

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



THE DUKES COUNTY INTELLIGENCER

VOL. 43, NO. 2

NOVEMBER 2001

From Marion Carey Alton



Dr. Leroy M. Yale

Dr. Leroy M. Yale of Holmes Hole

Medical Tales From a Doctor's Diary (1829 – 1842)

by RUSSELL HOXSIE M.D.

Whaling: The Vineyard Connection

With Deliberate Intent to Defraud? Emma Jane's Last "Whaling" Voyage

by JUDITH N. LUND

Henry Baylies: Five Wives And Even More Occupations

by ARTHUR R. RAILTON

What's in a Name?

"A Rose by Any Other Name Would . . ." But Is That True For Pease?

by EMILY HUNTINGTON ROSE

MEMBERSHIP DUES

Student	\$25
Individual	\$45
(Does not include spouse)	
Family	\$60
Sustaining	\$100
Organization/Business	\$150
Patron	\$250
Benefactor*	\$500
President's Circle**	\$1000

Tax deductible except
for \$15, *\$25 and **\$35.

Printed at daRosa's in Oak Bluffs, Massachusetts.

Corrections

We all make mistakes. Can't avoid them. But editors are not supposed to. Publish a flawless issue and silence reigns. Make an error or two and you hear about. That is the plus side of mistakes – you quickly learn you have readers. Our thanks to all who wrote.

The August 2001 issue had mistakes – one, very visible and unforgivable. On the back cover, at the end of a long caption explaining the cutaway view of the *Alice Knowles*, a whaler, there was this: "A fourth boat is carried on the starboard side (called larboard side on whalers). . . ." It should have read, starting one sentence earlier: "Three whaleboats were always kept slung on davits on the port side, called larboard side on whalers and shown here, ready for instant lowering. A fourth boat is carried on the starboard side and is not visible."

Starboard is starboard, *always*; port is larboard on whalers.

Heidi Schultz pointed out that Harry Butman in his delightful history of *The Prophetess*, page 3, wrote: "She was not to the manor born. . ." The author didn't attribute the phrase to Shakespeare and so could use whatever words he wanted, but if the phrase was meant to connect with the Bard, it is incorrect.

Hamlet said: ". . . though I am native here and to the manner born. . ." He was a prince and "to the manor born" would have been beneath him. He was born to the crown.

As for the Prophetess, she was born to neither.

THE DUKES COUNTY INTELLIGENCER

Vol. 43, No. 2

© 2001 M.V.H.S.

November 2001

Dr. Leroy M. Yale of Holmes Hole

Medical Tales

From a Doctor's Diary

(1829 – 1842)

by RUSSELL HOXSIE M.D.

51

Whaling: The Vineyard Connection

With Deliberate Intent to Defraud?

Emma Jane's Last "Whaling" Voyage

by JUDITH N. LUND

75

Henry Baylies: Five Wives

And Even More Occupations

by ARTHUR R. RAILTON

85

What's in a Name?

"A Rose by Any Other Name Would . . ."

But Is That True for Pease?

by EMILY HUNTINGTON ROSE

96

Editor: Arthur R. Railton

Research Editor: Edwin R. Ambrose

Founding Editor: Gale Huntington (1959-1977)

The *Dukes County Intelligencer* is published quarterly by the Martha's Vineyard Historical Society (formerly the Dukes County Historical Society). Subscription is by membership in the Society. Copies of all issues are available at the Society's library, Cooke and School Streets, Edgartown, Mass., or by mail at the address below.

Membership in the Society is solicited. Applications should be sent to P.O. Box 1310, Edgartown, MA, 02539. Telephone: 508 627 4441. Fax: 508 627 4436. Author's queries and manuscripts for this journal should be addressed there also, care of the Editor.

Articles in *The Intelligencer* do not necessarily represent the opinions of the Society or its officers. Every effort is made to confirm dates, names and events in published articles, but we cannot guarantee total accuracy.

ISSN 0418 1379

MARTHA'S VINEYARD HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Hugh Knipmeyer, *President*
Judith Bruguiera, *Executive Vice President*
Paula Conover, *Vice President*
Thomas Hale, *Vice President*
John M. Morgan, *Vice President*
Christopher J. Morse, *Vice President*
Catherine Merwin Mayhew, *Secretary*
Craig Dripps, *Assistant Secretary*
Warren Hollinshead, *Treasurer*
Frederick W. Kingsley, *Assistant Treasurer*
Robert A. Lunbeck, *President Emeritus*

Board of Directors

Mark Lovewell, James Powell – 2002
Malcolm Goodridge, Townsend R. Morey Jr.,
Mark A. Snider, Joseph E. Sollitto Jr., Peter B. Van Tassel,
Elizabeth St. John Villard – 2003
Alison Convery, Arthur Flathers, Judith LoRusso, Sharon Purdy,
Carroll Moshier, James B. Richardson III, David B. Vietor,
Edward W. Vincent, Lynne Whiting, Preston Williams – 2004

Honorary Directors

Charlotte Hall Stanley Murphy John A. Howland
Kenneth A. Southworth III Donald W. Vose Frederick Williams

STAFF

Matthew Stackpole, *Executive Director*
Jill Bouck, *Chief Curator*
Dana Costanza, *Assistant Curator*
Candice Hogan, *Associate Director, Operations*
Linsey Lee, *Curator of Oral History*
Betsey Mayhew, *Assistant to Executive Director*
Peter B. Van Tassel, *Archivist/Librarian**
Catherine Merwin Mayhew, *Genealogist**
Dorothea R. Looney, *Registrar**
Arthur R. Railton, *Editor**
Edwin R. Ambrose, *Research Editor**

* Unpaid volunteer

Medical Tales From a Doctor's Diary (1829 – 1842)

by RUSSELL HOXSIE M.D.

NOVEMBER 1831. Mrs. Jane Luce, age 44, widow – has had two children, the last one 14 years since – has usually enjoyed very good health & been actively engaged in the mercantile business. In Oct. 1831, she applied to me on account of an attack of uterine hemorrhage. . .

So begins the medical diary of Dr. Leroy M. Yale, age 29, physician, graduate of Harvard Medical School and practitioner in Holmes Hole on Martha's Vineyard from 1829 to 1849. A true Renaissance man, accomplished in the art and science of medicine, an inveterate observer of nature, especially the weather, and a serious conchologist, Yale's life illustrates the practice of medicine in early 19th Century New England.

His diary, now in our archives,¹ provides a perspective on the whole of life as well as of his own character. His commentaries on religion display a serious faith, not without an occasional criticism of a dull sermon or a poorly tuned choir. His fears of the economic policies of President Andrew Jackson, who had just been elected in a landslide, and of his administration's actions that seemed to be rekindling war with Great Britain, were strongly held.

On the anniversaries of his birth, his ruminations about his

RUSSELL HOXSIE lives in Chilmark, overlooking Menemsha Creek. A practicing physician on the Vineyard for 40 years and later medical director of Windemere nursing facility, he has always had writing as his avocation. First, a poet (which he still is), he is now best known as naturalist columnist for the *Martha's Vineyard Times*, providing delightful descriptions of the Island's hiking trails. This is his first contribution to our journal.

¹ The Yale journal was given to us in 1993 by Marion Carey Alton of Williamstown. It provides names, dates of birth, death and illnesses of many Tisbury residents from 1829 to 1841. There are gaps in the journal. Between Nov. 25, 1836, and Sept. 1838, he made no entries except for a brief remark about his wedding April 13, 1838, and the wedding trip to visit his mother. The last case he records is in April 1841. In 1842, he made one entry about the over-all health of the village. He wrote no more until 1846 when he ended the journal with a comment on religious changes and their effect on his practice.

own mortality reflected the fragile existence of the human species of two centuries ago when medical treatment was primitive.

He wrote with an exquisite penmanship in a rather simple, random style, not always following a logical sense of order or inclusiveness. He often interrupted his discussions of sick patients to describe local happenings, such as the settling of seventeen-year locusts on the Vineyard fields.

In the May 2001 *Intelligencer*, a biography of the doctor written by his son, Dr. Leroy M. Yale Jr., was published. In addition, many of his opinions on the social and political happenings of the day were quoted. In the present article, I will discuss his medical experiences, attempting to solve some diagnostic puzzles and making comparisons with the practices of modern medicine.

Mrs. Jane Luce's case is where we, like the doctor, will start. She is 44 years old and has had a year's history of uterine hemorrhage. A remarkable lady by all accounts, the proprietor of the Mansion House in Holmes Hole, the Island's leading hostelry, she is the widowed mother of two children, one of whom will become Doctor Yale's young bride seven years later.

On her occasional business trips to Boston, this sturdy, self-sufficient woman, would stay at a lodging house run by a former Vineyarder named Miss Daggett. This had become the customary hostel for Island travelers and was, by coincidence, where the young Leroy Yale stayed while studying at Harvard Medical School. According to the son's biography, young Leroy met and was taken with Jane's daughter, Maria, at Miss Daggett's when she, then only a child 17 years his junior, accompanied her mother on those Boston trips.

Perhaps his personal interest in that family accounted for the long entries devoted to Jane Luce's case, occupying the first two pages of his medical journal. Over seven months, Yale detailed her symptoms: intermittent bleeding, sometimes followed by fainting, general fatigue and weakness, prostration and weight loss. Unable to cure her, Doctor Yale wrote:²

May [?], 1833. I thought advisable to examine per vaginum to

² Words in brackets [] are the author's attempts to make Yale's remarks understandable.

ascertain if any organic disease existed, which was done by me and Dr. Fisher.³ The mouth of the uterus was found somewhat dilated, say to the extent of $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch, soft to the touch and protruding about as much as at the seventh month of pregnancy – the neck of the cervix appeared to be filled with a substance of firm consistence, a little protruding thro' the os uteri [in other words, into the vagina]. . .

Ten months later, on March 12, 1833, the much-enlarged tumor was protruding well into the vagina. The doctor ligated the tumor, that is, he passed a large circular stitch like a lasso around the neck of the growth as it protruded into the birth canal. Tightening the ligature shut off the blood flow that fed the tumor.

Within days, Mrs. Luce became feverish, suffering intense back pain and experiencing a foul-smelling discharge, consistent with gangrene of the tumor and its slow dissolution. Multiple entries from October 1831 to March 1833 leave the clear impression that the doctor believed the patient was dying of an incurable tumor. This was despite a short note he inserted on March 24th, two weeks following the ligation, in which he stated that her condition had improved for the first time in weeks and that she may recover.

That was Yale's last comment on his future mother-in-law's health. Death records for Tisbury show that Jane Luce lived for another 20 years, dying February 25, 1852, having outlived the doctor, who died in 1849, leaving her daughter, Maria, a widow.

His successful removal of the non-cancerous polyp of the uterus was curative and was not a common surgical experience in that era. Repeatedly, Yale's journal provides a glimpse into the state of medicine in the first half of the 19th century. The seven-month delay in examining Mrs. Luce and the seventeen-month delay in performing simple surgery were probably not unusual at the time, considering the lack of rational treatment for many maladies and the primitive state of surgical techniques.

Dr. William Morton of Massachusetts General Hospital would not introduce the use of ether as an anesthetic for another 13 years and it was nearly 75 years before William Stewart Halsted's radical

³ Dr. Daniel Fisher had been the Holmes Hole doctor, but moved to Edgartown to please his bride. Dr. Yale, fresh out of Harvard, took over the practice. By 1850, Dr. Fisher was a wealthy whale-oil refiner and candle manufacturer, living in the impressive house on Main St., Edgartown, that bears his name. He also operated a grist mill in North Tisbury.

reform of surgical care and operating techniques would change totally the procedures of surgery. The cessation of Mrs. Luce's bleeding after she fainted, something that seemed to relieve Dr. Yale, would be viewed with alarm today as it indicated a loss of sufficient blood volume to vital organs, including the brain. Blood replacement by transfusion was unheard of in 1833, making any major loss of blood a serious event.

I must say that my slanted, modern view of medical practices during that era does not allow me to anticipate such a fortuitous result as that enjoyed by the patient, Jane Luce.

January 5, 1833. *This morning was called to visit a child 17 mo. old, complaining of cough for some days previous. Last evening [she ate] parched corn and in the night was feverish and restless. Some vomiting – at 10 a.m. found it [her] restless, some heat, cough. T. [tongue] coated – vomiting occasionally, milk-colored with bile. No diarrhea. Pulse 120 or more. Eyes dull and heavy. Left cal [calomel: mercurous oxide, a laxative] and sal for a cathartic. Afterwards, calomel and pul char [pulverized charcoal] and sol ant [antimony, an emetic to induce vomiting], tart [tartaric acid, an effervescent] in alternate doses.*

January 6, 1833. *This morning 9 a.m. saw the child above named and found it in articulo mortis [mottled skin, indicating circulatory collapse]. Learned that the cathartic had operated once about an hour after it was taken and a considerable quantity of the corn passed away by stool and during the night had 2 or 3 more dej. similar, but the vomiting continued with a very high fever, lying most of the night in a stupid state. Died about 10 a.m.*

It was the daughter of Franklin Smith⁴ and had been till now a very hearty and active child and I am now at a loss to determine what was the immediate cause of death, for although there had been some affection of the lungs for several days yet there did not appear to be any difficulty in respiration or any symptom that would lead one to suspect serious disease in that part. The gums were not swollen or tense and therefore could not be irritated from dentition. I am therefore rather disposed to attribute the death to an excessive irritation or inflammation of the stomach in consequence of the crude ingestion taken at a time when the system was in peculiarly irritable state.

Medicine in 1833 was crude and inaccurate at best. Doctor Yale relied upon his sharp visual observations of the general state of the patient, but he had few other tools with which to make a diagnosis. Rene Laennec's invention of the stethoscope in 1819 apparently had not been utilized, although Aurenbrugger's technique of percussion (tapping one finger on another over portions of the body being examined) is mentioned a little later by Yale. Perhaps either of these techniques would have suggested pneumonia, a serious infection in a child.

Doctor Yale nearly always described the tongue (T.) in his examination of a patient, a practice I also learned in medical school in the 1950s. I never discarded the practice and, looking back on its rewards, I realize that it produces valuable information, but is not very often diagnostic.

Although the structure of the body was almost fully known in Yale's time, the latter part of the 19th century brought an explosion of scientific knowledge on which the base of modern medicine rests. The verification of the germ theory and the establishment of the science of bacteriology following Louis Pasteur's discovery of the causes of fermentation of wine and milk are landmarks in late 19th century medicine. The reduction of surgical and obstetrical infections after the adoption of antiseptics promoted by Semmelweis, the conquest of yellow fever at the Panama Canal Zone by Carlos Finlay and William Gorga, the invention of X-ray by Roentgen in 1895 and the discovery of radium by Marie Curie in 1898 – all momentous events – represent only a small number of the total advances that will come too late for Dr. Leroy Yale and his patients.

Franklin Smith's feverish daughter probably had a common viral infection (the usual cause of respiratory infection and cough in children). The eating of parched corn seems a red herring, although it does seem to have been a rough food for a 17-month-old child. Yale's description of her eyes as dull and heavy and her pulse of more than 120 suggest a serious ailment. While his diagnosis occasionally was brilliant, considering the lack of tools that we now recognize as routinely essential, his treatment, typical of the time, could be described as medieval.

The drugs he used are often toxic to a serious degree,

⁴ We are unable to find any Franklin Smith in Tisbury records.

especially for young children. For Baby Smith, a purgative with mercurous oxide, causing diarrhea, probably added to the serious dehydration already present from persistent vomiting, in addition to the direct toxic effect of the mercury. The antimony likely exaggerated the vomiting and loss of body fluids. Soda in the form of bicarbonate and tartaric acid added to the mix.

I must agree with Doctor Yale. I don't know what the cause of death was, but it is my conjecture that the child's illness, probably viral, was complicated by the well-meaning and established treatment of that era. There is no way for me to eliminate the possibility of a more serious infection, like meningitis or bacterial pneumonia, but dehydration seems to have been the most likely cause of the death. Could it be that Doctor Yale's failure to give Franklin Smith's daughter a name in his journal indicated a subconscious wish to remain detached from one more critically sick child for whom he knew he had no specific remedy? And that the outcome had been foretold?

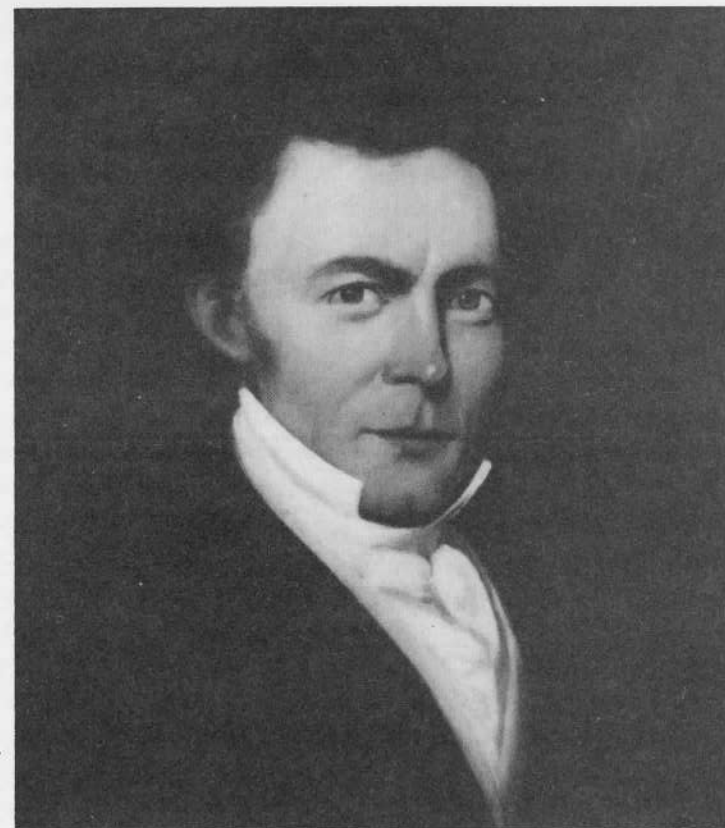
January 18, 1833. Charlotte Downs⁵. . . died about 6 o'clock this morning after struggling with the disease [croup] from Tuesday night till Thursday morning. It appeared to be somewhat relieved for some hours in middle of the day Thursday, though the peculiar shrillness or hissing in breathing and coughing continued nearly the same and on the whole seemed to pursue a steady course onward to its fatal termination in spite of every effort to arrest its progress. This is the first death from this disease which I have witnessed in my own practice – a time of three and a half years, though I have treated several cases.

The month of January 1833 was a busy one for Doctor Yale. Among his many patients was the three-year-old Charlotte Downs who died after only two days of treatment – a treatment involving a variety of medications, including an emetic (to cause vomiting), calomel and antimony as a laxative, mustard plaster (sinapism, a counter-irritant) blistering of the skin, presumably over the chest, and warm baths.

One sees in Yale's remark, "this is the first death from this disease which I have witnessed," a sense of resignation and

⁵ Charlotte was the daughter of Charles and Mary (Manter) Downs. A few months after Charlotte died, Mary gave birth to another daughter who was given the name Charlotte.

Courtesy Marion Carey Alton Copy photo by Arthur Evans



Dr. Leroy M. Yale was a handsome, caring man, beloved in the village.

frustration as well as an attempt to assuage a sense of failure. Death among children was common.⁶ During that period he had treated another child, this one three weeks old, who died; "apparently feeble at the time of birth and gradually failed," he wrote. I sense that Yale had probably not attended the infant's birth. Mid-wives or family members were managers of many home deliveries during these years and later.

Another patient who died that January was a "lady of 68," who had had two and a half years of intermittent vomiting. Her

⁶ Yale's daughter, Eliza, 4, died of croup in July 1843. He had stopped keeping his journal by then. His only mention of her was when his second child was born on Feb. 12, 1841: "This day I had a son born . . . it is two years & six days since my first child was born."

last days were marked by the constant rejection of everything she took in. Pain and tenderness of the upper abdomen were prominent symptoms. Although Doctor Yale does not comment on the cause of death, I suggest she may have had an obstruction of a portion of her intestinal tract due to malignancy or chronic scarring caused by a peptic ulcer.

During that sickly month, the doctor attended a "childbed" at home (he, of course, delivered babies when called), one uterus hemorrhage, one pleurisy, one enuresis, one stomach pain, four coughs and one fever. That list, an honest admission of a lack of specific diagnosis, reflected the inability of even the best physicians of the period to be more precise. But he was unfazed, writing in his journal on February 1, 1833: "the sick mostly recovering."

February continued busy. Several patients, all children, came down with whooping cough, cases of which continued cropping up into late April. We forget in this modern day what a scourge that disease was for infants and children. Two patients were under three months old and near death, but did survive. Another, 15 months old, died suddenly and a fourth, aged 10, died after a three-week illness. Parents and the doctor watched as the children strangled with their coughing attacks, running high fevers, and, not rarely, dying. Two other patients suffered convulsions. An irony of our contemporary days is the fear by a few parents that whooping-cough inoculations will harm their children despite a nearly 100 percent guarantee against infection without serious reaction. Even safer serum for injection has been developed. But in the absence of routine inoculations, whooping cough still remains a serious threat to young children.

May 18, 1833. On the 2nd of this month, Mrs. H. Norris was confined with her first child.⁷ She is about 19 or 20 years of age – good constitution and had an easy labor of about 12 hours. She remained comfortable with the exception of excoriated nipples till the 12th when she had some rigors. . .

Then began one of the horrors for women after childbirth in

those days when they were "confined," usually meaning at bed rest, for up to two or three weeks. By this entry I would judge her illness commenced after ten days in bed.

The disease, *phlegmasia alba dolens*, or milk leg, was still known to afflict women in the mid-20th century, when I began to practice, although I was lucky enough never to encounter a case. First comes a fever, then pain either in the thigh or groin, then a progressive swelling of the leg, often in its entirety, sometimes extending up to the pubic area and lower abdomen. The skin takes on a pale shiny surface and the patient is unable to bear weight on the leg due to the pain.

The trouble usually begins in one leg and, as was the case with Mrs. Norris, the other follows at about the time the first begins to subside. The cause is thrombosis or blood clot, usually of the large femoral vein in the thigh, sometimes with infection or extension to the main vein of the abdomen. Pieces of the clot may break loose and go to the lungs, sometimes a fatal complication. Most patients survive but often with permanent blockage of the main veins and a future of chronic swelling, ulceration and pain on standing and walking.

Doctor Yale's treatment was castor oil and magnesium sulfate, both potent laxatives, also ipecac, an emetic to cause vomiting, and hot pepper sauce mixed in a liniment with alcohol. Two of Yale's patients, because of their inability to walk, required six weeks of enforced bed rest. Yale makes no mention of the state of the new-born child, or of how her husband⁸ and their household managed or of her own mental state during this long confining illness.

Today, the condition is almost unheard of. New mothers rarely spend a whole day in bed, often leaving the hospital the day of delivery and they start walking almost as soon as the anesthetic, if used, has worn off. If blood clots develop, and they rarely do, anticoagulants, anti-inflammatories and antibiotics usually speed the recovery without complications.

June 20, 1833. This morning was called to visit two men in the harbour from Philadelphia, affected with the Small Pox. In one, the

⁸ Yale didn't mention her husband because Captain Norris was, at the time, in mid-Pacific whaling. He returned in September 1835 to learn he had a daughter.

⁷ She was Elwina Smith Norris, wife of Capt. Howes Norris of Eastville, a whaling master who was murdered by mutineers on the *Sharon* in the South Pacific 10 years later.

eruptions began to appear on the 15th and in the other on the 17th.

The two sailors had come down within two days of each other with the indented blisters of small pox appearing nearly all at once over their bodies. Thus, they contracted the disease, not one from the other, but from a third source, possibly a ship mate or someone in Philadelphia before they sailed. The incubation period is almost always 12 days, after which time Doctor Yale must have breathed a sigh of relief if neither he nor anyone else on the Island had come down with the pox.

Small pox has occupied a place in history of unusual dread and calamity, alongside the Black Plague, and has been responsible for millions of deaths over the centuries. Thanks to universal vaccinations, it now has disappeared from the planet as a clinical disease.

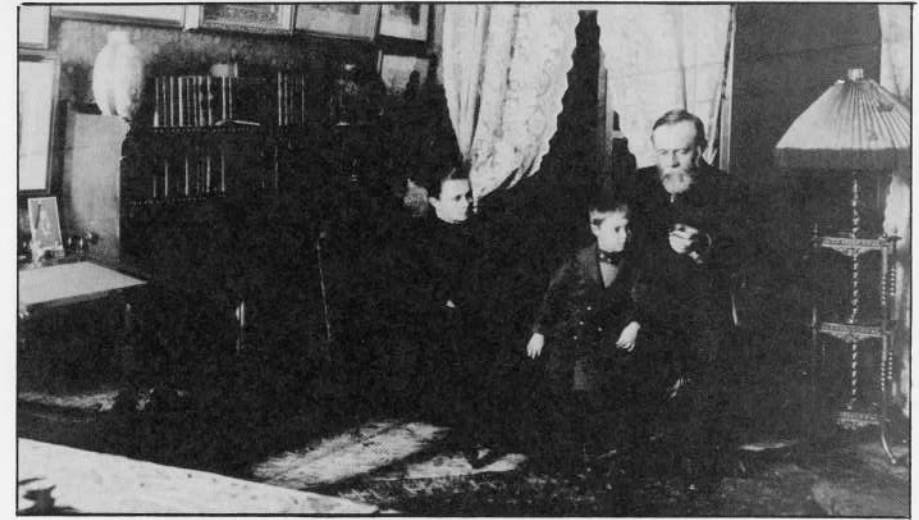
Perversely, laboratories throughout the world have preserved small-pox cultures for possible use in germ warfare, their availability being of great concern in the current climate of fanatical terrorism. Available cow-pox cultures enable us to maintain a supply of vaccination material in the horrible event that it might be needed.

We do not know whether Yale had been vaccinated against the disease. The earliest inoculations had occurred early in the 18th century, but with considerable objections to the practice from many citizens. Jenner's vaccination with cow pox was first demonstrated in 1798. Doctor Yale does not state whether he had ever used vaccination in his practice. We learn from a later entry that vaccinations were being done on the Island at the time.⁹

In January 1840, six years later, he reported that two cases of small pox had been reported at Gay Head, but he made no mention of visiting any of them. One case, Yale wrote, on January 1, 1840, "is said to have proved fatal this day, Thaddeus Cook." Then on January 23, 1840, he again wrote about the Gay Head cases: "Small pox on Gay head, two cases, one near death, Thaddeus Cook's wife."¹⁰ He added thankfully, "No other cases on

⁹ Small -pox inoculations were a subject of great dispute on the Island in the late 1700s.

¹⁰ Thaddeus Cook and Anna Cooper, no doubt Indians at Gay Head, had just been married. Apparently, she survived the small-pox attack.



Doctor Yale's son, Leroy Jr., was well known in New York for his beautiful etchings as well as for his medical skills. Here he is with his wife and son in a wonderful turn-of-the-century room.

the Island." On February 4, he reported that the "small pox has subsided at Gay Head." However, two days later this entry:

February 6, 1840. Today, people of the place [Holmes Hole] have been thrown into a panick on account of a report that the smallpox had broken out in West Tisbury in the person of Henry McCollum – who has been exposed to it at Gay Head – he had been vaccinated 20 or 30 years since and had previously been among [those with] the smallpox.

It is February and Yale reported that "the wind has been S. W. all day today – and the snow has nearly all disappeared." Nothing more is said about the small pox. Apparently, the "panick" had been unwarranted. McCollum must have had only a mild infection, being protected by his previous but outdated vaccination, and had not passed it along to anybody else.¹¹

In following the small-pox story, we have skipped ahead a few years and now return to the entries of 1833, where we find a distressing number of childhood illnesses, a number fatal:

July 6, 1833. This evening, Susan,¹² age 3 years, child of Benj. Davis,

¹¹ Henry McCullom, the son of Archibald and Martha (Godfrey) McCullom, soon moved to Barnstable, became a physician, practicing there for many years.

¹² Susan was the second child of Benjamin and Almira Newcomb of Eastville. Henry H. Davis, another child of the couple, became Town Clerk of Oak Bluffs years later.

Jr., died after an illness of ten days with dysentery. But very little sickness at present on the Island though many are complaining of diarrhea in a mild form.

July 17, 1833. A general disposition to diarrhea has existed for several days – some cases were severe. Several cases of cholera morbus have occurred within the last 2 or 3 days. Dysentery of an obstinate nature.

July 27, 1833. Last evening a child of John Clifford¹³ died after an illness of 8 days – disease Enecia Cauma [peritonitis] – age 5 years. Weather warm and very dry – thermometer 75 to 84 for several days.

August 4, 1833. This morning, Pamela, daughter of Benj. Davis, Jr., age 6 years, died. It was attacked with the dysentery 2 or 3 days after the death of Susan [her sister] – the disease was obstinate and did not yield at all for 8 or 10 days. It began then to mend gradually . . . till a week ago last night it [she] began to be restless and next morning sunk into a stupid lethargic state and gradually sunk until it [she] expired.

August 19, 1833. This day a child of Jacob Norton¹⁴ of Chilmark, male at about 6 years, died after a disease of 10 or 12 days duration. Enecia Cauma.

September 8, 1833. For some days past it has been unusually healthy on the Island. No case of sickness of any importance has occurred since the last date [August 19]. . .

September 29, 1833. This day, a child of Horatio Norton¹⁵ died after an illness of about 4 days – 12 or 15 months old – teething and strong marks of inflammation of the brain.

October 11. This morning Clarissa Luce,¹⁶ age 12, died of phthisis pulmonalis – has for some 2 or 3 years been subject to a cough and for the last year has been troubled with it constantly. Last winter she had the whooping cough, since which she has gradually failed.

The above entries from the summer of 1833 speak for themselves. In today's United States, losing six children from such a small rural practice in one summer would be a calamity of the first order. Even in the developing nations, in the late 20th century, death rates from diarrheal diseases have been lowered greatly

¹³ We find no record of this child of John and Almira (Look) Clifford.

¹⁴ We find no record of this family.

¹⁵ Horatio was the son of Horatio G. and Almira (Luce) Norton of Tisbury.

¹⁶ Clarissa Luce, 12, was daughter of Capt. Winthrop and Clarissa (Manter) Luce. The mother, Clarissa, died six years later.

through the World Health Organization's teaching and treatment for oral re-hydration and electrolyte balance. Today, Vineyard parents are familiar with solutions like Pedialyte and Gator-Aid as "medications" for diarrhea among children.

Yale used several terms to describe diarrheal illnesses. Diarrhea, dysentery and cholera morbus were essentially the same disease with an increasing order of severity. The name *Enecia Cauma* is an ancient one, meaning peritonitis. Since Yale used it only when he was also describing cases of diarrheal disease, I can imagine that the most severe cases that ended in death may have appeared to him like cases of peritonitis. The connection is not clear and his usage may have reflected medical custom then in vogue due to the lack of more basic knowledge of the disease process.

August 4, 1833. This evening, Thomas and Mayhew Norton,¹⁷ while engaged in blasting a rock in a well, were badly injured by the charge accidentally taking fire and Mayhew lost 3 fingers of the left hand at the carpometacarpal joint and the fourth one was considerably mangled. Thomas had the skin and flesh, to the extent of 5 or 6 inches, torn from left leg about midway from the knee to the ankle, together with some scales of bone from the tibia.

Although Yale never enlarged upon this simple note, he probably removed what damaged tissue would obviously not heal and bandaged the wounds with clean cloth or gauze, whatever was available. He did place in the record on September 8, 1833, that: . . . The wounds of T. & M. Norton are gradually healing & they may probably recover without the loss of any other portions of their limbs.

October 27, 1833. Solomon Weeks,¹⁸ Indian, about 87, died from gangrene in one foot which originated from scratching it with a shell while wading in the water.

¹⁷ Thomas (1810-1885) and Mayhew (1815-1865) Norton were brothers, living on the North Shore near Cedar Tree Neck. Yale doesn't say whether he treated them at home.

¹⁸ We can find no details on Solomon Weeks, an Indian. The doctor treated few, if any persons of color. At least, he does not record them as such, if he did. He noted the deaths of two blacks, but none was his patient it seems. On Dec. 8, 1833: "Last night, Esther Bassett, a coloured woman, died after an illness of several weeks. She was a good deal advanced in years, but her age not precisely known." In April 1835: "About the first of the month, a small black child about 4 years died with an affection of the head, probably dropsey."

September 23, 1834. . . On the 11th was called to see Ichabod Norton¹⁹ who had injured his hand by the bursting of a gun. The thumb was mostly torn from the hand – the forefinger was gone nearly up to the first joint – the two middle fingers were stripped of the flesh nearly to the second joint so that they were amputated at that joint – the little finger was considerably bruised and mangled. Now the wounds are doing well, beginning to heal.

January 7, 1835. On the morning of the 6th another gale commenced from the North East and blew violently with some snow in squalls and in forenoon the Brig *Pactobus*, which had just been got off, came on shore again. She was then boarded by the master and several others, among whom was Timothy Pease Jr.²⁰ They soon got up the tri-sail to press off into deep water when Pease stepped [sic] to the leeward of the boom, which at that moment broke and struck him on the head. He fell senseless and continued so for about 12 hours, i.e., till 11 o'clock at night and died.

Accidents like these were not uncommon and Doctor Yale has only his own resources and little else to work with: no real knowledge of antisepsis, no antibiotics, no helicopter evacuation for serious head trauma, no plastic surgeon to reconstruct a blasted hand or graft skin to a torn-up limb.

The maritime accident reminds us that the sea has always been, and remains even to this day, a dangerous arena in which to earn a living. Many men and boys were absent on long voyages in the early part of the 19th century when they “went down to the sea in ships,” searching for the whale. Tombstones over empty graves in Vineyard cemeteries recount the many sons and fathers who “died at sea,” their bodies cast overboard by a grieving crew, as, for example, this Vineyard mariner:

April 11, 1840. Today the Ship *Pocahontas*²¹ arrived, reporting 1400 bbls oil after an absence of 22 months. Lost her first officer last October who was killed by a whale, Mr. Geo. West – he was much esteemed

¹⁹ There were several Ichabod Nortons on the Island at the time. We don't know which one this would have been. Obviously, one living in Tisbury.

²⁰ We have no records of a Timothy Pease Jr. We do have a Timothy Pease living in Edgartown, but no Junior is shown. This Timothy may have been a transient mariner.

²¹ Ship *Pocahontas* was owned by Thomas Bradley of Holmes Hole. This had been her first voyage under his ownership. We find no record of First Officer West's family connection.

here and his loss greatly lamented.

There were other hazards, in life then, as now:

November 11, 1833. This morning James Foster,²² about 56, died. Some years ago he was in the habit of using ardent spirits to a great excess and continued it so long that it apparently undermined his constitution. He then became alarmed at seeing one of his neighbors affected with delirium tremens, and broke off from the use of it entirely. Two years hence he was attacked very violently with the dysentery which reduced him very low so that he had a constant hiccough for a fortnight. He however recovered from this, so far as to labor some, tho' he has been attended with a chronic diarrhea most of the time since and which eventually exhausted the powers of nature.

Foster probably had pancreatic insufficiency, unable to manufacture many digestive enzymes, resulting in poor absorption of food and diarrhea, a condition which sometimes accompanies chronic alcoholism and almost always, even with modern treatment, results in severe malnutrition and wasting illness.

Doctor Yale was as ardent a teetotaler as Mr. Foster was a user of ardent spirits. The doctor makes several comments in his journal about the harmfulness of alcohol and his wish that it was unavailable as a liquid refreshment. Inevitably, I imagine, his conclusion for any unfortunate happenstance befalling a drinker was to blame alcohol for the failure of the “powers of nature.”

I feel a kindred spirit in this regard although I claim to be more liberal and understanding about the subject than Doctor Yale was. In my more crusading youth I was once accused of being one of the “founders of the Women's Christian Temperance Union” because, I think, when certain socially prominent persons complained of late August fatigue, I would usually question them about their use of “ardent spirits.”

April 4, 1834. I was called this afternoon to visit Mrs. Peggy Smith, widow.²³ At 41, has had three children, the last 2 years since, has usually enjoyed good health till about 5 months ago when she began to

²² James Foster of Tisbury married Mary Hammett in 1797. They had one son, James, born 1809. At the time of his death, James was married to Rebecca Merry.

²³ Peggy (Luce) Smith married Capt. Ebenezer A. Smith in 1822. He died in 1833 at the age of 40. Our records show only two children: Ebenezer Jr. and Maria. Yale says three.

be troubled with leukorrhea and about the same time she weaned her child and has since menstruated regularly, though not largely as formerly . . . it soon became watery and occasionally tinged with blood. . .

The sad upshot of this truncated history was Doctor Yale's finding on prompt examination a large "tumorous situation on the [cervix]." He began injections of the tumor with silver nitrate and on May 7th, with Dr. Daniel Fisher of Edgartown, attempted to ligate the tumor, but the ligature dropped away the same day.

Obviously he was treating an entirely different and more ominous situation than with Jane Luce a year before. Mrs. Smith began having diarrhea and by July she was losing weight and strength. On September 21, Yale wrote a description of her last weeks of life that documented the long and suffering consequences of advanced cancer of the cervix.

In the mid-20th century, George Papaicolau at Cornell University Medical College introduced a revolutionary technique to identify very early stages of this same cancer by the examination of cells shed from the surface of the cervix, thus enabling thousands of women to be spared the fate of Mrs. Peggy Smith. Unfortunately, the belief that this and many other cancers are always fatal remained even well into the 20th century and intensive educational efforts have been used to offset that lingering fear.

November 23, 1833. *Nothing of importance has transpired since my last date and it still remains very healthy in this part of the Island. Two or three cases of consumption which are gradually growing worse and one will not probably survive long. In regard to this disease I have pretty much concluded that it is best to do but little. I sometimes in its incipient stages have used antimonials, expectorants, Iodine – Calomel – vesication and antimonial ointments with apparent benefit in arresting its progress and have then advised exercise in the open air, riding and with such other efforts as could consistently be made in the use of farming tools – a generous diet of meat, steaks, fowls, fish, wine – by which course life is apparently lengthened and the patient rendered more comfortable. But if the patient at first confines himself to the house, insists on taking medicine constantly and uses only a milk or vegetable diet there is usually a rapid failure in the powers of the system which soon brooks all efforts at relief.*

Doctor Yale seldom gave such a detailed discourse on his over-all description of a disease process or of his management philosophy. Interspersed through his diary, cases of tuberculosis (phthisis or consumption) crop up, little gray notices of sadness and impending death, most often involving children or young adults, although sometimes an old person.

December 21, 1833. *Last evening, Edward Daggett,²⁴ about 21, died after a lingering illness of a year and a half. The symptoms of phthisis pulmonalis have been fully developed for nearly a year past but notwithstanding this, and the warning of friends, he has entertained sanguine hopes of recovery, till within a few days past and then he did not relinquish it till after I had given him a full and candid statement of my opinion as to the unavoidable termination of his case. It seems to be characteristic of this complaint for the patient to flatter himself with recovery to the very last – whether this arises from the insidious manner in which the disease makes inroads upon the constitution or from some peculiar operation of the affection upon the reasoning faculties, I am unable to determine.*

I am inclined to think that in the case of tuberculosis, Doctor Yale was so certain of the outcome that he waxed a bit arrogantly with Mr. Daggett, who may very well have had the same pessimistic view as his doctor, but sustained himself with the frequently positive effect of denial. One could view the doctor's destruction of Daggett's hope as not in his best interest, given the circumstances.

December 25, 1833. *This day a child of George Dunham's, about 5 months, died. It had been unwell some days, but was not considered very sick. I did not see it and therefore cannot form any opinion respecting its disease.*

February 5, 1834. *Last night Geo. Dunham's wife²⁵ died after a lingering illness of consumption.*

Sadly, Mrs. Dunham died six months after delivering her baby girl, who lived only five months, dying on Christmas Day,²⁶ ten days before her mother. Pregnancy puts a notorious strain on the

²⁴ Edward was the son of William and Jane Daggett.

²⁵ Mrs. Dunham was Eliza Manter. Their baby, who died earlier, was Adelia M.

²⁶ Christmas was not celebrated. It was too papal for New England's Protestants.

reserves of a woman with active tuberculosis, as Mrs. Dunham certainly had. Equally tragic was the death of her infant before she attained her first year. I presume that both died of the same disease.

It would be nearly 50 years before Koch discovered the bacteria responsible for tuberculosis. From then on, the fight for control of the disease increased with intensity and effectiveness. TB maintains, at least in our culture, a feared yet sometimes romantic aura, perhaps due to the popularity of Puccini's opera, *La Boheme*, in which the heroine, Mimi, succumbs to its ravages even while singing.

But it is hardly a disease to be sung about, either in Yale's time or in ours. The advent of the worldwide pandemic of HIV infection and AIDS has been accompanied by a marked increase in cases of tuberculosis because of the reduced immunity of those patients. In addition, immigration of many from developing nations where tuberculosis has remained a serious threat, brings active cases to the United States. In our aging population there are occasional breakdowns in the natural immunity which most younger people have against TB allowing old, inactive infections with the bacillus to become reactivated. Rigid screening to find active cases in nursing homes is an important protection for our elder citizens clustered in those close environmental conditions.

The Island continued to be a healthy place, at least as viewed by Doctor Yale. It is hard to imagine how he was able to earn a living given the small numbers of patients he treated. In the winter of 1835, he wrote:

January 26, 1835. It continues to be very healthy in the place as it has been for the last year. I have now no patient in the village that requires attention.

There was another source of patients for the doctor. Holmes Hole was a very popular port with coastal schooners. At times, as many as 100 would be anchored within the harbor awaiting a fair wind and tide, and occasionally bringing him business:

September 22, 1836. John Simpson of Sch. [schooner] Eliza Jane died in the harbour before I saw him. Disease unknown. Isaac Miller, bilious fever. . [Ship's] Master unwell and had 12 bilious pills. Also one other man was sick.

October 3, 1836 Visited the brig Sea Island of Boston, Capt. from Savannah. James Evans and Nicola Aniedea were sick with a low bilious fever. Saw them on the 4th and 5th, both quite sick. . .

October 7, 1836 Brig Benjamin of Brunswick from River Potomac and New York, Capt. Wm. Field, Master, sick with low bilious fever, was taken on the third in New York. Gave him camph. . . and advised use if he vomited much. P. [pulse] 96. Skin warm, a little moist, had taken 3 emetics and physic once or twice. No pain now, but has had pain in head, back ache.

October 14, 1836 Visited Brig Albert Henry of [left blank], Capt. Kelly, Master, from Philadelphia with coal. Now on shore and lighting to get off. Thomas Richard of Portland, Mate, has been sick four or five days. Pain in head, back and limbs with general soreness – thirst – P. [pulse] 84. Skin not hot or dry, eyes yellowish, some nausea and faintness at stomach. Gave Calomel . . Wm. S. Baldwin of Bath, Seaman, has been complaining for 5 or 6 days. Yesterday became helpless, speechless. Had taken no medicine. Crew says he had fever and ague. Now is insensible, apparently. P. 120. Skin cool, pupils dilated, rather convulsed.

October 25, 1836. Wm. S. Baldwin remained on board the brig till the 22nd. He was then landed & an examination. His back was found to be vesicated & a large place 6 inches in diameter over the Sacrum mortified. Poultices of charcoal were applied & Brandy given freely. He lived till the morning of the 24th & died & was buried on the 25th.

This ominous collection of mariners' ailments in Holmes Hole all within a few weeks is hard to diagnose. Yale's term "low bilious fever" means nothing today, suggesting as it does disorder of the bile ducts or gall bladder. The hint of jaundice in one sailor's eyes suggests hepatitis.

However, the severity of the illnesses speaks against hepatitis. A louse-borne rickettsial infection like epidemic typhus would be likely in this case, or yellow fever that would account for jaundice.

The absence of the disease on the Vineyard makes typhus unlikely as it is spread person to person by body lice and could easily have been carried ashore by infected persons. This did not happen. Yellow fever would be more likely. These sick mariners may have come from Savannah or another southern port where the cold weather had not yet killed off the mosquito, the necessary

agent of contagion. Whatever the illness, contagious or not, Dr. Yale faithfully went aboard every vessel when he was called, without regard for his own personal safety.

I have saved until the end one of Yale's most dramatic and gruesome cases, the account of a man isolated on Pasque Island, unable to obtain prompt medical care, who suffered a complication of a condition which today would be handled in a routine manner with a good outcome:

March 8, 1833. Oliver Grinnell, about 60, Labourer, returned from one of the Elizabeth Islands called Pesk [Pasque], where [he] had gone about 8 weeks previously and soon after leaving home was exposed in getting up some beef that had been sunk, & while at work the wind shifted to N., became so cold that he was obliged to leave & in returning in his boat he seated himself on one of the barrels where he remained for 2 or 3 hours & became very chilly. The following night he had a suppression of urine with much pain which continued for 16 hours & then burst from him all at once. He then thought himself well & sent for no assistance but there was soon a discharge of pus from the urethra [urinary channel in the penis] which lasted for one or two days & his urine was again suppressed & the abdomen & scrotum began to swell & continued to increase for four days when he became easy. Had a discharge of bloody water from the anus, etc.

This history I have from one of his family & did not see him till he returned on the day above named. Now, pulse, Tongue, Skin, natural, appetite good but very weak, can with difficulty turn himself in bed. The right half of the scrotum, ~~right testicle~~, sphinater ani & most of the perineum [area between the scrotum and anus] mortified [gangrenous] & sloughed off [separated from the vital tissue underneath] except the testicle & cord which last seems to have mortified up to the abdominal ring & yet remains. The urethra is bare from the pubis [pubic or front pelvic bone] back toward the bladder, say 2 to 3 inches, & ulcerated through in several places [holes had developed in the urinary tract]. No water passes thro' the urethra & catheter will not pass by the ulcerated places [understandable]. Has had no dejection [bowel movement] for 14 days, Urine passed by the opening in the perinium, little pain.

March 9. Removed the testicle which was mortified with as much of the cord as could be [removed] conveniently. wound looks healthy & suppurates [drains pus] freely. Gave senna & salts [laxatives] which

operated well but he has no command over the discharge. Opening in the perinum from loss of substance large enough to receive a man's fist.

March 16. The patient noticed on the 8th continues comfortable. Wound heals rapidly. Has but little pain. Foeces [stool] pass involuntarily & urine also by the artificial opening.

N.B. The part thought to be the testicle proves not to be, as that still remains. It was probably only the skin & cellular substance.

We must all wince while we read this account. Dr. Yale gives an extraordinarily vivid description of Grinnell's problems. I believe an enlarged prostate gland, not malignant, obstructed his urinary tract after his prolonged chilling. I imagine he had been having poor urine flow before. Unable to relieve the mounting bladder pressure, he withstood the pain literally to the breaking point. The urine escaped, probably through a ruptured urethra. But because the blockage did not let up, infection and mounting pressure increased until the urine finally burst through the tissues internally to exit through the soft tissues around the bladder, then through the rectum and perineum to the outside. After 14 days of complete constipation, his stool and urine poured through the opening caused by the rupture.

Miraculously, it seems, the wounds healed and Grinnell lived. Eight years later, the doctor was called again:

March 18, 1841. [Mr. Grinnell] has been able to attend to some business and walk some miles. 2 or 3 weeks since, he took some cold & exerted himself in cutting wood & has since been troubled with pains in the bladder & hip with frequent discharges of urine mixed with pus and blood. Saw him today. Urine bloody, some appetite, tongue slightly coated and urine voided very frequently. Rx Pil opii [pill of opium] at night per rectum.

It is difficult to imagine how anyone could live through this crippling condition, never mind chopping wood. Yale's surgery to clean up the wound had been without anesthesia. He had nothing at hand to dull the pain of operating except opium and alcohol. To some extent, pain was probably lessened by the devitalization of tissues, including the nerves that register pain. Nevertheless to minimize this man's pain and suffering would be a mistake. The temperance-minded doctor probably would not have given him the large doses of alcohol he needed. The end came a month later:

April 16, 1841. Mr. Oliver Grinnell died this day after a lingering & painful illness, gradually sinking under the influence of the pain in voiding urine till he was entirely exhausted.

○

These examples that I have selected from Leroy Yale's journal during the years from 1829 to 1842 undoubtedly portray his more spectacular cases, almost necessarily those with the worst outcomes, outcomes more a reflection of the primitive state of medicine in those years than of the skills of the physician.

The doctor, the only one in Holmes Hole at the time, had a busy and productive life in an era when doctors were usually called only in desperation. Preventive medicine was rare. There were periods, as he described them, with "very little illness in this part of the Island." And there were many patients he treated who recovered without any further journal comment.

His journal entries emphasize a major difference between the style of doctors then and now. Often, he doesn't know (or at least record) the first names of his child patients, referring to them only as the child of a certain resident. Many times, he calls the child "it", rather than "he" or "she." Such was no doubt the custom.

His faithfulness to the sick was in the true Hippocratic tradition as exemplified by his final and fatal visit to the harbor to go aboard a transient schooner filled with sick Irish immigrants. While on board he contracted the dreaded typhus fever that two weeks later killed him. On March 11, 1849, he died at only 47 years of age – a tragic loss to his family and to the village.

During those twenty years of ministering to the sick in Holmes Hole, Leroy Yale endeared himself to the community to an exceptional degree. This devotion is made dramatically clear by his son's description of the funeral procession.²⁷ The coffin was being carried by pall bearers along Main Street on the way to the cemetery when a large gathering of friends and patients stopped the march to insist that the coffin be opened so they could have one final view of the beloved doctor's face.

²⁹ The son's biography of his father and other material, mostly non-medical, from Dr. Yale's journal were published in the *Intelligencer*, May 2001.

Deaths Recorded in Dr. Leroy Yale's Journal

DR. LEROY YALE'S journal covers more than a decade of medical history in Holmes Hole. He listed 55 deaths, most had been his patients (he did record deaths of a few persons not treated by him). In not every case did he give the age, but of those whose age is known, 20 were children six years or younger (36%), 10 were adults 60 years or older (18%). The oldest was Mrs. Jonathan Athearn, 90, who died of "old age"; the youngest was a Cleaveland infant of 3 weeks, cause of death not given.

Average age at death was 29.7 years. Of the 31 adults who died, 45% were females, 55% males. Of the 10 adults who died at 60 or older, five were women, five were men. Surprisingly, only one woman died in childbirth (Yale seems to have made few deliveries). Only one person died of cancer, a woman; no men were diagnosed with cancer. A second woman died of a "tumor," which may have been malignant.

Whooping cough killed 3 children, as did croup. Dysentery claimed 2 children's lives. There were 5 children for whom no cause of death was given. Only one death in those years was accidental and that was on a vessel in the harbor, the victim a transient mariner struck in the head by a boom.

Four of the dead were non-white. None had been treated by Doctor Yale.

(Compiled by ARR)

Name	Age	Cause	Date
Adams, Joseph S.	10 wk	Whoop. cough	Mar. 12, 1833
Athearn, -----	3 yr	Croup	Nov. 17, 1836 Ezra's child
Athearn, Mrs. Jona.	90 yr	Old age	Apr. 4, 1841
Baldwin, Wm. S.	NA	NA	Oct. 24, 1836 Transient
Bassett, Esther	NA	NA	Dec. 8, 1833 Colored, elderly
Chase, -----	15 mo	Whoop. cough	Apr. 27, 1833
Cleaveland, -----	3 wk	Unknown	Jan. 20, 1833
Clifford, -----	5 yr	Enecia cannia	July 27, 1833
Cook, Thaddeus	NA	Small pox	Dec. ?, 1839 at Gay Head
Cottle, Peggy	53 yr	Unknown	May 13, 1834
Crowell, -----	5 wk	Jaundice	Mar. 3, 1841 Arnold's son
Daggett, Edward	21 yr	Phthisis pul.	Dec. 21, 1833
Daggett, Irene	55 yr	Cancer	Apr. 4, 1834
Daggett, Mary Merry	6 yr	Unknown	Apr. 4, 1841
Davis, Pamela	6 yr	Dysentery	Aug. 4, 1833
Davis, Susan	3 yr	Dysentery	July 27, 1833
Dexter, Benjamin	47 yr	Delerium trem.	May 5, 1834
Downs, Charlotte	3 yr	Croup	Jan. 18, 1833
Dunham, -----	5 mo	Unknown	Dec. 25, 1833 George's child
Dunham, Eliza	NA	Consumption	Feb. 5, 1834
Dunham, Thomas	70 yr	Unknown	Mar. 27, 1841
Foster, James	50 yr	Dysentery	Nov. 11, 1833
Foster, Polly	NA	Strokes & fall	May 22, 1840

Gray, John	75 yr	Lung fever	Jan. 23, 1834	
Grinnell, Oliver	70 yr	Prostate	April 12, 1841	
Hammett, ----	6 yr	Croup	Dec. 27, 1833	John's child
Hillman, Elijah	72 yr	Apoplexy	Dec. 13, 1840	
Hursel, ----	5 wk	Whoop. cough	April 15, 1833	
Look, Aaron	NA	Liver (13 lbs)	Feb. 2, 1840	Autopsy held
Luce, Clarissa	46 yr	Phthisis pul.	Sept. 5, 1838	
Luce, Clarissa	12 yr	Cough	Oct. 11, 1833	
Luce, Mrs. Hepsey	75 yr	Erysipiles	Feb. 8, 1835	
Luce, Peggy	62 yr	Unknown	May 14, 1834	
Manter, ----	6 yr	Typhus fever	Mar. 23, 1834	Athearn's child
Manter, Harriet	10 yr	Typhus fever	Apr. 7, 1834	
Manter, Julia	34 yr	Childbirth	Nov. 22, 1836	Mrs. Granville
Norton, ----	6 yr	Enecia cannia	Aug. 191833	
Norton, Almira	1 yr	Inflam. brain	Sept. 29, 1833	
Norton, Freeman	51 yr	Heart	Apr. 28, 1835	
Norton, Sarah	NA	Unknown	Sept. 7, 1838	
Pease, Harriet	40 yr	Epileptic fits	Jan. 17, 1841	
Pease, Timothy Jr.	NA	Accident	Jan. 7, 1835	Transient mariner
Pool, William	NA	Fell dead on path	Nov. 25, 1836	
Ruggles, Timothy	NA	Pleurisy	Oct. 24, 1836	
Simpson, John	NA	Unknown	Sept. 22, 1836	Trans. mar.
Smith, ----	2 yr	Unknown	July 14, 1833	Charles's child
Smith, ----	17 mo	Unknown	Jan. 6, 1833	
Smith, Peggy	42 yr	Tumor	Sept. 21, 1834	
Trask, Sally	78 yr	Unknown	May 1, 1833	
Unnamed	68 yr	Unknown	Jan 25, 1833	"Old lady"
Weeks, Octavus	20 yr	Scurvy	April 12, 1835	Whaleman
Weeks, Solomon	87 yr	Gangrene	Oct. 27, 1833	Indian
West, Stephen	40 yr	Liver & heart	Mar. 1, 1834	
"Small black child"	4 yr	Dropsey	April 5, 1835	Black

With Deliberate Intent to Defraud? Emma Jane's Last "Whaling" Voyage

by JUDITH N. LUND

SCHOONER EMMA JANE SAILED OUT of Edgartown harbor on May 17, 1884, to begin what was just another whaling voyage in the South Atlantic Ocean. Or so everyone thought; especially her owner, Samuel Osborn Jr., Edgartown's principal whaling entrepreneur.

Vessels had been leaving that harbor to go whaling for more than a century, through the glory days of whaling. The streets bordering the harbor were lined with impressive "captain's houses" as testimony to that. Now the industry was in its declining years, but a market continued for oil as a fine-quality lubricant, enabling small whaling fleets, such as the one owned by Osborn, to be profitable.¹

The *Emma Jane*, 86 tons, was 30 years old, built in 1855 in Baltimore, but still in good condition. She had whaled out of New London, Connecticut, until 1879, when Osborn bought her. He had her completely rebuilt and re-rigged at Mattapoisett by Johnathan [sic] Holmes, who pronounced her "as good as new," when he finished. She then made four successful whaling voyages for Osborn. The first voyage had been wildly successful, recovering her purchase price and outfitting cost in the first three months. A good investment, *Emma Jane* had already produced \$42,000 worth of oil under Osborn.

Now, on her fifth voyage for Osborn, she was under the

JUDITH N. LUND, of South Dartmouth has degrees from Wellesley and Yale. For many years, curator of New Bedford Whaling Museum, she continues to research whaling in her retirement. Her expanded version of *Whaling Masters* (Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford, 1938), entitled *Whaling Masters and Whaling Voyages Sailing from American Ports*, will soon be available.

¹ Samuel Osborn Jr., (1823-1895) of Edgartown began his business career as owner of a clothing store on lower Main Street while in his 20s. He became active in the whaling business in the 1860s, owning, wholly or in part, at least 13 whalers. A dedicated Republican, he served as State Representative, Sheriff of Dukes County and Member of the Governor's Council (1863-64) and entertained Gov. John A. Andrew of Massachusetts at his home (now the Charlotte Inn).

command of Capt. Squire H. Cornell of New Bedford. With him were two mates, three boatsteerers, sixteen seamen, a cook and a steward, all experienced mariners. Although Cornell had been whaling for 30 years, this was his first voyage as master of a vessel.

Owner Osborn was known to keep tight control over his shipmasters, issuing explicit instructions which they were expected to follow. He kept close contact by letter during the voyages and expected frequent letters in return.²

Before *Emma Jane* sailed, Osborn had given explicit directions to Captain Cornell. The voyage was to last two years or less. He was to cruise first on the Hatteras Ground off the southeast coast of the United States, and, Osborn added, "a good spot late in the season is 32 degrees Lat. and Long. 74 degrees in October." He warned Cornell that "Masters of Provincetown vessels will talk in such a way as to scare you off from Charleston ground, but don't leave it before January, '85." He included very specific suggestions such as one about a fresh-water source in the West Indies, detailing how to use a certain flagpole on shore as a range mark on entering the unmarked harbor. He ordered Cornell to cruise the Schooner Ground (Lat. 29 to 32 degrees, Long. 29 to 55 degrees) and the Spartan Ground (Lat 35 to 33 degrees, Long. 4 to 36 degrees) during the winter months. Osborn made it clear that Captain Cornell was to hunt whales only in the Atlantic Ocean.

Among the surviving correspondence is Cornell's first report to Osborn, dated September 16, 1884, and annotated "at Tenerife"³ by Osborn. In this letter, Cornell relates that he had tried the Charleston ground unsuccessfully. "i don't see no chance to catch a whal -- all the whals i saw was gon quick to windward." Cornell added that he would be in St. Helena in February and would like to have a new foresail sent out, cut to the dimensions he provided.

Cornell's next letter was dated January 13, 1885, from Cape Town, South Africa, with the explanation, "came in here on

account of severe gal." No whales had been killed. He expected to be in St. Helena in March, not February as he earlier predicted. He did get there in February and again reported he had no oil. The next document in the collection, surprisingly, is from Mauritius in the Indian Ocean off the eastern shore of Africa. On May 29, 1885, Cornell purchased supplies at the chandlery worth 2248 rupees and drew 1000 rupees in cash. He paid for the total by a draft on Samuel Osborn's account. This was normal practice among whalemens when they found themselves in need of provisions or repairs in foreign ports. While there, Cornell wrote Osborn that he would head south and west via Port Dolphin and Cape Town when returning to the Atlantic Ocean. A month later, he was still in the Indian Ocean, this time at the Seychelle Islands, where, he wrote, seven chain plates were repaired along with the main mast which had sprung. Still no whales.

In August 1885, from the island of Johanna in the Comoro group at the northern end of the Mozambique Channel in the Indian Ocean, Cornell reported a surprising development: "The *Emma Jane* she leack so bad i had to go in port. . . i tried to stop the leck while at anker the vesel stern post was so bad and rotten . . . the main mast very bad. . . i hel a survey on the vesel and [condemned] her and sold her. . . at [auction] to Dock [Dr.] Willson. . . i will send you all the bills soon."

A month later, September 9, 1885, Cornell wrote that he would send the money from the sale (as it turned out, about \$900) via E. F. D. Souza Jr. of Dias & Co., by draft on the Chartered Bank of India, Australia & China. He also reported that crew members were on their way home.

After 16 months at sea, they had taken no oil, in fact had not even lowered a boat to chase a whale. And now, Osborn's schooner had been sold without his permission. It was a baffling series of events. Owner Osborn took immediate action, seeking the help of Representative Robert T. Davis, and U. S. Secretary of State Thomas Bayard. He implored them to enlist the aid of the U. S. Navy in the recovery of the *Emma Jane*. The Navy vessel *Alliance* was eventually sent to the Indian Ocean, where her crew seized from Doctor Wilson the trypots and other whaling gear that had been removed from *Emma Jane* when Wilson bought her and

² Many of his papers are in the Nicholson Whaling Collection at the Providence, R. I. Public Library, and have been invaluable in writing this article.

³ Tenerife is one of the Canary Islands.

converted her to hauling sugar from his plantation to Zanzibar. The seized gear was placed in the care of a United States marshal, until Osborn and Wilson could work out their differences.

Two years later, in 1887, Wilson put *Emma Jane* up for sale by a shipping firm in Mauritius. The U. S. Consul at Mauritius held up the signing of the necessary papers until Osborn could be notified of Wilson's plan. The earlier condemnation sale had been certified by the U. S. Consul at Zanzibar, miles away from the scene, on the testimony presented to him. There was nothing in the testimony to indicate that a fraud had been committed by Cornell either in the condemnation or the subsequent sale of *Emma Jane* to Wilson.

Osborn was informed by the U. S. government that to reverse these actions, he would have to appeal to the courts at Mauritius. Osborn apparently decided not to do so, making reference, in other correspondence, to the fact that he was in financial difficulties and did not have the money to pursue legal matters halfway around the globe. The last word on *Emma Jane* was that she was "rotting in the harbor" in Mauritius. There is no written evidence she was ever legally sold by Wilson.

Understandably, Samuel Osborn was convinced he had been defrauded by Squire Cornell. He believed *Emma Jane* was a good and sturdy vessel, having been recently rebuilt, and could not have been in such rotten condition as to warrant condemnation. He refused to pay the bills Captain Cornell had incurred while the vessel was in the Indian Ocean because the master had violated his orders to hunt whales only in the Atlantic. Osborn's failure to pay those bills brought a civil suit for which he assembled a number of depositions and other evidence, which are in the Osborn collection at the Providence, R. I., Public Library. Altogether, they paint a murky picture of the voyage and of the captain's behavior. In their statements, several crew members make it clear that no oil was taken because Cornell had never ordered boats to be lowered in pursuit of a whale.

First Mate William H. Young of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, was a veteran of 32 years in whaling. In his sworn statement, he corroborated the vessel's itinerary: Hatteras, Tenerife, St. Helena and Cape Town. At St. Helena in the South Atlantic, the *Emma*

Jane lay off the island while Cornell went ashore for mail. Upon his return, the schooner departed for the Indian Ocean, much to the mate's surprise. Young also stated that off Mozambique Channel in the Indian Ocean, they had raised whales, and that he wanted to lower boats because "it was as good a chance as I ever saw," but the captain refused, saying he was in too much of a hurry to lower for whales. When *Emma Jane* stopped at Mauritius for provisions, a number of men deserted, reducing the crew to 12. After the repair of the chain plates in the Seychelles, the vessel proceeded directly to Johanna in the Comoro Islands, making no attempt at whaling along the way. The first mate testified that when they arrived at Johanna he was ordered to ready the vessel for sea. Shortly, she sailed to Zanzibar in Africa under Captain Cornell with a load of Doctor Wilson's sugar.

George W. Fenner of Albany, New York, had shipped as a seaman and was soon promoted to cook. His account added more details to the confusing tale. At Cape Town, he said, eight crew members deserted because the captain had treated the crew with extreme cruelty on the voyage from St. Helena Island. They feared for their lives if they crossed him. Earlier, a crewman, who had attempted to send a message to the U. S. Consul at Tenerife reporting his mistreatment, was put in irons and beaten by Captain Cornell. The ship's carpenter was also kicked and beaten by the master.

Fenner stated that the second mate, in strictest confidence, had told him that they would not return home in this vessel, that the captain would either run her on shore or sell her. Fenner also testified that while at Mahe in the Seychelles, a Mr. Dupee came on board, dined with the captain and was given a thorough tour of the vessel. On arriving at Johanna, Captain Cornell immediately went to Doctor Wilson's house, where he spent the night. In the morning, Cornell returned and conferred with the mates. The first mate then spoke with Fenner and another member of the crew at length. When asked if he wanted to go home, Fenner said "Yes", and the mate told him he should sign the paper condemning the ship. Fenner asked, "Suppose they don't condemn her?" The mate replied, "Don't fear about that. It will be all right."

Emma Jane was then sailed up to Doctor Wilson's, where

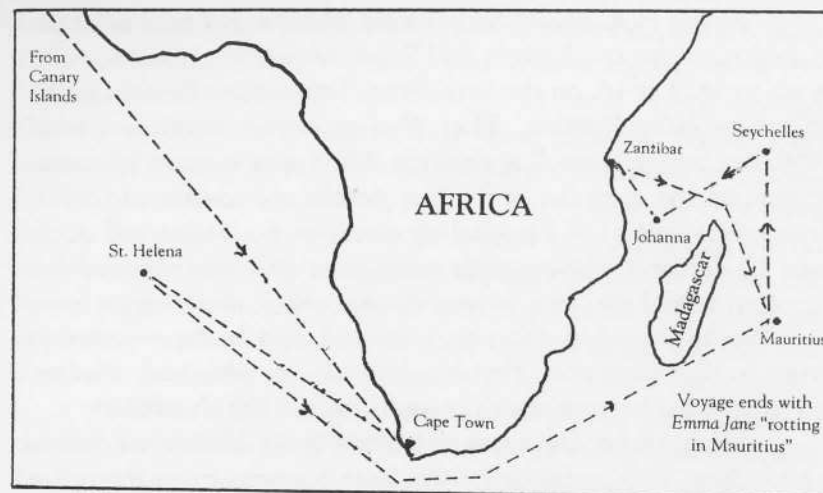
she was stripped of whaling gear. Wilson and a carpenter by the name of Hill who worked at his place came on board. The carpenter tried a chisel in four or five places and Wilson said she would have to have some new ceiling.⁴ The next day Hill returned with some "official" papers. Another carpenter put a piece of wood about two feet long in her stern, nailed down a few pieces of copper and used some pitch on the deck. Then about 900 bags of sugar were brought aboard and they sailed for Zanzibar.

Fenner stated that the steward told him the captain gave the first and second mates a lot of money and that both men made small canvas bags the next day in which to keep the money. The two mates, when they were all returning to the States, tried to dissuade Fenner from speaking to Osborn about this, using vague threats of danger.

George Alfred Carew of New Bedford sailed as cook on *Emma Jane*, being elevated to steward only two days out. His deposition is also damaging to Cornell, reiterating the description of the voyage and the events at Wilson's place in Johanna. He confirmed Dupee's visit to the vessel at Mahe and described Cornell's attempt to sell *Emma Jane* to Dupee. He corroborated the story of payment to the two mates, also recalling threats of retribution by the mates if the story got back to Samuel Osborn. His testimony is somewhat tarnished however by a letter in Osborn's files in which he, Carew, wrote to James, a friend or relative, about those events. The letter hints at considerable wrongdoing by Cornell, but Carew suggests to his friend that Osborn would have to pay to get his testimony because the owner did not pay for his passage home. Whether Osborn did pay for Carew's signed deposition is unknown.

From a deposition by Simeon Doane of New Bedford, we learn that Doane and Cornell had served together some years earlier on the whaling bark *Laconia* which was condemned in 1877 at Mahe. On their voyage home from Mahe, Doane said that Cornell told him of having met Doctor Wilson at his plantation on Johanna and how he wished he had stayed there. Cornell spoke about the doctor's sugar production and of his problem finding

⁴ The ceiling, in nautical usage, is the planking that lines the inside and bottom of a wooden ship.



Dashed line roughly follows the *Emma Jane* while she was supposed to be whaling in the Atlantic. Dr. Wilson's sugar plantation was on Johanna island, at center right.

vessels to haul the sugar to Africa. Cornell expressed an interest in returning to Johanna to renew his acquaintance with Wilson. Seven years later, he was hired by Samuel Osborn as master of *Emma Jane* on this mysterious voyage.

Surviving records make it clear that the crew who served under Cornell had little good to say about him or about the way he conducted the voyage. There is substantial documentation that *Emma Jane's* condition had not been such as to justify her condemnation.

The certification by the U. S. Consul at Zanzibar authorizing the sale after her condemnation is puzzling. Hill, the man who drew up the condemnation papers, is described by the Consul as a respectable merchant, though the crew members state clearly that he was in Wilson's employ. Both statements may be true. The other men involved in the condemnation proceedings were also in Wilson's employ. Such a procedure certainly didn't comply with U. S. regulations that require that "two disinterested, competent, practical men acquainted with maritime affairs" certify the vessel as unseaworthy. However, there was no way to enforce U. S. regulations on the island of Johanna, an island with which the United States had no diplomatic relations, a fact that, no doubt, was not lost on conspirators Wilson and Cornell.

Squire H. Cornell's background suggests that he was a man of dubious character. Born in Fall River August 15, 1838, he went to sea in 1854 at 16, on the bark *Orray Taft* of New Bedford under a Captain Peleg Cornell.⁵ That whaling voyage continued until 1856, but Squire Cornell apparently didn't stay long, as his name appears on the crew list of the brig *Amelia* of Sandwich in 1855. That seems typical of his whaling career as he had served on at least 17 different whalers with some years still unaccounted for. He often served part of a voyage on one vessel, choosing to leave or being discharged in a foreign port, and then hiring on another vessel in that same port. He served mostly on American whalers, but he claimed to have served on unidentified British whalers.

He lived his last years at Sailors' Snug Harbor on Staten Island, New York, a home for destitute seamen. Even there, his career was turbulent. The records that still exist tell of him being readmitted after being "expelled," usually because of fighting or drinking, according to the present record keeper.

Clues to his personality and skills are found in a journal kept by Captain William H. Poole on a voyage of *John and Winthrop*. In that journal we learn that Cornell joined that voyage in September 1887 at Sydney, Australia, one of 15 men hired to replace deserters. Captain Poole wrote of berating Cornell for his ineptitude and cites mistakes Cornell made carrying out orders, in one case nearly causing the ship to lose a whale. The journal describes a fight between two men, one of whom may have been Cornell. It ends with Cornell assaulting the captain. It would seem that it was not Cornell's choice, as he claimed it was, that he was discharged by Poole at Yokohama, Japan, soon after.

The other leading participant in this mystery, Dr. Benjamin Wilson, was also no saint, according to three New Bedford shipping merchants, David B. Kempton, Rodolph Beetle and Charles E. Hawes. In their deposition in support of Osborn, they suggested Wilson was at least a crook and perhaps a murderer.

Years earlier, as owners, the three men had fitted out the schooner *S. J. Wainwright*, for trade and ultimate sale at Cape Town. She was under the command of Capt. Leonard Gifford. To

look after their interests, they hired a supercargo Benjamin Wilson (not yet Doctor Wilson). Gifford and Wilson argued during the voyage. Shortly after the vessel arrived at Cape Town, Captain Gifford suddenly and mysteriously died, putting Wilson, the supercargo, in command. He sold the cargo, sending a very small remittance with no accounting to the three owners. He continued to run the vessel as a freighter for several years, claiming he did not have the papers to sell her as originally directed. Taking out heavy insurance on the schooner and cargo in his own name, he apparently ran her on shore. His claim of total loss of the ship and cargo was denied by an underwriter, who saw through the scheme.

Wilson settled on Johanna as a physician, also becoming the Secretary of the King. He never returned to the United States. In an undated and unidentified newspaper article among the records, Wilson's plantation on Johanna was described by a former naval officer as having thousands of acres in sugar, 700 to 800 slaves and their dependents. Wilson was living in luxury, reading the *New York Herald*, American magazines and new books. It was no wonder that Squire Cornell wanted to join in that life.

It would appear likely that such a wish led to the mystery of *Emma Jane*, the Edgartown schooner that sailed on a whaling voyage, but never chased a whale. It also seems that Samuel Osborn Jr., the leading Edgartown businessman, was defrauded by Capt. Squire H. Cornell. As Charles Carew, one of the crew, wrote to his friend, James: "Sam has got bluffed this time."

With deliberate intent? It certainly seems that way. When and why that intent was born is less clear. Initially, Cornell may have made some effort, although ineptly, to hunt whales. It may be that he then decided he was not cut out to command a whaler.

On the other hand, Osborn, it appears, had put his trust in a man not worthy of it. Carew's deposition states that Cornell was enraged by a letter from Osborn that he had received at St. Helena. It may have been then that Cornell, a man with a feeble conscience, made his decision: he would give up the rough life of whaling, for which he seemed to have little talent, and spend the rest of his life in comfort, working for Doctor Wilson, hauling sugar to Zanzibar.

We will never know for certain.

⁵ We have not been able to learn whether the two Cornells were related.

Sources

- Samuel Osborn Jr., Collection, Martha's Vineyard Historical Society.
 "Another Whaler Condemned," *Whalemen's Shipping List*, Oct. 27, 1885.
 Davis, Lance E., Robert E. Gallman and Karin Gleiter, *In Pursuit of Leviathan*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1997.
Emma Jane Papers, Nicholson Whaling Collection, Providence Public Library, Providence, R. I.
 "Quelled Mutiny: Cornell, Old Mate, Tells of Convict Crew," *New York Sun*, hand-dated May 15, 1909.
 Records Department, Sailors' Snug Harbor, Sea Level, N. C.
 "A Reminiscence of Old Whaling Days," unidentified publication, Old Dartmouth Historical Society Scrapbook 2, p. 51.



Samuel Osborn Jr., owner of the *Emma Jane*, died in 1895 at 71 years. Engraving was made two years before his death.

Henry Baylies: Five Wives And Even More Occupations

by ARTHUR R. RAILTON

Some members have asked, "What happened to Henry Baylies after his wife, Hattie, died?" Having followed his story through so many twists and turns on these pages, they want to know how it ends. We are now able to answer their question.¹

First, we will print the final pages in the journal that he entitled, "A Running Account Of Matters & Things." He maintained it for only a few months after Hattie died. She was the second wife he had lost by death. And he was only in his twenties.

Even before Hattie's death on May 23, 1852, Henry's parents had decided to leave the Vineyard. The week before, his father, Frederick, who owned a store on Edgartown's Main Street, advertised that he was selling his "ENTIRE STOCK at the Lowest Prices." Shortly after, he advertised the sale of his house and lot on Main Street across from today's Town Hall.² This was followed by an advertisement offering for sale the family's three pews in the new Methodist Church (which he had built). The pews, the ad said, were "on the broad aisle – two of them are very desirable."

When his parents moved, widower Henry, who was living with them, went along. We don't know if it had played a part in the decision to move, but the father had just lost a re-election bid as County Treasurer, a position he had held for several terms. He was defeated by Barnard C. Marchant, brother of the *Gazette's* editor.³

¹ From May 1993 until February 2001, we published the journal of Henry Baylies (1822-1893) covering the years from 1850 until 1852. Born in Edgartown, Henry was principal of the Dukes County Academy in 1850 and a year later the first principal of the Edgartown High School, the Island's first public high school. A Methodist minister, he turned to teaching when a throat ailment kept him from making the long, spell-binding sermons Methodists expected. However, he kept returning to the ministry, his true love.

² Father Baylies, a dry-goods store owner, was also a builder and architect. He built the Edgartown Town Hall (originally a Methodist church), the Federated Church, the Baptist Church and the new Methodist Church (now the "Whaling Church"), all among the town's most admired structures.

³ The *Gazette* seemed unfriendly to the Baylies family. When they moved to the mainland, the paper did not mention the fact, despite the family's importance.

A campaign smear had decided the election, Henry claimed:

County election for Treasurer has taken place & by means of falsehood, as since appears, Father lost his office & Barnard C. Marchant was elected over him.

Henry and his father together purchased a dry-goods store in North Bridgewater, the village to which they will move.

Here are the final entries in this volume of his journal:

Friday, July 30, 1852 I am again all in arrears with my Journal or rather "Occasional Memoranda." I must briefly note facts & pass on. May 31 (Monday), 1852,⁴ I took stage passage for Boston to attend the General Conference, etc., [of the Methodist Church]. The Conf. was just at the point of dissolution, yet I saw most of the great men & heard not a few speeches. An evening session on Mond. continued till after 10 o'clock. On Tues. morning, session continued till between 2 & 3 P. M., when Conf. adjourned *sine die*.

My stay at Conf. was brief but quite satisfactory. I remained in Boston till Friday P. M., boarding at Griffin's. My days I spent in sightseeing & my evenings in company of Bro. Sewall.⁵ My health improved rapidly. Friday P. M. June 4th, I visited No. Bridgewater to view the place of our proposed residence. Everything favorable & promising. Sat. (5th) went to Taunton & stopped with Rev. Bro. Boar . . . & called to see "Aunt Eunice." Attended services at Weir M. E. Church. Left Taunton for N. Bedford June 8 or 9 & remained in N. B. till Sat. 12th.

At Whittendon, I saw a lot of

Arbor Vitae, purchased in Bangor, Maine, & thought I would undertake a Speculation in Trees. I wanted from 100 to 150 to set around my burying place & thought I might sell a few hundred to persons in Edgartown. I therefore ordered 1000 Arbor Vitae & 75 White Spruce. These I rec'd June 16 and consigned to C. H. Shute to be sold at auction. I did not realize anything from sales & took the whole lot into my own hand to set & with the aid of two boys set out 1070 Arbor Vitae & say 40 White Spruce. 110 A. V. I placed around the burying place & the remainder on land belonging to grandmother Baylies⁶ who gave me the use of it gratuitously. These trees cost me \$37.07. I watered them daily except Sabbath for more than a month as there was only two very small showers in the time.⁷ I shall probably save between 500 & 600 trees. This is my first speculation. It did not result as I anticipated by a great deal, yet I am pretty well satisfied with the probable results. I shall be careful hereafter how I speculate. I have learned a practical lesson and therefore more fully record it.

⁴ This was one week after Hattie's death, only a few days after her burial.

⁵ Hattie's brother, Henry's brother-in-law.

⁶ She was Sally Baylies, widow of the missionary to the Indians, Frederick, who had died in 1836. She died in 1867 at 93.

⁷ Imagine the effort involved in watering 900 shrubs daily without running water.

After the family moved to North Bridgewater, Henry taught at Myricksville Academy in Taunton, a few miles away. The academy was affiliated with the Providence Conference of the Methodist Church, the district to which Henry belonged. In June 1853, slightly more than a year after Hattie died, he married Julia E. Packard of North Bridgewater. The family's move off-Island was not long-lived, apparently due to his mother's health. Two years later, he and his father dissolved their partnership, sold the store and his parents returned to the Vineyard. Henry, now again married, continued teaching at the Academy. His mother died in Edgartown soon after she moved back. In 1858, Henry was appointed pastor of the Allen Street Methodist Church in New Bedford and he and Julia moved there.

We know nothing about his new wife, Julia, except that she bore two daughters: Velina,⁸ whose birth date we don't know; and Julia Elizabeth, born November 27, 1859. The mother died two weeks later, having had what Henry described as "a prolonged labor." They had been married six and a half years. Now, at only 37 years of age, Henry became a widower for the third time. But this time there was a difference: he was the father of two small children.⁹

A few months after Julia's death, he was given a year's leave of absence from his ministry for "health reasons" and he went on a grand tour of Europe and the Middle East, a not uncommon chapter in a minister's life during these years, as it usually involved a visit to the Holy Land. A newspaper item stated, "He proposes traveling in Europe the ensuing season, accompanied by a gentleman from New York."¹⁰

Before leaving, he made a brief visit to Edgartown, no doubt to say goodbye to his father. During his months overseas, he kept a detailed journal, describing vividly his experiences. We have two of the four volumes that he wrote and plan to publish the more

⁸ Velina was named for Henry's mother, Velina (Worth), who had died in 1855.

⁹ We mistakenly stated in the *Intelligencer*, February 2001, that Henry had no children. Our later research disclosed he had three children with two of his wives. In 1870, when he wrote a summary of his life, he said very little about the three children.

¹⁰ *Vineyard Gazette*, March 23, 1860, reprinted from *New Bedford Standard*. The "gentleman" was probably a Mr. Newman, whom he refers to often in his journal later.

interesting sections in future issues.¹¹

His two daughters were placed in the care of "friends" while he traveled. These friends appear to have been the Taylors, address unknown. He mentions them in his journal and in letters, but he doesn't indicate where they lived.

In addition to his journals, we have a few letters Henry wrote to his father from Europe and in them he describes his love for the children, especially for the older girl, Velina, whom he calls "Lina." In a letter from Geneva, Switzerland, Sept. 16, 1860, he makes his feelings known:

I am glad to hear you both¹² think so much of my darling little Lina – she needs your love, father, for she is a motherless & now almost a fatherless child. I must leave these subjects, for the tears fall so fast I can hardly see.

Further evidence of his love for the children is in a letter he wrote to his father from Messina, Sicily, December 2, 1860:

Probably you have seen Lina lately. How I long to see the dear little creature. And the baby, how much I shall love it! I know you must love these dear little ones for my sake & for their Mother's. But why should I speak of these things – my grief must belong to myself. I alone must bear it.

His daughters were not the only females for whom he had affection. Soon after arriving in Europe, while in Amsterdam, he responded to a letter from his father that included a newspaper clipping about a certain young woman. His reply contains this revealing paragraph (Henry's underlining):

Much obliged for the notice of Miss B. She understands & so do I, whatever others say, that there is no kind of "engagement" between us. She is perfectly free to marry today if she chooses & so am I. . . She is, I think, a superior lady & I esteem her very highly. I have by no means decided that I shall ever marry again. . . Were I to marry, I should esteem myself highly blessed in securing so good a wife as I think Miss. B. would make & she would be my first choice. . . I hope you will make her acquaintance if convenient. I think you will like her.

It may have been somewhat of a surprise to his father that so soon after his wife's death, Henry is already discussing the possibility of remarrying.¹³ He had left America only a few months

after Julia's death so these romantic thoughts about Miss B. must have developed soon after his wife died.

Some weeks later, in his journal aboard ship in the Adriatic Sea, he made this guarded mention of his feelings for Miss B:

My thoughts have all day followed the friends at home, to church, at home & in all the probable places & pursuits of the day. I enjoy much in thus placing myself among those I love, with my children & those who watch over them so kindly, with my parents & relatives, [and] with one, of whom I may here say so far away, that she alone of all living young women shares my thoughts & affections.

That is the only reference he makes in his journal to Miss B., whom he doesn't identify.¹⁴ Although he rarely becomes personal in his writing, he does mention infrequently his wife, Julia, and their two children. He wrote at Palermo, Italy, December 10, 1860, the first anniversary of her death:

What a day one year ago. My dearest Julia has been in the spirit world one whole year. My heart has been sad today. . . Julia was a good woman, an excellent wife, a good Mother. In her death I suffered an inestimable loss. . . I have thought much of dear Mother Packard [Julia's mother] and have deeply sympathized with her this day. . . This evening I have written a letter to my precious Lina.

While abroad, he did a lot of writing, not only in his journal, but also producing more than a dozen articles to *Zion's Herald*, the Methodist weekly newspaper. He was paid for them under an agreement he had made with the editor before leaving. In his first article he introduces himself, quoting from his passport:

Age 37 years – stature 5 feet 7 inches English – forehead, high – eyes, light blue – nose, Grecian – mouth, medium – chin, medium – hair, brown – complexion, light – face, round.¹⁵

He left Palermo December 15, 1860, by steamboat, for Naples, where he found seven letters from America, one from daughter, Lina. He then went to Rome, arriving the day before Christmas. Two letters were there and Henry kept them with his journal. In them we learn something about who is taking care of his children. One is from H. J. Taylor, the other from E. P. Taylor. He gives no further information, but he does quote E. P. as stating:

. . . darling little baby Julia says "Papa" and walks all around the house.

¹⁴ The young woman was Miss Lydia Brownell of New Bedford, whom he married soon after returning to America.

¹⁵ This is the only description we have of his physical appearance.

¹¹ The first two volumes of his tour journal were shipped from Europe and seem not to have survived. The two we have (courtesy Joanne Coffin Clark) he carried back himself.

¹² "Both" refers to his father and his new stepmother. Frederick remarried soon after his wife died.

¹³ Perhaps Father Baylies wasn't surprised. After all, he had remarried less than a year after his wife died. Remarrying ran in the family, it seems.

In Rome on January 1, he meditates on the New Year, adding: My children are separated. My home is dissolved & when or how these darling ones whom God has given me will be bro't into my home I know not.¹⁶

Leaving Rome, he is on his way home. The Atlantic crossing was, in his words, "a terrible passage," and he landed in Boston February 10, 1861, having been away ten months. We have no details about his reunion with his family, but even after his long absence, he seemed unable to settle down. In less than a month, he went to Washington to attend the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln on March 4th.

In April, he was appointed pastor of the Power Street Church in Providence, Rhode Island. A week after his appointment, he married Lydia A. Brownell of New Bedford, the "Miss B." he had written about while in Europe. She was 18 and he was 39, almost the same age as her father, William O. Brownell, Esq. It was his fourth marriage, her first.

The marriage produced a son, Frederick, named for Henry's father. The boy died while a teen-ager, the cause of death we don't know. Henry's marriage to Lydia lasted only three years, ending in divorce in 1864. Young Frederick seems to have been brought up by his father. We have a letter Henry wrote some years later, stating that Fred was living with him then.

Any divorce was frowned on by the church and especially one that involved one of its ministers. The embarrassed bishop resolved the problem by transferring Henry, who was then pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church in Fall River, to Iowa "for health reasons."

The bishop's order stated that the "changeable character" of New England's weather had worsened Henry's health, so he would assign him to a place where the weather was less "changeable." So in September 1864, Henry was transferred to Iowa, to become the pastor of the Fifth Street Church in Davenport. In addition to his ministry, he was to teach at Cornell College in Mt. Vernon, a newly established Methodist school.

Not very long after moving to Iowa, he married again. The



On his grand tour, Henry bought engravings of places visited and pasted them in a scrapbook. This is Magdalen College, Oxford, with capped and gowned students and a village work project, involving pipes. Wheelbarrow is hauling loaded wicket baskets.

new Mrs. Baylies, his fifth wife, was Elizabeth D. Chase. We do not know when or where the wedding took place, but we do know it must have been before February 1866 when this item was published in the *Davenport [Iowa] Gazette*:

The Pastor of the Methodist E. Church, Rev. H. Baylies, and his lady, on their return last evening from a visit in the country, were completely surprised to find their house occupied by a host of friends, who unbidden, had taken possession. A most social evening was enjoyed by all. . . . A purse with uncounted green backs was handed [the Pastor] . . . Other valuables were left for family use. . .¹⁷

The Iowa parishioners were obviously very happy with their new minister. His five marriages and one divorce didn't seem to bother them. Henry continued to preach with his usual vigor, despite his chronic throat problems, but he couldn't keep it up for long. Two years after moving to Iowa, and shortly after he had remarried for the last time, he was given an ultimatum:

My health failed in Oct. 1865 but I continued to preach & supply till Sept. 1866 when 5 Physicians who examined my case declared I must stop preaching

¹⁶ This would indicate that the two daughters were not living in the same house, perhaps living in different houses, but both with members of the Taylor family.

¹⁷ We have conflicting information on this marriage. The genealogical records of Harriet M. Pease of Edgartown, state they were married in Malden, Dec. 18, 1877, but this news item in February 1866, mentioning "his lady", certainly indicates he was then married.

or die. Thinking I had no right to kill myself I stopped.¹⁸

He resigned from his pastorate and for the next two years was a partner with C. S. Streeper in a Davenport retail store that sold, as his father's store had done, "Fancy Goods and Notions." He invested \$4000 in the business, but less than a year later he sold his share to Mr. Streeper and moved to Burlington, Iowa, to become a life-insurance salesman. Why he made this sudden switch we do not know. This is all he wrote to explain his reason for making such a bold change in occupation:

... in December 1867, when my family [went] East for the winter,¹⁹ I went to Burlington, Iowa, to prosecute the Life Insurance business.

That seems to indicate that his children had been living with him and his new wife in Iowa. All were still young: the oldest, his favorite, Lina, would then have been about 12, Julia, 8, and Frederick, 5.

He didn't stay long pursuing his new career in Burlington. Within a month or two, he decided he had enough of Iowa. He sold his furniture and left to join his family in New England, despite the hazard of "changeable" weather. It is unclear where the family was then living, but it seems to have been either in Providence or New Bedford. He continued in the life-insurance business, this time as a regional sales manager. It was an occupation he did not like. Soon after moving east, he wrote a letter to a newspaper in Davenport. In it, he sounds just a bit nostalgic for Iowa, but perhaps he is just being kind to his former friends and neighbors:

My eyes look often toward the setting sun, longingly. But the East is my home, and here I expect to live and die. My little Fred, whom, out of regard for a large number of your citizens, I call Fritz, is quite dissatisfied. He came East for a visit. He says he wants to go back and that he wouldn't have come if he had thought he was to stay. I may as well confess, perhaps, that we all feel a little in this wise.

In August 1868, he did return to Iowa. He was assigned to an important position in higher education by the church. He makes no mention of taking the unhappy Fritz or any of the family with

¹⁸ He wrote this in a brief autobiography years later.

¹⁹ The family's move for the winter suggests that wife Elizabeth was a New Englander, complicating the story. Did she follow him to Iowa after his divorce? Was she the reason for the divorce from Lydia?



In Ghent, Belgium, Henry bought this engraving of Maison des Francs.

him. Going west by train, he didn't get off in Iowa, but continued well beyond, riding all the way to Utah, which was then the last stop on the still-unfinished transcontinental railroad. It isn't clear why he did this. Perhaps it was his innate sense of adventure. Or perhaps he was marking time before returning to Iowa to take over as President of the Western Iowa Collegiate Institute, a relatively new Methodist academy in Glenwood, Iowa. Again he did not stay long. In less than a year he was heading back to New England.

He explained the move this way: "domestic matters [were] pressing me to come East, [so] I left Glenwood."

This move brought an end to his career with the Methodist Church. His throat was his weakness, preventing his return to preaching or, it seems, even to teaching. He had no interest in a life devoted to selling life insurance or dry goods or anything else. He had more ambitious plans:

My health remaining poor (Bronchial affection) I saw little prospect of preaching again & felt that whatever business I should take hold of I must take for a life work. Trading looked perfectly repulsive if I must continue always. In August 1869, I concluded to study Law [at] Harvard.

At the end of his studies at Harvard, he passed the bar examination on September 17, 1870. After nearly a year with a Boston law firm, he moved out to set up his own practice. At 49 years of age, he embarked on an entirely new career:

God has blessed me & tonight I feel young as twenty years ago & fresh for a life's work. The ministry I love – the Law I like & must follow.

Practicing law from an office in Boston, he lived in Malden. As he grew older, he seemed to become more nostalgic about his youth and his home town, Edgartown. In 1876 and 1877, he wrote a fascinating series of articles entitled, "Boyhood Memories of Edgartown", for *The Vineyard Gazette*. They were signed only, "A Vineyard Boy", and the author's name was never divulged. Today they give us an excellent description of the village and its people in the 1830s and 1840s.

His mother had died in 1855, before he went to Europe, but his father lived until 1884, long enough to see his only child,²⁰ Henry, succeed in many careers, as a preacher, teacher, salesman, lawyer and writer. He was a bit less successful in marriage, with one of the five ending in divorce.²¹ When the elder Baylies died in his 88th year, Henry wrote his obituary, declaring his gratitude:

He was a faithful and devoted husband and a considerably indulgent father. Mr. Baylies was married three times and leaves a widow, and a son by his first wife – Henry Baylies, Esq., a member of the Boston bar.

When Henry died December 12, 1893, at his home in Malden,

he was 71 years old. The obituary in the Malden newspaper was not very long:

Henry Baylies Esq. a very prominent and well-known citizen of Malden dropped dead at his home on High St., yesterday, probably of heart disease. . . . [he had been] confined to the house for about a year. . . . [and it was] thought he would not live. He finally recovered. . . . but gave up his Boston office and transacted his legal business at home. . . . He was a man of public spirit and wide information. He leaves a family.

"He leaves a family", is all the obituary tells us. But he left much more. His surviving journals describe an extraordinary life. From them we learn a great deal about this Vineyard son, who made his way in the world, pursuing a variety of careers. At the end of the third volume of the journal he kept during his European trip, he wrote:

What will ever be done with this mass of crude matter crudely arranged & noted in these three volumes I have written since leaving Boston 18 Apl. 1860, only 7 months ago? However, if it answers no other purpose, the very recording has doubtless proved & will prove advantageous to me. Here endeth the 3rd volume.

Now, nearly 150 years later, some of "this mass of crude matter" is being read by persons, who like him, are devoted to the Vineyard and its way of life. He would be happy to know that.

Vol. III. Journal of Tour through Europe & the East
Cultivating phthalma
Hermann } *Frankfurt on the Main to Bremen*
Friday July 27 1860
 Left Frankfurt for Bremen on the Route to Berlin this m.
 a little before 6 o'clock. Having a long ride of 173 miles before us
 which we could not accomplish before 12 1/2 o'clock we
 treated ourselves to the luxury of a 2nd class car instead of 3rd. It
 was much enjoyed & not being crowded we enjoyed the privi-
 leges of resting our feet or legs almost full length & sleeping
 when we desired. It was designed to accommodate 8 but only
 3 occupied it.

Opening paragraph (slightly reduced) of Henry's Vol. III, during his Grand Tour.

²⁰ There were five other children, but only Henry lived more than a year.

²¹ We don't know how the fifth marriage ended. There is no Elizabeth Baylies listed in the 1870 Census in Massachusetts. Henry is in it, but she isn't.

What's in a Name?

"A Rose by Any Other Name Would . . ." But Is That True For Pease?

by EMILY HUNTINGTON ROSE

WHAT SHALL WE NAME THE BABY? It's a problem that expecting parents have wrestled with for years. Some make it easy by naming a boy, "Junior," or by giving a girl her grandmother's name, but sometimes the easy choices present a problem.

Such a decision faced Matthew and Mary Pease of Edgartown in 1714. Already the mother of two sons and six daughters, Mary was pregnant again. What to name this child? There were so many Peases on the Island, it was difficult to pick a name that hadn't been used many times. The Pease tribe was among the most prolific on the Vineyard. Charles E. Banks's Genealogy lists 1068 Pease family members in the late 1800s, ranking the family third in numbers (first are the Luces with 1208, second the Nortons with 1115).

Mary and Matthew searched for a distinctive name. They had given their first eight children the familiar names of Jane, Joseph, Elizabeth, Sarah, Mary, Matthew, Jemina and Miriam. For their ninth baby, they wanted one that would set the child apart. They decided to give the child Mary's maiden name. Mary was born in Marblehead, the daughter of Charles and Esther Green.

There was nothing unusual about giving a child its mother's maiden name. It was done then and still is. But when the child's last name is Pease and the mother's maiden name is Green, it might cause second thoughts. But second thoughts did not dissuade Matthew and Mary. Their decision was firm: their ninth child, a boy, was named Green.

Green Pease. A name to remember.

EMILY HUNTINGTON ROSE is the daughter of the late E. Gale Huntington, founding editor of this journal. Clerk of Duke's County Probate Court for many years, she came upon this descriptive name in Probate records and has been eager to share it ever since.

Bill of Sale of Registered
Vessel.

Blank No. 42,
Register's Office.



To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting:

Know Ye, That *Mr Irving Grinnell & Julia Grinnell*
Bowdoin of the City & State of New York
owners of six ninety sixths 1896

4
of the *Schooner* or vessel, called the
Emma Jane of New London
of the burthen of *Eighty six & 1/4* tons, or thereabout,
for and in consideration of the sum of
Thirty four & 37/100 dollars,
lawful money of the United States of America, to *us* in hand paid, before the sealing and delivery
of these presents, by

Samuel Osborn Jr
of Edgartown - State of Massachusetts

the receipt whereof *we* do hereby acknowledge and *being* therewith fully satisfied, contented, and paid;
have bargained and sold, and by these presents do bargain and sell, unto the said

Samuel Osborn Jr
his

executors, administrators, and assigns, *six ninety sixths 1896* of the
said *Schooner* or vessel, together with *six ninety sixths* of the sails,
beams, masts, cables, tackle, furniture, and all other necessities thereunto appertaining and belonging; the
equipment of the registry of which said *Schooner* or vessel, is as follows, viz:

From the Samuel Osborn Jr., Collection

When Osborn bought Emma Jane, among the sellers were Irving Grinnell and Julia Grinnell Bowdoin of N.Y., owners of 6/96 of her. He paid \$34.37 for their share.

From the Samuel Osborn Jr., Collection

1775 May	29	To Cash paid Captain Cornell	70	1000 ~		
		— " — Laurent Minin & Co — Shipchandlers		2248 03	3248 63	
		5% Comm ^o disbursing			162 43	
					3411 06	

1885	May 29	By Captain Cornell's drap & soap on Saml Osborne's acct	0.34
		<u>\$272.14.00</u> $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{3}{4}$ per mce	\$ 3411.05
			\$ 3411.05

E. C.
Mauritius, 29th May 1885.

Edyth Kroehen

He had been ordered to go whaling in the Atlantic, but somehow Capt. Squire Cornell ended up in the Indian Ocean. This ledger page from Mauritius indicates that he bought supplies worth 2250 Rupees in the chandlery there and was given 1000 Rupees in cash, paying for the two items with a draft against Samuel Osborn's account. Total value: 272 English pounds, more than \$1000. (We thank Caroline Osborn Seacord for donating to the Society the papers of Samuel Osborn Jr., this being among them.)