Saltworks in Holmes Hole
by JAMES NORTON

Menemsha Creek in 1930
by EDWARD G. SUFFERN

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by ARTHUR R. RAILTON

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THE DUKES COUNTY
INTELLIGENCER

Vol. 25, No. 1
August 1983

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The Dukes County Intelligencer is published quarterly by the Dukes County Historical Society, Inc., Cooke and School Streets, Edgartown, MA, 02539. Subscription is through membership in the Society. Back issues are available at cover price.

Manuscripts and other material for publication should be sent to the Editor, The Dukes County Intelligencer, Box 827, Edgartown, MA, 02539.

Articles in The Intelligencer do not necessarily represent the opinions of the Society or its officers.

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A 19th Century Industry

Saltworks in Holmes Hole

by JAMES NORTON

BEFORE the invention of mechanical refrigeration, salt was among the critically essential ingredients in every Vineyard home. Not only did it make food more palatable, but it was the preservative that made it possible to store food through the long, unyielding winters.

Salt was essential also to early Island industries, such as fish-packing for export and the tanning of hides. Thus, the physical and economic health of the Islanders and early settlers elsewhere was tied to the white crystal. Without it, survival through the winter would have been most difficult, perhaps impossible.

Prior to the Revolutionary War, salt was imported from the West Indies where it was extracted from sea water by evaporation under the hot tropical sun. Ships plying the triangular trade route from the Colonies to England to the Caribbean carried the salt (along with the rum and the molasses) to New England. The Revolution cut off this trade, interrupting salt imports and creating a critical shortage.

Necessity being as demanding as it is, the shortage led to JAMES NORTON and his family have been living on the Norton Farm, Vineyard Haven, and farming it, since 1973, the 8th generation of Nortons to do so. Thus he has a deep interest in Tisbury history, an interest that led him to do a major study of Holmes Hole from 1674 to 1860, which will soon be published. A former professor of Religion and Chairman of the Department of Indian Studies, The College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio, he is a Yale graduate in Industrial Engineering, with degrees from Oxford University and a PhD in Indian Philosophy from the University of Madras, India. His deep attachment to the Island brought him back to the family farm where you will find him working in the fields when he isn't researching and writing.
the development in 1776 of a method of evaporating sea water by Capt. John Sears of Dennis, Mass. The solar evaporation method on the Cape is described in detail in Barber's *Historical Collections*, published in 1839:

"Vats, of a number suited to the owner's design 20 feet square, and 10 or 12 inches in depth, are formed of pine planks, an inch and a half thick, and so nicely joined as to be watertight. These are arranged into four classes. The first class, or that next to the ocean, is called the water room; the second, the pickle room; the third, the lime room; and the fourth, the salt room.

"Each of these rooms, except the first, is placed so much lower than the preceding, that the water flows readily from it to another, in the order specified. The water room is filled from the ocean by a pump furnished with vanes or sails, and turned by the wind. Here it continues until of the proper strength to be drawn into the pickle room, and thus successively into those which remain.

"The lime, with which the water of the ocean abounds, is deposited in the lime room. The salt is formed into small crystals in the salt room, very white and pure, and weighs from 70 to 75 pounds a bushel. The process is carried on through the warm season. After the salt has ceased to crystallize, the remaining water is suffered to freeze. In this manner, a large quantity of Glauber's salt is obtained in crystals, which are clean and good. The residue is a strong brine, and yields a great proportion of marine salt, like that already described.

"To shelter the vats from the dews and rains, each is furnished with a hipped roof, large enough to cover it entirely. The roofs of two vats are connected by a beam turning upon an upright post, set firmly in the ground, and are moved easily on this pivot by a child of fourteen, or even twelve years. To cover and uncover them, is all the ordinary labor.""}

In her book, *These Fragile Outposts*, Barbara Blau


Saltworks at Dennis, showing the beam that connects the roofs.

Chamberlain traces the development of solar evaporating saltworks on Cape Cod through the 19th century. By 1802, there were 136 such works, producing 40,000 bushels of salt annually; by 1822, there were more than 400, producing 400,000 bushels a year. By the time of the Civil War, there were some 500 saltworks on the Cape.

On Nantucket, attempts to introduce Seat's methods of salt production ended in failure. The high humidity kept the salt beds too damp to allow adequate evaporation.

Salt production on Martha's Vineyard was not hindered by the humidity, yet it had limited success, both in time and in income. The reasons, however, were not natural, but historical, as we shall see.

The first solar salt works on the Island was at Holmes Hole, as Vineyard Haven was then called, soon after John Sears had developed his method in 1776. It was a small plant, probably designed to meet no more than the local need for salt (Holmes Hole then consisted of no more than a dozen houses). We know, with authority, it was in operation in September 1778, when it was destroyed by the British troops during the foraging expedition known as Grey's Raid. Major General Grey, seeking provisions for the British garrison at Newport, R.I., led an expeditionary
force to the Island and in four days collected some 300 oxen and 10,000 sheep. Among the other accomplishments General Grey listed in his report was the destruction of a saltworks in Holmes Hole on September 14, "and a considerable quantity of salt taken."3

Island historian Charles Banks places this saltworks "on the shores of Bass Creek,"4 which was the outlet of the Lagoon Pond into the harbor and flowed through the present site of Five Corners. I have been unable to find any evidence to substantiate this location among the land records of the town.

The land along the west bank of Bass Creek was then part of a 31-acre lot known as the Chase Family Homestead Meadow on which the home of Isaac Chase had stood since 1674, near the present site of the Community Center on South Main Street.5 This lot, including the house, had been inherited by Isaac's great-grandson, Abraham Chase, in 1765 when he was only nine years old.

It is possible that young Abraham, who was 21 years old in 1777, together with his stepfather, David Merry, had built a saltworks on his beach at the start of the Revolutionary War, only to see it destroyed during Grey's Raid. But if they did, they never rebuilt it. David Merry left the Island during the migration of the 1790's to settle into a more remote and secure existence in rural Maine. Abraham Chase moved away a decade later to settle in Cincinnati, Ohio.

When he left, Abraham sold the Homestead Meadow in 1804 to a small partnership which bought the land with the specific intent of manufacturing salt on the shore of Bass Creek. It was an obvious spot for a saltworks and

whether its potential was suggested by an earlier work on the site or simply by its availability is not clear. There is no record of any previous saltworks on the site in the records of the sale. The premium price of $2300 for 31 acres, excluding the Chase house, suggests that the buyers had confidence in the success of the operation.

Thus it would seem that there was no salt manufacture at Holmes Hole from Grey's Raid in 1778 until early in the 1800's,6 when in the first five years three works were set up in quick succession. By 1807, salt manufacturing on the Island was its second largest industry, "next in importance to the manufacture of wool," according to James Freeman:

"There are in Edgartown three sets of salt works, containing twenty-seven hundred [square] feet, and in Tisbury, five sets, containing eight thousand nine hundred [square] feet. This manufacture is increasing, and probably in three or four years there will be more than double the present number of feet."7

Freeman's optimism, it turned out, was well founded in one way: by 1828, there were 10 saltworks in Tisbury; by

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3Charles Banks, History of Martha's Vineyard, Dukes County Historical Society, 1966, v. 1, p. 381.
5Documents identifying the properties described in this article are recorded in the Dukes County Courthouse, Edgartown, MA.

6Banks, op. cit., on page 394 states that after the loss of the saltworks, the inhabitants "had large kettles cast ... and salt manufactured by evaporating salt water through the means of large fires kept going day and night."

1836, there were eleven, but the saltworks in Holmes Hole that he saw in 1807 did not expand in square footage. (There were only three saltworks actually in Holmes Hole in 1807, the other two were along the North Shore, one beyond Herring Creek and the other in Lambert's Cove.)

Another war, this one the War of 1812, gave further impetus to salt manufacture, but after the war salt manufacturing in Holmes Hole, for a variety of reasons, entered a decline from which it never recovered. By 1847, there were only three saltworks in the entire town of Tisbury, only one of which seems to have been in Holmes Hole. Thus, the production of salt never became, as it did on the Cape, a significant part of the Island economy.

**Daggett Saltworks**

The first of the three 19th Century saltworks of record in Holmes Hole was built in 1802 by Isaac Daggett and his son-in-law, William Daggett, Jr. It was a single evaporation vat which, if standard, would have been 18 feet wide and from 36 to 50 feet long. It was built next to a pond, which no longer exists, in Frog Alley, on land the two men had acquired that year from Isaac's mother and stepfather, Sarah Chase Daggett and Ebenezer Allen. It stood in the hollow behind Hatch Road, just north of Owen Little Way, about a third of the way 'down the Chop.'

Isaac was 65 years old, near the end of an active and prosperous life. Like his great-grandfather, Isaac Chase, he had thrived as an innkeeper, contributing greatly to the economic growth of the village during the years after the Revolution. The saltworks seemed to be intended to provide economic diversity to his young son-in-law, a successful sea captain at 29 years, as well as to the rapidly expanding village. Both men, however, were committed to maritime commerce and had little time for the business.
of salt. Isaac died in 1805 and William bought out the interests of the other heirs in 1816 for $200. He does not appear to have paid much attention to its operation and by 1838, the Daggett saltworks had ceased operation.

**Peter West's Saltworks**

Another of Isaac Daggett's sons-in-law, Capt. Peter West, built a small saltworks at about the same time (Isaac had five daughters and no sons). Captain West had purchased the harbor shore lot next to Isaac Daggett's inn from his father-in-law in 1795 and built on it an elegant Georgian-style house, the first of the style to be built in the village. It was torn down in 1962 to make space for the town parking lot, a sad loss to the town's heritage. The West house was similar in size to the Ritter House, which was clearly patterned after it.

Peter West, like William, his brother-in-law, was primarily a sea captain in the maritime trade. Unlike William, he was deeply committed to a diversified economy for the tiny village. He built as large a saltworks on the beach in front of his house as his shore frontage would permit. Its evaporation vat covered 1100 square feet (*Peter West's Probate Inventory, July 20, 1825*), spreading across most of the 92-foot width of his lot. Located about where the S.B.S. store is today (at that time the water came up that far) on Water Street, the saltworks is pictured in an engraving of Holmes Hole in 1837, printed in Barber's *Historical Collections*. By 1837, it would have been the only saltworks still in production at Holmes Hole. When Peter West's estate was sold to Ebenezer Smith, Jr., in 1839, it is probable that it was still working, but it had definitely stopped by 1850, at which time the property was seized for payment of the substantial debts Ebenezer left behind when he joined the Gold Rush to California.

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12Barber, op. cit., p. 155. The Society has in its Archives the original Barber drawing.

**The Company Saltworks**

That was not the only saltworks Peter West had been involved with. He was also one of the investors, perhaps the major one, in 1804 in the only commercial-scale plant for the production of salt in the village. He and yet another brother-in-law, Capt. Lot Luce, had formed a partnership to buy the Chase Homestead Meadow from Abraham Chase. They were soon joined by two more Master Mariners, William Worth and William Cottle. This group built a series of five evaporation vats totalling 4600 square feet, plus two storage barns along the western shore of Bass Creek. Their venture gave the name "Company Place" to that section of the expanding village, where today the Post Office and Memorial Park are located. The
Company Saltworks had more than half of the total square footage of saltworks in town in 1807 and almost twice the total footage of the three works in Edgartown. It was a major economic venture, not only for Tisbury, but for the Island as well.

The four partners were well established mariners of considerable means and, no doubt, looked upon the saltworks more as an investment than as an occupation. Lot Luce, the oldest, was 44 years old; William Worth was 43; Peter West 36; and William Cottle, a young man of 29.

Peter West was the only one of the quartet born and raised in Tisbury. He was of the fifth generation of Wests on the Island and the third of three generations of Peter Wests. His grandfather had also been a Captain, but in the Commonwealth Army, in which service he died in 1757 in New York. His Uncle Peter was a housewright who moved, along with many of his generation, including Peter's father, to settle in Maine during the 1790's. Young

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14 John Holmes, Jr., and Charles A. Lane, "Notes of Old Houses Rich with History of Vineyard Haven," published in Vineyard Gazette, date unknown. These notes were written shortly after the fire of 1883. The article in an undated clipping from the Gazette is in the Society's Archives.
When he was on the Island, however, he actively participated in the operation of the Saltworks.

Lot Luce, a partner in the company, was born near Christiantown on the North Shore, where his father worked as a pilot for the ships traversing the Sounds. In 1787, he married Peter West's younger sister, Peggy, and bought a small, three-quarter Cape-style house which still stands on the corner of Camp and South Main Streets in Vineyard Haven. Earning the good income of a Master Mariner, in 1803 he built a home on Main Street, just north of Spring Street and the Meetinghouse (site of today's jewelry store), turning the older house over to his brother Matthew. Two years later, the Saltworks Company was formed and he became the partner most directly involved in its management.

William Cottle, another partner, also came from the North Shore, at Lambert's Cove, and he, too, moved into Holmes Hole upon his marriage, in 1795, to William Daggett, Jr.'s sister Mary. He built a new house in 1802 (the year before Lot Luce) on the Main Street side of Peter West's house, near today's Linden tree. The house did not face Main Street, but fronted the land to the south because Mary, who supervised the construction while her husband was on a voyage, "was at odds with her neighbors over the way [street], and could not submit to her obnoxious neighbors gazing into her front door." These neighbors, the family of her Uncle Silas Daggett, had built an inn, later known as Smith's Tavern, on the west side of Main Street in 1798.

Retiring from the sea in 1820, Captain Cottle converted the west side of his house to a store and became a Main Street merchant. He was appointed Postmaster in 1828 and his store became the Postoffice. He was, during these years, a partner in the Saltworks Company, but seems to have been little involved.

The fourth partner, Captain William Worth, was born in Edgartown, but began his nautical career as a Nantucket pilot. In 1798, he bought the Holmes family chandlery and wharf "down the Neck" on Grove Avenue, Holmes Hole. By 1801, he had sold the chandlery back to the Holmes family and moved into a large house he had built on the north corner of Union and Main Streets. He was living there as a merchant when he joined the Saltworks Company in 1804. It is likely that he was in charge of marketing the Company's production.

By the War of 1812, William Worth had become Deputy Collector of U.S. Customs, the highest customs post in the harbor (the Collector was in Edgartown). It would appear that there was a conflict of interest here because he was supposed to enforce the Embargo Law of 1807, restricting coastal transport, yet he was a partner in a company that no doubt was engaged in such business. In 1814, this conflict of interest surfaced in such a way as to suggest that William was using his government position to the advantage of the saltworks.16

16 From log books and notebooks of William Cottle. Society Archives, gift of Mrs. Ralph Focker, Sr.
The Company did prosper during its first decade, even while two of the partners, West and Cottle, were being detained in France by Napoleon's decrees. The various shipping embargoes on both sides of the Atlantic stimulated local production of many commodities and salt was no exception. Large quantities of salt were produced at Holmes Hole and shipped to markets as far away as New York. The prediction James Freeman had made in 1807 seemed to be coming true when, at the beginning of 1814, the tide changed.

At that time, a remarkable series of events, more suggestive than certain, took place, beginning with the reassignment of William Worth to the Customs Office in Charlton, Mass. Such a transfer was unusual in those days when Customs officers were a part of the Federal Spoils System. Furthermore, Charlton is not a seaport, being well landlocked, 50 miles inland, on the road to Sturbridge from Worcester. One cannot imagine the duties of a Customs Officer there.

William Worth's departure was most expeditious. He sold all his Holmes Hole property in three days, February 6 to 8, 1814. So fast did he move out that Oliver Crosby, the young mariner who bought the large house on Union Street, was able to sell his own house, just above Owen Park, only four days after buying the Worth house.

The sale of William's share of the Saltworks was especially discreet. His share of the land, which was then known as Company Place, was sold to Lot Luce's oldest son, Winthrop, for exactly what William had paid for it in 1804, one-quarter of the purchase price of $2300. His one-fourth ownership in the Saltworks company was, at the same time, bought by one of the partners, Peter West, for $1350. It is not clear whether that amounted to one-quarter of the actual cost of building the saltworks; such a handsome price was more likely based on the current value of the Company at the time of the sale.

On February 14th, a week after William had sold his holdings and property, a Special Town Meeting was called to respond to the major threat that the 1807 Embargo Law was creating. The meeting voted a petition, hastily composed during a recess in the meeting, by Peter West, a Saltworks partner, and two other influential townsmen, Thomas Dunham, Esq., innkeeper and attorney, and Capt. Seth Daggett, a pilot. The petition urged the U.S. Congress to amend the Embargo Law to lessen its restriction on the interstate transport of "oil, Salt, wool and Other Domestic Articles and Manufactures," which "cut off...their usual market, there being no market within our limits."

The petition stated:

"In Consequence of which wee your petitioners are Deprived of the Necessities of Life and Employment for our Fishermen and Small Craft, wee the Inhabitants aforesaid do petition the legislature of our Nation that the Embargo law may be so modified that we can communicate by water with the States of New York and Connecticut so far as Relates to the above Articles of Export and to bring back in return Bread stuff and all other Articles of Necessity for the use of our families."

These events lead one to the strong suspicion that the Embargo Law, enacted seven years earlier, had not been enforced, if even understood, until the discreet and hasty departure of Capt. William Worth to some remote customs duty in central Massachusetts.

There are no Company records I know of to indicate the impact of these events. The Saltworks, which had been prospering, presumably had lost its interstate markets during the winter of 1814, ending its prosperity. The lack of a large-scale local demand, such as would have been

17Hanks, op. cit., v. II, “Annals of Tisbury,” p. 62, v. iii, p. 518. Shubael Dunham, another village merchant, became “Inspector of Revenue” in February 1814. In 1817, the post of Deputy Collector was assumed by Henry Pease Worth, nephew of Capt. William Worth. He held the position for the next 43 years.

created by a fish-packing plant or some other salt-consuming industry, and the distance to other markets brought a steadily declining volume of sales in the years that followed. The remaining three partners kept their ownership in the Saltworks until they died, at which time the valuations of the Company shares showed a marked decline.

Lot Luce died in 1824, ten years after William Worth had sold his interest to Peter West for $1350, and his estate realized only $500 for his one-quarter share. Four years later, in 1829, Peter West died and his double shares were valued at only $1200.

In 1831, Elijah Hillman and Thomas Bradley, the wealthiest and most influential townsman of the mid-1800's, bought the remaining original share from William Cottle’s estate at a public auction for $265, less than half the 1829 value. Even at that price, it turned out not to be a good investment.

Four years later, in 1835, there was a break in the barrier beach between the Lagoon Pond and the harbor, near the present opening. The Town voted to fill in Bass Creek, which had been the opening for the Pond, thus creating the land which is now Five Corners.\(^{19}\) Closing off Bass Creek removed the source of salt water for the Saltworks, making the manufacture of salt there no longer feasible. By 1851, all that was left of the Company was sold to Hiram Dexter, a teamster, for $125, of which Thomas Bradley received $14 for his one-eighth ownership, less than one-tenth of his investment in 1831.

In 1857, while saltworks were continuing to be built and to prosper on Cape Cod, all the saltworks in Holmes Hole were defunct. The harbor was by then a thriving coastal port and cheaper salt was readily available in coastal trade.

The salt industry at Holmes Hole thus was successful commercially only from 1804 to 1814, hardly a decade.

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\(^{19}\)Ibid., pp. 319-20.

Even that brief prosperity may have been built upon a case of conflict of interest in the enforcement of the law. This company's history reveals many of the problems endemic to economic growth on the Island, which lacked a sufficient population or vertically structured industrial organization to absorb the production of a local
manufacturing plant. It was, therefore, dependent on the vagaries of a larger market area over which it had little or no control. Survival was fragile, even in the best of times.

Decisive to the fate of the Holmes Hole Saltworks were the international events. The Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, while remote in many ways, directly influenced the success of local industry.

Yet, despite the brevity of the prosperity of the Saltworks, three of the original partners of the Company stuck with it until they died. It would be safe to assume that they were glad they did.

A Reminiscence

Menemsha Creek in 1930

by EDWARD G. SUFFERN

THE summer of 1930 found me working as mate on the lobster boat Sealsone, H. G. Reed, Captain. My friend Gale Huntington had obtained the job for me. I had spent many summers at the Vineyard prior to 1930, but that particular summer was the most exhausting, most interesting and the happiest.

Mr. Reed and I hit it off right from the start. He was a doctor, a graduate of Bowdoin Medical School, but after twelve or so years of practice, he had a nervous breakdown, following the death of his only son. As I remember it, on the advice of another physician, Dr. Reed decided to take a year off from his practice and to do so, he got an appointment to teach school at Gay Head for the school year 1904-05.

He never went back to his practice. Instead, he and his wife both became teachers at the Chilmark School, teaching there for many years.

That first winter, while teaching at Gay Head, Mr. Reed watched the lobstermen preparing their pots and decided to do likewise. In the spring of 1905, he bought a dory with an inboard motor and set out lobstering.

For years, the lobstermen had been going well offshore for their catch. Mr. Reed, with only a small boat and about 20 pots to start with, set his pots just

EDWARD G. SUFFERN, called Ted by his friends, spent many summers in Chilmark and was a special friend of Gale Huntington and his brother Willie during the thirties. Later, he formed a chemical company in Johnstown, N.Y., which, at age 75, he still owns and operates. His most recent visit to the Vineyard was two years ago.
outside the Menemsha jetties to the northward. Much to everybody’s surprise, he had phenomenal luck that first summer, averaging 17 pounds of lobster per pot set and even though the other lobstermen soon caught on to what was happening, he cleared over $6000. In view of the fact that carpenters were then making $2.50 a day and $1000 a year was a pretty good wage, it is apparent that $6000 was a considerable fortune in 1905.

So, by the time I was taken on as a “mate” by Mr. Reed in the summer of 1930, he had developed a substantial reputation as a lobsterman. He had, of course, moved up to a larger boat and was setting many traps offshore, like the other lobstermen.

He arranged for me to rent two small cottages belonging to Allen Flanders, next door to Donald Poole, on the north side of the lane leading to the recently rebuilt wharf on the Basin. The rent was $25 for the summer. Also, he arranged for me to get my suppers at Bill Tilton’s house for 50 cents a meal.

It was an interesting group that sat down for supper each night around the Tilton table. Bill Tilton, the host, so to speak, had shipped out on whalers and liked to pose as an ex-captain, a claim much scoffed at by some of his contemporaries whom I would be tempted to believe.

Also at the table each night was Ira Davis, a retired Justice of the Peace and a substantial land owner along the North Shore. As I recall, he owned about 1000 acres at the time.

Then there was Willie Mayhew, a lanky, toothless ex-whaler and later a lobsterman, who was somewhere in the upper 70’s at the time. Willie always had a story to tell, doing it with a marvelous sense of humor.*

Completing the group was me, saying little, but

*Gale Huntington is of the opinion that Willie never went whaling because he had his parents to take care of. Some others believe that he did make at least one voyage. In any case, Gale states, he was the best dory fisherman on the island, going off Squibnocket in any kind of weather.

enjoying the talk and the food. The meals were really very good, especially when Mr. Reed had just bought barrels of yellowtails at $2 a barrel from the draggers. Willie would go down and sneak out with a half a bucket of yellowtails and for supper we would have a huge platter of fillets, fried crisp like bacon. How quickly they went!

The screen door at the Tilton’s was rusted out at the bottom and our meals were frequently punctuated by old Bill’s vehement shoving the chickens out from under the table and back outside. He would put on a beautiful exhibition of fancy footwork, accompanied by a stream of seaman’s profanity.

My milk supply that summer was provided by Herbert Flanders at (as I remember) 12 cents a quart. I would pick up a quart daily at his store. Every time I tried to pay Herbert for the milk, he would put me off, saying I should talk to his wife about how much I owed. By the end of the summer, I figured I had had nearly 100 quarts and hadn’t paid for any. When I was leaving, I gave the money for the milk to the man who helped out at the store (I’ve forgotten his name) and he took it. That’s how bills were paid in those days!

I’m sending along some old pictures showing how the Creek looked at the time.
Above, Capt. H. G. Reed aboard his lobsterboat, Seahorse, off Gay Head in 1930. The hull left virtually no wake, even at full speed. Below, the Seahorse hauled out for scraping and painting at the Basin. Captain Reed and his wife taught school in Chilmark in the winter. Photographs by the author.

A gam aboard a lobsterboat at the Creek in the thirties. The Limit was Capt. B. Carlton Mayhew's catboat. Below, Bill Tilton in front of David Butler's fish house.
Road down to the Creek when Carl Reed's store was on the south side, at left. This is the road that today goes past the Homeport. Across the Creek is a net house owned by Ernest and Allen Flanders. Below, the Basin, showing several pile drivers used to set fish traps.

Looking toward the Basin from a spot about where today's road to the Coast Guard Station is. White building was David Butler's store. At left is an experimental boat built by Myron Vincent for landing on Squamocket Beach. It had a retractable propeller. Below, similar view after Carl Reed's new store was built.
Menemsha Creek fishermen’s shacks in the early 1930’s. They faced the Creek, not the Basin. At left is Carl Reed’s store, now the Menemsha Store. Below, same view after the 1938 hurricane. Carl Reed's store is one of few surviving buildings.

Documents

Islanders and the Revolution
Grey’s Raid, 1778

by ARTHUR R. RAILTON

HOW did inhabitants of Martha’s Vineyard line up during the American Revolution? Were they Revolutionists? Did they sympathize with the Crown? Or were they neutral? It is not easy to be certain, but there are documents that help shed some light on the question.¹

In the summer of 1778, Sir William Clinton, supreme commander of the British forces, ordered Major General Charles Grey to conduct a raid on New Bedford and Martha’s Vineyard, because, he wrote:

I hope it will serve to convince these poor deluded people that that sort of war, carried to a greater extent and with more devastation, will sooner or later reduce them.²

Following Clinton’s orders, General Grey and his task force had on September 6, 1778 arrived at New Bedford, from which harbor he sent in a report to his superior in New York:

On Board the Carysfort Frigate off Bedford Harbour. I shall proceed to Martha’s Vineyard for the purpose of collecting cattle for Rhode Island, etc., immediately after

¹ For a detailed account of the subject, with documentation from both sides of the Atlantic, see The History of Martha’s Vineyard, Charles Edward Banks, Dukes County Historical Society, 1966, v. I. Historian Banks seems to want to believe that the Islanders were pro-Revolution, but sways indecisively towards neutralism.


ARTHUR R. RAILTON is Editor of this journal and he thanks Arlene Sky of the William L. Clements Library, U. of Michigan for her assistance in obtaining some of these documents.
performing that service shall return with the troops to Long Island...³

The British troops garrisoned near Newport, R.I., were in need of rations for the approaching winter and that was Grey's purpose in going to the Vineyard. At the time, the British held only the area around New York City and around Newport.

Washington's Continental Army was in New Jersey. There was no evidence of war around the Vineyard.

Sir Henry Clinton, in his New York headquarters, received an intelligence report concerning Martha's Vineyard a few days later:

Writer: Intelligence
Date: 1778 Sept. 10
Respecting the island of Martha's Vineyard.
The Island of Martha's Vineyard is near 23 miles in length -- the greatest breadth about 12 miles, but generally from 4 to 5 miles wide -- The Soil is mostly Sandy and produces little grain, which is raised in Chilmark and Edgar Town Ships -- Almost all the bread consumed on the Island is procured from Connecticut -- Their other supplies were brought from Bedford & Boston. There is hardly any Timber of size on the Island, and Wood for fuel -- or building vessels -- chiefly brought from the Continent.
The Number of Inhabitants do not exceed 3500, exclusive of Indians of whom there are about 60 families, who cultivate a little ground, and are possessed of about 60 herds of cattle & 200 sheep.
The Stock of Cattle on the Island by the most accurate information we can procure amounted to about 600 head of oxen, steers, etc., 560 cows & 13,000 sheep. The Militia under a Colonel & 5 Captains were swollen to the number 600 & upwards but from their being mostly bred to the Sea not more than two-thirds of that number answer at home, being employed as Pilots on board Privateers, etc.
They are possessed of few vessels properly owned here, having formerly shared in those fitted out at Nantucket & Bedford for whaling -- as they do now in their privateers.⁴

On the same date that the Intelligence Report was prepared for Sir Henry, the Grey Task Force sailed into Holmes Hole. The actual "raid," which is not an accurate description of the expedition, occurred on September 12, 13 and 14, 1778. On the 15th, the Task Force sailed away and on September 18, 1778, General Grey, quite pleased with the results, wrote the following summary report to Sir Henry from his quarters aboard the Carysfoot, then in Whitestone harbor near New York City:

Sir
In the Evening of the 4th Inst., the Fleet with the Detachment under my Command sailed from New London and stood to the Eastward with a very favourable wind: We were only retarded in the run from thence to Buzzards Bay by the altering of our Course for some hours in the night, in consequence of the discovery of a strange Fleet, which was not known to be Lord Howe's until morning. By 5 o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th, the Ships were at an anchor in Clarks Cove and the Boats having been previously hoisted out, the debarkation of the Troops took place immediately. I proceeded without loss of time to destroy the Vessels and Stores in the whole extent of Accushnet River (about 6 miles), particularly at Bedford and Fair Haven, and having dismantled and burnt a Fort on the East Side of the River, mounting 11 pieces of heavy Cannon with a Magazine & Barracks, completed the Re-embarkation before noon the next day. I refer your Excellency to the annexed Return for the Enemy's losses, as far as we were able to ascertain them and for our own Casualties.
The Wind did not admit of any further Movement of the Fleet the 6th and 7th than hauling a little distance from the Shore: Advantage was taken of the Circumstance to burn a large privateer Ship on the Stocks and to send a small Armament of Boats with two Galleys to destroy two or three Vessels, which being in the Stream, the Troops had not been able to set fire to.
From the Difficulties in passing out of Buzzards Bay into the Vineyard Sound thro' Quickses Hole and from Head Winds, the Fleet did not reach Holmes' Hole Harbour in

⁴Idem, v. 41:3.
the Island of Martha's Vineyard until the 10th. The Transports with the Light Infantry, Grenadiers and 33rd Regiments were anchored without the Harbour as I had at that time a Service in view for those Corps whilst the business of collecting cattle should be carrying on upon the Island. I was obliged by contrary winds to relinquish my designs.

On our Arrival off the Harbour, the Inhabitants sent persons on board to ask my Intentions with respect to them, to which a requisition was made of the Arms of the Militia, the public Money, 300 Oxen and 10,000 Sheep. They promised each of these Articles should be delivered without delay. I afterwards found it necessary to send small detachments into the Island and detain the deputed Inhabitants for a time, in order to accelerate their Compliance with the demand.

The 12th. I was able to embark on board the Vessels which arrived that day from Rhode Island 6000 Sheep and 130 Oxen.

The 13th and 14th were employed in embarking Cattle and Sheep on board our own Fleet, in destroying some Salt Works, in burning or taking in the Inlets what Vessels and boats could be found and in receiving the arms of the Militia. I here again refer your Excellency to Returns.

On the 15th, the Fleet left Martha's Vineyard and after sustaining the next day a very severe Gale of Wind, arrived the 17th at White stone without any material damage.

I hold myself much obliged to the Commanding Officers of Corps and to the Troops in General for the Alacrity with which every Service was performed.

I have the honour to be,

Etc., C.5

Colonel Beriah Norton of Edgartown had been one of the members of the group sent aboard the Carysfort to ask General Grey what his intentions were. After the fleet left, he (and several others, but he principally) devoted the next four years trying to get the British government to reimburse the Islanders for what had been taken. He made trips to Boston, New York and even to London in his quest for restitution.

Years later, on April 11, 1782, he went before a Board of Inquiry at General O'Hara's headquarters in New York and delivered a long and forceful brief, arguing the Islanders' claim to payment for what had been taken. In it, he makes many references to the behavior of the Islanders during the Revolution:6

Until the perusal of that paper I had never heard it suggested either here or in England that General Grey's descent on the Island of Martha's Vineyard was "in consequence of his having received undoubted intelligence that the people of Martha's Vineyard took a very active part in the Rebellion ... It is a matter even of public notoriety that the Inhabitants of Martha's Vineyard, did at the commencement of the Rebellion in this Country make the most explicit declarations that they would not be concerned with either party in the Controversy ... When disturbances, riots and persecutions were prevailing in every other part of the Province, no irregularities were committed on that Island;

When Troops were levied in every other place to serve against the King not an individual was raised upon that Island for that service; nor has there been any assessment or Tax made or raised upon the Island since the year 1777, although frequent and repeated demands have been made by the Government at Boston.

When Independence was declared by the Congress in the year 1776 an order came from the General Court at Boston to the several Towns on Martha's Vineyard among the others in the Province, to assemble, and take the sense of the Inhabitants upon this very important transaction; on this occasion one of the Towns would not even meet, and the other two at their meeting positively refused to act on the matter:-- Since that time no members have been sent from the Island to the General Court at Boston -- not even a single Military Commission has been received there since the declaration of Independence, and they have uniformly refused to take their quota of Arms distributed through the Province for arming the militia,

5Idem, 41:14. The "C" signature is apparently for Charles.

7Norton had received a copy of a letter written by General Grey to the King's Secretary of the Treasury, John Robinson.
the animals were loaded aboard the vessels. “For what purpose?” Colonel Norton asks. “Surely such conduct was by no means consistent with the idea of a contribution to be levied... as a punishment for their disloyalty, but clearly evinced a deliberate intention at the time that compensation should be made.”

In conclusion, he described the poverty of the Island, not only because of the loss of so much livestock, but also because their fishing industry had been damaged by the war. The inhabitants, he argued, “have been taught to believe the faith of Government inviolable, and will be disappointed more than they ever imagined, in the failure of this application. They are already poor and miserable and unless relieved by payment for this stock will experience a degree of wretchedness which I dread to anticipate.”

General Sir Guy Carleton, who had a few months earlier succeeded General Clinton in the supreme command post in New York, approved the finding of the Board “that the claim was meritorious” and he agreed to make payment of the 7923 Pounds Sterling the Islanders were owed in installments. The first payment was for 3000 Pounds Sterling and it was paid.

But that didn’t satisfy Norton or his Vineyard clients. They wanted the full 7923 Pounds. Even after the treaty was signed later that year ending the Revolution, he continued to seek full restitution, making at least one trip to England.

By 1787, the new government of the United States was in operation, the capital city being New York. Colonel Norton took his case there and presented it to John Jay, the secretary for foreign affairs. The secretary, busy with other issues, dodged the question, stating to Congress that the National Government should not get involved in “such concerns and affairs of Individuals as are
unconnected with, and do not touch or affect the National rights."

And so the quest for full restitution for the livestock taken by the British Fleet ended. Vineyarders were most unhappy, of course, and some felt Colonel Norton had been unduly influenced by the British and therefore had not adequately argued their case. That would seem to be an unfair judgement. He had been a dogged solicitor.

As for the question of the inhabitants' position in the Revolution, Grey's Raid provides evidence that they did not consider the British to be enemies. One doesn't sell to or negotiate payment with an enemy during a war.

Perhaps the reality was that the Islanders did not feel strongly about either side of the dispute, at least, not in 1778. Colonel Norton made that point when he told the Board of Inquiry that the Islanders had stated they would not take sides "at the commencement of the Rebellion." It was, he said, a matter of self-interest for the Vineyarders to remain neutral:

By their local situation they were equally exposed to the resentment of both: they were on the one hand directly opposite and near to a part of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, where the Inhabitants could annoy them at pleasure; and on the other were liable from their insular situation to every incursion, either from King's ships or Privateers.

Pending a study of further documentation, that may be the best way to answer the question. The Islanders were neutral, they just wanted to be left alone.

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Letters

Editor:

The brief mention of Middle Road in the article about "Names" in your May issue suggests some further comment by a long-time resident on the way.

When plans for surfacing the road were announced, my late neighbor, Stanley Leaming, promptly enlisted the unanimous support of the local community in petitioning for extreme care for the roadside trees in the construction. His efforts were amply rewarded. Almost no damage was done and his own three-acre arboretum was untouched.

This densely planted plot now includes several rare and unusual trees, some imported directly from the Orient. These include the only dogwood along Middle Road, a late-blooming Chinese dogwood.

The display of flowering trees along the road is made up of the May-blooming shadbloom (known locally as "wild pear"). Dogwood as a native species does not occur on the Island and does not thrive too close to the ocean. Its season of bloom is immediately after the shadbloom. Except for this proximity of bloom, there should be no reason to confuse the two species, since their appearance is quite dissimilar.

Vineyard Haven  H. B. Engley

Editor:

There was a question in your May issue about the origin of the name Cuttyhunk and Cutter Hunk. Ruth Schell Porter wrote a master's thesis on "The Place Names of the Elizabeth Islands."

Here's a quotation from her work:

"From a Wampanoag word, 'Pooctohhunkunnoh, which means 'an open, cleared (broken up) field, which had been cultivated, a planting field' or simply 'to dig up,' according to Banks and Worth. Huden and Gannett define the Indian term as 'a thing that lies out in the water.'"

Take your pick!

By the way, the Cuttyhunk Historical Society's summer exhibit is "Fishing at Cuttyhunk through the Years." We invite your members to visit, Tuesday and Friday afternoons and Sunday mornings, until Labor Day.

Janet Bosworth

Cuttyhunk

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25th Year

For the
Intelligencer
Director's Report

A BRIGHT light at the Society this summer, or we should say a brighter light, is the Fresnel lens in our lighthouse which has been cleaned and spruced up to such an extent that it stands out much more than ever before, and as you all know it has always been the gem of the Historical Society. We have done a number of things to improve the visual effect of the light, but the key job was done by Eleanor Olsen, who single-handedly washed and polished all of the lenses and the 1,008 prisms in the apparatus. In addition, Elmer Athearn has continued the process of scraping and painting the metal structure for the lens. We are also pleased to note that Mrs. Olsen is now a member of the Society's Council. As in the past, Tony Bettencourt will operate the light, making it rotate, on Sunday nights in July and August at 8:30.

In the Library this summer, we find ourselves without the remarkable services of Muriel Crossman, who has left us for the attractions of California. A person of great ability and vitality, she accomplished far more in her seven years at the Society than one would have thought possible. The card catalog of all our books is just the most prominent example of the many things that she has done. Her loyalty and dedication have been an inspiration, and although we will miss her, we look forward to hearing about her adventures on the other side of the continent. Her replacement is Rosalie Powell, who is well-known on the Vineyard as a result of her work with the Dukes County Extension Service.

Sadly, we must note in this report the death of our Vice President, Daniel F. Sullivan, Jr., who for the last three years had been a very faithful and productive volunteer in our library. His greatest accomplishment at the Society was the cataloging of our map collection, which is now easy to use and will remain as a constant reminder to us of the good works that he did here. On June 11, a memorial service was held in our Library for Dan, and on this occasion we displayed for the first time the restored painting of Captain Thomas Worth, which had been another of Dan's projects. We thank Harriet Nelson for volunteering to do the restoration work, and we will use funds left in Dan's memory to pay her out-of-pocket expenses on the project. An appropriate plaque will be attached to the painting.

We are also saddened to report the death of Bob McLane, who for several years had worked at the Society as a guide and as a gatehouse keeper. A man of great wit and knowledge, he had a particular knack for relating local history to the public, and we have been all too aware of his absence this summer.

Our guest speaker at the annual meeting will be Dr. James B. Richardson, III, who will show a fascinating slide presentation about his archaeological explorations in the Squibnocket area. His talk comes at an appropriate time, because we are thinking ahead to a time when the Historical Society could become the archaeological archive for Martha's Vineyard. We would like to purchase or to construct a building that could be used for storage and for archaeological displays, but financial factors are at present a significant obstacle. Nevertheless, the goal is a real one. We hope that many of you will come to see Dr. Richardson's presentation at the Federated Church on August 11 at 7:30 p.m.

THOMAS E. NORTON
Bits & Pieces

CHARLES E. Banks, in his major history of the Island, shows he had doubts about Colonel Beriah Norton and his efforts to obtain restitution for the livestock taken in Grey's Raid (see pp. 29-36).

In one footnote, Banks states that documents “disclose a phase of his mission that does not happily reflect on his patriotism or methods. He was eager while in London and throughout the controversy to impress upon them that he did not approve the Revolution or take part in it, and claimed the Vineyarders were unwilling to rebel against their king.” (1, p. 398)

It would seem that Dr. Banks is a bit unfair. Norton was in England, a nation fighting to put down a rebellion against its King, and he was trying to talk the King’s ministers into paying money to the Vineyarders. For him to support the rebellion and oppose the King at that time would hardly have helped the cause.

In another place, Banks states that the farmers of the Vineyard “were somewhat suspicious . . . that his long absences were junketing trips at their expense.”

Clients have always felt that way about their agents!

Banks closes off his thorough report on Grey’s Raid this way: “The general belief entertained by the losers was that the Colonel was courted and entertained into an attitude of complaisance in the prosecution of his task by the high officials of the government, though with no profit to himself.”

OTHER villages in Dukes County had their saltworks, as Jim Norton tells us in his well-researched article in this issue. There was at least one on the Elizabeth Islands.

John Warner Barber, who made a careful inventory of saltworks on the Cape and Islands in 1838, wrote this: “Beginning north-east, the first island [of the Elizabeths] is Nanamsset . . . this island consists of one farm, which is sufficient to keep twenty cows and a hundred sheep. There is on it one dwelling house, containing two families and about nine hundred feet of saltworks, built in 1805.” (p. 75)

About the Edgartown saltworks, he wrote: “In this town, there is no stream sufficiently large to carry a mill, and all the grinding of corn and grain is done by windmills. Salt is made here to a considerable extent. The water is raised by pumps worked by windmills and is led along troughs to the cisterns or vats, which are filled to a depth of 3 or 4 inches, in which it is dried by the sun.” (p. 153)

Windmills, according to Jim Norton, seem not to have been used at Holmes Hole to pump the water. Perhaps, the wind was not steady enough there to make them worthwhile.

A.R.R.
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