



# THE DUKES COUNTY INTELLIGENCER

VOL. 51, Nos. 2 & 3

SPRING 2010



## TIME EXPOSURES

### Early Photography On the Vineyard

by PETER JONES



## VINEYARD HAVEN BAND 'A Remarkable Procession' Through Years Since 1868

by TOM DRESSER

## PLUS:

Uncovering the History of Chop House



After Gosnold, Who Visited Next?

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### TO OUR READERS

One of the pleasures of being an editor is welcoming back former writers and greeting new ones. Grosvenor "Rick" Richardson joins the DCI family with his story of discovering the connection between a 21st-century family and their summer home's 19th-century roots. Also new to these pages is author Peter A. Jones, who explores the history of outdoor photography on Martha's Vineyard. We welcome back Tom Dresser, who chronicles the history of the Vineyard Haven Band. Finally, Professor Mary Beth Norton puts forth her case: was Martin Pring the second European to visit our shores? You be the judge.

Following these articles, please take special note of a message from our executive director, David Nathans.

Submissions to the *Intelligencer* are welcome. For guidelines, please contact [swilson@mvmuseum.org](mailto:swilson@mvmuseum.org). Letters to the editor intended for publication are also welcome.

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VOL. 51, Nos. 2 & 3

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*The Dukes County Intelligencer* is published quarterly by the Martha's Vineyard Museum (formerly the Martha's Vineyard Historical Society). Subscription is a benefit of membership in the Museum. Back copies of all issues are available for sale at the Museum library.

Applications for membership in the Museum can be downloaded from our website, [www.mvmuseum.org](http://www.mvmuseum.org), or can be requested by phone 508-627-4441.

Authors' queries and manuscripts for this journal should be emailed to [swilson@mvmuseum.org](mailto:swilson@mvmuseum.org) or addressed to the Editor, *Dukes County Intelligencer*, P.O. Box 1310, Edgartown, MA 02539.

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# The Chop House

Connecting the Dots —  
The Euphoria of Discovery

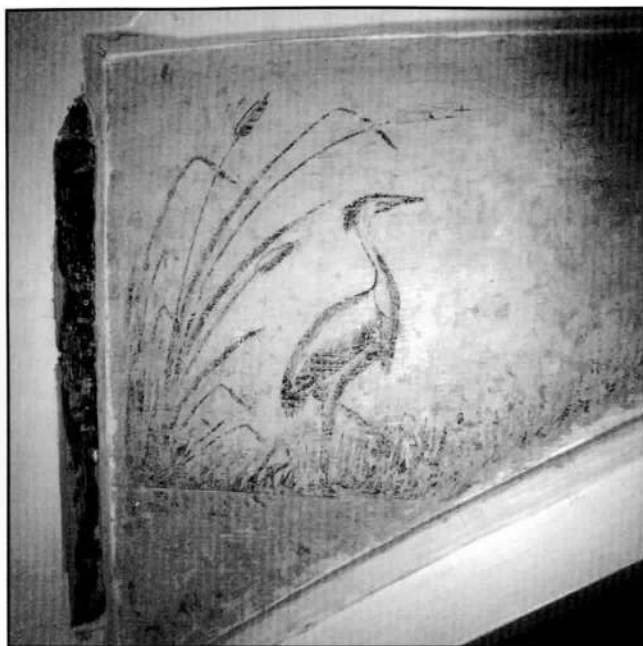


by GROSVENOR H.L. RICHARDSON

AT THE END OF 2004 my wife Margy and I took sole possession of her family's summer home on East Chop. Thus began a most rewarding and fascinating journey into Vineyard history.

The house that became known in recent times as the "Chop House" had been purchased by Margy's parents, David and Margaret McCornack in 1951 from its third owners, Jean and Victor Schrage of Oak Park, IL. Margy's parents became the fourth owners since 1871 when Col. Homer B. Sprague's wife, Antoinette, bought the land from the Vineyard Grove Company. The second owner of the house was Alfred Hand, a Pennsylv-

GROSVENOR "RICK" RICHARDSON grew up in New Jersey and has summered on East Chop ever since marrying the former Margy McCornack. Co-founder of a software company, he frequently contributes to technical journals and lectures at technical conferences. This is his first contribution to the *Dukes County Intelligencer*. A resident of Rochester, NY, Rick now spends most of the summer on the Vineyard.



Under layers of paint, images began to appear, including this depiction of a blue heron amid cattails.

nia Supreme Court Judge from Scranton, PA. He purchased the house from the Spragues in 1885 for \$2,800. The house remained in the Hand family until 1944 when it was sold by Janet D. Peck, a descendant of Alfred Hand, to the Schragers.<sup>1</sup>

For over thirty years I had been spending only a few weeks at the house during summer vacations. When the house was being rented to others, I would spend a week in early summer working around the house doing odd fix-up jobs in

preparation for our renters. Over the years, I had painted just about every surface outside and inside the house, but because time was always limited the painting was hastily done. It was not until recently that I could spend time taking a closer look at the many layers of paint — particularly in the two front-to-back living rooms where the woodwork was more ornate. For this round, professional painters were being employed. As they began to prep the walls and woodwork, the simple light scraping easily flaked off some of the old paint. Underneath the many layers of paint hand-painted designs began to appear on the walls. Geometric lines became visible on

<sup>1</sup> Certificate #1565, Margaret S. McCornack bought house August 30, 1951, Doc #2823. Certificate #1135, Land County, Registered Land sold to Jean Bramer/Victor LeLand Schragers, Oak Park, IL, December 26, 1944. H.E. Peck (Helen Hand Peck), Esther P. Carroll, John L. Peck issued to Janet D. Peck Certificate #1134. Antoinette E. and Homer B. Sprague of Newton, Mass. sold lots #1473-1474 to Alfred Hand, Scranton, Penn. Lots located Lincoln Park at a place called East Chop, Cottage City. Price \$2,800. Ref. Book #74 - p. 466. "2 of 4 lots sold and conveyed to Mrs. Sarah M. Ellinwood and Mrs. A.E. Sprague by the Vineyard Grove Co. by deed dated August 3, 1871....Ref. Book #47 - p. 122. Said two lots being also the same that was quitclaimed to the said A.E. Sprague and H.B. Sprague by Mrs. Sarah M. Ellinwood and Truman J. Ellinwood her husband by deeds dated August 31, 1871 and September 15, 1880 and recorded Book 48, folio 106 and Book 66, folio 557."

the woodwork and in two triangles of an archway there appeared a great blue heron among sea grass and cattails. At this point, the decision was made to stop and to preserve two areas that best represented the old painting of the rooms.

It was not until the summer of 2006 that I had time to do further research; but, the question was: where to start? I decided to research the first owner of the house, Col. Homer B. Sprague.

The first stop was the Dukes County Court House to search the title records to establish a time line. Also, as a lark, I Googled Colonel Homer B. Sprague and, much to my surprise, hit the jackpot. Col. Sprague had an extensive and impressive career.

He worked his way through Yale and graduated in 1852. Then Sprague worked as a lawyer and as an educator prior to the Civil War. During the war years he was made Colonel by Brevet "for gallant and meritorious conduct."<sup>2</sup> At the battle of Winchester he was captured and became a prisoner of war. The story of his imprisonment was recounted in his book, *Lights and Shadows in Confederate Prisons, A Personal Experience* 1864-65.<sup>3</sup>

After the Civil War Col. Sprague continued as an educator. He briefly became principal (1886-87) of the State Normal School at New Britain, Connecticut, the forerunner of today's Central Connecticut State University. In 1870 he was member of the first faculty at Cornell University.<sup>4</sup> He then became headmaster of Adelphia Academy, Brooklyn, New York in the early 1870s. Later in that decade he was appointed the head of the Girls' High School in Boston.

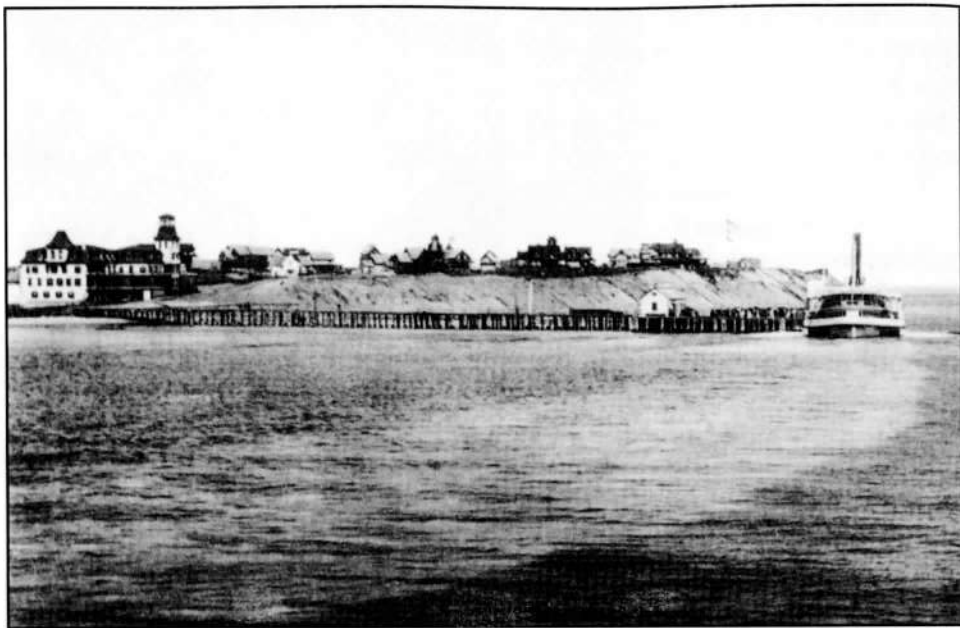


Col. Homer B. Sprague (photo courtesy of the University of North Dakota).

<sup>2</sup> <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com>, San Francisco County Biographies, Dr. Homer B. Sprague, President of Peralta Hall, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The Michigan Historical Reprint Series, The Scholarly Publishing Office, The University of Michigan, University Library, *Lights and Shadows in Confederate Prisons. A Personal Experience*, 1864-5 by Homer B. Sprague, Ph.D., G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, The Knickerbocker Press, 1915.

<sup>4</sup> <http://cuinfo.cornell.edu/Campus/Infobase/Infobase.php?kindex=377>.



G.H.L. Richardson collection

From Nantucket Sound, a view of the Highland House and pier, 1890, with steamer rounding the Chop.

While at his summer home in Cottage City during the years 1871 to 1885, Col. Sprague was very active in the community. He was one of the founders and first president, in 1878, of the Martha's Vineyard Summer Institute, the first summer school devoted to the teaching of high school teachers in America. Some of the first organizational meetings and classes were held at the "Chop House."<sup>5</sup>

In December 1880 the Massachusetts Board of Health issued a thirty-page report that declared Cottage City water unsafe to drink. Professor Homer B. Sprague of Boston, in his capacity as a summer resident and president of Martha's Vineyard Summer Institute, wrote to the *Cottage City Star* urging fast action. He worried that the public's fear of disease would cut his school's enrollment:

'Now I am not an alarmist, but I feel that Cottage City will this very next season lose hundreds perhaps thousands of visitors—visitors of the most desirable class—by reason of the failure to take prompt and wise measures for drainage and sewerage.'<sup>6</sup>

Col. Sprague went on to become President of Mills College, Oakland,

<sup>5</sup> *The New England Magazine*, Vol. VI, Boston, New England Magazine Co., 1888, p. 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> *The History of Martha's Vineyard, How We Got to Where We Are*, Arthur R. Railton. Published in association with Martha's Vineyard Historical Society by Commonwealth Editions, Beverly, MA 01915, 2006.

CA and then president of the University of North Dakota. Upon retirement, Col. Sprague returned to Newton, Massachusetts and became active on the lecture circuit specializing in Shakespeare and Lincoln. He died on March 23, 1918, at the family home in Newton, at the age of 89.<sup>7</sup>

Because of Col. Sprague's involvement with Martha's Vineyard Summer Institute and the fact that MVSU did teach art and that the Bartlett Art School was also part of the Institute, there is a good possibility that one or more of the art teachers or students were the artists who painted the walls and the great blue heron on the archway.

By studying the architecture, it is apparent that the house was added to a number of times. The front portion of the house consists of a formal front entrance, two front-to-back living rooms, and a hallway with stairs leading to the second floor and to a basement. The two living rooms were built in the classic cottage construction as the cottages in the Camp Grounds, except that in the front living room the beams are more ornate than is typical in a Camp Ground cottage. Off of the second living room is a study with a fireplace. Another unique feature of the house is that the front hallway, staircase, study and one upstairs bedroom have plaster walls designed to retain heat as they are centered around the chimney. In the original plan, there was a kitchen off the back living room. The second floor consisted of four bedrooms with balconies off of three of them. A tower with four observation windows remains a predominant feature of the house. The tower is similar in design to a couple of towers found in Oak Bluffs. Since the property was acquired from the Vineyard Grove Company in 1871, it is assumed the house was built shortly after the land was purchased. This makes it one of the first houses on East Chop.

Judge Alfred Hand bought the house for \$2,800, and sometime after 1885 he began a number of additions. A photograph circa 1890 shows the original front portion of the house with an attached smaller room off of the back of the back living room. It is believed this room was the original kitchen.<sup>8</sup> So far, this photograph is the only documentation that has surfaced regarding additions to the house. However, a few assumptions can be made:

It is believed Judge Hand replaced the original kitchen by adding a large dining room with stairs to the second floor and a kitchen beyond with an attached privy. Over the dining room a master bedroom with pot belly stove and dressing room were added. Sometime later a side porch was added off the dining room, the kitchen converted to a pantry and a large kitchen with an upstairs bedroom was added to the back of the house.

<sup>7</sup> *The New York Times*, March 24, 1918.

<sup>8</sup> Photograph, Highland House and Pier, Cottage City about 1890 (see page 6).

The original outside of the house was clapboard siding. During the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as with many of the other houses on Martha's Vineyard and up and down the eastern seaboard, the expense of painting the entire house became a financial burden, and the owners turned to cedar shingles as a means of lowering maintenance costs. This was confirmed when re-shingling a portion of the house a workman uncovered clapboard siding with Cottage City and the date, Oct. 29, 1899, penciled in. The boards were removed and are now mounted and hung on the downstairs hallway wall.

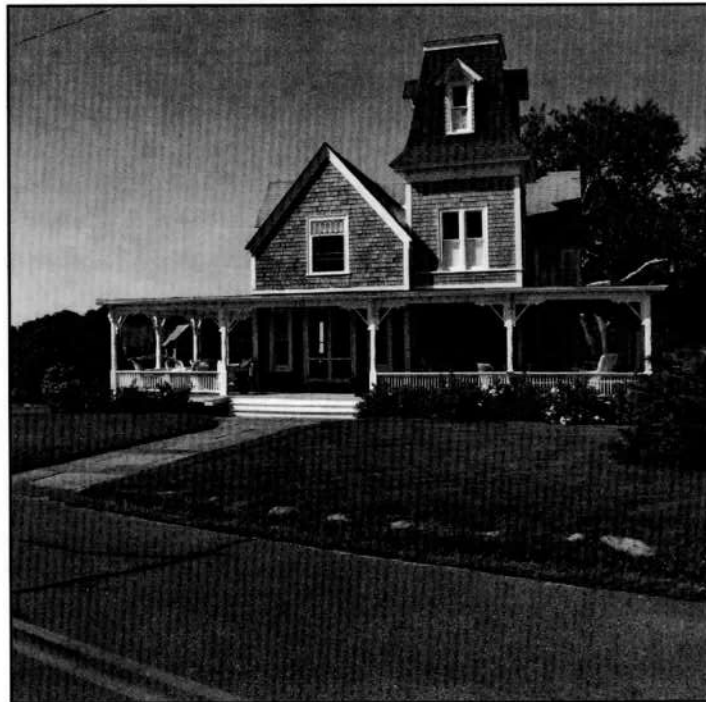
When the downstairs bathroom was renovated in 2009, a cement privy was discovered under the bathroom. Boards were also uncovered with the following:

*Packed by G H Scoville, Plumber, Aug 10/10, Hartford*

*pkd G H Scoville, June 1915, June 1917*

At least we know when plumbing was installed. It is believed that at this time sinks were also installed in many of the bedrooms.

So far, the journey has been exciting with many discoveries. Hopefully, there will be more historical surprises in store as the journey continues to ... connect ... the dots.



The Chop House today.

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## The Vineyard Haven Band: A Chronicle

### From Origins in Wake of Civil War, To Beloved Island Institution

by TOM DRESSER

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THE VINEYARD HAVEN BAND, founded in 1868, lays claim as the oldest, continuous, nonprofit cultural program on Martha's Vineyard. As the Band tacks on another year, it's fun to take a look at its first century-and-a-half. Unfortunately, its history is clouded by a dearth of hard records, so the story consists of hazy memories and scattered traditions. The Band's early history had been passed on by word of mouth, from trumpet player to clarinetist, from father to son. Compounding the problem, in 1922 the Band's music and instruments burned in a New Year's Eve fire at the Christ Methodist Church in Vineyard Haven — along with what documents of its origins existed.

What we do know is that the Band arose from shards of the Civil War, when in 1868 a crew of veterans gathered at the Grange Hall for the West Tisbury Agricultural Fair in the late summer of 1868. That year, eighteen Civil War veterans (both blue and gray) organized the Vineyard Haven Silver Cornet Brass Band to play at the West Tisbury Agricultural Association Fair (and also to earn side money by playing for socials).<sup>1</sup> A sponsor of this original event was Josiah Bardwell whose great-grandson, Thomas Bardwell (1917-1999), played the trumpet in the Band for half a century and later assumed the role of Vineyard Haven Band historian. Frank Dunkl, who plays French horn in the Band, encouraged Bardwell to recount his recollections of the Band. In November 1997, Bardwell recorded two tapes of memories of his years in the Vineyard Haven Band.

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<sup>1</sup> The website of the Vineyard Haven Band ([vineyardhavenband.org](http://vineyardhavenband.org)) describes the founding of the Band.

TOM DRESSER has been a teacher, a nursing home administrator and Vineyard tour bus driver. He is the author of *Mystery on the Vineyard*, a history of the Rice Playhouse Murders, as well as two other books and numerous pamphlets about small New England towns. He lives in Oak Bluffs with his wife Joyce.

A significant event for this loosely organized Band was to play for the President of the United States when in 1874 Ulysses S. Grant visited Martha's Vineyard.

Francis Vincent Pease was a member of an old Vineyard family and the postmaster of Cottage City (now Oak Bluffs), who lived in the Campground. Pease had served as both a bugler and dispatch rider for Grant in the Civil War. Following the War, Pease became conductor of the Band and served in that capacity for more than three decades. According to Bardwell, who was also Pease's great-nephew, President Grant designated Pease in charge of assembling "a crackerjack band"<sup>2</sup> for his Vineyard visit in August of 1874.

Although Pease initially considered the Silver Cornet Band just a bunch of noisemakers, now he had a clear incentive to pull them into shape to prepare a proper concert for the President. The Vineyard Gazette makes reference to these events in its August 1874 editions. On August 14 it noted President Grant and a party of friends would soon visit Oak Bluffs and the Camp Ground, followed a week later by an account of the Grand Illumination: "a remarkable procession, headed by a tin band," which kicked off the festivities, and "was vastly amusing and occasioned a good deal of merriment."<sup>3</sup> It is assumed this was Pease's tin band.

By May 1883, the Band was fully organized and renamed the Vineyard Haven Brass Band. No woodwinds were included. The Band charter had a preamble, by-laws, a list of charter members and subscribers, although the by-laws were not recorded until 1898.<sup>4</sup>

Initially the Band only marched in Memorial Day parades, but by the mid-1890s it played concerts on Sunday evenings in both Vineyard Haven and Oak Bluffs. Beginning in 1905, band equipment was stored and rehearsals held at the Christ Methodist Church, the "Stone Church" on Church Street in Vineyard Haven; a practice that continued for nearly eighty years — despite the 1922 fire. The name was abbreviated to the Vineyard Haven Band in 1919 and has remained so ever since.

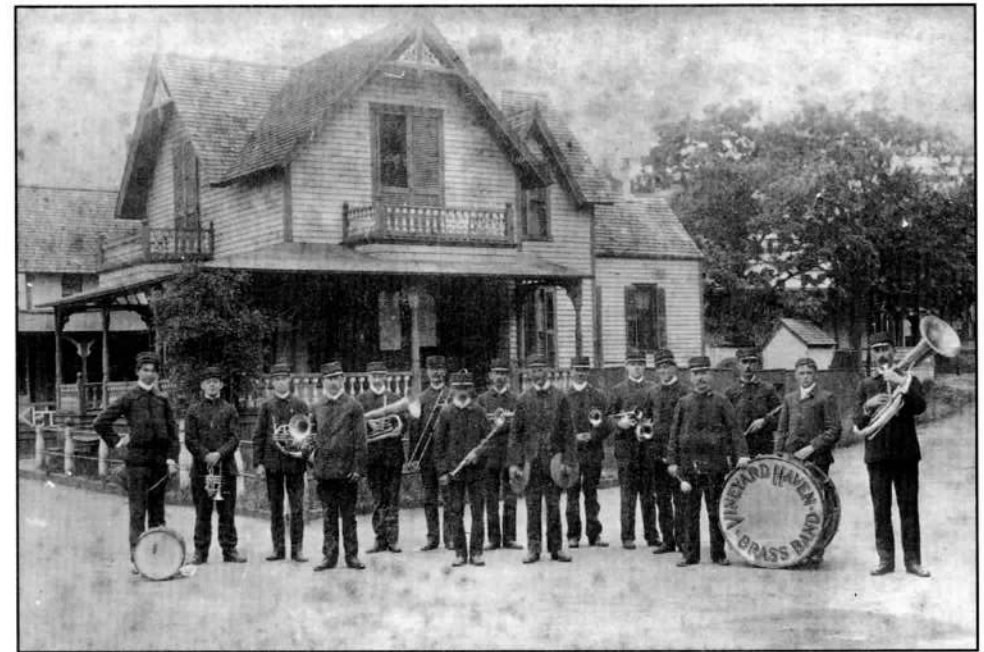
### Band Member for Life

Harry Weeks would ride his bicycle to band rehearsals with his slide trombone strapped to his handlebars. Listed in the 1907 town directory as a carpenter on West Chop Road, Weeks played with the Band for 47 years. In

<sup>2</sup> Bardwell claimed to have a letter which authorized Pease to lead the Band in Grant's welcome on the Vineyard.

<sup>3</sup> The *Vineyard Gazette* of August 28, 1874, noted the President's arrival two days prior, his visit to the Tabernacle, followed by a procession to Dr. Tucker's house on Ocean Park to witness fireworks and the Grand Illumination.

<sup>4</sup> The earliest extant photograph of the Band was taken by George Golart on May 30, 1899. Twenty mustachioed musicians, in full parade regalia, pose casually, brass instruments in hand.



The Vineyard Haven Band in 1899. Photo courtesy of Chris Baer.

1953, he died, still in uniform, after marching in the Memorial Day parade.

Alton Tuckerman recalled that the Band played three concerts a day for three days at the Agricultural Fair, for which he was paid \$100.<sup>5</sup> He joined the band in 1908 and for over 50 years Tuckerman, a Vineyard Haven plumber, could be heard, "playing any kind of horn that may be desired but sticking fairly consistently to the largest and most crooked horn in the group."

### Tom Bardwell, Band Historian

When his parents moved to the Vineyard in 1938, Tom Bardwell joined the band, then under the direction of James McGinnis.

"I started as third cornet player then moved to first cornet, then solo cornet.... We had good trombones in '39 and '40.... Mike Athearn was a bass player; Alton Tuckerman played a fine trombone; Charles Norton clarinet, then baritone horn; Jimmy Morrice played cornet and solo trumpet; Hariph Hancock solo cornet; Johnny 'Red Head' Sylvia played trumpet; Ed LeBeau on drums and Ed Leonard on snare drum; Lester Hastings on trumpet; Al Brickman played cornet for several seasons; David Cronig played a fine clarinet.... We played a lot of concerts. One of Mr. McGinnis' favorites was the score of The Merry Widow. We played music by Carl King. Donald Tilton used to play that 140th Field Artillery March. I believe the band still has it. We played

<sup>5</sup> From an interview with the *Vineyard Gazette*, on July 10, 1962.



The tradition of concerts in the gazebo at Ocean Park continues to this day. Photo from MVM collection.

*On the Square* in the Tabernacle, a lovely march.”<sup>6</sup>

Conductor James MacInnis led his 25 member band in jazz tunes, marches and melodies, traditionally concluding each concert with the *Star Spangled Banner*, which had been named the national anthem by Congress in 1931.

### Thinning Ranks

By the end of the 1940s, the Band shrunk to about 20 members, with gaps in the ranks, due to retirement or death. More musicians were needed. In the spring of 1953 a plea went out to any and all Island men, inviting them to join the Band. Three years later the need was more specific: alto horn, baritone and tenor sax players. This was a marching band, with the male musicians all in uniform.

In 1962 the Band played at the new bandstand at Owen Park, overlooking Vineyard Haven harbor, under the direction of Philip Buddington, program director for the Camp Meeting Association. A 1963 editorial worried about ‘taking the Band for granted.’ In the autumn of that year

<sup>6</sup> Bardwell founded Bardwell Electronics, which handles marine electronics, from radar to sonar. Mr. Bardwell had a life-long interest in preservation of American marching band music and was a staunch supporter of Robert Browne Hall (1858-1907), a Maine bandleader known as the New England March King and contemporary of John Philip Sousa, known simply as The March King.



“It was an all male Band, a marching Band,” recalls Martha Mosher Child. Photo from MVM collection.

the Band played at the Vineyard Haven Nursing Home for Alton Tuckerman, age 94, and in 1966, secretary/treasurer Gary Mosher noted to the press that older members gave a vote of thanks to younger members for their hard work. A band concert at the Tabernacle on August 16, 1968, marked the centennial of the Vineyard Haven Band. The concert was recorded for background music for Vineyard scenes in Katharine Cornell’s movie, *This Is Our Island*.<sup>7</sup>

### Bardwell to the Rescue

By the end of the 60s, the Vineyard Haven Band faced a daunting challenge: it might collapse from lack of participation. Worried that the Band would fold from lack of interest, Tom Bardwell stepped in to find a new leader to build the Band back to its former glory. In 1971, Bardwell enticed music teacher Robert Nute to conduct the Band.

“Bob Nute kindly and wonderfully took over; the two of us saved the Vineyard Haven Band from extinction, the unbroken record from 1868 to the present. He took over, and was a success.”

When Nute accepted the baton, only thirteen musicians showed up at his first rehearsal. The biggest frustration was when key musicians failed to show. When he selected Sousa’s *76 Trombones*, not a single trombone player showed up.

<sup>7</sup> Bardwell claimed 10,000 people attended. He wrote a letter to the *Gazette* in 1971 in which he sought recognition for the Band’s efforts.

However, as a music teacher, Nute readily remedied that problem as he recruited new members from his high school students, a tactic that caused Bardwell some consternation.

"This caused a problem with flute students to let them all play....The upper voice of the Band was a flute oriented presentation. All you could hear was flutes. The cornets or trumpets were all drowned out."<sup>8</sup>

Bardwell did praise Nute for his efficient rehearsals, strict discipline and challenging leadership.

Nute, for 30 years music director and director of the Minnesingers at the Martha's Vineyard Regional High School, attributes his success to his encouragement of high school students to become members of the Band. Former students include John Schilling, (trumpet), Martha Child, (flute/piccolo), and Mark Luce (tuba). Mark's sister Becky Luce is the current conductor. Even Nute's wife Shauna (trumpet and baritone) has been in the Band since fourth grade.

By the time he retired from the Band in 1981, Bob Nute had built the membership to ninety musicians, making it so crowded in the Oak Bluffs bandstand that members had to take turns playing.

"We played much more in those days...with twice a week concerts, playing at the Fair and the Edgartown wharf....Including rehearsals we met probably 36 times in the course of the summer....They all show up for Illumination Night...that's when they produce. People make the effort to get it together for that one night. A ton of people have gone through the Band. It had its good moments. It's an old Island tradition that goes way back, a real old New England event."<sup>9</sup>

The 1977 Annual Report of the Town of Tisbury was dedicated to the Vineyard Haven Band and included these lines from Tom Bardwell:

"And several years ago [the Band] was called upon to play a special 'Stand Up' concert for Senator Edward W. Brooke as a salute and tribute to his Island ties and connections...the band has become a symbol of the universality of music ... and many of its member families have supported it and played in it for generations."<sup>10</sup>

### Martha Mosher Child Remembers

Martha Mosher Child always wanted to be in the Vineyard Haven Band. "I wanted to play in the Band but I played violin and only performed in the

<sup>8</sup> Bardwell.

<sup>9</sup> A sour note occurred in mid-summer 1974, when a rock-throwing incident ended a concert early. Rowdies played with the light switch at the Oak Bluffs bandstand while the band was playing, then tossed pine cones and eventually rocks at the gazebo. Nute halted the concert. "You couldn't tolerate that."

<sup>10</sup> In 1977 the Band played 18 to 20 concerts per season. In the summer of 2009 the Band was scheduled at a dozen events from late June to mid-August, as well as the Monday night rehearsals at the Sailing Camp on Barnes Road in Oak Bluffs.



The Vineyard Haven Band, circa 1946. In back row, fourth from left, is Gary Mosher. The majorette is Geraldine Pinto. Image courtesy of Martha Mosher Child.

Sinfonetta." Her music teacher taught Martha to play the flute, so since the age of twelve she has been in the Band—more than forty years.

The family tradition of membership in the Band passed to Ms. Child from her father Gary Mosher, who passed away in early 2009. Mosher played the trumpet in the Band for sixty-five years, beginning in 1939 when he was a mere nine years old. A photograph of Mr. Mosher in the 1950s hangs in pride of place in Ms. Child's home. The family tradition is even older: "My grandmother was only the second woman in the Band. She played cornet. And after her, the Band went all male again." That would be Vivian Southwick Mosher, Gary Mosher's mother, who played cornet starting in 1926.<sup>11</sup>

"Before the War Band members had to pay dues. After the War it was more of a pick-up Band, feeling that everyone was able to play. It became multi-generational ... [playing continuously] except for a couple of years during World War II. It was an all-male Band, a marching Band.... In the late 1960s membership started to dwindle and the powers-that-be decided to let women play. I started after 1969."

Once women were included in the Band, the dress code was revised. The first uniforms were white skirts. "All us women went down to Vineyard Dry Goods to be fitted in good blue blazers by Ida Levine.... Jack Simmons (then director) felt we didn't sit ladylike enough, so then we went to pants. With the skirts there was too much of a view."

Men wore white duck pants, black shoes and socks with a white shirt and tie in 1970. "They had very military jackets with epaulet buckles on the shoulders and hats like police used to wear with black vinyl visors."

<sup>11</sup> Bardwell.

The hats featured a brass medallion.

Ms. Child recalls her mother pressing her father's duck pants, not a favorite chore. She remembers Donald Tilton who played baritone in the Band: "I got a kick out of him. Every year was going to be his last, but he kept coming back..." and "Ivan Rosenthal's son Cory played in the Band...Ivan wanted his daughter to play, before women were allowed. He offered to cut off her hair, but the rules stood."

### Recent History

Julie Schilling was named the first female president of the Band in 1981, in charge of musicians who ranged in age from 11 to 70. The ranks of the Band held at 80 members in 1984, but were still short a tuba and trombone player.

At age 83, Fred Woodman considered himself the oldest member of the Band. He played the cornet, and claimed he, "can do so as well as I did when I was 50 years younger." Octogenarian Woodman recalled playing with Hariph Hancock [in the 40s.]

In 1993, the Band moved their equipment storage from United Methodist to St. Augustine's Catholic Church. That year the Band commemorated the centennial of Katherine Lee Bates' *America the Beautiful*. The next year they saluted the 300th anniversary of Chilmark and honored Gale Huntington<sup>12</sup> with Songs the Whalemens Sing. They hailed veterans of World War II on the 50th anniversary of VJ day, but were still short musicians, and the call went out for a middle bass player and clarinetist.

In 1995 the Gazette invited the public "to come, enjoy the breezes and the view of the Tisbury harbor scene as the Vineyard Haven Town Band serenades you." It was noted the large number of children who marched around the gazebo. Gazette reporter Maeve Reston mentioned how musicians spanned the generations, then reported the words of Bob Russell of Vineyard Haven: "It's not too often you see grandparents, parents and children enjoying themselves."

Heidi Dunkl<sup>13</sup> attends every concert to distribute programs. "It's part of the summer."

Frank Dunkl, president of the Band more than fifteen years, is clear in his vision to maintain a cohesive, historical, educational and engaging organization. When the Band came into some money in the early 1990s,

<sup>12</sup> Gale Huntington was, among other things, once editor of this publication.

<sup>13</sup> "They (her brothers Frank and Peter Dunkl) always played music," says Heidi. "We joined the Band in 1984 (and it has been) improving ever since. Lots of music educators, children and retired people in the Band. All age groups." Frank and Peter play French horn, as did their great uncle Karl Chlupsa, one of the finest French horn players in the country, and Frank also plays the double bell typhonium.

Frank formed a nonprofit organization to protect its finances.

The Band's board gives the conductor free rein to select music for the weekly concerts, with the stipulation that certain historical principles be respected.<sup>14</sup> "We try to keep the Vineyard Haven Band as what it was founded for," says Mr. Dunkl. "We value the original incorporation." These primary principles guide the Band: to provide quality music to the public, to provide music education and if you can play, you're in, no discrimination. The overriding concept is that the experience is enjoyable, because without fun, there will be no musicians and no audience.

Bill Aitken, member of the Board, observes, "The Dunkl family, Frank, Peter and Heidi, have been wonderful stewards of the Band with Frank serving as President and chief factotum. The band was in danger of dissolution years ago when they stepped in to rebuild it."

Julie Schilling served as conductor of the Vineyard Haven Band in the 2008 season. It was not her first stint as conductor, which happened in 1995, nor was it her last, as she ably fills in when conductors are unable to meet the rigors of the Band schedule. Ms. Schilling speaks of the Band with reverence, aware of its long history and the need to preserve its tradition, while not losing enthusiasm from a public desirous of current music, such as movie highlights.

When she conducts, Ms. Schilling enjoys leading the Band in Freddie Mercury's Bohemian Rhapsody, King's Barnum & Bailey's Favorite Famous Circus March, Big Band Highlights, and the Latin hit Sway. She's comfortable with most music styles, and often will "throw in some R.B. Hall marches, because they're easy and familiar." Typical R.B. Hall marches include The Sentinel and Norembega March. As they are a staple of the repertoire, the Band pays homage to its old marches. When she's not conducting, Ms. Schilling, who is the Tisbury School band director, plays clarinet with the Band, as she has since she came to the Island in 1978. Her husband John joined when he was 14 and is one of the few original musicians, still blasting out the old favorites, year after year.

Musicians are imperative for the Band to survive, maintain historical

<sup>14</sup> Frank and Peter Dunkl agreed on the list of conductors of the Vineyard Haven Band over the past quarter century (years are approximate).

David Wilson, trombonist from Edgartown School - 1984-86

Becky Luce - 1986-88

Dick Tellier - 4 years 1988 - 91

Christopher Allen - 2 years - 1992 - 93

Dr. Gary Zwicky - 8 years - 1994 - 05

William Erickson - 4 years 2002 - 06

Three substitutes: Julie Schilling, Lois White, Robert Maxwell - 2007

Julie Schilling - 2008

Becky Luce - 2009, 2010

traditions and to eagerly participate in the weekly concerts. Mark Hahn played the French horn in his youth, but didn't join the Band until four years ago. He has such a good time playing at the weekly concerts and rehearsals that he says he wishes he had become a member when he moved to the Island in 1987. That's the kind of enthusiasm the Band engenders from its players.

New members are welcomed into the ranks of the Band. Jacob Lawrence, a West Tisbury rising sophomore, was invited to join the percussion section of the Band in 2008. For him, "The hardest part of being in the band was it's just a lot of new music, some I've never heard, or even heard of." By attending every rehearsal, Jake managed to get up to speed, beating the bass drum, the snare or the cymbals on cue.

"The best part was I met a lot of nice people.... They helped me further explore my musical talents." Jake is intrigued by music and has given thought to making it a career. As well as the Vineyard Haven Band, Jake is in a jazz band at the high school. Of the Band, he says, "It's a lot of fun. Great experience. Totally worth it!"

At thirteen, flutist Olivia de Geofroy joined the Vineyard Haven Band in the summer of 2008, when she completed seventh grade, so this is her third summer coming up. Olivia found it useful playing with more experienced musicians. "We were never lost or confused. We would be able to follow them a bit." With a couple of years playing at public performances, Olivia says she's pretty much "got a feel for it."

When asked about the history of marching with the Band, Olivia explains that the closest is "when we play on the float in the 4th of July parade."

The Vineyard Haven Band continues much as it has for the past 150 years. A 1941 editorial by Henry Beetle Hough portrayed the Band as an essential part of summer:<sup>15</sup>

Band concerts are an institution which we hope will never change. The Band is a great asset to the Island. Thousands of people enjoy hearing it play....Summer is really summer when the band begins to play in the open and the whole family settles down, upon the grass or upon seat cushions, to enjoy the luxury of listening.

And nearly a half century later, another *Gazette* editorial, written in the style of Henry Hough, noted, "...the spell of the band is strongest by far in the gazebo at Ocean Park in Oak Bluffs. Here, in the gathering dusk of summer Sunday evenings, the band draws families like moths to a shining lamp. Here, to the strains of *Stars and Stripes Forever*, children and parents and grandparents march around the bandstand, wearing a happy circle in

<sup>15</sup> Hough's editorial was printed in the *Gazette* on July 22, 1941. A similar theme was portrayed on August 1, 1987, with an editorial praising the virtues of the Band.

the lawns surrounding the gazebo.... When we give thanks for the blessings of Island summer, we must always remember to include the Vineyard Haven Town Band."

*The author extends his appreciation for assistance with this piece to: Bill Aitken, Martha Child, Frank, Peter and Heidi Dunkl, Mark Hahn, Cynthia Meisner, Jerry Muskin, Bob Nute and Julie Schilling.*



From the Martha's Vineyard Museum Collection: This uniform was worn by James A. MacInnis of Vineyard Haven, the Band's leader in the mid-1940s. The donor, Frances T. Corwin, is his grandson.

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# After Gosnold, Who?

## Document in British Library Suggests Identity of Second Island Visitor

by MARY BETH NORTON

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VINEYARDERS KNOW that the first recorded English visitors to the Island were Bartholomew Gosnold and his crew, in 1602. Gosnold, indeed, gave the Island the English name by which it is still known today. But who were the next English visitors? For many years it has been thought that English mariners did not return to Martha's Vineyard until 1611, when Edward Harlow and Nicholas Hobson visited the Island, kidnapped five Wampanoags, and then returned to England. But several years ago I found a document in the British Library suggesting that the second English visitors to the Vineyard arrived in 1603 on a vessel captained by Martin Pring. This article describes that document, explains why it must date from the early seventeenth century, and recounts the information it contains about the Vineyard — the earliest known detailed account of the Island's people and nomenclature.<sup>1</sup>

"The Names of the Rivers and the names of ye cheife Sagamores yt inhabit upon Them from the River of Quibequissue to the River of Wen-esquawam" lists and briefly describes riverine landmarks of the coast of New England from northern Maine south to Martha's Vineyard.<sup>2</sup> An in-

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1 This article is based on a longer essay, co-authored with Emerson W. Baker, "The Names of the Rivers: A New Look at an Old Document," which was published in the *New England Quarterly* in September 2007. It is reprinted here in part with the kind permission of the editor of the *Quarterly*, Linda Smith Rhodes. Readers who wish a full account of the document should consult the original, longer version, which includes details of the history of early Maine (supplied by Baker) as well as more of Norton's analysis of the material dealing with the Vineyard, included here.

2 Egerton MSS 2395, fol. 412-13, British Library.

MARY BETH NORTON, who received a B.A. from the University of Michigan and a PhD in from Harvard University, is the Mary Donlon Alger Professor of American History at Cornell University. She first came to the Vineyard in 1975, sailing into Edgartown harbor with friends; and since 1990 she has been a summer resident of West Tisbury. Alas, to the best of her knowledge she is not closely related to Vineyard Nortons.

dividual with extensive personal knowledge of Martha's Vineyard (which the document calls Capawick) composed the manuscript; internally, it twice refers to accompanying "instructions" intended for someone who was about to sail from England to North America.

David I. Bushnell Jr. (1911), Philip L. Barbour (1980), and David B. and Alison Quinn (1983) all edited and published "The Names of the Rivers," but their work achieves no consensus about its origins or dating. Perhaps for that reason, today the document remains little known and it has rarely been cited by scholars. In his edition, Bushnell concerned himself only with the names in the document. Barbour tentatively dated "The Names of the Rivers" to 1608-10 but did not attempt to identify an author or recipient. For their part, the Quinns speculated that Edward Harlow compiled the list in 1614 to serve as directions for Nicholas Hobson, who was then setting off on a voyage to the Vineyard.<sup>3</sup>

"Names of the Rivers" is, as Barbour and the Quinns also recognized, a copy of an earlier original, now seemingly lost. It is written in a legible hand of the mid-seventeenth century on three folio pages. On the fourth is the endorsement, "The Names of the Rivers in New England," clearly an addition made by the later copyist, for the original document predated the adoption of the designation *New England*. At some point it was acquired by Thomas Povey, an English bureaucrat, for it survives in the British Library in a volume of documents he collected.

The one English place name in the manuscript, "Capecode" (Cape Cod), reveals that "Names of the Rivers" had to have been composed after 1602, for Bartholomew Gosnold named that prominent landmark after his voyage. Similarly, the absence of any other English nomenclature indicates that the original document must have been written before 1616, when Captain John Smith first published his *A Description of New England*, in which he renamed the region and attached new names to many places.<sup>4</sup>

The years 1602 and 1616 therefore establish the outside parameters for

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3 For the previous publications of "Names of the Rivers," see David I. Bushnell Jr., "New England Names," *American Anthropologist* 13 (1911): 235-37; Philip L. Barbour, ed., "The Manuscript 'Instructions for a Voyage to New England' (1608-1610?)," in *Papers of the Eleventh Algonquian Conference*, ed. William Cowan (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1980), pp. 135-42; and David B. Quinn and Alison Quinn, eds., *The English New England Voyages 1602-1608* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1983 [2d ser., no. 161]), pp. 476-80.

4 On the naming of Cape Cod by Gosnold, see Gabriel Archer, "The Relation of Captaine Gosnolds Voyage to the North part of Virginia . . .," in Quinn and Quinn, *English New England Voyages*, p. 118; for Smith, see his *Description of New England* (1616), in *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580-1631)*, ed. Philip L. Barbour, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 2:309, 315.

the document, and its contents make it possible to narrow that period further. The author stresses trade and exploration, never mentioning a plan for settlement, although admittedly the accompanying lost “instructions” could have contained such a reference. In particular, the author directs the recipient to carefully map the coast north of Cape Cod and offers advice about trading with the native peoples of Capawick. Such an emphasis implies that the document was drafted at a time when English explorers still knew little about the region, then known as North Virginia. Furthermore, information in the document about the names of Wabanaki sagamores of the Maine coast — some of which are known from other sources that can be dated more precisely — allow us to conclude that “Names of the Rivers” was written between 1607 and 1611.

The information about the region “To the West of Capecode” found in “Names of the Rivers” is unique. Neither of the two published accounts of Bartholomew Gosnold’s voyage to Martha’s Vineyard reveals any Wampanoag names for rivers or nearby islands, nor does either identify two of Capawick’s three chief sachems, as does the document. Furthermore, “Names of the Rivers” mentions several additional land masses, including “Nateca” (Nantucket).<sup>5</sup>

Here is what “Names of the Rivers” states about Martha’s Vineyard. Reading it carefully in conjunction with other sources helps to connect the origins of the document to Martin Pring’s 1603 voyage:

“To the West of Capecode (as in yor Instructions is said) you shall meet with Severall Islands as namely Nateca, Joucanoke Akeucanack<sup>6</sup> and Capawick wch is the Largest of them all & wch hath upon the northsyde thereof towards the Mayne, 3 Rivers ye Eastermost, is Sasquiaca.<sup>7</sup> The next is Quatanque<sup>8</sup> the last is Weiwyout.<sup>9</sup> At the Eastward end there is another

5 Bushnell, unaware that “Capawick” was a historically known appellation for Martha’s Vineyard, mistakenly identified the “Largest” land mass in the document as “unquestionably Long Island” (Bushnell, “New England Names,” 238).

6 “Nateca” is Nantucket. “Joucanoke” and “Akeucanack” are presumably two of the Elizabeth Islands, although the names bear little resemblance to modern nomenclature, unless the latter became Cuttyhunk over time. The current Cuttyhunk, which is separated from Nashawena by only a narrow channel, is thought to have been joined to it in the early seventeenth century, thus creating Gosnold’s larger base, “Elizabeths Isle.” A hurricane could have cut the channel. See Quinn and Quinn, eds., *English New England Voyages*, 113, 119, 479n.2, 503-4.

7 Modern Edgartown harbor, and seemingly Martin Pring’s location in 1603. Note that Quinn and Quinn locate the “rivers” somewhat differently. See Quinn and Quinn, eds., *English New England Voyages*, 479n.4.

8 Vineyard Haven harbor.

9 Menemsha harbor. Charles Edward Banks, *The History of Martha’s Vineyard* (Edgartown: Duke’s County Historical Society, 1966), 1:41, includes a

River but evill co-meing to it, by reason of thee Slates, & Sands & that is called whackwhigh (and the Sogum) for here they are not called Sagamores as before.<sup>10</sup> This name was wavenot who Commands all that part, of the Island as doth Tadosheme, the middle part who doth Command thee west part I have forgotten but hee hath been enemye to both ye other two, if I be not mistaken.<sup>11</sup>

These Islands use yor best Diligence to make a perfect discovery, of, as also ye land to the north of them<sup>12</sup> [(according To yor Instructions) for there is great hope, they will afford matter of good Consequence but you

map giving the Native names of various parts of the Island. Next to Menemsha harbor is the name “Wawi-Tukq,” which tends to confirm this identification.

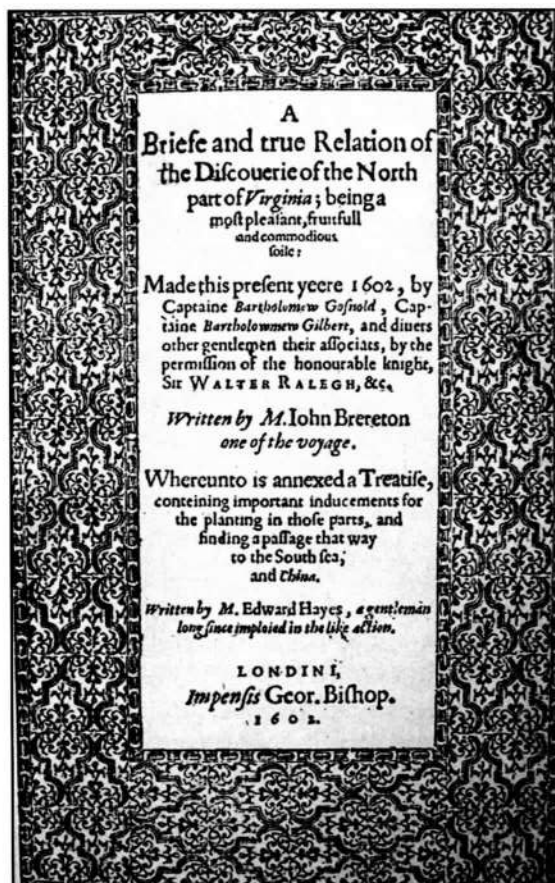
10 The reference to “Slates & Sands,” the eastern-most location, and the shallowness of the approach suggest that the “river” referred to is now the narrow entrance to Cape Poge pond. In the seventeenth century, as Banks and Quinn and Quinn alike note, part of modern Chappaquiddick was a separate island, called Capoag (now Cape Poge), which was joined to the main island by the impact of a mid-eighteenth-century hurricane. Given the flexibility of the term “river” in the early seventeenth century (*Oxford English Dictionary*, q.v. “river”), what must have been a narrow channel filled with sandbars between Capoag and the rest of Chappaquiddick could well have been termed a river by the author. Further, the name *whackwhigh* bears at least some resemblance to the modern *Wasque* (or Banks’s historical term, *Wan-was-que*, which designates the southern-most point of Chappaquiddick). Note that the author appears to say that the sachem of that region was also named Whackwhigh. See, on Capoag, Banks, *History of Martha’s Vineyard*, 1: 34-5, 41; and Quinn and Quinn, eds., *English New England Voyages*, 500-502.

11 The names of these sachems are recorded nowhere else, and their relationships to the sachems who were encountered by the first English settlers of the Vineyard several decades later is unknown.

12 Cape Cod.



This highly imaginative drawing by Theodore de Brys depicts Gosnold’s meeting with the Indians in the New World. Reproduced from a copy in the collections of the MVM.



Title page of John Brereton's 1602 book describing Gosnold's voyage. Brereton and Gabriel Archer documented the Concord's voyage with detailed descriptions of the island's flora, fauna, and inhabitants. (MVM Collection)

will find thee people very false & Malitious in wch respect you must bee thee more cautious how you deale with Them they are plentiful in Corne & Tobacco, but have not many Scinns, if you cannot otherwayes Deale with them, first makeing Tryall of all fayr Courses, then do yor best to Seize their Corne & provision for that will inforce them to commerce & Supply their wants & necessityes espetially when they see they cannot offend you but that you are still offensive unto them."

"Names of the Rivers" was thus almost certainly created by someone with personal knowledge of the waters around Capawick/Martha's Vineyard. The description just quoted reveals considerable familiarity with its places and peoples: one part of the island is described as "evill" to approach "by reason of thee Slates & Sands"; the island Wampanoags are termed "very false & Malitious"; and one of Capawick's three sachems, whose name the author has "forgotten," is said to have been "enemye to both ye other two, if I bee not mistaken." Such details all suggest a direct acquaintance with the island.

For many years it has been thought that prior to 1616, in the years when "Names of the Rivers" must have been written, the only English mariners who visited Martha's Vineyard were Bartholomew Gosnold, Edward Harlow, and Nicholas Hobson. No members of their crews, though, are likely to have authored the document. There is no indication that any of the three spent enough time on the Island to be able to supply the specific observations found in "Names of the Rivers." But another Englishman also traveled to New England in those early years: Martin Pring, whose landing site has long been contested and which I would argue was modern Edgartown harbor. In order to interpret "Names of the Rivers," it is im-

portant to compare the contents of the narrative of Pring's voyage with the more familiar accounts of Gosnold's.

The Gosnold and Pring voyages were described in four published accounts. John Brereton and Gabriel Archer, who sailed with Gosnold, prepared separate reports of the 1602 voyage, and Martin Pring kept a detailed journal of his 1603 expedition (now lost, it is known only from a condensed and edited version printed by Samuel Purchas in 1625). Robert Salterne, a member of Gosnold's crew, returned to North Virginia with Pring and penned an additional brief summary of the 1603 voyage. Of these four works, only Brereton's appeared in print before 1624. *A Briefe and true Relation of the Discoverie of the North part of Virginia*. . . quickly went through two editions in late 1602, soon after Gosnold's return to England. None of the publications included any of the Wampanoag nomenclature evident in "Names of the Rivers," yet even so at least one of the men on the two voyages must have acquired the information contained therein.<sup>13</sup>

Brereton's and Archer's accounts of Gosnold's journey differ in detail but concur in their broad outlines. Both men described landfall somewhere in what is now Maine; a trip south along the coast into Cape Cod Bay; sailing around the Cape to set foot first on a small island Gosnold named Martha's Vineyard (probably Capoag, now Cape Poge, joined to Chappaquiddick); landing on the larger island to which the name would be transferred; and finally the establishment of an outpost on what Gosnold called Elizabeth's Isle, which is thought by most scholars to be a combination of the modern Cuttyhunk and Nashawena, the two westernmost land masses of the Elizabeth Islands. From there Gosnold explored modern Buzzards Bay, traded with local Indians, and gathered a valuable cargo of sassafras, prized in England as a reputed remedy for syphilis. Although initially some of Gosnold's men had planned to remain in North America, all decided to return to England.<sup>14</sup>

The Brereton and Archer narratives are problematic if one is seeking a source of "Names of the Rivers." Perhaps most important, they do not indicate that Gosnold spent very much time on either the small or the large Martha's Vineyard; instead, his base was located several miles across Vineyard Sound. The only natives with whom he traded were said to have come from the mainland. Yet for two reasons the accounts Brereton and

13 These accounts have been reprinted numerous times, and are readily accessible (with usefully detailed annotations) in Quinn and Quinn, eds., *English New England Voyages*. Brereton's "Briefe and true Relation" is on pp 139-61; Archer's "Relation of Captaine Gosnole's Voyage. . ." on pp 114-38; Pring's "A Voyage set out from the Citie of Bristoll. . ." on pp 214-28; and Salterne's "A Voyage of Captaine Martin Pring. . ." on 229-30.

14 The Quinns offer a judicious discussion of scholarly disputes about Gosnold's voyage in Quinn and Quinn, eds., *English New England Voyages*, 494-508.

Archer published might not have been wholly accurate or comprehensive. First, the mariners had good reason to give less than precise directions to the source of the desirable sassafras; they did not want others to replicate their successful journey. Second, Bartholomew Gosnold and his associates had launched their expedition to North Virginia without obtaining formal approval from Sir Walter Raleigh, who held the 1584 charter to the region granted by Queen Elizabeth I. When they returned to England with their valuable cargo and Raleigh caviled at their unauthorized intrusion into his territory, they hastened to conceal their violation of his charter. Brereton's *Briefe and true Relation* thus appeared with a dedication "To the Honourable, Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight," and its title page inaccurately declared that Gosnold had obtained Raleigh's permission before he sailed. Accordingly, it is conceivable that the men of the expedition had more contact with the Wampanoags of Capawick than either Brereton or Archer reveals — and that they would have been able to learn the names of places and sachems given in "Names of the Rivers."<sup>15</sup>

Yet there is another possible source for the information about Capawick in the manuscript. Before 1878, it was widely believed that Martin Pring too had landed on Martha's Vineyard, and I think that he most likely visited the Island. One key piece of evidence is the very existence of "Names of the Rivers," a document that has not been considered by others who have discussed Pring's expedition. Some Englishman early in the seventeenth century obtained detailed knowledge of the Island and its residents. If Archer and Brereton accurately portray Gosnold's lack of extended contact with the Vineyard Wampanoags, that information must have come from some other source. And unless there was an improbable wholly unrecorded voyage to the region, that source could only be the Pring expedition of 1603.

Samuel Purchas found the edited narrative of Pring's voyage in the papers of the Reverend Richard Hakluyt, who, then ministering at the cathedral in Bristol, joined a group of the city's merchants as sponsors of the voyage. Like Gosnold before him, Pring was interested in acquiring a cargo of sassafras, which he did, filling the holds of his two ships in quick succession. Even though Pring, unlike Gosnold, obtained Raleigh's permission for the voyage, he too had reason to obscure certain details about the location of his North Virginia landing site, especially if he thought that Hakluyt was planning to publish his account as quickly as Brereton's had been printed. Like Gosnold and his investors, Pring and his backers (including Hakluyt, presumably his editor) would not have wanted to allow competitors to readily find the source of such a valuable commodity

15 On Gosnold, Raleigh, and possible motives for the concealment of accurate details, see Quinn and Quinn, eds., *English New England Voyages*, 139-43, 204-11.



"...the Simancas Map (so-called), a manuscript chart of the entire Atlantic coast of the present United States... is the most elaborate and correct map of the regions delineated, and was doubtless based upon the voyages of all the English explorers up to that date [1610]." — Charles W. Banks, *History of Martha's Vineyard*

by offering them accurate and detailed directions.<sup>16</sup>

Still, Pring's printed narrative did supply some specific information about the place where his men camped on shore for approximately seven weeks. First, the latitude was "one and forty degrees and five and twentie minutes"; second, "a pleasant Hill" adjoined the site; third, there was "a River" nearby; and fourth, their "excellent Haven" had twenty fathoms of water outside and seven fathoms within, "being Land-locked, the Haven winding in compasse like the shell of a Snaile." These details initially led people to conclude that he had landed at Edgartown harbor, on the eastern end of Martha's Vineyard: the latitude is nearly correct (it is, more precisely, 41 degrees 39 minutes); there are nearby heights (for example, Tower Hill); the large harbor itself has been termed a "river"; and its entrance is indeed both winding and landlocked. In addition, many sailors recognize the description of Edgartown harbor as "winding in compasse like the shell of a Snaile."<sup>17</sup>

16 Pring himself may not have written the narrative, which is primarily composed in the third person, yet it is most commonly and logically attributed to him. See Quinn and Quinn, eds., *English New England Voyages*, 53-55, 214n.2.

17 For the quotations from Pring's narrative, see Quinn and Quinn, eds., *English New England Voyages*, 228, 219, 224. "Names of the Rivers" refers to Edgartown harbor as a river. On the identification of Pring's landing site as Edgartown, see Jeremy Belknap, *American Biography* (Boston, 1798), 2:128n-129n. Belknap quoted from two knowledgeable men, Peleg Coffin of Nantucket, who declared that "no other [harbor] could with propriety be represented as winding or land-locked," and the Reverend Joseph Thaxter (of Edgartown), who informed Belknap on 15 November 1797 that "every respect" of Pring's description accorded with Edgartown harbor except for the depth of water at

But in 1878 B. F. DeCosta published an influential article challenging the identification of Pring's landing site as Edgartown. He contended that Pring would have mentioned being on an island, had he been on Martha's Vineyard; that in the early seventeenth century observations of latitude were frequently off by at least half a degree; and that the harbor description did not accord with that of Edgartown. Instead, DeCosta argued that Pring had landed at modern Plymouth, latitude 41 degrees 96 minutes. Subsequently, David Quinn, updating a manuscript by Warner Gookin, and Richard F. Whalen have separately made the case for still a third location: the Provincetown/Truro harbor at the curving tip of Cape Cod. Combating DeCosta, they cite additional evidence on behalf of their theory, such as that when the Pilgrims landed on the Cape in 1620 they found the remains of a European "old Fort" that could have been a "small bari-cado" Pring mentioned having constructed, and that a map found in the Spanish archives (commonly called the Velasco map and dated circa 1610 or 1611) designated Cape Cod Bay as Whitson's Bay, which was the name Pring said he had given to the bay where he landed.<sup>18</sup>

The two articles, though, dealt exclusively with obvious problems in DeCosta's promotion of Plymouth as Pring's location in North Virginia. Neither Quinn and Gookin nor Whalen explicitly addressed or refuted the original reasoning on behalf of Edgartown, laid out by Jeremy Belknap in 1798. Focusing on the contrast between Provincetown and Plymouth harbors (and finding that of the two only the former resembles a snail shell), the recent authors neglected Pring's remark that his harbor was "Land-Locked," a word one would not perhaps think to apply to the wide mouth of Provincetown harbor, but which definitely describes Edgartown. Pring's language likewise implied that the "Haven" itself, not the land around it, wound like a snail shell, as does Edgartown's sinuous harbor. They also failed to acknowledge that the latitude of Provincetown, at 42 degrees 6 minutes, is close to a whole degree away from Pring's recorded location of 41 degrees 25 minutes, even though in another article Quinn himself asserted that seventeenth-century sailors' determination of latitude was quite accurate when the sightings were made on land, as they would have been during Pring's prolonged residence on shore. They

its entrance, which was in that year 14 fathoms. Still, Thaxter commented, "the shoals shift," and he believed that such changes "easily accounted for" the difference. He also referred to the hills near the harbor and remarked that "to this day [there is] plenty of sassafras."

<sup>18</sup> Cf. B.F. DeCosta, "Gosnold and Pring, 1602-3," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 32 (1878): 78-80; David B. Quinn and Warner Gookin, "Martin Pring at Provincetown in 1603?" *New England Quarterly* 40 (1967): 79-91; and Richard F. Whalen, "Where did Captain Martin Pring Anchor in New England?" *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 26, no.2 (1998): 111-123.

ignored or discounted the statement of Robert Salterne, Pring's "Pilot" in 1603 and a veteran of the Gosnold voyage, that Martin Pring "for the most part . . . followed the course of Captaine Gosnoll." They did not take seriously another possible explanation for the "old Fort": that it could have been constructed by some French sailors who were shipwrecked on the Cape about 1616. Finally, the integrity of the Velasco map, which seemed to these authors to be strong evidence of Pring's presence on Cape Cod, has recently been persuasively called into question. Although he admits he has no "smoking gun," the cartographic scholar David Y. Allen, seconded by Kirsten Seaver (an expert on the subject of the suspect Vinland map), strongly suggests that the Velasco map is a late nineteenth-century forgery, in large part because it is "almost too good to be true" and filled with internal contradictions and anomalies.<sup>19</sup>

Then, as already indicated, there is the evidence provided by "Names of the Rivers." Pring's narrative records prolonged and repeated contacts with the Native peoples of the region where he landed. If he resided for seven weeks at modern Edgartown harbor on Martha's Vineyard, that would identify the otherwise mysterious source of the extensive knowledge of the Island and its sachems apparent in the document. It would also explain why the author of "Names of the Rivers" knew more details about the eastern end of the Island than the western — it is the western-most sachem whose name he has "forgotten." Moreover, an incident near the end of Pring's stay in North Virginia would explain the document's characterization of the natives of the Island as "very false & Malitious." After describing many friendly encounters with the Indians, Pring recorded a troubling episode in which "seven score Savages armed with their Bowes and Arrows" surrounded the Englishmen's fort while they slept in the mid-day heat. Roused by a shot from "a piece of great Ordnance" other men who had been asleep in the woods employed two "great and fearefull" mastiffs to frighten the natives off. The Indians, Pring observed, "in dis-

<sup>19</sup> See Quinn's comment about the accuracy of 17<sup>th</sup>-century latitude readings taken on land in his "The Early Cartography of Maine," in Emerson W. Baker, et al., eds., *American Beginnings: Exploration, Culture, and Cartography in the Land of Norumbega* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 40. That he was correct in this observation is confirmed by Bartholomew Gosnold's 1602 reading of "41 degrees, and one third part" as the latitude of his outpost on Cuttyhunk (the latitude of the [smaller] island is 41 degrees and 20 through 30 minutes); see Quinn and Quinn, eds., *English New England Voyages*, 209. Salterne's statement is reprinted in Quinn and Quinn, eds., *English New England Voyages*, 229. On the questionable nature of the Velasco map, see David Y. Allen, "Almost too Good to be True: The Strange Case of the 'Velasco Map,'" <http://www.stonybrook.edu/libmap/coordinates/series/a/no5/a5.htm>, with a commentary by Kirsten Seaver.

sembling manner" then "turned all to a jest and sport, and departed away in friendly manner," but on two subsequent occasions likewise seemed to behave menacingly. Neither Brereton nor Archer described similar incidents during Gosnold's presence in the Elizabeth Islands.<sup>20</sup>

Such inferences drawn from "Names of the Rivers" indicate that Martin Pring almost certainly landed on Martha's Vineyard in 1603. Otherwise, it is difficult if not impossible to explain the source of the information about Capawick contained in "Names of the Rivers." Only if Brereton and Archer both concealed significant information about Gosnold's contacts with the residents of the Island could there be another known source for the observations in this document.

One piece of evidence does suggest a direct link between "Names of the Rivers" and the Gosnold voyage. The author states that he "Could speake of other places more westerly" but will not. Of all the early English visitors to Martha's Vineyard prior to Thomas Dermer in 1619 (including Harlow and Hobson) only Gosnold is known to have explored the waters, coasts, and islands to the west (that is, the environs of modern Buzzards Bay), although Pring might have done the same during several weeks not covered in the published account of his voyage.<sup>21</sup>

Some of the evidence — the unique Wampanoag nomenclature, the greater knowledge of the east end of the Island — thus points to the Pring expedition as a probable source. Other evidence — the certain knowledge of waters to the west — points to Gosnold. Yet the two voyages need not be viewed as mutually exclusive, for one man, Robert Salterne, sailed on both, and thus could have contributed information drawn from both to "Names of the Rivers." Unfortunately, little is known about him. Termed "Master" (that is, a man of high status) in the Pring narrative, Salterne accompanied Richard Hakluyt and John Angell to seek Raleigh's formal imprimatur for the 1603 expedition. The narrative describes him as "chiefe Agent" for that voyage, and the Quinns speculate that he — at the time a Bristol merchant — was one of its possible financial backers. Samuel Purchas, who had contact with Salterne, remarked in a 1625 marginal note that he, by then a clergyman, "yet liveth neither is his zeale dead to this action [Pring's voyage]." Salterne, he revealed, "by [first] hand and by writing to mee testified

20 Quinn and Quinn, eds., *English New England Voyages*, 227, describe the menacing incidents. Brereton and Archer could have deliberately suppressed negative information about interactions with the native peoples of the Island, but in a private letter to his father Gosnold failed to mention any clashes with the indigenous inhabitants of the region (Quinn and Quinn, eds., *English New England Voyages*, 208-11).

21 The Quinns point out that in the published narrative of Pring's voyage "several weeks" are unaccounted for; see Quinn and Quinn, eds., *English New England Voyages*, 213.

his affection to Virginia." The previous year, as already noted, Salterne had contributed to John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia* a brief account of Pring's voyage. Accordingly, it is entirely possible that — if he did not personally draft "Names of the Rivers" — Robert Salterne served as one of its major sources.<sup>22</sup>

The rediscovery, dating, and tentative attribution to Robert Salterne of "Names of the Rivers" almost four hundred years after it was written is noteworthy for Martha's Vineyard history. It gives us the earliest information on the Island's Native residents and supplies Martin Pring's narrative as another early seventeenth-century description of the Vineyard to add to the accounts of those who accompanied Bartholomew Gosnold. We can now know something of the Island's history four decades before the arrival of the Mayhews.

22 See Quinn and Quinn, eds., *English New England Voyages*, 212, 214-15, 229, on Salterne.

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# Early Outdoor Photography

## Stereoscopic Views Trace Evolution Of Island, and of an Evolving Art

by PETER JONES

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THE EARLY AGE of photography can be considered as the time period from the introduction of the daguerreotype process in 1839 to the introduction of the dry plate process in the late 1870s. The original daguerreotype process required an exposure time of approximately thirty minutes in bright sunlight; and forced photographers to choose stationary objects. Improvements in the chemistry of the process and in the camera optics reduced the exposure time to less than thirty seconds; and allowed successful indoor portraiture. Daguerreotype photographers were often called "Daguerrian artists." In fact, many of them actually were artists, who found in photography a new art form. The daguerreotype lost favor in the late 1850s, after the invention of the wet plate process. Although the daguerreotype photographers still produced what was considered a superior image, the wet plate process was easier and less expensive to manufacture. More importantly, multiple paper prints could be produced, making photography profitable. The result was that many tradesmen and storekeepers took up photography as a profession or a sideline business. Early pioneers of outdoor photography used large wet plates to produce paper prints of the same dimension. However, the smallest wet plate photograph, the stereoscopic view, became the preferred approach for outdoor photography. The stereoscopic view is a double photograph paired in such a manner that when viewed with a stereoscope, it appears as a three dimensional image.

The first known "Daguerrian artist" on Martha's Vineyard was S. C. Kenney from New Bedford. In August 1851 Kenney set up his studio over William H. Monroe's store at the corner of Main and Water Streets in Ed-

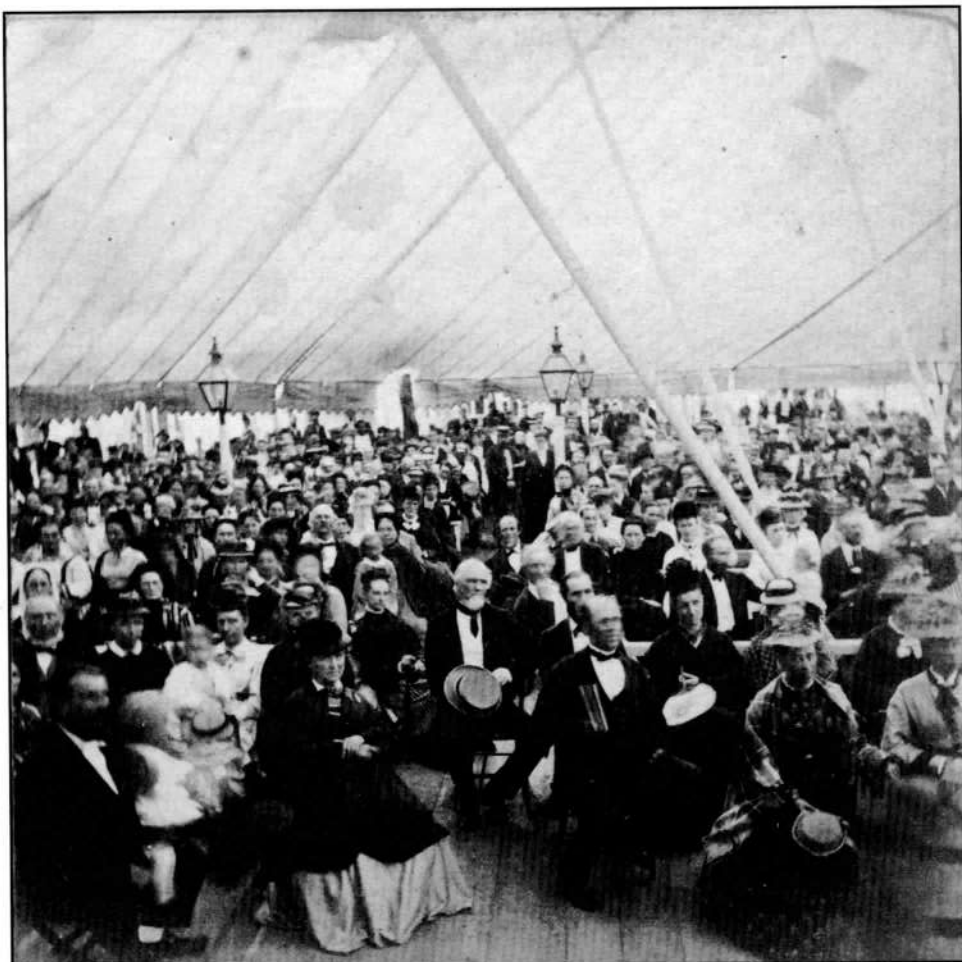
PETER JONES, author of *Oak Bluffs: The Cottage City Years on Martha's Vineyard*, is a retired optical system engineer with degrees in physics, astronomy and optics. He has an avid interest in local history and in the history of photography. He and his wife, Carol, are summer residents of the Campgrounds in Oak Bluffs.



Family portrait, by Francis Hacker.

gartown. In the following year, Francis Hacker, from Providence, Rhode Island, set up a summer studio over Frederick Baylies store on Main Street. In the late 1850s, Enoch C. Cornell and Charles H. Shute, year-round residents of Edgartown, established ambrotype studios over their Main Street stores. Cornell specialized in indoor portraiture. Shute diversified from indoor portraiture into outdoor photography, after partnering with his son, Richard, in 1866.

In 1835 a religious camp meeting was held with nine tents in a secluded oak grove near East Chop. By the late 1850s, the annual camp meeting, known as Wesleyan Grove, had grown to 500 tents with over 12,000 people attending the services. Hebron Vincent, the Wesleyan Grove secretary, reported on the 1859 camp meeting:



Under the tent at Wesleyan Grove: Group portrait by Woodward & Son.

"This year seemed to inaugurate a new era in the history of this encampment. Those who had been so much accustomed to camp-meeting scenes, and especially to the varying aspects of the meetings here, for a quarter of a century nearly, were quite astonished at the extent and village-like appearances of this encampment. The Rev. Dr. Parks, who was on a visit here from the State of New York, gave it as his opinion, that it was then the largest meeting of the kind in the world."

In the same year, Enoch Cornell set up a tintype saloon near the campgrounds, on the property of Belcher Norton. It was reported that Cornell took 1,029 pictures during that camp meeting. Henry Baylies, a camp meeting attendee, described an earlier camp meeting in 1857: "I know of no place where a week can be spent to more advantage to the physical, social, and especially to the spiritual man, than on this spot. It is one of the most charm-



Hotel and storehouse of the Oak Bluffs Land and Wharf Company, by Stephen F. Abrams.

ing spots in the world." Two years later, describing the 1859 camp meeting, Baylies seems to have become disenchanted with the trend toward more "social" camp meetings. "It is feared the encampment is becoming too much of the pic-nic style. Stereoscopic views are now available." Hebron Vincent also reported in 1859: "During much of the time, an artist was present from New Bedford, taking stereoscopic views of different tents, with their occupants, and of different sections and scenes." The artist was James H. Crittenden, a New Bedford house painter and photographer.

Stereoscopic views were introduced into the United States from Europe in 1854. By 1859 a stereoscope and a selection of views could be found in parlors around the country. The stereoscope opened a new visual world to the public, with views of major cities and landscape



Lake Anthony and Vineyard Highlands, by Stephen F. Adams.

scenes. However, at Wesleyan Grove outdoor portraits and scenes of local interest were made as keepsake photographs, for later viewing with a stereoscope. Outdoor portraiture presented new challenges for the photographer. Every person in the group had to be carefully posed. Also, the tent or cottage in the background had to be correctly composed, with respect to the foreground subject, for the illusion of depth to be effective. Since the success of the photograph depended on this near-far relationship, the photographer also had the critical task of camera focus. Exposure times up to twenty seconds were required, depending on the sunlight. In the studio, tables and head-rests were used to keep the subject steady. Outdoors, the subject often leaned against a wall or a tree.

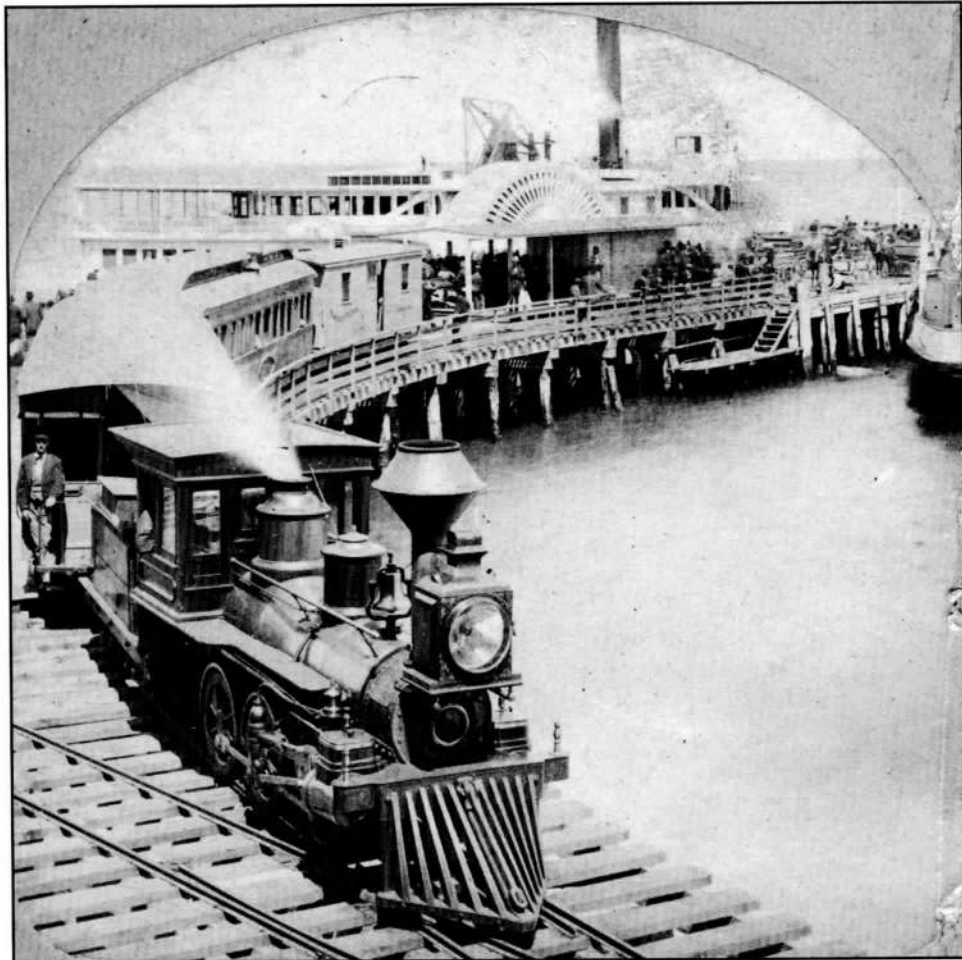


Sea View House, Regatta Day, Oak Bluffs, by C.H. Shute & Son.

### **Oak Bluffs, The Cottage City**

By 1866 only one building of consequence had appeared outside the limits of the Wesleyan Grove campgrounds, the tintype saloon of Enoch Cornell. That year, the Oak Bluffs Land and Wharf Company bought 75 acres near the campgrounds with the objective of developing a summer resort. Advertisements would later proclaim: "Oak Bluffs, the Cottage City of America, is the most attractive watering-place in the world." Crowds of people came to attend the camp meeting services and also to participate in the activities at Oak Bluffs.

Photographers were drawn to the Island for this new business opportunity. Itinerant photographers provided views for publishers, often without being credited. Several photographers, such as the Kilburn



Train at Oak Bluffs Wharf, by Woodward & Son.

Brothers, Prescott & White and J.S. Mitchell, published Martha's Vineyard views after visiting the Island for a short period of time. James Crittenden moved his off-island studio from New Bedford to Fall River in the early 1860s, but continued to provide stereoscopic views of Wesleyan Grove. In 1868, Crittenden sold his studio to Alexander C. Brownell. Brownell was a professional photographer, who had started as an assistant to Luther Hale in Boston. Brownell published stereoscopic views of Martha's Vineyard until he moved his off-island studio to Providence, Rhode Island in 1875. Three summer studios were established on the Wesleyan Grove campgrounds. Charles Shute and Richard Shute set up their studio at Montgomery Square. William F. Woodward with his sons, Richard and James, also set up a studio at Montgomery Square.



Oak Bluffs promenade, by Woodward & Son.

Joseph W. Warren, a carpenter and photographer in Fall River, set up a studio at Commonwealth Square. Two summer studios were established in the Oak Bluffs development. Enoch Cornell, who had the first summer studio in Oak Bluffs, set up a new studio on Penacook Avenue in 1868. Stephen F. Adams, a professional photographer, had started his career in 1865, as an assistant to the Bierstadt Brothers in New Bedford. Adams bought their New Bedford studio in 1867 and set up a summer studio on Circuit Avenue in 1869.

The photographer, when working away from his studio, had to bring his supplies and a darkroom with him. The photographic plate had to be prepared at the site before it could be used in the camera. In the first step, a transparent membrane was formed on a sheet of clear glass, by applying



Bridge & harbor light, from Stereoscopic Views of Edgartown, No. 1, by C.H. Shute & Son.

a mixture of fast-drying chemicals. Next, in the wagon's dark enclosure, the photographer immersed the coated glass plate in a chemical bath of silver nitrate to make it sensitive to light. The wet plate was then covered in a plate holder. After exposure the plate holder was removed from the camera and quickly returned to the dark enclosure. The photographer had to work quickly while the plate was still wet; it would be useless if it dried out. The exposed plate was then processed, by placing it in a series of waiting chemical solutions. Developer was followed by a fixer, which was used to remove unexposed silver, and a final bath of water to clean the plate. The glass plate was dried inside the wagon to reduce the likelihood of airborne dust settling into the negative, which would produce defects in the final print. Photographers usually worked in pairs, one processing the photographic plate in the



Broadway from Jeremiah T. Pease's Cottage, by C.H. Shute & Son, from Winter Views of Wesleyan Camp Ground Series, No. 11.

dark enclosure, the other taking the picture with the camera.

Scenes from around the Island were photographed but to a lesser extent than at Wesleyan Grove and Oak Bluffs. C. H. Shute & Son advertised: "We have the best assortment of Stereoscopic Views of Camp Ground, Oak Bluffs, Highlands, Edgartown, Katama, Gay Head, and the celebrated Views of a Whaling Voyage; price \$2.50 per doz.\*"

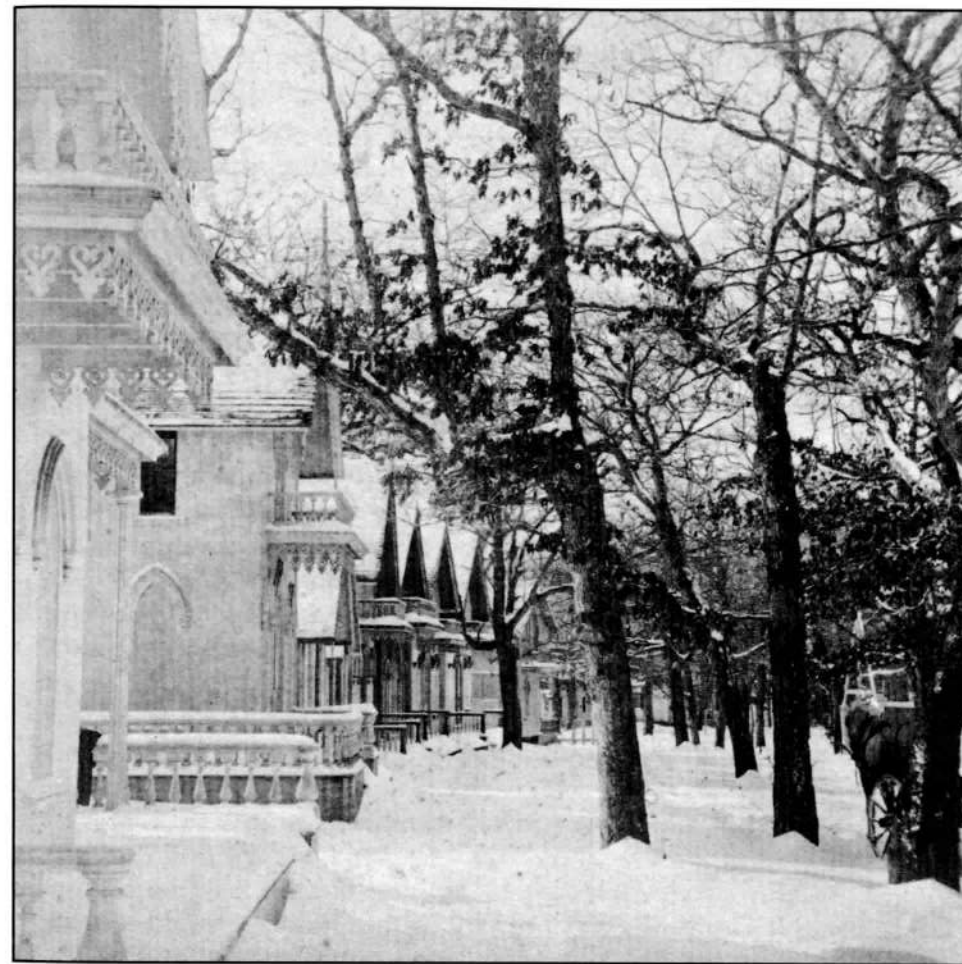
Outdoor photography was a seasonal business on Martha's Vineyard. However, Charles and Richard Shute had the opportunity to take pictures after a snowstorm (above) on January 30th, 1873.

\* The stereoscopic views of a whaling voyage were staged indoors and considered so lifelike that they might easily be mistaken for actual scenes at sea. For more information see Alvin Goldwyn's article in the *Intelligencer*, May 1988.



Bridge & harbor light, from Stereoscopic Views of Edgartown, No. 1, by C.H. Shute & Son.

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### Progress in photographic technique and the decline of Stereoscopic views

The popularity of the stereoscopic view reached its peak in 1873. That year, the worst depression in the nation's history occurred. In the next few years, the demand for stereoscopic views dropped dramatically. By the early 1880s, new technologies such as the gelatin dry plate process, the print enlarger, and gravure and halftone printing techniques made the stereoscopic view effectively obsolete. They began to make a comeback in the late 1880s, due to door-to-door sales of stereoscopes, and the use of mass production printing techniques. However, the resurgence in interest did not occur on Martha's Vineyard. Picture postcards and picture portfolios replaced stereoscopic views as the favorite photographic souvenirs.



*The photographs shown in this article are single views from stereoscopic pairs. It has been the prime consideration, for historical accuracy, to reproduce them in their original condition. They have been enlarged, but have not been cropped or retouched.*

*All images in this article are from the collection of Peter A. Jones. The MVM has an extensive collection of glass plate, daguerreotype and stereoscopic images. Within the collection are photographs by C.H. Shute and J.N. Chamberlain, among other early photographers.*

#### *Sources for this article:*

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### WE GET MAIL:

## Lines Written in Praise to Three Young Island Historians

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*The editor received a copy of a letter sent to the three students whose work was published in the Fall 2009 Intelligencer. The following was sent to Ian Trip, Jack Shannon and Will Stewart:*

As Martha's Vineyard Museum members, my husband and I recently received a copy of the *Dukes County Intelligencer* containing your research papers as a special section. We found all three articles informative and fascinating to read. We were both impressed with the amount of research all of you did for this assignment. We own a cottage in Oak Bluffs built in 1880 where we summer each year, so we are naturally interested and intrigued by the island's history. Your essays certainly reflect this same fascination with the history of Martha's Vineyard.

We would like to compliment you on the professional quality of your writing and your commitment to preserving the Vineyard's unique history. We look forward to reading more articles written by you and your classmates in future editions of the *Intelligencer*.

Al and Joan Eville  
Watchung, N.J.  
and Oak Bluffs

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A Letter from the Director:

## Making Difficult Choices, and Looking to a Brighter Future

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To All Our Membership:

It is challenging to remain positive facing today's financial realities. All organizations — and nonprofits in particular — are forced to make difficult choices. At the Martha's Vineyard Museum, one of my first tasks was to develop a budget that keeps to our mission to preserve, protect and present the varied history of Martha's Vineyard, while being fiscally responsible. Every dollar must be used in the most effective way possible.

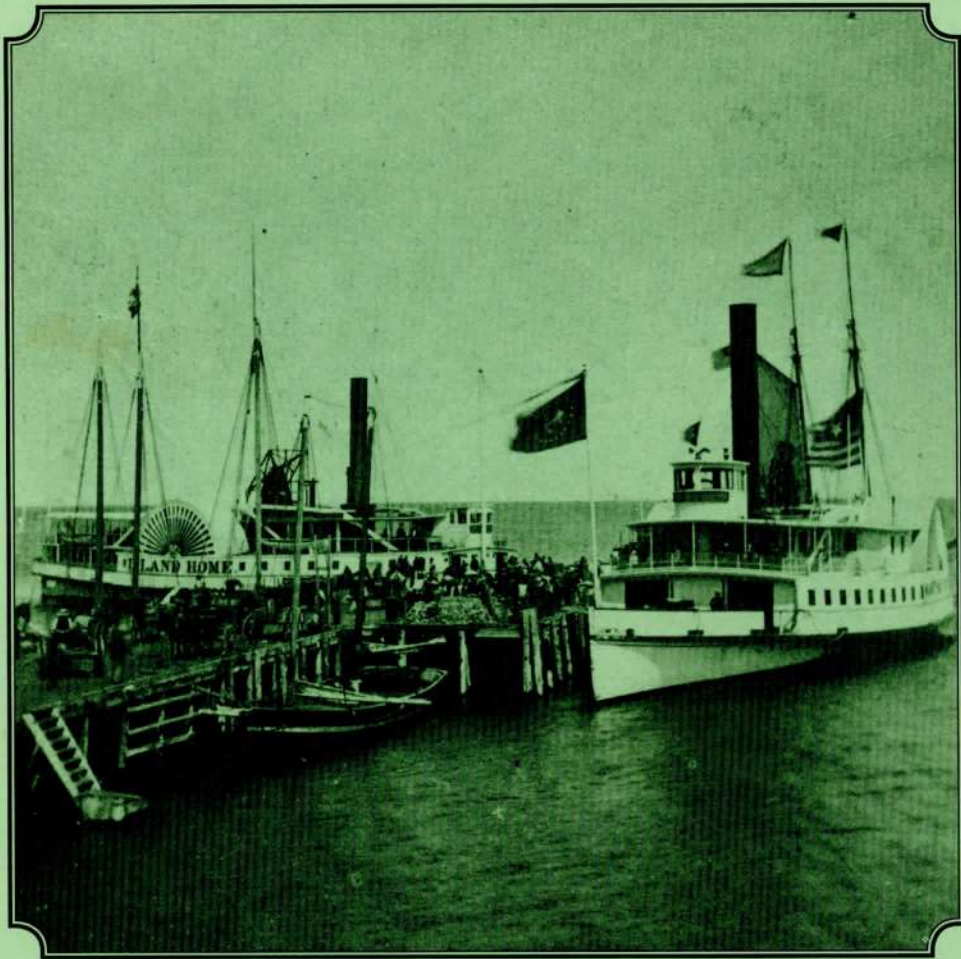
Given all that we need to accomplish in 2010, we are only able to produce two *Dukes County Intelligencers*: this one and another this summer. Be assured, however, that the *Intelligencer* will continue to be a high quality journal—informative, entertaining, evocative and detailed. Nevertheless, inspiring and engaging membership remains a high priority, and the Museum will publish three *Messengers* between May and October. As MVM's newsletter, the *Messenger* is the best tool for us to both inform current members and attract new members as it includes timely stories of the Museum's exhibits, accessions, programs and events.

We hope by 2011 that we see a brighter economic future and that you will continue to be a loyal supporter of the Museum and its mission.

If you have any questions, please write me at the museum or via email at [dnathans@mvmuseum.org](mailto:dnathans@mvmuseum.org) or call 508-627-4441, ext 122.

David Nathans  
Executive Director

SUPPORT for the *Dukes County Intelligencer* is always welcome. Please make your tax deductible contribution to the Martha's Vineyard Museum. If you enjoy receiving the *Intelligencer*, consider making a gift of membership to a family member or friend so that they too can enjoy the journal of the Martha's Vineyard Museum, as well as all the other benefits of membership. See our website, [www.mvmuseum.org](http://www.mvmuseum.org) for more information about how you can support our work.



View of the steamship landing in Oak Bluffs, number 76 in the set of stereopticon images by C.H. Shute & Son, "Views of the Camp Ground, Oak Bluffs, and Highlands."