

G. J. ADAMS AND THE FORERUNNERS

In imagination, I can see a three-masted bark, with sailors casting off lines at the old steamboat wharf at Jonesport, Maine. The date is August 11, 1866. It is 10:30 A.M. Brand new, with not a barnacle on her, the *Nellie Chapin* is putting out to sea. The tug boat *Delta* strains away under a controlled head of steam a few yards forward and to port. Three shouts from the combined voices of 157 passengers is echoed by three more from the chorus of several hundred voices along the wharf and the shore. The Palestine Emigration Society is on its way to Jaffa, and G. J. Adams is soon to secure a reputation as prophet—or charlatan.

I remember a day in early spring, 1943. I was twenty-five and had a date with a real lady, age eighty-eight. Her name was Theresa Rogers Kelley. She was twelve in August 1866 when the associates pulled away from that wharf on the *Nellie Chapin*. She spun a story to me that day that captured my imagination for all the years from then until now. I am not the only one who has been fascinated by it, nor am I the first to write about G. J. Adams. In fact, a few dug deeply enough to come close to telling it the way it was, especially Peter Amann¹ and the late Clarence Day of Orono.² They began delving into background and motivation where the story really begins.

The story of G. J. Adams and the Jaffa colony has occasioned a lot of wry comment, with the mood being set by none other than Mark Twain. "The colony was a complete fiasco," he said.³ With that offhand dismissal, he prompted the debunking air of nearly every report made of the astonishing venture. The mood has been sustained by the recollections of one who experienced the Jaffa colony as a lad less than ten years of age. Anger increased through

years of recounting the story until some of the facts changed to fiction, and much that was fiction became undeniable fact. The uncertainties of the story have made it difficult for three generations to see anything redeeming about the ill-fated journey of their forebears.

The other side of the story was hinted at by Ralph Leighton-Floyd of Independence, Missouri, who said recently, “There probably was no one more excited than my father when the modern State of Israel was founded in May 1948. This had been the dream of his forefathers and he had a share in it. In his opinion the Jaffa colony was not a failure. He had seen the Jews return, first by the tens and then the hundreds and then by the thousands. Just as God had promised they were gathered from their long dispersement to their homeland.”⁴ Ralph’s grandmother was Mary Jane Clark, later Leighton and then Floyd, a good friend of my own grandmother, and a child of five when she went with her family from Jonesport to Jaffa. Mary Jane’s mother was Ellen Wentworth Clark – and that ties her to my family. I have a vested interest in the story. It has spurred research along a faintly marked path from Maine, to Massachusetts, to Washington, D.C., Jaffa, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Salt Lake City, Independence, Missouri, and Nauvoo, Illinois.

Charles Forbush, editor of the *Machias Republican* back in 1866 voiced a significant clue: “The primal cause of this movement is found in the theology of those who have enlisted in it.”⁵ According to Theresa Kelley and Clarence Day, what drove G. J. Adams on was a mystery locked in his own mind. If we can find the answer to that mystery I think we will also understand why 156 men, women and children cast their lot with Adams. And, if my surmise is right, the offspring of those who went need no longer carry the humiliation of their ancestors having been duped by a charlatan.

Who was G. J. Adams? Born in 1811 in Oxford Furnace, New Jersey,⁶ George Jones Adams was a scion of that Adams family so prominent in the development of the United States. Little is known of his early life, but it is reasonably certain that he was indulged by a doting, widowed mother who fed his ego as she struggled to feed his body. He had at least two sisters, Mercy, who was to marry the famous actor, Tom Lyne, and one other who became a Mrs. Stephens of Newark, New Jersey. In the growing years he grew less than others his age and made up for it by being feisty and quick to anger. He learned early that an adversary could be subdued by words aptly chosen as well as by fists. As a young man, he was self-assured, unless he was held up to ridicule. Then he fought bitterly, with sarcasm and invective.

Soon after he had completed an apprenticeship as a tailor, he responded to the lively evangelism of a Wesleyan revivalist. In no time he was charming the multitudes as a Methodist preacher. He spoke in rented halls and theatres, filling them to capacity. During the years of his apprenticeship he spent his spare time in dramatics and was an enthusiastic member of an amateur association of players. Dramatics served him well. As a preacher it gave him additional self-confidence. His preaching was noted for eloquence. He could hold attention, and his delivery suggested deep commitment.

A producer by the name of Purdy, manager of Boston's National Theatre, listened to Adams preach. He was impressed by the obvious ability to hold the audience in rapt attention, taking them from smiles to tears and back again. Purdy needed a drawing card and, lacking a big name for Richard III, he approached Adams, assuring him that anyone who could quote Scripture by the yard would surely master lines from Shakespeare. Adams, with unfulfilled ambitions for the stage, was flattered by Purdy's confidence and said yes.



George Jones Adams
(1811-1880)

He was a smashing success, at first. The public was curious to see what the preacher could do. He did well until he gave in to the invitation and chiding of the cast to celebrate. They went to a public house and against his better judgment, George Adams downed a drink. There are those who can hold their liquor without much seeming effect, but George Jones Adams was not one of them, especially on an empty stomach. He had never been able to hold liquor of any kind. He became drunk. With it, came an insatiable thirst for more alcohol. He turned abusive, his mind quickening with insults. His sensitivity to derogatory remarks of others spurred him on. At the same time, his facility for memorized lines was impaired. The next few nights were a disaster. One night they took the pitiable creature outside, doused him with cold water, and brought him back in to dose him with salt water to get him through the play.

At the end of nine nights as Richard III, Adams was terminated abruptly. His theatrical career, and his preaching died simultaneously. One editor called him a “nine days wonder,” which infuriated him. When the two of them met on the street Adams demanded an apology. When it proved slow in coming he gathered all his strength and dropped the editor with a blow to the face. The editor retaliated in print, scathing Adams with ridicule.⁷ Later, quite penitent, having been brought back to sobriety by his bewildered wife, Adams returned to tailoring somewhere near Boston. Slowly his confidence came back as he abided by firm resolutions to avoid what he could not handle.

Then, the “Mormons” came. More out of curiosity than anything else, he went to hear what they had to say and was spellbound. They spoke of the Christ with great assurance, but embellished it with tales of God who speaks today, and of a youthful prophet who had been called by the Almighty to usher in a great and marvelous work which was as new as tomorrow and yet old as the ancient prophets of Israel. A

new enthusiasm was stirring in the breast of George Adams. This was a new beginning. He was ready to believe, and eight days after hearing the first Heber C. Kimball sermon, Adams was baptized.⁸ Shortly after, he was ordained and rapidly reestablished his reputation as a dramatic preacher, especially in New York City, where he was shortly to meet the man who would help him envision the great obsession of his life.⁹

In the fall of 1839 when Joseph Smith had dispatched most of his apostles to the fruitful field of the British Isles, he held back Orson Hyde from going. He had other things in mind for Orson which rose out of his own deep conviction concerning the return of scattered Judah to its homeland. Joseph felt “led” to assign Orson to go to Jerusalem and to dedicate the Holy Land as the gathering place of the dispersed Jews. He sent Hyde on his way in April 1840.

On the weekend of October 17-18, 1840, Orson Hyde was in New York for a church conference.¹⁰ His expected traveling companion John E. Page had not arrived yet. Hyde, restive because of the absence of Page, saw in Adams potential for the English mission and possibly Palestine. Able to draw large crowds, preaching with finesse, and a genius at recall of appropriate Scriptures, George Adams prompted admiration in Orson Hyde. It could be a blessing if John Page did not make it in time.

By the time of the next church conference, held in the G. J. Adams’s house on December 4,¹¹ Hyde knew what must be done. He waited until January 1, 1841, and then counseled Adams to make ready to sail. They booked passage for two on the packet ship *United States*, due out of New York on February 13, bound for England.¹² As they traveled, Orson shared his passionate concern for the children of Israel. George responded wholeheartedly. They would make a good team in Palestine. But, during

their time in England, George Adams was a sensation as a preacher and proselyter. When it came time to go on to Palestine, the Mormon apostles decided to keep Adams in England.

Orson Hyde went to Jerusalem, arriving in October 1841. He made his way to the Mount of Olives, prepared a memorial of stones and, with writing materials in hand, produced a prayer-prophecy calling for the imminent reestablishment of Israel. When he reported this to Parley Pratt in England he added, "My best respects to yourself and family, to brothers Adams and Snow, and to all the saints in England."¹³ Adams not only received the greeting, he read the prophecy and responded with deep yearning.

When George Jones Adams arrived back in New York City, after thirteen months in England, plans had already been laid for him to strengthen the church in Boston. His frequent and favorite subject during this period was that the Jews must be gathered home from their long dispersion and rebuild their city on its own heap of ruins. As always, he bolstered his arguments with quotations from the Bible, dramatically recited by heart. This persistent theme of Adams's preaching lent reason to all else he had to say – the Jews are to be gathered home! It was all part of the same fabric, each thread woven into the dominant theme and design that this tailor had in mind. For him, it carried all the weight and authority of the Scriptures. Nothing was more real to him.

Joseph Smith wanted this orator with a silver tongue to be with him in Nauvoo; there were needs that he could fulfill. By the winter of 1843-44, Adams was spending full-time in Nauvoo, close to the Prophet. He was at the seat of authority and loved it. One day in the spring of 1844, after Joseph Smith had prepared the document of January 17, designating his son Joseph III to become the leader of the

church,¹⁴ Adams participated in the real-life drama of the ceremony of laying on of hands that set young Joseph apart in anticipation of his role as prophet-president.¹⁵

George Adams was in Nauvoo at the time of the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. He was, in fact, petitioning the governor of Illinois in their behalf the day they were murdered. He was then dispatched to find the apostles. He never accomplished his mission. For him it was the end of the world, and, unable to face the tragedy without reenforcement, he turned to drink.

As far as Brigham Young was concerned, Adams was an embarrassment. He was expelled from the church. From 1845 to 1861 he alternated between preaching and acting, especially in Wisconsin and New England. One fiery, but short-lived interlude with King James Strang, a claimant to Mormon leadership, merely aggravated his problems of insecurity.¹⁶ Through it all, however, Adams kept his magnificent obsession. For seventeen years it was more obscure than otherwise, but, beginning in 1861, it was to be dominant with him, dominant enough to put him “on the wagon” and to pull together the Church of the Messiah, which he organized that year in Springfield, Massachusetts.¹⁷ It was a bold stroke to do it in Springfield where Sam Bowles, vitriolic editor of the *Republican*, had been suggesting for a year that tar and feathers were a fit treatment for Adams.¹⁸ He also launched a periodical, the *Sword of Truth and Harbinger of Peace*.¹⁹ From the first issue George Adams began a long campaign pointing toward his mission to Palestine in fulfillment of ancient prophecies having to do with the children of Ephraim urging the children of Judah to return to Jerusalem. To Adams, and therefore to them, the members of the Church of the Messiah *were* the children of Ephraim, the son of Joseph in Egypt. This, he had garnered from Mormonism with its responsibility for reestablishing the House of Israel rather than superseding it as so many Christians claimed. Adams,

while keeping his former relationship quiet, drew heavily on it. And, for him, the question of who should take the lead in such a venture had been resolved. Joseph Smith, who had shared the vision, was dead. Orson Hyde had gone West. It was up to him, to G. J. Adams.

George Adams, until late 1861, had done his best and sometimes his worst in large cities like Boston and New York City. To return to these would have been disastrous. He avoided them and went to the country towns of Maine. His "Editorial Journeyings," a column in the *Sword of Truth*, show him still preaching in the most prominent halls, but they are in places like Vassalboro and St. George, small towns in the Kennebec Valley and fronting on Penobscot Bay. Struggling to build a new identity and to forestall unfavorable publicity, Adams was avoiding all references to his Latter-Day Saint connections. He had to move circumspectly because he was working in an area covered in earlier days by fellow ministers from Nauvoo. Generally, he pulled it off without reference or recognition. However, in Machias, Washington County, the *Machias Republican* commented: "We observe by the Portland papers that one Reverend G. J. Adams is edifying and instructing the good people of that region in relation to their religious duties. We had supposed that the redoubtable 'Elder' was played out long ago, as the last we heard of him he was connected with a company of strolling actors, and 'doing' Richard III nightly to a crowd of verdant individuals at a shilling a head. We believe he was at one time a disseminator of Mormonism."²⁰

If Adams had known of that notice in Machias he might not have come so soon to Washington County but, in company with Vinal Dyer, he did come, stopping at Addison Point where the two of them were entertained by Mr. and Mrs. S. L. Wass. Mrs. Shadrach Wass was Dyer's daughter. Her husband had already become a prominent citizen of Addison, a beautiful town of fresh-built,

Maine-style houses. They were substantial, large enough to accommodate families with six to twelve children. Leander Knowles had a shipyard at the Point, which could handle the construction of ships up to six hundred tons. The Masons were well-established, with a good-sized hall on the main street, and Adams, a loyal Mason, attended a meeting at the lodge.

The Universalists offered the use of their meetinghouse and Adams delivered a lecture on “Jews, Jerusalem, and the Holy Land.” The response was very encouraging. A series of meetings followed and at the conclusion Vinal Dyer, Shadrach Wass, and others went down into the waters of baptism. No matter the temperature of the water, baptisms were conducted at the time of decision. This was March, and salt water in Maine in March calls for conviction.²¹

In May he was back in Addison and Indian River, about four miles away and half the distance to Jonesport. Abraham K. McKenzie received him with a warm welcome, making up his mind to be baptized as did Captain Warren Wass. McKenzie was the leading business man in Indian River, postmaster, justice of the peace, owner of the general store, and involved with shipbuilding and coastal traffic. Adams was getting substantial citizens, none better, nor more capable. He was gaining converts and building churches up and down the coast. Members of the Church of the Messiah were in Rochester, New Hampshire, York, Rockland, Thomaston, Vassalboro, Orrington, Surry, Sullivan, and Lebanon, Maine, and there was a thriving congregation in Springfield, Massachusetts. It was at Indian River, however, that the Church of the Messiah thrived more than any other place. Adams was not long in deciding that the work would center there. He and his wife and son Clarence were given a hearty welcome by the Abe McKenzies in a typical Maine house stretching out into shed and barn, with no need to go outside in a bitter Maine

winter. The McKenzies and the Adams family were to live together for “a short season” at the foot of Hall’s Hill. Adams was delighted.

He began in earnest to move from generalities about the redemption of Israel to specifics as to who was to be involved – the children of Ephraim, those strangers from afar who were to initiate the great prophecy-fulfilling move of the children of Israel to the land of their forefathers. Any who responded to his call would recognize themselves to be, by blood or adoption, of the tribe of Israel’s Ephraim. The great sense of urgency that drove him and his followers to immediate action was the conviction that the gathering of the Jews, their establishment as a nation, and the coming of the Messiah, would “take place before the generation now living shall pass away.” If before he had been a man always in motion, he was even more so at this point. Everything was crucial. There was an obsession about him, yet his very seriousness added to the impression of earnestness. He *was* in earnest. His cause was great, the greatest, and as things had turned out, in spite of his weakness, he was the right man, in the right place, at the right time.

G. J. Adams ’s seriousness of intent has led many to the impression of his being a humorless boor. During this season of successful endeavor, however, when he is brought together with people in homes and small meeting places he seems downright human. The first son of his first marriage, George Oscar Adams, was happily received on his return from Civil War service.²⁴ Adams enjoyed a fishing expedition with friends in New Hampshire. He was utterly delighted with his association in a marathon of visits to homes across the state of Maine. In his “journeyings,” he speaks with much warmth regarding brothers and sisters who share a real bond of affection. Generally complimentary in his remarks, and inviting others to stay where he has enjoyed accommodation, he even speaks with

wry humor about some hotels he would not recommend:²⁵

Our horse was tired out from the long drive and constant travel and we were compelled to stop at Derry Hotel. We don't know the landlord's name, and have no desire to learn it: cold meat for supper, and raw at that, only think, raw veal, and blood running out of it. We had cold meat for breakfast, and coffee; did I say coffee? . . . Well let me say the Derry Hotel was remarkable for just three things. Setting a poor table, charging a high price, and having a Yankee quiz for a landlord.

By contrast, the American Hotel in Ellsworth was a favorite resting place because "the gentlemanly landlord always treats his guests with kindness and hospitality." He also enjoyed the Cleaves Hotel at Stockton.

While Adams preached on a broad range of gospel themes, he interspersed them with reflections on contemporary affairs, especially the Civil War, and the problem of slavery. Quite often he would insert an address on elocution and oratory. He established an elocutionary school, and also at Indian River the old stage player started a drama society and even had Abe McKenzie playing roles. Learning lines for Abe was different from learning lines for George. During a play, Abe, slightly deaf and forgetful, would move nearer to the prompter, sometimes having to ask for a line the second time and then go on his way. It all added to the fun. It was great having the town's leading citizen willing to risk embarrassment to the amusement of all.

Then, the Shakespearian himself responded to their pleading to do something from the stage. It was pure magic. After a few moments, the man they knew became another, a slightly misshapen, malevolent, would-be king. To draw the character of King Richard III in their minds, Adams began with the closing scenes of *King Henry VI*. Richard has just slain the king:²⁷

I have often heard my mother say
I came into the world with my legs forward:
Had I not reason, think ye to make haste

And seek their ruin that usurp'd our right:
The midwife wonder'd; and the women cried,
O, Jesus bless us, he is born with teeth!
And so I was, which plainly signified
That I should snarl, and bite, and play the dog.
Then, since the heavens have shap'd my body so,
Let hell make crook'd my mind to answer it.
I have no brother, I am like no brother; .
I am myself alone.

From here he launched directly into Richard III, warming to the opportunity to transport his hearers, and to prove himself the artist:²⁸

I, that am rudely stamp'd, and want love's majesty
To strut before a wanton ambling nymph;
I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion,
Cheated of feature by dissembling nature,
Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time
Into this breathing world scarce half made up,
And that so lamely and unfashionable
That dogs bark at me as I halt by them; —
Why, I, in this weak piping time of peace,
Have no delight to pass away the time,
Unless to spy my shadow in the sun,
And descant on mine own deformity:
And therefore, — since I cannot prove a lover,
To entertain these fair well-spoken days —
I am determined to prove a villain,
And hate the idle pleasures of these days
Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous,
By drunken prophecies, libels, and dreams

So eloquent was his tongue that they were, indeed, transported. Their rude unpropped stage in Indian River was Boston or New York, and Adams was a scheming dissembler from another time and place. The applause was spontaneous and loud. Not only did they accept him, most of them came close to loving him. Many hearts were opening to make him one of them. Others were to remember him as the villainous Richard III with “inductions dangerous,” and “drunken prophecies.”

Everybody was family, or seemed like it, and this has always been part of the genius of small-town life in Maine – nearness, with its inevitable impact for good or ill. Personal behavior is subject to the immediate social control by family and neighbors. Persuasion may be aided or thwarted by the intermeshing of lives. Humor may become barbed by the very proximity and familiarity. Secrets are not easily kept, especially if they are illicit. But, let tragedy strike and the whole community responds to personal and family need. When the essential sense of community is threatened, or presumed to be threatened, let the intruder beware. To become part of the community is easy, if by birth; to become part of the community by moving in is something else. It helps to have roots, or a precondition of shared relatives or faith.

Rapid acceptance of the Adams family, and especially of G. J. Adams throughout Maine – especially in the Addison, Indian River, and Jonesport area – is a tribute to his persuasive powers and to his ability to relate to people on a personal basis. It is a warmth noted especially in the frequency of returning to the table of many families. It is marked by the sincerity of prominent D. J. Sawyer's offering a resolution in public meeting inviting Adams to return soon to Jonesport.²⁹

A mellow, more confident, and accepted George Adams sensed the support with which to move confidently toward fulfilling the vision shared by Orson Hyde over twenty years before. If their surmise then was right about timing, the inexorable movement of prophecy was getting impatient for the children of Ephraim to act in behalf of the children of Judah. From here on, the frequency of sermons and articles on the redemption of Israel increased. Adams's newspaper, the *Sword of Truth*, carried additional information regarding the current status of affairs in Palestine. Headlines carried the feeling of increased tempo: "Number of Jews," "Signs in the Holy Land," "The

Jerusalem Mission Once More,” “The Jews and Their Future,” “Improvements in Jerusalem,” “Ancient Telegraphing.” The next step was natural. Like Caleb and Joshua sent by Moses to spy out the land of promise, two were designated to go to Palestine. G. J. Adams was to be accompanied by Joseph Bennett of Springfield. Funds were raised by public appeals from the pulpit and the pages of the *Sword of Truth*. But, when the time came to go, there was severe illness in the Bennett family. The alternate was easy to choose, Abraham McKenzie of Indian River. Besides, Adams felt “led by the spirit” to select him.

On Friday, August 11, 1865, Adams and Abe McKenzie landed at Jaffa, and like Joshua and Caleb spied out the land of promise in preparation for the colony Adams was proposing to assist in the return of the Jews.³⁰ They took the Nablus Road (now Eilat) which, near the town, ran to the northeast through level ground. Any hurry they felt was offset by their joy at the lush fertility of the soil and the abundant fruit. The late-blooming, rocky coast of Maine at Jonesport was never like this. Scarcely five minutes walk from the gate of Jaffa they were drawn to a slight rise in the ground on their right. They turned to walk no more than seventy-five meters to the crest. A stone house was falling apart; trees were sparse and untended. There was a well. The view was unbelievable, offering the Mediterranean to the west and the outlined buildings on Jaffa’s hill to the southwest. At their backs orchards and fields of grain gave way to sand and the hills of Ephraim.

The supreme porte, sultan of Turkey, looked with disfavor upon any colonization or landholding in Palestine by aliens. Turkey had already suffered from many incursions and the sultan was particularly sensitive to threats by overt or subtle invasion from Western powers. He had signed a decree of religious freedom, but he was adamant about land purchase.

Their agent, Herman Loewenthal, gave assurance that there were ways to get around the restriction. He could arrange it. What G. J. and Abe did not know was that the sultan would shortly be informed of their action, confusing 157 persons as heads of families – a sizable invasion! He would specifically deny them the privilege of colonizing and purchasing land. Unfortunately, that communication would not be delivered until the colony was just arriving in Jaffa!

George and Abe met many interesting people. They were particularly impressed by the commitment of the Franciscan monks and by the enterprise of the leaders of the Jewish community. The Jewish rabbi and money changer, Meyer Hamburger, was also serving as correspondent for *Hamagid*, a Hebrew weekly published in Lyk, East Prussia, whose editor was an ardent Zionist. Hamburger's eyes queried their sincerity and conviction, and their ardent disclaimer of proselytizing intent, but, once convinced, he warmed to their venture and saw in them an exemplary lever to inspire his own people back in Europe to similar ventures. To the pair from Indian River it was precisely their role as the "Sons of Ephraim."

Aharon Chelouche was in the forefront of those eager to see a Jewish neighborhood extended north beyond the walls. There would have to be enough people to give reasonable guarantee against marauding Bedouins. The proposed American colony would strengthen that guarantee. Chelouche was looking at the land adjacent to and between the Americans' intended purchase and the sea. Several people shared the dream of a burgeoning city beyond the walls of Jaffa. It had to be. It would be. Whatever that larger community beyond the walls might come to be called, it would yet become as George Adams was predicting, the commercial center of Palestine. And, there would be a small hilltop crowned with a settlement committed to an Israel yet to be reestablished.

The next year in Maine was a frenzy of recruiting and readying. It was also a frenzy of activity for those who were bent on destroying G. J. Adams and his Jaffa enterprise. Friends and relatives of some who were going made a career out of plotting disaster, predicting ruin, and painting Adams's character as evil as their fertile imaginations could devise. The most verbal in their skepticism were Tim Drisko and his friend Morey Wass. They felt that they had reason to be alarmed with a host of relatives planning to leave within weeks. Both of them were Methodists and rued the theft of family and friends who had walked into the waters of baptism with the black-pantalooned sheep-stealer, Pastor Adams. It was a foregone conclusion that Tim and Morey would be aided, if covertly, by the Methodist preacher. What the parson might conceive and feel impolitic to do himself, Tim and Morey bent into eagerly, and thus it was that during the late months of winter and early spring 1866, they fired off letters to Sam Bowles, editor of the *Springfield Republican*, and found him happy to cooperate.

On June 5th, following an excited visit by Morey Wass, George W. Drisko, editor of the *Machias Union*, began in earnest to dredge up the past of G. J. Adams. Morey had secured the 1861 articles exposing Adams as a drunken imposter in Springfield. Apparently, Morey had written not only to Springfield but also to several townsfolk and editors from Rutland, Vermont, to Newark, New Jersey, pleading for information against Adams to be sent to the *Machias Union*. George Drisko was impressed by the volume of mail, claiming to be swamped by more than fifty letters leveling reliable criticism at George Jones Adams as an unworthy and extremely wicked man.³¹ The tempo and volume of editorial warning to the residents of Addison, Indian River, and Jonesport increased. It was 1861 all over again, and George Adams, so long on the wagon and with his reputation and Palestine venture at stake, increased his

efforts and began to lose his temper, loudly proclaiming his innocence, and taking up the cudgel against George Drisko. He lashed out at the editor, venting his frustration in a torrent no less abusive than Drisko's. He first rebuked Drisko for his anti-Lincoln, anti-Union sentiments: "Have you forgotten your dirty meanness, your treasonable and secession principles . . . your croaking against your country? . . . You, G. W. Drisko! You talk of 'wind of doctrine,' you never was anything but wind politically or religiously . . . you are a miserable humbug."³²

He need not have written thus, nor did he have to make public issue of it. He was the revered leader and needed only to live above the abuse, but that is easier to say than to do, especially when memory burns with past failure, disappointment, and guilt. He had been hurt by editors in the past, editors who, it must be admitted, took advantage of their privileged status in order to fashion the news rather than report it. Bias was frequently more apparent than objectivity.

George entered into a near frenzy of final recruiting and fund-raising with no letup in preaching and baptizing. A visit to St. George to see a bark being built there persuaded him to firm up arrangements for the *Nellie Chapin* nearing completion at Addison Point. She was being built by Leander Knowles, a master carpenter of excellent reputation and known to them all. A partnership of eight owned the vessel, including a major partner with 4/16 ownership, Nahum Chapin. He had the right to name her. Another was Samuel P. Adams of Boston. She was a sleek and beautiful bark of 567 tons, 133.5 feet long by 30.3 feet beam and 18.8 feet from deck to keel. She was built with square stern and billet head. There were full seven feet between decks to accommodate her unusual cargo of families. Cabin house and galley were enlarged. Overhead her masts were two square-rigged plus one rigged fore and aft. From bowsprit to rudder she would be a master's

dream, and Captain Warren Wass, 1/16 owner and longtime member of the Church of the Messiah, would be her master.³³

If all went well they should be able to embark for Jaffa by the end of July or the fore part of August. The *Sword of Truth* carried the news already shared around Indian River but eagerly awaited in Surry, Lebanon, and Rochester where other families were preparing to go.³⁴

We give notice that we have chartered the new and splendid barque *Nellie Chapin*. . . . The cabin is finished in splendid style. The price of first cabin passage from Jonesport to Jaffa, is one hundred dollars in currency. The price of second cabin passage is sixty-five dollars in currency. Lumber will be carried from Machiasport to Jaffa for \$20 per thousand feet. Freight taken twenty per cent lower than the common price up the Mediterranean.

The average price of lumber at Machiaport will be about \$13.50 per thousand, instead of \$13. . . . Good panel doors will cost from \$1.85 to \$2.35, and window sashes will cost from nine to twenty cents per light, according to the size. Four thousand feet of boards will make our smallest size two-story houses. These houses will contain four good-sized rooms, and a cook room. The parlor of this house will be twelve by thirteen feet, the dining room 10 by 13 feet, and the rooms upstairs will be the same size, the cook and wash room 8 x 10 feet. The entire cost of lumber, doors, windows and nails for such a house delivered in Jaffa will be about \$175. Brick and cement for chimneys will cost about \$15; gutta percha for roof \$20, making all together \$210 – add \$15 for butts, screws, and other little items, and it will be about \$225. Cheap enough for the substantial part of a neat small two story house delivered in Palestine, this will build a house that will make any small family comfortable for the time being. Now let it be understood that this will be a house with frame well boarded, a good roof and chimney, doors and windows, good floors, and closets. . . .

All preparations for building houses, in fact, the ability to proceed with the whole venture, were predicated upon the availability of the plot of ground they had agreed upon with Loewenthal who, in anticipation of their coming, had been appointed to serve as United States vice consul in Jaffa. That neither American consul Beauboucher, a Belgian, nor

Loewenthal, a converted German Jew, were United States citizens seemed, at first, no more than an interesting anomaly but this became a distressing irritant as months wore on. Further to guarantee the arrangements for land, Adams had gone in February in company with Rolla Floyd to Washington, D.C. Armed with a letter of introduction from Senator Lot Myrick Merrill of Maine to Secretary of State William Seward, Adams was ushered into the presence of President Andrew Johnson and then into the office of Secretary Seward. A petition had already been prepared for transmission to the sultan of Turkey and received the approbation of Seward who agreed to send it along to the sultan via the United States Embassy in Constantinople. Sent in the first part of March, the petition would require a minimum of eighty days for travel alone, and, with the delays of processing in Washington, Constantinople, and again in Washington, there could be no guarantee of an answer before departure. They lived in hope of a favorable answer but could not imagine refusal for so worthy a cause with a prophetic timetable moving inexorably in their favor.³⁵

Word received from Loewenthal, in July, seemed a portent of the complete success of their petition – the pasha of Jerusalem was granting them the right to land all items they had mentioned free of duty. Also, Loewenthal said he had been successful in securing several plots of land. He had also purchased for them 20 horses, 8 cows, 2,000 bushels of seed wheat, 1,000 bushels of barley, a large amount of lime, and other things. He indicated that the rains were abundant, as were the crops. “Thus the great work of restitution rolls on and none can hinder,” George assured the readers in the July 25 edition of the *Sword of Truth*.³⁶

In spite of the opposition of G. W. Drisko and the “raging and foaming” of a few “sectarians” in Indian River, plans

were proceeding well. It was likely that no one besides Adams had recruited more people than Gram Burns. There were 23 of Gram's offspring heading for Jaffa and that did not count her relations among the Leightons and Rogers. Nearly one-third of the colony belonged to her.³⁷ There were also Wasses, Tabbutts, Emersons, Grays, Kelleys, Lynches, Batsons, Alleys and Watts. From Addison, Indian River, and Jonesport there were approximately 100 persons. Others came from Lebanon and Orrington, Maine. Large families of Clarks and Corsons came from Rochester, N.H. Wentworths, Withams, and the Higgins family were scheduled on board from Surry. The Clarks and Wentworths were related through Ellen (Wentworth) Clark. C.K. Higgins was to serve as physician for the colony. Four Moultons from York brought the total from the Church of the Messiah to 153. In addition, there were 4 passengers from Boston, including the spiritualist, doctor and dentist, Mayo G. Smith, and a piano teacher, complete with piano, Miss Jane Flagg. There were several ship captains, including A. H. Wass of San Francisco. Farmers, carpenters, boatbuilders, and masons lent guarantee of ability to build a community soundly based on agriculture but not limited to farming. Rolla Floyd hoped to combine a hotel with a stage venture, Jaffa-to-Jerusalem, thus taking direct advantage of the swelling tourist trade in the Holy Land.³⁸

The colony was not communistic. Farming lands would be purchased or rented and cultivated by families. Their houses would be built on individually owned lots. Each family was to meet its own expenses, and each breadwinner was expected to support his family from earnings. members entrusted their money to Adams as banker and trustee. It was not given to him or to the association.

Although Dr. Higgins planned to take an adequate supply of medicines and surgical instruments, each family was to lay in popular remedies for ailments to which they

were accustomed. They were also cautioned regarding the possible recurrence of the cholera that cursed the Eastern Mediterranean the previous year. Typically, they took laudanum, spirits of camphor, and tincture of rhubarb to be ready for the nausea and diarrhea of cholera. For severe vomiting they added tincture of capsicum, tincture of ginger, and tincture of cardamon seeds. For colds some took along Dr. Poland's White Pine Compound, while others took Coe's Cough Balsam. Quantities of castor oil were to make the voyage along with Coe's Dyspepsia Cure. The ladies added a supply of Lyon's Periodical Drops.

The newspaper controversy continued to rage. Rumors were rife throughout Washington County. Editor Charles Forbush of the *Machias Republican* found much to applaud in the courage and faith of the followers of George Adams. Forbush was disturbed by the wild accusations going back and forth and felt that his competitor, Editor George Drisko, was a strong factor in the mounting ill will and mood of distrust. He wrote an editorial that was filled with sober hope. He said it was

an error to suppose that the colony was composed of ignorant men. Many of these colonists for Palestine are men of intelligence—ordinarily not readily moved by every “wind of doctrine”—farmers, merchants, ship masters, ship owners, and mechanics—men of property and of means—who have sold out all of their possessions and contributed the avails toward the accomplishment of their plans.

What the final results of the undertaking may be we are not prepared to predict. There is however a romantic charm about it which has always attracted our attention. It is not indeed the old crusade of past centuries with all its “portents of war,” but on the contrary the organism of peace. It may be the initial step to carry out plans yet undeveloped, for restoring the sacred territory of Palestine, and in the *Nellie Chapin*, it may be, in after years will be found the companion of the *Mayflower*.³⁹

It was indeed a reminder of the *Mayflower*, in religious motivation and commitment, and in the determination of families to risk leaving the known for the unknown. These

were not hand-picked for strength or wealth. They were not free from family obligations; they were families, with children making up nearly half the total. They had no financial backers, no reservoirs to turn to in case of a bad turn of events.

It must be recognized that their motivations were uneven, some going only because others they loved were going; some went under the umbrella of faith but hoped to be in on the ground floor, “with corner lots,” as someone was heard to say. At least three men—Zebediah Alley, Daniel Watts, and Linc Norton—turned with heavy feet toward the *Nellie Chapin*. They were married to strong-willed women. Phoebe Norton, not unlike her mother, Gram Burns, said simply and firmly, “If you don’t go, you’ll stay here alone!”

By August 10, 1866, the “sleek and beautiful” *Nellie Chapin*, fresh in the water, was ready to weigh anchor at Steamboat Wharf, Jonesport, Maine. The hold was filled with building supplies, cultivating and harvesting equipment, and provisions for 157 men, women, and children who were migrating to the Holy Land. Partitions between decks were prefabricated sections of houses. It was a well-ordered venture, showing the combined genius of Adams and Abe McKenzie, his very competent assistant who had been to Palestine with him. McKenzie would stay behind to recruit another shipload of emigrants and order a schooner to ply the Mediterranean trade routes. He would establish export-import arrangements with Jonesport fish and lobster packers and edit the *Sword of Truth and Harbinger of Peace*.⁴⁰ Strong motivation backed by scriptural promise, shrewdness, and Yankee ingenuity should have been sufficient to guarantee success of the colony, but they were to pay a price; somebody may have had to pay in order for others not to fail.

They arrived at Jaffa on September 22, were permitted to land duty free, and began the tedious job of landing their

supplies directly on the beach, where they set up a temporary camp. It would be their home until land purchase could be manipulated through use of a straw man, which they didn't like. They were used to clear title in fee simple.

There were complications galore, including water unfit to drink, furnished presumably from a sanitary well on contract to the American vice consul in Jaffa. It was instead disease-laden. There was the inevitable dysentery. To that was added what we know now as a staph infection. Breast-fed infants survived, but many just a few months older and many elderly people died. Sixteen of the colonists died, in fact, in the first three months. It was a heartbreaking, frustrating experience. Add the "croakers" as Adams called his vocal opposition in the parlance of the time.⁴¹ There were some who either came under protest by persuasion of their wives, or were disgruntled by ill turns of circumstance. Some had hoped to better their conditions even more than they had hoped for the redemption of the Jews.

Worst of all, the one who had seen his longest dry spell deteriorate into resurgence of alcoholism was not at his best for the massive problems of leadership that confronted him. He had, in a moment of extreme frustration before ever landing at Jaffa, turned to the bottle. His wife, for various reasons, turned strident and nagging and drove him further into his weakness until he could not cope adequately. Yet, in spite of it all, seventeen houses were assembled by January, as well as a church and a store. It was one of the major seasons of planting, and they sowed several acres of rented land in wheat, barley, potatoes, and sesame.

Expenses were heavier than anticipated. They had too little cash to carry them until harvest, and then, when harvesttime did come, the fields that had been so verdant

and promising gave less yield than hoped. In addition, much of their grain had been trampled and some harvested early for grass by marauding Bedouins. To that was added the exorbitant cost exacted for use of the land. Of the yield, nearly 50 percent was charged against them either by the owner or by the government. They found themselves, of necessity, eating next season's seed crop. Unfortunately, there was little cash-yielding work in the city. Wages were low and prices high. It did not take long to determine who was to blame: G. J. Adams. He was blamed for everything by one side of the divided colony.

One person of uncertain motivation throughout the Jaffa venture was Mayo Smith. As a spiritualist he was both attracted to and repelled by Adams's beliefs. Their discussions became arguments and then heated confrontations. Since he had no intention of staying in Palestine, he was under no obligation to build or to plant. He had time to move about and talk. As time went by, his talk gained authenticity. He was gaining a reputation as a newspaper correspondent. People in the United States, especially from New York to Machias, were fascinated by the courageous, if foolhardy, venture of the Adams colony. Mayo Smith was a major source of news, sending off reports to the *Boston Traveller*, and slanting them to his own purpose.⁴² A few weeks later those reports came back to Palestine. The colony, anxious for news from home, found themselves mirrored and exposed. Some were infuriated; others were impressed and listened to Smith with more respect.

Smith, once pro-Adams enough to accept the invitation to make the journey, drew a sizable collection of the old anti-Adams letters and articles from his trunk and began to work on Levi Mace, Shad Wass, Seward Gray, William Lynch, Orland Tibbetts, and others. His most telling effect may have been on Ellis B. McKenzie, Jr., who wrote a letter published in the *Machias Republican*:⁴⁴

I take this late hour to inform you in relation to [the] great humbug. You have had particulars by my sister in regard to G. J. Adams' wild character in keeping a rum shop and getting drunk and undertaking to cheat the colonists out of all their money. I take pleasure in announcing that I have returned to my former faith and shall soon return to my native country, although rather chagrined at such a ridiculous mistake. My wife has been sick for three months and is quite discouraged. She cries almost every day when she thinks how useless her coming out here was and says, "Oh, if I was only home again."

The business of the colony grows more and more complicated every day. The colony you understand is divided, part for getting back, part for staying. The part that are for Mr. Adams are fanatically mad. Those that wish to return have the U. S. Consulate on their side. Hence there is a warring between the two parties. . . . My pleasure is to come home in the Spring so here I close.

Adams had anticipated the yearning to return to Maine. After landing from *Nellie Chapin*, he proclaimed in public meeting that any who were dissatisfied could return on the same vessel, free of charge. The offer was repeated at least three times publicly before *Nellie Chapin* pulled away. No one expressed a desire to return.

Much has been made of the colonists' sale of property back home and turning the proceeds over to Adams. He did take their greenbacks with him to Boston where they were converted into gold, the international medium of exchange. The gold was then held for safekeeping, until sometime prior to arrival in Jaffa when it was paid over to the families. Not all the greenbacks had been turned over to him. In a consulate survey of resources in mid-1867 John Drisko and Shad Wass showed \$1,000 each in greenbacks while Mrs. E. S. Wass listed \$935 in paper money. Tragedy lay in the fact that cash reserves on leaving America averaged less than \$1,000 per family. Ben Rogers was typical, beginning the venture with only \$400. Only four had resources exceeding \$2,500 – G. J. Adams (\$5,000), Fred Witham (\$4,500), Ackley Norton (\$2,500), and Mrs. E. S. Wass (\$2,890). By the time of the survey Adams had invested his money in property, planted twenty acres,

borrowed \$2,800, and loaned \$3,000 to members of the colony. Contrary to popular supposition, the hard facts indicate that Adams had more invested in the enterprise than anyone else.⁴⁵

Building, planting, and living costs were eating away their limited resources. Prices went up (meat by 3¢ per pound) in response to their arrival. Mutton was 8¢ per pound, flour \$14.00 per barrel, and milk 30¢ per quart. There was little work available for the skills they possessed, and their strange language limited their ability to search out employment and to communicate once employed.

The foodstuffs purchased by Loewenthal as their agent were uniformly bad. Bread, rice and flour were infested. Oil was rancid. They finally went on their own in the market, inspected and purchased the vegetables and small quantities of meat they could afford. Meat was hung for easy inspection and was brushed by garments passing by. Grain was sifted and vegetables fondled by soiled, exploring fingers.

During the week of Sunday, January 20, 1867, a *New York Tribune* correspondent wrote with mild rebuke about the Yankee emigration from Down East in Maine to Down East in Palestine, scoffed at their pretensions to being identified as the “tribe of Ephraim” and their insistence that the curse was being taken off the land of Palestine. After all he declared, “There are still thorns and thistles and weeds growing on every side.”

George Drisko’s comment for the week, “When will the world learn that the kingdom of Christ is a spiritual kingdom, and that the Jerusalem where he is to reign is a spiritual Jerusalem, and not the old, dirty Jewish city?”

G. J. Adams was already written off by the press as a visionary, a deluded deceiver of the innocent. As it had been throughout his life, when under ridicule and

defamation, Adams lost his temper and his control, becoming abusive, even to his friends. A simple and necessary question frequently prompted a vicious reply. Before long, it became apparent that the colony would fall victim to dissension, dysentery, and drink. Some, like Levi Mace, began early to make plans for return to America. Others followed shortly after. In less than a year from arrival all but approximately twenty were either dead or returned to America. During this time, Mark Twain was doing his *Innocents Abroad* and was on board with the largest contingent of the homeward bound. They were destitute, not knowing how they would go beyond Alexandria. Moses Beach, a New York newspaper man, put up \$1,500 in gold to get them on their way.

In spite of everything, some stayed, enduring Adams and his strident wife as well as troubled circumstance. Their motivation was certain. The adults were at least as strong in their conviction of prophecy's soon fulfillment as ever. The women, Ellen Clark, Abitha Leighton, Theodocia Floyd, Addie Watts and Abigail Alley, lost their husbands by death or desertion, except for Docia who saw her Rolla become the leading dragoman, guide, and tour director in Palestine. He ran a stage service over the new macadamized road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, in fact, driving the first horse-drawn vehicle over that road. Ellen Clark's boys joined with Rolla and became wealthy as the agents of Thomas Cook & Son in Jerusalem and New York City. Herbert Clark served as American vice consul in Jerusalem for years. His collection of archeological artifacts, given to the Jerusalem YMCA by his widow, remains one of the finest in Israel.

The colony became the hotel center of Palestine. The three-story hotel built by the Burns brothers was the first of many to welcome the swelling tide of tourists and immigrants. One of the hotels, the Park, named for its

beautiful garden, was developed by the Ustinov family.⁴⁶ The station for the new Jaffa to Jerusalem railroad was built nearby across Nablus Road.

The story of Abigail Alley and her sister Addie Watts is a poignant one of hard work, devotion to a dream, and sheer dogged persistence. The Adamses, with their son Clarence, left in June 1868, ostensibly to go to England to recruit more colonists to be able to fulfill their dream. Actually, they were asked to leave, or at least encouraged to do so by the American consul Victor Beauboucher.⁴⁷ Beauboucher and Loewenthal had had their fill of the difficulty occasioned by G. J. Adams. As a matter of fact, diplomatic correspondence between the United States consulates in the Middle East and William Seward, secretary of state, was dominated by the American colony and the difficulties occasioned by the ineptitude and frequent intoxication of Adams.

On the other hand, it must be said for G. J. Adams that he initiated the momentum toward the establishment of settlements and villages in what was to become modern Israel. He provided a kind of leverage for Meyer Hamburger, the Jaffa rabbi, who sought to encourage the Jewish people in Europe to come to Palestine.⁴⁸ Even the mistakes of the colony proved beneficial to others. They learned, for instance, the necessity of choosing well those who would endeavor to cultivate the soil and initiate the agricultural communities that would make return to Palestine a real option for the children of Israel. Experimental colonies were established and flourished in the vicinity of the colony, such as Mikve Israel, Petah Tikvah, and Rishon Le Zion. The timing and sense of location of Adams could not have been better.

It became clear that it was imperative to have adequate financial backing that would be renewed in a constant reservoir. The Adams colony's difficulty with individualism

in a setting that initially required a sense of community led the returning Jews to develop the remarkable and vibrant kibbutzim.

At Jaffa there were not only those of the colony who remained and who fulfilled, in their own way, something of the dream which had brought them there, but from Germany the Templars came, purchased the unoccupied houses, and began immediately to modify the agricultural program in such a way that they succeeded on the foundation that had been laid for them by Adams. Their success seemed assured as a longtime phenomenon, but during World War II the British forced them to vacate the colony. The buildings, so ingeniously prefabricated and then assembled, remain as real monuments to the industry and skill of the people from New England, structures modified to take advantage of prevailing winds and the remarkable scenic beauty that surrounded them. The first one, built to house the Uriah Leighton family of Addison, was demolished in 1978. Others are on the verge of demolition unless rescued by some effort at repair and restoration. Vacant windows and sagging doors still serve as a reminder of a man with a magnificent obsession.

The Adams family eventually made its way back to the United States, settling in Philadelphia where Adams reestablished his Church of the Messiah, affiliating it with the Baptists. His young son, Clarence, became pastor at the age of nineteen and gained renown in Philadelphia. He died in March 1934, fifty-four years after his father.

The American colony in Jaffa has had a reputation of abject failure from 1867 until now. Most of the offspring of the families who returned to America have lived under a sense of embarrassment and chagrin. They have felt that their forefathers were duped by a charlatan, but it is not so. The dream was based in prophecy that is still being fulfilled. Their venture was timely. They were ahead of

their time. They were the forerunners. They might have succeeded had it not been for weakness in the personality of George Jones Adams, which caused him on other occasions to weaken when the chips were down. His followers could not have known the seriousness of this trait because Adams had valiantly tried to overcome it and had succeeded very well for five eventful years.

His credentials and credibility were in the sincerity of his belief in the imminent return of the Jews. It is to his credit that he perceived the dream of the centuries and lent himself to it. Unfortunately, the tragic flaw destroyed his effective ministry when so many were vitally dependent on him. Abe McKenzie, reluctant to believe what he was hearing from relatives and friends, and already close to completing his responsibilities toward bringing another contingent to Jaffa, finally gave up. He documented his disenchantment at length in the *Machias Republican*.⁵⁰

Adams's failure could not destroy the inexorable dream whose time had come. As always, God used a flawed person to assist in fulfilling his purposes, and when that person stumbled and fell He picked up the torch and passed it to others. Some carried the torch in Palestine. Rolla Floyd is the most brilliant example. His story is yet to be told. Back in Jonesport and Indian River, many of those who returned went their own ways, the wiser for their venture.

Was the Jaffa colony a success or a scandal? It was both. The agony which many felt then and since has been a bitter price, but, in the light of the necessity for someone to pave the way for aliyah, the flight of the Jews from the bitterness of pogroms and holocaust, the venture of G. J. Adams and all who followed him to Jaffa cannot be counted a total failure.

NOTES

¹ Peter Amann's research was extensive, resulting in his article, "Prophet in Zion: The Saga of George J. Adams," *New England Quarterly* 37 (December 1964): 477-500.

² Clarence Day's unpublished manuscript, "Journey to Jaffa," is helpful not only for what Day has written but also for the extensive references attached to it. A copy is in my library.

³ Samuel Langhorne Clemens, *The Writings of Mark Twain*, vol. 1: *The Innocents Abroad* (St. Clair Shores, Michigan: Scholarly Press, Inc., 1968), p. 364.

⁴ Ralph Leighton-Floyd, "Jaffa Epilogue," an article given me by the author, who is a natural descendant of at least three of colony's families (Leighton, Clark and Wentworth), an adopted son of the Rolla Floyd family. His grandmother was Mary Jane Clark Leighton Floyd. His father was Albert Leighton-Floyd.

⁵ *Machias Republican*, August 23, 1866.

⁶ At his death in Philadelphia, he was listed as sixty-nine years of age. In his testimony, printed in Nauvoo, Illinois, in *Times and Seasons* 2 (November 15, 1841): 220-221, he said, "I am about 30 years of age." This means that a correction must be made in my book, *The Forerunners* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1981), p. 14, from 1813 to 1811.

⁷ *New York Times*, March 20, 1867, col. 2, p. 2; August 19, 1867, cols. 1-2, p. 6.

⁸ *Times and Seasons* 2 (November 15, 1841): 220-221. See also *Millennial Star* 1 (March 1841): 275-76.

⁹ *Times and Seasons* 2 (November 15, 1841): p. 120.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 2 (February 1, 1841): 306.

¹² Mormon Journal of History (a daybook), Historical Archives, Salt Lake City, entry for February 13, 1841.

¹³ *Church History: Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*, 2 vols. (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1951), 2: 553ff.

¹⁴ "And They Knew Not Joseph," *Time*, March 30, 1981, p. 77. See also John M. Crewdson, "Succession Document Acclaimed by Mormon Branch," *New York Times*, March 20, 1981, cols. 1-6, p. A16, and "Church Leadership Issue Renewed As Founding Is Noted," *Kansas City Times*, April 6, 1981.

¹⁵ See under "Communications," in *The True Latter Day Saints' Herald*, October 1, 1865, p. 101, a letter of W. W. Blair regarding the testimony of Emma Smith.

¹⁶ Milo Quaife, *The Kingdom of Saint James: A Narrative of the Mormons* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1930), pp. 39-43, 78, 94, 100-1, 120-22, 165, 249-55.

¹⁷ *Sword of Truth and Harbinger of Peace*, October 15, 1862. The *Sword of Truth* was founded by G. J. Adams as a means of unifying and edifying his Church of the Messiah. It was remarkably open to truth from many sources. It also provided Adams with his own means of recourse to slanderous newspaper editors.

¹⁸ *Springfield (Mass.) Republican*, Sam Bowles, editor. See especially January 26, February 23, February 29, and March 2, 1861.

¹⁹ See note 18 above.

²⁰ *Machias Republican*, April 29, 1862.

²¹ *Sword of Truth*, "Editorial Journeyings," April 1, 1863.

²² *Ibid.*, July 1, 1863.

²³ In August 1864, G. J. Adams moved the *Sword of Truth* to Indian River and sold one-half interest in the paper to A. J. McKenzie, but remained its editor.

²⁴ *Sword of Truth*, September 1, 1863.

²⁵ Frequent references to hotels are to be found in the *Sword of Truth* under "Editorial Journeyings."

²⁶ *Sword of Truth*, March 1, 1865.

²⁷ *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (New York: W. J. Black, Inc., [n.d.]), p. 671.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 673, 674.

²⁹ *Sword of Truth*, "Editorial Journeyings," February 15, 1864.

³⁰ See especially *Sword of Truth*, January 1, 1866, and, for a detailed account of their journey to Palestine in July-September 1865, see A. J. McKenzie's diary at the Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine.

³¹ *Machias Union*, George W. Drisko, editor. See weekly issues from June 5 through July 31, 1866.

³² *Sword of Truth*, July 25, 1866.

³³ National Archives Project, Works Progress Administration, *Ship Registers and Enrollments of Machias, Maine, 1780-1930*, 2 pts. (Rockland, Maine: National Archives Project, 1942), pt. 2, entry 1390, p. 631. See also William Armstrong Fairburn, *Merchant Sail*, 6 vols. (Center Lovell, Maine: Fairburn Marine Educational Foundation, Inc., 1945-1955), 5: 3571.

³⁴ *Sword of Truth*, June 1866.

³⁵ In January 1866, G. J. Adams and Rolla Floyd went to Washington, and, with the help of Lot Myrick Morrill, a Maine senator, met President Johnson and Secretary Seward. Seward agreed to send a petition to the Turkish sultan via E. Joy Morris, United States minister at Constantinople, along with letters from Adams and Morrill. Morris received the sultan's rejection, restating it almost word for word, and sending it to Jerusalem and Jaffa, to await Adams's arrival! See letter of July 13, 1866, from Morris at the legation at Constantinople to Victor Beauboucher, United States vice consul at Jerusalem. It begins, "Yours of June 28th is received, I regret to say the Porte declines to grant the required firman for the proposed American settlement at Jaffa." It became apparent that the sultan had read 157 persons of the colony as 157 heads of families! He was already paranoid, and that many families was the same as an invasion.

³⁶ *Sword of Truth*, July 25, 1866.

³⁷ For information regarding families see A. A. Norton, *Moosebec Manavelins* (Privately Printed, 1950), and the remarkable tracing of families and descendants of the colony by Leonard Tibbetts of Cape Cod.

³⁸ There are at least three lists of those who went with G. J. Adams. One is in *Sword of Truth*, November 15, 1866. This list does not contain Mrs. Adams and Clarence. That oversight was corrected on landing at Jaffa. The list, with corrections noted, is included in Holmes, *Forerunners*, pp. 165-70. The third list was prepared between June 8 and June 20, 1867, by Consul Victor Beauboucher with the intent to check off departures.

³⁹ *Sword of Truth*, May 15, 1866.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, June 15, 1867.

⁴¹ An interesting definition of "croakers," both "domestic" and "general" is offered by George Drisko in the *Machias Union*, September 10, 1867. After defining them as insane, annoying, pestiferous, and whining, he then says they are "the light brigade of the feminine gender." I think Drisko has had a problem!

⁴² See letter of Isaiah B. Ames in the *Machias Union*, January 2, 1867.

⁴³ *Machias Union*, February 26, 1867.

⁴⁴ *Machias Republican*, May 9, 1867.

⁴⁵ Here, as throughout this paper and the book *Forerunners*, I have drawn extensively from pertinent State Department records in the National Archives. The microfilm is available covering the consular dispatches from Alexandria (iv), Beirut (v, vi), Constantinople (ix),

Jerusalem (II), and diplomatic dispatches, Turkey (XIX, XX).

⁴⁶ Information on the Park Hotel has been drawn from the Rolla Floyd letters to his sister Aurilla Tabbutt, from Peter Ustinov, grandson of Baron Ustinov, and from Bertha Spafford in *Our Jerusalem*.

⁴⁷ Victor Beauboucher to William Seward, June 7, 1868, National Archives.

⁴⁸ Shlomo Eidelberg, "The Adams Colony in Jaffa," *Midstream: A Quarterly Jewish Review* 3 (Summer 1957): 52-61.

⁴⁹ The American Baptist Bible Society lists Adams, C. A., Philadelphia and Camden, New Jersey, 1876-1913. Obituary in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 31, 1934.

⁵⁰ *Machias Republican*, November 7, 1867.

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This article is based upon the findings contained in the author's recently published 280 page monograph The Forerunners (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1981), copies of which may be ordered from ViewPax Publications, P.O. Box 27, Independence, Missouri, 64051, at a cost of \$11.00 per copy, plus 75¢ for postage and handling.