I baptismal converts, and of   
these it is believed only sixty-two in the territory were adults. "These   
slender results in such a populous field seem even more significant   
when analysed," says Professor Charles E. Chapman, the well-known   
historian of Spanish-California. An average of five or six adults a   
year at a mission was all that had been obtained, and three missions   
in fact had few or no adult neophytes.

The one Vineyard mission in I 6*5* I, with only the private support

of the Mayhews, had in that year 199 men, women, and children who   
professed themselves worshippers of the Christian God, and among   
these were included Indian chieftains and powwows.

In ref erring to the methods and successes of the several mission­   
ary projects in America, differences of culture, religious practices and

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beliefs, geographical conditions, and Indian attitude have each their   
place. True and valuable comparisons are difficult.

However, admitted differences in the methods of the Spanish and   
English missions existed in several respects. The Spaniards in Cali­   
fornia brought the Indian to the mission, where he lived and labored   
upon rich farms for the communal benefit of those of his race who   
accepted the faith. No pretense of purchase of these farms was made,   
and Indians who refused to accept the faith were not allowed to share   
in the fruits of their own lands. In New England the mission was of  
necessity brought to the Indian and not the Indian to the mission. Ter­   
ritory did not exist in areas of sufficient fertility to warrant the estab­   
lishment of mission plantations. Indian towns were established, but in   
the main the Indians of Martha's Vineyard were taught in their own   
villages.

The instruction of the Indian in the science of self-government did   
not receive the approbation of the Spanish missionaries, but it was   
attempted by them in a limited degree because of the insistence of the   
civil authorities. The Spaniard was monarchical in his ideas of gov­   
ernment and hierarchical in religion. He cared little for the princi­   
ples of Magna Charta and the "liberties" which every Englishman con­   
sidered a part of his personal rights, and for which he would spend a   
lifetime in politics or war to protect. This was, of course, due to a   
difference in cultural background and viewpoint.

According to Fr. Engelhardt, author of an elaborate history of the   
California missions, the Spanish missionaries believed in teaching very   
little book knowledge to the California Indian, who was mentally of   
an inferior type. Stress instead was laid on manual labor and skilled   
craftsmanship. The education of the Indian was warranted to prove   
practical and useful to him in his life at the mission.

The methods of the mission system in California have not escaped   
criticism. A less severe critic than many, Dr. Chapman, writes: "Dis­   
cipline was strict and severe. Native officials inflicted whippings or   
other penalties upon the recalcitrant, by order of the missionaries, but   
the more serious offences were turned over for punishment to the cor­   
poral of the guard. Unaccustomed either to working or to submission   
to discipline the Indians often endeavored to run away, but were pur­   
sued and brought back. To lessen the opportunity of escape, walls   
were constructed around the mission, and the Indians were locked up

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at night. All in all, the institution of the Spanish mission was one of   
the most interesting examples of 'benevolent depotism' that human his­   
tory records."

If a convert chose to attempt an escape, writes Fr. Engelhardt, he

was followed and brought back to the mission, not being free to resume   
his wild and immoral life as he "bore the indelible mark of a Christian   
upon the soul" which he was not allowed to desecrate. Once he had   
submitted himself to the mission and been baptised he was considered,   
explains Engelhardt, "on a level with the soldiers who had taken an   
oath to stand by the flag of their country which they could not be per­   
mitted to desert."

Whipping was a form of punishment common to civilized nations.   
At Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket Indians in Governor Mayhew's   
time were whipped by each other for drunkenness, and in later years   
were ordered whipped by their own and English judges for infractions   
of the civil law. The attitude of the English towards the power of the   
church and its control of civil and religious conduct prevented the   
restraint of the Indian under lock and *key* or military guard, as was   
the practice in California.

Some of the criticism of the California missions has had its origin   
in the attitude of Spanish and Mexican civilians who were not in sym­   
pathy with the work of the Franciscans and who aspired to share in the  
ownership of the great tracts of land under mission control.

Notwithstanding the attitude of the earlier California historians   
who are critical of mission methods or of Fr. Engelhardt who rails   
at these students as "bigots" and "infidels" and "closet historians," the   
fact remains there. is room in the heart of posterity to accord glory to   
all the missionaries. Certain it is there was not enough profit in the   
work to call to its banner any but men of the highest Christian type and   
good will, of whatever faith or blood. However one may disagree   
with some of the methods practiced, the labors and sacrifices of the missionaries are indisputable. Their glory belongs to mankind and to   
no one religion or race.

The missionary history of California is one of the state's best tra­   
ditions. But it has not escaped glorification. It is unfortunate that   
writers and publicists have found it necessary to over-emphasize the   
missionary activities of any one race and to belittle those of another in   
an effort to aggrandize a particular nation or creed.

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Little has been written of the missionary labors of the English and   
much about the Spaniard. An unhappy balance has been the result in   
the public mind. This is increased by Mr. Charles F. Lummis who,   
in an effort to present the Spaniard in a favorable light, finds it neces­   
sary to speak slightingly of John Eliot and to ignore the existence of   
other English missionaries. Mr. Lummis has made the astounding state­   
ment that Eliot had no "imitators," implying that missionary work by   
the English was carried on by Eliot alone, and that it came to an end   
with his death.

The same author suggests that his readers fancy Massachusetts   
with twenty-one industrial schools for Indians, each with five hundred   
to three thousand pupils (such being the number and population of the  
Spanish missions in California at one time), but he fails to call atten­   
tion to the fact that statistics place the number of Indians in California   
from *50,000* to 150,000. In all southeastern New England, that is,   
the colonies of the Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, and the present   
states of Rhode Island and Connecticut, there were in the first days of   
settlement no more than a few thousand Indians. Naturally the Eng­   
lish could not obtain great numbers of converts, but they did obtain a   
high percentage of the population, probably greater in proportion than   
did the Franciscans in California.

The territory embraced in the present state of Massachusetts not   
only was sparsely populated with Indians, but its geographic area is   
roughly one-twentieth that of present California. An effort to detract   
from the earnestness and ability of the Puritan missionaries by a   
numerical comparison of converts without regard to areas and popula­   
tion is not short of ridiculous.

The several missions of Mayhew, Eliot, Tupper, Bourne, and   
Cotton, compare favorably with any five of the twenty-one Spanish­   
California missions. Laperouse is authority for the statement that in   
1789, seventeen years after the foundation of the first California mis­   
sion, the number of converted or domesticated Indians was 5,143. This   
gives an average of between five and six hundred converts per mission.   
In 1802 eighteen Spanish missions had 15,562 converts ranging from   
437 to 1,559 Indians each. Statistics of the New England missions   
are scant, but it is known that in 1674 Eliot had 1,100 praying Indians   
under his care, the Revs. Bourne and Cotton 700 in Plymouth Colony,   
and Mayhew, 1,800 converts. Making allowances for differences of

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population and area, it can be seen that the work of the English   
missionaries was as successful and laudable as that of the Spanish   
Franciscans.

The work in California was carried on by a well organized reli­   
gious order, which the ancient and solidified Catholic church permit­   
ted. The Franciscans had the advantage of some of the most fertile   
land in the world, their converts belonged to a weak and spiritless race   
of Indians who never produced a King Philip to rouse them to a state   
of rebellion, and more important, there was never a crowding, push­   
ing, restless surge of Europeans about the missions to interfere to any   
great extent with the activities of the Indians in their struggle for   
existence.

One admires the splendid self-sacrifice, the devotion and daring of   
the Franciscan friars, but one cannot so readily admire some of their   
glorifiers who disdain the facts of history and distort perspective inorder to aggrandize a work that is able to stand on its own merits.

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CHAPTER XVIII   
THE WAR OF EXTIRPATION

On the 24th of June, 167*5,* King Philip opened his long cherished   
war for the extermination of the English by the sack of Swansea.  
Whatever is the ill repute of Governor Andros in New England his­   
tory he was an officer of administrative ability, and upon Philip's threat   
responded with a promptness and efficiency to a degree laudable when   
compared with the military helplessness of many of the governors of   
colonial America. Andros was an untactful but well meaning cavalry   
officer. An aristocratic servant of the Stuarts, he was only popular in   
America while governor of Virginia, but as a man he was honest,   
faithful to his masters, and endowed with an administrative ability that   
deserves better of historians than has been his fortune.

There was stir and bustle in the early morning scene at Fort James   
on the day when the fate of New England hung by a thread. News   
that the Indians were in arms in Plymouth Colony reached Andros by   
letter from Governor Winthrop at "About 3 o'clock" on the morning   
of July 4.

At that hour the messenger on the King's service drew rein before

the massive gates of the fort. He was met with the sharp challenge of   
a sentry, there was an exchange of voices, a hurriedly opened gate, the   
muffied tread of footsteps across parade ground and court yard, an   
uncanny knock on the governor's chamber, voices, whispers, orders,   
cries, the sound of feet, the sharp staccato of a trumpet in the stilly   
night--unreal, chilling--excited inquiries, running feet, soldiers falling   
into line, rumors, a word hurriedly whispered from file to file, an elec­   
tric current through the lines, INDIANS. It was a scene not uncommon   
in colonial days.

Andros awaited no massacre of inhabitants in outlying towns, but   
proceeded to set his province in order. He immediately dispatched a   
letter in reply to Winthrop to be carried "in Post Hast" from con­   
stable to constable until its destination should be reached. In the let­   
ter the New York governor conveyed his intent to march that night   
with a force of men to the Connecticut River, "his Royall Highnesse   
Bounds there."

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It is typical of the colonial governors that although servants of thesame king, in an hour of peril they would continue to press their several   
claims to territory. Both Andros and Winthrop claimed the territory   
west of the Connecticut River as part of their respective colonies. In   
repairing to the river Andros was furthering the jurisdictional claims   
of his master as well as affording military protection to the king's   
subjects.

Governor Andros and his troops were at Saybrook on the eighth,   
where they found nothing to fear on the Indian account. The gov­   
ernor accordingly ordered one of his transport sloops eastward on a   
cruise for intelligence, and dispatched letters to Winthrop and the gov­   
ernor of Massachusetts. He then crossed over the sound to the towns   
on the eastward of Long Island, where he conducted a tour of military   
inspection on his return down the island to New York. At Southold   
he ordered a sloop to Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket with two   
barrels of powder, twenty-five muskets, and seven skeins of matches.   
The fear of Andros for the safety of his eastward territories was   
needless. The situation at Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket was the  
pastel shade in the crimson picture of Philip's War.

At the outbreak of the war the question uppermost in the minds of   
the settlers was whether the converted Indians would remain true to   
the English government which they professed. Never was an oppor­   
tunity so favorably presented a people to throw off a yoke had their   
allegiance to the new religion and government been anything but a   
voluntary and happy submission. To one who asks, was the mission­   
ary work of the Mayhews a success? Was the conversion of the   
Indians a heartfelt acceptance of the white man's civilization or was   
it a superficial conversion accomplished by force, bribery, or cajolery?   
The answer lies in the conduct of the island Indians during King   
Philip's War.

Elsewhere in New England attempt was made, wherever feasible,   
to disarm the Indians, but at Martha's Vineyard an unheard of step   
was taken. Instead of disarming the native inhabitants, Governor   
Mayhew was emboldened to arm those among the Indians whom he   
especially trusted as faithful adherents of the English.

The feasibility of an Indian militia Mayhew had broached many   
years before to the commissioners of the United Colonies, who in reply   
warned him that "for the training of the Indians and furnishing them

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with guns, powder and shott; wee are not free but wish rather it might   
bee wholly restrained."

The governor of Martha's Vineyard knew the temperament of his   
converts and when Philip's War broke out felt justified, as a means of   
defense, in raising the military establishment proposed by him nearly   
two decades before. He accordingly enlisted a company of Foot among   
the red men, armed with powder and ball, and under the command of   
Indian officers. The Indians being "improv'd" as a guard, "he gave   
them instruction how to manag,e for the common safety." It was the   
first Indian company of troops under British colors commanded by a   
native captain.

On the island of Martha's Vineyard, as elsewhere, there were   
many English who suffered themselves to be unreasonably exasperated   
against all Indians to such an extent that they could hardly be   
restrained by the governor and those associated in government with   
him from attempting to disarm the natives, who greatly outnumbered   
the whites in a ratio of about twenty to one.

To allay the fears of the timid and to satisfy the doubtful, the   
governor ordered "captain Richard Sarson, Esq.," with a small com­   
pany of English, to march to the west end of the island, where resided   
the Indians whose loyalty was most to be doubted, to treat with them   
concerning their attitude toward the war. Captain Sarson accordingly   
marched his command to Gay Head, the last stronghold of the pow­   
wows, where lived many of the Vineyard Indians.

Although the tribes of the island had at one time been tribute to   
princes on the continent and subject to King Philip, the chief men of   
the place met the military embassy with a protestation of friendship.   
They answered the enquiries of the captain by saying that the Indians  
engaged in the war against the English were not less the enemies of   
the English than theirs. They expressed sorrow that their English neighbors had seen fit to suspect their fidelity, stating that they had   
never given occasion to arouse the distrust intimated. But for deliver­   
ing up their arms, this they did not think wise to do as disarmament   
would leave them exposed to the will of the warring Indians on the   
neighboring continent. They stated that "if in any thing not hazard­   
ing their safety, they could give any satisfaction for the proof of their   
fidelity, they would willingly *attend* what should reasonably be   
*demanded* of them; but they were unwilling to deliver their arms,

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unless the *English* would propose some *mean* for their safety and live­   
lihood."

With this they drew up a writing in their own language, the sub­   
stance of which was "that as they had submitted to the crown of *Eng­   
land,* so they resolved to *assist the English* on these *islands* against their   
*enemies,* which they esteem'd in the same respect equally their own, as   
subjects of the same *king* which was subscrib' d by the persons of the   
greatest note among them."

It was then that the governor proceeded with his plan to establish   
an Algonquin military guard.

The news of Mayhew's comportment was received by the people   
of Nantucket with disapproval. On that island the personal influence   
of the missionary-governor among the Indians was less potent. The   
men of Nantucket town recalled stories of war, fire, and rapine that   
came from the mainland, of sleeping villages which had been ravaged   
at night, and women and children fiendishly tortured, slain, or carried   
into captivity. These tales recalled memories of murders perpetrated   
by the Indians of Nantucket upon English sailors and shipwrecked   
travelers; the inhabitants counted their weak numbers and were con­  
vinced that a general uprising of the island Indians would indubitably   
wipe out their settlement.

At Nantucket the situation was intensified by the conduct of the   
English inhabitants themselves. As has been related in prior chapters,   
political feuds and jealousies had the island in their throes. Rumor   
was rampant among the Indians that there was no longer government   
among the English. The respect of the native for the function of law   
and order and his belief in the ability of the whites to rule was badly  
shaken.

For the safety of the island a number of inhabitants composed a let­   
ter to Governor Andros in which they recited the defenseless condition   
of Nantucket and their fear of ill consequences "upon the Indyans   
Trayning in Armes on Martins Vineyard." The writers commented   
on the great strength of the Indians on both Martha's Vineyard and   
Nantucket and expressed a desire that Andros should send the inhabi­   
tants a "Couple of great guns, & halfe a dousen Souldrs."

About this time Andros received also a letter from Simon Athearn,   
of Martha's Vineyard, who was always capable of giving advice, solicit­   
ing an order that "no person or persons be suffered to let any Indian

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or Indians have any powder in these perilous times." If Athearn had   
been governor of Martha's Vineyard, there is little doubt but that his   
request would have been necessary.

As it was, the letters had a logical sound, and Andros ordered a   
cannon each to be delivered to the islands of Nantucket and Martha's   
Vineyard and that copies of "ye Proclamation concerning ye Indyans,   
of keeping Watches, erecting Block-houses &c" should be sent to the   
inhabitants.

Throughout the war the English officials of Nantucket affected a   
carriage towards the Indians of confidence, pretending no distrust,   
although, reports chief magistrate Thomas Macy, "we haue heard   
now and then a Word . . .. which we haue not liked but haue over­   
looked the same." The cool head of Thomas Macy was of great bene­   
fit to the inhabitants at this time.

One of Macy's early moves was the confiscation of liquor on the   
island that the natives might not be kept "like wild Beares and Wolves   
in the Wildernese." It was this move that aroused the antagonism   
of John Gardner and others temporarily out of governmental power.  
Gardner had a half barrel of "Rom" taken from him which he could   
well have used. Suppression of the liquor traffic was difficult. Some   
of the inhabitants would purchase liquor from traders coming to the   
island, ostensibly for their own consumption, but actually for resale to   
the Indians. It was Macy's suggestion that the governor of New   
York issue an order prohibiting the sale of liquor by masters of visiting   
vessels and that the island justices be empowered to regulate the sale   
of strong drink in small quantities "for the moderate use of the Eng­   
lish here, or for Indians in case of distresse."

Dangerous and troublesome times passed without bloodshed. It   
is traditional that a number of Indians brought guns and a cow to the   
Nantucket court, as testimony of their fidelity to the English. Control   
of the liquor traffic was effectuated and although the right of some of   
the planters to keep and sell liquor was temporarily infringed, their   
lives and the lives of their neighbors were thereby made safe.

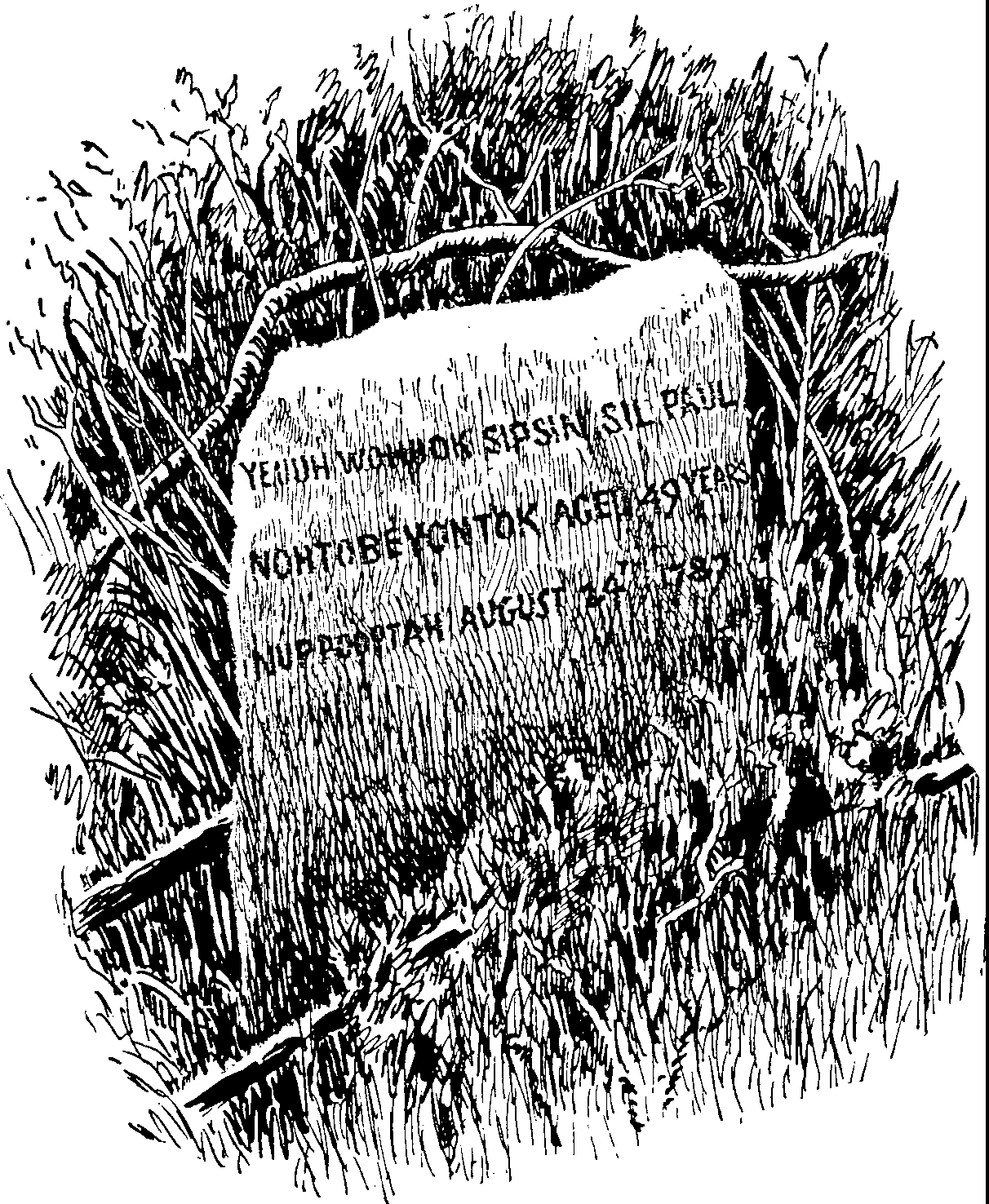
The efforts of King Philip to arouse his countrymen on the islands   
failed. The region of Gay Head was frequently visited during the   
war by Indians from the continent coming to the islands to solicit mem­   
bers of their race, in many instances related by marriage or blood, to   
rise against the English. Again and again these envoys were captured

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and brought before Governor Mayhew by his native militia men to   
attend his pleasure. So faithful were the members of the Indian com­   
pany to the local English government that the European inhabitants   
of the island took little heed of their own defense, but left it mainly to   
these Christian Indians to warn them of approaching danger, not   
doubting to be advised by them of any danger from the enemy.

"Thus while the war was raging on the neighboring continent,   
these islands enjoyed a perfect calm of peace, and the people dwelt  
secure and quiet. This was the genuine and happy effect of Mr. May­   
hew the governor's excellent conduct, and of the introduction of the   
Christian religion among them."  
  
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GRAVESTONE IN GAY HEAD OF SILAS PAUL, AN EARLY INDIAN MINISTER AND CONVERT THE MAYHEWS

CHAPTER XIX

THE PRAYING TOWNS

No phase in the story of the struggle of the Indian to attain the   
white man's civilization is more picturesque than that which relates to   
the foundation of Indian towns at Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket,   
where self-government was exercised by the inhabitants under princi­   
ples that reached far into the antiquity of English history.

To the outward eye the Praying Indian differed little from the   
savage, but in philosophy of life a wide variation placed him a thing   
apart from those of his race who clung to the old beliefs. The Chris­   
tian Indian spoke things not understood by his unconverted country­   
men. Naturally he sought to live in congregations.

In the winter of *1659* the sachem Josias of Takemmy granted the   
praying Indians of his sachemship a tract of land one mile square for   
their exclusive use, on payment of twenty shillings yearly to himself.   
This was the beginning of the Indian town of Christiantown, which for  
228 years was the home of praying Indians. In 1910 its last inhabi­   
tants were Mr. Joseph Mingo, his wife, and widowed son, Samuel.   
Mr. Mingo is described at the time as being over eighty years of age   
"and as straight as an arrow."

The verbal grant of Christiantown, or Manitouwattootan, stood   
for a decade upon common report. In time a number of English   
planters commenced the purchase of lands in Takemmy for the settle­   
ment of Middletown. The sale by Josias of the rich fields of Takemmy   
aroused the anger of his pagan subjects, who realized that they would   
not profit in the bargains made by him, but would only lose their lands   
Between Josias and his braves constant quarrelings became the   
order of the day. Conditions reached such proportions that Thomas   
Mayhew concluded to call a great conclave of the natives to thresh out   
their difficulties. A day was set when all factions met in the presence   
of the patentee. We are told by an English eye-witness that the argu­  
 ment between the sachem and his subjects at the powwow became so   
heated "that mr Thomas Mayhew Esqr" had "very much adoe to   
quiet the Indians." An understanding was effectuated through the   
good graces of the patentee, and it was agreed by the sachem that no  
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further land should be sold the English without the consent and appro­   
bation of trustees appointed to act for the tribe as a whole. These   
trustees were six in number; five of them being Indians and the other   
Mr. Thomas Mayhew.

In part the agreement provided that "It is absolutely agreed by us   
Thomas Mayhew, Kiteanumin [i. *e.,* Josias], Tichpit, Teequinomin,   
Papamick and Joseph, and wee doe hereby promise for our heirs and  
successors that all the lands in Takemmy that is not sold unto the Eng­   
lish shall remain unsold for the use of the Indians of Takemmy and   
their heirs forever; except the said Thomas Mayhew, Kiteanumin,   
Tichpit, Teequinomin, Papamick and Joseph their heirs successors doe   
all and everie one of them consent to the sale thereof of any part of   
the same."

At the conclave, the sachem Josias also confirmed his verbal grant   
of Christiantown to the praying Indians, "and ever since the sd Meet­   
ing," concludes our informant, "it hath generaly been esteemed to be   
the Indians and called by the name of the Indian Town."

Thomas Mayhew drew up the following statement for permanent   
record:

Josias and Wannamanhutt Did in my Presence give the Praying   
Indians a Tract of Land for a Town and Did Committ the Govern­   
ment Thereof into my hand and Posteritie forever: the Bounds of the   
said Land is on the North sid of Island bounded by the land called   
Ichpoquassett and so to the Pond called Mattapaquattonooke and into   
the island so far as Papamaks fields where he planted and now Plants   
or soes: it is as broad in the woods as by the Seaside.

The form of government instituted by Thomas Mayhew at Chris­   
tiantown was probably one suited to the monarchical customs of the   
Indians, and was democratized as the inhabitants grew in capability   
for self-government. It may be supposed that petty courts were   
erected for the trial of trivial matters, presided over by Indian magis­   
trates, with power of appeal to English justices, as this was the practice   
of the governor in other Indian plantations where "a happy govern­   
ment" was settled among the Indians and records kept of all actions   
and acts passed "in their several courts, by such who having learn'd to   
write fairly, were appointed thereto."

Scant are the records of Christiantown, and the history of its judi­   
cial and administrative affairs is gleaned from occasional documents

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and papers. As early as 1690 mention is made of an Indian magis­   
trate in the town and in 1703 Stephen Nashokow was "Justice of peace   
for the Indians of Takymmy." In 1696, Isaac Ompanit, Stephen   
**N**ashokow, and Obadiah Paul, trustees, refer to the rights "of them­   
selves and body politick as a town." Stephen was a preacher as well   
as a justice of the peace. Experience Mayhew writes of Isaac Ompanit,   
he "was a *Magistrate* as well as a Minister among his own Country­   
men, and faithfully discharged the Duties of that *Office,* according to   
the best of his Skill and Judgment, not being a Terror *to good W arks,   
but to those that were Evil."*

For a number of years the Indians of Christiantown remained   
under the general supervision of successive members of the Mayhew   
family. After the governor's death, his grandsons, Thomas and Mat­   
thew, were prominent in their civil affairs. In time the Indians of the   
island as a tribe came under the guardianship of the English Society   
for the Propagation of the Gospel in material as well as spiritual mat­   
ters. Occasionally agents were appointed by the provincial, and later   
the state government, of Massachusetts to act for the Indians in certain   
capacities relating to their legal rights. Many of these agents or   
"guardians" as they were called were members of the Mayhew family   
in name or blood, carrying on the traditions of their family.

Early among these was Major Paine Mayhew, a great-grandson of   
the governor, who in 1727 was one of the attorneys "To the Honor­   
able the Company for Propagating the Gospel & etc." He was Com­   
missioner of Indians at Chappaquiddick appointed to prosecute claims   
on their behalf, and was also Guardian of Indians for Dukes County.   
Other guardians were Colonel Zaccheus Mayhew, Dr. Matthew May­   
hew, Deacon Timothy Mayhew, Dr. Thomas Mayhew, and after the   
Revolution, William Mayhew, librarian of Harvard College, Nathan­   
iel Mayhew, Simon Mayhew, Esq., and another William Mayhew, in   
1813.

NOTE--Paine Mayhew, born 1677, died 1761. Within one hundred   
years of his death was born an unusual number of nationally known descendants,   
a number of whom gained world-wide recognition. Descendants include Major-  
General William Jenkins Worth, the Mexican War hero; Lucretia Mott, founder of   
the woman's movement; Mde. Lillian Nordica, prima donna; "Camp Meeting" John   
Allen, a most popular clergyman of his day in America; Rev. Charles F. Allen,   
D. D., first president of the University of Maine; Jarr.es Athearn Jones, one of the   
leading minor authors of the early nineteenth century; Cyrus Butler, founder of the   
Butler Hospital for the humane treatment of the insane at Providence, Rhode   
Island; Hon. Henry L. Dawes, United States Senator from Massachusetts, author of   
Indian bills; Dr. Walter Hillman, college president, in whose honor was named   
Hillman College, Mississippi; and Hon. Walter Folger Brown, postmaster-general   
of the United States under President Hoover.

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In 1731 Experience Mayhew as agent for the Indians of Christian­   
town procured a grant from the provincial General Court granting the   
praying Indians of Christiantown the right to elect officers for the con­   
duct of Indian affairs, making legal under the Massachusetts govern­   
ment the practice that had been in vogue under the Mayhews.

Thereafter "Legall Town Meetings" are of record presided over   
by moderators and their business recorded by town clerks. The inhabi­   
tants, however, continued under the supervision of guardians and   
missionaries.

. . .

Christiantown was essentially a religious community. Accordingly   
a meeting house was erected for the Indians during the governor's life­   
time. Prior to this event the Mayhews, in making the circuit of   
Indian plantation , had preached to the natives in their wigwams or   
in the open fields when weather permitted. In the woods adjoining   
the simple church, the Indians in later years placed a great square   
stone, known as the Mayhew horse-block, to assist the missionaries in   
mounting their horses.

After Governor Mayhew's death the original church structure was   
replaced by another. In 1732 two flagons of silver were presented   
the native congregation by the society of the Old South Church of   
Boston, through the influence of Experience Mayhew.

Experience has left an account of a number of the Indian converts   
of Christiantown. Contemporary with the governor was John Aman­   
hut, son of W annamanhut, the sachem. John was a preacher in the   
town and in turn was the father of a still more illustrious preacher,   
Hosea Manhut, ordained pastor of "the Indian Church at the West   
End" of the island. Other native preachers at Christiantown in the   
governor's day were Joel Sims who died about the year 1680 "much   
lamented" and James Sepinnu, a brother of Tackanash.

The first to exercise the office of a minister to the people of Chris­   
tiantown was Wunnanauhkomun. He was well connected by marriage   
"in the Indian way." His wife was a daughter of Cheshchaamog, the s  
achem of Homes Hole and a sister of Caleb Cheshchaamog, the grad­   
uate of Harvard College. Her Indian name was Ammapoo, but   
among the English she was called Abigail. "She used, while her hus­   
band lived, to pray in the family in his absence, and frequently gave   
good counsel to her children." Of death she would sometimes speak   
"as the hand of God, by which his people were removed into a better  
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place than this; and would also call it a ferryman, by which we have   
our passage out of this life into the next."

The most remarkable family in Christiantown was that of Shoh­   
kow. The progenitor of this family was a praying Indian of Takemmy   
called N ashokow. He had five sons, all of whom became Indian   
preachers on the island. His son Micah was in early life "a lover of   
strong Drink," but reforming in after years, "frequently preached to   
the Indians on the island," especially those in the town in which he   
lived and died. Stephen, heretofore mentioned, was brought up "in   
a pious English family," where he received an education. The other   
sons were preachers and esteemed for "piety."

A noted Indian was Old Paul, who was "generally esteemed **a**godly Man" and "without any Stain in his Life and Conversation."   
An Indian classified as one of the "Good Men" of the island was Job   
Somannan, of mixed antecedents, his father being a praying Indian and   
his mother a heathen. He was taught to read in his native tongue and   
later learned to read and write in English. He became a schoolmaster   
and "a great Lover of good Books," yet he had "such Apprehensions   
of the Holiness that was necessary to qualify Persons for the Enjoy­   
ment of Church Privileges, that he thought it not safe for him to   
venture to lay claims unto them."

It must not be thought that all native preachers on the island were   
ordained clergymen. Experience Mayhew classifies ruling elders and   
deacons in the same category as "will appear the more natural when I   
have said that in the Indian churches both ruling elders and deacons   
have generally been preachers of the word of God, though they have   
been only chosen and set apart to the offices by which they are denom­   
inated." The majority of those who preached in the several towns of   
the island were lay ministers and teachers. Ordination was an honor   
bestowed upon only a chosen few.

Preachers, lay and ordained, taught at several centers of popula­   
tion on the islands. Christiantown was the. oldest, but not the sole   
organized Indian town. A sister community was Gay Head, with a  
history even longer in years than Christiantown. Although Gay Head   
had no town government for many years, it is of interest as the sole   
surviving Indian town on the islands. Its church is one of the ancient   
in North America.

Mittark, the first preacher at this place, was succeeded by **J**apheth

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Hannit, of Chilmark, who was assisted by Abel Wauwompuhque and   
Elisha Ohhumuh. The two latter were preaching to 260 souls in 1698   
and had a meetinghouse framed. This may have been the edifice which   
was standing on the Old South Road over a hundred years later. In   
it were heard the voices of the Mayhews, at least Experience preach­   
ing 1694-1758, and Zachariah, 1767-1806, and their successor, the   
Rev. Frederick Baylies, in years beginning 1810.

The Congregational Church at Gay Head founded by the May­   
hews is commonly remembered as "The Old Presbyterian Church" and   
as "The Church of the Standing Order"; the first having reference   
to its form of organization and the second to the fact that the Congre­   
gational Church in Massachusetts was the State Church, supported by   
taxation. Churches not Congregational, were dissenting bodies, and   
not of the "standing order."

The last preacher of "the Standing Order" was Zachary Howwos­   
wee, "still a name to conjure with, a dim figure looming out of the   
past--but looming mightily." He was the last to preach in the Indian   
tongue, although there were few left in his congregation that were   
capable of understanding the language of their fathers. He clung,   
however, to this last tie of the entity of his race. So fervidly could   
he preach in the unknown language that he could make his listeners   
cry, although they knew not a word he spoke. He was a "large farmer"   
and prosperous, but declined into drink. He made a brave but vain   
struggle to maintain his people as a race; but with dwindling attend­   
ance and his own unfortunate struggle with intemperance, the light he   
sought to keep burning, went out. He used to tell his congregation   
"you must not do as I do, but as I say."

A Baptist schism at Gay Head appeared in the eighteenth century.   
Little effort was made to combat it as the Mayhew missionaries were   
willing that any Christian faith should be worshipped in preference to   
paganism. At one time the sole Baptist minister on the island was an   
ordained Indian preache1:4.

In 1849 it was said of the Gay Headers that they were "in the   
main, a frugal, industrious, temperate and moral people; but not with­   
out exception." Twelve years later it was said, "They are generally   
kind and considerate toward each other, and perform their social and   
relative duties as well as do other people in whose vicinity they reside."   
In 1869, at a hearing held by the legislative committee, three clergy-

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men testified that covering a period of seven years neither of them had   
seen a case of drunkenness nor heard profanity among them in that   
time. In 1862 the reservation was incorporated by the State Legisla­   
ture into the "District of Gay Head" and, in I 870, it was conferred   
the full status of a township.

Under the rotation plan of electing a representative for the island   
to the General Court of the State then in vogue, Mr. Edwin DeVries   
Vanderhoop, a native Gay Header, with a large admixture of Dutch   
blood in his veins, was elected to the session of r 8 8 8 to legislate for   
the white people who had lately enfranchised him.

Says the island historian, "The town is now in its fortieth year of   
existence [ r 9 IO J, a self-respecting community of people, obedient to   
the laws, managing its affairs economically, fulfilling all the require­  
ments of an incorporated part of the Commonwealth, and justifying   
fully the faith of the men who gave it this opportunity for independent   
development. But it is still an 'Indian' town, for the white man has   
made no invasion here."

The long "apprenticeship in civilization" has been served. Lack­   
ing initiative by inheritance, the Indians seemed for a time like the   
children of Israel, lost in the wilderness, with no incentive to raise them   
from their sloth. The journey was long and tedious, but not without   
reward.

The type of local government that Thomas Mayhew instituted   
among the island Indians was the most highly developed of its kind,   
and was singularly free of the casuistic notions of the day. The   
Apostle Eliot in founding Na tick took occasion to put into force a   
theory of his that all civil government and all laws should be derived   
from Scripture alone. Said he of the Indians, "They shall be wholly   
governed by the Scriptures in all things, both in church and State; the   
Lord shall be their lawgiver, the Lord shall be their judge, the Lord   
shall be their king, and unto the frame the Lord will bring all the   
world ere he hath done."

The virtue of this form of government Eliot loved to argue and   
promulgate. He refers frequently to the point in his correspondence   
claiming that the time would come when all other civil institutions in   
the world would be compelled to yield to those derived from the Bible.   
Pursuant to the eighteenth chapter of Exodus the Indians of Natick   
divided their community into hundreds and tithings and appointed

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rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens. This was only  
 a municipal government. In general affairs they acknowledged their   
subjection to the English magistrates of the colony, and appeals were   
made from their courts to these authorities in all necessary cases.

Laws for the regulation of Indian affairs were passed in the sev­   
eral colonies. In I 670 the selectmen of the towns in Plymouth Colony   
were empowered by the General Court to judge disputes arising   
between English and Indians, except in capital cases and matters per­   
taining to the title of lands. Three years later Magistrate Thomas   
Hinckley\* was appointed to call and keep courts among the Indians,   
and was authorized to make orders respecting. their government in   
conjunction with the Indian chiefs of the several locations. After­   
wards the Court of Assistants appointed an "able and discreet" man in   
each town to hear cases "betwixt Indian and Indian" in association with   
tithingmen appointed one for every ten Indians. Constables among   
the Indians were appointed yearly.

At Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket a more complete form of   
government was provided, and greater liberty given the Indians in self­   
government than elsewhere. In general the laws were those in vogue   
among the English. The Indian was brought forward in the science   
of government and not turned back to the days of Moses.

The antiquarian Macy says of the Nantucket Indians, "they had   
justices, constables, grandjurymen, and carried on for a great many   
years, many of them very well and precisely, and lived in a very good   
fashion."

Macy tells the story of a picturesque Indian judge whose adminis­   
tration was of a date later than Governor Mayhew, but of interest as a   
first hand picture of Indian justice. "There was one Indian man,"   
recites Macy, "his name was James Skouel, but was mostly called Cor­  
duda. He was justice of the peace, and very sharp with them if they   
did not behave well. He would fetch them up, when they did not tend   
their corn well, and order them to have ten stripes on their backs, and   
for any rogue tricks and getting drunk. And if his own children

\*Thomas Hinckley, b. cir. 1618 in England; d. in Barnstable, Mass., 25 April, 1706.   
He was the last governor of Plymouth Colony. His daughter Thankful became the first   
wife of Rev. Experience Mayhew. After her death, Experience Mayhew remarried   
Remember Bourne, daughter of Shearjashub Bourne, Esq. (who had civil oversight of   
**the** Mashpee Indians), and granddaughter of Rev. Richard Bourne, missionary to the   
Indians. The missionary families of Bourne, Tupper, and Mayhew are intermarried.

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played any rogue tricks, he would serve them the same sauce. There   
happened some Englishmen at his court, when a man was brought up   
for some rogue tricks, and one of these men was named Na than Cole­   
man, a pretty crank sort of man, and the Indian pleaded for an appeal   
to Esquire Bunker, and the old judge turned around to said Nathan   
and spoke in the Indian language thus, 'chaquor keador taddator   
witche conichau mussoy chauquor,' then said Nathan answered thus,   
'martau couetchawidde neconne sassamyste nehotie moche Squire   
Bunker'; which in the English tongue is thus, 'What do you think about   
this great business?' then Nathan answered, 'may be you had better   
whip him first, then let him go to Squire Bunker'; and the old judge   
took Nathan's advice. And so Nathan answered two purposes, the   
one was to see the Indian whipped, the other was, he was sure the   
Indian would not want to go to Esquire Bunker for fear of another   
whipping."

The fundamental principle of English law that an accused shall betried by a jury of his peers was never better exemplified than at a ses**­**sion of the English court at Nantucket when the trial of an Indian tried  
for "striking mortal blowes" upon the body of one Wappomoage was   
heard by an Indian jury.

Committees of Indians were occasionally appointed by the English   
judges to assist as committeemen in the adjustment of legal disputes,   
especially in matters relating to the traditional boundaries of lands.

Descendants of the Vineyard Indians, mixed largely with negro   
blood, still live, but the Indians of Nantucket dwindled gradually in   
number as the years rolled by. The census at Nantucket discloses that   
twenty-four died after I 800, including the well-known half-breed   
Abram Quarry. Dorcas Honorable, the last pure blooded member of  
her race, died Friday night, January 12, 18*55,* aged seventy-nine   
years, and was buried from the Baptist Church. With the death of  
these peaceful, law abiding remnants of a once populous and savage  
race, the Nantucket Indian passed into the realm of people who are no   
more.

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CHAPTER XX

THE EIGHTH DECADE

Thomas Mayhew entered the last decade of his life in 1673. He   
was still active in missionary work, ready even to go to Plymouth to   
see the commissioners about missionary matters; letters being "little"   
to a man's presence.

The missionary had a remarkable physique and mentality. The   
state of his health in his declining years he recapitulates in a letter to   
his physician:

Sir I haue not yett made vse of the cordiall powder which you sent   
me. I haue beene verry well synce, I blesse the Lord, beyond expecta­   
tion. That paine I had seized one me in the morning betyme, vppon   
the right syde; the paine was not so broade as the palme of my hand.   
It was like to take me off the stage, but it went away in my sleepe that   
night. When I awoke, I was altogether free of that paine and of other   
sore paine which came vppon me in vseing menes by a glyster to free   
my sellfe of that. This God can doe. I am 71 and *5* monthes at present.   
My sight is better then many yeares synce. I can write well without   
spectacles. I wash my head ordinaryly with spring water, yf the   
weather be neuer soe colld, euery morning. Heate trobules me most,   
ells I would haue com by land vnto Hartford. Heate doth hurt me. I   
wash my head vppon the waye sometimes, though I sweate much, I   
confesse I find much good in it. I was 6 years synce verry weake, yett   
not syck, but a swymming in my heade, and a noise allso, which hath   
neare quite left me, and I am strong for my yeares, rarely a man so   
strong.

The last he mentioned with pride. It was true of his last and   
eighty-ninth year, "rarely a man so strong."

No mention is made in the writings of Thomas Mayhew at this   
time of any solicitation for help in his missionary enterprises. He had   
long ago given up hope of interesting outside clergymen, either "solid"   
men or otherwise. Yet assistance was forthcoming in the person of a   
grandson.

The son destined to follow in the footsteps of the Vineyard's   
"Christian Warrior" was John, the youngest of the three sons of the   
Rev. Thomas Mayhew, Jr. More than any of his kindred he is said   
to have resembled his gifted father, inheriting his scholarly inclinations

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and missionary spirit. He was not originally trained for the work, but  
 as time went on and it became apparent that Matthew, who had been   
trained as a missionary, was interested in temporal affairs and the other   
brother in executive and judicial duties, the way was cleared for John,   
co-heir of the proprietary, to devote himself to the work of his choice.   
John "was early inclined to the Ministerial Work," says an early   
account, "and having the Benefit of the Grandfather's wise Instruc­   
tions, and of his Father's Library; and being a Person of more than   
ordinary natural Parts, great Industry and sincere Piety, he made   
such a large Proficiency in the Study and Knowledge of divine Things,   
that about 1673, when he was twenty one Years of Age, he was first  
called to the Ministry among the English in a new and small Settle­   
ment, at a Place named Tisbury, near the middle of the Island; where   
he preached to great Acceptance, not only the People under his Care,   
but of very able Judges that occasionally heard him." His charge

included the church societies of Chilmark and Tisbury united.

The newly ordained clergyman settled in Chilmark, where he built   
a house on a neck of land called Quanaimes, an Indian word meaning   
"the long fish" or eel. The house is referred to in a deed wherein   
Governor Mayhew "of the town of Chilmark in the Manor of Tys­   
bery" conveys a parcel of land "opposite against the point of a neck   
of Quanaimes, which John Mayhew's house standeth upon." In this   
house at Quanaimes, writes Charles E. Banks, "was born in the year   
1673 the famous Experience, author of 'Indian Converts,' and after  
the property had descended to him, as the 'first born son,' it disclosed   
the light of day in I 720 to his no less famous scion, the Rev. Jonathan   
Mayhew, the great pulpit orator. This spot, therefore, may well be   
regarded as the cradle of Chilmark's most distinguished sons."

One is not surprised that John Mayhew should have entertained   
an urge to enter the Indian service in which his grandfather rich in   
years was laboring. But we are informed that heredity and environ­   
ment alone did not sway the destinies of the youthful preacher. He   
was so beloved and respected among the Indians that they would not   
be content until he became a preacher to them as he was to the English.   
It is said of John that while a young man he was often resorted to by   
the chief Indians of the island for advice, and that he knew their lan­   
guage well. He was referred to by the commissioners in 1672 as a   
potential "useful instrument" to be encouraged in missionary work-

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"One whereof is the son of that Reuerend and Good man Mr Mahew   
deceased whoe being borne on the Iland called Marthas Viniyard and   
now growne to mans estate and there settled; is a hopeful younge man   
and hath theire Language prfectly."

Sometime after his ordination John Mayhew regularly entered the   
missionary service as an assistant to his grandfather. Among his many   
duties was that of preaching to the natives once every week. He vis­   
ited the several praying towns within the jurisdiction and mapped out   
programs of instruction for the guidance of the native teachers, taught,   
preached, and catechized the Indians and their children; journeying by   
canoe or sloop in visitations to Nantucket and the several Elizabeth   
Islands. In long and arduous journeyings over land and by water he   
was of immeasurable service to the grandfather burdened by age and   
civil duties'.

A number of years after the entry of John into the work of his   
fathers, Thomas Mayhew reports to the commissioners that "the work   
of God amongst the Indians . . . . seemes to me to prosper." The   
two churches at Martha's Vineyard had forty members who "walked in  
of ensyvely." The chief men of every place were now allied with   
the new religion and put forth their efforts to uphold the worship of   
God. Sachems and powwows alike were converted. Witchcraft was   
"out of vse."

The evil of the Indian still was drunkenness. The missionary   
reports one hundred and forty men not so tainted. It is severely pun­   
ished in every place, reports he. He hopes the Lord will give endeavors   
to the efforts being made to stamp out that great offense, "there are   
some that are already of the worst that hates it."

It is strange to see how readily offenders strip themselves to receive   
punishment for this sin "of wch or nation is much guylty." He com­   
plains that vessels passing through the sound, largely owned at Rhode   
Island, kept natives supplied with liquor. This had been the complaint   
of Thomas Macy a number of years before. Rhode Island was early   
a rum selling and slave catching state, where merchants waxed rich on   
blood and rum.

At Nantucket things are "in a very comfortable way," and at the   
Elizabeth Islands there are forty families and a teacher in the worship   
of God. "Thus matters stand heer at present. I conceiue no man can   
contradict it."

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The career of Thomas Mayhew as a missionary and governor was   
drawing to a close. In his letter one perceives signs of fatigue. The   
flow of language is not easy. He writes significantly, "It hath pleased  
 God to keepe me alyue and verry well, to write thus much in my 87th   
yeare hallf out."\* He closes with a plea for the prayers of the com­   
missioners, "that I may fynnish my dayes in a holy manner." Retire­   
ment before death was something he had no wish for.

Three years and a half later, in the eighty-ninth years of his age   
and the thirty-fifth of his ministry to the Indians, Thomas Mayhew   
died. Shortly before his death he had an illness which was thought by   
his relatives to be his last, but he told them that the time was not yet   
come and that he should not die with that fit of sickness. Accordingly   
he recovered and preached again several times. Realizing, however,   
that the time of his departure was near, he so expressed himself to a   
grandson, adding that he earnestly hoped that God would give him   
one opportunity more to preach in public to the English at Edgartown,   
where he had been for some time obliged to supply the pulpit through   
the want of a regular minister.

His wish being gratified he appeared before his flock the following   
Sunday for the last time, preached a final sermon and took an affec­   
tionate farewell of his people. In the rude little meetinghouse at   
Edgartown the broken, crumbling patriarch of the island clasped   
hands for the last time with the people he loved so well, nearly all of   
them late comers or children of the first settlers. Thomas Mayhew   
was among the last of the little band of pioneers that had founded   
Great Harbor two generations before. He had seen his people go to   
the grave, one by one, and new faces with old names take their places.  
 Returning home from the sombre scene in the church, that evening   
he fell ill. He assured his friends and relatives that his sickness would   
now be death, adding that he was well contented, being full of days   
and satisfied with life. "He gave many excellent Counsels and Exhor­  
tations to all about him; his Reason and Memory not being at all   
impaired." He continued full of faith and comfort to the end.

His great-grandson, Experience, being then about eight years of   
age, accompanied his father to the governor's house, and well remem­   
bered the patriarch calling him to his beside and laying his hands on his   
head and blessing him in the name of the Lord.

\*Mayhew appears *to* have been in error as to his age at this time, an error into which he occasionally fell, making himself older than he actually was.

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The governor's family on the island at the time of his death con­   
sisted of his daughter Hannah Daggett, step-daughter Jane Sarson,   
and their husbands, numerous grandchildren and great-grandchildren.   
His wife is believed to have been dead.

Full details are lacking of Mayhew's marital life. He is known to   
have been twice married. According to a genealogical memorandum   
prepared before I 840 by Judge William Mayhew, of Edgartown, the   
governor's first wife, the mother of his only son, was named Abigail   
Parkus. No record of this marriage has been discovered and the fur­   
ther tradition that she was a member of the Parkhurst family, of Ips­   
wich, England, of which George Parkhurst, of Watertown, Massachu­   
setts, was a member, is unconfirmed. The Parkhursts were clothiers,   
an occupation not unconnected with Mayhew's own trade. Daughters   
of the Parkhurst family and their husbands were among the early set­   
tlers of Martha's Vineyard, which gives credence to the tradition.

It is not thought that the first wife lived to accompany her husband   
to the New World as Thomas Mayhew contracted a second marriage   
about the year 1633. Jane, the second wife, was widow of Mr. Thomas   
Paine, merchant, of London, where it is said, the marriage took place.   
To this union were born four daughters: Hannah; Bethia; Mary,   
who died young, and Martha. Hannah became the wife of Captain   
Thomas Daggett, an official many years prominent in the civil, judicial,   
and military life of the islands. She was a favorite daughter and was   
known to the inhabitants as the "deputy-governor." After her hus­   
band's death she married, second, Captain Samuel Smith, of Edgar­  
town, by whom she left no issue.

Bethia, the second daughter, married Thomas Harlock, of Edgar­   
town, and after his death, Lieutenant Richard Way, of Dorchester,   
Receiver General of the Imposts and an officer of the Castle at Boston.   
She died in I 678 and lies buried in Copp's Hill Cemetery, where her   
gravestone may still be seen.

Martha married Captain Thomas Tupper, of Sandwich, on Cape   
Cod, where both resided. Captain Tupper was a prominent figure in   
the life of Plymouth Colony and like his father-in-law became a mis­   
sionary to the Indians. Captain Tupper's father founded an Indian   
Church near Herring River, which was supplied by a succession of   
ministers by the name of Tupper until the decease of the *Rev.* Elisha   
Tupper in 1787, aged four score years. Captain and Martha (May-

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hew) Tupper were progenitors of Sir Charles Tupper, one of the   
fathers of united Canada and prime minister of the Dominion.

Thomas Mayhew's step-daughter, Jane (Paine) Mayhew, after   
the death of the younger Mayhew, married Captain Richard Sarson,   
Esq., thirty years an officeholder under the Duke's government.

Eligible material for husbands of the daughters of a proprietary   
house was limited on the island. Hannah married as her second hus­   
band a man twenty-six years her junior; Bethia married a man believed   
to have been forty years her senior; and Jane Paine was some twelve   
years older than her second husband.

To a number of these union came children, grandsons and grand­   
daughters of the island patriarch. In their welfare the old governor   
took an active interest. His letters to Winthrop, the family physician,   
contain references to the childhood ailments of these little ones. In   
one letter the grandfather writes to "testyfie" his thankfulness for   
Winthrop's readiness "in sending that powder" for a grandchild   
"together with the advice" and intreats for more of the powder "for   
now shee is willinge to take it, and wee are of the mind that shee is   
now much likely to recouer: but yf shee should not shortly vissibly   
mend, my daughter doth desire your worshipp to know whether yow   
are willing shee should com to Conectacute, where shee may be neare   
yow." To this Mayhew adds the pregnant suggestion that "the sight   
of hir may much more informe your judgment touching hir disease."

Upon another occasion he writes that his "daughter Doggetts elld­   
est daughter hath vsed your phissick with very good successe. The lit­   
tle ones haue not yett taken any. I hope they will haue the like   
benefitt."

Surrounded by these loved ones, Thomas Mayhew died Saturday   
evening, March *25,* 1682.

A letter by his grandson Matthew addressed to Governor Thomas   
Hinckley, of Plymouth Colony, gives the following particulars of the   
last hours of the old missionary-governor:

It pleased god of his great goodness, as to continue My honoured   
Grandfather's life to a great age, wanting but six dayes of ninety   
yeares : so to give the comfort of his life : and to ours as well as his   
comfort, in his sickness which was six dayes, to give him an increase of   
faith, and comfort, manifested by many expressions, one of which I   
may not omitt, being seasonable, as in all, so espetially in these times;   
*viz:* I have lived by faith, and have found god in his son; and there  
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I finde him now, therefore if you would finde god looke for him in his   
son, there he is to be found, and no where else &c: he manifested great   
assurance of salvation; he was of low price in his own esteem, saying   
that he had been both unworthy and unprofitable, not deserving the   
esteem many had of him; and that he was only accepted in, and through   
the lord Jesus: &c.

To this the grandson adds, "I think without detraction I may say   
no man ever in this land approved himself so absolute a father to the   
Indians as my honoured grandfather: I got no great hope that there   
will ever be the like in this selfish age.''

In the Mayhew family private burying ground on South Water   
Streets in Edgartown lie the mortal remains of this venerable patri­   
arch, the Puritan merchant, the missionary-governor, the manorial   
lord, the "Grave and majestic" father of a distinguished posterity. His   
son preceded him; three grandsons, a great-grandson, and a great­   
great-grandson of the name followed his hallowed footsteps in the mis­  
sionary field and made their name famous in England and America.

The town of Mayhew Station, Lowndes County, Mississippi, was   
founded I 820 as a missionary station among the Choctaw Indians by   
the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and   
named "in memory of the excellent and devoted men who so success­   
fully preached the Gospel to the Indians on Martha's Vineyard, and   
consecrated their lives to this self-denying service at an early period   
in the settlement of our country."

The establishment of this town for the education of Indians was   
a fitting memorial to the patriarch whose grave at Martha's Vineyard   
was unmarked by a tombstone. An inornate sepulcher may have been   
the governor's last request, a fitting testimony to his modest nature,   
"not deserving the esteem many had of him" as he said in his dying   
sickness.

The wise, benevolent, and judicious labors of Thomas Mayhew   
among the Indians stamp him a great colonial governor and adminis­   
trator. He ranks as one of the successful colonizers of America.   
Under his supervision islands were settled, and towns and villages   
founded, courts established, and churches gathered, and a militia   
formed.

Reference is found in the records to General and Quarterly courts,   
of magistrates, assistants, recorders, marshalls, waterbailiffs, criers,

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clerks, and all the various officers necessary to perfect government   
among civilized men. But the great triumph of the missionary­   
governor was the conquest of a savage race by peaceful means, the   
bringing of the Indian to a recognition of English supremacy and to   
the adoption of the white man's religion and code of laws.

In all history from the conquest of the Romans in pagan lands to   
the founding of America, no greater romance can be conceived than the   
establishment, upon these little far-flung islands, of Indian churches   
taught by Indian clergymen, Indian courts presided over by Algonquin   
judges, and a military company of forest children officered by an   
Indian Joshua. The diplomatic skill, the untiring fortitude, the Chris­   
tian spirit necessary for this triumph cannot be too greatly stressed.

The nobler deeds of men are judged by the spirit that actuates their   
labors. The name of Thomas Mayhew is worthy of perpetuation as   
a Father of the New World, but it is of greater worth as the name of a   
patriarch to the Indians.

In the words of the Prince of Peace, in whom Thomas Mayhew   
found God, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these   
my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

THE END.

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**ERRATA**

"Madford house," p. II, should be "Meadford house."   
Line 20, p. 110, read 1635 instead of 1653.

Line 12, p. 224, read Street instead of Streets.