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CHRISTIAN INDIANS OF COLONIAL MASSACHUSETTS

BY DR. SIDNEY N. RIGGS

Historians frequently show personal or political prejudices. This is understandable in primary sources, when the writers are also contemporary observers, but it is unfortunate when it is found in those who reconstruct events in the past.

The Indians of early colonial days were not all vicious and inhuman fiends, neither were they all noble red men. Either generalization is against human nature, and the Indians were humans.

Our early colonists had vices as well as virtues. All of the seventeenth century settlers were not fleeing from religious persecution. Some were adventurers or just a step ahead of the law.

John Bradford writes of the morals in those early days in the Pilgrim colony of Plymouth:

"Marvelous it may be to see and consider how some kind of wickedness did grow and break forth here —

"One reason may be, that the devil may carry greater spite against the churches of Christ and the Gospel here, by how much more they endeavor to preserve holiness and purity amongst them. I would rather think thus, that Satan hath more power in these heathen lands, as some hath thought, than in the more Christian nations, especially over God's servants in them.

"Another reason may be, that it may be in this case as it is with waters when their streams are stopped or dammed up, when they get passage they flow with more violence, and make more noise and disturbance, than when they are suffered to run quietly in their own channels. So wickedness being here more stopped by strict laws, and the same more nearly looked into, so as it cannot run in a common road of liberty as it would, and is inclined, it searches everywhere, and at last breaks out where it gets vent.

"A third reason may be, here (as I am verily persuaded) is not more evils of this kind, nor nothing near so many by proportion, as in other places, but they are here more discovered and seen, and made public by due search, inquisition, and due punishment. For the churches look narrowly to their members, and the magistrates over all, more strictly than in other places. Besides, here the people are but few in comparison with other places, which are full and populous, and lie hid, as it were in a wood or thicket, and many horrible evils by that means are never seen, nor known."

This much for the Pilgrims in Plymouth. For a view of crime and vice in those early days the Records of the Court of Assistants, Colony of the Massachusetts Bay show how some of the folks about Boston behaved, or misbehaved.

Both Indians and Englishmen were products of their environment, background, training and place in history. Both had good and evil in their communities and have need for our understanding.

The Puritan forefathers governed themselves by the discipline of the Old Testament. This was severe but in many cases more gentle than the laws and customs of the mother country. They believed they were chosen to make the New World their own, as the Israelites were chosen to inherit the land of Canaan.

They quoted Psalms 11:8 "Ask of Me, and I shall give thee, the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possessions."

Another favorite was Psalms 72:8-9 "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth. They that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him; and his enemies shall lick the dust."

The Indians did not share this feeling any more than did the Canaanites. The Great Spirit gave them the land for their use and conservation. If it had not been for devastating plagues that wiped out entire tribes the red men might well have destroyed the English as fast as they landed. The famous Squanto was the only survivor of his tribe. This was solely because he had been kidnapped and taken to England. He was the other side of the "Great Water" when all who were dear to him died.

There was some feeble resistance. Miles Standish was given a bundle of new arrows wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake. Squanto told him it was a threat and a challenge. The little captain filled the skin with powder and bullets, handed it to the reluctant messenger with the message that the English came in peace but if the Indians wanted trouble they could have it. Canonicus, of the Narragansetts, declined to touch the "magic" and sent it back with his regrets.

The early settlers had a threefold argument for their possession of the land. It was a gift from the Almighty, a gift from their king as well as a purchase from Indian sachems.

The Indians knew little about exclusive ownership of land. When the English "bought their lands, peltry and labor, and paid in 'truck', cheap clothes, fire arms, and fire-water — they carried on with them a system of deception and extortion which we, in our reverence for the Puritans and Pilgrims, can hardly realize as possible." This is a statement of the Reverend George H. Bodge.

But all did not act in this manner. There were a few men with highly developed, (I hope we can say modern), ideas of Christianity, who did their best to help the Indians.

In 1646 the General Court of Massachusetts passed an "Act for the Propagation of the Gospel Amongst the Indians" and recommended that the elders of the churches take action.

July 27, 1649, Oliver Cromwell saw to the passing of an ordinance in the "Long Parliament" forming "A Corporation for the

Promoting and Propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England". Nearly 12,000 pounds was collected and invested.

On his restoration, Charles II annulled this act. The letters of Daniel Gookin and the on-the-spot efforts of the Honorable Robert Boyle resulted in the reestablishment of the act with a royal charter and funds to be sent to the colonies. It might be said that Boyle, who is responsible for Boyles Law, was an expert on pressure.

The problem of Christianizing the Indians seemed to be nearly insurmountable:

The Indians were slow to substitute a new faith for one they had been taught by their mothers and by their pow-wows.

Their old religion promised perpetual spring, plenty of game, and perfect happiness in the life to come. This new religion could do no more.

The Indians seldom decided anything without long delays, deep thought and much discussion. This was time consuming and often non-productive.

They distrusted all strangers: What are the white men's real motives? Do they love us as they pretend? Are they trying to exploit us in this, as in their other deals? They are selfish among themselves, how can we expect them to be generous with us?

Then there was the language difficulty. There was no written form, no similarity of sounds, word roots or grammar. The Indians had little notion of learning the impossible English, beyond the amount necessary for trade.

John Eliot of Roxbury and Thomas Mayhew, Junior, of Martha's Vineyard realized that the "Word" must be given to the red men in their own tongue. Each one busied himself to learn to speak in Wampanoag grammatically. It was fortunate that each one was scholar enough to do this efficiently.

Eliot hired old Job Nesutan to live with his family and teach him the Wampanoag tongue. He acquired a preaching knowledge in a few months. Mayhew's progress was equally rapid and efficient.

Eliot's first attempt to preach was at Nonantum, now Newton, on October 28, 1646. Waban, "The Wind," "a wise and grave man but no sachem" led him to a large lodge where many Indians were gathered, curious to hear about this new thing.

After a prayer, Eliot explained the Ten Commandments and the many times seven-fold curse of God on all who disobeyed. Leviticus 26: 14 to 39 must have been strong medicine to use in coaxing anyone to be a Christian. He told of Jesus: who He was, where He had gone, how He will come to judge the world in flaming fire. Again very strong talk.

In all, he held them about an hour, just about the length of a well regulated modern service. Certainly much shorter than the services then current in Puritan New England.

He asked if they had any questions. These were a few:

How could he know all this about Jesus?

Were the English ever as ignorant of Jesus as the Indians now are?

Could Jesus understand their prayers in Wampanoag?

Why should a little child suffer for the evils of his father as told in the second commandment?

How could there be so many different people on the earth if all but one man's family were drowned?

Why should the English be told so much more than the red men if God was the father of them all?

Why was sea water salt and brook water fresh?

We have not been told, but Eliot's science must have been as well learned as his theology because there were two more meetings. The third one was poorly attended because of the objections of the sachems and pow-wows. Cutshamokin claimed that the Indians who came to the services no longer paid him tribute. The pow-wows could not tolerate any threat to the ancient faith.

Wampas, and several others, brought their children to learn these new things. Eliot decided that there must be a school established, but realized "The Indians must be civilized as well as, if not in order to their being Christianized."

The only answer was to set up a village, away from the distracting influence of antagonistic red men, and live the life of Christians.

About a hundred of the Indians at Nonantum requested that the first settlement be located near their village. They chose "The Place of Hills" which in their language was Natick. Six thousand acres were granted by the General Court of Massachusetts. When the Indians asked how they were to be governed, Eliot quoted Exodus 18:21, the advice Laban gave when his son in law Moses asked the same question.

"Moreover thou shalt provide out of the people, able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness: and place such over them to be rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens."

On November 26, 1646 a ruler took command of the hundred or so Indians of Natick. He was assisted by rulers of fifties and rulers of tens.

A Covenant was drawn up and a code of laws that provided punishment for offenses ranging from idleness and promiscuity to the style of hair-do and the manner of dress.

Shortly after this six more Indian towns were established along the same lines. These were located in what is now Stoughton, Marlboro, Littleton, Grafton, Tewksbury and Hopkinton.

Then seven more towns were organized in the Nipmuck territory to the west. One of the outstanding literary events of history was Eliot's translation of the Bible into Nipmuck. These towns were located at Oxford, Worcester, Dudley, Nashaway and three around Woodstock, now in Connecticut. In all there were about 1150 Praying Indians.

On Martha's Vineyard, three years before this time, Thomas Mayhew, Junior, made his first important conversion, that of Hiacoomes. In 1670, twenty seven years later, this convert was ordained preacher.

All four of the missionary Mayhews, (Thomas, Thomas Junior, John and Experience) recognized the need for learning to speak the language of the red man. There are a number of documents in the Dukes County Historical Society collection which show how Experience Mayhew aided his flock in matters both temporal and spiritual.

On Chappaquiddick the sachem Pahkehpunnassoo objected to Hiacoomes' influence on his tribe. On one occasion he beat the Christian Indian. A few days later, while the sachem was mending the chimney on his house, a bolt of lightning struck and killed his helper. Pahkehpunnassoo was pulled out of the fire by one of Hiacoomes' converts.

Whether it was the Christian act of saving him from burning or the strong medicine of the white man's God, we do not know but very soon after this he was converted.

Thomas Mayhew, Jr., said, "At last he was a brand plucked out of the fire."

Miohqsoo of Nope argued with Hiacoomes, "Why should I trade 37 gods for the white man's one?"

Hiacoomes replied that he had thrown away those, and many more, and was better off for so doing.

Miohqsoo finally decided to make the same generous bargain and became an active Christian. One of his sons sailed with Mayhew, on that ill fated ship, in 1657.

The real test of the value of Christianizing the Indians came during the King Philip's War in 1675-1677. This was the bloodiest of all colonial New England struggles.

Daniel Gookin says: "Upon the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, in which two islands there inhabit many of them that visibly profess the Gospel. These Indians have felt little of this war, comparatively; for the English that dwell upon those Islands have held good correspondence with these Indians all the time of the war, as they did before the war began."

What was the picture on the mainland?

Each of the fourteen Christian towns had a garrison house constructed on the advice of experts in English fortification. The towns were strategically located to form a defense half circle

about Boston and Plymouth and the Indians offered their services as scouts and fighters. When Major Gookin and Benjamin Church urged that this be accepted, the authorities condemned Gookin and Church as Indian lovers. The Christian Indians were treated so badly that many of them had no choice but find safety with the hostiles fighting under Metacom (Philip).

A few incidents show how the Christian Indians served when permitted to do so:

John Sassamon, a former pupil of Eliot's, Harvard trained and ordained as preacher, came to the English with information about Philip's plans to exterminate the whites. When Philip was summoned to appear at Plymouth, he denied any thought of harm to the colonists. When he returned to Mount Hope he held a council and condemned John Sassamon to death as a traitor red man. Three Indians were sent to carry out the sentence.

They found Sassamon fishing through the ice at the edge of Assawompsett Pond. They knocked him in the head and shoved his body under the ice. The murderers were finally apprehended, sentenced and executed by the English.

Philip's young sanops then demanded action and finally took matters into their own hands at Swansea, Sunday, June 20, 1675. This anticipated Philip's plans by about a year. By being premature they may have saved the colonies from extermination.

Waban, who arranged for Eliot's first sermon to the Indians, warned of the attack which was made, dating it by the full leafing of the maples. The warning was ignored.

Old Job Nesutan, who taught Eliot, served with the English and was killed in action early in the war. He was 86 years old.

The chief element in successful Indian warfare was secrecy and silence of movement. If the Christian Indians had been permitted to serve early in the war, to the degree in which they wished to help, history would have been changed.

Bodge writes: "It is probable that nearly all of the fearful disasters which came to our troops, and the many defeats and disappointments might have been prevented, but for the stupid prejudice and distrust which shut out the willing service of the Christian Indians."

Some of the leaders in the colonies were in favor of this cooperation but were overruled by the prejudiced, and often panicky, majority.

As scouts, the Indians were superb. Connecticut troops depended upon them and avoided ambush and loss in battle. The scouts insisted on travelling silently in thin lines with flanking Indians to prevent ambush. The Massachusetts soldiers tramped in compact masses, ignored the need for silence, and in many cases either had no scouts or ignored their advice.

On one of the marches into hostile territory an English soldier wore squeaky shoes. The Indian scout insisted on his re-

moving them and exchanging for his moccasins. The scout went barefoot with the soldier's shoes slung on his back.

In another case the Indian scout refused to move until one soldier, who wore leather breeches, either removed them or soaked them in water so they wouldn't rustle as he walked.

Time after time the Christian Indian scouts would try to prevent the English from blundering into ambush in pursuit of "hostiles" that looked like fair game. When the English were trapped their scouts fought bravely to save them and many died in the attempt.

The history of King Philip's War shows repeated ambushes and the inability of the English to learn. The hostile Indians were aware of this and concentrated their attacks on the strictly white troops or those from Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. Mixed troops and soldiers from Connecticut with Christian Indian scouts were avoided when possible.

Authorities on this war have stated that the use of Indian allies would have reduced the losses suffered by the colonies, if not preventing the war. As it was, 13 towns were destroyed, hundreds of outlying houses and barns were burned. Six hundred soldiers died in action and many non combatants massacred or taken into captivity. The story of Mary Rowlandson and 37 others from Lancaster is a well known example.

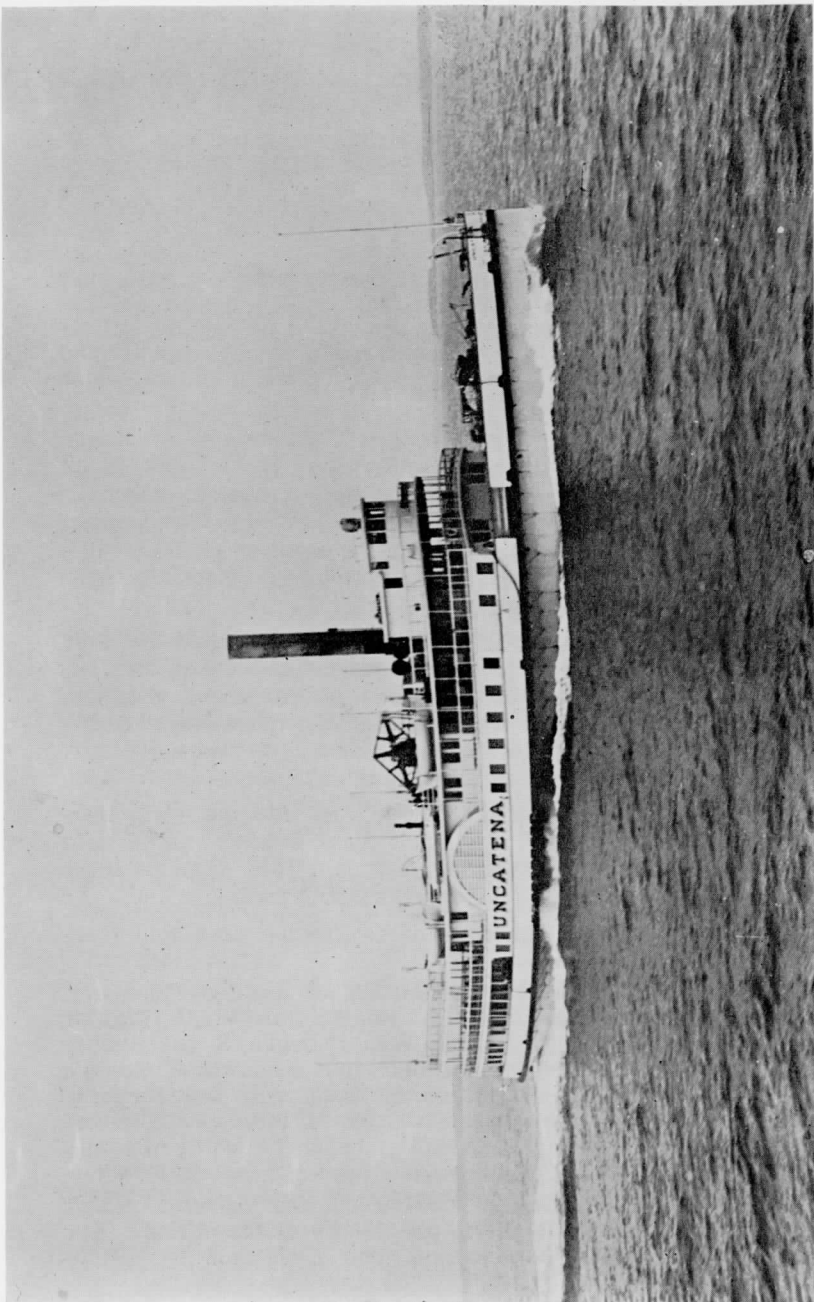
The few cases where Christian Indians were trusted are indicative of what might have been expected. Connecticut used its red men as allies. With the exception of one small incident, the colony was never entered by hostile Indians. Benjamin Church was able to secure most of the area occupied by the "Cape Indians" because he trusted them and won their allegiance.

In the Washington Cathedral, as one goes into the north transept, he can see on the left a stained glass window placed as a memorial to great missionaries of all time. John Eliot is there and so is Thomas Mayhew, Jr. of Martha's Vineyard.

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* In the archives of the Dukes County Historical Society. Bodge and Church, as well as Banks in the library of the author. The Society library is open for research, upon application.



Last of the sidewheelers on the island run was the steamer UNCATENA, 652 tons, 178 feet long. She was built in 1902 and was the first steel hulled vessel for the line. Her last trip was in the summer of 1928 and she then was tied up in New Bedford until she was sold in 1930 for excursion trips between Boston and Nantasket Beach.

RECOLLECTIONS OF MANY YEARS

BY ARTHUR W. DAVIS

Born in Chilmark, I have distinct recollections of the community from about 1894 until 1914 when I moved to Edgartown. Chilmark people derived their living from pound and lobster fishing mostly, with some subsistence farming. The inhabitants of the town were not very rich but neither were they very poor. The standard form of investment was the savings bank, particularly the banks in New Bedford. Money was accumulated in savings banks only for emergencies and special needs. Stocks were unthought of, and Wall Street was very much detached from the local living. The cost of living was very low. A dollar's worth of sugar at the local store would be about all a strong boy could carry home. If a deceased person left his widow ten thousand dollars in savings banks with a free and clear dwelling the livelihood of the widow was assured. It is these things which indicate the terrific erosions of the dollar value.

The Western end of the town was afforded one school called the Menemsha School. It was a single room school with benches on one side of the room for boys and on the other side for girls. Two sat in a seat and a hinged cover revealed compartments below. I distinctly recollect Miss Lois Blatchford who operated the school very successfully. Other teachers at times had a problem of discipline. I remember that the superintendent, Mr. Andrew Averill, came to the school room and talked to the children particularly in their relations to the teachers. The children drank fresh water from a bucket which was produced from a spring near the school house. All used a tin dipper. The town subsequently invested the taxpayer's money in modern seats and modern school desks.

As a boy, I remember the Chairman of the Selectmen, Mr. Francis Mayhew. In conversation he would take a pensive attitude somewhat like Rodin's Thinker. He was a solid New Englander. After his death, he was succeeded by the late Henry H. Allen.

Recollections of past events come to mind. The impact of the Federal Government on the people in Chilmark was very little. Practically the only interest was in the Presidential election. I remember the second election of William McKinley. His opponent was W. Jennings Bryant and the rhymes which circulated among the school children were much like those of the VanBuren - Harrison contest. Bryant had run on a platform calling for the free coinage of silver but this was in the nineties. The Federal Government would send around free seeds to the farmers through the Agricultural Department. The first bill was vetoed by Grover Cleveland who said something about the people supporting the Government, not the Government the people. This was much before the modern expansion of the Agricultural Department.

The people of Chilmark used to gather at a store owned and operated by E. Elliot Mayhew who had a sign on his building which

proclaimed that he was the dealer of almost everything. The qualification was the word "almost." Mr. Mayhew ran the Post Office. At night people gathered waiting for their newspapers and letters. They were often delayed by the bad roads. I remember that Mr. Mayhew had a picture in his store which showed two dogs; one standing over a deceased canine. The legend was "Good Trust is dead. Bad Pay killed him." There was one newspaper in those days called the *Utica Globe*. The front page was decorated with a color cartoon. The newspaper was filled with scandal and crime. Those were the days of weekly newspapers. A publication, circulated on the Vineyard was also the Republican Standard.

Most of the people of the town were Republicans. In those days, the Republican's slogan was the "full dinner pail." This was based on the Protective Tariff, and it was the first time that I realized that a policy of government was directed at individual welfare.

I remember my father coming home one night and saying President McKinley had been assassinated in Buffalo. He was succeeded by Theodore Roosevelt. During the second term of William McKinley down through 1908, the country enjoyed a considerable prosperity. But the cost of living advanced. Gold had been discovered in South Africa and it was thought that the production due to the quantitative theory of gold had advanced prices. The cost of living did cause some difficulty, and I remember my father saying that it was found that American beef was selling in England for less than in the markets in this country. There was a great demand for the lowering of the tariff. I remember that a relative of President William H. Taft came to Menemsha and my father telling her that he hoped Mr. Taft would do something to reduce the cost of living. The tariff reduction, which was thought to bring this about, was a disappointment and the Republicans were supplanted by the Democrats. But when the cost of living decreased, there was a reaction to the high business activity and in 1913 when Woodrow Wilson took office, everything was at a low ebb. At the time, I was in Boston University and I remember the parade of the unemployed who marched from City Hall to the Mechanics Building for a mass meeting. The sight was a most distressing one. There was a short panic in 1908 which was principally in the stock market but which was relieved rather quickly by the issuance of the Clearing House receipts.

I entered Boston University and some of the professors stand out in my mind. Professor Frank L. Simpson taught Torts. Mr. Simpson was a very scholarly man and also took considerable time with his analysis of deciding cases. Professor Bowen taught Real Property and was considered an authority on the subject. I think that the best lecturer was Henry Sawyer, at one time a partner of Senator Stone.

I recollect the campaign of 1912 in Boston and the speech of David I. Walsh deploring particularly Southern competition for Northern textile mills.

After graduating from Boston University Law School, I came to Edgartown. When first here, I remember Judge Dunham who was a very learned man. He had graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Amherst and was Judge of Probate. Beriah T. Hillman was Register of Probate. Mr. Hillman had studied law with Judge Dunham and was admitted to the Bar by a committee appointed by the court. He served as Register of Probate until his death in 1925. Upon the resignation of Judge Dunham, Everett Allen Davis was appointed his successor and I succeeded Judge Davis when he died in 1929. Judge Davis was a graduate of Columbia Law School in the days of the famous Dean Dwight and was a classmate of Lewis Marshall who became a quite famous Constitutional lawyer. Both Mr. Hillman and Judge Davis practiced law in the county.

Another lawyer that I remember in the past was Charles Brown of Tisbury. Mr. Brown was a graduate of Dartmouth and something of a Latin scholar. His ability was considerable and was combined with a capacity to speak well. With more diligence and under different circumstances, Mr. Brown could have been one of the outstanding lawyers of the Commonwealth. I can just remember Mr. Keniston who was Clerk of Courts, because he died when I was in Law School.

THE DEPUTY GOVERNOR OF MARTHA'S VINEYARD

BY DR. CHARLES E. BANKS

It has been said with some wisdom that the hand which rocks the cradle rules the land. This figure of speech signifies the important function in our social system devolving upon the mothers and daughters of the land. It means that indirectly the mother keeps her hands to the wheel of the ship of state through her children, and the influences they carry from her guidance of them in infancy and youth. It does not often come to pass that women actually rule the land, directly, though we have frequent ancient and modern instances of this condition, in the hereditary monarchies, where daughters succeed to the throne and wisely guide the destinies of the nations under their rule.

Occasionally, as in the circumstances which I shall relate, the power "behind the throne" is a woman, and it happened to be the case on this island in the early days of its settlement. The old Governor Mayhew brought with him to his new possessions a young family by his second wife, and of all the daughters, Hannah, his first born, seemed to be his favorite. She was born June 15, 1635, in Medford, where the father then lived, and was about 10 years of age when she came to live in Edgartown.

With such meager records as are available for the antiquary at this day to construct a story of the male population at that time, it becomes a much more difficult task to build up a chapter about a girl of that period, who had not reached her "teens." Those who read this can as well as the writer conjecture what the life of such a girl would have been in this straggling settlement, on the edge of civilization. We only knew that she grew up, and because she did this story is possible.

At the age of 18 her name appears upon the records in 1653, when she is in the list of owners of the lots divided to the proprietors. She is the only female in the list, and I take it that her father gave her a share of land as a "portion" upon her coming of age. This may be said to be the beginning of her career as a public personage.

About four years later she surrendered her name to Thomas Daggett, but from subsequent views which we can obtain of her it was about the only thing she surrendered. It could be fairly stated that Thomas Daggett was merely the husband of Hannah Mayhew. She was the Governor's favorite daughter and she knew it.

In the course of events 10 little Daggetts came along and we might reasonably suppose that this quiver full would furnish her with sufficient domestic business without participating in the affairs of man. For a score of years she had a young child to bring up, and the reader can better appreciate this statement than a mere man. But not so with Hannah Mayhew Daggett. She was the business woman of the new settlement.

Twenty real estate transactions are of record under her name and she did the business herself and would not be carried down to posterity under the designation of "and wife of the said Thomas Daggett." This was an unusual condition in those days, and the husband made the best of the situation, though with some probably mental resistance, and maybe overt acts of resistance to his domestic extinguishment. It appears that he could not be restrained from an attempt at exercising his control of the property of his wife, for in those days the husband owned all that his wife brought with her at marriage and there are frequent references in wills of the husband bequeathing to his prospective widow clothing and furniture "which are her's."

So Thomas Daggett must have undertaken to assert his prerogatives, after 20 years of married life, for there is on record a curious document comprising a "promise" of Thomas Daggett to Governor Mayhew, in 1679, not to meddle with his wife's property. It was the only known time when Thomas Daggett essayed to manage his wife's affairs. The old Governor refers to it in his will, as follows: — "My son Daggett hath given a note under his hand not to meddle with aught" of Hannah's property.

That such a woman could not confine her energies to rocking the cradle must be apparent to all. And she did not, at least in the estimation of the people of the Vineyard, if we may believe a contemporary writer.

In a letter to the Governor of New York, Simon Athearn of Tisbury was rehearsing the social and political troubles of himself and neighbors, and in the course of his statements made the following allusion to Hannah. "Thomas Daggett's wife, Mr. Mayhew's daughter (which woman the people of Martins Vineyard very generally call the deputy governor)". Here we have it in black and white in the year 1675, Hannah Mayhew Daggett, Deputy Governor of Martha's Vineyard, by the voice of the people! We know from all obtainable evidence that she had been governor of her own affairs for many years. There is no intimation that she occupied her high office to the detriment of her subjects, but there is a suggestion that she was not the unanimous choice of the islanders. All this while Thomas Daggett had been holding the office of assistant to the Governor, and theoretically "ruling the land" but no one can have any illusions as to the real "power behind the throne."

In his will Governor Mayhew handsomely remembered this favorite daughter, giving her one half of the tract known as Chickemmo, on the North Shore, three eighths of Naushon, numerous division lots in Edgartown and a quarter of all his landed estate not specifically bequeathed to others.

Deputy Governor Hannah Daggett, as "the people of Martins Vineyard very generally" called her, was at the date of her father's death, about 46 years of age, and the mother of 10 boys and girls two of whom at least had reached manhood and their majority.

How long she continued to exercise the unwritten duties of her office does not appear, but we may surmise that her nephew, Matthew, who succeeded to the practical duties of his grandfather, was not so amenable to the petticoat assistance as the aged governor. At any rate we hear no more talk about our deputy governor after this. She may have so peacefully ruled the concern that even Matthew did not know he was being controlled, or she may have wisely abdicated when she saw it was not prudent for her to be the Warwick of two administrations.

It is unfortunate that we have no portrait of her husband — a character sketch of the man whose name she bore for nigh 40 years. In an obituary notice of her son of the same name, Parson Homes records that "he was a peaceful man and well inclined." It seems fair to conclude that the son reflects the parent, and that Thomas Daggett, husband of Deputy Governor Hannah Mayhew, was also "a peaceful man and well inclined." Such traits were not inherited from this masterful woman who began at the age of 18 to be a manager of her own concerns, and held her place in the affairs of the day, despite the social prejudices of that period regarding the participation of women in public business.

Thomas Daggett died in 1691, and she remained a widow for over 10 years, when she took upon herself the burdens and obligations of a second husband, Samuel Smith of Edgartown. She was then about 70 years of age, and it is a tribute to her character that a second candidate for her affection should be forthcoming in the evening of her career. She continued to manage her property interests just the same and when she had reached the age of 75, made her will "just like a man" but that formality did not mark the end of her career. She survived for 13 years more, and early in 1723, probably, her estate was settled by the court.

She had lived 80 years and had seen grown up around her a large family of children, and witnessed a feeble seaside settlement develop into a thriving and well organized government comprising a thousand souls. No stone marks her resting place, but she undoubtedly is buried in the "acre" at Tower Hill.

This paper was read at the Edgartown Public Library in 1904 at the unveiling of a bronze memorial tablet to the founders of Edgartown.—Editor.