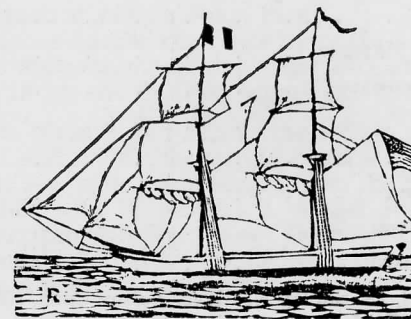


THE DUKES COUNTY INTELLIGENCER

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JOURNAL OF A CRUISE ON BOARD PRIVATEER *YANKEE*
KEPT BY GOLDEN DEARTH, CLERK (1813)

QUAKER INTRUDERS ON MARTHA'S VINEYARD
BY ROBERT J. LEACH

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JOURNAL OF A CRUISE ON BOARD PRIVATEER YANKEE

KEPT BY GOLDEN DEARTH, CLERK (1813)

Journal of a Cruise on board the private Armed Brigantine *Yankee*¹⁾ Commenced September 10th 1813, commanded by Thomas Jones, kept by Golden Dearth Clerk²⁾ Brig *Yankee*.

Edited with notes by Eleanor Ransom Mayhew from MS in Archives of Dukes County Historical Society.

Harbour of Newport, R. I.
September 10, 1813.

At 9 A. M. the Commander came on board and gave orders for getting under weigh, when obedient to commands

"Uptorn, reluctant, from his ouzy cave
"The ponderous anchor rises o'er the wave.
"Along the slippery masts the yards ascend,
"And high in air the Canvass wings extend."

On passing Forts Wolcott and Adams the welkin ring with the roar of our Cannon: and amid the parting cheers of a number of our Friends, stood to sea, with a fine breeze from the Sd. and Westward, and clear weather. At ¼ past 11 a. m. off Rhode Island Light, boarded the American Ship *Iris*, Avery Master, 45 days from Lisbon, with a Cargo of Salt, bound to Providence. After a short examination of his papers suffered him to proceed. At Meridian stood on our course.

Saturday, Sept. 11th

Commences with a continuation of clear weather and fine breezes from the S. & W. At 4 p.m. passed Noman's Land, distance 5 Leagues. Discovered no sail. Nothing material occurs.

The last of Columbia, with the rays of departing day, sunk from our view; and old Neptune seemed to welcome us to the Ocean, wafting us with gentle gales and a smooth surface on our destined course.

Latitude observed 40° . . . 16' North₃)
Longitude in 69° . . . 11' West

Sunday, Sept. 12th

This 24 hours commence with light winds from the S. & W. At 4 p.m. had all hands stationed at their quarters — our Articles of Agreement read⁴⁾, and also the Laws of the United States regulating Privateers Letters of Marque, etc.⁵⁾ At daylight the man at masthead, descried a sail, standing to the N. & East'd. Immediately took in steering sails, and hauled our wind in chace. Con-

tinued the chase till Meridian (both being on a wind) when a large ship hove in sight on our weather bow. Finding ourselves approaching the mouth of Boston Bay, and the Brig sailing very fast (having gained but about 5 miles on her in 7 hours) it was mutually adjudged most expedient to relinquish chase of the Brig and pursue the ship. End with strong breezes and heavy sea.

Monday, Sept. 13th

... Continued chase of the ship made yesterday gaining on her very fast. At 5 p.m. made a brig on our weather bow standing to the Northward. Weather now growing very thick, and night coming on, lost sight of both sail in chase and were reluctantly compelled to let them pass without ascertaining the character of either. At 9 p.m. wore ship and stood on our course. So continued during these 24 hours . . .

Wednesday, Sept. 15th

These 24 hours commence with steady breezes and fair weather. At 1 p.m. sail was descried from mast-head. Took in steering sails and hauled our wind to cut him off. Made him out to be a Ship — and not altering his course, piped to quarters and cleared for action. At 2 p.m. set our colours and give him a bow gun, and bore down for him. Proved to be the Portuguese Ship *Florida* Brazil from Pernambuco, cargo—hides, tallow, Dye woods, etc. bound to Boston. Closely examined his papers and found them too well authenticated to make him a prize. Got from him a Cask of Water and gave him some Vegetables in return . . .

Thursday, Sept. 16th

... At 4 p.m. had all stationed at their quarters and great guns and small arms exercised⁶⁾. Their promptness and activity in executing orders given, gave much satisfaction to the Officers. At 9 p.m. the weather assuming a more blustering appearance, got 6 of the great guns below, and everything snug for a gale . . .

Friday, Sept. 17th

Gale continued to increase. Sent down the necessary spars, and got 2 more of the big guns below . . .

Sunday, Sept. 19th

Commences with heavy squalls, attended with lightning and rain. At 6 a.m. wore ship. Latter part more moderate . . .

Monday, Sept. 20th

First part of these 24 hours, rain and squalls. Latter part moderate — all hands employed in repairing damages of the recent gales . . .

Tuesday, Sept. 21st

... The Stewart of the ship in overhauling the Bread, found some person had been guilty of pilfering part of a barrel. On mustering the Crew, the fact was proved against Joseph Jones. It was deemed necessary by the Officers to make an example of him, to prevent a repetition of similar practices. He was accordingly in presence of the whole Crew, after hearing the articles read, taken to a gun, and received Six lashes with the end of a rope.

Wednesday, Sept. 22nd

Commencement brisk breeze and flying clouds. At 3 p.m. experienced a tremendous squall. Latter part strong gales and a rough sea. Sent down the necessary spars and got the ship snug for a blow.

Thursday, Sept. 23rd

These 24 hours commence with fine breezes and clear weather. Middle part squally with sharp lightning, and a rough cross sea. Latter part, squalls with variable winds. This day (without discovering a sail) ends with dark cloudy weather . . .

Sunday, Sept. 26th

... At 9:30 a.m. the cheering sound of "sail a ho!" was echoed from the Mast-head, which like electricity seemed to invigorate our Crew with promptness and activity to make her a Prize. At 10 — beat to quarters, and had Ship cleared for action, and the big guns loaded fore & aft. At 10:10 give him long tom and hoisted the American Flag. He hauled up his courses, hove too [*sic*] and set an English Ensign. Gave him a bow-gun, which brought his colours down. Sent our boat on board, and found him to be the British Brig *Ann*, William Bartlett master, 27 days from Cork, bound to Newfoundland. Cargo — Provisions, Salt, Dry goods, Hats, Tobacco, etc. Put Joseph Marchant⁷⁾ on board as prize-master, and eight Seamen, and ordered her for the United States. Before we had dispatched the *Ann*, made another sail to Windward, for which we immediately stood . . .

Monday, Sept. 27th

... Still in pursuit of the sail made yesterday. At 4 p.m. gave him a gun and hoisted the American Flag — on which he displayed an English Ensign — another gun from the *Yankee* brought it down. Sent our boat on board — proved the British Brig *Marquis*, 27 days from Cork to Newfoundland with a cargo of Salt, Crockery, Coal, Provisions etc., valued at 14,000 Dollars. Put John Smith as Prize-master and Five seamen on board and ordered her for America. Having learned by these vessels that they were part of a Fleet of 13 Sail under convoy, of which they had lost sight

the day before, it was deemed not expedient by myself and Officers to endeavour to fall in with them. Shaped our course accordingly. The same evening discovered a light, and heard 2 guns which we afterward learned were fired by the Commodore of the Fleet.

Continued under easy sail during the night. No sooner had the ruddy morn begun to dispel the gloom of night than we discovered six sail of vessels, in different directions, the windward on a large ship. At such a sight every heart was elate with joy and each with ardour sprung to his duty. At 7 a.m. give the nearest brig a bow-gun, and hoisted the American Ensign. He still shew no colours nor altered his course. At 7:10 let him have long tom just under his stern — he spoke a language plainly understood, the brig up helm and bore down for us. Sent our boat on board, and found him to be the British Brig, *Dispatch*, John Thompson master, 27 days from Liverpool for Quebec, with a Cargo of Salt, Coals, Dry Goods, Rum, Paints, Oil, Hardware, Butter, Cheese, etc., valued at 8,000 £ sterling (\$40,000.). Put Solomon Coffin as Prize-master and nine seamen on board and ordered her for the United States.

At 10 a.m. tacked ship for the nearest sail and in 30 minutes gave him a gun on which he surrendered to the Yankee Flag. Found him to be the British Brig *Telemachus*, William Street master, 27 days from Cork to Newfoundland. Cargo — Salt, Coals, Provisions, Dry goods, etc., value of 30,000 dollars. Put Hutchinson A. Cole, as Prize-master, and eight Seamen on board, and ordered her for America⁸). We had no sooner dispatched this vessel than another was pursued. Which in about 30 minutes was our prize. Proved the British Brig *John & Mary*, Thomas Collins master, from Poole [*sic*], to Newfoundland laden with Coals, Bread, Butter, Dry goods, Crockery, Shot in Bags, etc. Put Sylvester Bowen as Prize-master and seven Seamen on board and sent her for America. Vessel and Cargo valued at Thirty Thousand Dollars. From the Five vessels captured we had taken about 40 prisoners. Another sail still in chace and one more in sight . . .

Latitude 45° . . . 18' North
Longitude 37° . . . 18' West

Tuesday, Sept. 28th

. . . At 2 p.m. overhauled one of the sail in chace of yesterday. Found her to be one of our prizes captured Sunday. Prize-master Marchant informed us that the sail to Leeward was a Letter of Marque⁹) who had been in chace of him eight hours. Immediately ordered all the Prisoners below, cleared ship for action — and bore down for him with all possible sail set. At 4 p.m. came within gun-shot, give him long tom. He showing no colours, give him a volley of Musketry — run close under his stern and hailed. After a severe reprimand for not showing his colours, ordered him to. Sent our boat on board and found him to be the British Brig

Favourite, John Mordaff master, with a cargo of Salt and Coals, some crockery, etc. Finding him of little value, took the crockery (2 crates) and judged it most expedient, as we had parted with most of our good men, in the 5 prizes we had manned, to relinquish her to the prisoners, about 50 in the whole.

Accordingly put them under parole, gave them the Brig, two hogsheads Water, several gallons Rum, some Cheese, etc. and ordered her for the first port in England. Note, during the time we were capturing the vessel detailed above, the weather was so extremely rough as to render it impracticable to tranship any of the Dry Goods — being the whole time under reefed sails. Concluded still to pursue the Fleet as we had learned their probable bearings, and that many of them were valuable. The ship mentioned in the occurrences on Monday the 27th, we learned was a transport mounting 20 guns. We had given chace, but lost sight of her at night.

Wednesday, Sept. 29th

During these 24 hours squally weather and fresh gales. Got 6 of the big guns below and ship prepared for a gale . . .

Thursday, Sept. 30th

The gale during these 24 hours continues with no abatement, rather increasing. Got all the big guns except long tom below. Ship continues leaky . . .

Saturday, Oct. 2nd

. . . At 10 a.m. made a sail directly ahead — made all sail in chace. Soon found he was standing for us, cleared ship for action. At 11 give him a bow-gun, and set the American Flag on which he displayed Russian colours. Soon came within hail and ordered him to heave too. Sent our boat on board & found him to be the Russian Brig *Doratha*, 14 days from New Haven to Gottenburg with a cargo of American produce. Consequently permitted him to proceed . . .

Monday, Oct. 4th

Fore and middle part heavy gales with tremendous squalls of rain. Latter part Old Boreas l—d by his fury and the weather began to assume a rather more moderate aspect. So they end without discovering a sail.

Wednesday, Oct. 6th

Commencement fresh gales and rainy. Middle part clear and pleasant, with a smooth sea, and light breezes. At Meridian hove the lead with 100 fathom line — no bottom . . .

Thursday, Oct. 7th

. . . At 4 p.m. got soundings on the Great Bank of Newfoundland in 55 fathoms; found white sand intermixed with black specks. At 6 water and soundings same as at 4. So continued until 2 a.m. when we got 40 fathoms, with coarse gravel and rotten shells. At 4 a.m. 35 fathoms with fine white sand — no material difference at Meridian. End with fresh gales and a heavy sea.

Friday, Oct. 8th

Commences with strong Gales, and a rough sea. Got all the big guns below, and the necessary housed and on deck. Continued sounding every 2 hours with little variation from yesterday. Found the Brig to leak very bad, being necessary to keep one pump constantly going. At 11 p.m. sounded the pumps, and found we were then making *three feet* of water per hour. Immediately kept the vessel away before it — which eased her a little. Still necessary to keep both pumps well manned, and constantly going. Our sick list this day amounted to ten, and many others unfit for duty in consequence of Boils, swollen limbs, etc. Ends with heavy gales and a rough sea.

Saturday, Oct. 9th

First part of these 24 hours strong gales — scudding to the Eastward. Middle part more moderate. At Daylight discovered a sail to Windward — immediately give chase. At 7 a.m. made her out a schooner cutter built. Got our big guns on deck, and cleared ship for action, judging him to be an armed vessel. At 1:30 p.m. give him a gun and set the American Ensign — on which he hauled down his foresail and shew English colours. Give him long tom first under his stern, which induced him to surrender as a prize to the *Yankee*. Found him to be the British Schooner *Katie* (formerly the *Blue Bird* of Baltimore) with a Cargo of Wine, Porter, Rum, Woolens, Bread, etc. valued at 14,000 dollars. Put Joseph Dias¹⁰ as Prize-master and Six seamen on board and ordered her for Bristol, Rhode Island. While dispatching the Schooner discovered another sail on our starboard bow, for which as soon as possible we give chase. Continued in chase at Meridian.

Note. Julius Rowe, at 11 p.m., so far swerved from his duty by insolence and personal abuse to Lieutenant Milton¹¹ as to be put under arrest, and order below to wait further orders.

Sunday, Oct. 10th

Still in pursuit of the sail made yesterday. While in chase, made three other sail on our weather bow. At 2:20 p.m. he displayed at his mizen Topmast head, English colours and give us a gun. We immediately set the American Flag. He continued giving us his stern chasers, endeavouring to wear off to bring his broadside

to bear upon us, which we avoided by keeping a parallel position with him. We paid no attention to his guns, but continued closing "till our Shot would tell," then wore off and give him a raking broadside with long tom.

The action now became general, and continued about 30 minutes broadside & broadside, each vessel keeping a similar position. His second broadside wounded our Main-mast very badly about 12 feet from the deck, a nine pound shot having cut it nearly half off. Considering the crippled condition of our mast, and it beginning to blow, fresh orders were given the sailing master to lay her alongside, and the 1st Division of Boarders called away. We however, found this maneuver unnecessary as "he had got sick of the fun" and hailed that "he had struck" (his haulyard being shot down). Sent our boat on board — and found him to be the British Barque *Paris*, Wm. Harrison master, with a license for Ten guns, sixes and nines, in ballast from Liverpool bound to Miramachie. Our rounds, grape, and musketry, had perforated him in every direction, and literally cut his hull, sails, and rigging in pieces. He had several shot between wind and water, and *thirty-two* shot holes in his mizen stay-sail.

Put Eli B. Allen as Prize-master, and nine Seamen on board and ordered her for America¹². During the action we had one man by the name of Charles Stead severely wounded in the back, supposed by a Cannon ball. Before we had repaired the damages sustained in this action the other sail mentioned had escaped from our sight — and the weather coming on thick and squally, were compelled to relinquish the idea of pursuing them . . .

Monday, Oct. 11th

Commences with heavy gales and rain. Got all the Guns below. Concluded to shape our course for home as we had manned Seven prizes and had now about 20 prisoners on board — many of the remaining part of our Crew were sick . . . Found the Brig very leaky. One pump constantly going.

Latitude 44° . . . 58' N

Longitude 44° . . . 40' W

Tuesday, Oct. 12th

. . . At 7 a.m. the man at mast-head descried a sail about 10 miles to Windward. Immediately made all sail in chase. At 11:30 p.m. give him a gun and set our colours, on which he hauled up his courses, clued up his top-gallant sails and hove too. Had the musketry and big guns loaded fore-and-aft, and the ship cleared for action. At 12 got along side of him. Sent our boat on board and found him to be the British Brig *Howe*, 8 days from Halifax with a cargo of timber, bound for England. On examination found him very old and leaky — concluded him not worth manning. Paroled our prisoners (about 30 in number) gave them the neces-

sary supplies of Bread, Beef, Pork, Rum etc., and relinquished the Brig, and ordered her for the first port in Ireland in character of a cartel¹³⁾ . . .

Wednesday, Oct. 13th

. . . James Holden intoxicated and unable to attend to his duty, for which he was severely reprimanded by the Commander. John Wood, a prisoner, who affirmed that he was an American, and asked permission to go home in the privateer, became so insolent and abusive to Lieutenant Milton as to be necessary to put him in irons, which was accordingly done. Old Davy drunk . . .

Thursday, Oct. 14th

Commenced cloudy weather with light winds from the Northward & Eastward . . . Brig still very leaky . . .

Friday, Oct. 15th

These 24 hours commence with fresh gales and clear weather. Sail made as required . . . Ends with thick foggy weather, and brisk breezes from the Westward. Necessary to keep one pump constantly going.

Saturday, Oct. 16th

Begins with heavy gales from the Sd and Wester'd . . . At Meridian jibed ship. Ends with brisk steady breezes — wafting us to the land of Freedom. Vessel still leaky.

Sunday, Oct. 17th

Commences with fine steady breezes from the Eastward. Steering sails out aloft and below. At 7 p.m. carried away the fore top-mast steering-sail boom. Immediately replaced same. . . It was found on examining the main hold that some person had been opening and pilfering one crate of crockery. Several saucers were found in the Forecastle. They were proved to have been passed in there by John Wood, a prisoner. He being charged with the fact, became insolent, and was punished by putting his feet in Irons. One pump constantly going during these 24 hours.

Monday, Oct. 18th

Begins with gentle breezes and fine clear weather. . . All sail set by the wind.

Tuesday, Oct. 19th

. . . At 10 a.m. descried a sail on our weather bow. Immediately give chase — got our big guns on deck and cleared ship for action.

Julius Rowe having confessed himself in an error, and made a suitable apology to the Officers, was restored to his former station and duty by their unanimous consent. Still in chase at Meridian.

Wednesday, Oct. 20th

. . . All sail set in chase, at ½ past 2 p.m. give him a gun, on which he hove too. At 3 p.m. sent our boat on board. He proved the Swedish Brig *Oscar* 56 days from Gottenburg with a Cargo of Iron bound to Providence, R. I. Strictly examined his papers, and found them legally authenticated. Supplied him with some candles and rum, and permitted him to proceed . . . At 7 p.m. got 6 of our big guns below, and the necessary spars housed and on deck.

Thursday, Oct. 21st

Begins with fresh gales and a heavy sea. At 4 p.m. the wind shifted in a violent squall to N. N. W. The sea was now so very high as to make a fair breach over us in every direction. Had our stern boat swept from the Davits. At 6 more moderate. At 8 a.m. descried 2 sail to Leeward — bore away in chase. They made all sail to escape. Latter part violent squalls of wind and rain. Reduced all sail to a single reefed top-sail. In chase at Meridian.

Friday, Oct. 22nd

. . . At 9 p.m. the weather had grown so thick we lost sight of both vessels in chase . . . The wind had now increased to a gale in consequence of which, deemed it expedient to relinquish the pursuit. Got everything snug for a storm . . . Vessel leaking so bad as to require one pump constantly going. Lying too at Meridian, under reef fore-sail.

Saturday, Oct. 23rd

Begins with a continuation of the gale. At 9 p.m. the elements seemed to assuage their fury, and the weather became more moderate. Ship governed accordingly. At 8 a.m. descried a sail on our weather bow standing to the Sd & West'd. Made all possible sail and got out sweeps in chase.

Sunday, Oct. 24th

. . . All sails and sweeps out in chase. At 3:30 p.m. fired long [tom?] over our larboard bow which brought the chase too. At 4 came up with him, and sent our boat on board. Proved the Swedish Ship *Johannes* 45 days from Gottenburg via Lisbon, with a cargo Iron and Allum bound to Boston. Examined his papers and let him proceed. At 6 p.m. the weather portending a gale, got the vessel snug and 6 of the big guns below . . .

Monday, Oct. 25th

. . . All hands on ship duty.

Tuesday, Oct. 26th

. . . At ½ past 3 p.m. descried a sail to Windward on our star-board bow standing directly athwart us. At 5 p.m. made him out a schooner. As we were now under the mouth of Boston Bay, and considering the crippled situation of our main-mast it was judged most prudent to keep on our course and not attempt to overhaul the sail in sight . . . At 8 a.m. got soundings in 55 fathoms on George's Banks, fine black and white sand. At Meridian 45 fathoms, coarse sand and shells. Ends with fine pleasant weather and steady breezes.

Wednesday, Oct. 27th

. . . At 2 p.m. got soundings in 45 fathoms. At 10 a.m. made Nantucket lighthouse and shaped our course for the Vineyard to ascertain the situation of the Coast¹⁴⁾ and obtain a pilot. At 2 p.m. passed the lighthouse on Cape Poge, and at 2:30 came too in the Harbour of Edgartown with our small bower in 5 fathoms and ½ water. Sent our boat on shore and engaged Rufus Fisher¹⁵⁾ as Pilot.

I certify that the foregoing is a true statement of the transactions on board the private armed Brig *Yankee* of Bristol, R. I. during her cruise under my command, to the date hereof.

Edgartown, October 28, 1813

(signed) Thos Jones

Witness,

Golden Dearth

Clerk Brig *Yankee*

NOTES

The War of 1812, often called Mr. Madison's War, was considered the Golden Age of the Privateer. As opposed to piracy, which was illegal stealing on the high sea, privateering was government licensed plunder by vessels whose countries were at war with each other. According to many historians, the outcome of the War of 1812 was decided at sea by our merchant marine — and not otherwise. This is borne out by the following statistics: the United States Navy at the time had 23 vessels in service and captured 254 enemy ships: there were 517 licensed U. S. privateers who took 1300 prizes.

1) The Brig *Yankee* was the most successful of the famous Rhode Island fleet of "Yankee-named" privateers during the War of 1812. In 6 short cruises, she took 49 prizes, seized or destroyed property worth \$5,000,000. Munro's "History of Bristol, R. I." devotes 10 pages to her exploits, and Maclay's "A History of American Privateers," gives her equal space. She was purchased by James De Wolf of Bristol from Haddam, Conn., and on June 30, 1812, less than a fortnight after President Madison was authorized to issue letters of marque to private armed vessels, he wrote William Eustis, Secretary of War:

"Sir: I have purchased and now ready for sea, an armed Brig (one of the most suitable in this country for a Privateer) of one hundred and sixty tons burden, mounting eighteen guns, and carries one hundred and twenty men, called the *Yankee*, commanded by Oliver Wilson. Being desirous that she should be on her cruise as soon as possible I beg you will cause a commission to be forwarded as soon as practicable to the Collector of the District that this vessel may not be detained." The Commission was issued on July 13, and she immediately put to sea on a cruise of less than 3 months during which she captured 10 prizes and destroyed nearly half a million dollars' worth of property. The cruise described in the preceding Journal was her 4th.

2) Golden Dearth "Clerk" was undoubtedly the Captain Golden Dearth who published the first newspaper in Bristol, R. I. in 1807, the "Mount Hope Eagle."

3) Latitude, longitude, with a few exceptions, together with ordinary weather comments are subsequently omitted as of little or no significance to the narrative.

4) See "The American Privateers" by D. B. Chidsey, p. 102 ff. for a transcript of the Articles of Agreement between the Owners, Officers and Company of the Private Armed Vessel of War, *Yankee*.

5) Article I of the Constitution vested Congress with the power to "Grant letters of marque and reprisal."

6) According to Maclay, the *Yankee* was armed with "the usual long tom" amidships, a 12 pounder and 14 short guns — 9 and 6 pounders on her broadsides.

7) Son of Abisha, Edgartown Master Mariner, and Susanna Harper Marchant.

8) She was re-captured by the British, but the most valuable part of her cargo had been transferred to the *Yankee*. (Maclay, p. 272).

9) Letter of Marque — as distinguished from a privateer, which was strictly a vessel of reprisal — was an armed merchant ship.

10) Son of Joseph and Sarah Manter Dias of Tisbury. He was prize-master on the 5th cruise of the *Yankee* also, and according to Banks' "History

of M. V." was eventually captured and sent to Dartmoor Prison in England. His father had died aboard the British prison ship *Jersey* during the Revolution.

11) Thomas Milton, later Captain, was born in Tinnmouth, England, 1787; migrated to Salem, Mass., 1797, having run away to sea. He married Jane Hammett Pratt of Tisbury in 1808, and in 1814 purchased the land on South Water Street, Edgartown, where the house he built in 1841 now stands, shaded by the pagoda tree he brought as a seedling from China in a flower pot. He followed the sea for 40 years which included at least 3 privateering expeditions, 2 as Lieutenant aboard the *Yankee*, and one as Captain of the *Waterwitch* also of Bristol, R. I.

12) She was also recaptured by the British before making a U. S. port.

13) A cartel in this instance was a vessel under a flag of truce engaged in the exchange of prisoners, negotiations with the enemy, or the like.

14) This refers to the British Blockade. The *Yankee* on her previous cruise had been driven into New Bedford by a British man-of-war. Captain Jones had been "2nd captain" on this occasion.

15) Son of Jonathan, Edgartown Mariner, and Eunice Holley Fisher.

A few further notes of interest regarding the *Yankee's* career: total value of the cargo seized on this cruise totalled approximately \$200,000; 180 prisoners were taken; and of the 9 prizes taken, 5 reached U. S. ports, 2 were released as cartels, and 2 retaken by the British. (The ship listed in Dearth's Journal as the Brig *Marquis* is elsewhere referred to as the *Mary*.)

The *Yankee* did not get to sea again for 7 months because of the British Blockade. However, it was on her 5th cruise that she took her most valuable prize, the Ship *San Jose Indiano* from Liverpool for Rio de Janeiro. Gross receipts from sale of ship and cargo in Portland, Maine, totalled about \$600,000.

Her 6th and last cruise ended in Beaufort, North Carolina, January 21, 1815. The Treaty of Ghent was ratified in Washington February 27, and by May 2, 1815, "the little brigantine was once more lying at anchor in the harbor of Bristol . . . In three years she had taken more prizes than any other American Privateer." (Munro). It has been suggested by a local authority on matters concerning the sea, that she probably was converted into a slaver as the DeWolf family were long and successfully engaged in what was known as the 3-cornered trade.

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Information from Munro's "The Story of the Mount Hope Lands; History of Bristol, R. I." was most graciously furnished by Miss Alice B. Almy, curator of Bristol Historical Society. The editor of the Journal is warmly grateful for her keen interest and for the considerable time she spent in transcribing several pages of most valuable notes.

QUAKER INTRUDERS ON MARTHA'S VINEYARD

BY ROBERT J. LEACH

It has been said that the Quaker movement was the final logical outcome of the Puritan religion. This was true inasmuch as the Society of Friends protested against the outward forms of baptism, communion, hymn singing and planned sermons. Friends gathered to worship in silence, to wait upon the voice of the Lord spoken inwardly to their comfort and peace. From such silence arose spoken words which came from the gathering of souls together.

In its first years, the Society of Friends spread rapidly in England and the American Colonies. Individual Quakers who had discovered God speaks inwardly to all men, were filled with missionary zeal. Thus the traveling Quaker went the world over, holding appointed meetings; giving opportunity for attenders to experience Quaker silence. Such missionary concern brought many Friends to Martha's Vineyard. This article is written largely from their diaries — accounts of their experiences on our Island, and of their reactions to our ancestors.

There is a thread of religious thought which should be woven into the social pattern of Martha's Vineyard history. The thread was of gray stuff and of good quality, but not marketable to many Vineyarders, except perhaps, to the Indians.

Strangely enough, the Buzzards Bay and Cape Cod areas as well as Nantucket, became largely Quaker, while Martha's Vineyard did not.

Martha's Vineyard was much more separatist than Puritan. Its liberal Indian policy and its nurturing of the seeds of Unitarianism would seem to indicate friendliness rather than opposition to Quaker ideas. Yet, even after the splitting off of Unitarian, Baptist and Methodist branches of the Puritan Church on the Vineyard, no visiting Quaker found even a remnant to be gathered into a Quaker meeting.

Perhaps Vineyarders had a superiority complex toward Nantucketers, most of whom were Quakers. And then, of course, there always was a strong suspicion against any movement or social group from "off island". Whaling brought wealth and elegance to Old Town and Holmes Hole, prosperity which had little in common with drab, Quaker simplicity. Whatever may have been the factors which enter into this imperviousness to the Quaker message, early reports give a fairly accurate picture of the religious self-sufficiency of the Islanders.

The earliest Quaker link to the Vineyard was formed by the fact Peter Folger, teacher in Thomas Mayhew, Jr.'s church became interested in Anabaptist ideas. He had come to Martha's Vineyard soon after 1642. His liberal ideas date from about 1660, the year Quakerism became well organized in Rhode Island. We know that Peter Folger visited Providence Plantations, and came under the influence of Roger Williams, leading Baptist in the Colonies

The Gay Head Indians were more cordial to Baptist than Puritan theory and practice as a result of Peter Folger's visit. Soon Folger felt compelled to settle on Nantucket in a freer religious atmosphere. The Baptists of Nantucket became almost to a man, the Friends of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. Although Folger died in 1690, his people became Quakers, and the rents from his proprietary lands on Martha's Vineyard went to the upkeep of Nantucket's Quaker Meeting.

Among the earliest Quaker missionaries only two visited Martha's Vineyard, according to Quaker records. George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends, had visited Cape Cod in 1672. Thirty years later, in the summer of 1702, John Bownas stopped overnight on his way to visit the Baptists of Nantucket. In the spring of 1716, John Bownas again was held up by contrary winds, and spent the night on the Vineyard after visiting the Friends Monthly Meeting of Nantucket, established in 1708.

If John Bownas cultivated soil in Nantucket for Quakerism, Thomas Story planted the seed. This Quaker missionary records stopping on the Vineyard on the 24th and 25th of June, 1704, on his way back from Nantucket. Unlike Bownas, Thomas Story held two appointed meetings for worship on the Vineyard but records no particulars about them. This is the first record of a Quaker meeting for Martha's Vineyard.

One other Friend visited between John Bownas' two voyages. Like Bownas and Story, Benjamin Holme was from the old country. He arrived on the 25th of the eighth month, 1715. His account follows:

"From thence I went to another island called Martha's Vineyard, where I had some meetings. Being at a place called Old Town on a First-day, I found some drawings in my mind to go to the Presbyterian (Congregational) Meeting House in the afternoon, and Nathaniel Starbuck, a Friend of Nantucket being with me, he accompanied me to the meeting. I waited till the Priest, whose name was Samuel Wirell (Wiswall) had done speaking and then I desired liberty to speak to the People. I directed them to the Teacher in themselves which was sufficient for them as they took heed unto it.

"After I had done speaking, the Priest made some objection concerning the anointing which I had spoken of, mentioned in the second chapter of the first Epistle of John, and we agreed to have a dispute the next day in their meeting house to begin at nine of the clock, to which the Priest and several of his hearers came. The things we chiefly disputed upon were concerning the Light, and the sufficiency of the divine anointing, the Holy Scriptures, and his call to the ministry and the maintenance not being Apostolical. The dispute might hold four hours.

"I endeavored to convince him of the sufficiency of the divine light of Christ, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and that although we held the anointing which John

spoke of, is sufficient to teach men so, that they need not man teach them, but as the same anointing teacheth them, yet I owned that the Lord may and doth speak by the anointing through instruments.

"And as to the scriptures in the Old and New Testament which proceeded from the Holy Spirit of God, them I owned and esteemed above all other writings; but when I came to speak of his maintenance, and touched him in that tender part, he was somewhat disturbed. After the dispute was over, I went that night to a place called Home's Hole . . . "

This account is valuable for several reasons. First, it portrays a religious climate in which Samuel Wiswall, a Puritan pastor, was tolerant enough to appoint a religious debate. Second, it is interesting to note that a religious debate was a popular recreation. And thirdly, what points of controversy were covered. In modern terms it was much as follows:

On First Day, Benjamin Holme had addressed the Sunday afternoon congregation gathered in the square meeting house near Tower Hill, to heed the inward light, that this light was of itself sufficient to show them salvation. Now Samuel Wiswall, being a keen man, inquired, "If the light is sufficient, why do you bother to speak about it? And where do the scriptures, our authority, fit into this scheme?"

Friend Holme was evidently used to Puritan arguments, for he replied, "The light is sufficient but it makes use of people who are obedient to it."

As for the scriptures, Holme valued them as the most precious of all writings, as they were records of persons who were obedient to this light.

Then Benjamin Holme hit hard at the pastor, by saying that "we must wait to become obedient to the light, and preach only in obedience, and not at stated times, or for pay." Here was a practical disagreement which sprang from the theoretical disagreement as to what qualified not only right speaking but right guidance.

No record of any other visits occurred for two generations. Only a few old survivors of the Holme-Wiswall debate were alive when Daniel Stanton of Philadelphia, and his party, were delayed one night by contrary winds in the Summer of 1754, when he was on his way to visit the meeting on Nantucket. The next summer Samuel Fathergill, an English Quaker, reveals in his journal how completely Benjamin Holme's visit was forgotten. On sixth month, 29th, 1755, he wrote:

"There is another island, about 10 leagues off, where no European Friends have hitherto been, that I have heard of. It is called Martha's Vineyard. I cannot with ease of mind pass it by, and intend to sail for it soon after midnight, intending to have a meeting there tomorrow afternoon . . . "

Three years later in the summer of 1758, William Reckett, also an Englishman, stopped on the Vineyard. He wrote:

"In the evening of the same day we landed on an island called Martha's Vineyard. We quartered at a man's house that called himself by our name, and I thought he had some zeal for the Truth and the promotion of it; for after he understood we had a desire to have a meeting, he hastened and called his neighbors and a solid good time we had together."

Evidently this Martha's Vineyard Quaker had come here from other parts, probably Nantucket. Another two decades passed by in which no written record has come to light concerning Quaker visitors, although there must have been at least a few. The Nantucket Meeting continued to grow, reaching its heyday about 1800. Under the date of fifth day (Thursday) 20th of eighth month (August) 1790, Hugh Judge of New York Meeting arrived. Here we learn that a few Nantucket Quakers had migrated to the Vineyard.

"We were detained so long as we had to go on shore on Martha's Vineyard and lodged at William Coffin's the only Friend living on the Island. Next morning the wind high and the sea rough, so that the packet could not come to us. Several proposals were made for a meeting on this Island, but I could neither see nor feel anything about it. The example of Friends who had appointed was advanced, but that did not move me."

Three years later Joshua Evans of Philadelphia, who visited William Coffin, felt a similar constriction. His account is as follows:

"The next day taking an affectionate leave of my friends, I went in a vessel about 30 miles to Martha's Vineyard, and landed at a place called Holme's Hole. The morning following (3rd day, 5th of 7th month) feeling poor in spirit, I endeavored to be still and say but little, as I saw little — believing that human wisdom was not sufficient to direct my way. We afterward had a solid meeting here, though not large. Lodged at William Coffin's . . ."

The fullest account was penned by Peter Yarnall of Philadelphia, under the date of the 26th of seventh month, 1793, later that summer.

"I left Nantucket on my way to Martha's Vineyard, which we reached that night about 10 o'clock. Took up our abode at William Coffin's and had a meeting at his house the next day at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Also appointed a meeting to be held at the same place the day following, being the first day of the week. Twenty eighth, attended the same, which was large, and in the afternoon had a meeting at a small settlement of Indians, their minister being present.

"At the close of this opportunity we proposed to the Indian minister, Zachary, to appoint a meeting for us at Gay Head amongst the natives, on the 30th, to begin at the 10th hour. But there being some dissatisfaction among them, and not being altogether reconciled to this minister, a majority declining to attend his meetings, some professing to be Baptists, and some Presbyterians, he was partial in spreading notice and also appointed the meeting at a very unsuitable place and three hours later in the day than what

was proposed. But, arriving there about half past eight o'clock in the morning, we spread the notice ourselves and had them generally together, and I hope it was a good meeting.

"This minister had a plan of detaining me several hours, in conversation with him, on religious subjects of which he was very full.

"And when I proposed a movement to spread notice among the people, he would introduce another topic, desiring that none but his own people should attend. He was very rigid and narrow in his sentiments, and when at meeting with the Indians two days before, he offered me a Bible in the meeting, rather insisting that I should keep it in my hand while I was speaking. And although I offered reasons which I thought sufficient, to make his mind easy, yet he manifested his dislike of my refusal of it, which he reminded me of at Gay Head.

"I endeavored to reason the matter calmly, advising him to attend our meeting, and afterwards, if he inclined to ask any sober questions, I would satisfy him therein, according to the ability afforded. He did not attend with us, and though a sensible man as to natural things, he was very ignorant concerning true religion. His wife came to meeting and appeared solid.

"We went before meeting, to the house of one Cooper . . . a very respectable man by character. His wife . . . is a religious woman and appeared pleased to see us. With great cheerfulness she prepared some victuals to set before us, with which we were much refreshed. Her husband having left the Island on business, did not hear of the meeting before he embarked, but his children were very useful to us in spreading notice, and both they and their mother attended our meeting. They appear to live comfortably and possess a pretty estate.

"We had the company of a friendly man with us, by the name of Moses Lambert, at whose house we lodged the night before, and with whom, after meeting, we returned to dine.

"I may observe that the meeting at Gay Head was large and I believe solid. I have never been at any meeting, I think, where the people appear more reverent than the Indians do in time of silence, manifesting great patience.

"After dinner, Mr. Lambert and wife accompanied us (his children having gone on before) to a meeting we had appointed at a place called Chilmark, at the third hour that afternoon. The minister of the parish kindly offering the meeting house which he officiated in, to accommodate us, attended the meeting himself in company with a neighboring parson, and took his seat with Jacob Mott and myself in the pulpit, which was plain and roomy. The other parson sat below with several Friends, who came with us to the Vineyard.

"The meeting I believe, was a satisfactory one. The people were generally Presbyterians, and appeared solid in the time of

our sitting together. We took an affectionate leave of them and went to the next town called Tisbury, to attend a meeting appointed the day following.

"Thirty first of seventh month, we visited a small Indian settlement called the North Shore, in the morning; had their company, with a number of the white inhabitants, settled round them, in a meeting house belonging to the natives, which we believed was a good meeting.

"On our return to Tisbury we stopped at a decent mansion and took some refreshment, having done the same in going to the meeting. The man's name was John Davis, and both himself and wife kindly pressed us to stay and dine, but having spoken for a dinner to be provided for us at an inn, we went there, it being near to the meeting which we attended at the third hour having previously spent nearly one hour with the parson at his house. But the meeting was a trying season, owing, I believe, to some latent prejudices and a raw, careless spirit.

"The priest was very urgent for us to drink tea with himself and wife, but being informed that we proposed setting out to Edgartown which was nine or 10 miles distant and that we wished to reach it that night, he gave up the matter, and expressing a wish for our prosperity, we parted. Then taking horse, we arrived about dusk at Elihu Coffin's, Edgartown, where we were kindly received.

"First of eighth month, we waited on the priest of the parish, who had sent us word some days before, that his meeting house was at our service. We informed him of the time we proposed holding a meeting there, the inhabitants having had intelligence of our coming, before. We then went on and crossed a water, to an island, called Chapaquiddic, towards Cape Pogue, where a number of Indians reside, appointed a meeting to be held at 2 o'clock and had them informed, as also the white inhabitants, amounting to perhaps 30 or 40 families. Benjamin Pease, jun. kindly received us and gave up his house to accommodate the meeting.

"The inhabitants, I believe, were generally gathered and a good meeting we had. After which, taking an affectionate leave, we proceeded to the house of an elderly man, near a small bay, whose kind wife being loth to let us go before we drank tea, we staid, and after taking tea, had a religious opportunity with them, to our mutual comfort, she being a weakly woman and not able to get out to meeting.

"Her husband took us across the harbour in his boat, to Martha's Vineyard, the water being a half mile over. We then had about a mile and a half to walk to our lodgings, having walked in all, to-day, as nearly as I could ascertain, about seven or eight miles, notwithstanding which, I did not feel much fatigued in body and was very much refreshed in spirit, there being a few tender-hearted people on this small island, and more kind, hospitable treatment I could not wish to meet with.

"Second. This morning we attended a large meeting at Edgartown, with the inhabitants, agreeably to appointment. It was held in the meeting house, the minister and his children were with us, and it was a good meeting, many tender people being present. This evening, about the sixth hour, we had another meeting at the house of Elihu Coffin, having the tender, seeking people, particularly invited, and indeed we had a precious meeting. At the close of it, a wise woman desired to ask me some questions, in the hearing of divers people. I thought of the great Mary Starbuck, for I believe this woman has much influence with many people here. What she proposed for consideration was, that of the ordinances (so called) and the resurrection. We took up each matter distinctly and separately, and feeling my mind clothed with much love towards all present, I spoke to each point, having the least to say concerning the last.

"I informed her that secret things belong to God, and we do not hold it essential or necessary to contend about it; for if we had a part in the first resurrection, our acceptance would be sealed with the Lord. I believe both herself and the company were satisfied, and took their leave of us affectionately. She told me her father died in the faith of the people called Quakers, though her mother was a Presbyterian and she herself walked in that way, yet she united with us, as a people, in some things.

"Third. Not feeling easy in my mind to leave this place without another general meeting among them, and the proposal, obtaining the encouragement and approbation of their minister, it was accordingly appointed in their meeting house, it being freely offered for that purpose. This minister was a man of truly liberal sentiments; we were twice to see him and his family in his own house.

"I had a concern also on my mind, this morning, to appoint a meeting at the head of the harbour, where we landed on our first coming to Martha's Vineyard, to be held on first day, the fourth, and accordingly procured a messenger to go to the people of the town, with a proposal to the effect, they having invited us, when there before, to have a meeting with them which we then declined; but now it appeared to be the proper season for such an opportunity.

"We got this evening to William Coffin's house and next morning attended the said meeting at the head of the harbor; and it was a good meeting. In the afternoon we had a meeting at our Friend William Coffin's house, and in the evening, a sitting in his family, several of his neighbors being present."

A few comments by way of passing may point up this account. Evidently the influence of William Coffin was such that the inhabitants of Vineyard Haven thronged his house when visiting Quakers came. The Indians of Gay Head, Christiantown, and Chapaquiddick were understanding naturally of Quaker silence, more so than the white settlers. They felt for the place from which words came. Most Vineyard Indians are now Baptists, and most Chilmark

people, Methodists. This 1793 account is revealing of the gradual change from Congregationalism and Puritanism.

Peter Yarnall held a meeting in the old Indian meeting house at Christiantown, (the present building was built in 1826-7), and he dined with the Lamberts of Lambert's Cove. The friendly welcome offered by Joseph Thaxter, then pastor of this church, (Edgartown Congregational) corroborates his reputation for being a religious liberal. The Pease house in which Peter Yarnall held a religious opportunity or meeting, is still standing on Chappaquiddick, as does the Chappaquiddick reputation for hospitality.

We wonder who was the saintly woman of Edgartown, who reminded Peter Yarnall of Mary Starbuck, the first to be convinced of Quaker principles on Nantucket. . . . Peter Yarnall explained to her that Quaker baptism was inward and of fire, like that at Pentecost.

Likewise he said Quaker Communion is present at every meal, and especially in the gathering of hearts together in the presence of the Lord in Quaker meeting. Then he said "we cannot be sure inwardly of our salvation, but must trust to the Lord while entering into the realization of Jesus' resurrection."

This select company of Edgartonians must have had a precious time together, when unity of spirit was deeper than division of opinion. Such a gathering is the definition of his word "solid."

Now we turn to greet a picturesque Friend named Joseph Hoag from New York Meeting, who arrived and gave a very different picture of Vineyarders than did Peter Yarnall. Under the date 1802, he writes:

"Ann (Mifflin) and Mary (Gilbert) desired to visit the people on Martha's Vineyard, and requested my company, with which I complied. . . . The first meeting was at Old Town, a dark, hard place to get any interest. Gospel communication rebounded like water poured on a rock, and we were glad to make our escape from that place. We went to Gay Head and had a large meeting with the Indians. Those precious women were favored and the meeting was quiet and solid. . . . We returned to Old Town where we parted; they went to Holmes Hole, and as I did not feel clear, I went to the east end of the Island and had a meeting with a small tribe of Indians. . . ."

Evidently January was a poor month to visit in Edgartown, or perhaps Parson Thaxter had turned crotchety. At any rate, the Indians of Gay Head and Chappaquiddick were friendly.

The first woman Friend to visit was Hannah Chapman Backhouse. She arrived on the 13th of ninth month, 1832. She wrote:

"On sixth day morning we set out for an Indian settlement and after riding 20 miles (part of the road rougher than anything I had seen before) . . . stopped at an Indian hut for refreshment, but everything around looked so uninviting that we were not a little pleased to see their minister arrive with a cordial invitation to

repair to his abode, adding that he had full unity with all the faithful servants of the Lord.

"A large number of Indians assembled in the evening. H. C. Backhouse addressed them very appropriately and then their pastor set his seal to her communication, hoping the audience would profit by what they heard. After he took his seat, an Indian (whose health is fast declining) in the most soothing and melodious voice, poured forth the grateful feelings of his heart, expressing his thankfulness that she had been commissioned by the Lord to come among them. He said that his days on earth were nearly ended — that soon his spirit would return to God and be united to the just of every people and every tongue — that there is much of suffering in the world, and that he had no wish to stay here; but he hoped his brethren would treasure up the counsel they had heard, for his heart told him it came from God."

From this date on, Friends began to quarrel among themselves and schisms took place. Quakers became introspective and fewer went to Martha's Vineyard in the love of the gospel. The following, however, have left their record in passing:

Thomas Annett of Indiana, who stayed one night with 50 other friends, because of bad weather, seventh month, first, 1835; Robert and Sarah Lindsey, who stopped at Oak Bluffs on their way to Nantucket from England, sixth month, 20th, 1849; Christopher Healy of Philadelphia did likewise, seventh month, 20th, 1850; Joseph Edgerton of Ohio stopped on the Island on his way to Nantucket, fourth day, fifth month, 1851; Stanley Pumphrey and Elkanah Beard, from London, made the last recorded stop on seventh month, eighth, 1876.

The influence of Quakerdom upon Martha's Vineyard is mostly one lost in the corporate heritage which comes from the past. We cannot evaluate it. Yet it seems fitting that we should today gather into the pregnant silence of Quaker worship, conscious of the outreach of these Quaker missionaries, and of our own need of spiritual integrity for the days that lie before us.

Editor's note: Robert J. Leach is a U. N. teacher in Geneva, Switzerland. His father, the Reverend Judson Leach, was a former minister of the Edgartown Congregational Church.

A few back issues of the *Intelligencer* are available at fifty cents each at the Dukes County Historical Society in Edgartown.

Vol. 2, No. 1 — Dr. Sidney N. Riggs' illustrated article on "*Vineyard Meeting Houses*."

Vol. 2, No. 2 — "*The Episcopal Churches of Martha's Vineyard*," by Dr. Riggs; the "*Annual Report and Account of Accessions*" by Eleanor Ransom Mayhew, Secretary, and second installment of Rebecca Smith's *Journal*.

Vol. 2, No. 3 — "*Years of Innocence on Martha's Vineyard*," by Henry Beetle Hough. "*Some Gay Head People About Sixty Years Ago*," by Eva Ryan. "*A Cache of Indian Artifacts*," donated by George Magnuson.

Vol. 2, No. 4 — *The Singing Tilttons and Some of Their Songs* by E. G. Huntington, also a continuation of Rebecca Smith's *Diurnal Records For The Year 1813*.

Vol. 3, No. 1 — *Merrily They Rolled Along — On Skates — Five Miles At Sea*, by C. Nelson Bishop; *Sand Dunes and Sea Law* by Stanley King.

Vol. 3, No. 2 — *The Peddle Cart* by Flavel Gifford; *Rounding Cape Horn* by Elon O. Huntington; *Annual Report* by Eleanor Ransom Mayhew, Secretary.

Vol. 3, No. 3 — *The Story of Pasque and the Pasque Island Club* by Alice Forbes Howland.

Vol. 3, No. 4 — *Adventure on St. Augustine Island* by Capt. Henry Pease, 2nd; *Some Vineyard Authors* by Dorris S. Hough.