

## **UC Berkeley**

### **Charlene Conrad Liebaw Library Prize for Undergraduate Research**

#### **Title**

Becoming Atlantic: A Spatial History from Seventeenth-Century Martha's

#### **Permalink**

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/06g688nb>

#### **Author**

Hull, Charlotte

#### **Publication Date**

2016-04-01

Undergraduate

# Becoming Atlantic

A Spatial History from Seventeenth-Century Martha's Vineyard

Charlotte Sanger Hull

December 4, 2015

Advisors: Professor Waldo Martin & Professor Mark Peterson  
History Department  
University of California, Berkeley

–Becoming Atlantic–

## Table of Contents

Table of Contents	1
Becoming Atlantic: A Spatial History from Seventeenth-Century Martha's Vineyard	2-32
Appendix of Maps and Figures	33
Bibliography	34-40
Primary Sources	34-38
Secondary Literature	38-40

*by the Name of the Governor and Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in Newe-England... Wee doe, by theis presents...nominated, ordeyne, make, & constitute, our welbeloved the said Mathewe Cradock, to be the first and present Governor of the said Company.*

–Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629<sup>1</sup>

*Two weeks before the issuance of the Massachusetts charter Parliament was dissolved and Charles I was free to violate religious sensibilities, a variety of property interests, and common sense in his attempt to raise funds and enforce conformity.*

–Bernard Bailyn<sup>2</sup>

The year was 1641 when Thomas Mayhew, a struggling merchant in Watertown, Massachusetts took a gamble that would change the course of his life, and the landscape of an island community, forever. Mayhew, born in Tisbury, south-west England in 1591, had long been at odds with his London-based employer, Matthew Cradock, when he decided to strike out once again.<sup>3</sup> On the 13th of January, 1636, Cradock, former Governor of the Massachusetts Bay colony, wrote a seething letter from London to his colleague in Massachusetts, John Winthrop. Cradock reported that he had “beene putt to by the most vyle bad dealings of Thomas Mayhewe,” his agent,<sup>4</sup> who had caused “so much disquiet my mynd as I thanke God Neuer aney thing ded in the lyke manner.”<sup>5</sup> Mayhew’s dubious business practices were confirmed by

---

<sup>1</sup> *Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629* (Boston: Directors of the Old South Work, 1896), 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 18.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew Cradock never actually migrated to America, but instead, employed a number of agents, including Thomas Mayhew, to oversee his Medford plantation and facilitate trade out of New England; see Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century*, 28; James Savage, *A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England Showing Three Generations of Those Who Came Before May 1692 on the Basis of Farmer’s Register in Four Volumes*, Vol. III (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1861), 185.

<sup>4</sup> “Roger Williams to John Winthrop, June, 1638, Providence,” in *Winthrop Papers, Volume IV, 1638-1644* (Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society Merrymount Press, 1944), 37-38.

<sup>5</sup> “Matthew Cradock to John Winthrop, January 13, 1636/37, London” in *Winthrop Papers, Volume III, 1631-1637* (Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society Merrymount Press, 1943), 344-345.

Cradock's servant, who wrote that with regard to Mayhew's accounts, "what Is not sett downe Is spent."<sup>6</sup> Although Winthrop had vouched for Mayhew's character, Cradock argued, "Farr beyond all exspectacion and contrary to my express order he hath charged me with dyuers somes and geeuen bills in my name which he neuer had order from me to doe."<sup>7</sup> Cradock and Winthrop were prominent members of the Massachusetts Bay Company, and by the close of the 1630s Mayhew's reputation as a trustworthy merchant was shot. Suddenly, relocating to an island seven miles south of Cape Cod, populated exclusively by the Wampanoag, seemed like a viable option for Mayhew; instead of moving lemons, potatoes, and pork, Mayhew set off to trade the Gospel at Martha's Vineyard.<sup>8</sup>

The community on Martha's Vineyard kept meticulous records from the 1640s onward, and the remaining archive provides more than just records of land and lemon sales. In the seventeenth century, the Atlantic World was a watery borderland, a space created by the people, plants, animals and microbes that flowed over and around it. In this world, an island was not an isolated outcrop, but a node within a network connected by waterways and powered by wind. For the right compensation, the Age of Sail made it possible to move between distant places. However, building and furnishing ships with supplies and men was an expensive endeavor, one only undertaken with the promise of a significant return. Gold made the long and arduous voyages to the Americas worth it for Europeans, whose mines offered little in the way of precious metals. So too did furs, with the decrease in wild animals, and timber with mass

---

<sup>6</sup> "Matthew Cradock to John Winthrop, February 21, 1636/37, London" in *Winthrop Papers, Volume III, 1631-1637* (Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society Merrymount Press, 1943), 346.

<sup>7</sup> "Matthew Cradock to John Winthrop, January 13, 1636/37, London" in *Winthrop Papers, Volume III, 1631-1637* (Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society Merrymount Press, 1943), 344-345.

<sup>8</sup> For examples of commodities traded by Mayhew, see "Thomas Mayhew to John Winthrop, February 22, 1636, Meadeford," in *Winthrop Papers, Volume III, 1631-1637* (Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society Merrymount Press, 1943), 253.

deforestation—especially in England—and the opportunity for recognition by royal officials.<sup>9</sup> But for many of the people who left one shore for another, the simple promise of a new beginning was enough to recompense the journey. Land was hard to come by in Europe and full of legal restrictions, while the Americas, as far as Europeans were concerned, were ripe for the taking—nevermind the complex web of political relationships among Indigenous Peoples they were to find there. Yet, the movement throughout this space was far from linear; instead, people and goods, flora, fauna, and ideas ebbed and flowed from all corners, pulled by economic currents and redirected by political gales. An island, bound by nature, offered an easily readable space; unlike continental spaces which extended for great distances, the resources on an island were easy to determine and easy to map. In this way, islands became laboratories or thought experiments for many Utopian writers. If an island was not an isolated space in this world, it was still a space apart. This space invites us to think outside of the state. As a fluid space and a marginal territory, Martha’s Vineyard offers a vantage point from which to examine larger colonial bodies and the creation of a new international world.<sup>10</sup> At a distance from continental activities, Martha’s Vineyard makes the interconnected Atlantic World legible by offering a geographic starting point for unraveling abstract historical threads. In the seventeenth century, Martha’s Vineyard was both a hub of transactions and exchanges and a microcosm of this dynamic water-world. As such, Martha’s Vineyard, the tiny island of only ninety-six square miles in itself, can offer an account of how the Atlantic World was made.

---

<sup>9</sup> For more on commodities that made voyages worthwhile, see Mark A. Peterson, Chapter 1: “Boston Emerges: From Hiding Place to Hub of the Puritan Atlantic, 1630-1645,” in *The City-State of Boston: A Tragedy in Three Acts, 1630-1865* (New Haven: Yale University Press, forthcoming).

<sup>10</sup> For more on how people have conceived of islands in history, see John R. Gillis, *Islands of the Mind: How the Human Imagination Created the Atlantic World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).



[Figure 1: Nicolaes Visscher, *Novi Belgii Novæque Angliæ Nec Non Partis Virginæ Tabula multis in locis emendata a Nicolao Joannis Visschero*, Amsterdam, 1651, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University. This map shows New Netherland, New England, and New France; Martha’s Vineyard appears just above the text “Mar Del Nort,” below Cape Cod, and left of Nantucket, the easternmost island shown.]



[Figure 2: Carleton Osgood, *An accurate map of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts exclusive of the District of Maine*, Boston, 1798, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University. This section, taken from the lower left of the original map, shows (clockwise from the top) Cape Cod, Nantucket, and Martha’s Vineyard.]

Although English sailors moved around and through Vineyard waters during the first two decades of the seventeenth century, the Wampanoag were the only island inhabitants until the 1640s. Captains like Bartholomew Gosnold, who explored Cape Cod and the Islands in his 1602 voyage, were primarily interested in procuring local sassafras not establishing colonies. The English believed that the native plant was an effective cure for syphilis, one of the few diseases that crossed the Atlantic and arrived in Europe. While smallpox and cholera made their way to the Americas, syphilis ravaged Europe, especially urban spaces like London.<sup>11</sup> While early resource exchanges between the island Wampanoag and English sailors were peaceable, conflict in the 1610s discouraged any plans for settlement. In 1611 Captain Edward Harlow abducted a Wampanoag man named Epenow and took him back to London. Despite the initial language barrier, Epenow soon realized that the English had an insatiable lust for gold and manipulated their desire as a means of returning home. In 1614 he encouraged a return voyage under Captain Nicholas Hobson and reunited with his community. After Epenow's ordeal, island Wampanoag vilified the English and went so far as to murder future explorers like Captain Thomas Dermer in 1619.<sup>12</sup> For nearly twenty years Martha's Vineyard remained an indigenous space outside of European networks. However, during the next two decades the balance of power between indigenous communities and settlers shifted dramatically in southern New England as disease, war, and migration drastically changed the demographics. Thus, Mayhew found himself with a

---

<sup>11</sup> Captain Bartholomew Gosnold was the first English sailor to explore Martha's Vineyard during his 1602 voyage, and is responsible for its current name, alternately "Martha's" and "Martin's" in the extant records. Mary Beth Norton and Emerson W. Baker, "'The Names of the Rivers': A New Look at an Old Document," *The New England Quarterly*, vol 80, 3 (Sep., 2007): 470-472.

<sup>12</sup> David J. Silverman, Introduction to *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity and Community Among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha's Vineyard, 1600-1871* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

new opportunity when he decided to procure the patent to the Vineyard, relocate his wife and young daughters, and begin spreading the Gospel to local Wampanoag with his only son Thomas.<sup>13</sup> While John Eliot was starting to think about a new spiritual enterprise in Natick, Massachusetts, which entailed converting Native souls to Christianity, Mayhew and his son set off for Martha's Vineyard with a similar plan to remake the spiritual geography of the island Wampanoag.<sup>14</sup>

In 1641 Martha's Vineyard was a small territory unsettled by Europeans, yet it was not without competing English claims. Like many other American geographies, the Vineyard was contested space. For European officials and investors in their home countries, it was one thing to lay claim to a distant territory, though quite another to actually know the land first hand. Mayhew soon found out that to obtain legal title to the island he would have to negotiate with not one, but two prominent Englishmen and their agents. William was both Earl of Sterling and Secretary of the Kingdom of Scotland and Pemaquid—the south-central coast of present day Maine—appointed by Charles I in 1635. In April 1637 Sterling “appointed James Forrett his Agent or Deputy for selling and settling the Islands between Cape Cod and the Hudson River.” Four years later, “in 1641[,] the latter sold for 40 pounds to Thomas Mayhew, a Merchant of

---

<sup>13</sup> In 1651 Henry Whitfeld, “late Pastor to the Church of Christ at Gilford” reported back to his Christian Readers in London about the progress of missionizing New England Indians. Whitfeld had journeyed to visit Thomas Mayhew Sr., the pastor on “an Iland called Martins Vineyard, which is the most Southerly Iland that lies in that tract of Land called New-England, where there is a small Plantation, and a Church gathered.” Whitfeld recalled that “the man himself was modest, and...was many times forced to labour with his own hands, having a wife and three small children which depended upon him to provide necessaries for them” though he recalled that “yet he is chearful amidst these straits, and none hear him to complain.” Henry Whitfeld, *The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day. Or, A farther Discovery of the present state of the INDIANS IN New-England, Concerning the Progresse of the Gospel amongst them, Manifested by Letters from such as preacht to them there*. London. Printed by T. R. & E. M. for John Bartlet, 1651, reprint, (New York: printed for J. Sabin, 1865), titlepage, 1-2.

<sup>14</sup> Although John Eliot is more widely known for his Praying towns at Natick, the Mayhews were arguably more successful with their outreach because they appealed to the Powwows instead of the Sachems, like Eliot. See Richard W. Cogley, Chapter 7: “Missionary Works Outside Massachusetts Bay, in *John Eliot's Mission to the Indians before King Philip's War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

Watertown in Massachusetts, and Thomas Mayhew his Son.”<sup>15</sup> These islands were also claimed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the Lord Proprietor of Maine. Gorges was an English aristocrat and a direct competitor with the Massachusetts Bay Company.<sup>16</sup> By conducting business with Gorges, Mayhew showed the Bay Company that he was not a ruined man, but one with options. To protect his interests, Mayhew likewise obtained a patent from Gorges’s steward and agent, Richard Vines. Although Gorges remained in England, like Cradock, he knew island residents first hand. In fact, Gorges had custody of Epenow before he orchestrated his brilliant escape.<sup>17</sup> Land all over New England was regularly claimed by multiple parties who had never once set foot on local soil but enjoyed the notion of landownership from afar as a symbol of power and wealth. Mayhew had a very different vision for his new title. He intended to live on the land, to start a settlement, and to become deeply entwined with the Wampanoag. Instead of dreaming of Martha’s Vineyard remotely, Mayhew made the island his daily reality. With patents secured from James Forrett and Richard Vines, agents to William Earl of Sterling and Sir Ferdinando Gorges respectively, Mayhew and his family crossed the Vineyard Sound and set up a homestead along the north eastern shore of Martha’s Vineyard at Great Harbor.

Economic changes and religious persecution in England made the perilous journey across the Atlantic a worthwhile endeavor for many English families who could not afford to practice

---

<sup>15</sup> Franklin B. Hough, Introduction to *Papers relating to the island of Nantucket: with documents relating to the original settlement of that island, Martha's Vineyard, and other islands adjacent, known as Dukes County, while under the colony of New York. Compiled from official records in the office of the Secretary of State at Albany, New York* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1856), especially pages ix-xi (this text hereafter referred to as *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket*); for the two titles to Martha’s Vineyard see James Forrett James, “*Deeds from James Fforrett [sic] to Thomas Mayhew and Son,*” October 13 and 23, 1641, in *Papers relating to the island of Nantucket* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1856), 1-3; and Richard Vines, “*A Deed made to Mr. Mayhew by Richard Vines,*” October 25, 1641, in *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1856), 4.

<sup>16</sup> Peterson, “Boston Emerges.”

<sup>17</sup> Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 2.

their faith or purchase lands in their home country.<sup>18</sup> With Mayhew leading the way, five English families joined him and his family on the Vineyard.<sup>19</sup> Together they declared themselves a township at Great Harbor and began purchasing land from the Wampanoag tribes at Chappaquiddick and the areas west of Great Harbor and east of Holmes Hole.

Martha's Vineyard offered a refuge from the violence that erupted between Indigenous Peoples and European immigrants on the mainland from mid-century onward. By the time Mayhew arrived on the island in 1641, two major epidemics had swept through New England reducing the Indigenous population by seventy five percent.<sup>20</sup> The Great Puritan Migration had come to an end and an economic depression reduced the power of corporations like Massachusetts Bay, putting further stresses on colonists.<sup>21</sup> The bloody Pequot War of 1636-37 altered the delicate balance of power between Native political units and caused groups like the Wampanoag Confederation—which extended throughout present-day eastern Massachusetts—to reimagine their relationships with English communities.<sup>22</sup> Under these new circumstances, island Wampanoag who had disdained the English since Epenow's kidnapping in 1611, were far more welcoming towards Mayhew. Despite his underhanded dealings in Watertown, Mayhew was methodical about documentation with regard to his Vineyard project. He had after all gone to the

---

<sup>18</sup> The enclosure movement in England during the late 16th century forced many farmers off the land and into crowded cities. For more on English migration for resources, see William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*, 1983, reprint (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003); for more on the religious context, see David D. Hall, *A Reforming People: Puritanism and the Transformation of Public Life in New England* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011); and Edmund S. Morgan, *Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965).

<sup>19</sup> Thomas Mayhew, "A Graunt from Thomas Mayhew Senr. and Thomas Mayhew Junr. to Jno. Doggett, Daniel Pierce, et alys.," March 16, 1641, in *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1856), 5-6.

<sup>20</sup> Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 5-6.

<sup>21</sup> Peterson, "Boston Emerges."

<sup>22</sup> Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 5-6.

trouble to procure two patents securing his original right to the island, ensuring that he was the sole proprietor of this new English space.

Mayhew's careful documentation extended into transactions—both material and immaterial—on the Vineyard. Once on-island, Mayhew made sure that negotiations between the Wampanoag and his townspeople were clearly and systematically documented in writing and that compensation was properly transferred between parties. Tawanquatuck, the Sachem—or political leader—of Nunnepog at the eastern end of the island, used Mayhew's arrival as an opportunity to sell land in exchange for peace, although Tawanquatuck's decision was not fully supported by his community.<sup>23</sup> Some of these land deeds were even recorded in the Wampanoag language.<sup>24</sup> However, the Mayhews were invested in more than procuring land. Thomas Mayhew Jr. carefully studied the Wampanoag language, cosmology, and cultural practices under the tutelage of a local man named Hiacoomes, which, in turn, enabled Mayhew to have a dialogue with Hiacoomes about his own Protestant belief systems.<sup>25</sup> When Mayhew Jr. began preaching the Gospel to the island Wampanoag community at large, Hiacoomes was instrumental in encouraging members to revise the belief systems of their childhood in hopes of greater stability in this new and shifting landscape. While not all island Wampanoag opted for a new spiritual identity, many of them began attending meetings and participating in Christian rituals. These cultural spaces proved vital as a medium for negotiation where political diplomacy fell short.<sup>26</sup> Christianity became a shared language for islanders, both Wampanoag and English alike, and allowed these distinct groups to navigate the political process and property exchanges, and made

---

<sup>23</sup> Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 7.

<sup>24</sup> These texts later became the basis for reviving the Wampanoag language in the late-twentieth century; see “We Still Live Here,” a film by Anne Makepeace of MAKEPEACE LLC, and the Independent Television Service, 2010.

<sup>25</sup> Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 74.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

living in the same bounded landscape tenable.<sup>27</sup> Strengthening ties with the local community through the Christian mission also prevented incursions from mainland polities, both European and Indigenous. By the latter half of the century, during King Phillip's War of 1675-76, the Wampanoag went so far as to pledged allegiance to King Charles II and followed through on their pronouncement to protect English islanders from mainland Wampanoag forces led by King Phillip.<sup>28</sup>

Martha's Vineyard demonstrates that political boundaries were fluid in the Atlantic World by illuminating trends in the larger Atlantic context. As a result of wide demographic shifts, jurisdiction transferred rapidly between parties in an effort to manage expanding populations and decreasing resources. The Great Puritan Migration of devout English immigrants to New England's shores between 1620 and 1640 alone consisted of nearly 20,000 people seeking land and livelihoods. In 1644, a year after their founding in Boston, The Commissioners of the United Colonies—a coalition which included the newly established settlements of Plymouth, New Haven, Connecticut and Massachusetts—voted to include the Vineyard.<sup>29</sup> However, a decade later the island was voted out of the corporation and Martha's Vineyard operated as an autonomous political unit.<sup>30</sup> Although Mayhew was excluded from the larger community of Massachusetts after 1654, his township at Great Harbor was strikingly similar to self-governing townships established by Puritan immigrants in the Plymouth and Bay colonies.

However independent the Vineyard claimed to be, it was integrally connected to political events around the Atlantic. While England opposed religious pluralism, the Netherlands had

---

<sup>27</sup> For more on Christianity as a political medium between English settlers and the Wampanoag of Martha's Vineyard, see Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 107-112.

<sup>29</sup> Peterson, "Boston Emerges."

<sup>30</sup> Hough, Introduction to *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket*, xii.

tolerated religious outsiders, a practice that created a thriving economy and spurred international commerce with territories as far away as China and Indonesia. The Dutch also moved into the Caribbean, islands and waterways already in dispute between the English and Spanish. With the first Anglo-Dutch War of 1652, Britain launched the first in a series of trade regulations, which discouraged English subjects from buying and selling goods outside of English markets by imposing steep taxes on foreign commodities. These measures, known collectively as the Navigation Acts, were intended to undermine the Dutch economy and bolster England's international power, although colonists habitually circumvented these tariffs through smuggling on the black market.<sup>31</sup> The disputes between the British and the Dutch were not limited to the high seas or Caribbean waters, and in 1664 the English successfully wrested New Amsterdam for the Crown.<sup>32</sup> In 1664, the Netherlands ongoing battle with Britain hit home for Mayhew. Charles II, restored just four years prior, proudly renamed the previously Dutch territory in North America, and New Amsterdam became an homage to his brother, the Duke of York.<sup>33</sup> While both Charles and James remained in England, James's royal governors in New York became keenly aware of Martha's Vineyard.

Political changes on the Vineyard reflected reforms in the larger British colonial structures. In 1664, with the English in control of New Netherland, the political tides changed again. Thomas Mayhew, who had governed unsupervised for years, was finally answerable to

---

<sup>31</sup> For more on the thriving smuggling trade, see Wim Klooster, "Inter-Imperial Smuggling in the Americas, 1600-1800," in *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500-1830*, eds. Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 141-180, especially 157.

<sup>32</sup> Jaap Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland: A Dutch Settlement in Seventeenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 99.

<sup>33</sup> Robert C. Ritchie, *The Duke's Province: A Study of New York Politics and Society, 1664-1691* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977); and David S. Lovejoy, Chapter 6: "New York and the Charter of Liberties" in *The Glorious Revolution in America* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1987).

men from off-island. In a letter to New York Governor, Edmund Andros, Mayhew explained that following the second vote by the Commissioners, which set the island outside the bounds of Massachusetts, “wee remained vnder Gorge [Gorges], [and] had noe Newes of either Lord Proprietor till his Mat<sup>ies</sup> Commissoners came over,” at which point, “Collonell louelace he sends for me in a loueing Manner, to come to Yorke to show by what Tytle I hold these Islands.”<sup>34</sup> Like many corporate investors, Gorges had been an absentee overseer, much to Mayhew’s liking. However, the King’s brother, Duke of York, had very different ideas about how his new colony would be governed. In the patent from Charles II to his brother James, he offered the Duke of York control of Martha’s Vineyard and Nantucket including the “Soils, Rivers, Harbors, Mines, Minerals, Quarryes, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Lakes, Fishing, Hawking, Hunting and Fowling, and all other Royalties, Profits, Commodities and Hereditaments.”<sup>35</sup> Unlike Sterling and Gorges, who existed for Vineyarders only in name, James would directly impact and reshape the political topography of Martha’s Vineyard.

Shifts in the English monarchy were not discrete events, but instead had a very real impact on the lives of people in the Americas and local communities like Martha’s Vineyard. During the Interregnum and the early Restoration period, a tenuous British Crown was attempting to regulate and stabilize British commerce, leaving English settlers like Mayhew to govern their own political spaces. Unlike Charles I and his son Charles II, James had a very different style when it came to regulating his overseas territories. James was an ardent Catholic and vehemently believed in the concentration of monarchical power. While Charles attempted to

---

<sup>34</sup> Thomas Mayhew, “Thomas Mayhew to Gov. Edmund Andros,” April 12, 1675, in *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket*, 68-70.

<sup>35</sup> “Patent from Charles II to his brother the Duke of York, 1664” cited in Hough, *Papers relating to the island of Nantucket*, xiv-xv.

repair the relationship between Parliament and the Crown, severed by his father, James idolized Louis XIV, France's absolutist Sun King. With New York now under his possession, James began to flex his political muscle. He established a legible hierarchy of royal governors and local administrators who extracted tribute from his new residents in the form of quitrents.<sup>36</sup> Where English settlers in Massachusetts established autonomous, self-regulating townships, life for English New Yorkers looked very different.<sup>37</sup> And by extension, Martha's Vineyard, as one of the Duke of York's possessions, was subject to this alternative rule.

After nearly twenty years of relative self-governing, Mayhew received orders to appear before the governor of New York, defend his title and pay tribute to a new, and very much present overseer. On the same day that Governor Lovelace issued a notice requiring all persons laying claim to Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket or the surrounding Elizabeth islands "to make Proove of such Claymes and P<sup>r</sup>tences w<sup>th</sup>in y<sup>e</sup> space of 4 months,"<sup>38</sup> Lovelace crafted a more pointed correspondence aimed at Thomas Mayhew. In his letter, Lovelace informed Mayhew that "his Royall Highnesse absolutely invested in y<sup>e</sup> Right to those Islands," and made clear that "y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants are henceforth to have Directions of their Governm<sup>t</sup> from this Place [New York]."<sup>39</sup> Between his personalized correspondence and his public notice, Lovelace hoped to finally get Mayhew's attention. Yet, even as Lovelace tried to impose order on the island community, Mayhew dragged his feet and was slow to acknowledge this Royal imposition. Lovelace

---

<sup>36</sup> Ritchie, *The Duke's Province*.

<sup>37</sup> For more on the Massachusetts township see John Frederick Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the Founding of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); and Barry Levy, *Town Born: The Political Economy of New England from Its Founding to the Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

<sup>38</sup> Francis Lovelace, "Notice given to all Persons concerred in y<sup>e</sup> Land called Martyn's Vineyard, to appeare in New Yorke," May 16, 1670, in *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1856), 23-24.

<sup>39</sup> Francis Lovelace, "The Govern<sup>r</sup>'s Letter to Mr. Mayhew," May 16, 1670, in *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1856), 21.

complained that although Mayhew had corresponded with his predecessor regarding a shipwreck, thereby acknowledging the Crown in some fashion, the stubborn Vineyarder had blatantly ignored Lovelace's directions the year prior.<sup>40</sup> Despite this indiscretion, Lovelace entreated Mayhew to "bring yo<sup>r</sup> Patents, Deeds, or other Wrytings, w<sup>th</sup> you...here where you shall receive a very hearty Welcome."<sup>41</sup> Although Mayhew had taken his time, aggravating the colonial governor, he ultimately satisfied Lovelace's demands within the four-month window, reviving his reputation with the administrator. Despite acquiescing to Lovelace, Mayhew showed the Governor that the island was still a space apart from the Crown, and no amount of codfish would change that.

In July of 1670, Governor Lovelace proclaimed Mayhew Governor for Life of Martha's Vineyard; however, the new title was not necessarily an improvement for Mayhew, or the local islanders.<sup>42</sup> Mayhew had governed unobstructed by colonial administration for the past twenty years, leaving Great Harbor townsfolk to negotiate only with Mayhew and local Sachems. Now, under this new arrangement, property owners had to pay quitrents to the Mayhews, which the Mayhews then turned around and transferred to the governor of New York. In a grant from Lovelace to Mayhew, issued the following July, Lovelace outlined that Mayhew was to render "yearly & Every year unto his Royal Highness Ye Duke of York his heirs or...to such Governour... as an Acknowledgement Two Barrels of Good Marchantable Codfish."<sup>43</sup> As new settlers made their way to the Vineyard and island children came of age, increasing property

---

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 22-23.

<sup>42</sup> Francis Lovelace, "Commission for Mr. Thomas Mayhew to be Chiefe Governour of Martin's als Martha's Vineyard," July 23, 1671, in *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1856), 37-38.

<sup>43</sup> Grant from Francis Lovelace to Thomas and Matthew Mayhew, July 8, 1671, RU 370: Colonial Documents Collection, Pre-1700 Land Transactions, box 1, folder 2, Martha's Vineyard Museum, Edgartown, MA.

transactions with corresponding quitrents subsidized Mayhew's tribute to New York. However, Mayhew was answerable to a higher political power for the first time in decades, and islanders began to feel New York's presence in their daily lives.

While broad movements of territorial control affected administrators like Thomas Mayhew, these sweeping changes also manifested at the local level, remaking the land and the lives of island people. Quitrents became a regular practice on island following the English takeover of New Netherland. In 1678 Matthew Mayhew, Thomas Mayhew's grandson and political protégé, sold James Allin a tract of land in Tysburry Manner bounded by two meadows, a pond and a footpath. In return for this parcel, Allin agreed to pay Mayhew "yearly and Every year...one nutmegg uppon the fifeteenth day of November; and once in two years, a lamb, of about six months old."<sup>44</sup> This land grant illustrates how three major Atlantic-World changes mapped onto the local community. First, Allin had to pay an annual tax, a requirement which was a direct result of Charles II gifting the newly wrested Dutch territory to his brother and James's decision to consolidate his own power through tribute.<sup>45</sup> Secondly, the charge to give up a fresh lamb every other year showed that livestock had become an integral part of the island economy. Originally blanketed with cedars and oak, by mid-century the island became a patchwork of meadows interspersed with footpaths, and punctuated by mills and dammed brooks. Third, Allin's annual payment in nutmeg, a commodity from Indonesia imported by the

---

<sup>44</sup> Grant from Matthew Mayhew to James Allin, April 22, 1678, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p. 265, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

<sup>45</sup> Quitrents were also paid in sheep, turkey, wheat, and good cheese. See Grant from Matthew Mayhew to Benjamin Skiff, February 6, 1681, RU 370: Colonial Documents Collection, Pre-1700 Land Transactions, box 1, folder 8, Martha's Vineyard Museum, Edgartown, MA [sheep]; Grant from Matthew Mayhew to Sam Tilton, March 13, 1688, RU 370: Colonial Documents Collection, Pre-1700 Land Transactions, box 1, folder 15, Martha's Vineyard Museum, Edgartown, MA [turkey]; Grant from Matthew Mayhew to Ephraim Higgins, March 14, 1689, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p. 68, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA [wheat]; Grant from Matthew Mayhew to Benjamin Skiff, July 20, 1682, RU 370: Colonial Documents Collection, Pre-1700 Land Transactions, box 1, folder 7, Martha's Vineyard Museum, Edgartown, MA [cheese].

Dutch, shows that islanders were linked to a global economy through intercolonial trade.

Although the island retained a level of autonomy, it was very much connected to the larger Atlantic World.

Just as the political terrain shifted dramatically on Martha's Vineyard with the English possession of New York, the island landscape had been steadily altered since Mayhew's arrival. During the first decades of settlement, native species like whales and alewives permeate the extant documents. In a 1658 Land Grant, Sachem Cheeschamuk stipulated that Mayhew Senior would "have four spans round, in the Middest of every whale that comes upon the shore of this Quarter part, and no more, the hunting of Deere in Common, but no trappes to be set."<sup>46</sup>

Although Cheeschamuk willingly shared local resources, like whales and deer, he was clear that trapping, a European method of hunting, was out of the question. Nearly a decade later, in May of 1666, Thomas Mayhew promised his daughter Martha Tupper that she would receive "landes, fish and whale" following "the Decease of Jane Mayhew my wife."<sup>47</sup> As this deed shows, the Wampanoag were not the only people who prized native species. While these early records emphasized the value of alewives, whale, and wild game, later transactions underscored a very different local economy supported by agriculture instead of hunting and fishing.

Through the 1670s and 1680s the English population on Martha's Vineyard increased dramatically. Wampanoag Sachems and early investors sold off more and more parcels of land to new colonists and members of the next generation eager to set up their own plantations and farms. In December of 1683, Queen Sachem Nataquanum, alias Elizabeth, sold a parcel of land

---

<sup>46</sup> Grant from Cheeschamuk to Thomas Mayhew, August 10, 1658, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p.355, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

<sup>47</sup> Grant from Thomas Mayhew [Sr.] to Martha and Thomas Tupper, May 15, 1666, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p. 55, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

adjoining the area known as Chickemmo to another of Thomas Mayhew's daughters, Hannah Daggett.<sup>48</sup> With these new island landholders, a powerful group which included women, came an increase in livestock and the need for pastures and fencing.<sup>49</sup> The island, once teeming with deer and mink, was now dotted with horses, cattle and especially sheep. In a 1664 grant, Jane Mayhew, Thomas Mayhew Jr's widow, catalogued a single animal, "the cow, by the name of yong Brown."<sup>50</sup> However, by 1684, Richard Sarson sold Dana Steward a parcel, which included "all graseing for cattell sheep or horse as namely graseing for ten coves kind one horse and one hundred sheep."<sup>51</sup> Within decades of English settlement on the island, pet names were no longer an effective method for keeping track of local animals. Beginning in the 1680s the township of Great Harbor issued ear patterns to local farmers to differentiate their herds, and sheep pounds were established all over the island as a kind of livestock lost-and-found; see figure 3.<sup>52</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> Grant from Nataquanum, Wampanoag Sachem, to Hannah Daggett, regarding land in Chickemmo, December 21, 1683, RU 132, box 1 of 8, folder 10, Martha's Vineyard Museum, Edgartown, MA.


<sup>49</sup> For more on Native American Husbandry see David J. Silverman, "'We Chuse to be Bounded': Native American Animal Husbandry in Colonial New England," *William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 60, 3 (July 2003): 511-548; for more on the impacts of livestock on New England, see Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Virginia DeJohn Anderson, "King Philip's Herds: Indians, Colonists, and the Problem of Livestock in Early New England," *WMQ* vol. 51, 4 (October 1994): 601-624.


<sup>50</sup> Conditional grant from Jane Mayhew to her sons, December 20, 1664, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p. 312, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.


<sup>51</sup> Grant from Richard Sarson to Dana Steward, August 5, 1684, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p. 222, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.


<sup>52</sup> Town of Edgartown issues livestock patterns, 1681-1682, Office of the Town Clerk, Town Records, vol. 1, p. 29, Edgartown Town Hall, Edgartown, MA. These sheep pounds are still visible today, two off of State Road and one off of North Road at the western end of the island. For more detailed directions see Thomas Dresser, *Martha's Vineyard: A History* (Charleston: The History Press, 2015), 32-34.


(47)


granted by the select men unto Joseph Duggitt this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear and a half penny  
 under a half penny upon the lower side of Right Ear and a half penny  
 under a half penny upon the lower side of Left Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto Samuel Duggitt this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear and a half penny  
 under a half penny upon the lower side of Right Ear and a half penny  
 under a half penny upon the lower side of Left Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto Richard Duggitt this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear and a half penny  
 under a half penny upon the lower side of Right Ear and a half penny  
 under a half penny upon the lower side of Left Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto Phillip Balloy this  
 mark a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 some and a half thus marked 


granted by the select men unto Capt Thomas  
 Duggitt Benjamin Smith and Joshua  
 Wrenke this mark as followeth  
 that is a half El on the upper side  
 of Left Ear with a half on the middle  
 of some Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 


granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 

granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 

granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 

granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 

granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 

granted by the select men unto John  
 Salmon this mark as followeth  
 a half penny upon the upper side of Right Ear  
 and a half penny under a half penny upon the lower side of  
 Left Ear thus marked 

[Figure 3: Town of Edgartown issues livestock patterns, Early 18th century, Office of the Town Clerk, Town Records, vol. 1, p. 47, Edgartown Town Hall, Edgartown, MA. This is one of the most well preserved pages showing multiple ear notching patterns. Although this page depicts early eighteenth-century patterns, illustrations like the above appear in the town record as early as 1681.]

English migration and livestock changed the shape of the island and the traditional patterns of life for Wampanoag people. However, as the land deed between John Horskeeper and Joyce Butler shows, islanders, both English and Wampanoag, men and women, manipulated these changes towards their own ends. As with Christianity, some Wampanoag assimilated English farming techniques and livestock into their daily lives. In 1673 Mamesquin, commonly known as John Horskeeper, sold a parcel of land west of Holmes Hole to Joyce Butler of Edgartown.<sup>53</sup> While John Horskeeper made sure to emphasize that the transaction included “wood, timber...and trees...growing, standing, or fallen down,” resources the English had prized since their initial arrival, he also highlighted “the grass and graseing, for cattle that the said parcell of land doth year by year and annually afford, or bring forth; in fine.”<sup>54</sup> Horskeeper was keenly aware of the full value of his land. As a farmer who practiced animal husbandry he understood that his parcel was productive because it included both timber for fuel and construction, and also the space and resources required to raise livestock: grass and fencing.<sup>55</sup> Indeed, Mrs. Butler was very interested in both of these resources. When her husband Nicolas died in August of 1671, a day after composing his will, he passed all of his assets on to her.<sup>56</sup> By the time of her death, eight years later, Mrs. Butler had amassed quite an estate, which included, land, silver, furniture and other moveable goods, as well as multiple sheep, and cattle, which certainly required grazing land and fences.<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> Grant from Mamasquin to Mrs. Joice Butler, June 12, 1673, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p.257, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Fences for containing livestock were initially made of wood, but repeated tilling by farmers unearthed stones used for the iconic New England stone walls. See William Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 120.

<sup>56</sup> The Last Will and Testament of Nicolas Butler, August 12, 1671, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p. 313, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

<sup>57</sup> The Last Will and Testament of Joyce Butler, March 13, 1679, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p. 314, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

As livestock remade the topography of Martha's Vineyard, the New York Governor and local officials remade the legal framework of the island. During his meeting with Governor Lovelace in 1671, Mayhew received a set of instructions. Although Lovelace gave Mayhew the "Strength and Authority sufficient to putt such Lawes and Rules in Execucon as you shall conveive may best tend to y<sup>e</sup> Distribucon of Justice," he did have a few suggestions for more specific measures.<sup>58</sup> Among these, Lovelace requested that Mayhew "Consid<sup>r</sup> and Appoint a sett Time for y<sup>e</sup> Election of yo<sup>r</sup> Assistants as likewise to consid<sup>r</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Time when y<sup>e</sup> Gen<sup>ll</sup> Co<sup>rt</sup> shall be summoned."<sup>59</sup> A year later, the first General Court met in Edgartown. From then on, the General Court would circulate around Martha's Vineyard and convene four times a year on both the Vineyard and the neighboring island of Nantucket.<sup>60</sup>

Sheep, cows, and fencing renovated the physical and economic contours of the island, but these new laws clarified the relationships between islanders and administrations. In addition to rewriting the legal structures of the island by instituting a regular island court, the Governor also stipulated that Tisbury and Great Harbor be formally incorporated.<sup>61</sup> Included in his 1671 instructions, Lovelace requested that Mayhew "acquint y<sup>e</sup> Inhabit<sup>ts</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Priviledges I have Graunted them by enfranchizing them in Towne Corporacon."<sup>62</sup> While the original township of Great

---

<sup>58</sup> Francis Lovelace, "Mr. Mayhew's Instructions from y<sup>e</sup> Governo<sup>r</sup>" July 8, 1671, in *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1856), 38.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>60</sup> Matthew Mayhew, "General Laws, made at the first Generall Court, holden at Edgartowne, upon Martha's Vineyard, the 18th of June, 1672," in *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1856), 42-51.

<sup>61</sup> On July 8, 1671, Great Harbor was incorporated and became Edgartown; see Edgartown, *Vital records of Edgartown, Massachusetts, to the year 1850* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1906), 3. For the Tisbury Charter see Francis Lovelace, "Tisbury Town Charter," in *Records of the town of Tisbury, Mass. : beginning June 29, 1669, and ending May 16, 1864*, arranged and copied by Wm. S. Swift and Jennie W. Cleveland (Boston : Wright & Potter Print Co., 1903), v-vi; the original charter still exists in the Tisbury Town Hall, although it is badly faded. Chilmark did not separate from the Mannor of Tisbury until September 14, 1694; see Chilmark, *Vital records of Chilmark, Massachusetts, to the year 1850* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1904), 3.

<sup>62</sup> Francis Lovelace, "Mr. Mayhew's Instructions from y<sup>e</sup> Governo<sup>r</sup>" July 8, 1671, in *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1856), 39.

Harbor was created in the image of the autonomous, and self-regulating Massachusetts town, these new political entities were meant to provide greater legibility and control for the Crown. The growing townships of Tisbury and Edgartown—formerly Great Harbor—differed substantially, and the new privileges outlined in their charters included the power to manage the particular needs of each territory internally. In June of 1680, the court ordered “that in respect to the great Difference in the Constitution of these Places, each Town shall have Power to order what Fences shall be accounted sufficient in their respective Townes.”<sup>63</sup> Although Mayhew maintained his Governorship over both towns, Edgartown and Tisbury, each town now had the authority to regulate local matters. In a sense, local no longer meant the island as a whole, but the township.

Where the General Court and the incorporated townships gave local spaces more autonomy, courts also regulated relations between neighbors. Although the General Court was designed by the Governor of New York and implemented by Thomas Mayhew and his administrators, English settlers were not the only people using the courts. The Wampanoag became adept at navigating English law and frequently utilized these legal spaces. According to a report in the town records, Simon Athearn, a notorious rival of the Mayhews “unlawfully and by force, enter[ed] into an inclosure, or Corn feild, belonging to Certain indians, with force of armes, threatning and affrighting the possessors.”<sup>64</sup> In response, the court “legally Convicted [Athearn] of committing a riot” and “adjudged [him] to pay a fine of five poundes, or a publique acknowledgement and fifty Shillings.”<sup>65</sup> For his crime, Athearn could either pay a large sum or

---

<sup>63</sup> Mayhew, Matthew. “*Laws appointed by the General Court at Martin’s Vineyard*,” June 3, 1680, in *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1856), 116-117.

<sup>64</sup> Court Report regarding Simon Athearn, no date, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p.2, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

endure public shame. While he had the option to take a smaller financial hit, the alternative was a decrease in social capital, a valuable currency for an islander. However, Athearn was not the only islander breaking into cornfields and tampering with private property. The General Court held at Martha's Vineyard on June 3, 1680 charged Abell, "an Indian of Sanchakantackett" with "stealing two Bushells of corne, and beanes" from Paull of holmes hole. The report states that "Abell owneth the theft: [and] The Court adjudge the said Abell to pay for his theft twenty two shillings and six pence with the charge of court."<sup>66</sup> Unlike Athearn's conviction, the court did not offer a reduced fee for Abel, as he reportedly owned the crime to the court's satisfaction. Although the General Court was ordered by royal administrators attempting to make the island a legible space to outsiders, the court became a new medium for regulating local affairs and offered a space for islanders to voice their grievances and define acceptable behavior in their community.

Although cornfields and forests were confined to the land, goods and people flowed most efficiently over water. As the island landscape protruded into the surrounding waters, so too did the newly codified legal landscape, which regulated a tide of commodities and the people who moved them. While the new revolving, General Court handled island matters, local officials also received reports from around the Atlantic World, showing that Martha's Vineyard was both apart from the chaos of the high seas and yet very much connected to a larger water-world. On September 3rd of 1682, Mr James Filbrook, "Mast<sup>r</sup>: of the shippe caled the Hampsheir of hampton in New England," arrived safely at Martha's Vineyard where he reported being attacked

---

<sup>66</sup> Complaint filed by Paul of Holmes Hole against Abell an Indian of Sanchakantackett, June 3, 1680, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p.64, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

by pirates off the coast of Cape Saint Anthonyes.<sup>67</sup> Filbrook related the encounter to Richard Sarson, Justice of the Peace at Great Harbor, explaining that the “said piratt being [a] frenchmen,” held Filbrook aboard his man of war for 30 hours while the pirate plundered his ship.<sup>68</sup> Finding the Vineyard a haven, Filbrook clearly identified with Sarson, an Englishman, and made sure to pronounce that the perpetrator had been French. In addition to plundering, the pirate also beat Filbrook, giving him “many stripes,” and “rummaged the hold, and threatened to burn the said shippe.”<sup>69</sup> Among the goods stolen during this dramatic and violent seizure, were “one hogshhead of rumme...one negro man...one Barrell of cockoe...ten pounds Spannish Mony...[and] seaven sides of sole leather.”<sup>70</sup> Rum was a prevalent commodity in New England, despite sugarcane and molasses coming from the Caribbean islands and Brazil. Safer to consume than water and more easily stored than beer or apple cider, rum became a popular beverage in the Americas. In fact, Boston had the largest concentration of distilleries in the mainland colonies by 1770.<sup>71</sup> Cocoa and Spanish money would have come from Central and South America, harvested in Mexico and extracted from the mines of Potosi in modern Bolivia. In addition to food and labor, livestock prized by European settlers also yielded leather for shoes, clothing, and leatherware like saddles and machine belts. However, few of these items could have been produced at rates that made shipping a worthwhile investment if not for the African Slave trade. “One negro man” was most likely one of the many humans forcibly removed from Africa and

---

<sup>67</sup> Off the coast Cape Saint Anthonyes probably refers to a location somewhere off of Newfoundland, roughly 1,000 miles away. Richard Sarson, Report dated September 3, 1682, vol. 1, p.283, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Edgartown, MA.

<sup>68</sup> Richard Sarson, Report dated September 3, 1682, vol. 1, p.283, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Edgartown, MA.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> See figure 13.1 for a distribution of American distilleries, John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America 1607-1789*, reprint 1985 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 291.

traded as human property in this new Atlantic-World market for his labor. That Filbrook removed himself to the island to recount his harrowing experience shows the Vineyard was both apart from the sea and a part of the Atlantic World by the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Filbrook's experience was not an isolated incident, nor the Vineyard's only encounter with pirates; however, subsequent accounts offer more insight into the tense relationship between the island and New York. Atlantic piracy was rampant during the latter half of the seventeenth century as international powers hired sailors to undermine their competitors.<sup>72</sup> In 1685 these unlawful sailors made their way into Vineyard waters. Thomas Dongan, Lieutenant Governor of New York, recorded that "a certain Ship or Vessell, belonging to a Pyrate, Privateer, or Person sailing contrary to the Acts of Navigation, is lately arrived at or in some Places near to Martin's Vineyard."<sup>73</sup> While the record contains few specifics about the offenders, Dongan outlined a clear strategy. Major Anthony Brockholls was tasked with finding, seizing and delivering the vessel "into the Portt of the Citty of New Yorke, with all her Guns, Ammunition, Furnature, Apparell, Tackle, and Goods and in Cafe of Resistance to vse Force and Armes in order to sudue the said Vessell."<sup>74</sup> All persons or places suspected of receiving goods or criminals were likewise to be searched by Brockholls. Dongan could have enlisted Vineyard officials to pursue the suspected criminals. He did not. Instead, he chose to exercise his own administrative force and colonial authority over the island.

By the late 1680s piracy underscored Martha's Vineyard's new subjugation to New York. In 1687, five years after Filbrook landed on the Vineyard, Dongan imbued ensign Thomas

---

<sup>72</sup> See Klooster, "Inter-Imperial Smuggling in the Americas, 1600-1800," 141-180.

<sup>73</sup> Thomas Dongan, "Commission for Pursuing a Pirate," March 30, 1685, in *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1856), 124-125.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

Sharpe with the power to detain pirates and their booty. The Governor ordered that officials in Dukes County “deliuer the said Persons...with what Sloopes or other Vessels, Plate, Silver, Gold, Bullion, Goods and Merchandizes...into the safe Custody of Ensine Thomas Sharpe.”<sup>75</sup>

According to the order, pirates were to be managed in the same way that towns had been incorporated and courts established. Apprehending pirates in an orderly fashion was just another way of making the island space legible to New York Governors and King James II. Just as islanders were required to pay quitrents in nutmeg to the Mayhews, and the Mayhews pay codfish to the governor of New York, so too pirates were to be collected and promptly presented as recognition of the Crown. Sharpe could not retain his pirates or their goods but was required, “with all convenient Speed [to] safely bring them to the Citty of New Yorke, and there deliuer them into the Custody of the Sheriffe of the Citty and County of New Yorke.”<sup>76</sup> Although the Crown invested Sharpe with a degree of authority, with regard to handling pirates, the colonial administration also reinforced the limits of this authority. While the Crown recognized the Vineyard as a valuable space, royal administrators like Dongan attempted to show islanders that they were subjects on British soil, not untethered, autonomous agents.

Although the Crown tried to assert dominion over the island by way of New York through quit rents and piracy protocols, Vineyarders managed to maintain a level of autonomy which made these incursions tolerable. The Vineyard had answered to James through the New York Governor since the early 1670s. While islanders dutifully issued their annual codfish payment and turned over captured pirates, they also retained control over local matters. By contrast, the Massachusetts Bay towns had operated as independent units answerable only unto

---

<sup>75</sup> John Knight, “*Order for Delivery of Pirates*,” August 19, 1687, in *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1856), 144-145.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

themselves. When James II ascended the throne in 1685 all this would change. Now James II in England, the former Duke of York was finally in a position to emulate the French example of consolidated power, while also guarding against French intrusions into English territories in North America. By becoming like the French, James hoped to protect his interests from the French. Like Charles II, James was frustrated with the disjunction in British North America, and in 1686 he consolidated his colonies, from Maine to New Jersey, into the Dominion of New England. Although the consolidation had a dramatic impact on continental politics, the Vineyard carried on as usual. Edmund Andros, former governor of New York whom Mayhew had corresponded with a decade before, became the natural choice for leadership of the new territory, though the Dominion would prove larger than one man could manage on his own.<sup>77</sup>

By this time, Massachusetts had maintained its particular brand of local townships for over sixty years and its inhabitants were not willing to relinquish their autonomy to some official from New York. In the spring of 1689, Cotton Mather articulated fears that the Dominion, headed by Andros, was a “*Popish Plot*,” designed to exact “the extinction of the *Protestant Religion*.”<sup>78</sup> While Bostonians, like Mather, were concerned about James’s Catholicism, they were equally concerned about the economic implications of his new Dominion.<sup>79</sup> Mather explained that Andros was given “to make Laws and raise Taxes as he pleased,” and that “we

---

<sup>77</sup> Owen Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed: English America in the Age of the Glorious Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2011), 52-53; Richard R. Johnson, *Adjustment to Empire: The New England Colonies, 1675-1715* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1981), 29, 57, 63-70, 83.

<sup>78</sup> Cotton Mather, *The Declaration, of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston, and the Countrey Adjacent, April 18th, 1689* (Boston: Samuel Green, 1689), 1.

<sup>79</sup> Bostonians were not the only ones worried about a Catholic administration, New Yorkers also found themselves with a Catholic Governor, Thomas Dongan, a Collector and two garrison commanders, including Anthony Brockholls, the major charged with pursuing pirates in the Vineyard Sound in 1685; see Ritchie, *The Duke’s Province*, 195-196.

were every day told, *That no man was owner of a Foot of Land in all the Colony.*<sup>80</sup> This was particularly unsettling to a population who had migrated from England specifically for religious freedom and land, and who had carefully documented each purchase to prove their rightful ownership. Andros attempted to exact similar taxes in Massachusetts that he had received from the Mayhews. However, unlike his reception by Vineyarders a decade before, Andros was ultimately overthrown through armed resistance and imprisoned in Boston on April 18, 1689. His jailors feared that together with the Catholic monarch he would put an end to their religious freedom and their political and economic autonomy, all of which the English on Martha's Vineyard had maintained.<sup>81</sup>

In fact, Andros's imprisonment came about because word had reached Boston that James was in no position to punish the unruly inhabitants of Massachusetts. James had reignited his father's battle with the English Parliament who had called for reinforcements in the form of William of Orange and his wife, Mary, from the Netherlands.<sup>82</sup> The Dutch, once the bane of the English monarchy, saved the English government from itself in an ironic twist of fate. In order to reinstate a constitutionalist monarchy and preserve a balanced power, Parliament invited William and Mary to take over the Crown. With James in exile and Andros in prison, Massachusetts and the New England colonies returned to their previous autonomous governments—albeit with

---

<sup>80</sup> Cotton Mather, *The Declaration, of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston, and the Countrey Adjacent, April 18th, 1689* (Boston: Samuel Green, 1689), 2-3.

<sup>81</sup> Andros was held prisoner and a group of elite New Englanders formed their own government, calling themselves "The Committee of Safety," see Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, 127. See also Johnson, *Adjustment to Empire*, 88-91; and David S. Lovejoy, Chapter 12: "The Glorious Revolution in England," in *The Glorious Revolution in America* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1987), 220-234.

<sup>82</sup> Ritchie, *The Duke's Province*, 198-199.

some changes like a royal governor. James spent the rest of his life in the shadow of the Sun King, while Parliament's bloodless coup became known as the Glorious Revolution.<sup>83</sup>

Although the Dominion itself had little impact on the island community, the aftermath of this monarchical and administrative upheaval reached across the Vineyard Sound, and Martha's Vineyard became a contested space yet again. With King William III and Mary II, came a new Massachusetts Bay Charter in October 1691, which attempted to reorganize the Province of Massachusetts Bay.<sup>84</sup> In January of 1692, Massachusetts Governor, William Phipps wrote to New York, "I lately received yours [letter] of the 10th of nov<sup>er</sup> past, In which you mention something of the Islands of Nantuckett and Marthas Vineyard."<sup>85</sup> While Phipps acknowledged the New York Governor's correspondence, he was less willing to accept New York's continued claim over the islands. He continued, "I presume you cannot be ignorant That it has been their Ma<sup>ist</sup> pleasure to Incorporate those Islands...[into] the Province of the Massachusetts Bay."<sup>86</sup> Phipps then went on to alert New York that he had, with the "advice and consent of the Council," installed "Civil and Military Officers in each of the said Islands...[and] therefore desire & Expect that they be free from any disturbance."<sup>87</sup> Phipps sent his letter together with a copy of the 1691 Charter, which stipulated that the Province of Massachusetts Bay would now include "the Isles of *Capawock* and *Nantukett* near *Cape-Cod* aforesaid," to the Governor and Council of

---

<sup>83</sup> Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*; see also Johnson, *Adjustment to Empire*.

<sup>84</sup> *The Charter Granted by Their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, to the Inhabitants of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England* (London, 1692).

<sup>85</sup> William Phipps "Letter to Governor Fletcher of New York," January 2, 1692/93, Massachusetts State Records, Archives Collection (1629-1799), vol. 3, p.52, Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, MA.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

New York.<sup>88</sup> Yet, despite what Phipps thought was evidence enough, New York was not convinced and Martha's Vineyard hung in the balance.

Instead of resolving the dispute over Martha's Vineyard, Phipps's correspondence with New York only prolonged the competing claims. In February the New York council met to discuss Phipps's letter and the included charter. Although the council found "the Isles of Capoaog and Nantuckett to the Westward of Cape Cod...nominally included in the said Grant," they determined that Massachusetts Bay "can have noe Pretences by the s<sup>d</sup> L<sup>res</sup> Patents to Martin's Vineyard or any other Island to the Westward of Nantuckett."<sup>89</sup> They also appealed to the Crown, accusing Phipps of "seizing...Martin's Vineyard, a Member of this Government ever since its first Settlement," a bold and unsubstantiated claim.<sup>90</sup> True, Martha's Vineyard was not explicitly named in the new charter; however, the island had not belonged to the government of New York since settlement in the 1640s. But, the dispute dragged on. In October of the same year the council met again. This time, the council discussed letters sent by Mr. Matthew Mayhew, and documented that "they of Martin's Vineyard are threatened with Force if they doe not submitt to the Authority and Governm<sup>t</sup> of S<sup>r</sup> Will<sup>m</sup> Phipps."<sup>91</sup> The board agreed to send a letter to Phipps "to demand by what Authority he doth claim the Government of Dukes County in this Government to the great disturbance of the Inhabitants," and a letter to Mayhew urging him to maintain his course.<sup>92</sup> The Royal charter of 1691 was meant to clarify and codify

---

<sup>88</sup> *The Charter Granted by Their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, to the Inhabitants of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England* (London, 1692), 6.

<sup>89</sup> Ben. Fletcher, "Opinion and Advice of the Council concerning Martin's Vineyard," February 13, 1692, in *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1856), 147-148.

<sup>90</sup> "Address to the King," February 10, 1692, in *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1856), 150-153.

<sup>91</sup> "Council Minutes," October 31, 1692, in *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1856), 149-150.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

Massachusetts Bay, but the resulting conflict over Martha's Vineyard shows that the island remained a space at once apart and in the middle of the Atlantic World. Like previous efforts to make the island space legible for colonial bodies, the new charter proved to further complicate the relationship between the island community and the Crown.

In 1693, islander Benjamin Smith wrote to Governor Phipps on behalf of the towns of Edgartown and Chilmark, expressing islanders' concerns about their jurisdiction. Smith articulated that the language in the charter was insufficient, saying, "whereas in the divers acts mentioning martha's vineyard Alias capowack If it be inserted marthas Vineyard and capowick it will be more satisfactory to our people." Explicitly naming the Vineyard in the charter would have clarified everyone's confusion, while also being a sign of respect. As it stood, Smith explained, "I am to show that we acknowledge our selves no wise included in the charter of the Massachusetts Province but as being an Island lying within ten leaughs of the maine." According to Smith, "Capowack" was not accurate enough to include the Vineyard in the Massachusetts Bay territory, as the English islanders referred to their territory by Martha's Vineyard. However, Smith was not explicitly against joining Massachusetts Bay, and offered that "our expectation is that we shall be secured in the Enjoyments of such rights as we were priviledged with by the government we were last belonging to [New York]."<sup>93</sup> Having paid quitrents for some years by the time Andros took over control of Massachusetts, islanders had learned how to balance tribute with their own personal freedoms. While Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland had fought to end the intrusion of the Dominion of New England, Vineyarders had been satisfied with their

---

<sup>93</sup> Benjamin Smith "Petition Submitted to William Phips and the General Court," 1693, Massachusetts State Records, Archives Collection (1629-1799), vol. 112, p.453, Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, MA.

relative autonomy. In their own words, they had enjoyed rights and privileges, privileges they were not about to give it up for a charter, or a colony that could not get their name right.

As the settlement of Martha's Vineyard shows, the Atlantic World changed dramatically over the course of the seventeenth century. Monarchies turned over, imperial powers formed and broke alliances, and people flowed over and around the Atlantic's shores. Yet, this is not the whole story. A closer look reveals that these political, economic, and demographic changes were not the machinations of a nameless faceless state or the product of theoretical forces. Behind all of these broad movements were individuals, people who lived their lives from one day to the next, who experienced success and failures, and who had to adjust and adapt to get by. On the surface, Hiacoomes, John Horsekeeper, Joyce Butler, Nataquanum, and Hannah Daggett went about their lives, learning, keeping animals, inheriting property, or purchasing land from a neighbor. But these people were not merely witnesses or receptacles of history; they were architects of a new Atlantic World.

## Appendix of Maps and Figures

Figure 1. Nicolaes Visscher, *Novi Belgii Novæque Angliæ Nec Non Partis Virginæ Tabula multis in locis emendata a Nicolao Joannis Visschero*, Amsterdam, 1651, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, RI.

Figure 2. Carleton Osgood, *An accurate map of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts exclusive of the District of Maine* [lower left section], Boston, 1798, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, RI.

Figure 3. Town of Edgartown issues livestock patterns, Early 18th century, Office of the Town Clerk, Town Records, vol. 1, p. 47, Edgartown Town Hall, Edgartown, MA.

## Bibliography

### Unpublished Manuscript Sources

#### MARTHA'S VINEYARD MUSEUM

Grant from Francis Lovelace to Thomas and Matthew Mayhew, July 8, 1671, RU 370: Colonial Documents Collection, Pre-1700 Land Transactions, box 1, folder 2, Martha's Vineyard Museum, Edgartown, MA.

Grant from Matthew Mayhew to Benjamin Skiff, February 6, 1681, RU 370: Colonial Documents Collection, Pre-1700 Land Transactions, box 1, folder 8, Martha's Vineyard Museum, Edgartown, MA.

Grant from Matthew Mayhew to Benjamin Skiff, July 20, 1682, RU 370: Colonial Documents Collection, Pre-1700 Land Transactions, box 1, folder 7, Martha's Vineyard Museum, Edgartown, MA.

Grant from Matthew Mayhew to Sam Tilton, March 13, 1688, RU 370: Colonial Documents Collection, Pre-1700 Land Transactions, box 1, folder 15, Martha's Vineyard Museum, Edgartown, MA.

Grant from Nataquanum, Wampanoag Sachem, to Hannah Daggett, regarding land in Chickemmoo, December 21, 1683, RU 132, box 1 of 8, folder 10, Martha's Vineyard Museum, Edgartown, MA.

#### MASSACHUSETTS STATE ARCHIVES

Phipps, William. "Letter to Governor Fletcher of New York," January 2, 1692/93, Massachusetts State Records, Archives Collection (1629-1799), vol. 3, p.52, Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, MA.

Smith, Benjamin. "Petition Submitted to William Phips and the General Court," 1693, Massachusetts State Records, Archives Collection (1629-1799), vol. 112, p.453, Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, MA.

#### OFFICE OF THE TOWN CLERK, EDGARTOWN

Town of Edgartown issues livestock patterns, 1681-1682, Office of the Town Clerk, Town Records, vol. 1, p. 29, Edgartown Town Hall, Edgartown, MA.

Town of Edgartown issues livestock patterns, Early 18th century, Office of the Town Clerk, Town Records, vol. 1, p. 47, Edgartown Town Hall, Edgartown, MA.

## DUKES COUNTY REGISTRY OF DEEDS

Complaint filed by Paul of Holmes Hole against Abell an Indian of Sanchakantackett, June 3, 1680, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p.64, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

Conditional Grant from Jane Mayhew to her sons, December 20, 1664, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p. 312, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

Court Report regarding Simon Athearn, no date, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p.2, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

Grant from Cheeschamuk to Thomas Mayhew, August 10, 1658, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p.355, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

Grant from Mamasquin to Mrs. Joice Butler, June 12, 1673, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p.257, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

Grant from Matthew Mayhew to Ephraim Higgins, March 14, 1689, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p. 68, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

Grant from Matthew Mayhew to James Allin, April 22, 1678, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p. 265, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

Grant from Richard Sarson to Dana Steward, August 5, 1684, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p. 222, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

Grant from Thomas Mayhew [Sr.] to Martha and Thomas Tupper, May 15, 1666, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p. 55, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

Sarson, Richard. Report dated September 3, 1682, vol. 1, p. 283, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Edgartown, MA.

The Last Will and Testament of Joyce Butler, March 13, 1679, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p. 314, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

The Last Will and Testament of Nicolas Butler, August 12, 1671, Dukes County Registry of Deeds, Land Records, vol. 1, p. 313, Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

### Published Primary Sources

*Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629.* Boston: Directors of the Old South Work, 1896.

Lovelace, Francis. "Tisbury Town Charter," in *Records of the town of Tisbury, Mass. : beginning June 29, 1669, and ending May 16, 1864*, arranged and copied by Wm. S. Swift and Jennie W. Cleveland. Boston: Wright & Potter Print Co., 1903.

Mather, Cotton. *The Declaration, of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston, and the Countrey Adjacent, April 18th, 1689.* Boston: Samuel Green, 1689.

Town of Edgartown, *Vital records of Edgartown, Massachusetts, to the year 1850.* Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1906.

Town of Chilmark, *Vital records of Chilmark, Massachusetts, to the year 1850.* Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1904.

*The Charter Granted by Their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, to the Inhabitants of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England.* London, 1692.

### PAPERS RELATING TO THE ISLAND OF NANTUCKET

Franklin B. Hough, Introduction to *Papers relating to the island of Nantucket : with documents relating to the original settlement of that island, Martha's Vineyard, and other islands adjacent, known as Dukes County, while under the colony of New York. Compiled from official records in the office of the Secretary of State at Albany, New York.* Albany: J. Munsell, 1856.

"Address to the King," February 10, 1692. In *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket.* Albany: J. Munsell, 1856. 150-153.

"Council Minutes," October 31, 1692. In *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket.* Albany: J. Munsell, 1856. 149-150.

Dongan, Thomas. "Commission for Pursuing a Pirate," March 30, 1685. In *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket.* Albany: J. Munsell, 1856. 124-125.

Fletcher, Ben. “*Opinion and Advice of the Council concerning Martin’s Vineyard*,” February 13, 1692. In *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket*. Albany: J. Munsell, 1856. 147-148.

Forrett, James. “*Deeds from James Fforrett [sic] to Thomas Mayhew and Son*,” October 13 and 23, 1641. In *Papers relating to the island of Nantucket*. Albany: J. Munsell, 1856. 1-3.

Knight, John. “*Order for Delivery of Pirates*,” August 19, 1687. In *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket*. Albany: J. Munsell, 1856. 144-145.

Lovelace, Francis. “*Commission for Mr. Thomas Mayhew to be Chiefe Governour of Martin’s als Martha’s Vineyard*,” July 23, 1671. In *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket*. Albany: J. Munsell, 1856. 37-38.

Lovelace, Francis. “*Mr. Mayhew’s Instructions from y<sup>e</sup> Governo<sup>r</sup>*,” July 8, 1671, in *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket*. Albany: J. Munsell, 1856. 38.

Lovelace, Francis. “*Notice given to all Persons concered in y<sup>e</sup> Land called Martyn’s Vineyard, to appeare in New Yorke*,” May 16, 1670. In *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket*. Albany: J. Munsell, 1856. 23-24.

Lovelace, Francis. “*The Govern<sup>r</sup>’s Letter to Mr. Mayhew*,” May 16, 1670. In *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket*. Albany: J. Munsell, 1856. 21.

Mayhew, Thomas. “*A Graunt from Thomas Mayhew Senr. and Thomas Mayhew Junr. to Jno. Doggett, Daniel Pierce, et alys.*,” March 16, 1641. In *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket*. Albany: J. Munsell, 1856. 5-6.

Mayhew, Matthew. “*General Laws, made at the first Generall Court, holden at Edgartowne, upon Martha’s Vineyard, the 18th of June, 1672.*” In *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket*. Albany: J. Munsell, 1856. 42-51.

Mayhew, Matthew. “*Laws appointed by the General Court at Martin’s Vineyard*,” June 3, 1680. In *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket*. Albany: J. Munsell, 1856. 116-117.

Mayhew, Thomas. “*Thomas Mayhew to Gov. Edmund Andros*,” April 12, 1675. In *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket*. Albany: J. Munsell, 1856. 68-70.

“*Patent from Charles II to his brother the Duke of York, 1664.*” Cited in Hough, *Papers relating to the island of Nantucket*, xiv-xv.

Vines, Richard. "A Deed made to Mr. Mayhew by Richard Vines," October 25, 1641. In *Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket*. Albany: J. Munsell, 1856. 4.

Whitfield, Henry. *The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day. Or, A farther Discovery of the present state of the INDIANS IN New-England, Concerning the Progresse of the Gospel amongst them, Manifested by Letters from such as preacht to them there*. London. Printed by T. R. & E. M. for John Bartlet. 1651. Reprint. New York: printed for J. Sabin. 1865.

#### WINTHROP PAPERS, VOLUME III

"Matthew Cradock to John Winthrop, January 13, 1636/37, London" in *Winthrop Papers, Volume III, 1631-1637*. Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society Merrymount Press, 1943. 344-345.

"Matthew Cradock to John Winthrop, February 21, 1636/37, London" in *Winthrop Papers, Volume III, 1631-1637*. Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society Merrymount Press, 1943. 346.

"Thomas Mayhew to John Winthrop, February 22, 1636, Meadeford," in *Winthrop Papers, Volume III, 1631-1637*. Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society Merrymount Press, 1943. 253.

#### WINTHROP PAPERS, VOLUME IV

"Roger Williams to John Winthrop, June, 1638, Providence," in *Winthrop Papers, Volume IV, 1638-1644*. Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society Merrymount Press, 1944. 37-38.

#### Secondary Literature

Anderson, Virginia DeJohn. *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

—. "King Philip's Herds: Indians, Colonists, and the Problem of Livestock in Early New England," *William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 51, 4 (October 1994): 601-624.

Bailyn, Bernard. *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Cogley, Richard W. *John Eliot's Mission to the Indians before King Philip's War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Cronon, William. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*, 1983. Reprint. New York: Hill and Wang, 2003.

Dresser, Thomas. *Martha's Vineyard: A History*. Charleston: The History Press, 2015.

Gillis, John R. *Islands of the Mind: How the Human Imagination Created the Atlantic World*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Hall, David D. *A Reforming People: Puritanism and the Transformation of Public Life in New England*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

Jacobs, Jaap. *The Colony of New Netherland: A Dutch Settlement in Seventeenth-Century America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009.

Johnson, Richard R. *Adjustment to Empire: The New England Colonies, 1675-1715*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1981.

Klooster, Wim. "Inter-Imperial Smuggling in the Americas, 1600-1800," in *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500-1830*, eds. Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Levy, Barry. *Town Born: The Political Economy of New England from Its Founding to the Revolution*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

Lovejoy, David S. *Glorious Revolution in America*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1987.

Martin, John Frederick. *Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the Founding of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.

McCusker, John J. and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America 1607-1789*. Reprint 1985. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.

Morgan, Edmund S. *Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965.

Norton, Mary Beth and Emerson W. Baker. "'The Names of the Rivers': A New Look at an Old Document," *The New England Quarterly*, vol 80, 3 (Sep., 2007).

Peterson, Mark A. *City-State of Boston: A Tragedy in Three Acts, 1630-1865*. New Haven: Yale University Press, forthcoming.

Ritchie, Robert C. *The Duke's Province: A Study of New York Politics and Society, 1664-1691*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977.

Silverman, David J. *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity and Community Among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha's Vineyard, 1600-1871*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

—. "'We Chuse to be Bounded': Native American Animal Husbandry in Colonial New England," *William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 60, 3 (July 2003): 511-548.

Stanwood, Owen. *The Empire Reformed: English America in the Age of the Glorious Revolution*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2011.

"We Still Live Here," a film by Anne Makepeace of MAKEPEACE LLC, and the Independent Television Service, 2010.