

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
Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and the Eliza
beth Islands, and Lord of the Manor
of Tisbury in North America*

BY

LLOYD C. M. HARE



ILLUSTRATED

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TO
BRIZAIDE G. HARE

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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 Insurrection, 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 struggles 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 Records of Plymouth Colony in New England, the Records of the Governor 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 Nantucket, New York Colonial Manuscripts, the several histories of Nantucket Island, the "History of Martha's Vineyard" by Charles Edward

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 concerning 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, reproducers 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 established 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 prudence 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 ascendancy 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 dispossess 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 Scotland lay the bones of Philip's ships. Britannia had become mistress of the seas.

The sun of empire 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 dickering 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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Great commercial companies were formed to trade in all the parts of the earth. Under the seals of state a stream of charters passed, granting new domains in savage untrammelled 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 lapping waters, the clank of chains, grating blocks, and straining hawsers lulled the air like gentle zephyrs 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 cockleshell 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 Somersetshire, 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 foundations 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 merchant 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, patriarch and missionary to the Indians of New England.

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 ranking 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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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 Tisbury 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 1590, 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 1550. 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 hundred 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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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 Fyldeton, 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 1570. 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 temporarily 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 establish 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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up hill and over rolling downs, where one saw thousands upon thousand, 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 Clarendon, 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 Captain 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 education 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 instruction 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 latter 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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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 manual 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 magistrate, who knew him personally, says he was "a merchant, bred in England, 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

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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 mercantile 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 tradesmen 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-



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

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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 beginnings 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 Massachusetts 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 and Sir Richard Saltonstall that established the colony of the Massachusetts Bay.

The abilities of Thomas Mayhew in time reached the ears of Matthew Cradock, potent London merchant, one time governor of the company 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 1629 Cradock was instrumental in sending over shipwrights, gardeners, coopers, cleavers, and a wheelwright 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 supervision and this he accomplished from time to time by the appointment of an agent or factor to have general oversight and charge of his shipping, fishing, trading, and plantation interests.

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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 1631, 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.

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 Massachusetts 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 1654, 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 buildings. 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 Mystic plantation. The town of Medford was at one time noted for shipbuilding. 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 established in the New World. It was the corner-stone of New England prosperity. 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 carried, 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 2*d*. the corne at 9*s*. per bushell, the pork at 10 *li*. per hogshead, orrenge and lemons at 20*s*. 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 commodities 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 Winthrop 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 satisfaction, and in so doing, says Cradock, "I ame confydent it will doe himselffe 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 am abused," bewailed Cradock, "My servants write they drink nothing but water & I have in an account lately sent me Red Wyne, Sack & aqua vitae in one yeere about 300 gallons, besides many other intolerable abuses, 101£ for tobacco etc. My papers are misselaid, but if you call for the copies of the accounts sent me & examine upon what ground it is made, you shall find 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 see it I am persuaded will hardly 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 approved 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 Cradock's letters, from the conduct of compeers, and collateral circumstances. 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 England 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 Mayhew'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 English merchant. It is not known that Mayhew suffered anything from the controversy other than that his position as the New England representative 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 operations in a pioneer country.

The letters of Cradock contain one of the few attacks upon Mayhew's private character, remarkable in that he was a man long and strenuously before the public, whose varied career as merchant, governor, 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 indication 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 village 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 meadows" 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 activities 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 Watertown. 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 legislature 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 enterprise 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 satisfy any debt, legacy, fine, or other payment, in money, but that creditors 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 England. 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 commodities." 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, concludes 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 matter. Developments are not known. Perhaps Winthrop joined in Mayhew'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 necessary 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.

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 to serve 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 characteristic 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 but 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 member 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 trading 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 unwieldy in number for mass meetings, it was determined that the several plantations 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 jurisdiction 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 thereafter 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 jurisdiction 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 observations 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 merchants 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 commodities 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 picturesque 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 promised 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 relouque 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 apprehend 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 accordingly hee was, & also disinabled for beareing an office in the common wealth, for the space of a yeare nexte ensueing.

This report 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 persuaded 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 connection with the activities of the Indian mission at Martha's Vineyard, then under Mayhew's supervision. There is nothing to show that Endicott 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, 1636, 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 proprietors 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 fifteen 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 member 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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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 Mayhew was one of three gentlemen appointed to hold court for Watertown 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 calendars 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 consider a letter received by it from the Indian sachems Canonicus and Pesecus, of the Narragansetts. The members were ordered "to returne their 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. Writing 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 Massachusetts government and the Narragansetts should be referred to the

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King for settlement on the theory that the settlers and the Narragansetts 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 letter, by whose advice they had done as they wrote, and why they countenanced 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 reception 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 "dispose of all the Civill Affaires of the Towne for one whole yeare." The members elected constituted the legislative body of the town, and exercised 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 Nantucket and those adjacent, to become like William Penn and Lord Baltimore, on a smaller scale, the proprietary of a colony in America.

CHAPTER V

THE LORD OF THE ISLES

In the September of 1641 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 division 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 England 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 gentlemen, 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 proprietors 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 satisfy 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 lying 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 procuring from that company a charter for the Pilgrim founders of Plymouth 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 1629 the northern part between the Piscataqua 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 territory. By the terms of the royal patent, vice-regal powers of government 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 abundance; 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, gooseberries, 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, porpoises, 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 comfortable 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 Nantucket 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 province, 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 communicated 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 considerable trouble with the Massachusetts authorities in respect to encroachments 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 "interrupted," 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 really Sir Ferdynandoe's Right." From Vines he, accordingly, 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 eleventh 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, Stirling's agent claimed in his master's behalf all that a liberal conscience would permit, 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 Gouernor 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 great landed holdings. In fact, the first Earl of Stirling was dead at the time of Forrett's grant to Thomas Mayhew.

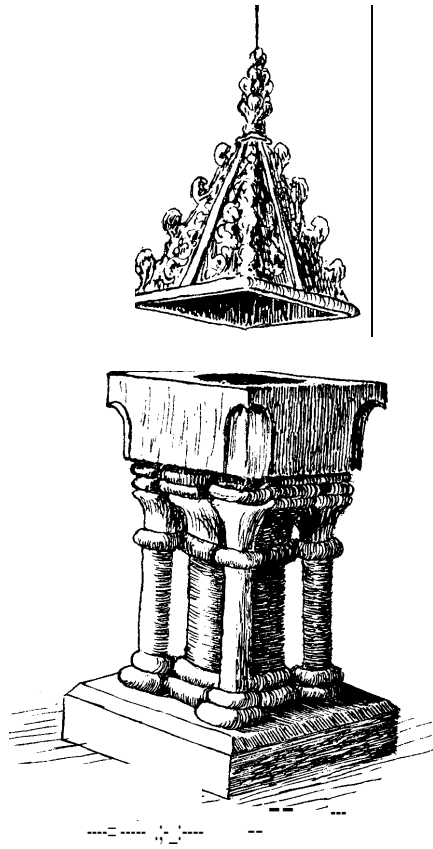
The proprietary granted Thomas Mayhew comprised sixteen islands, constituting at the present day two counties and eight townships in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The islands of Martha's Vineyard, with an area approximating one hundred square miles, and Nantucket with an area of about forty-seven 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 Nantucket 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. This chain of a dozen islands, large and small, are principally: Nunnamesett, 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

04 April 1593
Thomas the sonne of Matthew maye was
baptized the first daye

PARISH RECORD OF BAPTISM OF THOMAS MAYHEW



STONE FONT USED AT THE BAPTISM
OF THOMAS MAYHEW

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have been maintained as country seats by distinguished masters, including members of the noted families of Winthrop, Bowdoin, and Forbes. On Cuttyhunk, the explorer Bartholomew Gosnold, in 1602, established 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 Anderson 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 Norsemen 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 American Flag first in an English port after the Revolution of 1776, that opened seas into which flowed the commerce of the civilized world, and discovered islands in the South Pacific before scientists dared to venture, is no more.

In silent graves the captains lie, upon the sea-girt Island of Nantucket, 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 industry were owned and registered at Nantucket and New Bedford, a great number of them were commanded by Vineyard men, who were considered the best navigators and whalers in the world. Due to the bar that rendered dangerous access to the harbor of Nantucket, Edgartown 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 debauchery on the part of returned seamen. "On the contrary," writes he, "all was peace here, and a general decency prevailed throughout; the reason, 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 Vineyard, 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 the very words used by John Breerton 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. Throughout 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 Company 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.

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 Massachusetts" 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 superintendent 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 century 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 confidence in spiritual and civil affairs.

Unlike Cooper and Longfellow, their observations are photographic 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, observant, 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 otherwise, 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 modern lines of philosophic appreciation by certain students would appear visionary to the early settlers and missionaries who came into rugged contact 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 witchcrafts, blasphemies, and idolatries."

Gookin, who suffered persecution by his countrymen for his friendliness 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 household 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 conventional 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 contempt 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 Washington. 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 eminently 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 authorities 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 Tappers. 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 eighteenth 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 immigrant. To the city dweller, the author, and the poet, there is something romantic about outdoor life and communion with nature; and so long as the individual is surrounded with all the conveniences of civilization, nor goes without them for any length of time, the illusion is not dispelled.

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It is not 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 seventeenth 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 Pawkunnawkutts, 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 heretofore. They lived to the east and northeast of the Narragansitts; and their chief sachem held dominion over divers other petty sagamores; 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.

Wamsutta 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 Plymouth 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 Alexander, 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 of 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 1665 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 protection 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 1675 and it is probable that he took advantage of the opportunity afforded him at this time to strengthen his claim of jurisdiction 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 governmental 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 Edgartown 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 sachemships. The senior sachem or prince when the English came to the island was Wannochmamock, who was sachem more particularly of the northwest part of Nantucket, but who, with an Indian named Nickanoose, 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 coadjutor on account of the former'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 having 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 Maschackket, 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 existed.

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 animals 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 years 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, grandson 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 disposition 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 Vineyard 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 courteous 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 fulfilling 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 1611 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 interested in the colonization of America. Observing a similarity of language, 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 certain 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 purpose 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 discharged 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 number 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 England. 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 complexion 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 fures 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 *Indians* 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 "lazier" 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 breasted; 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 diplomatically 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 happinesse, 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 preheminance, and command better usage and more conjugall esteeme,

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their persons and features being every way correspondent, their qualification 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 comparatively 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 condemn "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 children . . . 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 "sequestering 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 knowledge 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 stealing, 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, but 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 ventures 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 answeere their expectations: what cursing and swearing, 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 plaid 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 garments 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 vacillating 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 muffle," 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 wilderness, 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 tattooing 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 vermilion 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, "Mowhakees" 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 gaming, 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 eat 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 ceremonies. 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 mournfull 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 characteristics 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 retaliation 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 gunpowder, a commodity greatly desired by them and only illegally purchased 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 drunkenness 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 receipt of an intoxicating liquor. A people 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 Massachusetts 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 the words of Gookin, the Europeans, especially the English in New-England, have cause to be greatly humbled before God, that they have been, and are, instrumental to cause the Indians 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 melancholy. 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 inherent in him. His pride was quickly wounded and his suspicions easily aroused. A trader who chanced to smile in the course of a 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 ear 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-woman heard by a kinsman who said had it been to the true God, it exceeded 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 minute 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 dispensers 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 Williams 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 Mani, 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 Martha'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 sickness." 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 generations of Americans as medicine men. These exercised a potent influence 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 stumbled 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 influence 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 serpent 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 distractions, 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 outcries, 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 audience to his imprecations and invocations, and after the violent expression 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 requittall 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 lightning 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 metamorphize 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 England 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 immeasurable 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 beautiful 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.

CHAPTER VII

THE COLONIST

The first settlement effected by Thomas Mayhew within the bounds of this patent was established in 1642 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 government.

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.

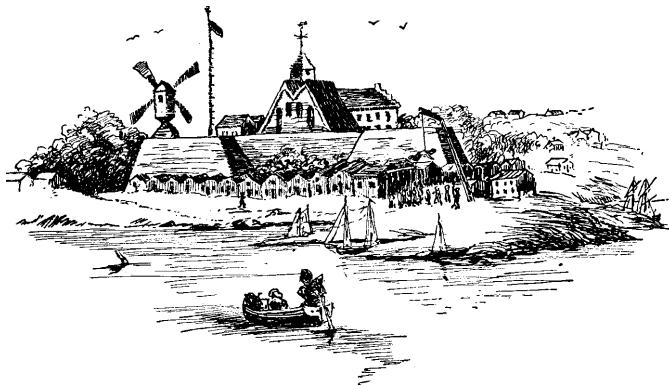
In the settlement of a town it was the practice of the proprietors to first parcel out home lots to the inhabitants of the new settlement and to set off public tracts, such as a lot for the use and support of the town's future ministers, a plot for a burying ground, and often a town commons. After the 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



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

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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 proprietary as an organization ceased to have control over it. Lands not assigned in severalty were held in common for the benefit of the proprietors 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 supply could be found. For this reason the Indians enquired of the Europeans 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 proprietary 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 enterprise 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 Martha'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, constructed of wood and motivated by oxen, capable of disturbing but a few scant inches of soil after an expenditure of much effort and commotion.

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, pasturing 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 discreet 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 facilitate military protection against possible Indian forays, and to afford the inhabitants the advantages of communal life derived from a compact 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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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 writing a letter to the younger Winthrop expressing the plantation's "greatest want of a mill" and asking that he might borrow the services of a certain "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, sympathetic 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 documentary evidence. In view of the cruel practices of the Spanish conquistadores, and the treatment received by the Indians in other parts of the country in later years, it is surprising that popular prejudice continues 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 definition 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 hundred 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 shillings 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 preference 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 commodity 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 shillings would have had to the Indian, even had they existed in sufficient quantities. The Indian had not attained that civilization which produces millionaires hoarding 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 contributed 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 ramifications with the "then minded" attitude.

But whatever room exists for argument in respect to Indian relations, 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, settled 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 aboriginal 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." Fortunately 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 Pennsylvania and the Indians.

The statement of a Penn biographer that no one save the proprietor 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 program 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 missionary to the Indians. He established churches, courts, and civil government among them. Yet his fame is known only to a limited few. Naturally there were settlers among the English at Martha's Vineyard 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] Keteantum." 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 buying lands of the Indians in all the islands, whenever the native proprietors 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 considerable 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 establishment 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 assigns to In joy for ever: the said one quarter of the land of Chickemmow 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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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 overloading 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 successors 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 Posterity," 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 mill was 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 ownership 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 Middletown, 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 generation in New England. He owned a gristmill "on the westernmost 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 performed the duties of spiritual adviser to the inhabitants of Tisbury and Chilmark "united."

The Elizabeth Islands were, likewise, involved in the land speculations 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 Elizabeth 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 Massachusetts, 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 Connecticut, 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 complainants 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 "opprobrious 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 had 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 understand 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 performed 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 commenced 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 controversy 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, Christiantown, and Gay Head have sufficed to support the natives of the island down to modern day.

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 1645. 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 corporation. 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 condition that they be permitted to take with them the charter of the company and be allowed to exercise its corporate powers in the New World. The members of the company, ready to further the establishment of a Puritan commonwealth, willingly consented to this proposal. Arrangements were effected whereby members who remained in England 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 mechanism for the government of a colony; and numerous were the difficulties 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 Company, of which he doubtlessly had no copy, or one modeled upon the form of government actually in operation in the Bay Colony; a government 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 government 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 established in Massachusetts" that the grantee should set up a frame of government coincident in general features with that in the Bay; consisting in framework of a Governor, Deputy Governor, assistants, and freemen; a government that would meet the needs of the inhabitants, subject 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 General Court. This was the government "now established in the Massachusetts" 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 1653, 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 personality, 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 participation 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 proprietor) 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 records 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 adjacent was being shuttled without the knowledge of their New England proprietor.

As early as 1663 the Earl of Clarendon had purchased, on behalf of his son-in-law, the Duke of York, the pretensions of the fourth Earl of Sterling to his territories in America. The Stirlings had never rightfully had jurisdiction over the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, 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 prerogatives. 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 September 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 conflicting claims would be adjusted at the first meeting of the commissioners.

In the winter of 1664-65 Archdale repaired to New York with his "printed paper," where he demanded Nicolls to deliver the territories 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 desultory 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 recognition of the ducal authority which Mayhew was not ready to acknowledge.

As early as 1664, 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 obtaining 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 commissioners 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 Ferdinando Gorges." But the King had yet to speak.

CHAPTER IX

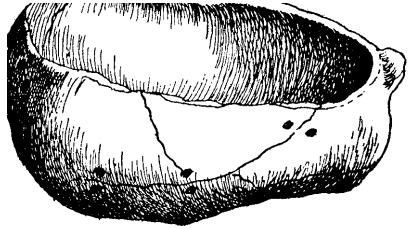
THE FOREST PAUL

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.

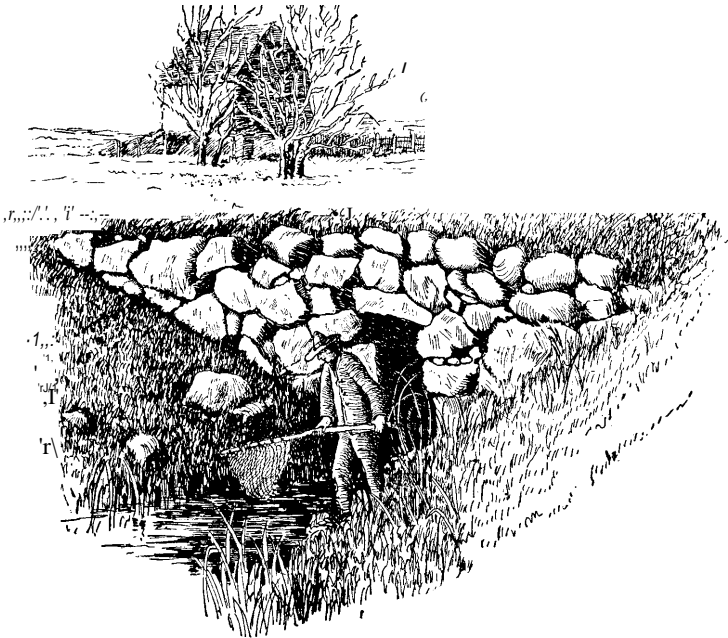
Coming to the island as a feudal lord to found a family of landed magnates and to better his financial condition, Thomas Mayhew found himself drawn by a sense of pity to the unfortunate Indian. In the end, every gesture and action of his life was bended, in politics or religion, to the purpose of bettering 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 precepts of the Prince of Peace.

In the role of missionary or governor he carried with him the dignity 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-



INDIAN STONE BOWL EXCAVATED
INDIAN STONE BOWL EXCAVATED
AT GAY HEAD



STONE WEIR IN THE INDIAN TOWN OF GAY HEAD
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 missionary among them. He was a man of remarkable character and consequently lived a remarkable career. A manorial lord, a British colonial 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 peonage, 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 Mayhew to place wealth and labor in edifices dedicated to the lowly prince born in Bethlehem, who scorned the riches of this world. Posterity 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 tinsel 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 missionary a nearby stone; their heaven the common heaven of all righteous 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 gingles; but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard, nevertheless; 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 civiliziers. 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 Christianizing the Indians, and for their personal moral worth."

The diligence, fortitude, and moral worth of the early Mayhews, John Eliot, the Tupperes 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 generations 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 English 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 fearless energy and self-forgetting devotion to the interests of their orders and their church have left an impress upon the pages of American history 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 material 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, notwithstanding the newness of America and the relative poverty of the country, 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 necessity be here inserted.

The Rev. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., eldest child and only son of Governor 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. Experience Mayhew, speaks of this event: "In 1642 he [the elder Thomas Mayhew] 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 Congregational Church in America.

He married, in 1647, Mistress Jane Paine, daughter of a prosperous 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 Compassion he beheld the wretched *Natives*, who then were *several thousands* 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 better 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 1622 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 novice 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 destruction 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 October, 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 public discourse 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 sometimes to the houses of those he esteemed most rational and well qualified, 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 1646.

The great successes that crowned the efforts of Thomas Mayhew, Jr., as a missionary sprang from his judicious interest in his first convert, 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 Hiacoomes: "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 Hiacoomes 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 lightning "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 was 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 superior 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 picturesquely, 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 disease 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 sanitary 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 outcome. 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 Myoxeo, 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 1647 the degeneracy of the younger generation was lamented among the Indians just as it is today in other quarters. In what Mayhew identifies as "an Indian Speech worthy of consideration," the old sachem recounted: "That a long time ago, they had wise men which in a grave manner taught the people knowledge, but they are dead, and their wisdom 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 wisdom 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 elsewhere, 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 person 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 missionary 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: "His talent 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 comfortable, 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, incantations and gymnastics were to them more advantageous and agreeable than the sober ritual of the English, who had nothing to offer but "talking 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 deviation 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 *Towanquatick* 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 meeting 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 publicly 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 Hiacoomes remained unhurt, began to esteem him happy in being delivered from the terrible power of the powwows.

In casting aside the prejudices 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 superstitions 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 1651 accompanied the Rev. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., to Boston, where he was interviewed 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. *Mayhew* 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 Religion, much honoured and revered, 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 Hiacoomes' assertion that the Christian God was greater than the gods he served, and in time resolved to worship the Englishman's God with Hiacoomes.

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 ministrations, 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 amazing 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 Mayhew 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 philanthropy: "Thus Mr. *Mayhew* 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, consisting of a president, treasurer, and fourteen assistants, called "the President 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 corporation 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. *Mayhew* was Pastor; that he had attained a good Understanding 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 Hiacoomes 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 modestly 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 subsistence, 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 elsewhere, 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 revered. 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 converted 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 dedicated 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.

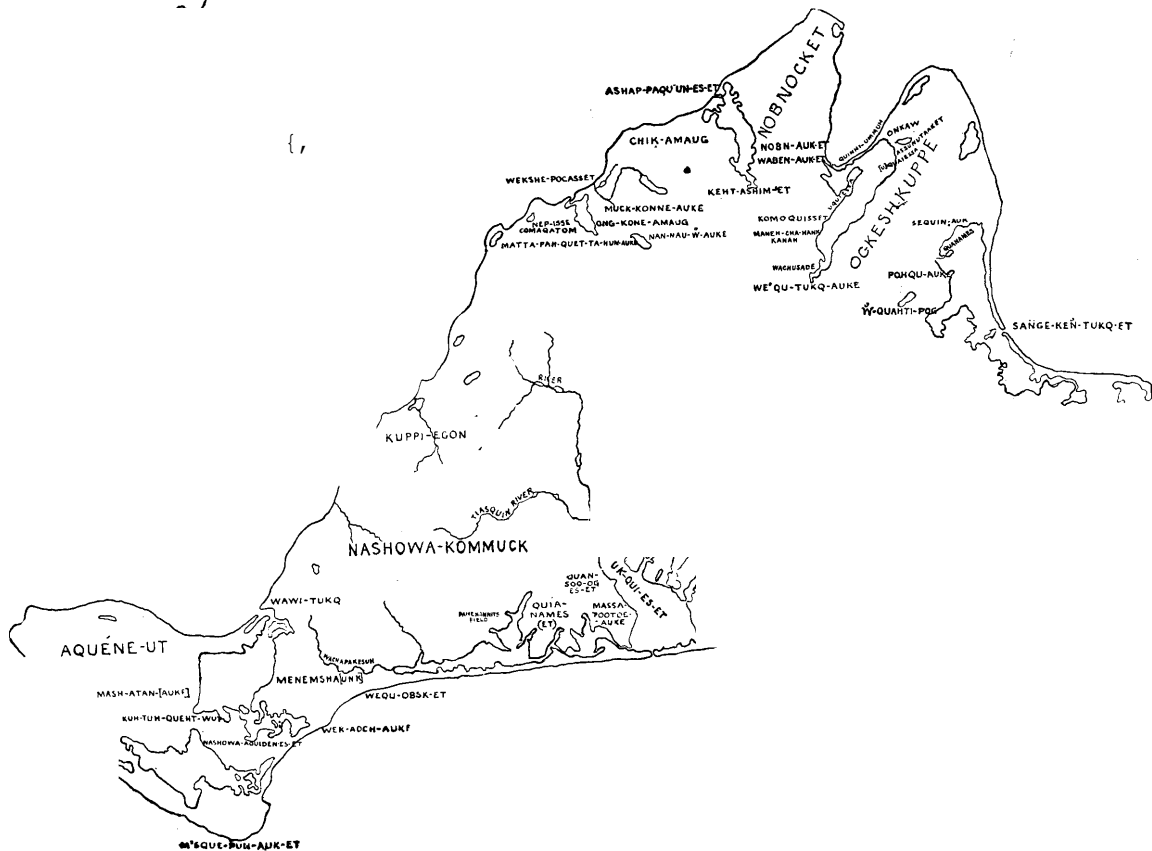
We shall make no effort to popularize Thomas Mayhew, Jr., as an American business man, because he was not. He suffered financially as a consequence, yet in time his merits came to be known. The Apostle Eliot heard of him and encouraged him to continue his work notwithstanding its many discouragements. 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 Appearing," the commissioners of the United Colonies wrote Mayhew as follows, evidently upon orders of the society in England:

NEW-HAVEN Sep: 12: 1651.

SIR:-- We have heard of the blessing God hath bestowed on your labours in the Gospel amongst the poore Indians and desire with thankfulness 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 committed 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 your encouragement). 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 encoragement of which your Indians may have pt If 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

Capt. CoJ.
:cf ...



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 enlarged 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, upon the Vineyard, October 16th, 1651," the missionary describes the progress of his work at this time:

And now through the mercy of God [writes he] there are an hundred 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 subject 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 joining 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 mischiefs 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 subtle 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 curing 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 Mayhew, Jr., was accustomed to call them, took away a child of Hiacoomes, about five days old. Hiacoomes, secure in the faith of the new religion, 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 1652 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 themselves 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 Himself, 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 everlasting. 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 Mayhew, 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 their labours to finish the same." A further allowance of eight pounds was granted for a boat "for the safe passage of your selfe and Indians betwixt the Island and the mayne" land; it to be "carefully preserved and Employed 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 handicapped 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 unremunerated 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 1656 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 "Employed by Mr. Mayhew." The staff included two Indian interpreters, so-called, one of whom was Hiacoomes, a lay preacher.

In r 65 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 653, 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 Norton 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 possession of their colonial claimants.

Thomas Mayhew, Jr., in 1656, had asked permission of the commissioners 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 people 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 farewell 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 anticipation of his return to meet with them. "Here a great combined service was held, and the simple children of this flock heard their beloved shepard give a blessing to them and say the last sad farewells to them individually 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 Mayhew, 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 passage 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. Garrett's ship, which was about four hundred tons, had good accommodations greater far than the other: and she had aboard her a very rich lading of goods, but most especially of passengers, about fifty in number; 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 Propagation 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 Vineyard 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 stepson. 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 published in London, penned the touching plaint, saying simply: "The Lord has given us this amazing blow, to take away my Brother Mayhew." The commissioners of the United Colonies referred to his death as a loss "which att present seemeth to be almost Irreparable."

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 dismantled 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 Revolution, 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 generation 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 cathedral. 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 monument is in the memory of man.

CHAPTER XI

THE PATRIARCH

When the senior Thomas Mayhew made his first visit to the Vineyard in an attempt to secure an Indian deed to the territory, he is thought to have brought with him an interpreter from the mainland. He soon 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 relations 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 determined. 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 language, but relied largely on interpreters.

The speech was a language which "delighted greatly" in compounding 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 mastered a foreign language under the most favorable circumstances can appreciate the enormity of the task which confronted the English missionary setting out upon his study.

Experience Mayhew, one of the great philologists of the Algonquin 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, *nummunnukkoowamonittimunnonup*: So, *they strongly loved one another*, is in Indian *munnehk-wamontoopaneh*. 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 58 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 little room, I will therefore mention some such, as *Nookoosh*, I have a Father. *Noasis*, 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 perceive 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 jurisdiction 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 controversies" 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, prudently 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 *Indian 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 officials 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 dignity 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 admitted 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 government. The elder Mayhew was not a translator of the Indian tongue like Eliot, but in the diplomatic and political aspects of Indian relations, he out-shone that great and worthy apostle to the Indian.

There can be little doubt but that the elder'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 happiness of his administration as to fill them with a strong desire to adopt the same form for themselves. Far from introducing any form of government 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 rulers to allow the Praying 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 religion 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 intertwined 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 Vineyard, 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 occasions 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 priesthood, whose position gave him great power and influence, denounced his profession and became a Christian as early as 1650, 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 discourse 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 prominent part. It has been a precept with missionaries of the Christian faith from the days of the mediaeval monks, who made their monasteries 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 substantial 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. Their homes and gardens, being of greater permanence, were naturally superior to those of their more nomadic countrymen who wandered about with little pride of habitation.

It is said of Eliot's Indians that as they became better farmers and more industrious, they commenced a traffic with their English neighbors, 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 continue 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 honest 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 at times the pulpit at Edgartown, where on the Sabbath Day the venerable 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.

CHAPTER XII

THE APOSTLE TO THE INDIANS

As late as April, 1658, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at London wrote the commissioners in America that Mr. Garrett's ship is "yett missing." 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 miscarried which is noe smale greife unto us and therefore 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 your 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 Improved 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 mission. As early as the fall of 1658 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 superintendency 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. Higginson 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. Higginson 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 parsimonious 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 commissioners, as his old acquaintance, John Endicott, writing as president of that body, addressed him September, 1658:

Yours of the 25 of the sixt month wee receiued and rejoyce that it hath pleased god in any measure to beare vp your hart and support you vnder those sad thoughts and feares conserning your son; wherein wee can not but deeply sumpathise with you and Indeed doe mind it as that which att the present seemeth to be almost Irreparable; but hee that is the lord of the haruist will (wee hope) send forth his labourers therunto; and you may assure your selfe that wee will vse all Diligence to make a supp[ly] 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 forthcoming. 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 your more then ordinery Assistance in this worke and are very well pleased that your 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," contracted by lodging on hard mats in exposed wigwams. Thomas Mayhew, 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 greatest 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 so 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 travelling 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 certifiye 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."

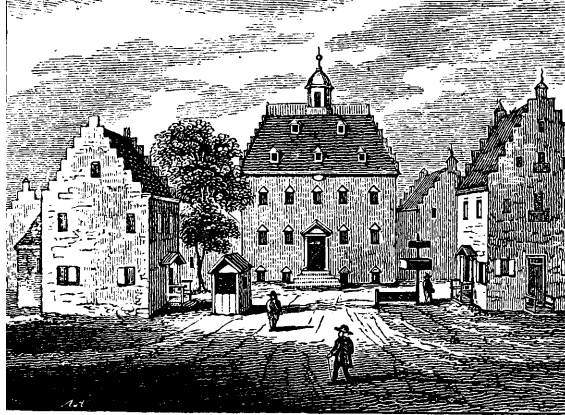
In his first year Mayhew was assisted by a staff of four workers. These were Peter Folger, two Indian interpreters and schoolmasters, and a Mrs. Bland "for healpfulnes in Phiscike and Chirurgery."

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

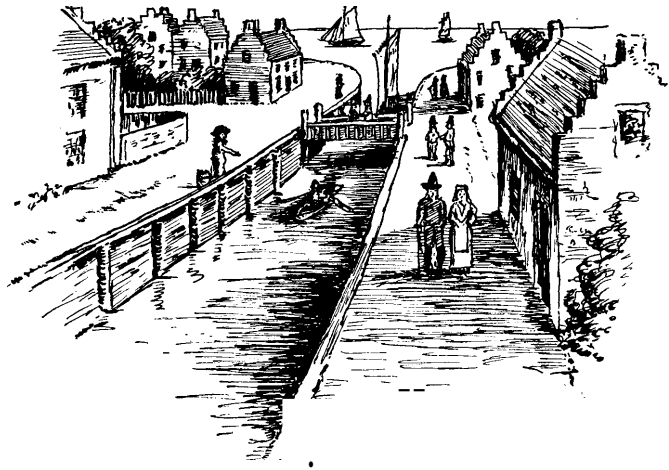
Mayhew was not present at the annual meeting of the commissioners, and they were not in a position to realize how completely the old man had entered the work nor the extent of the duties performed by him, preaching to some of their assemblies one day every week and sometimes traveling on foot "nigh *twenty Miles*" in the performance of his duties. The commisioners 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 complaints stirred both England and America, so much so that the president of the society wrote the commissioners that Eliot by his lamentations which "flyeth like lightning" 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



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



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 commissioners 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 & considerable 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 sattsifie himsellfe about these Indians, whoe had, as I percieued, 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 having 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 powerful colony of Massachusetts dominated the deliberations of the conferences 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 dribbled into the coffers of the Vineyard mission. In 1658 less than one-fifth of the entire sum of money spent by the society was appropriated for Vineyard workers. From 1655 to 1662, 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 salary of forty pounds, a like sum in 1655, and fifty pounds the year succeeding. The elder Mayhew, who had helped commence the work and who was now ably continuing its existence, was for the year 1657-1658 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 compared 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 description of New England referred to the matter 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 anywhere 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 Bosome 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 carried.

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

The greatest appearance of any saving work, and serious profession of christianity amongst any of them, was at Martin's Vineyard, which beginning in the year, 1645 hath gradually proceeded till this present time, wherein all the island is in a manner leavened with the profession of our religion, and hath taken up the practice of our manners 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 Christianity hath taken a deeper roote than in any other plantation of the Indians."

Hubbard is wrong in setting the year 1645 as the date of the beginning of missionary activity at Martha's Vineyard, but his statements 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 Commissioners 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 jeopardize what had already been accomplished.

"Yf I had not seene my help had beene necessary & allso muche desired," writes the missionary, "I would neuer haue followed affter them [the Indians] as I haue donne, I pray take it for graunted, but yf such an imployment as myne amongst the Indians be not to be considered, or verry litle, I hope I shall satisfie 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 continued 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 English 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 language, and my sonne Doggett that hath, I think, much more than any English man vpon 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 vnderstand; 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, Mayhew'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 noticeable. 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. Geographic 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 staggering 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 Boston, 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 promising 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 educated 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 1653 the society suggested that half a dozen "hopeful 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 tongue 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 1657, he was accompanied, or soon followed, by a number of Vineyard Indians. In September, 1659, the records of the commissioners disclose payments to Mr. Thomas Danforth "for dieting five Indian Scollars and clothing them; and Mr Mahews son; Att Cambridge," and to Mr. Corlett, 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 corresponded to the grammar school of later years. In accordance with English practice, it was the purpose of the school to fit students for college. 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 Vineyard, 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 Schoolmaster Corlett, death removed one the following year; the records disclosing a debit "for Charges of burial!."

In r 659 there were five Indian youths at Cambridge in the grammar 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 matriculate at Harvard. In this year appears an item for "clothing an Indian att his first coming" to Cambridge. The year following, the commissioners 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 sufficient 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 incongruous 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 1665. 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 Massachusetts 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 Cambridge, 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 shipwreck 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 lectures; 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 durable 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, its ultimate 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 countrymen; where some of them are improved for schoolmasters and teachers, 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, mentality 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 impropriety of herding the Indian youth into four walled rooms, where his constitution was sapped of its strength. The death of Caleb by consumption 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 common 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 English. The truth is, this disease is frequent among the Indians; and sundry died of it, that live not with the English. A hectic 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 government, 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 missionary is simple, notwithstanding the writings of some pseudo psychological-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 salvation 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.

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 without 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 Highnesse I may be in a bettr Capacity of giving you such Advice & assistance 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 Vineyard and Nantucket were presented by young Matthew to the Governor 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 government 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 disposed, and shall receive a very hearty welcome and all due encouragement 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 Elizabeth 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-Massachusetts, 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. Tristram 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 Wilcox, 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 Lovelace 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 backward, 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 Amsterdam 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 entertained 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 governor'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 appertaining to island affairs was convened the twenty-eighth of June. "The Matt. under Consideracon was the Business of Nantuckett; two Persons 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 Proposals 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 subject to judicial process in "Matters of Trespass, Debt, & other Mischances"; 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 "Strangers invadeing" should be authorized.

On the day the memorial was submitted, the governor was ready with a reply "In Answer to ye Proposals Delivered in by Mr Coffin and Mr Macy & on ye behalfe of themselves & ye rest of ye Inhabitants 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 Indyan 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 meeting 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 rebellious 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 British officials in America.

The third member of the governor's staff present at the conference was Cornelius Steenwyck, a former burgomaster of New Amsterdam. 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 missionary 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 Windsor had spun so many times, there was no telling how it would spin again. It was, therefore, agreed between His Honor Francis Lovelace 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 conference. 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 Instrumt. of doeing a greate deale of Good both in settling 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 Harbour 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 Edgartown, 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. Distinction 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 Martha'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 Vineyard 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 Satisfaction, and by Degrees bring them to Submit to, & acknowledge his Maties Lawes Establishd 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 Mayhew 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 acknowledgments 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 families of the shire, but too, he saw in the feudal government of the manor a means whereby he might exercise untrammelled 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 distributed 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 positions 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 classification, called Court Baron and Court Leet. At Court Baron matters 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, regulations 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. Jurisdiction also extended in actions for debt and damages in limited sums.

The Court Leet was a criminal court exercising the King's jurisdiction 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 officers 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 highways, 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 constituted 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 obligations by the payment of a small rent in money, called quit-rent, or some inexpensive 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 normally 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 possessions 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 hundred 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 American 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 feudalism. 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; thereafter it lead a precarious life until with the Revolution it passed into oblivion. In 1776, 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 1756, 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 1838 Judge William Mayhew, of Edgartown, as senior heir of the first Thomas Mayhew in the eldest male line, conveyed his interest 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 manor house in the manor of Tisbury" on the fifteenth 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 Massachusetts 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 1714 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 Management 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 existence 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 been 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.

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 governor 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 up his hand to further it to the uttmost. Many of them not p'fessed praying men diverse allso spake verry well to the thing p'pounded. I remember 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 Martha'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 General Court provided for in the new scheme of government was convened by him at Edgartown on Martha's Vineyard, the 18th 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 without 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 opportunity 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 dissension, the facts established from contemporary documents circumscribe 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 subjects the free houlders in the two towns settled 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 inhabitants 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 freemen. 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 feudalism. 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 particular 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 government. It may be that the disaffected inhabitants sought to put to an end the establishment of the House of Mayhew as an hereditary aristocracy, 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 November 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 government 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 governor-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 representative General Court for local concerns, an elective bench, and a right to manage 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 superior to theirs under the Stirling patent. Now they saw a further curtailment of liberties under the duke's government.

Considerable unrest seems to have existed among some of the freemen 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 tyrant, 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 governor 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 irritating at times to masters dealing with refractory servants. These were not the harsh laws of England to which Englishmen were accustomed, 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 freeman 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 rebellion. 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 indisputable, 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 Mayhew'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 interesting book, entitled "Quaint Nantucket," falls into the error of assuming that the Dutch capture of New York brought the islands of Martha'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 notwithstanding 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 existence 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 Highness his Government."

The rebels ignored the logic that might have led them to consider the Duke's government, by his regularly constituted officers, still existent in those parts of his territories not in possession of the enemy, and that Mayhew's commission to act as governor of the island, originating 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 officials 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 procedure 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 Vineyard met and attempted the formation of a rump government patterned 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 cannot 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 conducting 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 voluntarily 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 resolution *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 governor 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 unconscious 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 conference. 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 wilderness" 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 wilderness." But the rebuff could not stop the momentum of the rebellion 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 intimation 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 opposition 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 challenged 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 31st 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 ominous forebodings.

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 Mayhew, 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 Coffin 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 aristocrat and hated anybody who advocated rule by the people. The only practical aristocracy was that connected with land ownership. Tristram 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 presentation 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 proprietary, 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 voluntarily assumed obligations knowing the conditions under which they were expected to live. They knew that under the terms of their contracts, 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 youngest 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 magistrate and John to be captain of militia.

The Gardners were not satisfied with these favors. They petitioned for rulings and changes in the plan of government that were abusive to the rights of the landowning class who had no representative 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 force or Validity," and that the record of everyone's claim of interest 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 revert to 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 pleasure. In the plan of government promulgated at the first conference the inhabitants had been conferred the power to elect all inferior military 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 uncertainty of Conveyance betwixt" New York and Nantucket, "ye Chiefe Magistrate and all the Civil Officers" should continue in their employment until the return of the governor's choice of a new chief magistrate was received. Irony lies in the fact that when this ruling was put into force by a political opponent, the Gardners immediately repudiated its effect.

The gorge of the Gardners has been pictured as rising each time they thought of Thomas Mayhew and his family endowed with hereditary 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 surprising 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 inhabitants. 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 flowing words, the genial Lovelace, governor and tavern keeper extraordinary, 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, Pernaquid and Maine were embraced in neither framework of government, while, as we have seen, the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket had a separate form of government with an independent General 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 governor 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 1671, 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 feathers," 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 captured by the Dutch was received by the half-shares men with the same joy it had brought the malcontents at Martha's Vineyard. The opportunity 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 interests which they now claimed.

The Gardners stood for the confiscation of property without compensation.

The Lovelace charter had been one of confirmation, purporting to settle upon each man the interest held by him at the time of its execution. 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 interest, 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 distinction 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 proprietary 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 landholders. These claimed the right of suffrage, and claiming an equal vote in town affairs with the large landowners, were soon able to control 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 overlook the plundering of the proprietary. The struggle was not a struggle 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. Tristram 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, 1674. 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 subjects 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 relative 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 admitted to supplant the first proprietors of their rights by defective recordings 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, Mayhew 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 stockholders 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 manner 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 participation 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 1656. 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 participation 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 Tisbury. 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 shillings 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 succeeding governor.

In these letters Athearn recommended candidates for civil, judicial, 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 restoration of peace. Only four cases are definitely known to have been instigated. 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."

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 welcome the arrival of the new governor-general as they would "the rising Sun after a dark and stormy Night." In the document the signatories 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 professed to Andros their "true and hearty Obedience to his Royall Highnesse 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 permitted 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 particular 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 governor 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 Vineyard. 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 "ribble 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 Nantucket. 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 Commission 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, therefore 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 Satisfaction 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 Massachusetts Colony at the time of his coming to Nantucket, and more particularly "A Man that brought hither an evil Report of your Hon. from the Bay" which "if your Hon. [Andros] 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 believe that your Hon. would dislike his Ruling here as much as any of vs."

In December the Quarter Court of Nantucket convened, and Folger as clerk was in a "Strait what to do," but he "Resolved 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 remitted upon her good behavior. Others convicted of speaking evil of authority, or in defamation of Court, were Tobias Coleman and Eleazur 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 contained 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 particularly 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 accustomed 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 statesmanship. 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 Nathaniel 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 General Court.

The first matter which the justices of the court took into consideration 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 Gestures" 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 lawyers-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 disfranchisement 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. Gardner 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 overflowed, 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 government 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 attention 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 Aggravations 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 Generall Court att Nantucket" in which he declared the sentence of disfranchisement to be illegal and beyond the authority of the court rendering 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 Gouvernour did unwind he would wind, that he would make my fine and disfranchizement too abide on me do the Gouvernour what he could; that he had nothing against me neither was angry but that I had spokken against his Interest and I should doune, with maney more Words of like Nature, but to lounge 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 government, notwithstanding the attitude of the General Court. Perhaps they thought that Gardner had been sufficiently punished. But Tristram 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 coming 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 commissioned 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 inhabitants 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 Nantucket, 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."

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 performed 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 January 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 marvellous 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 celebrated Boston preacher of that name and uncle of the still greater Cotton Mather. He accepted what the Reverends Pierson and Higginson 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, Cotton 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 differences 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 signified to him that the Commissioners could not expect good by their labours wheras by their mutuall Contentions 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 organized 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 1652 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; encouraging 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 organized 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 ceremonies 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 compliment. 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 Satisfaction of the *English Church*, and other religious People on the Island,

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who had Advantage of many Years Acquaintance, and sufficient Experience 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.

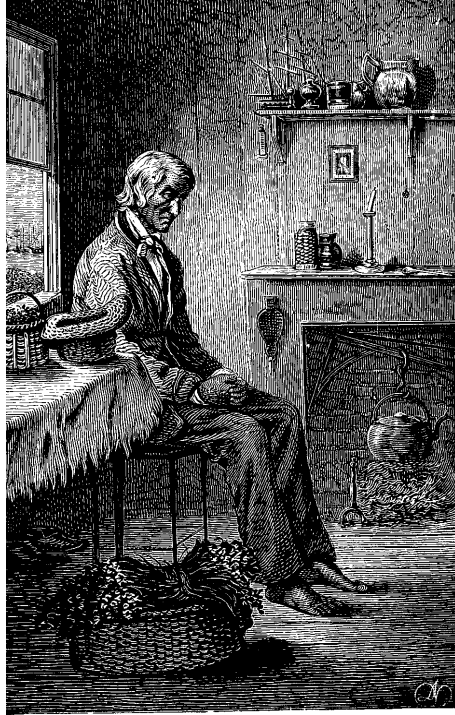
The Rev. John Eliot in a letter published at London writes of his attendance saying, "Many were added to the Church...both Men and Women, and were all of them baptised, and their Children also with them" and that "the church was desirous to have chosen Mr. Mayhew for their pastor; but he waived it; conceiving, 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 Vineyard and Nantucket depend on him, as the great instrument of God for their good."

The officers of the church ordained by the missionaries were Hiacoomes, pastor; John Tackanash, teacher; John Nahnos and Joshua Momatchegin, ruling elders.

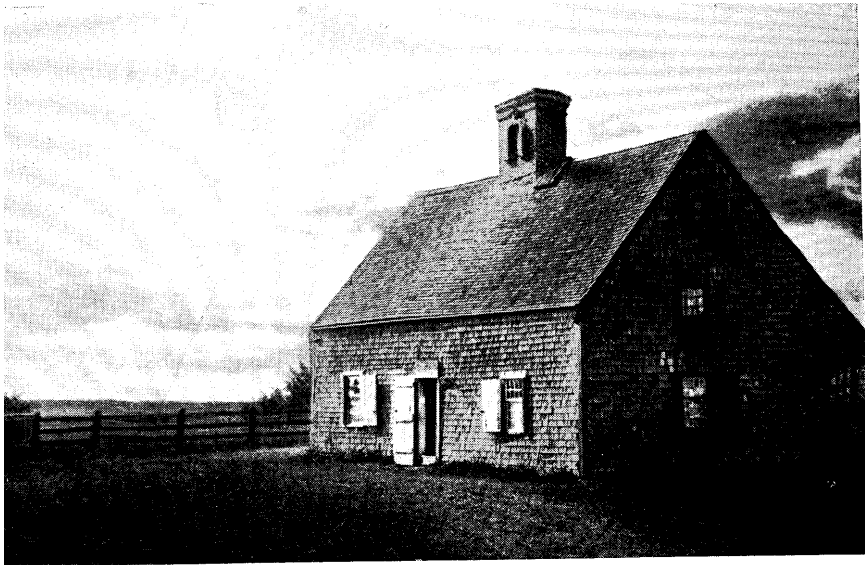
The ordination of a pastor and a teacher was in accordance with the practice of the ancient churches of New England when each church was supplied with two ministers who were supposed to be in some respects distinct officers in the church.

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 Chappaquiddick, both on the island of Martha's Vineyard. The Indian officers 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.



ABRAM QUARY, LAST MALE NANTUCKET
INDIAN HE WAS OF MIXED BLOOD;
DIED IN 1854, 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 language], 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 accomplishment 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 Japheth'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 worshipped." 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 1670 "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 company and later a magistrate. In both offices he acted to the acceptance 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 Nahnosu 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 survive 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 supplied, 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 present 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 themselves 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 influence 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 superior 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 Vineyard is called by the Nantucket 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 usefull 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 religious. 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 fellowship 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 Mayhew'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 settlement 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 settlements 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 Anabaptists. 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 Baptist churches at Gay Head and Nantucket are said to be the fruition of Folger's teachings.

A picture of an Indian church in 1792 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 missionaries, the progress and numbers of converted Indians in the New England missions compare favorably with those elsewhere. Comparison may be made with the famous California missions, the first of which was established in 1769, 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 491 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 1651, 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 referring to the methods and successes of the several missionary 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 California 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. Territory did not exist in areas of sufficient fertility to warrant the establishment 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 government and hierarchical in religion. He cared little for the principles of Magna Charta and the "liberties" which every Englishman considered 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: "Discipline 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 corporal of the guard. Unaccustomed either to working or to submission to discipline the Indians often endeavored to run away, but were pursued 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 history 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 permitted 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 sympathy 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 traditions. 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 necessary to speak slightly of John Eliot and to ignore the existence of other English missionaries. Mr. Lummis has made the astounding statement 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 attention 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 English 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 population 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 mission, 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 religious order, which the ancient and solidified Catholic church permitted. 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, pushing, 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 in order to aggrandize a work that is able to stand on its own merits.

CHAPTER XVIII THE WAR OF EXTIRPATION

On the 24th of June, 1675, 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 history 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 muffled 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 still night--unreal, chilling--excited inquiries, running feet, soldiers falling into line, rumors, a word hurriedly whispered from file to file, an electric 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 constable to constable until its destination should be reached. In the letter 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 the same 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 governor accordingly ordered one of his transport sloops eastward on a cruise for intelligence, and dispatched letters to Winthrop and the governor 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 opportunity 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 missionary 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 company 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 delivering 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 *demande*d 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 livelihood."

With this they drew up a writing in their own language, the substance of which was "that as they had submitted to the crown of *England*, 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 convinced 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 letter 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 inhabitants 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, soliciting 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 overlooked the same." The cool head of Thomas Macy was of great benefit 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 English 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 members 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 company 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. Mayhew the governor's excellent conduct, and of the introduction of the Christian religion among them."



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 principles 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 Christian Indian spoke things not understood by his unconverted countrymen. 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 inhabitants 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 settlement 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 argument 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 approbation 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 English 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 Meeting," concludes our informant, "it hath generally 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 Government 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 Christiantown 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 magistrates, with power of appeal to English justices, as this was the practice of the governor in other Indian plantations where "a happy government" 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 judicial and administrative affairs is gleaned from occasional documents

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and papers. As early as 1690 mention is made of an Indian magistrate in the town and in 1703 Stephen Nashokow was "Justice of peace for the Indians of Takymmy." In 1696, Isaac Ompanit, Stephen Nashokow, and Obadiah Paul, trustees, refer to the rights "of themselves 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 Countrymen, and faithfully discharged the Duties of that *Office*, according to the best of his Skill and Judgment, not being a Terror to good Works, 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 Matthew, 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 matters. 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 Honorable the Company for Propagating the Gospel & etc." He was Commissioner 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 Mayhew, Deacon Timothy Mayhew, Dr. Thomas Mayhew, and after the Revolution, William Mayhew, librarian of Harvard College, Nathaniel 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 Christiantown procured a grant from the provincial General Court granting the praying Indians of Christiantown the right to elect officers for the conduct of Indian affairs, making legal under the Massachusetts government 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 inhabitants, 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 lifetime. 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 Amanhut, 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 Christiantown was Wunnanauhkomun. He was well connected by marriage "in the Indian way." His wife was a daughter of Cheshchaamog, the sachem of Homes Hole and a sister of Caleb Cheshchaamog, the graduate of Harvard College. Her Indian name was Ammapoo, but among the English she was called Abigail. "She used, while her husband 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 Shohkow. 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 Enjoyment 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 denominated." 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 population 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 Japheth

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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 preaching 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 Mayhews 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 Congregational 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 Howwoswee, "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 attendance 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 preacher.

In 1849 it was said of the Gay Headers that they were "in the main, a frugal, industrious, temperate and moral people; but not without 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 Legislature into the "District of Gay Head" and, in 1870, 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 1888 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 [1910], a self-respecting community of people, obedient to the laws, managing its affairs economically, fulfilling all the requirements 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. Lacking 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 Natick 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 several colonies. In 1670 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 pertaining 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. Afterwards 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 administration 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 Corduda. 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 Nathan Coleman, 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 be tried by a jury of his peers was never better exemplified than at a session 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 1800, including the well-known half-breed Abram Quarry. Dorcas Honorable, the last pure blooded member of her race, died Friday night, January 12, 1855, 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.

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 expectation. 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 troubles 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 Instructions, 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 Settlement, 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 Quanaimés, 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 Tisbury" conveys a parcel of land "opposite against the point of a neck of Quanaimés, which John Mayhew's house standeth upon." In this house at Quanaimés, 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 1720 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 environment 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 language 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 visited 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 punished 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 complains 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 commissioners, "that I may fynnish my dayes in a holy manner." Retirement 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 affectionate 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 Exhortations 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 remembered 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 consisted 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 1840 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 further tradition that she was a member of the Parkhurst family, of Ipswich, England, of which George Parkhurst, of Watertown, Massachusetts, 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 settlers 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 husband's death she married, second, Captain Samuel Smith, of Edgartown, by whom she left no issue.

Bethia, the second daughter, married Thomas Harlock, of Edgartown, 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 1678 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 missionary 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 husband 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 granddaughters 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 eldest daughter hath vsed your phissick with very good successe. The little 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 patriarch, 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 missionary field and made their name famous in England and America.

The town of Mayhew Station, Lowndes County, Mississippi, was founded 1820 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 successfully 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 administrator. 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,

THOMAS MAYHEW, PATRIARCH TO INDIANS

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 Christian 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.
