

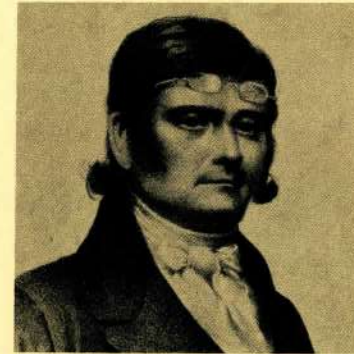
Journal of History of Martha's Vineyard and the Elizabeth Islands



THE DUKES COUNTY INTELLIGENCER

VOL.32, NO.3

FEBRUARY 1991



The Hallucinations Of Reverend Adams

by ARTHUR R. RAILTON

Customs Collectors at Edgartown 1855—1861

Constant Norton 1855-1860

Capt. Ira Darrow 1860-1861

by FLORENCE KERN

Documents: Jeremiah Pease Diary Bits & Pieces

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Saturday



Main Street, Holmes Hole, before the 1883 fire. At right is the original Mansion House that may have been where Rev. John Adams was staying when taken ill. He often mentioned his "mansion house" in Holmes Hole, but it may have been merely figurative.

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Customs Collectors at Edgartown 99
1855—1861

Constant Norton 1855-1860
Capt. Ira Darrow 1860-1861
by Florence Kern

The Hallucinations 121
of Rev. John Adams
by Arthur R. Railton

Documents: Jeremiah Pease Diary 142

Bits & Pieces 148

Editor: Arthur R. Railton
Editor Emeritus: Gale Huntington

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The Dukes County Historical Society was founded in 1922 to preserve the history of Dukes County for the public benefit. It is a non-profit institution, supported entirely by membership dues, contributions and bequests, which are tax deductible. Its annual meeting is held each August in Edgartown.

The Society maintains two historic house museums with guided tours for the public each summer. One is in Edgartown and the other in Vineyard Haven. Non-members are asked to pay a nominal admission fee.

In Edgartown, the Thomas Cooke House, circa 1765, on the corner of School and Cooke Streets, is maintained as a museum of Island history and is open during the summer months.

Also on the Edgartown grounds are the Francis Foster Museum, the Capt. Francis Pease House and the Gale Huntington Library of History. All are open to the public year-round. The Museum has a permanent exhibition of the Vineyard's maritime heritage. The Captain Pease House has various changing exhibitions throughout the year. The research library contains logs, journals, genealogies and other Island documents, plus photographs and books.

The Edgartown property also displays the Gay Head Lighthouse exhibit with its 1854 Fresnel lens and the Carriage Shed containing various old boats and wagons, including an 1854 hand pumper fire engine. These are open all year.

In Vineyard Haven, the Society maintains the Jirah Luce House, circa 1804. Its exhibitions are changed annually and are open to the public during the summer.

The public is invited to join the Society. Membership includes a subscription to this journal as well as free admission to our buildings.



Customs Collectors at Edgartown 1855—1861

by FLORENCE KERN

Constant Norton 1855-1860

Capt. Ira Darrow 1860-1861

WHEN spring arrived in 1855, Edgartown's Four Corners, the intersection of Main and Water Streets, was getting a new look. On the northwest corner, the Island's first brick building was nearing completion. It was to be the home of the newly chartered Martha's Vineyard National Bank, Dr. Daniel Fisher, President.

The \$5000 building project didn't please everybody. The editor of the *Vineyard Gazette* was upset about the sidewalk. Apparently, it wasn't compatible with those on Main Street. Just a few months earlier, in October 1854, the town's first curbstones had been laid along Main Street from Pease's Point Way down to the Four Corners.¹

But Editor Edgar Marchant seems to have been bothered by more than the sidewalk. The bank's checks had been printed off-Island and that didn't please him. He could have used the business:

The checks, which some blunderhead of a printer has got up for the Martha's Vineyard Bank, are about a century behind the age, as far as good printing is concerned. We

¹ The original curbstones are still in place, well worn after nearly 150 years. The new sidewalks didn't help when crossing the street. The *Gazette* wrote that "Main Street has been like a hog-pen in wet weather. [You sink] up to the ancles in mud." April 6, 1855.

FLORENCE KERN of Bethesda, Md., and Chappaquiddick is a Society member and a dedicated researcher and historian, specializing in the United States Revenue Service and the Coast Guard. This is the sixth article in her series on the Edgartown Customs District. It, along with the earlier works, provides an accurate review of economic and political life on the Island during the mid-1800s.

suppose they will answer very well, however, as they are in perfect keeping with the side-walk. It has been asserted that Old Squint Eye has sought refuge in the city of Lowell, and sent these checks to the bank, free of all expense, as some acknowledgement of their endorsement of his great effort,— which was the planning of a side-walk just 14 feet wide at the western and 9 feet at the eastern extremity of the building!²

Across Main Street from the new bank, Constant Norton, of the Farm Neck Nortons, had just taken over the office of Collector in the United States Custom House. The office occupied the second floor of the huge white building built a few years earlier by Timothy Coffin Jr. Entrance to the upstairs office was on North Water Street.

The whaling business, which had fallen off somewhat, was beginning to pick up. A few years before, Editor Marchant had editorialized: "The business of whaling has never yet been fairly entered upon by us. . . Now why is this so? Why should Edgartown, especially, remain longer in a torpid condition?"³

Torpid or not, there was enough maritime business for the Federal government to maintain the Custom House in Edgartown, with branches in Holmes Hole and Tarpaulin Cove. Collector Norton had just been commissioned to succeed Joseph Thaxter Pease, who had resigned to take the more lucrative and permanent position of Cashier of the new bank. Like Pease, Norton was an ardent Democrat, a requirement for the job of Collector under Democratic President Franklin Pierce.⁴

The new Collector certainly carried Democratic credentials. He had cast the first Democratic vote in Edgartown back in 1828. His vote for Democrat Andrew Jackson so startled the Whig Selectman in charge of the

² *Vineyard Gazette* (VG), Sept. 14, 1855. We don't know who Old Squint Eye is. Probably the off-Island builder who put up the building.

³ VG, July 25, 1851.

⁴ The Whigs as well as the Democrats practiced patronage on a large scale. In 1850, when Whig Millard Fillmore was inaugurated, 194 out of 286 lighthouse keepers were replaced by what one editor hoped were "good Whigs."

ballot box that he requested that the voter be asked to withdraw it. Fortunately for the reputation of the Vineyard, the other two Selectmen overruled him and President-elect Andrew Jackson racked up one vote in the shire town.⁵

A descendant of the Island's earliest settlers, Norton is listed in the 1850 Federal Census as a 48-year-old farmer. He married Caroline S. Norton of Farmington, Maine, and at the time of his Custom House appointment in 1855 the couple had six children. Active in town and county affairs, Norton was described by Editor Marchant of the *Gazette* as "a man of great worth, possessing native talent and an education which amply qualify him for the responsible post to which he is appointed."

While it may not have been a period of prosperity for everyone on the Island, certain residents were doing very well. A few whaleships were locally owned and many others were sailed by Vineyard masters and officers who came home from the Pacific with a small fortune in oil and whalebone. Most whalers, even some of those locally owned, sold their catches in New Bedford so the Edgartown Collector handled a relatively small amount of money compared to mainland offices.⁶ But when the whaling captains returned to Edgartown between voyages they were relatively rich. Even ordinary seamen, those who were prudent at least, returned with cash in their pockets.

During his term in office, Norton registered 12 Vineyard-owned whalers, listing over 300 mariners, many of them Vineyarders, in their crews. There were other sources of money to the Island, of course. A few Islanders had returned with profits from the California Gold Rush. Local business was expanding. Dr. Daniel Fisher's spermaceti candle factory, located on the harbor front along North Water Street just east of Morse Street, boasted of employing 12 men, making that business the town's largest employer in 1855.

⁵ VG, April 20 and 27, 1855.

⁶ In 1849, when the Custom Office was inventoried, there was \$18.94 in the account. *DCHS Customs Records*.

Many Nantucket whalers came into Edgartown to outfit for their voyages, so Doctor Fisher, always the entrepreneur, ran a hard-tack bakery to fill their needs. A few years later, in 1860, he built a dam and a flour mill in Middletown (North Tisbury) to supply the bakery. Thomas Cooke had a salt works on Starbuck Neck. Also in town was a tinware shop and a sail loft which boasted that it used only American-made fabric.

Edgartown had two boatyards that built whale boats and other small craft for fishermen and pilots. There was at least one ship builder in Holmes Hole, Thomas Bradley, who in 1860 built a 280-ton brig, "the largest and best vessel ever built on the Vineyard."⁷

Collector Norton, during his term, enrolled and licensed 30 small vessels for coastal use and for fishing.

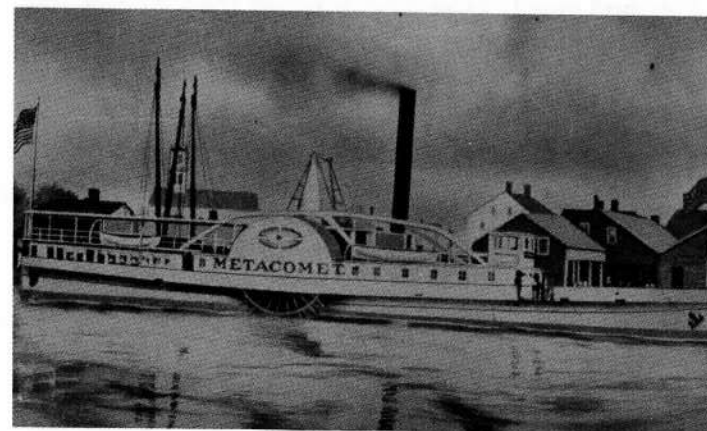
The brand-new steamer *Metacomet* had gone into service between Fairhaven and Edgartown in the fall of 1854, providing Edgartown with a direct access to the new Fairhaven branch railroad with connections to Boston. She was 170 feet long and 26 feet abeam, drawing just over nine feet. Her master was Capt. Benjamin S. Simmons, formerly skipper of the steamboat *Canonicus*; the pilot was Capt. Hiram Crowell of Edgartown, former master of the packet *Passport*.⁸

As steamboats increased job opportunities for skilled mechanics and seamen, Massachusetts appropriated funds for a state-run "Nautical School Ship" on which to train young sailors. Collector Norton put in a bid for her to be stationed at Martha's Vineyard, but the state chose Nantasket, just south of Boston. Editor Marchant, displeased with the choice, described Nantasket as: "A fine location, if the object is to place her in one of the most dangerous positions on the New England Coast."⁹

⁷ VG, Nov. 2, 1860.

⁸ The *Metacomet* was a trouble-plagued vessel and lasted only three years as a ferry. In 1857, she was sold to the Federal government and refitted as a gunboat. *The Island Steamers*, Morris and Morin, 1977, p. 10.

⁹ VG, June 15, 1860.



Backed by Fall River and Providence money, the *Metacomet* ran from Edgartown to Fairhaven for three years before the company went broke.

Marchant's fervent editorializing caused the formation of a local committee to appeal the decision. In August 1860, the Governor and his Council came to Edgartown "for the purpose of examining the harbor in reference to the location of the Ship."¹⁰

The old manual semaphore system with stations on Chappaquiddick and East Chop, which relayed messages between Nantucket and the mainland, was about to be abandoned. It was made obsolete by a telegraph cable laid on the floor of Vineyard Sound between West Chop and Falmouth. The Vineyard end of the cable was hauled ashore on July 15, 1856, its arrival marked by the firing of a cannon aboard a U.S. Revenue Cutter. A much grander celebration was held July 26, when a thousand persons gathered at West Chop for an afternoon of speeches, cannon-firing and outdoor feasting, followed by fireworks that night.¹¹ The cable was extended to Nantucket a year later in October 1857.

¹⁰ VG, Aug. 17, 1860. The decision held; the vessel went to Nantasket.

¹¹ Sadly, the first message over the new cable was sent that same day to Portland, Me., to inform the mother of George Challis that her son had been critically injured by the premature firing of the celebratory cannon. *The Gazette* marvelled that within 30 minutes a return message was received from Portland.

But the United States mail provided then, as now, the basic communication with the mainland. The mail went out only three times a week, Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, at nine o'clock in the morning. All letters had to be at the postoffice in Edgartown, just up Main Street from the Custom House, before 7 a.m., to make the steamer *Metacomet*.

New houses, large and ostentatious, were being built along Water and Main Streets by the more prosperous whaling masters, replacing the old colonial homesteads of the 17th and 18th centuries. Though admired by all today, in the 1850s there were some who found the new mansions obnoxious. Editor Marchant in the *Gazette* called them too big and too boxy. Preferring the less pretentious cottages that were being torn down, he described the new houses as "bare, bold white cubes," built by "men with a lack of taste."

Politics as Usual

Constant Norton appears to have had no nautical experience although it is hard to imagine a Vineyarder of that era who had not been baptized with salt water. His entrance into Customs was purely political. He was now being rewarded, under the spoils system instituted by President Jackson, for having been a dedicated member of the party since that first Democratic vote back in 1828. Customs Collectors came and went with the turn of the political tide and it had now turned in Norton's favor.

For a good description of what Custom Houses were like in this period one need only read Nathaniel Hawthorne's "Custom House," the introduction to his novel, *The Scarlet Letter*. Hawthorne served as a surveyor in the Custom House at Salem, Massachusetts, from 1846 to 1849 and wrote with a knowledgeable pen of the way the system operated under the spoils system.

Custom House jobs were considered to be political plums, providing easy pay, short hours and little responsibility. In the larger ports, fraud and even embezzlement were rampant

and jobs in Customs were sometimes bought "under the table." There is no record of fraud in the Edgartown Custom House however. Nor was the job of Collector always an easy one. Nevertheless, all the Edgartown Collectors from 1789 to 1913, when the office was eliminated, were able to lead comfortable and rewarding lives and to leave sizable estates.

By 1855, attempts were being made in Washington to clean up the abuses and to organize the service better. In 1849, a Commissioner of Customs was appointed as an overseer and special agents were hired to roam the country and arrest fraudulent officials. The agents themselves were often political appointees, some as inept and corrupt as those they hunted. Edgartown's own Capt. William Cooke Pease, master of a Revenue Cutter in the Customs service on the West Coast in 1862, was a victim of one of these special agents when he was falsely accused of aiding the Confederates in the Civil War.

When Norton took over the office of Collector, he presided over a large, watery domain that included not only the shores and ports of the Vineyard, the Elizabeth Islands and No Man's Land, but also the vessels that sailed within three miles of land, plus the lighthouses, light vessels and buoys that guided them. To assist him, he had a number of able men, including Deputy Sirson P. Coffin at Edgartown, Deputy Henry P. Worth at Holmes Hole (Vineyard Haven), another deputy collector at Tarpaulin Cove on Naushon Island, all salaried employees. There were others, with such titles as tidewaiters, inspectors and gaugers, who worked on a daily-pay basis as needed.

Collector Norton cooperated with the Massachusetts Humane Society, which maintained life-saving equipment at Cape Poge, South Beach (Squibnocket), Gay Head and Cuttyhunk. At Squibnocket, a mortar to fire a line to a foundering vessel was provided in 1858, the only such device in Dukes County. There were only 10 mortars in the state. Both the Federal and the state governments began to assist the Society financially at about this time. Previously, the

Society had paid for everything.

He also issued passports to Vineyard mariners. An act "for the Relief and Protection of American Seamen" had been passed some years before prohibiting the impressment of American sailors by foreign vessels. As late as 1843, the British were still impressing British-born Americans, forcing them into service under the chauvinist principle that once an Englishman, always an Englishman.

An indication of how many Vineyarders went to sea is the fact that the 853rd passport issued in Edgartown, now in the Society archives, was issued to Charles W. Fisher on September 1, 1856. The Edgartown seaman was 21 years old with dark hair and hazel eyes.¹²

Seizure of British Brig

In 1855, soon after he took office, Collector Norton was called upon to protect, not American seamen, but German citizens. The Revenue Cutter *James Campbell* had boarded the British brig *Buffalo* in Vineyard Sound for an inspection during which 22 distressed Germans were discovered on board. They had come aboard in New York for a voyage to Nova Scotia, supposedly having been hired to work on a railroad there. They now had reason to believe that they were going to be impressed into the British Army and sent to fight in the Crimean War. A man-of-war was waiting for them at Halifax to take them to the Middle East, they believed.

The cutter seized the brig and brought her into Holmes Hole. The captain notified Deputy Collector Worth who relayed the information to Collector Norton in Edgartown. While the *Buffalo* with the impressed Germans lay at anchor in Holmes Hole, Collector Norton made a quick trip to Boston to consult his superiors in the Custom House. A United States Marshal was promptly sent to the Vineyard to handle the case. He put the 22 Germans on the revenue cutter and returned with them to Boston. Both Norton and

Worth were applauded by the *Gazette* editor for keeping the Germans out of the Crimean War.

In September 1855, a coastal schooner, the *Joseph James* of Bangor, bound for Bath, Maine, was "discovered at anchor near Sancoty Head, Nantucket, with all hands down with Southern bilious fever and towed to this port [Edgartown] by some fishing smacks" at 2 a.m. She was anchored off the harbor lighthouse, it being an extremely dark night. The U.S. Coast Survey vessel *Gallatin*, which was in Edgartown, was notified and, despite the rough seas, towed her into the inner harbor. Collector Norton was informed that the captain and crew were helpless, four of them in their berths, the fifth lying virtually comatose, on the cabin sole.

Edgartown's Health Chairman, Francis Addlington, and a physician were summoned and taken aboard the schooner. The seamen were brought ashore for treatment. Four recovered, but the fifth, Jacob Evason, a German, died a few days later and was buried in Edgartown.¹³

There was no marine hospital on the Island at the time. Sick and injured seamen were placed in private homes and attended by Island physicians at government expense. Mariners with actively contagious diseases, like smallpox, were kept isolated. In Edgartown, a room in the harbor lighthouse was used for this purpose while Jeremiah Pease was the keeper, according to his diary. Later, an isolation shack was built on Cape Poge, near the lighthouse, for smallpox patients.

During most of Norton's term of office, Katama Bay, the southern end of Edgartown's inner harbor, was open to the ocean. Breaches in the Katama barrier beach on the south shore open sporadically, making Chappaquiddick a true island *pro tem*. A severe storm in 1846 had created an opening in the center of the barrier beach. A second storm in 1856 enlarged it and also created a second opening some distance to the west.

¹² In the 1855 state census Holmes Hole listed 229 mariners and 120 farmers out of a total population of about 1800.

¹³ VG, Sept. 28, 1855.

These openings made it quicker for pilots and fishermen to reach the open ocean from Edgartown, but in certain weather and tides they became treacherous. In 1849, Capt. Ephraim Norton had lost his life when his boat overturned, crushing him in the surf as he was returning, via the short cut, from Tuckernuck Island off Nantucket.

Ichabod Norton, Smuggler?

Those members who have seen the treasure of foreign artifacts at the Society know how prone sea captains were to returning home with souvenirs of their voyages. It comes as no surprise then to learn that Capt. Ichabod Norton, master of the whaler *Ocean* from Warren, R.I., had a few boxes and trunks on board as he was returning to Providence in 1857 after nearly four years in the Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea.

He picked up a pilot off Block Island for the trip up Narragansett Bay. Learning that the pilot was going to Holmes Hole after sailing the *Ocean* into port, he decided to save himself some trouble by shipping his luggage to the Vineyard aboard the pilot boat. The pilot dutifully dropped Norton's "sea dunnage" off on the wharf at Holmes Hole. It consisted of two trunks, two large boxes and three smaller boxes, and "a roll of 8 well-worn bear skins," all of which (not including his nautical instruments) the Captain claimed was "not worth \$75." The lot was left on the wharf at Holmes Hole "fully exposed to the view of the public seven hours." It was then picked up by *Eagle's Wing*, an Island steamer at the time, and taken around to Edgartown and stored in the house of Joseph Mayhew awaiting Ichabod's arrival.

Lo and behold, Captain Norton was arrested at Providence by Custom Officers and charged with smuggling "silks and furs" into the Vineyard. Immediately, his Island friends came to his defense.

"Captain Norton," the editor of the *Gazette* wrote, "is a most worthy man, a highly respected and intelligent citizen of this place, and as far removed from meanness, deception,

or duplicity of any kind, as any man among us." The editor blamed a member of the *Ocean's* crew, who had a "pique" against the captain, for making the unjust allegations, which rest "on a suspicion no bigger than a man's thumb."

The episode provided a good story for the newspaper, but for some reason Collector Norton was never quoted in the dispute involving another Norton, who like him, was from Farm Neck. Their familial relationship was distant, sharing only Nicholas Norton, who arrived on the Vineyard with the earliest settlers. Ichabod was of the tribe of Joseph; Constant of the tribe of Isaac.

In a letter to the *Gazette*, the accused Captain claimed ignorance of the law. He did admit that, in addition to his tools and nautical instruments, he had in the luggage a few bearskins, some seashells, plus "a few bottles of light wines furnished by my physician in Honolulu, S. I." He wrote that his goods "await the inspection of those vigilant officials who suppose they can prove they contain some \$1500 worth of furs and silks that were never within their lids." Perhaps, he eventually had to pony up a few dollars' duty to Collector Norton, but no record of such seems to have survived.¹⁴

Mischievous Republicans

In 1859, Collector Norton and his Democratic friends in Boston found themselves beset by new enemies. In Washington, there was a move afoot in Congress to abolish the smaller custom houses and consolidate the Revenue Service. Under the plan, Edgartown (a dreadful thought) might be annexed to New Bedford, a much larger and more active office. To block the consolidation move, a lobbyist from Boston was sent to Washington by several of the smaller districts, including Edgartown, to plead for their retention. The lobbyist, Albert Smith, was successful and wrote to Collector Norton on August 8, 1859, with an obvious purpose:

Having been instrumental in defeating the attempt to amalgamate the minor customs houses — or to annex them

¹⁴ VG, Sept. 18, 1857.

to the larger ones — some of those who were benefitted by my services have made me a small compensation gratuitously which I would not have accepted as I told you had I not been successful.¹⁵

Probably Collector Norton sent in a small contribution, but the record doesn't show it. He certainly understood the need for funds for such purposes, being active on at least one occasion in raising money for the Democratic party. On December 22, 1859, he co-signed a begging letter marked "Confidential" which was mailed to Democrats in the Vineyard district. It was mailed from Willard's Hotel in Washington, D.C., by the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who co-signed it along with Norton:

In order to properly meet and counteract the mischievous efforts of the Central Republican Committee in the same fields of operation, it has been determined under the advice of leading democrats from all parts of the Country to reorganize in this City, a Resident Committee of Correspondence of Publication.

The labors of our opponents, through a similar medium, have been most assiduously continued ever since the last Presidential struggle. No money or effort has been spared by them in printing and circulating their destructive dogma; and they are still at work with all the energy of a blind but hopeful fanaticism.

The expenditures of the Democratic National Committee pending the late election, though very considerable, were more than trebled by those of our opponents, and pecuniary contributions are still freely yielded by the members of their party, and widely collected. Under these circumstances the Committee have felt themselves fully justified in making this frank and earnest appeal to democrats of public position and known liberality for pecuniary assistance. . . .

Just how much Vineyard money was added to the Democratic till by Collector Norton's signature is not known, but however much it was it wasn't enough to assure him his post. In 1860 he was replaced as Collector by Ira Darrow, another strong Democrat. We don't know why he was ousted, but it may have been his stand against slavery.

¹⁵ Lobbyists apparently were paid only for their successes in those days.

The Right of Petition

In 1860, the Presidential election between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas captured the nation's attention. The issue of slavery and the imminent dissolution of the nation were uppermost in the minds of the electorate, including those on the Island.

Norton was an abolitionist who, some years earlier, had joined others in opposition to slavery by signing a stirring letter to the Massachusetts legislature, a copy of which is in the Society archives. Those who signed the letter were Charles Kidder, Samuel Butler, Benjamin Luce, Silas Luce, Benjamin Davis Jr., and Collector Norton, all of Edgartown.

To the Honourable the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts:

The undersigned male inhabitants of Edgartown . . . have learned with astonishment and alarm that the house of representatives of the United States did, on the 21st of December last, adopt a resolution in the words following, to wit,

"Resolved that all memorials, petitions and papers touching the abolition of slavery or the buying, selling or transferring of slaves shall be laid on the table, without reading, or reference, or printing, and no further action whatever be had thereon."

Your memorialists, regarding said resolution as a virtual denial to the people of the right of petition for, or redress of grievances, a violation of the true intent and spirit of the first article to the Constitution of the United States and as an assumption of authority, at war with the fundamental principles of our republican government, destruction of the rights of the people, an insult to their sovereignty and dangerous to the union of the states: do, therefore, respectfully and correctly request your honourable bodies to protest without delay, in the name of the people of the Commonwealth, against such resolution and to invoke the house of Representatives of the United States to immediately rescind it. And your Memorialists further ask that a copy of said protest and invocation may be sent as soon as possible to each of the senators and representatives of this Commonwealth in Congress to be by them laid before that body.

Perhaps Collector Norton's strong opposition to slavery did not please the Edgartown Democratic committee. Whatever the reason, that group endorsed the popular Capt. Ira Darrow, its chairman, to replace Norton as Collector of Customs. Captain Darrow was also the Island leader of the anti-Douglas group supporting Vice President John C. Breckinridge, a Southerner, whose platform called for the protection of the right to own slaves.

In June 1860, Darrow took over as Collector, replacing Constant Norton. No reason was given. A few months later, in September, the *Gazette* announced that

The Democrats of Edgartown who are in favor of the election of Breckinridge and Lane will meet at the office of Ira Darrow Esq. . . . the object is to elect delegates to attend the state convention . . .

Editor Marchant, also a Democrat, was opposed to Breckinridge, being one of the Stephen Douglas delegates to the state convention. Shortly, Ira Darrow was elected Cape and Island representative of the Breckinridge wing. Just before the election, Constant Norton, the anti-slavery petitioner, apparently changed his position because he was elected president of Vineyard Democrats in favor of Breckinridge.¹⁶

The deep split in the Democratic vote over the slavery issue was nationwide. It assured the election of Abraham Lincoln and the new Republican party even though Lincoln received much less than a majority of the total vote. However, Vineyard voters gave Lincoln a large majority.¹⁷

Norton, after leaving the Collector's post, continued to be active in community matters. He served as President of the Dukes County Educational Association, a prestigious post, providing evidence of his status in the community. He lived until 1877, presumably on his farm at Farm Neck, although there is some indication that for a time during his life he may have occupied the Thomas Cooke House, now

¹⁶ VG, Nov.2,1860.

¹⁷ VG, Nov.9,1860. Breckinridge and Douglas got about the same number of votes.

owned by the Society. When he died his inventory listed real estate valued at \$1593, plus eight cows, two feather beds and six rush-seated chairs. Two of the chairs are now in the Cooke House, the gift of Ethel Clark Norton in 1962. Her husband, Henry Franklin Norton, one-time historian and curator of the Society, was a grandson of Collector Norton. The gift is recorded in the Society's Accessions Catalog as follows:

November 1962. A gift in memory of H. Franklin Norton, our late curator, from his wife, Ethel Clark Norton, is a pair of rushbottom chairs of Sheraton derivation, used by Mr. Norton's grandfather when he occupied the Cooke House.

When and why Constant Norton had occupied the Cooke House is a subject for future research. Did he move the Custom Office back to the two upstairs rooms in the old house? This doesn't seem possible as the 1858 map of Edgartown shows the Custom House at the Four Corners. Perhaps he lived there, renting part of it while serving as Collector. But, as mentioned, further research is needed to answer the question.

Capt. Ira Darrow, Collector

Ira Darrow, who replaced Constant Norton, was born in Watertown, Connecticut, in 1799. He first visited the Vineyard as master of a fishing vessel. In 1825, he settled in Edgartown and three years later married Martha Wyer Norton, a Nantucket girl.

For many years, he maintained a wharf at the foot of his property on North Water Street, next to Dr. Fisher's candle factory. In 1851 he built what probably were the town's first rental bathhouses. His advertisement in the *Gazette* read:

BATHING BATHHOUSE

Rental. Season: Family \$3; one person \$1.50 or 12 1/2 cents each time; 6 1/4 cents for ladies.

He ran a packet boat between Edgartown and New Bedford for a while and later became a coal and oil dealer. On May 11, 1860, a month before he was appointed Customs Collector, he advertised in the *Vineyard Gazette*

that he had just received a shipment of Franklin, Treverton and Red Ash coal and would sell it "very low."

The newspaper reported a few months later that he was surveying Main Street, laboring "long and hard" to make it "by far the pleasantest and most desirable place of residence in town." It isn't clear what was meant.

When the Martha's Vineyard National Bank, with Dr. Daniel Fisher as president and Joseph Thaxter Pease cashier, opened in 1855, Darrow was elected to the board of directors.

Captain Darrow was not a total stranger to the responsibilities of Collector. In 1844 he had served as master of the Light Vessel *Nantucket*. His performance on the ship was severely criticized by Leavitt Thaxter, then Customs Collector responsible for the Light Vessels. Thaxter's efforts to oust him failed after several area mariners, including Capt. Lot Phinney of the steamboat *Massachusetts*, rallied to his defense. Collector Thaxter's criticism was branded as "contemptible and partisan." He was an active Whig and perhaps didn't think a Democrat should have the lightship command during a Whig administration.

The *Gazette* welcomed the Darrow appointment:

Capt. Ira Darrow has been appointed by the President of the United States Collector for the district of Edgartown. Capt. D. is a smart, enterprising, energetic man and will doubtless make a good and faithful officer. Constant Norton, Esq., who preceded him in the office is a gentleman of intelligence and urbanity, and his official acts have given entire satisfaction to the government.

Darrow was a close friend and business associate of Schubael L. Norton, both being involved in the early development of what is now Oak Bluffs. During the year he served as Collector, he put this work and his other business enterprises aside, devoting himself to his Federal job.

The Island's waterfront was undergoing a change at the time. More and more steamboats were seen alongside the whalers, packets and fishing vessels. Holmes Hole, a more

convenient coastal harbor than Edgartown, was taking over much of the traffic. Steamboats and packets bringing the thousands who came to Eastville for camp meetings peppered Vineyard Sound. Pleasure boats were beginning to appear and in 1860 fifteen elegant vessels of the New York Yacht Club sailed into Edgartown harbor on what was to become an annual cruise, remaining there for two days.

Little noticed by the whaling masters, the death knell of their industry was being sounded in Pennsylvania, where a competitive oil, much cheaper and easier to obtain, was discovered in March 1861. Man's need for oil to light his lanterns had sent him drilling into the earth to look for it. And he was successful beyond anyone's dream.¹⁸

Ironically, a year before, some Vineyard fishermen may have thought they had found a new local source of oil. Twenty men had gone dog-fishing near Menemsha and after catching large quantities of the fish were able to extract 14 barrels of oil "almost as good as sperm," it was reported.

The Dukes County Boot and Shoe Company, which had been formed in 1859, announced that it was employing 48 workers, making it the largest employer on the Island. Capt. Nathaniel M. Jernegan was president. In its first 10 months it produced 16,200 pairs of shoes, paying out over \$4000 in wages, including "at least \$700 of it to females."¹⁹

Another bold enterprise began in November 1860 when the schooner John Oliver was loaded with "Vineyard productions such as shoes, whale oil, sperm candles, potatoes, turnips, onions, cranberries, quinces and soap . . . and sailed for Charleston, South Carolina." Heading the new export company was Capt. John R. Sands.

Bricks from the Roaring Brook works, such as those Captain Sands was selling, were a regular export from the Vineyard at this time. One shipment in November 1860 resulted in tragedy:

¹⁸ The *Gazette* regularly reprinted articles from mainland newspapers stating that the Pennsylvania oil wells were already running dry and that the competition from petroleum would soon end.

¹⁹ The company lasted only two years, going out of business in 1861.

MARINE DISASTER.— The little schooner *Mogul* of Holmes Hole, under command of Capt. William A. Luce, left the "Roaring Brook," at Chilmark for New Bedford on Friday evening, 23d ult. She had as cargo a lot of bricks and some apples in barrels. The wind was quite high at the time and the sea was rough, and there seems to be no doubt but that she sunk before the opposite shore could be reached. A small boat belonging to the *Mogul* has since been found and some apples have been picked up at the Round Hill Creek with marks similar to those shipped by her. Capt. Luce was about 30 years old. He was accompanied by one of his brothers, a young man of seventeen. They were both smart, likely men, and sons of Capt. Grafton Luce of Holmes Hole. Capt. Luce has been very unfortunate in the loss of his sons, one of them having been killed some two years since in New York by falling from aloft in a vessel in which he was about to embark on his first voyage. The father and mother of the deceased young men are now well advanced in life and these afflictions fall heavily upon them. . .²⁰

Ira Darrow's term of office turned out to be shorter than that of any other Edgartown Collector. By the end of his first year, it was evident that the Lincoln Club, named for the newly elected President and headed by John Vinson, would challenge the Democrat's right to that Federal position. In those days patronage worked swiftly and inexorably. It didn't take long for the axe to fall.

A few months after Lincoln was sworn into office in March 1861, the *Gazette* reported:

Hon. John Vinson is appointed Collector of Customs for Edgartown District, *vice* Ira Darrow Esq removed. Jeremiah Pease Esq has received his commission as deputy collector and Inspector, *vice* Sirson P. Coffin Esq. removed. Capt. Henry W. Beetle has been appointed Deputy Collector and Inspector at Holmes Hole, *vice* Henry P. Worth, Esq. removed. Joseph W. Holmes Esq. has been appointed Inspector at Holmes Hole, *vice* Matthew P. Butler, Esq. removed.²¹

²⁰ VG, Sept. 7, 1860.

²¹ VG, June 7, 1861. Deputy Collector Jeremiah Pease was Jeremiah Junior, taking over where his father, who died in 1857, had left off.

Shoes—Shoes.

The Dukes County Boot and Shoe Company,

HEREBY give notice that they have commenced manufacturing Men's, Boys' and Youth's Buff, Kips, and Split Brogans,

which they will sell on as favorable terms as can be bought elsewhere. They will also make to order, Calf, Goat, Enameled, Imitation Goat, and Patent Leather goods, with promptness and dispatch. The Company beg leave to say, that they have secured the services of a man who has had twenty-five years experience in all the various branches of the business, to superintend the manufacturing of their goods. They therefore feel confident they can offer their patrons a well got up article.

They would also say, that they have obtained experienced hands as bottomers, and that they have their fitting done by hand, in the old fashioned way, with a strong waxed thread, so their customers may rely on a good retailing shoe.

Orders sent to NATHANIEL M. JERNEGAN, President of the Company, will meet with prompt attention. Edgartown, July 14th, 1859.

This Edgartown shoe factory lasted two years.

Collector Darrow was officially notified by Republican Vinson that President Lincoln had named him as the new Customs Collector. Darrow, a man of the world of politics, was not surprised. He replied immediately:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of this morning informing me of your appointment as Collector of the Customs for this District, etc. Would reply that I shall be happy to wait upon you at any time which it may meet your convenience.

Very respectfully,
Your Obed. Servt.

Ira Darrow

For his year's work, Darrow received \$1054, his deputy, Sirson P. Coffin, \$1095. The Holmes Hole Deputy Collector, Henry Worth, who had served in the post since 1817, received \$600. The deputy at Tarpaulin Cove was paid \$400.

Civil War Rally

On April 12, 1861, shortly before Captain Darrow left the post of Collector, the Federal Fort Sumter was fired upon by South Carolina forces and evacuated. It marked the

beginning of the Civil War. President Lincoln, in office only a month, called for 75,000 men to join the militia.

The Island responded with a "Great Union Demonstration" two weeks later in front of the Edgartown Town Hall on Main Street. Jubilantly, Editor Marchant reported that between 1000 and 1500 Islanders were on hand for the ceremonies marking the Island's devotion to the Union and to its new president, Abraham Lincoln. The demonstration began at 6:15 p.m. with the tolling of church bells. At 6:30, the flag was raised. Church choirs joined under Prof. I.H. Franklin, singing school master, to sing hymns and patriotic songs. A 13-gun salute, one for each of the original states, was fired at the North School House, two blocks away. Speeches were many, calling for the town to bury "all political differences in the graves of the past."

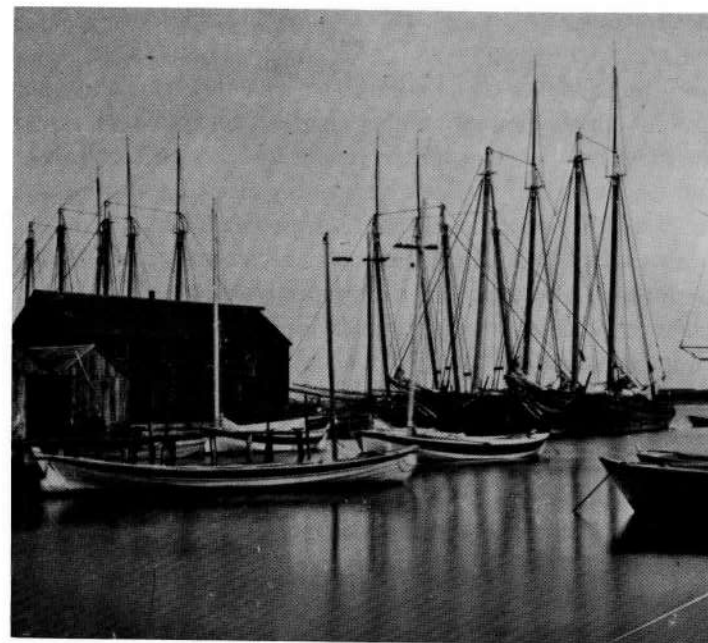
It was the largest meeting ever held in the town's history, wrote Editor Marchant, congratulating its organizer and conductor, Samuel Osborn.²²

A similar demonstration was held at Holmes Hole the following evening. "The people there are awake and ready for action," the *Gazette* reported.

After these celebrations, the Islanders hunkered down for war. They were urged to turn to farming to assure themselves of a food supply. Committees of Safety were formed to set up a means of defending the Island from attack. Tisbury women learned to fire revolvers and women all over the Island organized the Soldiers Relief Society to aid the combatants. The Edgartown Home Guard signed up 75 men and Capt. Cyrus Pease, the artist, put aside his paint brushes to command the unit. West Tisbury and Chilmark formed a combined Home Guard of about 50 men, commanded by Capt. D.A. Cleaveland. It met in Agricultural Hall. The people at Holmes Hole voted to urge the state to provide an armed coaster and three rifled cannon, plus 100 small arms, so they could defend themselves.

"The Confederate traitors have chosen war," wrote Editor

²² VG, May 3, 1861.



Although taken about 20 years later, photograph shows Edgartown waterfront as it probably looked during the time of this article.

Marchant, reminding his readers that there had been ten attempts to resist the authority of the Federal government since its organization, and that all had failed. Charles H. Shute hung a banner over his storefront in Edgartown reading "DOWN WITH HOME TRAITORS."

But along with the patriotic fervor, the normal business of life on the Island continued. The Dukes County Educational Association held a debate on the question: "Is the moral character of youth strengthened by being kept away from temptation?" Taking the affirmative was Richard L. Pease; on the negative side was Rev. E.H. Nevin. The Universalist Society of Holmes Hole held a May Festival in Capawock Hall complete with the crowning of the May Queen. Three hundred barrels of scup were taken one night "at Menemsha Bite, in Chilmark."

Out of a job, Captain Darrow picked up his business

career where he had left it a year before, becoming one of the wealthiest men on the Island. He was one of the six men who founded the Oak Bluffs Land and Wharf Company, which built the first wharf there, at the head of which stood the huge new Seaview Hotel, the Island's proudest. It laid out the parks and streets which today give Oak Bluffs such an inviting vista overlooking Nantucket Sound.

He died in 1871, at the peak of that economic boom and before the Land and Wharf Company went broke. He was survived by his wife and three children, Rebecca, Eliza and Ira Jr., to whom he left 20 shares of the Martha's Vineyard National Bank, \$10,000 in the Oak Bluffs Land and Wharf Company, a cottage and a barn on the campgrounds, half interest in a store on Osborn's wharf at the foot of Main Street in Edgartown, the Darrow homestead, valued at \$3500, and a half interest in each of three vessels.

His successor in the Custom House at Four Corners, John Vinson (who later changed the spelling to Vincent), remained in the office from June 3, 1861, until 1870. It was a ten-year period that saw Edgartown's whaling fleet, small though it was, decimated in the Civil War. But money came pouring in from a different source when the summer resort of Cottage City became a boom town, the middle-class Newport, as some called it.

Such spectacular growth was the realization of Ira Darrow's dream, but he was no longer around to enjoy it.

(To be continued)

Where there's a Will, there's a Way . . .

to help preserve and publish
Dukes County history.
When drafting your will, won't
you please remember to include
the Dukes County Historical
Society among your bequests.

The Hallucinations of Rev. John Adams

by ARTHUR R. RAILTON

NO person ever aroused the people of Martha's Vineyard with an intensity equalling that of Methodist circuit rider, Rev. John Adams. From Chappaquiddick to Chilmark, Vineyarders were "born again," brought to God by his uninhibited, hell-fire preaching.

Arriving in 1821, he challenged the Island's religious establishment and when he left two years later, it was in splinters. Sent to the Vineyard by the Methodist Conference, Adams saw himself as God's general in a holy crusade and the Island as his battlefield. He held hundreds of meetings, day and night. He was relentless in seeking converts. His energy and faith were boundless. And his labors nearly killed him.

The fervor which had brought such success, in the end, turned many against him, especially in Edgartown. By converting so many of the proper folk, Adams made Methodism less emotional, more sedate, something he was not comfortable with. And Edgartown Methodists became less comfortable with him.

John Adams (1791-1850) was a Methodist circuit rider whose evangelizing became so famous that in later years he became known as "Reformation John." His two tours of duty on the Vineyard covered only three years: from 1821 to 1823 and 1826 to 1827. But those years were the stormiest in the Island's religious history.¹ During those three years, his

¹ To him, these three years were the most important in his life, occupying 52 pages a year in his autobiography compared with an average of 15 a year for his ministry elsewhere.

ARTHUR R. RAILTON is editor of this journal.

preaching, singing and praying brought scores of Vineyarders to their knees, crying out for salvation, trembling with emotion.

He converted so many to Methodism that, when he left in 1827, it was the fastest-growing denomination on the Island and the established Congregational church, after nearly 200 years of supremacy, was tottering.

His flock was Island-wide, his buggy being a familiar sight along every back road, in every town, as he criss-crossed the Island, expounding the glory of God and of what he called his "experimental religion."

But during his second tour on the Vineyard, early in 1827, something snapped. He suffered a severe mental breakdown. For several weeks, he was thought to be dangerously deranged. It is that period that will be dealt with here.

He began acting strangely early in February during a revival time in Holmes Hole. On February 12, several men, including Dr. Daniel Fisher of Edgartown, broke into the room where he was sitting and bound him hands and feet, tying him to a bed.

Jeremiah Pease, one of Reverend Adams's proudest conversions, wrote in his diary the next day, February 13, 1827:

Brother John Adams is bro't from H.Hole sick & in a deranged state of mind, having laboured there beyond his strength.²

Some years later, Rev. Hebron Vincent, another early convert, described the breakdown in his characteristic overblown rhetoric:

... by excessive exertions, Mr. Adams about the middle of the year became so impaired in health as to have superinduced a state of mental aberration so that for several months he was wholly unfit for public duties.³

But Reverend Adams denied that it was overwork that brought on his illness. In fact, he refused to admit that he was ill. Instead, as in everything, he saw the hand of God

² See page 146, this issue.

³ Manuscripts, DCHS.

in it, believing his delusions, his hallucinating, were God's way of communicating to him that he was chosen to lead the war against the devil on the Vineyard. Adams blamed those who tried to help him for his physical suffering:

My brethren that took the charge of me were ignorant of my case. They thought, as I had been at Holmes Hole in the reformation, that I had labored too hard, had gone without food and sleep, and had taken a bad cold, becoming sick by imprudence; but this was not the case. It is true I was sick in body, but more through the treatment I received than anything else. God suffered it to come upon me for some wise purpose; and, although the wicked meant it for evil, God meant it for good; therefore, I "could kiss the rod and him who appointed it."⁴

Adam's first tour of duty on the Vineyard, from 1823 to 1825, had been a glorious success. When he left at the end of those two years, a crowd of grateful Methodists gathered to wave goodbye. He wrote in his journal:

... we leave our weeping friends by the sea-side and on the wharves and set sail for New Bedford. I bless God that I ever went to Martha's Vineyard, and think I shall in eternity, and scores with me.⁵

With his leaving, the fanatical, emotional character of Methodism became diluted. Without his leadership, a more sedate form of worship took place. More rational heads prevailed. As Adams later wrote: "At the first commencement of the revival, when Gideon blew the trumpet (Br. Pease, etc.), there was a great gathering; but after a while the fearful and faint-hearted went back."

Some of the more fervent Island Methodists wanted him back. The Rev. E. Hyde, Methodist elder, was sent by the Boston District to determine what should be done. He concluded that Adams should return to rekindle the flame. He informed Adams in October 1825:

I have just arrived from the Vineyard. . . you must go on.

⁴ *Life and Labors of Reformation John Adams*, E.G. Adams editor, Geo. C. Rand publisher, Boston, 1853, p.234. All subsequent quotations, unless otherwise identified, are from this autobiography.

⁵ Adams, p.164.

. . . There is no one but you that will meet their views. . .
it is in vain for me to send anybody else.⁶

John Adams was not surprised. To convert the Vineyard to Methodism was the greatest challenge the Lord had ever given him and there was much unfinished work:

Long ago believing God had more work to accomplish through me on this isle of the sea, I thought. . . God would send me here again; and through many obstructions, the way was opened. . .

On June 30, 1827, he and his wife arrived "in a powerful rain . . . much fatigued" to begin his second tour. He doesn't mention it, but Mrs. Adams was in the eighth month of pregnancy with their first child after eight years of marriage. Adams wrote that they were received with "joy and thanksgiving, though, no doubt, many felt inwardly sorry; and I believe I should have been here before, if Satan had not hindered."

As Elder Hyde had discovered, the reformation had cooled. "Many stay at home from meeting. . . while God's 'house lies waste,'" Adams reported. He was more certain than ever that God had chosen him to win the Vineyard away from Satan.

But Edgartown had changed in the three years he had been away. Methodists, once called "crazy Methodists," were more proper. Their congregation had grown; they had their own church building. Prominent citizens had joined the church, men like Jeremiah Pease.⁶ Two other Island towns had preachers of their own; Adams, the circuit rider travelling the whole Island, was less essential now. The other two preachers, Caleb Lamb in Holmes Hole and Hebron Vincent in West Tisbury, were just beginning their careers. Neither was vigorous enough for the theatrical Adams. To him, the ministry was a holy war, not just prayer meetings and Sabbath services.

He saw the young men as his assistants. Lamb was the favorite, his "spiritual son," he called him. Hebron Vincent,

a school teacher and part-time preacher, was too reserved. Adams referred to him as Jeremiah's apprentice.⁷

Those first months on the Island were not easy on Rev. and Mrs. Adams. She soon gave birth, apparently with considerable difficulty, to a boy. Both mother and infant were slow to recover from the birth trauma, requiring "watchers every night, two nurses besides the doctor who has paid us 20 visits." Adams, too, was having health problems, including an infected tooth and serious physical fatigue.

Through it all, however, he continued circuit riding, being away from home for days as he travelled up-Island where there were no Methodist churches. He held meetings, sometimes as many as three a day, in private homes. On October 24, in Chilmark, there was a near disaster:

In going to a meeting in a dark night, while my horse was passing down a bad hill, I was thrown out of my wagon; but the Lord preserved me from hurt.⁸

In November, he received a letter telling of the death of his mother in New Hampshire. Soon after, he went north for a brief visit with his father, after which he spent nearly a month travelling and preaching in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Shortly after his return to the Island, he began to fantacize, acting strangely in public.

He seemed to be having doubts about his ability to do God's bidding, to win the holy war against the enemy. In his first tour on the Island, Edgartown had been his greatest triumph, but now he sensed an apathy there. Chilmark, Tisbury and Holmes Hole were much more receptive to his evangelizing. His greatest successes this time were in Holmes Hole and he spent more of his time there. It was there that he was stricken.

He was staying in what he called his "mansion house"

⁷ Vincent had, in fact, been indentured to Jeremiah as his apprentice for a number of years. Jeremiah was a journeyman cordwainer in those early days.

⁸ Adams says he was not hurt, but perhaps this accident was a factor in his later hallucinating.

⁶ Jeremiah Pease of Edgartown is our diarist. See page 142ff.

in Holmes Hole when his behavior turned peculiar. He became withdrawn, walking the streets and along the beach by himself, ignoring greetings from friends. He would enter houses, even those of strangers, uninvited, walking through them without recognizing anyone. Sometimes he would stand silently in an empty room for long periods. He walked into shops, speaking to no one, even those he knew. Word spread through the village that he was ill, that he needed help.

One day, after a walk along the beach in the harbor, he went to the house of Widow West, an early Methodist convert, for a class-meeting:

I was bowed down, while the people were coming to meeting. The place grew darker and darker to me, and great darkness come over my mind. It seemed that I had no power to arise. . . and how I was to be delivered I knew not. . . about thirty were assembled for a praying and singing. . . I soon began our class-meeting . . . [but] my brethren. . . had cast me spiritually into the dungeon. . . I slipped out from among them and went [to my room].

He spent a sleepless night during which,

before day-break I thought a shock of darkness came over me, like the sun in a total eclipse. . . I . . . realized that Jeremiah, of Edgartown, was like Shadrach; and Asa, in the hill country, Meshach; and Thomas, in Goshen, was Abednego . . . In the morning we offered incense on the family altar, and fire came down and consumed the sacrifice . . . We then parted.⁹

He spent the day in "the house where the ark of the covenant rested, and 'an Ethiopian made me a fire in the king's council-room.'" That evening there was another class-meeting which he attended. Again, he saw the event as a Biblical drama:

. . . the prodigal son stood in meeting in the light of Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok, and Arcturus in the place of Cush. Ahimaaz began meeting, but he had not the king's tidings; and as soon as he left off speaking, Cush brought the true tidings, and the soldiers and officers in the king's

⁹ It seems possible that Jeremiah was with him in the morning. His diary shows him at Holmes Hole. The hill country is Chilmark; Goshen is unclear, perhaps Holmes Hole.

army took courage, and, drawing the bow at a venture, a sea captain from Nantucket, like an Ahab, was wounded . . . That night I withdrew, and walked by the sea-shore. Before we came around the family altar to offer our sacrifices, I ate an apple, and it distressed my stomach and clouded my mind. I found it forbidden fruit. . . I then passed on to a mystical inn; but the master, W.D., was gone. There was no room for me there, so I turned aside and went to Sister Jane's, a mother in Israel.

The next morning, he "gave Jeremiah some instructions in the stable . . . I also had some conversation with Abigail and Naomi, Sisters Robinson and Beecher."¹⁰

Again that evening he went to class-meeting, but was not inspired. "I thought that some would put me in a dungeon, as the princes did Jeremiah. . . In family prayer, I was much shut up. . . the burden of the Lord was on me and I realized that this island was typical of Patmos and that John answered to the Revelator and my son in the gospel's name to Caleb, Joshua's companion. . ."¹¹

The next day about thirty persons assembled for a class meeting and "they drew up Jeremiah and took him out of the dungeon." Again, when Adams tried to take over the meeting, the group, he wrote, didn't like it:

. . . my brethren, like the old Jews, had cast me spiritually into the dungeon . . . before I left them, I cautioned them not to fall out by the way; but they forgot it and went to disputing, while I slipped out from among them and went home.

This was followed by another sleepless night.

I lay a while, and arose again, calling up my colored servant to make a fire. After some compulsion, she bowed down to be prayed for . . . In the morning, the Lord taught me a new song, one that I never knew before . . . [and] three little angels appeared to me, and played around me, clapping their glad wings. Such glory I never knew before. That morning my mind appeared in the chariot of Jesus, King

¹⁰ Naomi Beecher, cousin of Rev. Lyman Beecher, was one of the earliest Island Methodists. Abigail Robinson probably was Abigail Robertson, who later married Isaac Daggett, son of William Daggett, an ardent Holmes Hole Methodist.

¹¹ Patmos is an island in the Aegean Sea where St. John the Divine wrote the Revelation. Caleb is Rev. Caleb Lamb, the Holmes Hole minister.

of the Jews, passing through the streets of Jerusalem.

Monday, he remained in his room all morning, asking God to instruct him. He ate hard bread, cheese, drank some tea with milk in it, and spent his time writing.

. . . my health of body . . . was very good, and my mind was very clear. In the afternoon I was impressed by God's Spirit. . . to take a walk out. I went into the postmaster's house and was invited to take supper, but chose not to. . . I passed on in silence and came to Jane Godfrey's house. I went in and sat down. . . While I was at Jane's, there were several came in and went out; but I said nothing to any one. . . I was urged very hard to drink some coffee and eat some victuals; but I made no reply. I warmed my feet, and going to the back room for prayer, the sable shades of night came on.

He sat there alone in the back room praying and when it became dark, a "mob of wicked men" surrounded the small house, which had only two rooms. He tried to escape, but the front room was "partly filled with men."

They took me and brought me into the front room. Before they could bind me, I knocked off Doctor D. Fisher's cap¹². . . I knocked off the hats of several. . . it appeared that all the powers of hell and darkness were let loose upon me. . . they bound me, and shed my blood from my right arm. . . I was bound to the bed and had watchers that night, — Anthony Joseph, and one more.

The next day I was brought to Edgartown by the way of Willis' Plains,— hauled, feet foremost, about nine or ten miles, which was calculated to cause the blood to flow into my head. . . Captain Crosby, E. Crowell and John R. Norton, brought me to Edgartown, bound hands and feet with strong ropes. I was brought into the house of Thomas M. Coffin all one as dead. He begged my body, as Joseph, a rich man of Arimathea, did the body of Christ. Tuesday afternoon was like the "lion of the tribe of Judah;" I did rend, tear and devour.¹³

He was placed in bed, bound firmly to the bedstead while two men guarded him twenty-four hours a day, in shifts. The watchers were among the best-known men in town:

¹² This was Dr. Daniel Fisher of Edgartown, later to become wealthy in the whaling business.

¹³ The Coffin house, recently demolished, was on Winter Street.

Daniel Norton, Isaiah D. Pease, Jeremiah Banning, Uriah Morse, Frank Whimpenny, Henry Cleaveland, John Coffin, Zacheus Norton and others. Jeremiah Pease was not among them.

There was a stream of visitors on that first day. "The more company I had the worse I felt." The doctor tried to get him to take some medicine but

I did not believe in Doctor Fisher's medicine; for, while I was fishing for souls, he was fishing for money. I believe God suffered the devil to afflict me in wicked men, as Job of old was afflicted. They offered me medicine that I had no faith in . . . they tried to deceive me. They thought I was crazy.

His wife and Thomas M. Coffin, in whose house he was confined, had just about given him up as dying. His pulse could hardly be perceived.

I had the rattles in my throat and my countenance was deadly pale. But . . . I knew all they said and did in my presence and could hear and understand all that was said and done in the other chamber. Previous to this, some had pulled my hair. . . smote me with the palms of their hands . . . I, moreover, was struck or smitten with the fist of a man in my nose and mouth till they bled.

But by Sunday, February 18, he seemed to have improved enough to be made to sweat out the poisons.

Then my watchers and wife, with others, concluded to put me into a hot bath. They did not temper the bath right, and so burnt me . . . In the afternoon they permitted me to take off [shave] my beard.

On Tuesday, it was decided to try once again to sweat him in a hot bath, but this time the water was too cool and he was taken out and returned to bed, again bound hands and feet to the frame.

More than a week had gone by since he had been carried to Edgartown and, strangely, Jeremiah Pease, his Shadrach, had not stopped in to visit him once. It must have bothered Adams. He wrote on Wednesday,

Br. J.P. [Jeremiah Pease] watched with me by way of proxy; that is, he hired James Wheelden to take his place. That

night I had Captain Crocker and Holmes Smith to watch with me. Captain C. concluded that I 'need' not think to get away from him; for he was a very strong man, and there were none in town could throw him. . . What seemed the most mysterious to them . . . was that, oftentimes, they found my hands and feet loosed in bed, after they had tied me fast . . . and placed the knots where I could not reach them. But the prayer of faith prevailed . . . it was God that loosed me.

My brethren that took the charge of me were ignorant of my case. They thought . . . that I had labored too hard, had gone without food and sleep, and had taken a bad cold, becoming sick by imprudence; but this was not the case. . . I was sick in body, but more through the treatment I received than anything else. God suffered it to come upon me for some wise purpose. . .

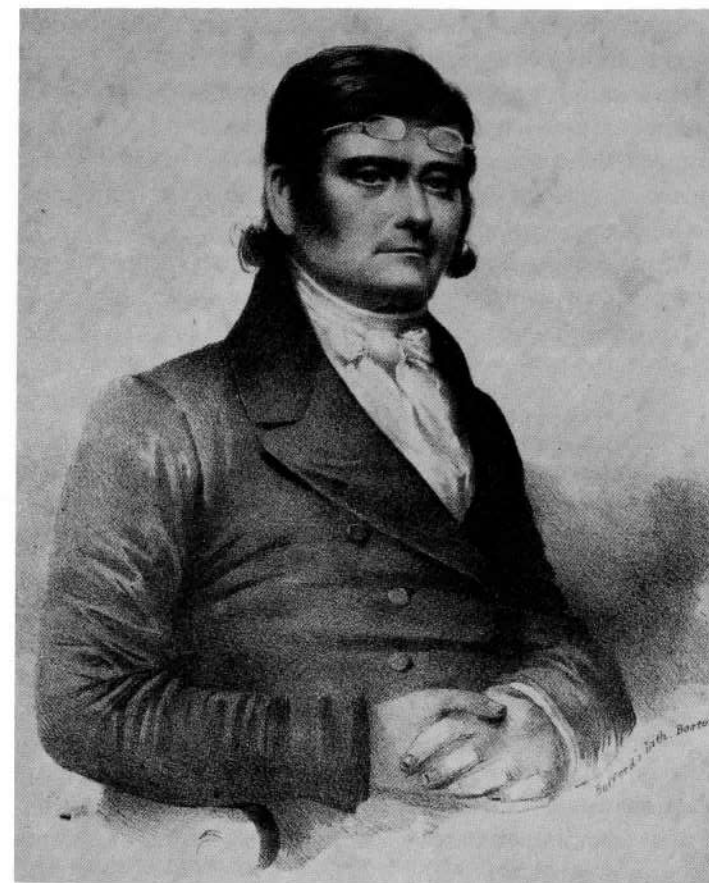
Thursday, his "quack doctors", as he called them, once again put him in a hot bath. This time it worked. He sweat freely and drank cold water in abundance. One of the two men who watched him that night, Aaron Gray, "had become somewhat *gray* and rusty in His Majesty's service because he had not frequently anointed his shield or exercised that faith that works by love." Adams wrote that he was willing to overlook that because he "had come to take the charge of a man that was in some degree insane, according to the philosophy or logic of old Mr. Leviticus, or, in other words, the Rev. J., a Thaxterian. Therefore, I proceeded to read Scripture and pray with them."¹⁴

Even when bound to the bedstead, there was no way to keep John Adams from trying to lead those who had gone astray to his God.

Friday, he managed secretly to loosen the straps around his body and sit up in bed. He took the lower part of the window shade as a staff and, leaning on it, was able to look out the window. This attracted his guard's attention and he was put back into full restraint. But that night,

Blessed be God! . . . the Lord sent his angel, J.P., . . . I had been bound all day, like Peter between two soldiers, and

¹⁴ He was referring, of course, to Rev. Joseph Thaxter, long-time pastor of the Congregational Church. Thaxter was ailing at the time. He died five months later, age 84.



"Reformation John" Adams (1791-1850), a charismatic, handsome evangelist.

he kindly loosed me. I believe I was like Mordecai, the Jew; for the king in the place, spiritually speaking, delighted to honor me by letting me sit up, clothed in 'royal apparel', which I used to wear before I was bound.

Finally, J.P., Jeremiah Pease, his proudest convert, had come to see him and, it is obvious, that John Adams was pleased.

Adams urged Jeremiah to take his place on the Sabbath and lead the Edgartown Methodist meeting. But Jeremiah chose to sit with Adams while his former apprentice, Hebron

Vincent, preached. That, said Adams, "was good enough for the unbelieving Jews in this place."¹⁵

For another week, the patient was kept in bed, most of the time bound hands and feet. Jeremiah, after his Sunday visit, remained absent. Reverend Adams had many visitors, almost all of them women, some of whom acted frightened in the presence of the sick preacher.

During that week, Caleb Lamb, the Holmes Hole minister, Adams's "son in the gospel," stopped in to see him:

It seems that he had come to himself. . . and said, "I will arise and go to my father;" so he mounted his steed and travelled towards the east, not knowing what reception he would meet with from his father, J.A. [John Adams]. When he knocked at my door, it was with trembling; but I arose, and had compassion on him; and, although I treated him with some neglect at first, it was only to bring his past sins to his mind. . . the pilot's wife wanted to row him away, but did not succeed. Then Nancy, the Merchant's wife, came and looked sly, and delivered a pie, and went in haste; but another Merchant came and knocked at the door . . . but, being reminded of Gal. 2:4,5, he gained no admission into my mansion.¹⁶ I now had a good interview with Br. Lamb without further interruption and he stated. . . that some did not believe I was crazy. . .

After Caleb Lamb left, he had two other visitors, both of whom prayed for him, but Adams felt that the prayer of one, Jeremiah Banning, was "like a sounding brass and tinkling cymbal." Then,

. . . a man knocked at the door and I said, "Who comes there?" The reply was, "A friend." I said I doubted and opened the door and, behold, it was Br. Morse, who lived at the sea-side. Once he loved Jesus and John, but now he was a Jonah, and consulted with J.P.'s pupil, ***, who lied to him about me; and they two together said my watchers gave me too much liberty and that I ought to be bound faster. It was with fear and trembling that he entered . .

¹⁵ To Adams, all non-Methodists and, as in this case, lukewarm Methodists, were "Jews." Hebron Vincent was acting as Methodist minister in Edgartown, but Adams was not impressed by his preaching.

¹⁶ The Biblical reference describes "false brethren secretly brought in. . . to spy out our freedom. . . to them we did not yield submission even for a moment. . ."

. He inquired for Br. Lamb, and hastened out of the room.¹⁷

After being absent more than a week, on Tuesday, March 5, Jeremiah returned, this time discreetly:

This day I had one visitor; he came up the back way and returned the same way he came. We had a pleasant interview together; we talked, read, sung, and prayed, and my Sarai told Br. J.P. that she could say as an individual she had been deceived about her husband's case.

The following afternoon, Adams was allowed to go out of the house, after being "somewhat worried in my sleep" the night before. He walked to Jeremiah Pease's house where he "talked and prayed. . . and came home refreshed." In the evening,

I was directed to read in *Ezekiel*; and when I read the third chapter, 24, 25, and 26 verses, I found it to be just what I had passed through at Holmes Hole; and yet I had not realized this scripture before. This was very convincing to [my wife] Sarah.

What he had read in *Ezekiel* did seem relevant to the events of the previous month:

But the Spirit entered into me, and set me upon my feet; and he spoke with me and said to me, "Go, shut yourself within your house. And you, O son of man, behold, cords will be placed upon you, and you shall be bound with them, so that you cannot go out among the people; and I will make your tongue cleave to the roof of your mouth, so that you shall be dumb and unable to reprove them; for they are a rebellious house."¹⁸

On March 8th, the next day, Adams suddenly announced that he would go up-Island where, it is clear, he felt more needed than in Edgartown.

When Jeremiah Pease heard of the plan, he came over and tried to persuade him to wait another day, as did Thomas Coffin, in whose house he was staying. Reverend Adams remained firm.

. . . I considered the Lord had the greatest claim on me;

¹⁷ J.P.'s pupil was Hebron Vincent, Jeremiah Pease's apprentice.

¹⁸ *Ezekiel* 3:24-6. Caleb Lamb had asked Adams why he had not shouted out when "the wicked laid hands" on him at Holmes Hole. Now, he knew why: the Lord had cleaved his tongue to the roof of his mouth.

so I repaired my carriage, and set my house in order, and, taking my wife and child, we girded up our loins and this scripture followed my spouse, *Isaiah 55:12*, "For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace: the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands."

They went to Holmes Hole where they "were received kindly at my old mansion-house, T.W.'s, and many expressed joy at my return. I call at Br. C.'s; but his wife was somewhat afraid." The following day, Friday, March 9, he walked around the village stopping in various shops and houses, translating each encounter into Biblical events. At one place, a peddler was selling trinkets:

I availed myself of an opportunity "to counsel him to buy of me gold tried in the fire" but he seemed so earnest for dollars that he appeared quite unwilling to hear about crowns. His carnal mind arose and the viper hissed and, crooking his tail, slipped off. As his name was Burnham, I gave them a caution not to get *burnt* by him.

In the afternoon, after a prayer session with several of "the daughters of Zion," he resumed his trip up-Island.

I then took horse and carriage, and taking Sarai and son, made my way towards the plains of Moab. As we passed on by the meetinghouse, it appeared like a whited sepulchre, full of dead men's bones and uncleanness, — the bone of Fatalism and sinful pollution.¹⁹

They spent the night at Harrison Paine Mayhew's in Chilmark²⁰ where Rev. Caleb Lamb, his spiritual son, and several others assembled for a prayer meeting. The following morning, Adams was given the latest news by Lamb:

I learn by Brother L---b that Elihu, the physician in church affairs for the Isle of Patmos, has written to the high priest on Boston District to send them a [Preacher], and that Br. [Horton] from the Isle of Crete, or [Nantucket], is expected. I say Amen to that.²¹

¹⁹ This was the Proprietors' Meeting House on Main Street, used by various denominations since 1788. The Methodists built their own church in 1833. See *Sketches of Old Homes in Our Village*, Mrs. Howes Norris, 1921.

²⁰ Harrison Mayhew later moved to Edgartown and lived in the handsome colonial house at School and Cooke streets (now the Shinn house).

²¹ While Adams was confined, he wrote, "the Lord said I must go to [Nantucket] Island; and so I expect to go." Horton's transfer must have reinforced this expectation.

He spent several days in Chilmark, seeing every meeting in ancient Biblical terms:

The ship that was chartered from Joppa to Edgartown, and from thence to Holmes Holes, — or, in other words, from Asia to Macedonia, — fell in with pirates; but the commander would not give up the helm, and the conflict was so sharp that they mustered all their forces and in the contest bound him with cords and shed his blood . . .

The ship's commander, John Adams, was determined not to give up the helm. He continued to get his instructions:

March 20th. — The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, "Write as I shall direct, beginning back at the house of Br. S.L., [Seth Luce] at North Shore." Here I received some favors. I now purposed to visit Br.*** (Sennacherib, King of Assyria). . . I informed him that I had a claim on him, and that he was my property. . . For a while the spirit of unbelief raged in him; but through faith, God's Spirit and word, it was checked. I then requested all to leave the room but him and me; and with them the Egyptians were put out and the spiritual father was revealed to the son and he became like a lamb, bowing on his knees and committing himself to God. When he was conquered by love, we departed in peace, — that is I, my wife and child; and he piloted us through several pairs of bars.

The family returned to Holmes Hole where, after two days of prayer meetings, a messenger informed him that he "was desired to meet Br. D.D., the high-priest on B.D., who had just come from N.B. to the island."²²

Two days later, the meeting with Br. D.D. took place in Edgartown. Jeremiah Pease was the go-between. The meeting was held in John Adams's house. After an opening prayer,

Young Elihu strove to rend the kingdom like an Absalom out of his father David's hands; but, not moving in God's order, the oxen shook the ark, and I withdrew a while by request. In the upper apartment I committed my case to God; and then returning, we finished our business about temporal and spiritual things and concluded.²³

The group still had not resolved the problem of getting

²² Br. D.D. was Dr. Daniel Dorchester of the Boston District, who had been sent, via New Bedford (N.B.) to persuade Adams to leave Edgartown.

²³ He gives no clues to identify Elihu, "the physician in church affairs for the Isle of Patmos." It may have been Jeremiah Pease.

John Adams to leave Edgartown. From the meeting, they went to hear Brother Dorchester preach, the matter of Adams leaving still on everybody's mind. After preaching, Dorchester said, "Brethren, you know your privilege." Several others spoke after the sermon, including Adams:

and then "Me" spoke. And while "me" was speaking, Br. D. [Dorchester] kicked me "easy" to stop; but "me" kept on moderately, remembering *Phil.4:5*. Then D. pulled my coat; but "me" spoke a little longer; then he closed by prayer, and went off, and left "me", but "me" prayed, and came home, grieved on account of their unbelief and hardness of heart.²⁴

That was on Monday. Tuesday afternoon, Rev. J. Horton arrived from Nantucket and came to the Adams's house, along with Daniel Dorchester, the presiding elder. They had come to take over in Edgartown:

The presiding elder conversed with me on the subject and I told him there were be no difficulty betwixt Br. J.H. [Horton] and me on the subject of temporal support. Br. D.D. wanted me to relinquish my charge in this place to J.H. and said if I did not they should scold at me; but to this I gave no consent. Br. H., I was informed, said he was willing that Br. A. [Adams] should have the charge.

With the Reverend Jotham Horton now the minister in Edgartown, John Adams spent the rest of the year on the up-Island circuit. His family continued to live in Edgartown, but he rarely preached there. He still translated the events of each day into Biblical terms. He had been told by God that he had been sent to this Island to win the war for God and his war plans continued. He recruited his soldiers in Chilmark with Rev. Caleb Lamb serving as his lieutenant.

There I found several officers in the king's army . . . Then came in some of the under officers to take counsel, so that they might know how to prepare for battle. I now see how the battle is coming in a triangular form . . . in the order of Bonaparte's army . . . Gideon's army was divided into three parties . . . so we must have three in the Hill country,—one east, one west, and one north . . . and the plains of

²⁴ It was a custom for Methodist preachers to allow the congregation the "privilege" of speaking after the sermon. Hence, Dorchester's invitation.

Moab will be taken,²⁵ and the work will spread on the south part of the Island. S. Smith's family at P. [Pohogonet] will not be excepted; and then the army at Edgartown will be in the same order, pointing to C. [Chappaquiddick], the little isle, one way, to the plains the other, and to the east side the other. . . . By this time the troops in the north will be mustered, and pour their forces into Holmes Hole and upon the Neck, on as far as Tarpaulin Cove. Falmouth will feel the flame, and, when the camp-meeting comes, God's forces will muster from all quarters and Infidelity will feel an awful shock. . . . I see "through the fall of the Jews" (my brethren at E.) "salvation is come to the Gentiles in this place to provoke them to jealousy." . . . Thanks be to God, who gave us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ!

The following day was the Sabbath. He preached at Sister P.T.'s, his "mansion-house on the frontiers of Canaan." In the afternoon, there was another meeting,

. . . and many were pricked in their hearts and hundreds on this island alarmed by the mighty power of God. . . from this island of the sea God will revolutionize the world and . . . many will be raised up here to preach the gospel.

On Monday morning he "held a private council with a number of the officers in the king's army and we are preparing for the battle of the great God. . ."

Tuesday, Jeremiah Pease took Reverend Horton to meet with Adams on "the plains of Moab. . . We took counsel together and parted in a triangular form; he to the north, Br. Lamb to the west, and I to the south-east." That night at Br. Joseph Mayhew's, Miss Maria Norton "experienced religion" at Horton's meeting and spent the night at Jeremiah's house.²⁶

Later that week, after virtually continuous meetings up-Island, Adams returned to Holmes Hole, "like Jesus riding into Jerusalem in triumph. At the meeting that night the children sung Hosanna to the King of David. . . and sinners cried for mercy."

The following week, he

. . . went to the Cove of Nashaun Island and preached at

²⁵ The plains of Moab is the area south of Lambert's Cove.

²⁶ Pease Diary, April 27, 1827.

the tavern-house. . .that island will yet serve as a gun-boat to the ship Vineyard.

From there he sailed to Falmouth and the next day returned to Holmes Hole:

I crossed the Sound in the mail-boat, with one more passenger. O God, have mercy on him!²⁷

After a few days up-Island, he returned to Edgartown and

. . .called the friends and neighbors together for a meeting.

. . .sinners were awakened and come on their knees to pray for mercy. . .the next night our meeting was crowded. . .Br.

J.H. [Horton] began the meeting . . .at length God rolled

the power upon my soul and I prophesied . . .that the city

would be given into the hands of the King of Babylon's army

and should be destroyed by sword, famine and pestilence;

and that if our brethren would save their souls alive, they

must scatter and hunt up the lost sheep, and that while they

staid here they were like Jewish doctors nursing up a dead

carcass. . .The message was from God; so I let it rest. . .I

felt great peace in God.

Again the following week he left the Island, this time going to Nantucket, as he had been instructed to do by God:

I have been suspected of being a crazy runaway from the

Vineyard by some, and others are in doubts about me,

arising from their own imaginations; but this is working for

my good. Lord, pity those unbelieving Jews!. . .Some said

if I was crazy they should like to have my head-piece.

After five days of meetings on Nantucket, he returned to Edgartown in time for an evening meeting The next morning he went up-Island. He was away from Edgartown for nearly two weeks, returning for only one night before heading back to Holmes Hole. He was still organizing his war, spending each night in a different house, holding meetings twice a day. The religious fervor was building.

It seemed somewhat like old times. A number. . .who had

professed the blessing of sanctification were remarkably

happy. . .I left the place, not knowing which way the Lord

would direct us. After much fatigue of body and mind, and

missing our way, we arrived at North Shore, where we had

a powerful time. . .Here the reformation is spreading

powerfully; and, thank the Lord, it is spreading on different parts of the island! . . .My soul was happy . . .The melting power of God was displayed, sinners were wounded and saints shouted aloud for joy.

For two weeks this revival continued with Adams moving from house to house, preaching and exhorting, day and night. The Methodists were making converts everywhere. Adams was convinced that the war would be won:

There is a greater union in the Methodist church than I ever knew before. On the subject of my affliction I am more and more confirmed that I was right in my views and that those who took the charge of me were mistaken in regard to the origin of my affliction. I believe a proper explanation of *Daniel 8:27* is applicable to my case: "I fainted and was sick certain days; afterward I rose up, and did the king's business; and I was astonished at the vision, but none understood it."

But the devil persisted. Sunday, the 27th, he was in Tisbury (West Tisbury):

. . .it was a time of trial. . .I found the enemy at work. The wicked carried off my horse; so we set out for meeting on foot. . .I preached and wept. . .Monday, I redeemed my horse. . .I rode some miles; my horse fell and threw me over his head, but I was preserved.

Indeed, he was preserved, full of energy as always. Despite disappointment in Edgartown, he covered the rest of the Island, holding meetings and converting sinners. He began a subscription to raise funds for a larger meeting house in Chilmark. In three days, he raised "almost four hundred dollars." Encouraged by his success, on June 20, 1827, the Chilmark Methodists voted to sell their old meeting house and build a new one.

The Methodist Conference that month recalled him from the Island, assigning William Barstow as his replacement. But Adams was not ready to pack his things. There was too much still to be done. He sailed to Tarpaulin Cove for "preaching, praying and exhortation." Returning, he met with the Edgartown Methodists and signed an agreement to buy their meeting house and have it moved to Chilmark.

²⁷ It was not relaxing to be the only other passenger on a boat with John Adams.

He helped the new preacher, Reverend Barstow, find a place to live. He sold more subscriptions for the purchase of the Edgartown meeting house. He was as busy as ever.

But there was one dream left unrealized: to call together a camp meeting at which "God's forces will muster" for the final battle he had so many times predicted and had organized his troops to fight. It was a battle that, he had said, would spread "the flames" as far as Falmouth.

He selected a camp-meeting site on the west side of Holmes Hole harbor, paid the owner \$25 for the rent of the land. He purchased lumber and hired carpenters to build a preachers' stand. He was making final preparations for the battle.

Then, on August 1, 1827, the Vineyard's first camp meeting opened on West Chop. It was eight years before the start of the campground at Oak Bluffs. It was a personal triumph for John Adams:

August 1st, our camp-meeting commenced, and more than twenty preachers were present and not far from thirty tents were on the ground. The people came from different islands, and many from the Cape, New Bedford and Boston. All parts of the Vineyard were represented. There was but little disturbance. Good order was generally observed.

In the first part of the meeting but few were converted, but the meeting grew more powerful and interesting and it was hoped more than forty experienced religion, while many back-sliders were reclaimed, old professors quickened, young converts strengthened, and imperfect believers sanctified to God. Our meeting continued a week and we had a solemn parting. . . I exhorted a few times, preached once with freedom and prayed often. The care of the meeting . . . devolved considerably on me.

Attending the meeting on Sunday was a large contingent of Edgartown Methodists, including Jeremiah Pease, who wrote in his journal, August 1, 1827:

Set out this day for Camp Meeting in the Sloop *Chancellor*, Capt. Geo. Osborn, who with his other Owner Mr. Wm. Cooke very politely & generously offer to carry our Minister, Revd. Jotham Horton, all our Brethren & Sisters

of the Methodist Society & those who wish to accompany us to the meeting free of expence. The Sloop lying at the end of Coffin & Osborn's Wharf, all the passengers being on board, about 90 in number, Brother Horton delivers an address then commends the company to God by Prayer. We then set sail with a pleasant breeze from the S.W., arrive at the West Chop in about an hour & twenty minutes. Meeting commences this day. . . There were about 40 very large Tents erected & on Sunday there was tho't to be about 4000 people present.

Jeremiah listed the names of the preachers taking part. There were 19 of them. He made no special comment about the role John Adams had played in this, the Island's first camp meeting.

One week after the camp meeting ended, the Rev. John Adams, returned from Holmes Hole to Edgartown, the details of closing the meeting finished. He got ready to leave the Island. The holy war would have to wait:

Taking my leave, I came to Holmes Hole, with a bill of sale of Edgartown meeting-house for Chilmark subscribers. I brought my concerns to a close and we crossed the Vineyard Sound for Falmouth.

Adams left virtually unnoticed. There was no crowd at the dock waving him off this time. Jeremiah Pease did not mention the departure in his diary.

Four years earlier, in 1822, a few months after Jeremiah Pease had been converted to Methodism by Reverend Adams, the preacher had left the Island for another post. The day he left, Jeremiah wrote:

Brother John Adams the late Methodist Preacher leaves Edgt. for Conference, having Laboured 2 years on this Is'd and I think has been an Instrument in the hand of Almighty God of awaikning a vast number of the Inhabitants of this Isle to a sence of their situation in the Sight of their Creator; may God reward him for his labour of love.

Now, in 1827, only four years later, Jeremiah makes no mention of his departure. Something had changed. And it wasn't just the hallucinating Reverend Adams; Jeremiah and Edgartown had changed as well.

Documents

Jeremiah Pease Diary

Philander Anderson, engineer from the United States Topographical Department, is, with Jeremiah's help, surveying Edgartown harbor to determine if a lighthouse is needed.

But the biggest event in this installment of the Jeremiah Pease Dairy is religious. The dynamic Methodist evangelist, Rev. John Adams, later known as "Reformation John" Adams, suffers a physical and mental breakdown in February 1827. He hallucinates for weeks, seeing himself and Vineyarders as characters in a Biblical drama, he being the Prophet sent by God to drive Satan from the Islands.

He becomes violent and requires 24-hour attention. The Edgartown Methodists take turns as attendants. They keep him bound with ropes on a straw mattress in the house of T. M. Coffin. In Adams's delusions, Jeremiah is Shadrack. So peculiar are his actions, many Islanders become frightened by this "wild Methodist." A replacement minister, Mr. Horton, arrives, but Adams refuses to step aside, being willing only to accept him as his assistant.

Jeremiah, who was "born again" two years earlier during John Adams's first tour on the Island, is caught up in the tumult. But, in his private fashion, he keeps his inner thoughts out of his diary. Fortunately, there is another account, one written by John Adams himself. It is the story of a very sick man and of a community's efforts to help him. Recovering suddenly, Adams resumes his preaching in March with many converts in Holmes Hole. He remained on the Vineyard until August when he was reassigned to New Hampshire (see p. 121ff).

September 1826

1st. Engaged in surveying the Harbour as above mentioned and Draughting the same, for several days. Wind SW to SE, light.

6th. NNW. Went to Holmeshole with Mr. P. Anderson, returned same evening.

7th. NE. Col. John Anderson, U.S.Top.Graphl. Engr. arrives with his Wife from Nantucket.

8th. NE. Engaged in sounding the upper part of the Harbour, Middle ground, etc.

9th. NNE to SW. Finished all business of Surveying, etc.

11th. SW. Col. John Anderson & Mr. Philander Anderson and Suit leave Edgartown for Hyannis for the purpose of Surveying that Harbor.

14th. SSW. Schr. *Celer* sails for the state of Maine (C.B. Worth, Master).

16th. NE to NNW. Mr. John O. Morse's Daut. dies, abt. 3 years old.

17th. SSW. Attended the funeral of the above Child. Service by Rev'd. John Adams.

18th. S to SSE. Br. Adams Wife taken Sick of a fever.

21st. NE to S. Rec'd two hundred dollars of Jared Coffin towards the note which I hold against him.

23rd. SSW. Ship *Congress*, Benjamin Worth, Master, for the Pacific Ocean, halls off into the outer Harbour.¹

24th. NE, gail. Schr. *Celer* arrives from Camden with hay & Lumber, etc.

25th. NE, ditto. Mr. William Vinson dies, aged 93 & 8 mon.

26th. SSE. Schr. *Celer* begins to discharge. Ship *Congress* sails. Mr. Charles Darrow and Miss Abigail F.

¹ The Congress was owned in Nantucket. She returned May 2, 1829 with 2507 barrels of sperm oil.

Pease are married. Ceremony by Rev'd. John Adams.

27th. SSW. Funeral of Mr. Vinson, service by Rev'd. J. Thaxter.

October 1826

1st. SW, rains a little, heavy shower at night.

3rd. SW. Daniel D. Dorchester, Presiding Elder of this District, arrives from Nantucket. Engaged in painting Schr. *Celer*.

6th. SW. Engaged in surveying a Wood Lot sold Wm. King, formerly belonged to Ephm. Pease. 2/3 day with carriage.

7th. SW to SSW. Attended Quarterly Meeting. Advanced \$190. to Capt. Wm. Merchant towards purchasing a vessel.²

8th. NE. Br. Dorchester preaches today.

9th. SW. Court arrive & set. Assisted in painting Schr. *Celer*.

10th. NE. Ditto sets. Rec'd. some skins from C. & B. Spink. Settle all Acc'ts. with Father by Note of this date, except the last leather from N.York.³

11th. NE. Court sets and rises or adjourns til May next.

17th. SW to NE. Schr. *Celer* sails for Boston, sloop *Colfum*. arrives.

18th. NE, S & E. Light. Rec'd a letter & wrote an answer, see copy on file.⁴

21st. SE, rainy. Wid. Anna Fitch dies suddenly of old age.⁵

22nd. SSW to W, rainy. Schr. *Elmira* of Pittston, Me., castaway on the south

² Was this Jeremiah's money or was it from shares subscribed by others, with him acting as agent?

³ Jeremiah was still in the leather business, a cordwainer, making boots, etc. His father, Noah Pease, was a master mariner.

⁴ Jeremiah, tantalizer! Tell us more.

⁵ Widow Fitch is listed as "Pauper" in the *Vital Records*, age 76, death due to asthma. She was daughter of Samuel and Kezia (Butler) Osborn.

beach, from St. Vincents, cargo 20 Hds. Rum. Attended her to from [sic] 22d. to 23d. inclusive, bro't the rum to Town, 23d. Landed it in T. Mayhew's store, 24th.

25th. NW to SW. Rec'd a letter from I. & S. Jenney relative to the Sloop *Pacific*. Barnard C. Marchant sails for Boston to go in the *Pacific*.⁶

28th. SSW, rains a little. Rec'd. \$444.52 of Jared Coffin of Nantucket, being Bal. due me for Oil sold him.⁷

30th. W, Gale. This morning at a few minutes before 3 o'clock my Wife had a Son born. [In another hand:] Frederick.⁸

November 1826

1st. Wind SSE, high. Engaged in writing at the Customhouse.

2nd. SSW, rainy. Ditto and in delivering Goods to go onboard of the Ship *Independence* of Nantucket for the Missionaries at the Sandwich Islands.⁹

3rd. WNW to W, Gail. Engaged in writing in the Customhouse.

4th. N to NNE. Schooner *Celer*, Capt. C.B. Worth, sails for Charleston, S.C. at about 9 o'clock A.M. Paid Wm. Cooke two hundred dollars as per order & Receipt (See Sloop *Pacific's* bills, Papers, etc.)

6th. E. Sloop *Pacific* arrives from Boston. Cap. Thos. Fisher dies. Engaged in marking cargo of Sch. *Elmira* all day. Town Meeting for choice of Representative to Congress.¹⁰

⁶ Bernard Case Marchant, son of Cornelius Marchant Jr., age 24.

⁷ That is a year's pay for the average man.

⁸ Frederick, Jeremiah and Eliza's seventh child, became a tailor and lived off-Island.

⁹ Were these goods contributed or purchased?

¹⁰ Daniel Fellows Jr., was elected from Edgartown; John P. Norton from Tisbury. Capt. Thomas Fisher was 70 and he died of "decay."

9th. SW. Went to N.Bedford. Sloop *Pacific* sails for Charleston. Capt. James Banning dies.¹¹

10th. SW. Arrive [from New Bedford] at night. Funeral of Capt. Banning, service by Rev'd. John Adams, Henry Marchant & Jos. Thaxter.¹²

11th. N to NNE, light. Engaged in Surveying land for D.Norton, F.Neck.

13th. N to NE, pleasant. Engaged surveying land by request of Jos. Dunham. Mrs. Huldah Coffin dies very suddenly in her 74 year.¹³

14th. SSW, Gail. Wid. Patty Pease dies of old age.

15th. SW. Funeral of Mrs. Coffin. Service by Rev'ds. J.Thaxter, J.Adams & H.Marchant.

16th. SW. Funeral of Mrs. Pease. Service by Rev'd. J.T. Watched with Wm.Jernegan Esq. Wife being sick of the dropsy.

20th. NE. Engaged Surveying land for Mrs. Betsy Allen & Writing in the Customhouse. Br. Horton comes from Nantucket.

23rd. NE, rains, snowstorm at night, first this season. Schr. *Elmira* is got off the Beach by Thos. Mayhew.

24th. N to W. Brother J. Horton returns to Nantucket, having been here for the purpose of exchanging with Br. J. Adams.

27th. WSW, high wind. Engaged in gitting saltworks covers from the Point. Ebn. Smith committed to Jail for abuse to his Wife.¹⁴

29th. SW, pleasant. Delivered and

rec'd. the rum from from Schr. *Elmira* according to orders from the Collector.

30th. SW, pleasant. This day is set apart for Thanksgiving & prayers.

December 1826

1st. Wind SW, pleasant. Witnessed the signing of the Deeds of land sold per order of the Heirs of the estate of Ephm. Pease. Watched last night with Wm. Jernegan's Wife, being sick of Dropsy.

2nd. WNW, fresh. Mr. Daniel Vincent's Child dies, aged about 2 years.¹⁵

4th. NE. Attended the delivering articles to go on bord of the Ship *Phoenix* of Nantucket for the Missionaries at the Sandwich Islands.

5th. NE, light and pleasant. Funeral of Mr. Vincent's Child.

7th. SW. Engaged with SWks [saltworks].

9th. SSW. Went to H.Hole, surveyed land for I.D.P. Rains at night.¹⁶

11th. SWS. Mr. Tristram Norton sent House of correction on account Lunacy.

12th. SW to WSW. Went to Chilmark to the Funeral of Dr. A. Mayhew, returned at even.¹⁷

13th. W to WSW. Finished secureing Esq. Cooke's saltworks.¹⁸ Rec'd a letter from him which he had rec'd from Boston from E.I.Co. relative to molasses, etc.

14th. WNW. Ship *Almira*, Capt. A. Osborn, arrives from Pacific Ocean with a full cargo of Sperm Oil.

15 The child was Napoleon Bonaparte Vincent.
16 I.D.P. was Sheriff Isaiah Dunham Pease, Jeremiah's brother.

17 Dr. Allen Mayhew, son of Matthew and Mary, age 50.

18 Saltworks were not operated during the winter. The sun was too low to evaporate the water.

Milton arrives this evening.

29th. NNE, moderate. Ship comes up to the wharf, loft the Ship²³ and went onboard of the Brig *Milton*, N.B.Fisher Master, from Havannah, Bound to Boston. Snow & rains at night.

30th. NE, moderate. Come onshore according to order from the Coll'r.²⁴

January 1827

1st. Wind NE to WNW, Snowstorm. Rec'd. an Acc't. from T. Cooper & others of Gayhead with a request for me to collect [?] against Schr. *Henry*, which was castaway on Cuttuhunk.

2nd. SW to W, snowstorm. Rec'd of I.D.P. \$60 towards the above Acc't, 3/5 of what was allowed them by the referees.²⁵

3rd. W, WSW, SSW. Brig *Milton* and other Vessels sail for Boston.

5th. NNE to ENE. Paid Thos. Cooper \$73. See his receipt on file.

10th. E, rainy. News of the death of Capt. George W. Luce arrives. Rec'd. orders from Collector to B.F. . . T.M.&C.²⁶

12th. E to ESE. Boarded Schr. *Bono* from Baltimore (snow & rain at night).

14th. WNW, fresh breeze. Brigs *Echo* & *Attentive* & Ship *Spartan* arrive. Boarded Brig *Attentive*, Capt. on shore, did not get the Manifest. Cold, high wind.

15th. WNW to W. Boarded the above

²³ To loft a ship means to lay out on paper the lines of her hull. In other words, to make a plan of the hull of the ship *Aurora*. She's brand-new, built at Mattapoisett.

²⁴ Jeremiah seems to have spent the night aboard the *Milton*.

²⁵ We have no details on the *Henry* castaway on Cuttuhunk.

²⁶ There is a symbol alongside the initials, meaning that the details are written elsewhere. Captain Luce was from Nantucket and "was drowned on his Passage with Capt. Henry Osborn bound to Charleston South Carolina."

¹¹ Captain Banning, "lacking twenty one days" of 80, died of "universal decay."

¹² Three ministers: Methodist, Baptist and Congregationalist. True ecumenism.

¹³ Huldah was Mrs. James Coffin of Edgarton.

¹⁴ This probably was the Ebenezer Smith who married Mary Hulsart of New York City in 1800. If so, there were 9 children.

15th. SW. Ship *Almira* come up to C & O's wharf, prepares for discharging.¹⁹ Rec'd a Letter from I.C.Merrill Esq. of Boston containing a Commission to D.Fellows Jr. Esq. of Edgt. to take my Deposition relative to some Molasses which I shipped to Boston in the Sloop Packet *Delia* last Winter. See my papers on file.

18th. W to NNE, light. Ship *Almira* commences disch. Cargo. Engaged in writing Deposition above mentioned. Snows at night.

20th. WNW. Engaged in writing Deposition. Ship *Almira* discharges Cargo.

21st. SSE. Ditto. Finished it [deposition].

22nd. WSW to SW. Engaged in surveying land for Jos.Dunham & others.

23rd. SW, pleasant. Ship *Aurora* of Nantucket arrives.²⁰

25th. NNW. cold.²¹

26th. SSW to S, fresh breeze, rainy. Dan'l. Butler's Wife dies in Childbed, having been delivered of Twins.²²

27th. SW. Engaged in surveying Land for Dan'l. Vincent & others in the A.M. P.M. went on board of Ship *Aurora* of Nantucket from Coquembo, [Seth Jr.] Coffin Master. Funeral of D. Butler's Wife. Service by Rev'd. Jesse Pease.

28th. WNW, gail, very cold. Brig

¹⁹ Starbuck lists cargo as 2300 barrels of sperm oil. Imagine the scene at Coffin & Osborn's wharf (today's Edgartown Yacht Club site) with 2300 barrels being unloaded.

²⁰ *Aurora* had 1550 barrels of sperm oil. Apparently, she didn't unload her oil here.

²¹ As usual, Christmas Day passes without a mention.

²² Mrs. Butler was called "Polly," but her given name was Mary, daughter of Tristram and Jane (Marchant) Norton. She was 35. One twin died this day, the other died 10 days later.

Brigs. Rec'd. the Manifest of Brig *Attentive*, the other Brig was boarded by the Revenue Cutter, the Lieut. of which indorsed her manifest.

16th. S, SSW & SW. The above Brigs sail for Boston & Salem, 7 a.m. Rains.

22nd. W to WNW, moderate. Went over to the Capaquidick Point on the Ice. Went Eeling. This day the news of the Death of Capt. Thos. Fisher arrives. He died on his passage from the W. Indias & was Master of the Brig *Planter* of Edgartown & bound to N.York. (Dies 8th Inst.)²⁷

23rd. SSW, SW & NE, snows. Took m. Com. fr. off. D. Oct. 21, 1826.²⁸

25th. NNW to NE, moderate. Ice begins to break up in the narrows. Capt. Timothy Daggett's wife dies of the Dropsy.²⁹

26th. SE, light breeze. Went to H.Hole to meeting. Reformation there. Several lately entertain a hope of conversion to God. Refreshing season. [In margin:] Great reformation at Holmeshole about this time.

27th. SW, light & calm. Funeral of Mrs. Daggett. Service by Rev'd. J. Thaxter, congregation large.

28th. SW. The Ice goes out of the harbour.

29th. W. Ships & other vessels sail for Nantucket. Went to H.Hole to Brig *Mechanic* of Portland, _____ Park Master, from Metanzis [?]. Discharged 100 hogsheads Molasses on account of a leak.

²⁷ Thomas Fisher Junior, son of Thomas who died Nov. 6, 1826.

²⁸ Translation: Took my Commission for office of Deputy Inspector of Customs, Oct. 21, 1826. He inked in one of his symbols, meaning details are written elsewhere. It is not known why he is so secretive about such matters.

²⁹ She was Sally, daughter of William and Mary Jernegan, age 50.

30th. ESE to NNE, snow, rain & hail. Finished discharging molasses, see my papers on file.

February 1827

1st. Wind W, pleasant weather. Returned from Holmeshole at evng. 4 days.

2nd. SW, pleasant. Vessels sail for Boston.

3rd. SSW, thaws. Brig *New Packet* arrives.

4th. NNE, very slippery, much Ice on the ground. Took the manifest of Brig *N.Pack*.

6th. NNE, very slippery. Boys Scating about the Streets. Attended discharging Schr. *Hiram's* load which took out of the Brig *N.Packet* (without particular Orders).³⁰

7th. SW, pleasant. Went to H.Hole. Brig *N.Packet* sails.

11th. WNW, fresh breeze, very cold. Brig *Ferox* arrives from Rio de Janeiro for Edgartown, Cargo: Oil & Coffee.³¹

13th. SW. Boarded Brig *Ferox* of Kennebunk, Thos. Lord Master, from Rio de Janeiro, took her manifest. This day Brother John Adams is bro't. from H.Hole sick & in a deranged state of mind, having laboured there beyond his strength.³²

15th. ESE. Lighters arrive from Nantucket to take the Oil from Brig *Ferox*.

16th. WNW. Attended disch. the Brig *Ferox*.

19th. WNW, gail. Attended discharging Oil from Brig *Ferox*. Finished shipping the oil. Miss Ruth

³⁰ The skating on the streets is clear, but the unloading of the vessel, etc., is not.

³¹ Interesting. Oil and coffee being shipped directly from Brazil.

³² For story of John Adams's derangement, see pp. 121ff, this issue.

Fisher dies.³³

20th. NNW. Attended *Ferox* in taking in balast, etc. Funeral of Miss Ruth Fisher, service by Rev'd. J. Thaxter.

21st. SW. Attended the Brig *Ferox*.

22nd. W. Ditto. Capt. Lord goes to Nantucket this morning.

24th. ESE, moderate. Ditto. Capt. Lord arrives from Nantucket, takes in some Balast, provisions, etc.

25th. SSW. Watched this day with Br. J. Adams, being Sabbath.³⁴

26th. SSE. Attended Brig *Ferox*.

28th. SW, foggy, little rain. Ditto. Br. Adams is much better. Disch'd Wheeldon.³⁵

March 1827

1st. Wind E, rainy. Engaged in weighing Coffee onboard Brig *Ferox*. Finished discharging her cargo.

3rd. NE. Rec'd. orders to board Coasters.³⁶

4th. SW. Vessels sail for Boston. Brig *Ferox* sails for Mobile.

5th. SNW to N. Ship *Plow Boy* arrives from C.horn. Engaged in surveying land for J. Osborn & T. Stewart. Boarded a no. vessels.

6th. NE. Meeting held at A.D. Pease's (my house). Capt. Wm. Clark of Chilmark dies of the dropsy.³⁷

³³ Daughter of Henry and Susannah (Vincent) Fisher, age 66. An invalid, "she had laboured under great Infirmary for more than 20 Yrs."

³⁴ Adams wrote: "Sabbath, I believed that it would be best for the cause of God in this place for Br. J.P. to take the lead of the meeting; but he chose to stay with me."

³⁵ Jeremiah had hired James Wheeldon to sit with John Adams.

³⁶ Coasters are vessels that normally are not subject to customs since they usually do not travel across national boundaries.

³⁷ Abner Dunham Pease, his young brother, must be living in Jeremiah's house. He died at sea in 1832. Capt. William Clark, a whaling master, made nine voyages.

7th. NNE to WSW. Brother Adams has so far recovered as to be able to make us a short visit today.

8th. NW, clear. Br. Adams goes to Chilmark.³⁸

9th. NE to WSW, pleasant. Br. Adams Preaches at Tisbury, at D. Look's.

12th. SSE. Ship *Ontario*, Alex Bunker, from Pacific Ocean arrives.³⁹

13th. WNW, high wind. Boarded Sch'r. *Catherine* of Baltimore.

14th. Ditto, cold. [Entered some time later:] Great reformation in Chilmark & Tisbury about this time.

16th. NNW, high wind, cold. Boarded several vessels. Sister Ruth Luce dies age ____ of a consumption & leaves the World with great resignation to the will of Heaven & happy in hope of Glorious immortality.⁴⁰

17th. SW. Vessels sail for Boston, etc.

18th. S. Sabbath. Funeral of Sister Luce, attended in the Methodist Meetinghouse. Service by Rev'd. Henry Marchant, solemn & interesting Season.

19th. SW, rains. Elder Dorchester arrives and preaches this evening.

20th. N to WSW. Br. Horton arrives.⁴¹ Engaged with SWks.

21st. Dorchester goes to Nantucket.

22nd. S. Brother Horton moves from H.Hole. Attended SWks.

³⁸ Adams wrote: "Br. J.P. came to see if I would not delay [my journey] till to-morrow. . . . but I considered the Lord had the greatest claim on me." See p. 133f.

³⁹ Ship *Ontario* had sailed from Nantucket in Sept. 1824. She brought back 2250 barrels of sperm oil.

⁴⁰ Ruth (Norton) Luce, aged 62, widow, second wife of Capt. Jason Luce.

⁴¹ Rev. J. Horton had come to take Adams's place. Elder Dorchester had been sent to convince Adams to agree to step aside. Adams refused, but agreed to accept Horton as an assistant.

Bits & Pieces

IT wasn't easy to be a Methodist in the early 1800s. Nor a Baptist or Quaker. Religious tolerance had not yet arrived (if it ever has!). No religion except the established church was allowed. That church was supported by taxes from believers and non-believers alike.

In 1657, Thomas Mayhew Jr., ordered an Indian to take two Quakers to the mainland by canoe when he learned they were expounding their religion.

Two evangelicals in 1809 were thrown out of Edgartown by the selectmen for holding "nocturnal meetings" and "exhorting the people."

In 1810, a Baptist, Rev. Thomas Conant, held prayer meetings in the house of Benjamin Pease on Chappaquiddick. Thomas M. Coffin of Edgartown asked him to do the same in his house (the same house where John Adams was confined, see p.121ff). Reverend Conant described what happened:

"The very first meeting I held in Edgartown, I was seized by the mob, while I was preaching, and dragged out . . . backward, down stairs and out of doors. I continued talking, however, all the time; . . . speaking to the multitude around the building and in the street. . ."

During another Methodist meeting, loud with song and prayer, some Edgartown young men, using planks as levers, attempted to flip over the building, which rested on boulders. This, of course, broke up the service.

Jeremiah Pease, our diarist, had no

patience with Methodists before becoming one himself. In 1820, Rev. Eleazer Steele, was exhorting in his small meeting house, the "White Chapel." The high pulpit was flimsy and rested insecurely on the floor. Hebron Vincent described what happened:

"Mr. Steele was . . . so overpowered by the . . . Holy Spirit as to become entirely speechless. He stood for a considerable time like a mere statue, holding on the top of the pulpit with clenched hands . . . His trembling caused the pulpit to shake, thus producing an unnatural noise. . . [which] the timid hearers . . . mistook for the sound of an earthquake and [they] left the house in great consternation and confusion. . . there was but one door . . . the step in front, which was but temporary, had been removed."

Jeremiah, who lived within hearing, rushed over. Again, let Vincent describe the scene:


". . . [Jeremiah] gazed awhile and then proposed to take the minister from the pulpit and thus demonstrate that he (the minister) had 'made fools of the whole of them.' But this was peremptorily forbidden by the brethren to attempt. This scene was long characterized as the 'Homemade Earthquake.' . . . [there were] few injuries and those inconsiderable."

Pease, three years later and a convert to Methodism, met Reverend Steele and apologized.

It is no wonder then, that in almost every account of early camp meetings, there is this sentence: "There was but little disturbance." Methodists had learned to expect it.

A.R.R.

No. 853



I, Constant Norton Collector
of the DISTRICT OF EDGARTOWN, do hereby certify that

Charles W. Fisher
an AMERICAN SEAMAN, aged 21 years,
or thereabouts, of the height 5 feet, 7 3/4
inches, Light complexion, Dark hair, Blue eyes,
born in Edgartown in the
State of Massachusetts
has this day produced to me proof in the manner directed
by the Act entitled "An Act for the Relief and Protection
of AMERICAN SEAMEN," and pursuant to the said Act,
I do hereby certify that the said

Charles W. Fisher
is a CITIZEN of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my Hand
and Seal of Office, this 3rd day
of Sept. in the year of
our Lord, 1856.

Constant Norton Collector

Passport certificate issued by Collector Constant Norton in 1856, certifying Seaman Charles W. Fisher as a U.S. citizen. Fisher was 21 at the time. By 1864, he was Captain Fisher. As master, he sailed ten Pacific whaling voyages. See *Intelligencer*, Nov. 1986, for more about him.

Let's Pay off the Mortgage!

For many years, all the activities of the Society have been limited by the cramped quarters of the existing Francis Foster Museum in Edgartown. In 1989, the Society took the bold step of purchasing the Capt. Francis Pease House to provide the additional space it so desperately needed.

The advantages of this decision are felt daily by the staff. We now have the space to carry out vital and often long-delayed projects and to house, preserve and display our historical documents and artifacts. The Society has already been able to mount two presentations in its new exhibit space: last fall's "Enterprising Islanders" and the current "Vineyard Childhood."

Of course, these exciting events have brought with them a challenge: how to pay for all these activities. In 1989, the Society met this challenge by embarking on a Capital Campaign to raise \$2,500,000. These funds are necessary:

1. To pay off the mortgages on the Capt. Francis Pease House and the Jirah Luce House in Vineyard Haven.
2. To continue the restoration and modification of these houses and the other Society buildings for museum and office use; and
3. To increase our basic endowment.

We urge all our members to consider how they might contribute to this ongoing effort. Purchasing the space we need has involved mortgages. With mortgages come interest payments. Money spent on interest payments is money that cannot be used for our real purpose: the preservation of the history of Dukes County.