Deconstructing Marginality: Exploring the Foundations of Dogtown Common, Massachusetts

by

Elizabeth Martin

Babson Boulder labeled "Truth." Photo courtesy of J. Critchlow.

"Dogtown is delusion." – Joe Garland (2004:85)

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Abstract

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This thesis deconstructs the documentary archive and built environment of the historical site called Dogtown in Gloucester, Massachusetts. The site consists of forty house foundation holes placed along four roads in the middle of Cape Ann's Dogtown forest. Originally settled by Europeans in the Colonial era as an English farming village, local history describes the community as transformed sometime after the American Revolution into a small "outsider community" consisting mainly of a population of poverty-stricken and aging, single English American women. These women are often labeled "witches" in the local folklore and are said to have co-habited with two African American individuals, only adding to their marginal status. This study's deconstruction of the historic narrative and how it has affected the cultural landscape begins to illuminate a constructed and interpreted history which makes the site appear to have been more "outside" of Gloucester than it once was.

The nature of constructing histories may affect changes to the narrative on a larger scale as well. For example, it is found that a similar reinterpretation could be

applied to three other nineteenth century outsider communities in the northeastern United States: the Lighthouse community from northwestern Connecticut, the Ramapo Mountain People from the northern New Jersey/New York State border region, and a group of people who once lived on Malaga Island off of the mid-coast of Maine. These sites are not all exactly alike but the persistent rumors of immoral and antisocial behavior bind them all together in a broader Colonial landscape. These sites have all been constructed in their narratives to appear as they are today, i.e., outside the larger society. It is argued that the nineteenth and early twentieth century constructions of such histories of those who were included in the bourgeoning capitalist mode of production created a need for stories of their opposite, i.e., populations of marginalized people excluded from this way of life.

Acknowledgments

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constructed history and Sarah Dunlap from the Gloucester City Archives has also offered great insight as well as important research to the project. Mark Carlotto and Shary Berg provided key technical assistance with their maps and GPS points. My cousins, Patty and Jim Critchlow and Roger and Corinna Fisk, were so kind to provide a special place to sleep while I was in Gloucester doing research. No one else doing research on Dogtown's ghost stories got to fall asleep while awaiting Uncle Doc's own ghost to appear.

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I really wouldn't have done this without my old NYU crew also, Jim Delle, Pat Heaton, Mark Smith, Jim Boyle, Marybeth Berlemann Christiansen, Janet Six, and Samara Rubinstein. Thanks to you all for the introduction to historical archaeology and the encouragement to go to graduate school in the first place.

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guidance and their amazing ability to always say yes to my choices life.

Finally I must say that Gareth, Winslow, and Graham Porter are a most wonderful home team. Winslow's amazing brain teaches me daily. He has also kept my digging skills from going rusty. Graham has done his job almost perfectly up to now too, smiling as well as sleeping easily. And Gareth, my love and best friend, has encouraged and helped me through the GRE's, graduate school applications, exams and papers, conferences and proposals, and finally during the long process of doing research and writing for this thesis. He has brought an immeasurable amount of richness to my life and has also been my constantly inventive compatriot during these recent years of parenting while writing. I would not have been able to, nor would I have wanted to, do any of this without him.

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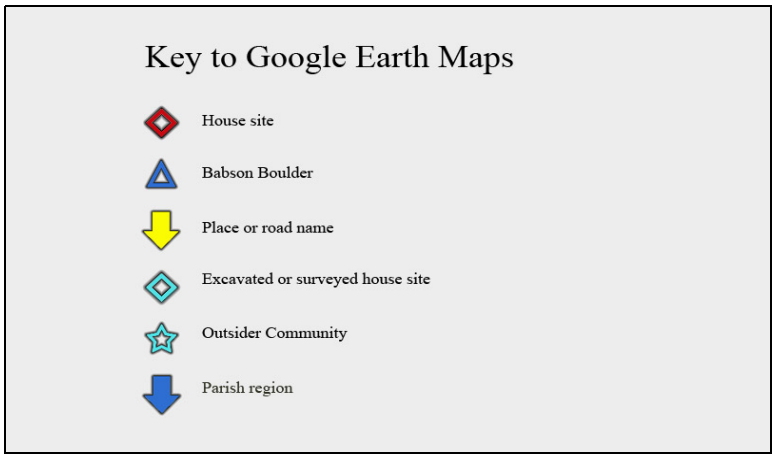


Introduction

Finding Dogtown: A Way In

Driving around the city of Gloucester, Massachusetts, one is almost constantly accompanied by water. Located on a peninsula named Cape Ann, a small highway takes one past other similar small seaside towns along the northern shore of Massachusetts. The A. Piatt Andrew Bridge crosses the Annisquam River, and the road continues along the shoreline of Cape Ann reaching the downtown area which is located within blocks of the harbor. The harbor has been built up with docks, marinas, seafood restaurants, whale watching and deep sea fishing tour companies, as well as the Gorton's seafood manufacturing company. Most stores and businesses line Main Street, the commercial center, two blocks uphill.

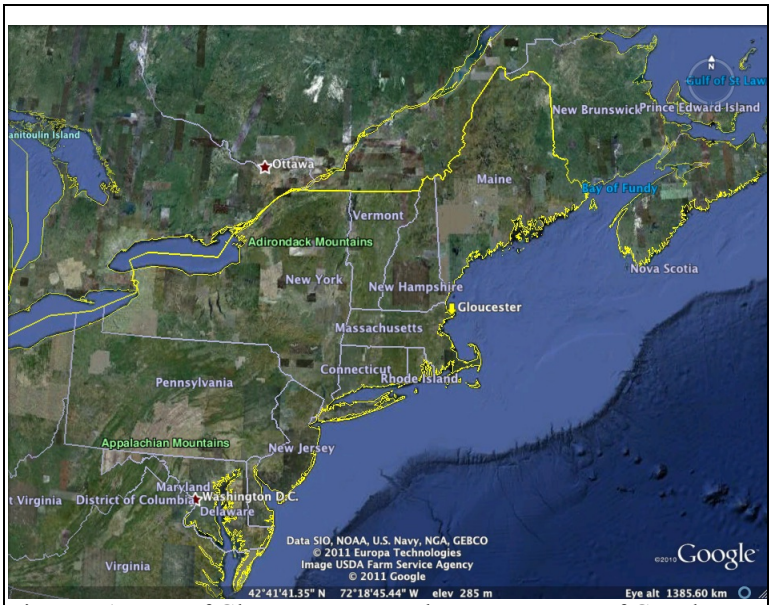
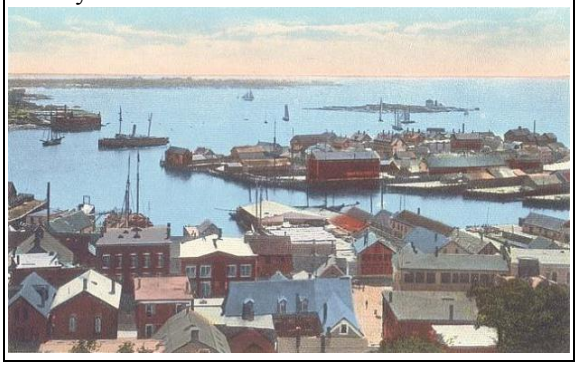


Figure x.1: Map of Gloucester, Massachusetts courtesy of Google Earth 2011.

Figure x.2: Gloucester harbor circa the early 20th century.



The sailing vessel called a schooner is said to have been first built in Gloucester c. 1713. The invention of this vessel, designed for maximum maneuverability in rough North Atlantic seas, fortuitously coincided with the opening up of the rich fishing grounds off of Nova Scotia through the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht with the French in 1713. One can argue that the two events were inexorably intertwined, however, working in combination to bring the fishing industry further into the new capitalist mode of production. Until gas-burning engines were introduced in the early-twentieth century these sailboats were some of the best shipping and fishing vessels constructed in North America. At its peak in the mid-nineteenth century there were well over three hundred vessels, large and small, moored in Gloucester Harbor (Wilbur and Courtney n.d.:5) and Gloucester counts itself as a world-renowned fishing port to this day.

It is because of its deep harbor that Gloucester was able to become so important in this industry. Samuel de Champlain must have focused on that aspect of the place when

he named it *Le Beau Port* in 1606. (See Figure x.2) The harbor's proximity to the rich fishing banks in the North Atlantic was identified by the British in the 1620s but their first ventures did not fare very well and Gloucester itself was not officially incorporated until 1642. Throughout its history, many of Gloucester's men, and more recently, women, have been employed as ship-builders, sail-makers, and coopers, as well as sailers. Fishing was, and continues to be a dangerous job, with Gloucester counting itself as having lost at least ten thousand fishermen since its foundation in 1642.

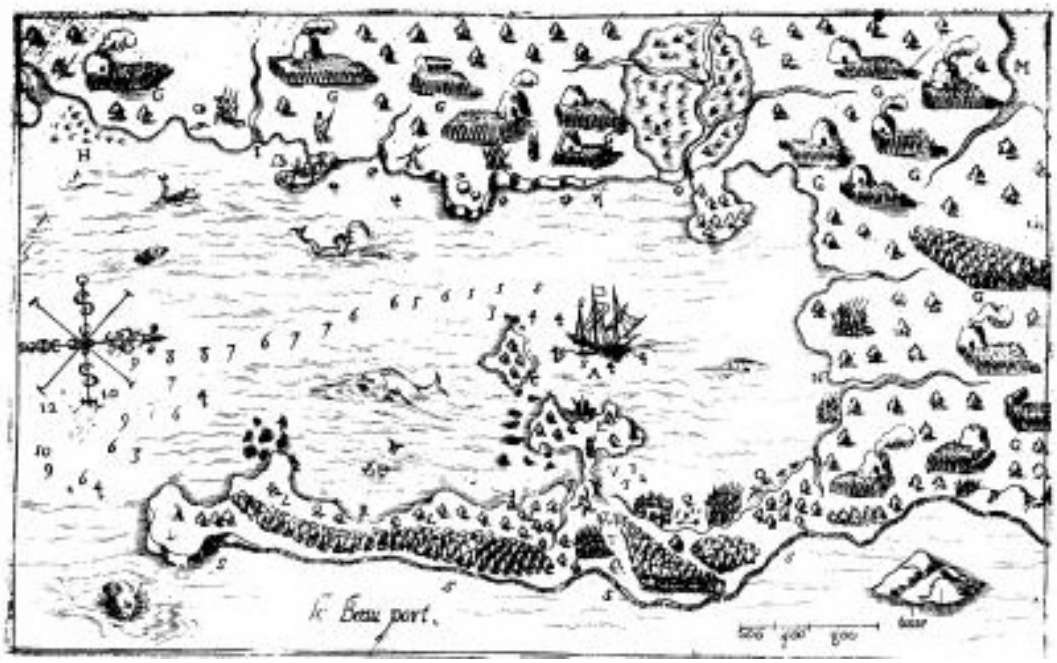


Figure x.3: *"Le Beau Port,"* Samuel de Champlain c1606.

Today, the city is also a vacation destination. Its local beaches look out on this beautiful harbor while the outer coast of Cape Ann has rocky promontories with unbroken views of the Atlantic Ocean. Throughout the twentieth century, Gloucester attracted painters and writers for these views and has been able to support an active artists' community on Rocky Neck near Eastern Point.

This is all to say that, in Gloucester, it's all about the water. Yet upland and situated directly in the middle of Cape Ann there is an approximately three thousand acre forest known locally as Dogtown. (See Figure x.3)

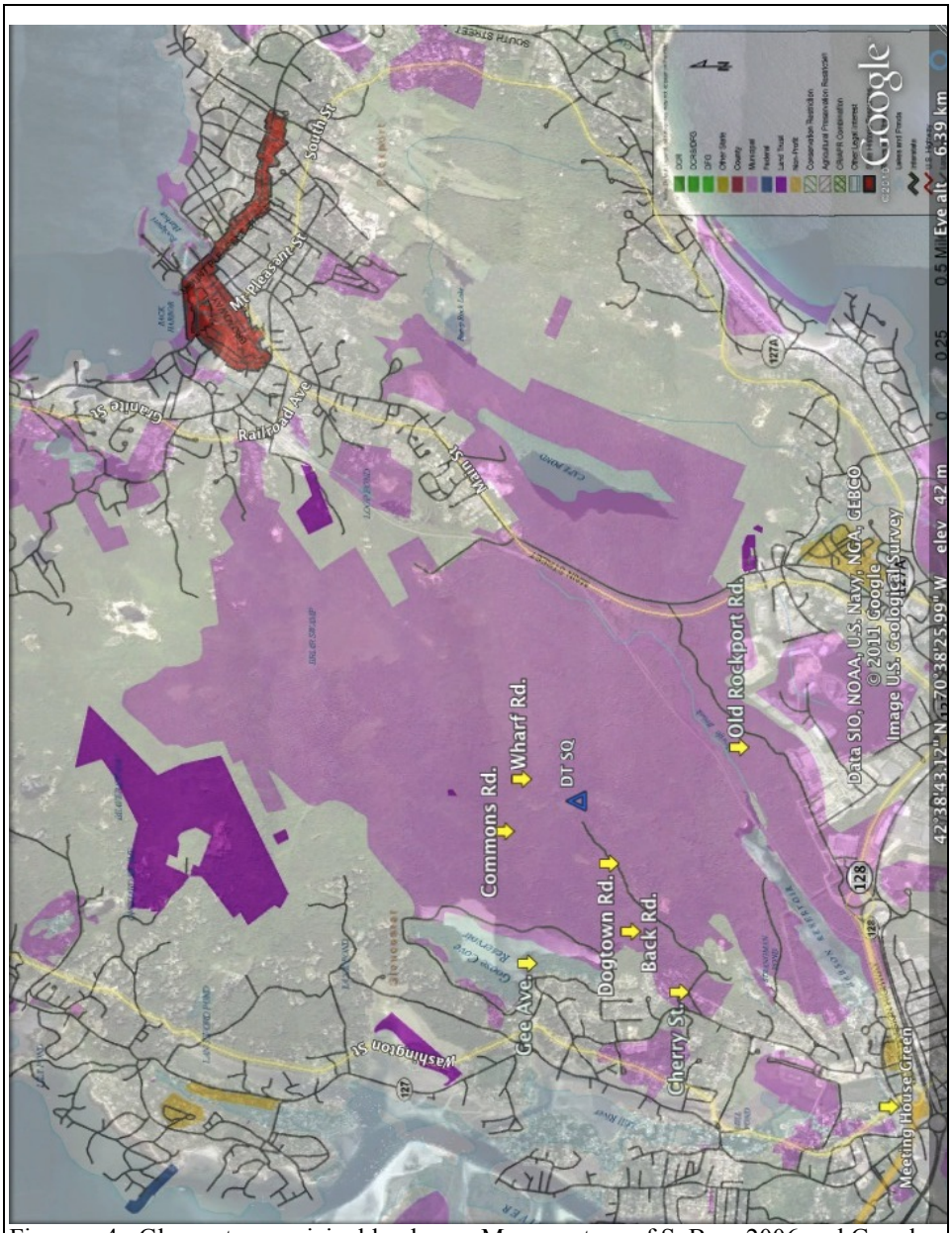


Figure x.4: Gloucester municipal land-use. Map courtesy of S. Berg 2006 and Google Earth 2011. Municipal land is highlighted in pink. Wharf Rd. and Back Rd. run north-south, while the Commons Rd. and Dogtown Rd. run east-west. Dogtown Square is noted in the center.

Today it is largely uninhabited but many people have tried to make a living in these woods in the past. They did not have it easy however as Cape Ann's middle section is also the location of a terminal moraine, meaning it was one of the last places the glaciers receded from during the last Ice Age and so the middle of the peninsula is hilly and full of enormous granite boulders called glacial erratics. One of these is a labeled "D.T. SQ." This rock marks the village green of an inland, farming community named the Commons Settlement, which numbered around one hundred at its peak c1750. Most of the eighteenth and nineteenth century pasturelands are covered by second growth forest containing medium sized trees, scrub brush, and thorny bushes.

Local history says that the Commons Settlement was founded between c1700 and c1722, when the last of the wood lots were divided up by local Gloucester male heads of households (Babson 1927:4; Titterington 1988:7). Settlers had moved up there as early as the mid-seventeenth century though, with an early cooperage owned by a James Babson dating to the 1650s. These earliest homesteaders probably moved inland to be near the Cape Pond Brook, building the areas first mills in this region. Figure x.4 shows these early mills and other geological features of importance such as Cape Pond and Goose Cove.

Figure x.5: Dogtown and other places of interest. Map courtesy of Google Earth 2010.

They first settled along the three main roads, Dogtown Road, the Commons Road and the Back Road. By the end of the century the Back Road connected the two other roads and a fourth road, Wharf Road, was settled along the eastern side of the community. The community became known as the Commons Settlement as it was settled on what had previously been commonly-used timber and grazing land close to the village green where the First Parish Meetinghouse was located. The timber rights were important to this first community as some profit could be made on the wood which was

used for ship-building and house construction both in Gloucester and further south in Salem and Boston.

The old farming landscape is still visible due to the stone fences separating out one pasture from another and the stone walls which run along both sides of Dogtown Road and the Commons Road to the north. These stone fences are in turn interspersed with the glacial erratics. The Dogtown forest is an historical and ecological preserve today, held in trust by city of Gloucester since a local financier, himself descendent of the early community, Roger Ward Babson, donated a large section of it (approximately 1150 acres) it to the city in the 1960s.

Finding Dogtown: Getting Lost

Interestingly, this fairly simple foundation story has a surprising number of interpretive issues, the largest of which is that is has been oddly difficult to get to Dogtown, both physically and theoretically, even though there is, in fact, a large sign posted at the Cherry Street entrance to the forest. Stories about the ghosts of witches, a gruesome murder in the 1980s, and warnings about the local rifle range keep one separated from the place.

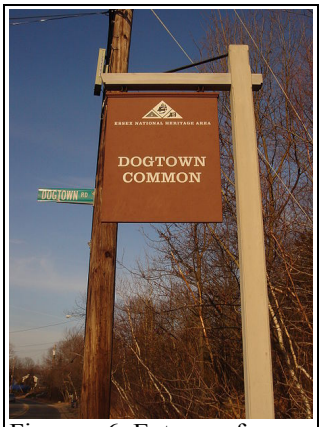


Figure x.6: Entrance from Cherry St. Photo courtesy of Shotinthedark.

Local historian Joe Garland's writes:

> A word of caution. The walks described here will stick to the more familiar beaten paths of this deserted village. Yet there are miles of old roads on the Common, confused paths and turnoffs that lead nowhere. Distances are farther than they look on the map...One wrong turn can befuddle the most experienced Dogtown hiker...
>
> Dogtown is a maze, fascinating but inscrutably challenging to the sense of direction...Tell someone your plans. *Don't go alone.* Wear bright clothing in the hunting season...And bring a compass and a Dogtown Commmon Trail Map...
>
> – Garland 2004:83-83, my emphasis

One begins to surmise that finding Dogtown appears complicated because Gloucester likes it that way. Such dramatic obfuscation masks what is a now typical second growth New England forest. Its Colonial-era farm systems are discernible through the brush and leaf cover and arguably the worst menaces are mosquitoes and deer ticks. The most unique features of this upland area are the car-sized boulders dropped all over the old fields. The painter Marsden Hartley and the poet Charles Olsen have seen these boulders as immensely important to the way one relates to the landscape. But interestingly, although these rocks have become a very important part of today's Dogtown narrative, they do not seem to have been treated as such by the first English settlers who simply tried to work around them for as long as possible.

Finding Dogtown: A Way "In"

It is this observation that allows one to find the way "in" to Dogtown. The modern narrative of Dogtown does not match the historic experience. There are stories

of witches serving “dire drinks,” and of Native American attack during the French and Indian War that was ascribed to witchcraft, but it seems that the people who lived among the boulders treated them as what they were, a frustrating feature of their land. For most of its history there were no witches in Dogtown and although the forest may have caused anxiety to the early English settlers, they seem to have considered themselves as living in a a neighborhood of Gloucester, not in the forest. Later, as the place became depopulated by both humans and grazing animals, the forest encroached physically and mentally. Some of this re-growth is simply what happens, the “natural” trajectory of the forest, but much is also due to recommendations of the Dogtown Steering Committee (DSC), a volunteer advisory committee founded in 1985, and the management of place by the city of Gloucester.

To further the point, the landscape has been compared to the Scottish moors or muirs (Garland 2004:80), evoking an old world romanticism of heathered hills and country walks, but this romantic vision doesn't truly fit. A “moor” is described in two ways by the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2011): first it is “an expanse of open rolling infertile land;” or second it is “a boggy area; especially one that is peaty and dominated by grasses and sedges.” A century ago, the landscape was much more open due to cattle and sheep grazing and there are sandy soil and marshes but the open landscape would have shown the enormous boulders even more than today. Perhaps writers have been more interested in evoking a feeling, even a reaction, with this comparison more than they have looking for a perfect match though.

This disparity in experience is interesting to an analyst of landscapes and material

culture. Here one finds a landscape in use, in conflict, and in metamorphoses. Its forest was cleared for use by subsistence farmers and then left behind as the industrial growth at the harbor enticed the farmers back down from the Commons. The population went from over one hundred c. 1750 to under ten by the c1820s. By the end of the nineteenth century direct memories of the place was becoming lost in the local histories, making Charles Mann, then editor of the *Gloucester Daily Times,* interested in recording all of the old stories related to the site (Mann 1896).

In the end, there are many ways to get into Dogtown both physically and mentally. It is a city-owned wilderness park with no walls or fences, simply two metal gates and some boulders placed as barricades against all-terrain vehicles. There is a small parking lot located off of Cherry Street. Other access points include Gee Avenue near Goose Cove Reservoir and the Old Rockport Road which follows the railroad tracks to the south. (See Figures x.3 and x.4) Although some refer to it as an outsider community to Gloucester, a free-standing "village" even, one finds this designation as more and more difficult to agree with. Yet, if it is not a place of delusions, it has revealed itself to be a place of multiple realities, histories, and narrators. Gloucester may not give up their witches easily (nor was it ever the research plan to convince them to do so) however, the analyst can view the constructed narrative here, making it almost impossible to know which story to follow. In the end, then, they have all been followed.

Chapter 1: A Beginning

Historical archaeology today works with the knowledge that archaeological sites are not static places; nor are they time capsules of their past land use. Instead, archaeologists understand that the present can play just as big a role in the construction of an archaeological site as the past, with modern interests often affecting the interpretation and construction of the past. Dogtown Common, an abandoned Colonial-era settlement in Gloucester, Massachusetts is a prime example of how both the past use of the landscape as well as the modern narrative about local history has shaped today's physical landscape.

The site will be examined from its initial European settlement c. 1650 through c. 1750 when this first community was called the Commons Settlement. This community experienced a period of decline after this which was related to the lack of good farm land as well as to the growth and industrialization of the harbor settlement enticing individuals away from there farm. The Revolutionary War period (c. 1770s-1800) and the upheaval associated with wartime interrupted this decline but farm abandonment did not truly cease so that by the nineteenth century the population has shrunk from over one hundred to under twenty. The site's name changed in the post-war period becoming labelled Dogtown by c. 1799. The relationship between these two communities and their larger one is examined as well, finding a dialectic in the way Gloucester reacted to its post-war changes in the harbor's economy. A burgeoning industrialization at the harbor benefited some people while also creating various numbers of people left out.

In the next seven chapters I will argue that although Dogtown's physical space is often experienced as a finished product, a "natural" environment, instead it has undergone constant change and reorganization throughout its history. For example, in the process of conducting research about Dogtown it has become clear that the place, under management by the city of Gloucester and an advisory board called the Dogtown Steering Committee (DSC), is as constructed by daily choices about how the landscape should best be preserved today as it was by the first English settlers who logged the woods in the mid-eighteenth century. The Dogtown forest could have been constructed to look like that eighteenth century English farm community yet instead a second growth forest has been cultivated, with trees and scrub brush covering over and enclosing the cellar holes and much of the old field systems. It is because of these choices that Dogtown fits well with Rotman and Nassaney's (1997) argument that every landscape is cultural, i.e. constructed. "Everyday cultural landscapes [can be] a means to create, reinforce, and alter social relations" (Rotman and Nassaney 1997:43). Today it appears to be quite separate, even segregated, from the rest of Gloucester yet this work will show that this construction of the landscape has not been a natural progression but has come from direct choice.

This research reconstructs this building of the modern Dogtown heritage landscape and narrative history through an analysis of the archive as well as its landscape. Dogtown is also understood here to be as much a perception of place, an experience, as it is a physical environment. One will not discover what regular life was like in Dogtown in these chapters, but instead find a research project about site

interpretation, preservation and management. As such, the assemblages from previous excavations are a part of the record considered here. They have been combined with the primary and secondary sources in order to best reconstruct the perception of place that has been built into the experience of Dogtown.

For an historical archaeologist, the documentary archive is a key component to any work as well. Scholarship has moved beyond Barbara Little's explanation of historical archaeology as "text-aided archaeology" (1992), instead utilizing the documents of the past as artifacts in and of themselves. While Little's work was key to the establishment and explanation of historical archaeology, other more critical approaches to the documentary record have made it clear how primary sources such as census and probate records, historical directories, and personal diaries play a larger role in the discipline. Martin Hall's *Archaeology and the Modern World: Colonial Transcripts in South Africa and the Chesapeake* (2000) is an example of this. His excavation of the meanings behind various architectural styles began in the documents of colonial rule. Another example is Carmel Schrire's exploration of her work at the Cape of Good Hope in *Digging Through Darkness* (1995). Hall's and Schrire's critical approaches to their documents as well as their archaeological sites allowed them both to deconstruct the many layers that have gone into forming the colonial and post-colonial experience.

Work by Nicholas Dirks (1992) and Ann Stoler (2002) have also influenced the critical approach to the archive taken here. For Stoler, archives are not just sites of "knowledge retrieval" but also of "knowledge production" (2002:87). Dogtown's

documentary sources are combined here, viewed as one large database built from a many-layered archive. Census, probate, apprenticeship and servitude records, along with the secondary histories, newspaper articles, and even works of fiction are analyzed here. Beyond simply containing information about the past, it is argued here that these sources have helped produce today's physical site.

Figure 1.1: The Commons Rd. Photo courtesy G. Porter.

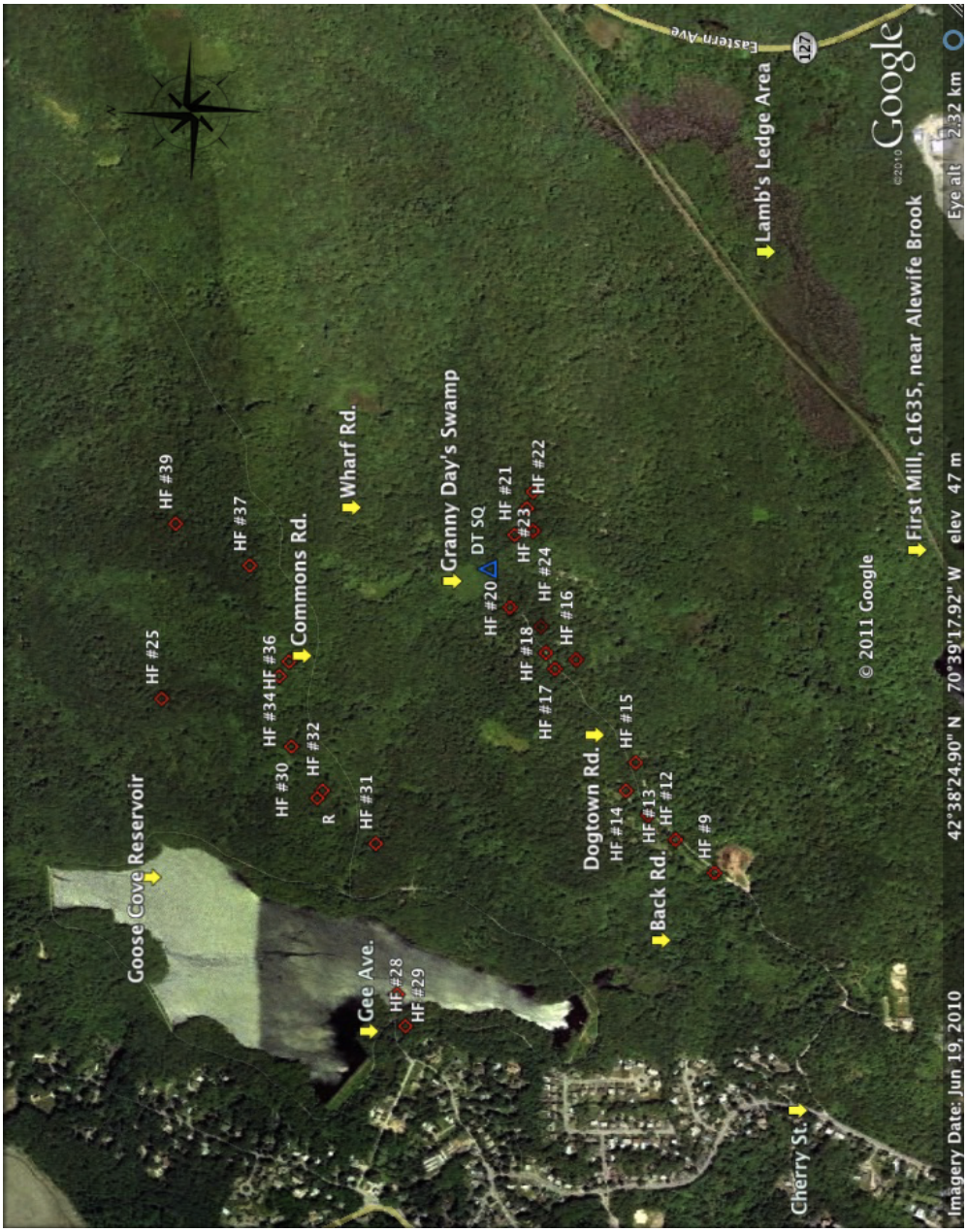
The Dogtown Site

Boston area cultural heritage expert Shary Berg views today's Dogtown site as comprising three general regions (Berg 2007:2). For her, the innermost section

encompasses the one hundred acres around the historical archaeological site sometimes called the "Village of Dogtown." (See Figure 1.2) This site is surrounded by a middle section of composed of 1600 acres of publicly owned land. (See Figure x.4) The last area consists of approximately 1300 acres of undeveloped land located along the border between Gloucester and its neighbor Rockport. According to Berg's research team, in total the Dogtown wilderness encompasses approximately 3000 acres (Berg 2007:2). The research here involves mainly the first area discussed, i.e., the historic site, its two time periods of inhabitation by Europeans, and its past and present-day land management plans. Specifically this consists of approximately forty foundations[1] and associated house areas, located along four historic dirt roads that intersect in the middle of this 3000 acre wilderness. The house foundation sites are marked with GPS points on the map in Figure 1.2 while Figure 1.3 is of George Odum's map from 1972 which recreates the layout of the village with the house foundations and wall systems sketched out.

[1] The exact number is complicated by the fact that there was no one perfect time when every person associated with the site was living there. The boundaries shifted as well, leading some houses along the Commons Road to eventually be included on Gee Avenue. This will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

Figure 1.2: House foundation sites associated with historic Dogtown. Map courtesy of Google Earth 2011. Note from Map Key, house sites are in red.



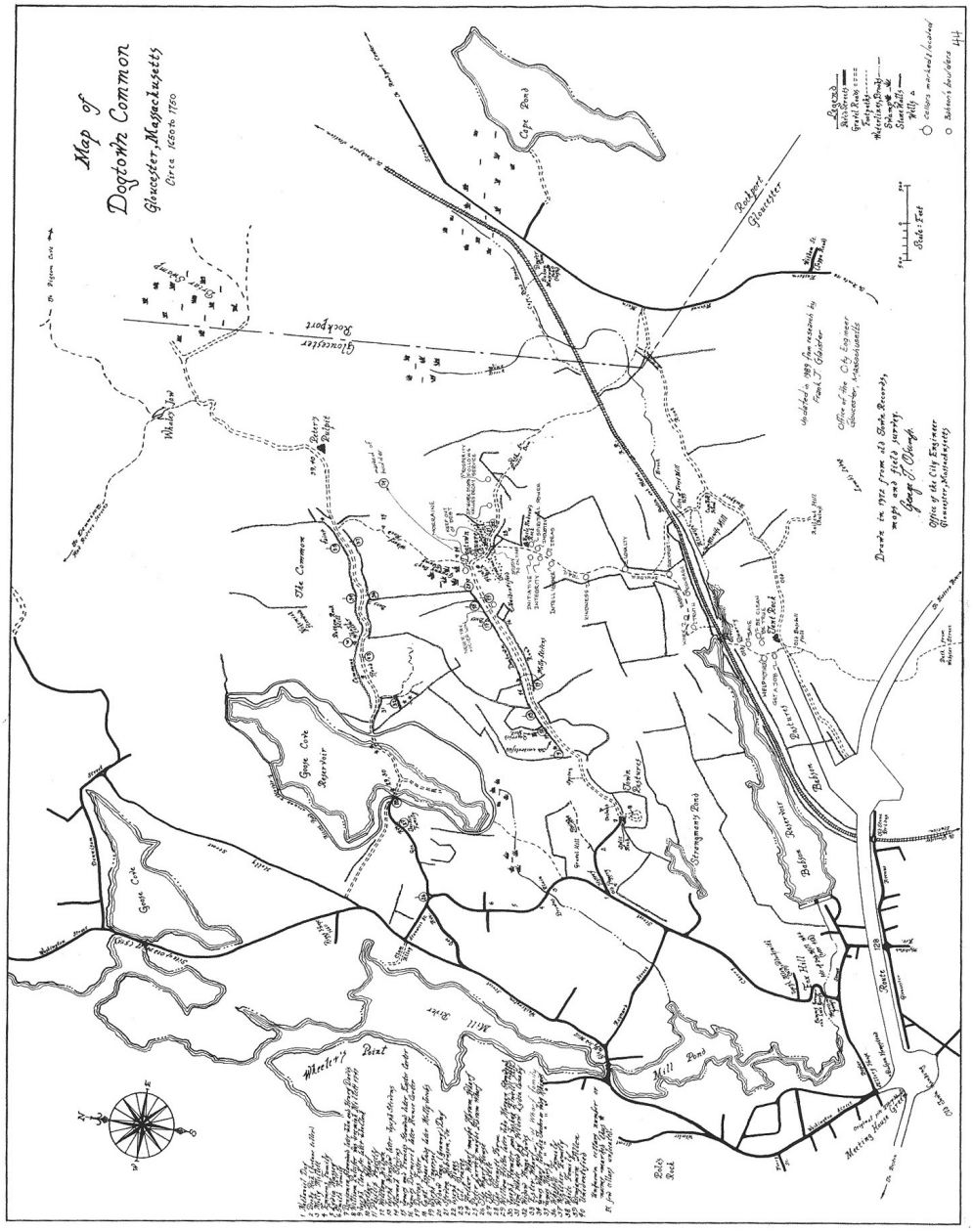


Figure 1.3: Odum Map, 1972.

The primary sources have been listed above. They are limited in scope due to the late colonial through early republic time frame considered here. The upheaval of the post-war period caused many documents to become lost or for events to be under-recorded. Further, it should be pointed out that neither of the two populations under consideration here, those of the Commons Settlement and Dogtown, were of the class that created a vast number of historic documents. The secondary sources are numerous however. The construction of the modern Dogtown can be examined from the early publication of *Gloucester Daily Times* editor Charles Mann's 1896 book, *In the Heart of Cape Ann, or the Story of Dogtown*. His work has been the most influential of Dogtown narratives to date. It was the earliest written study of the landscape and it seems that Mann's interpretation of the site and its inhabitants has been the foundation for almost every other popular or academic history since. One finds his stories told and re-told throughout the rest of the archive. Table 1 in Appendix A has been set up as a bibliography to illustrate these sources. Other important documents utilized here are by Roger W. Babson, a wealthy entrepreneur who willed approximately 1150 acres of the Dogtown site to the city of Gloucester upon his death in 1967. Histories include two by Babson's relatives, John J. Babson (1890) and Thomas Babson (1952). The historical association also sells a pamphlet by Thomas Dresser called *Dogtown: a Village Lost in Time* (1991). Vital statistics from the Gloucester archives and the Massachusetts Historical Commission have been utilized here as well as a paper on site abandonment by Susan Johns (1968). Patrice Titterington's more recent historical archaeological research for her Master's Thesis on the site's abandonment (1988) has also been important to this

research as was Elyssa East's (2009) nonfiction account of the history of a murder that occurred in Dogtown in 1984. Various fictional accountings of the settlement, from a local dramatic play (McCarthy 2010), to two historical novels have been included, one by a local author named Francis Blessington who published a book in 2001 called *The Last Witch of Dogtown* and the other titled *The Last Days of Dogtown* which is by a more well-known novelist, Anita Diamant *(*2005).

It is argued here that these modern reconstructions of the Dogtown narrative, be they an archaeological Masters Thesis or an historical novel, all utilize a theme of site abandonment based on a constructed and interpreted archive. This has created a situation where the site's mythology has become so naturalized as to often be mistaken for actual historical events. Yet for Hall (2000:119) as well as Stoler (2009:20), repetition in an archive is an actual mechanism of production. In the case of Dogtown, one can argue that the folklore about witches has been repeated so often that an ingrained sense that the economic collapse and subsequent abandonment of the place should be causally related to a moral collapse as well. For example, when reading through these documents, their discussion of the earliest population, the Commons Settlement, makes it clear that the settlers began the abandonment of their farms in the mid-eighteenth century as a practical reaction to an unsustainable lifestyle. On the other hand, source material by Roger W. Babson (1927) also consistently reiterates a belief that a similar economic un-sustainability was found in the second community, Dogtown, which he relates to the community's apparent moral degradation. Instead, one finds that Dogtown's transformed demographics and the power relationships that evolved between their community and the

rest of Gloucester have allowed for a gendering and classing of this landscape in the past and present, affecting the way the archive is read as well as the physical reconstruction of the environment itself.

This study begins the work of reconstructing Dogtown's historic and modern narratives as its meaning changed from the small neighborhood located near the town's Meetinghouse Green to a marginalized and separate "village," cut off from Gloucester's development due to emigration and neglect. The portrayal of both the first and second communities is examined here using the primary and secondary archival sources discussed above; an archaeological assemblage collected along Dogtown Road in the mid and late-twentieth century; maps both contemporaneous with the settlement and more recently built with GPS[2] and Google Earth's satellite imagery; and the landscape itself, today a site under heritage and wildlife management.

Dogtown in Relation to a Larger Landscape

While this one site is examined specifically, critiquing its current interpretation through a re-evaluation of the historic archive and its modern construction as a heritage site, it also involves a broader discussion about the archive and heritage sites in general. Through an analysis of the specific, it is possible to see that the re-evaluation of the historical and archaeological archive of any site will yield a more thorough understanding of the choices and processes that have gone into the construction of any particular site.

First reconstructed by Roger Babson during the era of Colonial Revivalism in the 1930s, Dogtown is seen to play a role in a larger discussion about the construction of a particular New England identity of independence and freedom as well. Works by Robert

[2] GPS points thanks to Mark Carlotto of Gloucester.

Paynter (2001) and Joanne Pope Melish (1998) have theorized a “whitening” of the New England landscape. Melish found that urban centers such as Providence and Boston as well as more rural communities in western Massachusetts and Connecticut began to physically place populations of indigenous and previously enslaved peoples outside of the rest of society. She posits that they were attempting to erase the previous relationship between the three groups in order to construct a more “white” New England population that fit with the Revolutionary War-era rhetoric of a population of “free” men. In the writing of history she posits an “amnesia” regarding New England's past involvement in the use of captive labor (Melish 1998:3). By the 1850s “a triumphant narrative of an historically free, white New England [emerged] in which a few people of color were unaccountably marooned, a class of permanently 'debased' strangers” (Melish 1998:3). The impoverished condition many people of color suffered after emancipation became related to their racial category and not to the effects of a capitalist system that made some quite wealthy and some quite poor.

One finds a possible reaction to this “re-visioning” (Melish 1998:3) of the landscape to have been the formation of a number of multi-cultural communities outside the larger settlements which historical archaeologists are now beginning to explore. These communities may have been founded by people made separate from the acceptable “white” New England society yet they were not necessarily separated from the markets. As time passed, however, the capitalist mode of production began causing some to appear unsuccessful rather than left out. For example, Chapter 6 will discuss Janet Woodruff's reanalysis of Connecticut's Barkhamsted Lighthouse (Woodruff 2007). She finds that this

early-nineteenth century multicultural outsider community was mythologized out of the local history narrative of capitalist success as it was inhabited by individuals unable to take part in a capitalist economy due to the racial category. An examination of the similarities between Dogtown, the Lighthouse, and two other "outsider communities" will begin to explore this "re-visioned" northern British Colonial-era outsider landscape.

As with all historic narratives of place, the "outsider community" is no straight-forward object lesson but one often constructed by multiple interests and choices, in the past and in the present. The examination of Dogtown's role in this broader "outsider" landscape, finds the construction of Dogtown as an outsider community to be somewhat false yet also true, as the site has played multiple roles over time. The language used to describe it (as a "village" for example) keeps it seemingly geographically separate from Gloucester itself yet one finds that it was more often "inside" society than "outside."

This term "outsider" is packed with ideological as well as practical meaning and is still new to exploration in historical archaeology. The more research there is about these sorts of archaeological sites, the more one begins to understand that the relationship between the "outsider" and "insider" is key to an understanding of sites such as these. Although Dogtown may have been both "inside" and "outside" and it is important to discuss the meanings behind the placing of Dogtown outside the rest of Gloucester, it has also become apparent that one does not yet have enough information to discuss the site under the same heading as certain other "outsider communities." For example, the topic of maroon communities in North America or other sites of subaltern resistance will not be raised here.

For Dogtown it seems that a critical approach to the historical archive as well the modern built environment can begin to show how these two things have played a role in its construction of this place as "outside" when it may have been located quite "inside" for much of its history. In fact, certain similarities found between Dogtown and other "outsider communities" may theoretically draw some of them back into their larger communities as well. For example, it has been pointed out that some Lighthouse community members took part in the local economy, either through land ownership or market exchanges (Woodruff 2007). It can be argued that some of Dogtown's population may have taken part in the local markets as well, perhaps offering services such as nursing or herbalism to the rest of Gloucester (Mann 1896:39).

A deconstruction of the mythology of the outsider communities that will be discussed in this work (i.e., the Lighthouse, Malaga Island, and the Ramapo Mountain People as well as Dogtown) will allow one to view many of these communities as purposefully excluded from the narratives of the industrialization of New England towns and the local success of the "capitalist mode of production"[3] that emerged in the late-nineteenth century throughout the American North. In actuality, both communities that once inhabited the Dogtown forest, i.e., the Commons Settlement and later Dogtown, have been left out of the narrative of a growing industrialization of Gloucester's waterfront. In many ways, they have both become the antithesis to the story of the harbor's involvement in early merchant capitalism yet for very different reasons. The small farmers of the Commons Settlement appear forgiven for abandoning their land as many are believed to have left for the growing harbor economy while the second

[3] From Daniel O. Sayers 2003.

settlement, Dogtown, is left out of the emerging "capitalist mode of production" in a different way. This population seems to be removed from the narrative of a successful economy through the telling of folktales about witches and other liminalized people. For example, the suicide of Abram Wharf can be seen to have been retold so often that the sadness behind the act has disappeared, becoming replaced by an almost Gothic fascination with his perverse and antisocial behavior.[4] Other stories relate to the moral characters of various women. For example, Judy Rhines is suggested to have co-habited with an African American man named Cornelius Finson, while Tammy Younger is said to have constantly cursed. In other words, the personal character of these individuals is often attacked, creating a morally disreputable population who could not have joined in with the successful harbor economy even if they had been invited to.

Background Archaeological and Anthropological Discourse:

In a 1995 paper for the Kroeber Anthropological Society Mary Beaudry argues that historical archaeology isn't simply "text-aided" archaeology and shouldn't be compared with other archaeological traditions such as Classical, Near Eastern or Mayan Archaeology (1995:1). She points out that historical archaeologists have oral history, ethnohistory, pictorial images, material culture, archaeological data and documentary texts at our disposal and hence states that she should like to see the discipline as moving towards a "recasting" as an historical anthropology (Beaudry 1995:1). Historical anthropologists understand that all cultures have histories and one cannot study just an "arbitrary ethnographic present" (1995:2). "For archaeologists, historicity is built in. The analytical challenge is to invest the historical 'chronicle' with cultural meaning, to

[4] This story will be discussed at length in Chapter 5.

place it within the context of cultural meaning" (1995:3). For her, an historical archaeology done with this approach in mind will not find "proof" so much as discover a new way to explore and interpret the sources. She sees it as possible for an historical archaeologist to construct an ethnographic-style narrative (1995:4) and states that the "discourse through and on landscapes, houses, bodies, pots, animals, and written texts undertakes an ethnographic interrogation of sources produced by long dead informants" (1995:3).

While it is not argued here that this work is a piece of ethnography, it, along with the sources that make up the body of this research, can be considered as a constructed narrative. The work here is to uncover the reasoning behind the documentary archive, archaeological and cartographic data, and the material record as well as to try to weave all of these sources together to form an environment that is today's "Dogtown." This section of the chapter underlines key pieces of theoretical method that have played a important role in the construction of this research. The concept of landscape is explored from a Material Culture Studies perspective, finding it to be a place constructed from power relations related to a gendered, classed, and raced past and present.

What is this constructed place? It is both a physical environment, an archaeological site, and an imagined place. As stated previously, the construction of the archive and the management of the site as a place of heritage for the local community has created the experience of today's site as that of being "outside" of Gloucester in an abandoned village. Below then, I discuss these theoretical terms as they relate to this thesis.

Landscape as Material Culture

For Material Cultural Studies theorists such as Daniel Miller (1998) and social archaeologists such as Meskell and Preucel (2004) material culture and society are understood to be mutually constitutive. Meskell and Preucel write that there is a "dialectic between people and things" (2004:16). Influenced by Bourdieu (1979), they see humans as using material goods to communicate within and between social classes while the materials available at any given time make only certain types of communication possible. In this way material culture is believed to reify the social order while at the same time create it. It is not the particular item but the sets of meanings inscribed in it that are important for Bourdieu.

Yentsch and Beaudry (2001) offer historical archaeologists a method of understanding material culture as well. "Material culture is not simply a product; it *is* the infrastructure from which archaeological sites arise. Material culture is the *puissant* [influence] and imposes a frame upon human interaction affecting virtually every aspect of life" (2001:215, authors' emphasis). For them, historical archaeology with its use of both the archaeological and the documentary records, is perfectly placed to contribute deeper meanings to a global archaeological record. "What [historical] archaeology offers…is a second, separate descriptive source that provides details, nuances of daily life, aspects of social experience, and belief systems from the perspective of active 'others' who are frequently not visible, or only partially represented, in documents" (Yentsch and Beaudry 2001:214-15).

Perhaps the largest piece of material culture on an archaeological site is the

landscape itself. Cosgrove (1988) has traced our modern understanding of romantic landscapes to a style of landscape painting popular with early mercantile classes, which Ashmore has qualified as a particularly Western male gaze (2006:200). Bender critiques the male gaze "as an example of how those with power can use language and image to conceptualise and naturalise a particular, and in this case, deeply unequal, way of relating to the land and to other people" (Bender 1993:2).

Henri Lefebvre spent much time in the examination of the construction of space in his work *The Production of Space* (1991). He discusses natural versus produced space and although one must point out that "natural space" is a construct as well (Meskell and Preucel 2005), Lefebvre uses it here as distinct from a built environment. "Nature's space is not staged" he says, while it is "humanity, which is to say social practice, [that] creates works and produces things" (Lefebvre 1991:70, 71). Meskell and Preucel also use a similar divide when they discuss the terms "place" and "space," defining the terms in opposition. Where "space" belongs with the natural sciences, "'place' can be regarded as the outcome of the social process of valuing space" (Meskell and Preucel 2005:215).

The Dogtown landscape has been transformed continually since the first settlers in the early eighteenth century but it was Roger W. Babson's twentieth century re-construction of this "village" through labeling the fallen-in cellar holes and the construction of a boulder trail made up of moralistic sayings such as "Help Mother" and "Keep Out of Debt" that has made the place into a local heritage destination. Chapter 5 will discuss Babson, his nostalgia for the colonial past, and the part his ancestors played in it. Babson's process changed the landscape, adding his own twentieth century colonial

revivalism to the place. As Paul Shackel has pointed out in his discussion of heritage sites: "material culture in the form of statues, monuments, museums, artifacts or landscapes may have some ascribed meanings...This material culture can be transformed into a sacred object when serving the goals and needs of any group" (2001:12). Or, as Barbara Bender points out, "the landscape is never inert, people engage with it, rework it, appropriate it and contest it" (Bender 1993:3). Allowing for this agentic behavior in the archaeological record creates a history of practice that disallows for historical processes previously made to seem inevitable (Barrett 2001:141). And while historical progress and technological achievement come from social interactions between agents, one must also remember that these interactions have almost never been equal. Hence, if the study of landscape is about contestation as Bender and Winer say (2001) then a consideration of power in the landscape naturally follows. To further this point, Rotman and Nassaney describe their landscape work in Michigan as "a political-economic approach that views everyday cultural landscapes as a mean to create, reinforce, and alter social relations" (1997:43). They describe cultural landscapes as being constructed to be seen and experienced (1997:42). Dogtown's mandate as of today is as just such a place.

Power: gender, class and the archive

For Dirks, Eley, and Ortner, following Foucault, a power dynamic is not something to be stripped away from a relationship to expose an essence, but rather power is productive of social relations; it is inherent in social relations. They state: "Power exists for Foucault not as some essential thing or elementary force, but, rather, as a relation. If power is therefore everywhere, this is 'not because it embraces everything,

but because it comes from everywhere'" (Dirks et al. 1994:8). This perspective does not simply mean finding women and poor people in the landscape (although this particular landscape may have contained just such individuals) since, as Scott points out, women do not have more gender than men (1994:10). Relationships of power are seen to be a key dynamic in the interpretation of this topic as these are key to the relationships between the people of the second occupation (Dogtown), their contemporaries, and their modern interpreters. Power is also a word that has played a role in the construction and use of the archive in the present, enabling the historic landscape to be theorized as having been constructed through a lens of gendered and classed power relations through the use and interpretation of its archive.

Paul Shackel points to Haitian scholar Michel-Rolph Trouillot's work in *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (1995) as helping today's historical anthropology understand that "during the production of history power operates in a way that silences subaltern groups" (2001:656). Yet as with Scott's example of gender, the upper class did not have more "class" than the rest, or vice versa. In fact, LuAnn Wurst (2010) argues for a more relational use of the term "class" in historical archaeology. She finds that defining a site as utilized by the "working class" or "middle class" disallows for the complex web of relations that went into the site construction. Her understanding is that all classes are in a relational system and that "working class" cannot exist without the rest considered in a dialectic. "Instead of using objective definitions of class that pigeonhole individuals into a narrow range of classes, we have to recognize that class is a relational, analytical, multi-scalar category" (2010:333).

During the course of this research it became clear that a deconstruction of Dogtown's historical narrative would help with such criticism. While Chapters 2 and 3 discuss the background history, they also place the site in a larger context as well as set up the local understanding of the site's narrative history. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 then begin the work of a deconstruction of this local history. Archivist Randall C. Jimeson (2006) points out for us that the archive is not neutral or objective. For him, while the archive is a "place of knowledge," it is also a place of power, legitimizing and sanctifying "certain documents while negating and destroying others;...controlling [even] the researchers and conditions under which they may examine the archival record" (2006:20).

As discussed previously, anthropologists Dirks (1992) and Stoler (2002) ask scholars to question their archival sources as well. The two agree that the archive is a place for "knowledge production" (Stoler 2002:87). Dirks finds that "texts can be read to tell stories about the power of language to naturalize the structures of domination" (1992:175). This makes sense in this context particularly since most narratives of the site relate the same stories published by Mann in 1896 verbatim. Table 1 lists some of these sources. Such a stable archive is seen to reify the place's position in the social order, all of it moving in one inevitable direction, i.e. downward. Newspaper and magazine articles, scholarly works, and oft-told tales about witches brewing herbal drinks combine with maps that illustrate the place in isolation to the rest of Gloucester.

However, just because a story is told often does not make it true. Martin Hall addresses this question of repetition in his Cape Town archival sources, finding a colonial-made archive to be hiding its anxiety or nervousness about a native population

through the constant re-telling of strange and funny stories. He finds the South African writer John Coetzee's concept of "white writing" to be useful in his discussion of "the constant repetition of a small set of unoriginal anecdotes and attributes of the Khoikhoi; the stories must be told over and over again, and are repeatedly both gratifying and terrifying" (Hall 2000:119).

As stated above, Dogtown's archive is similarly repetitive, hence one begins to wonder if there is an anxiety or nervousness about this place and the people associated with it as well. Source after source, from Mann (1896) to Babson (1927), to a pamphlet sold in the historical association's gift shop (Dresser 1991), to various journalists from Gloucester to Boston to New York City (see Table 1), all recite the same mythology about a fallen society, forced to live on berries and stolen fish.

Following Hall's discussion of a nervous archive, this work examines the archive as well as the landscape both as artifacts in their own right. Questioning the repetition found in the archive is seen to expose a nervousness surrounding a particular conception and use of gender and class played out in Dogtown's landscape and this brings one to the last term of theoretical importance here, heritage. This term will aid in an understanding of how Dogtown has become built into today's outsider community, the physically preserved landscape of a once well-respected community over-taken by people of ill repute.

Heritage

For many, the term "heritage" has implied a use and re-construction of an historic moment, bringing out a specific narrative which is usually tied into a specific landscape

(historic Williamsburg being a popular choice for criticism) (Handler and Gable 1996; Lowenthal 2004; Mattivi Morley 2004; Meskell and Preucel 2005). Heritage can "link us with ancestors and offspring, bond neighbors and patriots and certify identity," according to Lowenthal (2004:19); yet he also points out that it can be a perversion of the past, "undermining historical truth with twisted myth" (Lowenthal 2004:19). Although we may not all see heritage management as a "twisted myth;" as with "archive", "heritage" is not a neutral term either. Meskell and Preucel call it "history with a purpose" (2005:316). Decisions must be made about what becomes preserved as heritage and what does not. For Mattivi Morley "heritage differs from history in that it celebrates only those aspects of history agreed upon and valued by a group" (2004:287).

So, if "the past is a foreign country" as Lowenthal (2003, after Hartley 1953) has claimed, then it, as all other human society, is open to interpretation. Lowenthal states that "all accounts of the past tell stories about it, and hence are partly invented...The truth in history is not the only truth about the past" (2003:229). Instead, choices are made, programs of heritage management are written and followed, interpretations are learned as fact. As Shackel states: "heritage creates a useable past and it generates a precedent that serves our present needs" (2001b:662).

Dogtown has been placed in a very specific location with regards to Gloucester's local identity. It has become an abandoned "village," made useful to the public for recreational purposes as well as for ecological and historic education. One should begin here by pointing out that the place is not, nor has it ever been "abandoned." Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson problematize the term of "abandonment." "Researchers

deem objects as refuse and sites as abandoned, when in fact they continue to be used in the present. By definition, 'abandonment' entails disuse, the surrender of claims and interests" (2006:38-9). Instead, they argue that archaeological landscapes are often quite involved in the present. So although the terms "abandoned" and "abandonment" are used throughout this work because that is how the processes of habitation have been discussed at Dogtown, this term misdirects an understanding of the modern use of the landscape. Between Bender and Winer's (2001) conception of the constant re-use and re-conception of landscapes in general and Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson's (2006) problematization of the term "abandonment" one begins to see that although Dogtown has surely changed from a farmed landscape inhabited by up to forty households to the protected forestland it is today, it has never been "abandoned" either in use or meaning.

Today's Gloucester has to work to find the balance between the management of an archaeological site and the management of a wilderness. As Bonnie Stepenoff has pointed out, "a preservationist's first impulse might be to treat wild areas as we do cultivated landscapes, buildings, structures, and objects, but we must recognize an important principle: because natural landscapes change over time, their physical characteristics often should not, and perhaps cannot be controlled in order to preserve what we may value as long-term attributes" (2008:91). With regard to Dogtown, the Dogtown Steering Committee (DSC) since its formation in 1985 has been in dialogue about mowing certain historic pasturelands while also setting aside a portion of the forest to return to the old-growth forest it was before the English settlers built their sawmills (DSC Report 1985:3). Some local community members have even argued for the return

of grazing animals to portions of the forest which would help open up the views to Rockport and Boston once again. The DSC are known to be in constant negotiations among themselves as well as with the local towns people about what is a more "true" characterization of Dogtown (East 2009:202-3).

The Dogtown landscape then, as Shackel found while working in Harper's Ferry, is viewed here as yet one more example where "public memory is more a reflection of present political and social relations than a true reconstruction of the past" (2001b:656). When heritage is viewed as a constructed entity many locally held beliefs about the site become questionable. For example, the fact that the history of their habitation is told with a certain bias regarding their inability to create a sustainable community has been uncovered here. If the previous community, the Commons Settlement, could not uphold sustainable farms then why is it surprising that this one couldn't either? Shackel (2001b) has argued for local historic narratives masking over historic facts in order to create an acceptable collective memory and a similar argument is made here. Dogtown's "outsider community" has been manufactured through a specific translation of the historic archive as well as through the reconstruction of the heritage site.

Chapters Summarized

To return to the "way in" to Dogtown from the Preface, this research is not based on a pre-ordained historical narrative but it works to reconstruct the site from the different pieces available to the historical archaeologist: the documents, historical and electronic maps, the landscape, and the archaeological record. The chapters in this work are set in order of the construction of the place's historic narrative.

Chapter 2 begins the analysis by a discussion of the two opposing forces in Gloucester, the land and the sea. It is argued that although an eighteenth-century Gloucester community was becoming more cohesive, one also finds that the town was constantly negotiating the balance of power as they organized themselves around the harbor or agricultural economy.

Chapter 3 continues the reconstruction of the Commons Settlement's history by examining the community's attempt at farming and how the First Parish split of 1741 affected their economic interests. The construction of a new First Parish Church and the re-naming of the Old First Parish to the Fourth Parish brought with it a significant loss of local power. The economic decline of the Commons Settlement is tied to this split as their power as a neighborhood was closely related to their location near the Old First Parish Meetinghouse.

Chapter 4 begins as the local population finds its way in a post-American Revolution landscape. The original settlers of the Commons Settlement mostly moved to the harbor and the place became labeled "Dogtown" by the beginning of the nineteenth century. This chapter examines what this new place called Dogtown may have looked like and who may have lived there through documents such as the Census and Probate Records as well as through the site's archaeological assemblages.

Chapter 5 takes the reader from the end of Dogtown as an inhabited landscape into the many meanings of the place since. The construction of the archive is examined, from the 1896 oral history by Charles Mann to today's management of the site as a place of heritage for the local population. It is argued that the choices made by Dogtown's

advisory board (The Dogtown Steering Committee) in the 1980s has made manifest a landscape fit for "witches." For example, a portion of the old community has been allowed to re-grow into a second growth forest while the house foundations from the past communities have been left in a decayed and over-grown state leaving one with the impression that the people who inhabited Dogtown also lived in an over-grown, falling down village.

Chapter 6, explores the construction of this outsider community as an on-going dialectical process within Gloucester, deeply imbedded in the use of the archive along with the cultural landscape to portray a specific narrative story. The appearance of an outsider community has been created, which must be placed in the larger context of a northeast British colonial landscape.

The term witch is explored here as well since it is seen to have been utilized as a tool to separate this community of mainly women out from the rest of Gloucester's society. In fact, Chapters 4, 5, and 6 will each work on different elements of the subject of Dogtown's "witches." Chapter 4 first introduces the women as they are found in the primary sources, while Chapter 5 looks at them as they have been utilized in local folklore to segregate the history of this unsuccessful, mainly female, population of Dogtown from the history of Gloucester and its successful, male-oriented, fishing and shipping industries which were fast becoming involved in merchant capitalism.

And finally, in **Chapter 7** it is concluded that today's narrative history and management choices in Dogtown have come out of a classed and gendered landscape. A seemingly "natural" spooky forest has been constructed as a backdrop for the stories of

crazy witches and, in the end, this narrative reifies the fact that this marginalized and liminalized subaltern population did not take part in Gloucester's growing early capitalist industrialization at the harbor. This research then works to reconstruct the historic events and their interpretations, adding in the historical archaeological perspective, although this too can be viewed as simply yet another narrative layer to the story.

Chapter 2: The Land and the Sea

Introduction

This chapter begins our background reconstruction of the narrative history of Dogtown. Gloucester is located on a peninsula in northern Massachusetts called Cape Ann. It has been known as a deep and safe harbor since c. 1606 when Samuel de Champlain dropped anchor and named the place *Le Beau Port*. The website of Cape Ann Historical Museum reports that he had a "peaceful encounter" with two hundred of the local indigenous population. It states further that by 1617 at least three-quarters of the Native American population had succumbed to European diseases (Cape Ann Historical Museum).[5] Fact or fiction, peaceful or not, Europeans quickly out-numbered Native Americans on Cape Ann. By 1614 the peninsula had been renamed by Captain John Smith. He is believed to have named the place Cape Tragabigzanda in honor of a Turkish princess (The Cape Ann Historical Museum). Soon thereafter though it was re-named again, this time with the English name Cape Ann, when King Charles named it after his mother.

Three major geological features have affected the peninsula's settlement: the harbor, which has proven to be as beautiful and safe as Champlain predicted and allowed for Gloucester to become one of the oldest and most successful fishing towns on the Eastern seaboard; the Annisquam River which is a wide and deep river running north-south through the middle of the town, sectioning off the eastern portion from the western

[5] As many have previously, one may wonder what part of this particular historical narrative needs deconstruction as well but that is for another research project.

and providing rich farmland abutting salt marshes near the shore as well as fishing and clam-digging; and an upland interior region of about three thousand acres that is also a terminal moraine where glaciers from the last Ice Age stopped their movement forward and dropped their load of granite boulders before receding backwards again. (See Figure 2.1) It is a vast and mainly uninhabited hilly forest strewn with small to large, even truck-sized, boulders. An old saying goes: "this being the last place created, all the rocks not needed in the rest of the Earth were dumped here" (Garland 2004:79).

Figure 2.1: Cape Ann. Map courtesy of Google Earth 2011.

Although much of Gloucester's narrative has focused on its relationship with the sea[6] this interior place can also be seen to have played a key role in the construction of today's Gloucester. Originally called the Commons Settlement as the land was used as common timber and grazing land for the people of Gloucester, it was called Dogtown by the late-eighteenth century.[7] The landscape is characterized as having contained five habitats: grasslands, heathlands, wetlands, second growth forest, and mature forest (Dogtown Steering Committee 1985:6-7). There were "well drained uplands and large areas of wet land in the glacier-scoured depressions. And the vegetation of the area is a reflection of the topography. Blueberries, huckleberries, blackberries and many types of shrubs, thorn bushes and scrub trees are to be found on the high lands today, although in the past there was an extensive mixed forest of mesophytic hardwoods and softwoods" (Johns 1968:8).

This chapter is organized around the dichotomous pairing of farming and fishing, two subjects that become key to Gloucester's development as a city. The first section focuses on the beginnings of the harbor area and the fishing industry, while the second examines the settlement of the interior. The two competing geographical regions of Gloucester and the economies tied to them, farming and fishing, are examined as having been in a dialectical relationship pushing and pulling each other to form the Gloucester that exists today. For, if the city's access to water at the harbor and the river has played

[6] Popular books like *Captains Courageous* and *The Perfect Storm* have made Gloucester into a famous fishing town outside of New England.

[7] This name change is discussed in Chapter 4. The Southern Essex Registry of Deeds Bk 167, p.219 contains a 1799 record stating: Thomas Lufkin to William Lufkin "...the pasture land my father bought of Zebulon Lufkin and Joshua Woodbury known by the name of Dogtown pasture, bounded as by the Deeds from sd Lufkin and Woodbury shall appear." (Courtesy of Sarah Dunlap, Gloucester City Archives.)

the larger role in its growth into an industrialized city, it is interesting to note that the original British colonial development was extremely focused on land and farm ownership. Although one can argue that the individuals who immigrated to New England were players in the larger British war for colonial domination, they were also involved in working towards their own self-interests.

It has been argued that these first Puritan settlers tried to recreate the model of the British subsistence farming economy (Heyrman 1984; Vickers 1994) but it was found to be a much more difficult proposition than these Englishman had been led to believe. With labor and good land in short supply on the peninsula the region became more connected to the multiple pre-established Colonial Atlantic trade routes by the mid-eighteenth century. Their involvement was mainly through the fishing and shipping of cod. It was fished from the North Atlantic, salted in Gloucester in locally manufactured barrels and then shipped in Gloucester-built schooners to British colonies in the south and the Caribbean.

The Harbor and Early Gloucester

Gloucester's modern narrative begins with three dates: 1606, which was the year Samuel de Champlain drew his map *Le Beau Port* (see Figure x.3); 1623, with the arrival of the Dorchester fishing venture sponsored by Puritan financiers leaving Plymouth; and 1642, the town's official date of incorporation. A founding member of the Dorchester Company, the Reverend John White, “envisioned an industrious hive of pious fishermen-farmers flourishing in the salubrious atmosphere of Cape Ann” (Heyrman 1984:32). He saw the settlement as being able to provide for its own food, salt and shipping materials,

i.e. wooden barrels made from the local hardwood forests. According to historian Christine Heyrman's research for *Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts*, "he regarded such colonies as a means for relieving England's unemployment, for remedying the moral evils attending overcrowding and economic competition in the mother country, and for spreading Christianity to the Indians in the New World" (1984:32). White's involvement in this venture brought the Puritan moral order to the region as well as their money. He settled in Gloucester, building a house on the town Meetinghouse Green, and helped to found the First Parish Meetinghouse which is located nearby. His house, known as the Ellery-White House, is on the National Register of Historic Places and still stands there today. (See Figure 2.2)

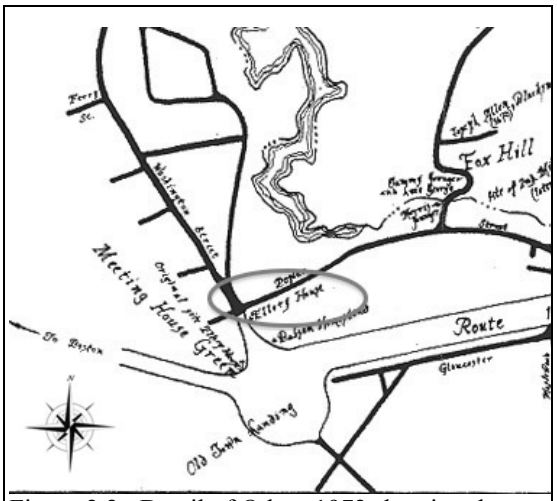


Figure 2.2: Detail of Odum 1972 showing the location of the Ellery-White House.

Figure 2.3: The Ellery-White House. Photo courtesy of the Cape Ann Historical Association.

The Dorchester Company's main competition came from the Plymouth Company, based in Plymouth, MA. The competition between these two companies was short-lived though because although Plymouth dissolved its company in 1627, the Dorchester Company's venture did not survive past that particular fishing season either. Constant battles between the two companies had led to disillusionment on both sides, and many years of miscalculating the height of the season brought in small catches (Heyrman 1984:34).

By 1642 the settlement had incorporated into a town but the population contained split loyalties as the two major foundational groups were from two separate areas: the West Country of England and Wales. Although their spatial divide seems slight, the emotional divide was large. The Welsh Reverend Richard Blynman led many of his followers settled along the Annisquam River. Interested in the public good, he oversaw the construction of Blynman's Canal, or the Cut. This is a canal that goes through the land between the Annisquam and the harbor making it easier for fishing boats to travel around the peninsula. (See Figure 2.1) Blynman could never get the West Country coalition to participate in his church services however and they often even caused strife within his Welsh community. By c. 1651 he and his followers had moved to New London, Connecticut (Heyrman 1984:37).

Heyrman's perspective is that the competing populations of early immigrants caused a good amount of out-migration in general. She goes so far as to blame this early West Country group for having made life so difficult for other non-West Country natives

that many others moved away around the time of Blynman's Welsh group as well (Heyrman 1984:37). Her research into the genealogies of the early Gloucester settlers showed that "of the seventy-three householders who settled in Gloucester before 1650, over half had moved by 1660" (Heyrman 1984:38). Many moved around Essex County itself, though some went even further north into the newly annexed portion of the Massachusetts Bay Colony which later became the state of Maine.

Gloucester was not able to find a replacement clergyman after Blynman's departure. Two elders, William Perkins and Thomas Millet, were placed in charge but neither lasted more than five years. Gloucester struggled to create a stable society in these years. Its harbor and river were enticing to many fishermen but it seems that, in the end, White's moral men did not prove themselves when put to the test. According to Heyrman, many are recorded as having preferred drinking to fishing (Heyrman 1984:34). To her, mid-seventeenth century Gloucester is comparable with other fishing towns located nearby such as Marblehead. These towns developed a reputation for lawless and Godless behavior. "Throughout the fifties and early sixties shoremen and fisherman figured conspicuously in civil cases involving debt and defamation and in criminal cases of assault, drunkenness, and husbands living apart from their wives" (Heyrman 1984:39).

Daniel Vickers, in his study of farming and fishing labor practices in early Essex County (1994), argues that the fishing and farming industries shared a common central problem, that of a labor supply. In Britain's West Country, where much of the fishing industry was based, young men between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five in need of employment were plentiful, even for the grueling work of living on a fishing boat. They

would contract with the ship's captain at a so-called “reasonable rate” and most of the industry offered them a portion of the final profit as well, sometimes sharing up to a third of the the ship's annual profit on top of their normal wages. For Vickers, this type of profit sharing created a common interest and inter-dependence between crews and captains (1994:93). Most of these young men did not plan to stay in the industry however. Instead many hoped to save their money in order to buy a small piece of farmland in the New World. Land was in short supply in England, which caused many of them to become interested in the vast tracts of woodlands available to men willing to immigrate to New England.

Once they arrived in New England, however, it seems the entire situation needed to be re-negotiated. John Winter, the manager of a fishing plantation on Richmond Island, wrote in 1636 that “'Good, Carefull, plyable' [sic] servants could be recruited only at home, 'otherwise, when they com heare [sic], they will forget their promyse [sic] and slacke [sic] their busines [sic]'” (Vickers 1994:93). As Vickers sees it, an unforeseen consequence of the settlement of the New World was that there was a demand for men to work all sorts of labor intensive jobs. He believes that, be they farmhands or lowly fishermen, this need for labor caused hired hands to realize their own power to negotiate payment (Vickers 1994:95).

However, like Heyrman, Vickers argues that a fishing life did not often inspire a Godly life in these small Massachusetts towns. Most fishermen “worked an erratic schedule and spent their leisure hours in the classic maritime diversions: drinking, smoking, carousing, and profaning the Lord” (1994:96). A work and class-related divide

can be seen to have been created in the history here, with the men who did uphold the Bay Colony's moral values said to leave the fishing life as soon as they could afford to sustain their families on farming alone. Moral behavior is ascribed to these farmers by Konig (1974) as well as Vickers. They both argue that cultivating land is what the moral Englishman strove to do as their religion taught these men that it was the ownership and improvement of land that would prove their own self-worth.

Settlement at the Commons

Gloucester's population began to stabilize toward the end of the 1660s. Heyrman argues that this was the unexpected outcome of the increasing warfare with the Native Americans along the Maine and Massachusetts coasts. Not only did the fighting stop most emigration from the town, it also encouraged new immigrants to arrive from other regions of the colony as well. Warfare between the settlers and the remaining Wampanoag created some anxiety in the greater region so that by the end of King Philip's War (1675-77) most of Essex County had built fortifications and garrisons to protect themselves from attack (Heyrman1984:42). Heyrman argues that as the families moving into Gloucester were often now from elsewhere within the Massachusetts Bay Colony, a "New English" identity began to be formed among the members of the second generation at this time making the town's population more stable and allowing the town elders to set a more stable system of law (1984:43).

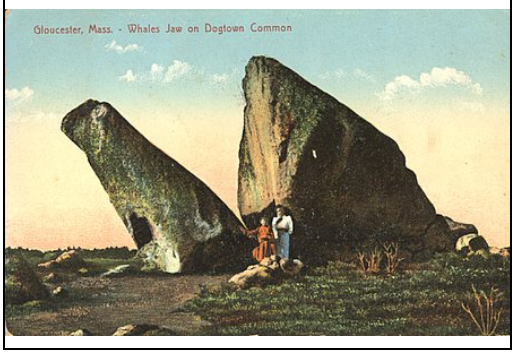
If it is true that stability and a well-tended farm were what many of Gloucester's farmers hoped to pass along to their sons then the interior land became important to this goal as the coastal properties became more crowded. These Englishmen arrived thinking

they were going to make their fortunes through the large tracts of land available in this New World yet, according to Vickers argument discussed above, they were to discover that they did not have the labor force available to work enough land to sustain a farm. In the face of a large amount of forested land that needed to be transformed into tilled fields and fenced-in pastures, this was quite a problem for the local farmers. Vickers found that indentured servitude provided some of the labor force at this time, but he argues that many men discovered that their labor was in high demand and began to charge large sums of money to continue on as laborers once their term was up (1994:229). This was quite opposite to the situation they had left behind in England where there was not enough land for the men in need of work.[8]

Cape Ann is a finite geographic space with a particularly important characteristic, the peninsula is much like an island in that it is surrounded by rivers or the open ocean. So, while there was land to be had at first, it was finite and not all of equal value. Hence an unforeseen hurdle for these early farmers was the land itself. They found that farms did well across the Annisquam River in West Gloucester as well as out in East Gloucester and Eastern Point (Heyrman 1984:80) The boulder strewn center of the peninsula was left for logging for much of this time. Some of these rocks, such as “the Whale's Jaw,” have become famous. (See Figure 2.4)

[8] Vickers acknowledges that slavery was utilized here as well but thinks that apprenticeships were used more often. Gloucester's List of Servants for Life (see Table 9), based on a tax assessment of 1771, shows a number of families owning a small number of captive Africans at that time but, as of now, that history is not well understood. Chapters 4 and 5 discuss two individuals from Dogtown who are believed to have been captives in childhood but, again, this aspect of their lives was not included in this research topic.

Figure 2.4: Early 20th century postcard of the Whale's Jaw.



According to Konig (1974), prior to the 1660s, land-use in Massachusetts was not well organized at all. There was so much land available to these newcomers in the New World that it was "characterized by inexactness in distribution [and an] inattention to recording..." (1974:137-8). Konig argues that by the end of the seventeenth century this had changed and a more exact system was put in place with more legal reparations available to land-owners. He believes that some lands might even have been redistributed to make the original allotments more fair.

By the early eighteenth century, as land was getting dear near the coast, new lots were distributed throughout Cape Ann. Some early homesteaders were already working sawmills back in the woods along the Cape Pond Brook as early as the 1650s and their lots were grandfathered in to this later land allotment c1719. The first true spatial organization up at the Commons comes into being with this land allotment. It had finally become necessary to tackle Cape Ann's interior as the farmers and their heirs at the coast

were beginning to run out of arable land. These first Commons families were given "cow rights" and "mowing and tillage" lots as well as wood lots. By 1722, "they numbered 136 in all," ranging from 165 to 330 feet wide and 2640 to 5280 feet long (Dogtown Steering Committee 1985:9). For the most part these farmers settled along three main roads: Dogtown Road, the Commons or "Walled-In" Road, and the Back Road. These roads and the people who built homesteads along them became closely connected to the nearby roads like Cherry Street, and today's Gee Avenue which was still connected to the Commons Road at this time.

James Babson, who had arrived in Gloucester as a child with his widowed mother Isabel prior to the town's incorporation in 1642, received one of the first land grants of thirty-two acres c1658 (Babson 1927:2). He "was a farmer who built a small stone cooperage (now part of the Babson Museum on Route 127), obtaining hoops from the Ellery Mill. [His] barrels were used to hold dried fish which was shipped from Gloucester Harbor" (Berg MHC Report 2007:10). James Babson and his neighbors were connected to the larger Colonial-era British Atlantic trade. His barrels carried the cod transported in ships made of timber cut from inland trees. The timber trade was a happy surprise for these early Commons settlers, with wood sold locally as well as south to Salem and Boston for ship and house construction, perhaps making them more of a profit than the tilling of their soil ever would.

The logging roads created by these early farmsteaders ran through the forest to the various sawmills as well as to the smaller settlement to the north originally called Sandy Bay. Figure 2.5 is the first map of the settlement, drawn by Joseph Batchelder in 1741.

Figure 2.6 shows a detail of the same map placed on a Google Earth image map from 2011. The early road system, beginning from the two main roads, Dogtown and the Commons Roads, ran diagonally north and east out into the virgin forest.

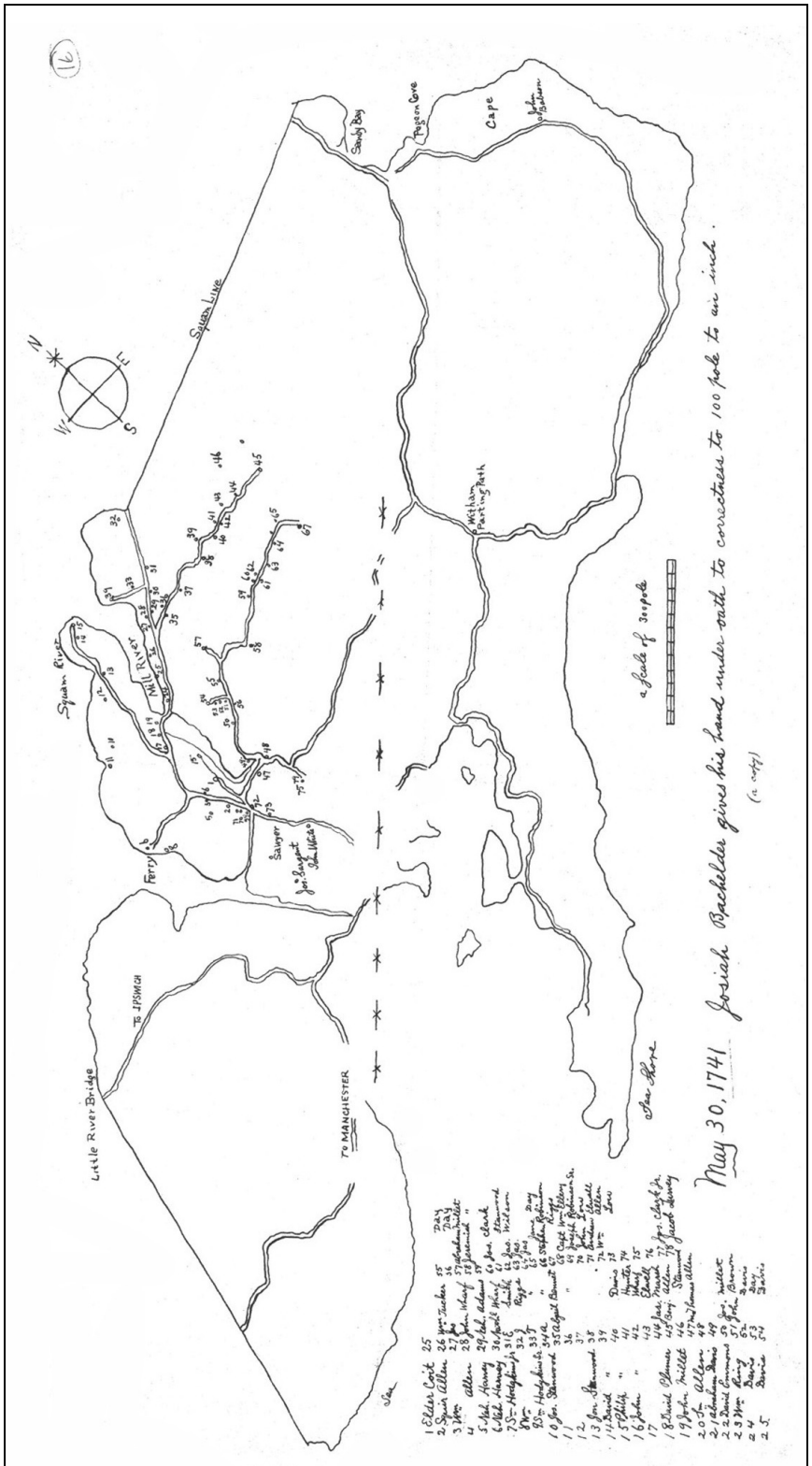


Figure 2.5: Batchelder's map 1741.

Figure 2.6: Detail of Dogtown Rd. and the Commons Rd. from Batchelder 1741 placed on Google Earth map 2011.

These farmers appear to have been unconvinced that they could not make the place profitable. Perhaps they did believe that the place simply needed their Godly improvement or innovation, ignoring the nature of their particular land which was sandy, marshy and full of enormous and immovable granite boulders. As discussed previously in this chapter, many of these English farmers may have come to the New World searching for the land and the means to independent wealth that was not available to them in England. This may have caused them to disregard the fact that the Agawam, located in the area before them, had barely farmed this upland, rocky portion of the peninsula

(Pringle 1892:16; Wilbur &Courtney n.d.:4). The Englishmen cleared the forests, sold the timber and constructed stone walls, gardens, houses, barns, and wells. They deforested the landscape, attempting to transform the place into a model English hamlet in the center of a coastal town.

The teachings of John Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony 1630-49, may have instilled a sense of property-with-a-purpose in these New World immigrants through his writings on "improving the Lord's garden" (Vickers 1994:13). However, Hobbs Pruitt (1984) points out that although these New England farmers strove for independence, they rarely achieved it. Her analysis of probate records in Massachusetts demonstrates that no more than half of eighteenth century farmers owned either plows or oxen (1984:334). The tax valuation lists of 1771 also show that many lacked the necessary pieces of farm equipment or farm animals to be completely independent. "Thus many farmers undoubtedly entered into exchange, not for profit or to raise their standard of living, but simply to be able to feed their families...Local networks of exchange may be seen as important markets in their own right and not merely as systems of barter based on division of craft skills and labor" (Hobbs Pruitt 1984:338).

Perhaps it was the theory behind the statement more than the reality of the situation that rang true for these Commons Settlement farmers and their families. These men were free, they owned their own means of production and they could pass this land down to the next generation. In a world where most or many men and women were often not able to be in charge of their own labor that must have meant something. Their land, however, was not of the best quality and many had to struggle to sustain their families at

the Commons. And, although their own timber had helped in the construction of the harbor's fleet, they were generally unable to take part in the growing harbor economy. Arguments among church elders over placing a new meetinghouse closer to the waterfront even caused a split within the First Parish.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the initial settlement of Cape Ann. Gloucester's identity struggles between that of a fishing town versus a farming town played a role in its colonial development in the 1620s, its foundation in 1642, and its transition into a stable community as the French and Indian Wars ended. Cape Ann, surrounded by water yet founded as a model of the English countryside by Puritan colonials, became settled as a farming community which gradually ran out of land to parcel out. As they moved in from the coast they discovered that the old-growth forest was covering an immense and at times impenetrable glacial moraine. The continued struggle for power between competing interests inland, at the Annisquam River, and at the harbor affected how this land was utilized over time a well. Gloucester's harbor community became more connected to the larger Colonial Atlantic trade over time, playing a role in cod fishing, ship-building, and shipping as well.[9] The wealth gained from these enterprises helped those at the harbor looking to change the seat of power in the town from the inland First Parish Meetinghouse to one closer to the waterfront, a change which will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

[9] A number of Gloucester's citizenry took part in this colonial trade. Gloucester cooper, James Babson's involvement will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3: The Unsustainable Commons Settlement

Introduction

The Commons Settlement's population peaked around the mid-eighteenth century and although there was a brief lull in farm abandonment during the American Revolution the community is seen to have been in decline before then. The historical record, the material culture assemblage that dates to this time period, as well as other histories and maps will be discussed here, comparing the narrative that is told of the Commons Settlement with the one of a growing shipping and fishing economy at the harbor. Growth in one region does not necessarily have to mean depression in the other, yet these two places appear portrayed as if in a dialectic relationship, struggling with each other over politics and power as well as simple demographics.

The background history presented here as well as the discussion of the Commons Settlement's decline and slow abandonment is important to the larger argument presented throughout. The previous chapter found evidence that many of these farms were founded in order to allow the Commons Settlement farmers to take part in Gloucester's growing economy. Here there is evidence of this point as well as it is when their involvement in the larger economy becomes impossible that the farmers are seen to have left for more lucrative work.

The chapter is organized into five sections: first, the focus is on the Commons in its most economically stable period; second, the Commons archaeological record is examined; third, the discussion turns to the power struggles between the harbor and the

rest of the First Parish during the First Parish split; fourth, the harbor community in relation to the changes within the First Parish is examined; and fifth, the chapter concludes during the time period of the American Revolution, looking at how this conflict is portrayed in the history of the Commons. Although the war slowed down out-migration from the community for a time, it was merely an interruption to this pattern of abandonment. This chapter concludes at the end of the eighteenth century as most of the farms have been abandoned and our first references to the new community called Dogtown appear in town records.

Economic Stability at the Commons

As the eighteenth century progressed, the settlement seems to have undergone a natural growth period, with young married couples having children and many neighbors setting up relationships with each other through networks of work exchanges. Batchelder's 1741 map (See Figure 2.4), drawn as an accounting of the membership of the First Parish and their distance from both the New and Old Meetinghouses, allows one the first real quantification of the neighborhood. The community probably numbered between forty and forty-five households at this time. Unfortunately, this number cannot DELE not be more precise for two reasons: first, Batchelder's map included everyone in the northern portion of the First Parish so the families across the Mill Brook and closer to the Annisquam were also included (seventy-eight house sites in all); and second, the Commons Settlement was never defined by official boundary lines and the areas included have changed over time.

Table 2 in Appendix A is a compilation of the known Commons community. One

finds that the birth records of the earlier generations at the Commons show that the families tended to be medium to large, often with four to six children. This was a common practice in an English farming community as the farmers' children were counted as an important labor force, especially in new colonies where paid or subscripted labor was hard to find. Vickers previously discussed study of Essex County (where Gloucester is located) found that many farmers were delaying their oldest sons' marriages, still needing these young mens' labor on their own farm (Vickers 1994:209). Much of the Commons growth in this period was probably due more to the larger birth rate among the farm families and less to a constant stream of migration into the community. For example, one notices the same family names over and over as the local families intermarry. Table 2 (see Appendix A) shows Riggs marrying Stanwoods, Allens marrying Dermerits, and Days marrying Winslows. Arthur Wharf (believed[10] to have occupied 10 Dogtown Road[11]) and his wife Martha Lee had six children between 1738 and 1747. Deacon Winslow and his wife Sarah Day (said to be from 13 Dogtown Road) had seven children born between 1722 and 1736 (Titterington 1988:15).

Titterington's demographic analysis (1988:18-19) finds the Commons Settlement following similar birth rate trends to those found throughout the Cape Ann peninsula. The first generations of farming families were having a large number of children with thirteen born at site 10 on Dogtown Road, eight each at sites 13 and 14, seven at site 15,

[10] The following house owners are described as “believed to be from” or “said to be” due to the fact that not all of the individuals discussed in this work are located on Batchelder's map or found in contemporary deeds. Although these few have been found in local documents, many are still best known from oral histories.

[11] The numbering system is based on Roger W. Babson's map and corresponding list of owners. It was determined that this would make record-keeping the most simple since he also physically carved these numbers into boulders in front of the house foundation sites.

and five at site 16. She points out a surprising lack of maternal death in childhood with only one woman recorded to have died in childbirth. This was Arthur Wharf's mother who died in 1701, having survived the births of twelve previous children. There were not many re-marriages either, possibly indicating a lack of maternal mortality to Titterington. She also points to a high rate of infant survival (with seven deaths out of forty-one births recorded at the Commons) as well as the longevity of the male population playing a part in the growth of the early community (Titterington 1988:18).

These were the families then who had arrived inland to farm what they would learn to be very poor land. They were also the families who would have discovered the previously discussed need for local networks of labor and goods exchange in order to maintain their homesites (Hobbs Pruitt 1984; Vickers 1994). The heads of households would have relied on the labor of their sons as well as on their neighbors' sons. Apprenticeships would also have been a means to gaining labor, especially while the farmer's own children were young.

In the beginning, they attempted to overcome these difficulties through hard, believing that the land would capitulate and work for them eventually too. The later abandonment of “God's garden” illuminates the point that these people were not simply doing God's work by improving the land, they did also want to make a good living. This is clear because when it became unavailable to them at the Commons them they began to leave. The narrative of subsistence farming ascribed to this community appears deceptive at moments like this. The farmers appear to have expected their farms to succeed at bringing them into the emerging market economy yet the area's foundation

narrative focuses on their labor and sacrifice in the unforgiving soil, not the benefits that were supposed to come with that labor.

The Material Culture of the Commons Settlement

Table 4 in Appendix A lists the archaeological collection from the community. This assemblage is three collections combined which were collected by two professionals: a Professor of Ceramics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology named Norton in the mid-twentieth century, and Patrice Titterington who was working on her Masters Thesis for Brown University in 1986; and one amateur, Irving Sucholeiki in the early 1990s. Most houses are said to have been cabins with two to four rooms and stone-lined cellars under half of the house measuring approximately fifteen feet by fifteen feet. Only the house at site 15 Dogtown Road is said to have had a second story (Mann 1896:36-37).[12]

[12] Today many of the house foundations show evidence of pot-hunting and other types of disturbances under the soil. For example, 10 Dogtown Road shows evidence for an attempted reconstruction of a brick foundation wall on three sides. This would not have been a contemporaneous type of foundation material, which was stone, and it is more likely that the brick belonged to the chimney.

Figure 3.1: Dogtown Sites Surveyed or Excavated. Map Courtesy of Google Earth 2010.

Figure 3.2: Site 22, House foundation hole off of Dogtown Square. Photo by E. Martin.

All told however, the material culture dating to this time appears to be a collection of imported English earthenwares like creamware, a larger amount of locally produced unrefined earthenwares, and a smaller number of salt-glazed stonewares. Most of the ceramics found were of the unrefined variety that may have been used for dairying which called for a coarser utilitarian ware, and not for actual food consumption. Titterington records a large amount of locally produced unrefined earthenware sherds found at Site 15 and Sucholeiki notes the same of AT Site 20, Granny Day's house and school site located on Dogtown Square. While 15 was occupied longer than 20 (into the Dogtown settlement in fact), both sites were inhabited during the Commons Settlement as well. The assemblages also contain green bottle glass, window glass and iron nails, as well as other iron that may have been pieces of farm equipment. One might notice that the material culture is pretty evenly spread out among householders, perhaps showing similar economic circumstances, yet it should also be noted that Sites 15 and 20 have more artifacts in general. This may have been due to a longer site habitation than anything

involving economics. In addition, Titterington (1988:36) points to the large numbers of utilitarian earthenware vessels being indicative of dairying activities having taken place at the sites surveyed. She points to Deetz (1977:53) as having discussed these sorts of glazed vessels as preferred by women in the production of milk and cream, butter and cheese. So while these farmers were purchasing some wares that were manufactured in European countries, mainly Britain, they were also relying heavily on the local market for their more utilitarian wares such as the salt-glazed stonewares and lead-glazed earthenwares. Furniture as well as kettles, cooking pots, and farm or other work-related equipment are mentioned in probate records more often than formal ceramic sets. Table 5, a listing of probate records, shows that Benjamin Allen was the only one who had pewter to leave to his heirs.

The material culture discussed here, albeit interesting, is not mentioned solely to illuminate the lifeways of the people of the Commons Settlement. It is important to remember that it is also piece of the larger "archive" discussed throughout. These are the broken bits of pottery that have been placed in local museums, proudly displaying the Colonial-era farming life that once existed. The objects became of interest when a Colonial Revivalist ethic swept through the area in the early twentieth century, creating historical societies and inspiring excavation of sites such as this one.

It should also be noted that there are drawbacks to this archaeological assemblage particularly which cause one to pause before stating that life in the Commons Settlement or later Dogtown is knowable from these material remains. Much of Professor Robbins' collection is not properly provenienced as he only labeled some artifacts as originating

from House Site 13 while others are said to simply be from sites along Dogtown Road. It is also unfortunate that the majority of the collection is from Dogtown Road alone, with just one site examined on Wharf Road as well. Perhaps work along the Commons and Back Roads would be important for future research questions.

However, although there is no good archaeological evidence of the material culture of the people living along Commons Road, there is another sort of material evidence which can be discussed, i.e., the houses on the Massachusetts Historic Register that relate to this settlement. The Bennet house, owned by the family who built and lived at what Mann (1896) and Babson (1927) called "the Castle," as well as in the other properties surrounding it, is recorded as still standing at 41 Gee Avenue. The previously discussed Ellery-White house on the old Meetinghouse Green still exists as well. "The Castle" would have perhaps been located at 35 on Batchelder's map from c1741. See Figure 3.3 for a detailed image of this.

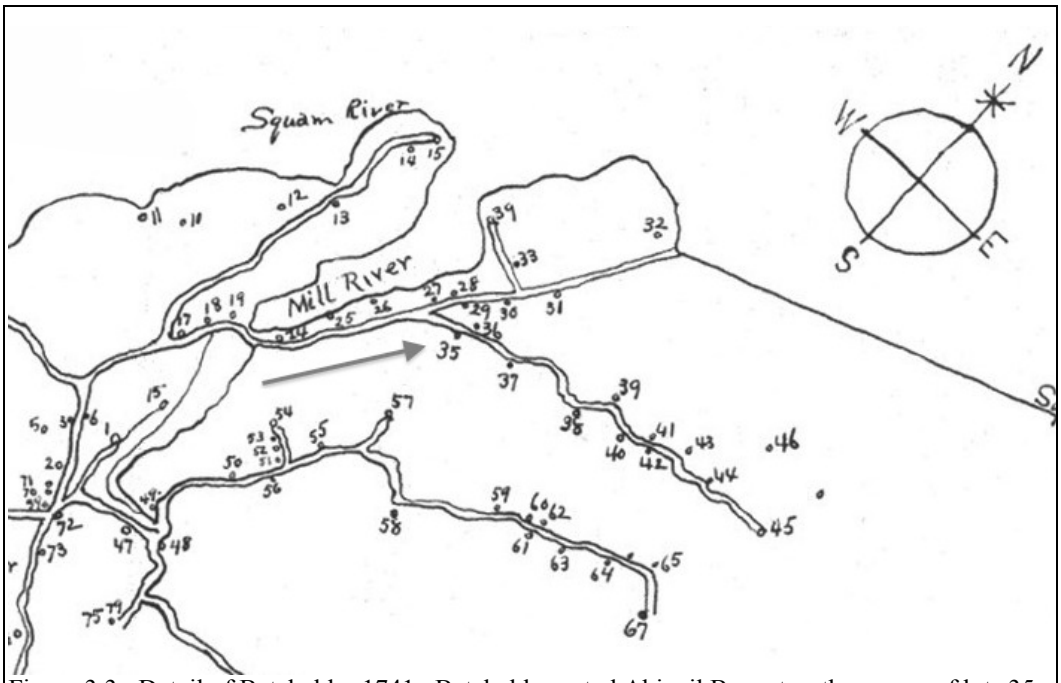


Figure 3.3: Detail of Batchelder 1741. Batchelder noted Abigail Bennet as the owner of lots 35-39 on the Commons Rd.

Anthony Bennet, a carpenter from nearby Beverly, is believed to have built the house when he moved to Gloucester. He was part owner of a mill near Goose Cove and is found in the probate records as having died in 1796 leaving his family various farm animals, equipment and household items. (See Table 5, Appendix A) His death may have occurred elsewhere as Batchelder lists Abigail Bennet as the primary owner of the properties found at 35-39 on his 1741 map. According to Mann, ownership had changed families entirely by 1896, with the property owned by Mary A. Riggs at the time of his writing (1896:66). By the twentieth century the house had changed hands again as Babson, writing in 1927 (1927:15), noted that it was owned by Lemuel Friend. The historic registry lists it as a larger structure built between c1679 and 1700 with its original gambrel roof becoming converted into a gabled one c1900.

Bordering on the Old Meetinghouse Green there is also the Ellery-White House

that dates to c1710. As mentioned in Chapter 2, (see Figures 2.2 and 2.3) this structure was first built by the Reverend John White, Gloucester's first Reverend. It was owned by Captain William Ellery by c1771 and is said to have stayed in the Ellery family for six generations after this. Its architecture is from Gloucester's early Colonial period and is of a saltbox style with a large central chimney that would have served six fireplaces. One can see the location of this house on Odum's 1972 map where it is also interesting to note that this house is located near the original center of town, quite near the Cherry Street entrance to Dogtown.

The First Parish Split

A discussion of the history of the First Parish Split in the 1730s will help in the understanding of the local narrative of power. This part of the history is also a key element to the eventual abandonment of the land up at the Commons. Heyrman characterized the town leadership as religiously conservative by nature, with tendencies towards "localism, insularity, intolerance toward outsiders, an aversion to risk, and an attachment to tradition" (1984:143) and these characteristics become apparent in the following discussion where one can note the town leadership's conservative nature with regards to change and also the ongoing struggles between the inland and coastal seats of power.

Gloucester began life as a Puritan-founded village and by the mid-eighteenth century this town structure was still stable, although the population grew. The people in the northern portion of the First Parish (which included the Commons Settlement) played a larger role in Gloucester society and politics up until the 1730s. This is due in part to

the fact that, up to then, those in the North were still more centrally located to the Meetinghouse Green, with many of the town's founding families living nearby. Town elders were elected from up North as often as down South by the harbor perhaps because Gloucester was still quite focused on the farming industries throughout the early eighteenth century. The town's elders had long organized their community's social structure through their church structure. Heyrman (1984:44-5) has described this social structure as having come into town from Ipswich but generally most Massachusetts towns were split into various parishes with membership and voting rights involving the ownership of land and the paying of property taxes to the parish. It was in this way that the town class structures were made to mimic the parish structure, with larger land-holders and church elders having more rights to their various viewpoints than others in the town.

Figure 3.4: Parishes of Gloucester c1750. Map courtesy of Google Earth 2010.

Gloucester began with just one parish but, as the town expanded and populations became more regionalized around specific sections of the cape, there became a need for more. Five were eventually created. (See Figure 3.5) This rapid expansion had occurred by the mid-1750s with a certain amount of instability experienced at this time, stressing a community that had worked hard to retain its Puritan founding values. By the early 1740s the First Parish Meetinghouse had been rebuilt on Middle Street at the harbor with the Commons settlement incorporated into a new Fourth Parish. And perhaps not surprisingly, this did not happen easily or without argument from interested parties on both sides.

The region west of the Annisquam River has some of the best farmland although the town's center was consistently focused around the southeastern section of the Annisquam River near Trynall Cove. This is why the first Meetinghouse was built there in the 1640s as this was seen as central for all (Titterington 1988:6). As the town expanded, people settled into a few sections of Gloucester and these became several distinctive neighborhoods (Heyrman 1984:79). Eventually these neighborhoods became designated as new parishes so that by the 1730s there were three; the Second Parish is on the western side of the Annisquam and the Third to the north at Lobster Cove.

With the exception of the creation of the Fourth Parish, the other parishes were able to move away from Gloucester's center of power fairly easily. The Fourth Parish, though, was constructed by splitting the Old First Parish in two and this caused a great deal of argument back and forth between the church members. Although the split occurred in 1742, the negotiations began as early as 1729 when Nathaniel Coit, located in the northern section of the parish (#1 on Batchelder's 1741 map) found some support from his local northern parish members for an addition to be built on to the old meetinghouse at the town green. This was his attempt at compromise with the members who lived nearer the harbor and wanted to construct a new meetinghouse altogether, closer to their own homes and businesses. This group from the harbor were not unaware that this would mean moving the center of town power further south, an idea Coit and many other northerners were not in favor of.

First Parish elders let the matter rest for some years, deciding nothing and listening to the back and forth from both sides until in 1737, eight entrepreneurs from the

harbor area simply picked a spot on Middle Street and built a new building for themselves. Presented thus with a *fait accompli*, by 1738 a parish majority had voted to relocate to the Middle Street meetinghouse (Heyrman 1984:146). Coit and his fellow northerners would not accept this decision and so they began demanding a parish separation. It seems that this may be one of those classic cases where one should be careful of what one wishes for since the eventual separation did nothing but more thoroughly entrench Gloucester's new economic power base at the harbor.

The larger geographic struggle over power played out on a smaller scale within the new Meetinghouse as well, affecting Coit's call for a parish split still more. Heyrman writes: "what bothered northern dissidents more than their physical distance from the new meeting house was the rearrangement of social distance within the Middle Street structure" (Heyrman 1984:147). It seems that the harbor group who owned the new meetinghouse was selling pews for the first time, thus changing the way power was physically manifested within the church structure itself.

Dinkin (1970) records that the earliest record of assigned seating in the Massachusetts Bay Colony was in Sudbury in 1645 where the members were able to buy and even sell seats if they moved away, as long as the new buyers were approved by the church board (Dinkin 1970:453). Most town parishes did not operate so officially in economic terms this early, though regardless of the official methodology, the seating of the meetinghouse was often politically charged and highly regulated in Massachusetts Bay Colony towns. Social influence had often been gained by age and the ability to amass a certain amount of wealth that came with that age. An individual's, or more

specifically, a man's social influence affected his position in the meetinghouse, meaning one's physical position inside the meetinghouse often reflected one's social position outside. People sat in “proper” social ranking based on age and social importance, along rows of benches, men separated from women, children, servants and slaves. The selling of pews would allow people with no other distinction in town other than personal wealth, be it old or new, to gain a higher order of seat in the meetinghouse. And many of the men involved in the buying of these pews were newly wealthy, having made their money from the expansion of the coastal shipping industries. Coit and the faction who protested this new practice undoubtedly understood that the selling of pews would re-organize more than just the inner geography of the meetinghouse but how the larger population of Gloucester viewed their power structure as well.

It can be argued then that the First Parish split is a good indication of Gloucester's social re-structuring. The growing economy based on merchant capitalism at the harbor shifted the economy away from farming, changing their original mandate from what Vickers sees as “improving the Lord's garden” to one that allowed for an involvement in the early-Capitalist merchant activities happening at the harbor. The businessmen involved in the harbor economy were seeing rapid growth in their shipping and fishing industries with ships built, out-fitted, filled with fish and other goods, and eventually even insured in Gloucester before they began their journeys to the southern colonies and the Caribbean, in this way supporting the colonial agenda. Older men like Coit, located away from this new center of action, were left behind in this story of economic advancement. Heyrman states that “the richest decile of men in town between 1690 and

1715 had held about a third of the total wealth, between 1716 and 1735 their share jumped to over forty percent...By mid-century, the tendency toward inequality had become even more pronounced, with the bottom sixty percent of society owning only twelve percent of the town's total wealth." (1984: 65).

Even as late as 1741 there was evidently still disagreement over the use of the new meetinghouse as this is when Joseph Batchelder was hired to record the distances of each parishioner of the entire Old First Parish from the Old Meetinghouse Green, constructing the map discussed previously in this chapter and shown in Figure 3.3. He was asked to determine who lived closer to the old versus the new meetinghouse, hence directing their church taxes in the correct direction. The map is meaningful here for two reasons: first it recorded the names of the property owners of all of the house sites along the Commons, Back and Dogtown Roads c1741; and second it solidified the harbor's power, proving that their new Middle Street meetinghouse would be more convenient for the harbor residents while the rest of the population was closer to the Old Meetinghouse Green and should continue to worship there.

Colonial cartography, like all cartography, was not a neutral under-taking and Batchelder's map can be examined from within this critical approach as well. Archaeologist Matthew Johnson analyzes "objective" surveys made by the British Crown as having been "the first step towards enclosure and dispossession" of those living in the English countryside (2007:12). Denis Byrne's 2000 study of the Cartesian grid placed on top of Australia's Outback discusses the marginalization of a population of people who should have been seen to have been the ultimate insiders, the Aborigines. Joseph

Batchelder's map was not unbiased either. Although his own political leanings and motives are not known one can surmise that the population of the New First Parish wished for a specific result in their favor and this is the one that ultimately came to pass. They needed to prove that their new meetinghouse should be the new seat of power in Gloucester and Batchelder's map was their tool.

Further isolating the northern parishioners and the Commons from the harbor was the maintenance, or lack thereof, of the Cut Canal discussed in Chapter 2. Constructed in 1642 by Reverend Richard Blynman it is a canal used to this day as an important short-cut for water craft. It allows small vessels to cut through rather than circumnavigate the entire outer ring of Cape Ann in order to reach the harbor. Oddly enough, Nathaniel Coit was not only the main advocate for the Old First Parish, he was also part owner of the Cut with his stepson Samuel Stevens, Jr. Although the Cut was clearly a geographic and economic place of importance, it was not in any way profitable and he found himself charged more than once by the town council with the clearing out of silt from the river in order to make it passable. After high tides from a storm had closed it in 1723, he and Stevens, Jr. had yet again refused to clear it out (Heyrman 1984:155). Coit and Stevens argued that it was a publicly used thoroughfare so should be publicly maintained. The town council disagreed however, causing the canal to remain closed for the remainder of the the eighteenth century.

Coit and Stevens, holding strong in their beliefs, in many ways doomed themselves and their fellow northern parishioners to a geographic isolation, only furthered by the parish split ten years later. When men like the newly wealthy Captain

Andrew Robinson constructed the new meetinghouse down by the harbor they asked to bring the title of First Parish with them instead of taking the new title of Fourth Parish themselves. This suggestion had not been presented as an option during the creation of the Second and then Third Parishes yet that is just what happened in the First Parish. One can almost see the power seeping out the landscape in this narrative of a parish schism. In 1738 the harbor parishioners begin worshipping at the new Middle Street meetinghouse while the Commons and northern Annisquam population were left with the decrepit Old First Meetinghouse, not rebuilt for some ten years more.

Growth and Change at the Harbor

All of the above discussed factors: the poor farmland, the closing of the Cut, and the moving of the First Parish Meetinghouse seems to have led to a stagnation of population growth within the Commons community and to a certain amount of immigration back down to the harbor. Gloucester was discovering that it could not make a profit as the farming village it had once envisioned it was, as a result becoming more involved in the economy of the British Atlantic world. The Cape's locally milled timber was used to grow a shipping and ship-building industry with the Gloucester-built schooner, a two-masted ship with many smaller sails rigged up to allow for simple and easy sailing adjustments, allowing for an even more direct involvement in that trade. Susan Johns, writing about the decline of the Commons Settlement (1968), sees Gloucester as having been on the edge of the Massachusetts economy as a source for timber, firewood, and produce for larger settlements until the early eighteenth century when the large-scale ship-building began. She sees “overseas trade…[developing] at this

time, and Cape Ann ships were a basis for the trade that was to allow New England agriculture and industry to prosper" (Johns 1968:5-6). Gloucester worked hard to find a way to become important to this trade so that by the mid-eighteenth century Gloucester vessels were bringing goods to and from the Caribbean, China, Europe and India.

Historians Armitage and Braddick (2002:234) split the colonial-era Atlantic geo-politically, arguing that there was a specifically British Atlantic, where Britain was linked to Newfoundland fisherman in the North Atlantic and the British American colonies linked with Africa and the West Indies through the trade of captives, rum, sugar, and North Atlantic cod. So while local farmers were focused primarily on the local markets, ships' captains, owners, local banks holding insurance policies and other merchants were much more interested in the opposing global economy. It appears that they began to tie themselves into the trade in the British Atlantic by finding a market in the Caribbean for their horses, cider, salt beef and salt cod. Cod that did not preserve perfectly could be sold to the planters in the Caribbean for their enslaved populations while the whole fish were more often sold to the British Isles themselves.

The Disruption of War

According to Vickers' 1994 study, Essex County's coastal towns show mid-eighteenth century economic shifts from farming to harbor-based activities. He states that "at the opening of the Revolutionary War, nearly half of the households in Essex County had to purchase a significant quantity of the farm produce they consumed" in this way making the small communities appear more urban than rural (1994:211). Local farmers such as those up at the Commons were not able to take advantage of this

economic shift though, indicated by their abandonment of most of the farms at the Commons by the end of the century.

With the outbreak of war in 1775 and 1776, the abandonment at the Commons briefly slowed however. In fact, this neighborhood in the middle of a decline suddenly saw a small influx of new residents. Historic precedent for this sort of flight into the interior existed from previous times of instability such as during the wars with the French and their Native American allies. At that time, many families had felt more safe hidden in the forest than exposed along the coast of Cape Ann. So, when the British Navy's ship The Falcon arrived in 1775 (Garland 2006), blockading the harbor and creating a dangerous situation for those living down by the shore, many moved their families inland. George Wonson, the grandson of Dorcas Foster of 17 Dogtown Road, reported to Charles Mann c1896 that his grandmother and her family were moved up there by her father at the onset of the American Revolution (Mann 1896:45)

The narrative of the Commons during the American Revolution is often kept separate from the history told of the place before and after the war. The people discussed as living there at this time have become separate as well, appearing instead as a part of Gloucester's story of resistance to British tyranny. For example there was the above mentioned Dorcas Foster, a young girl brought there for safety during wartime; Isaac Dade, a British sailer turned Continental soldier; and Peter Lurvey, killed in the first local battle. These individuals can be viewed as proof of the upstanding nature of the Commons community when Gloucester was under attack.

Of the stories told about the Commons folk during the Revolution, Peter Lurvey's

is probably one of the most famous. This is perhaps due to the fact that his story of enlistment and immediate death was immortalized by the local poet Hiram Rich for *The Atlantic Monthly* in 1874. Rich mistakenly ascribed his story to Lurvey's son-in-law, John Morgan Stanwood. I include an excerpt of Rich's poem here. In a way, it speaks for all of the women widowed during that war.

"Wife, if I am late tonight,
Milk the heifer first; -
Ruth, if I'm not home at all, -
Worse has come to worse."

Morgan Stanwood sped along,
Not the Common road;
Over wall and hill-top straight,
Straight to death, he strode;

Leaving her to hear at night
Tread of burdened men,
By the gate and through the gate,
At the door, and then -

Ever after that to hear,
When the grass is sweet,
Through the gate and through the night,
Slowly coming feet.
– Rich 1874:713-14

Dorcas Foster, said to have lived for a time at 17 Dogtown Road, is another good example of the mythologizing of the people of this era. Both Mann and Babson list her as living on Dogtown Road. There is no mention of other family that may have lived with her although there must have been some because she is said to have been brought there by her father when war broke out (Mann 1896:45). One can perhaps view her as an example of wartime bravery among the local women and children. Her grandson George Wonson related her history to Mann (1896:45) stating that Foster was born at the harbor and was not brought up into the Commons until she was eight years old. After the war

ended, she was said to have moved back down to the harbor where she lived for her entire adult life (Mann 1896:46). It is interesting to note how interpreters such as Charles Mann placed her in the house at 17 Dogtown Road of as if a permanent resident when, in fact, she was only in Dogtown for a short potion of her life.

Isaac Dade is another individual associated with the Commons during the American Revolution. Charles Mann interviewed his granddaughter Mrs. W.G. Wetherbee for his history of Dogtown (Mann 1896:47-48). As she had been told, Isaac Dade had been impressed onto a British man-of-war traveling to Gloucester as a young man. This is believed to have been The Falcon which arrived in Gloucester Harbor in 1775 (Garland 2007). Dade was assigned the duty of rowing a ship's officer ashore, a position which enabled his escape. He joined a shipping vessel bound for Virginia. It was there that he became a soldier for the Continental Army, suffering a sabre cut across the back of his neck.

After the war he met and married a local Virginia woman named Fanny Brundle whose family plantation bounded George Washington's mother's land. They had two children while settled in Virginia but because his health was deteriorating due to the wound from the sabre, they decided making them decide to move north to Gloucester, a town he is said to have idealized as the place he found his freedom from the British. The family settled at 18 Dogtown Road where he attempted to make a living as the owner of a fish market. (See Figures 3.6 and 3.7) Unfortunately, according to Mrs. Wetherbee, Gloucester housewives preferred to get their fish fresh off the boat and didn't use his market very much (Mann 1896:47-48). Perhaps related to his economic problems,

Gloucester records show that in the years between 1805 and 1806, three of his sons, Isaac, Thomas and William, were put into apprenticeships. (See Table 3, Appendix A)

Figure 3.5: Marker for house site at 18 Dogtown Rd. Photo courtesy of G. Porter.


Figure 3.6: Cellar hole located at 18 Dogtown Rd. Photo courtesy of G. Porter.

The American Revolution Pension Records show that Dade received a pension beginning in April of 1818, a year before his death on February 4, 1819. The payment of widows' pensions may have played a role in the creation of a list of all of Gloucester's widows in 1783. (See Table 6, Appendix A) One cannot presume that these women

were all widowed by the American Revolution but the fact that an accounting of them occurs in the year 1783 does cause one to think that the two factors may be related. Table 6 separates the widows into different geographic regions of Gloucester, sometimes by parish but not always, since this is how the list was recorded. One notes something very interesting here. The Fourth Parish is shown to contain twenty-five percent of the list's widows, more than any other section of town. There are a few explanations for this. For example, the Fourth Parish involves a larger section of the town than Middle or Back Streets so this could have affected the total results. On the other hand, why is it that the Fourth Parish was not broken down into the smaller sections as the other parishes were? Is this because there was a smaller population in total? It was a rural section of Gloucester and so did contain fewer people in general but this does not explain away the sheer number of single women in a rural community. Did these women become victims of circumstance in that they were re-settled away from the coast during warfare and become stuck there when their husbands died in battle? Interestingly, the Fourth Parish appears to be the only one where no children were recorded as dependents. One cannot imagine that this was truly the case for every single woman though. It is believed here that there this is an example of the inconsistent accounting that often occurred during the post-war period.

The Widow's List is important here for more than the above discussion about population demographics though. It contains evidence of some of the Commons site occupants as well. Some overlapping names appear when Table 6 is compared with Table 2 as well as with Batchelder's map. (See Figure 3.3) The “Widow of Peter

Lurvey" is listed as #92, the "Widow of Stephen Robinson" is at #95, and #100 and #101 list two Priestly widows. #102 lists the "Widow of Joseph Stevens" but there is also evidence that he did not die until 1826 so one should not presume that this is the Hannah Stevens who lived at 14 Dogtown Road. Familiar family names besides Lurvey, Robinson and Priestly appear here also. There are Riggs, Carters, Babsons, Bennets, Millits, and Wharfs on this list as well. Some of these names appear more than once, perhaps indicating that multiple men of the same family were killed during the Revolution.

Taken in total, the information presented above shows that resettlement of the Commons during the American Revolution was a sort of interruption in the general abandonment of the land. By the time of Isaac Dade's death in 1819 the settlement had changed in name as well as character. Table 7 in Appendix A, discussed in detail in the next chapter, lists the later Dogtown community. There is some overlap of course as this was a community in transition, with certain families staying on while other new renters moved in. The following chapter examines this transition within the community and begins to question reasons for its portrayal as an "outsider community" since its abandonment in the 1820s.

After the American Revolution other trade relations with the non-British Caribbean had to be forged. Surinam became a popular port of call, having been returned to Dutch rule by 1816. The city's relationship with this island in the nineteenth century was important enough to the local historic narrative to even make an appearance in a young adult novel by local writer Ruth Langland Holberg called *Tibby's Venture* (1943).

In this story, Tibby and her younger brother await the return of their father, a ship's captain, from his voyage to Surinam.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the first settlement up at the Commons, its early settlement, and the beginning of its decline. The community's abandonment of their farms seems mainly due to the population's discovery that they could not make a sustainable living on unsustainable land. They watched their friends and family at the harbor begin to experience a period of economic growth while they themselves made a marginal living, trying to bring goods to local markets, but often simply surviving though through bartering and trade. A loss of social power was experienced when the First Parish Meetinghouse's location was moved the harbor, further cementing Gloucester's allegiance to the harbor's economy. While the neighborhood's decline was briefly interrupted by the American Revolution, the war could not reverse the Commons Settlement's almost total disintegration by the end of the eighteenth century. The place becomes labeled differently at this time and Chapter 4 will next discuss this change of name as well as community which began to form after the Revolution.

Chapter 4: Becoming Dogtown

Introduction

The end of the American Revolution allowed Gloucester's shipping and fishing industries to begin to expand again. By 1836, just around the time when Dogtown was experiencing its final abandonment, "274 large vessels and hundreds of smaller boats were berthed in Gloucester" (Wilbur &Courtney n.d.:5), making it one of the busiest harbors on the East Coast. Day laborers worked on ships, the docks, or as fishermen, while men with means became merchants, ship owners, or simply investors. Gloucester was building its reputation as an important port city; small but thriving, based on its busy fleet of private and corporate-owned ships.

The Commons Settlement, an inland community more invested in farming as an economy, was detrimentally affected by this post-war economic boom, languishing economically as other neighborhoods developed. This chapter examines the narrative of the transformation of the Commons as it becomes known as a new community called Dogtown. While both place names are utilized here, the term "Dogtown" explicitly references the post-war settlement. The chapter is separated into five sections which discuss the known changes involved in the shift from the Commons Settlement to Dogtown. It discusses the change of name, community, people, place, and its material culture.

The narrative here is built of primary documents such as the Federal Census records from 1790 to 1820, as well as other settlement, birth, marriage and death records.

Oral histories and other secondary documentary information are considered as well, although most aspects of the oral histories and local narratives available about Dogtown were later reconstructions of the community and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Narrators such as Mann (1896) and Babson (1927) have argued that it was originally a geographic isolation that led to the Dogtown community's placement outside of Gloucester society yet it is argued in this chapter that it was not the geographic isolation itself but the fact of the new community's identification as a classed and gendered place of poverty-stricken and mostly elderly, single women that began to make the physical space appear as if it was geographically outside the rest of Gloucester society.

A Name Change

Archaeologists often find the history of a place name to be illuminating of the local history. For example, a brief history of the naming of Cape Ann itself, as described in Chapter 2, can be seen to also illuminate the region's history of colonial conquest. In the narrative history discussed here, the place originally called "the Commons Settlement" was changed to "Dogtown." This new name is viewed here as important to the way its local identity shifted then as well as how it has been portrayed since. Two related explanations have been accepted locally, both involving the need for guard dogs. One most often hears about a population of women widowed by the American Revolution who needed to keep dogs for protection in their isolation up at the Commons. As the Commons Settlement slowly emptied out, these dogs are said to have been

abandoned and gone feral, running in packs for years (sometimes even hundreds of years) to come, hence the name "Dogtown."[13]

On the other hand, one also finds explanations that relate the place to Gloucester's heritage of fishing. Johns (1968) states that homes were gradually abandoned by farmers and rented to fishermen who were gone for long periods of time. As always, however, the place was said to have been mainly inhabited by single women. She states that:

> There were also those women here made widows by the sea, and all those who lived by themselves in this barren wooded land often kept dogs for protection. As the male population declined and the dog population grew, the town acquired the name by which it is now known; Dogtown.
>
> – Johns 1968:3

Johns' sourcing on this story is unclear although Gloucester historian, John J. Babson, in his *History of the Town of Gloucester, Cape Ann* (1860:450) does mention that there were sailors' widows living in the Fourth Parish at this time. There is no evidence as of now that any of the residents of the second community, Dogtown, were ever sailors' wives, however, and it seems possible that Babson may have meant other sections of the Fourth Parish, such as neighboring Riverdale, as he does not specifically state that Dogtown was inhabited by widows of sailors. What he does say is that there were "many...poor widows residing in the old houses in Dogtown; and the last of them are still remembered, as they were seen bearing to market the berries and herbs which yielded them a scanty support" (J. Babson 1860:451).

The first official reference to "Dogtown" as early as 1799 in a deed signed from Thomas Lufkin to William Lufkin which references "...the pasture land my father bought

[13] Stories courtesy of the archives of The Cape Ann Historical Association found in Table 1 as well as in discussions with Isaac Patch IV (b.1912).

of Zebulon Lufkin and Joshua Woodbury known by the name of Dogtown pasture..." (Southern Essex Registry of Deeds Bk 167:219). Reference to a place called "Dogtown in the Town Parish" occurred in 1814 and again in the marriage record of Ebenezer Davis Day and Hannah Hodgkins who were married "at Dogtown" on December 10, 1816.[14]

Interestingly, either of the above scenarios means one thing for the demographics of this widowed population, they were undoubtedly fairly young at the time of their bereavement. Sailors and soldiers are often younger men which means that if they were married, they would have had young wives and perhaps even young children. William Ricketson's 1991 article about the experience of young widowhood in the colonial-era Massachusetts Bay Colony discusses the problem war creates for a small colonial society with no real system of poor-relief (1991:114). He points out that a population of young widows also often meant that their young husbands would not have had a substantial amount of property or money to leave as an inheritance either. Gloucester's war widows would have brought a fairly large public welfare burden onto the city and although there was an official almshouse on Granite Street by 1796 (Pringle 1892:87), it seems unlikely that this structure could have housed the number of women listed on the 1783 Widow's List. (See Table 6, Appendix A) While many women may have re-married in order to provide for their family, it is interesting to note that J. Babson stated that there were at least sixty of the eighty-six original widows still living in the Fourth Parish twenty years post-War, c. 1803 (1860:451). Presuming that these were the same women based on Babson's reference of them in the same context, one wonders why so many women of the Fourth Parish did not remarry. Was there perhaps a shortage of men due to warfare and

[14] Thanks to Sarah Dunlap of the Gloucester City Archives for these early Dogtown references.

the perils of the sea? This may have affected the parishes political and social influence as most women were placed much lower than men in the ranks of this local Puritan society.

While the exact origin of the name change will never be known, one can surmise that there are more symbolically meaningful reasons for this name change other than the packs of dogs that may or may not have existed. For example, this is not the only "Dogtown" in the United States. Elyssa East (2009) theorizes that the term was pejorative, related to the neighborhood's slow decay from that of an "insider" neighborhood to a place populated by those kept out of Gloucester's larger economy. She has found that there were at least sixty different places named "Dogtown" in the United States dating from the nineteenth to the early twentieth century (2009:130). These places were often smaller neighborhoods on the outside of a larger town and "in most instances the name referred to towns that were populated by an underclass or had been abandoned" (East 2009:131). For example, a neighborhood in St. Louis, populated by an immigrant community of Filipinos who had come for the 1904 World's Fair, was called Dogtown, as was a mid-eighteenth century Chinese mining camp in California. East surmises that the people associated with these places were treated as somewhat feral or wild themselves, aiding in the construction and use of the name.

Gloucester's Dogtown fits the above profile fairly well. To return to the 1783 Widow's List, there are indications here that certain demographic shifts were occurring in Gloucester, affecting its political economy and the relationships of power among neighborhoods. J. Babson (1860:454) lists the town's population c1799 to have been around 5000: the First Parish had 2565 citizens; the Second 895; the Third 558; the

Fourth 555; and the Fifth 373, which places the Fourth Parish at about eleven percent of the total population. (See Chart 1, Appendix B) In comparison with the 1783 Widow's List, we find that the Fourth Parish also contained twenty-six percent of the town's total widowed population. (See Chart 2, Appendix B) Why might one parish contain such a disproportionate number of a town's widows? Is this related to the fact that many of Gloucester's Continental Army recruits had often moved their families away from the harbor, believing the forests to be safer in case of attack. One wonders if these women were then left to bear the burden of returning themselves and their families back to the harbor community after their husbands' deaths.

As seen in the above discussion, a change in place name is as important to the analysis here as it would have been to the place itself c. 1800. To the archaeologist, it often indicates a change in the community or perhaps simply the characterization of the community. While the American Revolution briefly interrupted the gradual abandonment of the Commons Settlement, the population's demographics were shifting by the turn of the century, leaving many Commons farms abandoned and their house sites inhabited by tenants with little or no means.

Wurst's previously discussed analysis of the relational nature of the class system (2010) becomes important to note at this time. One can argue here that an emerging upper class might define themselves by what they are not and so aid in the construction of a “lower class” group as well. The deconstruction of the narrative of the Dogtown community begins to allow one to see that they were becoming socially marginalized over time in direct opposition to the rest of Gloucester. The Dogtown population was not

taking part in the larger community's growing economy due to their age, gender, or race, leading to a so-called “lower class” population as well.

A Community Shift

Farm abandonment and a booming harbor economy beginning in the mid-eighteenth century have been used as the general explanation for the changes taking place at the Commons but the story is perhaps more complicated than that. For example, there was one family (the Stevens) who, in fact, profited as Dogtown came into existence. They will be discussed below. They owned five lots along Dogtown Road into the 1820s, allowing one to begin to question Vickers' (1994) previously discussed portrayal of the Puritan farmer as a simple English yeoman attempting improve the Lord's garden. They also connect Dogtown to a larger economic shift that was occurring throughout the new country.

In fact, the very act of an entire generations' abandonment of their farms at the Commons for the chance at a more profitable life elsewhere in town shows one that these farmers were perhaps not simply trying to “improve” God's garden. While many of them may have ended up merely as subsistence farmers, perhaps this was simply the best they could manage. This point is made by Winifred Rothenberg in her article “The Market and Massachusetts Farmers, 1750-1855” (1981) as well. She argues that peripheral colonial farmers have been been left out of the histories of a pre-capitalist market economy in New England. To her though, a market mentality existed as logically as did networks of exchange and trade. She writes, “Massachusetts did not begin as an experiment in self-sufficiency. The people who settled this land came from a tradition of

Market Crosses, Market Days, Corn Markets, cattle, wool, cheese, silk and produce markets, stalls, shops, fairs, itinerant peddlers and cattle drovers" (1981:312). In the end, Rothenberg wonders if, in places such as Dogtown, there was instead a "forced retreat into self-sufficiency" (1981:313).

Regardless of the language utilized, at the Commons, even self-sufficiency was hard to achieve and so their involvement in any of the rural capitalist markets emerging at this time would not have been possible.[15] While the original land grantees had worked to make a good living and leave land to their children and grandchildren, later generations found that this land would not bend to their will. For example, Titterington (1988:Table 5) points to probate records from the settlement showing many without the appropriate gear and land to achieve a profit. (See Table 5, Appendix A) Their lack of self-sufficiency may have brought them together, forming the above mentioned networks of exchange that "wove a web of kin, community and inter-generational reciprocity" (Rothenberg 1981:286), but they were still not able to make their community function sustainably, or further, to take part in the growing market economies in and around Gloucester.

The People of Dogtown

This next section will consider the people who lived through the second period of settlement. When beginning a discussion about the last community that inhabited this place, though, it is important to understand the origins of one's information as it comes from many various archival sources: the Federal Census, probate and other vital records

[15] See Christopher Clarke's *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts* for a discussion of rural capitalism during the early nineteenth in Massachusetts.

from the state of Massachusetts, as well as various non-contemporary histories. Unfortunately, there are several reasons the record is incomplete. First, the post-war record-keeping can be phrased as chaotic at best; second, documents are often lost through time; and third, records of subaltern populations are rarely as numerous as they are of other classes of people who may leave more written documentation behind.

As discussed in Chapter 1, one must be careful to analyze the archive from different angles as well, remembering that there are choices to be made in how one views such facts. While secondary histories such as Charles Mann's 1896 *In the Heart of Cape Ann* have been used as the main source material in the construction of the local narrative in the past, there are some primary documents that can be related to this population as well. One can find Mann's most infamous characters (Luce George, Tammy Younger, Judy Rhines, and Abram Wharf) mentioned in contemporary documents for example.

What is often left unexplored in the local narrative though is that within Dogtown's geographical limits there were families who appear to have been "respectable" as well. Primary documents show that the families of Nathaniel Day, Isaac Dade, Stephen Robinson, and Joseph and Hannah Stevens all lived in Dogtown at the same time as the other, more infamous, individuals mentioned above, yet their names are rarely associated with this later community. This section of the chapter will introduce individuals from both sides, insider and outsider, through the evidence they have left in the primary documents. For example, census records (see Table 8, Appendix A) show that some of the same people from the Commons Settlement lived in the community when it was called Dogtown as well. In comparing the census records with Batchelder's

map one is able to find some of the individuals they have listed on their maps. The Census Records are not perfect though. For example, a male head of household named Arthur Wharf is listed on both the 1790 and 1800 census although the vital records show that he died in 1789. His son Abram (or Abraham) Wharf, however, can be found on the 1790, 1800 and 1810 censuses. Probate records indicate that he died prior to 1816 (See Table 5, Appendix A) while the secondary sources say that he committed suicide behind a boulder near his house on Wharf Road in 1814. Nathaniel Day and Isaac Dade, the Revolutionary War hero, also appear on the earliest census, 1790, with Nathaniel Day appearing again on the 1810 Census as well. Isaac Dade died in 1818 according to his War Pension record but his son Isaac Dade, Jr. is listed on the census in 1820. This son appears in the apprenticeship records as well. He was apprenticed to a Moses Wheeler, mariner, until 1815. (See Table 3, Appendix A)

A woman named Lucy George (described as one of the "witches" of Dogtown in the secondary sources) is also listed on the 1790 census. She is said to be the head of a household including one "Free White Male" and three "Free White Females." Oral history suggests that the other female in her household may have been her niece Tammy Younger and that the "Free White Male" may reference Tammy Younger's own young nephew Oliver Younger.

Lucy (or sometimes Luce) George and Tammy (or Thomasine) Younger stay on into the nineteenth century, becoming described as two of Dogtown's most infamous "witches." George's date of death is unknown but according to church documents Younger is believed to have died, in her house on Cherry Street in 1829. She was born in

1753 to William and Lucy (Foster) Younger who were married by the Reverend John White in the Old First Parish on March 6, 1750. Tammy was to become one of Dogtown's most notorious women yet she appears to have begun life as the daughter of a church-going First Parish family during the height of the Commons Settlement.

It should be noted at this time that these two women did not, in fact, live within the boundaries of "Dogtown" but just outside the entrance on Cherry Street. They were probably closer to the Old Meetinghouse Green than to Dogtown. Cherry Street would be eventually marginalized by the extension of Washington Street but this was not until c1829.[16] So while the house would have been well-positioned to stop traffic on its way up towards the northern part of the parish, it is more probable that it was their reputation as "witches" and not their physical location that has made it possible to call them residents of Dogtown.

The census records from the early nineteenth century have evidence of other people that have been associated with the Dogtown population as well. Presuming that the "M" stands for "Morgan," John Morgan Stanwood appears on the 1810 Census while his father Nehemiah Stanwood is on both the 1800 and 1810 Censuses. Joseph Stevens is listed on the 1800 census as well as the 1810 and 1820. Mary Stevens, perhaps the sister of "Old Joe" Stevens according to Mann (1896:43), is listed on the 1810 Census as well. The record states that there was just one "Free White Female" occupying her house so it seems probable that the local folklore was right in stating that she lived alone. Her house may have been located between 14 Dogtown Road, which was the Stevens' property, and Easter Carter's at 15 Dogtown Road. Unfortunately, an unanswerable question at this

[16] This will be discussed later in the chapter.

time is why Easter Carter as well as most of the people along the Commons Road may have been excluded from the census records.

Returning to the 1783 Widow's List (Table 6, Appendix A) one may find some information relating to this later population as well. As discussed previously, the Fourth Parish contained the largest number of widows of all of the parishes in Gloucester and some of these widows are found from other Dogtown records. Familiar family names appear such as Millet, Bennet, Riggs, Wharf and Babson making it clear that these families were located in this region. Although the first names are often unlisted which makes it difficult to place all specific individuals geographically, a few can be assigned directly to Dogtown. The widow of Peter Lurvey is listed at #92 and the widow of John Carter at #99. Peter Lurvey was a Revolutionary War hero, dying on the first day of Gloucester's involvement. The widow of Philemon Priestly, #101, is found here as well, although he himself is also still listed on the census records post-1800, confusing the issue.

Lastly, there are two women listed at #122 and #124 that grab ones attention, the Widow George and the Widow Younger. Of course this could reference other women, but if this does this reference the previously mentioned Luce George and Tammy Younger then it complicates the subject still more as there is no evidence for these women ever having been married. Could the Widow's List, arguably made to take account of the number of young women and their families left dependent on the town of Gloucester for financial support after the American Revolution, have become a catch-all for all single women in need of assistance at that time? According to this list, the Fourth

Parish contained eighty-six widows c. 1783 while J. Babson states that there were still about sixty widowed women in the Fourth Parish twenty years after the war (1860:451). If this is true then only about twenty women either re-married or passed away between c. 1783 and 1803. One would like to know if these sixty women were perhaps already an older population of women, unavailable for marriage in the first place yet, unfortunately, this is an unanswerable question at this time.

Table 7 in Appendix A lists other persons associated with the post-War Dogtown community as well. The table shows about twenty to twenty-five residents living in around ten to fifteen house sites in the time period between c. 1800 and c. 1830. (These numbers and locations are of course dependent upon when you take the accounting, who is alive at the time, and who was living with whom, where.) Compared with the around one hundred individuals estimated to have been associated with the forty or so households found during the time of the Commons Settlement one witnesses a quite depleted population. Yet, as stated above, this new settlement is also somewhat a continuation of the last one as there are various descendants of earlier families found in the Census records and other vital statistics. Abram Wharf, for example, also has stayed, perhaps selling his father Arthur Wharf's property at 10 Dogtown Road to Joseph Stevens and moving to 24 Wharf Road until the time of his death in c1814. Table 5 in Appendix A lists his probate appraisal in 1816 as being a dwelling house and two acres of land but it is not clear which site they mean. Secondary sources differ in their opinions as to where he lived. Mann says that he died near his house on Wharf Road after speaking with his sister, who happened to be the aforementioned widow of Peter Lurvey (Mann

1896:50). Titterington (1988:12) on the other hand, decided that the two acres of land and house listed in Probate #29406 is the lot at 10 Dogtown Road. And furthering one's confusion, Mann references Wharf's suicide to have been under a rock near his large, "gambrel-roofed" house located where Dogtown's roads meet (1860:450). Unfortunately, this clears nothing up since neither of these dwellings were in such a location. One is inclined to think that he was living on Wharf Road at the time of his death, though, since the 1790 Census lists him as head of a household separate from his father Arthur's household. (See Table 8, Appendix A)

There were one or two families with children as well. Isaac Dade located at 18 Dogtown Road is known to have apprenticed out three of his sons, and John Morgan Stanwood, who lived at the Lurvey house as well as up at his family's house on the Commons Road, is reputed to have had some younger children. There was also a young man named Sammy Stanley who lived with his grandmother and her friends on Dogtown Road, and Oliver Younger who lived with his aunt Tammy Younger on Cherry Street. These two last young men would have been of school age but, if they attended school, it was not in Dogtown as the school run by Granny Jane Day would have been closed before c. 1800. Sammy Stanley may, in fact, be the "Samuel Stanley Maskell" apprenticed as a farmhand between 1808 and 1822 first to Captain James Dennison and then Asa Brown. (See Table 3)

Most other people found in Dogtown post-1800 appear to be new to the settlement. Mann (1896: 40) was led to believe that a woman named Easter Carter lived at 15 Dogtown Road. She and her brother, William, are believed to have migrated from

England. William is said to have married a local woman named Annie Carter (Mann 1896:40) and lived with their one son, Joseph, next door to Easter at 16 Dogtown Road.

Easter Carter never married although she did have a woman named Ruth described by Mann as living on the upper floor (1896:41). She is said to have been a woman of mixed ancestry and a freed slave. Gloucester's involvement in the slave trade and history of slave ownership is not a topic one can cover completely here yet it is important to note that two of the residents of Dogtown were once captives, "Old Ruth" and "Black Neil" aka Cornelius Finson. The topic even appeared important to Mann who described the Ellery-White house at the Meetinghouse Green as having contained a "slave pen" in the attic (Mann 1896:42). Interestingly, one finds three Ellery slave-owners, including two William Ellerys listed in Reilly's 1991 compilation of Gloucester's "Servants for Life," a list that is based on a 1771 tax assessment. (See Table 9, Appendix A) Reilly's list also includes a mulatto child named Ruth who was baptized in the 1743 in the Third Parish. One wonders if this could have been the same woman who lived at 15 Dogtown Road with Easter Carter in the early 1800s, yet that is an unknown as of now.[17]

Dogtown's Ceramic Assemblage

The next section of this chapter will discuss the ceramic assemblage from 9, 12, 13, and 15 Dogtown Road as well as from 24 Wharf Road. As mentioned previously, there was no new excavation undertaken for this study. While much can be learned about

[17] See Nancy Prince's memoir, *A Narrative of the life and travels of Mrs. Nancy Prince, b.1799* (1831) for a more detailed account of what life was like for an enslaved woman in Essex County. Her mother was born in Gloucester while she was born just north in Newburyport, and she writes about her travels between these small towns and Boston until her later emancipation and marriage.

a community through archaeological exploration, it became clear that excavation in Dogtown at this time would further many misconceptions about the community. A deconstruction of the site's history, landscape, and previous inhabitants was undertaken instead, believing that this was an important first step for any future work. This study was not designed to find out whether a woman named Judy Rhines used imported ceramics to set her table but to draw attention to the fact that almost everything known about Judy Rhines is hearsay in the first place. Separately, a question of context also played a role here because many house areas show evidence of disturbance by bottle hunters or other people with interest in the past.

It is believed that a discussion of the assemblages already excavated will allow for some interesting information about the community however. This analysis should be seen to be a response to perceptions of Dogtown as they exist today. Namely, one wonders why such selective memory has been utilized in the public memorializing of the place? As stated previously, there are almost no stories of the more economically successful Stevens clan who lived in Dogtown at the same time as the women labeled "witches." Perhaps this is because their success does not fit in with the local history of decline. This analysis of the ceramics is seen as a response to this blank space in the record then.

As discussed in Chapter 3, this assemblage is the combination of three archaeological studies, originating from surface and sub-surface surveys from the early twentieth century to the 1990s and the artifacts are not all well-provenienced. For example, Norton only specifically notated the artifacts from Site 13 although he surveyed

9 and 16 as well. One can, however, discuss a general time period of artifact use and those people who may be associated with them. While Table 4 in Appendix A examines the total material culture assemblage collected from sites associated with both the Commons and Dogtown settlements, Tables 10 and 11 are more specific examinations of sites that can be associated with certain individuals who lived only in Dogtown itself. Norton, Titterington and Sucholeiki each collected artifacts from sites 9, 12, 13, 15, and 24. Sites 9, 12, and 13 are last associated with the Stevens family and have a of total 244 ceramic sherds. Site 15 is last associated with Easter Carter, Ruth, Becky Rich, and Rachel Smith and site 24 with Abram Wharf and his family. (See Figure 4.1)

Figure 4.1: House areas considered here: 9, 12, 13, 15 and 24. Map courtesy of Google Earth 2011.

These two sites have a total of 117 ceramic sherds that can be analyzed here. The analysis has been split up between these two groups of sites as the artifacts are seen to have been associated with people of differing economic status within the same community. The Stevens family, farmers still, owned their own land and were (as an examination of the probate records have shown) substantially wealthier than their neighbors at 15 Dogtown Road. Unlike most farmers in the region, the Stevens' livelihood does not appear to have been tied to their neighbors. In fact, they were able to purchase the abandoned house lots neighboring their own farm. (See Figure 4.2)

Figure 4.2: Stevens family house areas highlighted in red on Mann 1896 over a Google Earth map 2011.

Joseph Stevens is believed to have arrived at the Commons either during or after the war and although there is no known date available he does appear on the 1800 Census as well as the 1810 and 1820. (See Table 8, Appendix A) Titterington points out that from c. 1800 to c. 1826 when he died, he and his family are associated with house areas 9-14, as he was granted ownership of "seven parcels of land between 1803 and 1817, four of which were contiguous lots running eastward along Dogtown Road..." (Titterington 1988:13). Stevens' widow is presumed to have stayed on after his death as she became

solely associated with the dwelling at 14 Dogtown Road. Although the dates and specific locations are unknown, their two oldest sons, Isaiah W. and Josiah W. were each eventually granted the rights to a dwelling house of their own, probably on one of their father's lots located along Dogtown Road, prior to c. 1830. (See Table 2, Appendix A) Hannah and Joseph Stevens' two youngest sons, Thomas and William, inherited their mother's estate when she died while the couple's four daughters (Sarah Wilson, Hannah Day, Abigail and Mary Stevens) each received ten dollars. Titterington points to Joseph Stevens as having been the only farmer able to leave land to each of his four sons. His probate lists a substantial amount of property by either Commons or Dogtown standards. His sons inherited "together with two houses, barns and adjoining fields, the inventory records: '1 cow pasture Bought of Prestly' [sic] (Philip Priestly of site 11), 'Clarks pasture' (site 9), '1 small Lot adjoining Clarks pasture' (perhaps site 10), the 'Clark House Lot' (site 9) and several other pieces of land in Dogtown, all valued at $1422.00" (Titterington 1988:14).

Charts 3 through 7 in Appendix B are based on Tables 10 and 11. One can see that the majority of ceramics found at all five sites were utilitarian lead-glazed earthenwares. At the sites associated with the Stevens family (9, 12, and 13) they account for fifty-five percent of the assemblage while they make up sixty-eight percent of the assemblage combined from sites 15 and 24. As discussed in Chapter 3, it can be surmised that much of these wares were utilized for farm work such as dairying as there are also smaller collections of refined earthenwares and stonewares found that would have been used as tablewares. Utilitarian stonewares are present in this collection but in

much smaller quantities as presumably the lead-glazed earthenwares were more readily available.

Creamware, a late eighteenth century refined earthenware often used in sets for tableware is the next largest collection of ceramics found at these sites. The amounts of creamware from one site to the next are not evenly balanced yet this may indicate a bias in the record due to the differences in collection practices of the various individuals involved in its construction. Sucholeiki excavated four feet behind each cellar hole, presuming that this is where he would find the trash that had been thrown out behind the house, while Titterington, on the other hand, used surface collection to build her assemblage. It makes sense then that Sucholeiki's sub-surface excavations yielded considerably more artifacts than Titterington's surface collection but this does bias the ceramic record towards his excavated sites so that 9 and 24 both contain larger numbers of ceramics in general than 12, 13 and 15. Sucholeiki also found delftware below the ground at both sites 9 and 24 while none was found at the sites where ground surfaces alone were examined. It is highly likely that this is due to collection practices again. The tin-glazed delft dates earlier in the eighteenth century than the creamwares, meaning that they would presumably be found in levels below the creamwares. It makes sense then that the delftwares are more likely to have been found underground during excavation.

A consideration of the other types of ceramic types found allows one to discover a more meaningful pattern however. When one compares the examples of refined stonewares and porcelain with the creamware collection a pattern of long re-use of tablewares emerges at some sites while others contained a more varied tableware set over

time. To consider the collection of creamware first, it is interesting to note that while they were produced through the end of the eighteenth century, by that time other whitewares such as pearlwares had begun to replace many of the creamwares at historic sites throughout the northeast (Miller 2000). One does not find a substantial collection of pearlwares at any of these sites though. At this time it is not known why creamwares dominate the collection but it does mean that they were used for a bit longer here than one might have expected.

Next the other ceramic types are considered. Small amounts of white salt-glazed stonewares and porcelain are associated with the Stevens family sites while the other two sites (15 and 24) have neither of these table or tea wares. It is surmised then that the households associated with sites 15 and 24 used their creamwares for all meals, while the Stevens family was able to change their wares a set of salt-glazed stoneware to creamwares over time. The Stevens may also have been able to take part in the popular tea-drinking ritual implied by the presence of porcelain in the assemblage.

A consideration of land use may indicate that the Stevens family utilized a pattern of land development that was successful for a small number of the earlier Commons settlers as well. Families associated with multiple lots of land may have fared better than their neighbors with one small farm at their disposal. For example, as discussed in Chapter 3, one interpretation of Batchelder's map is that the Bennet family, once based around “the Castle” on the Commons Road, may have controlled their land as a larger family compound instead of in individual nuclear families, allowing them to pool their resources. (See Figure 3.3) It is possible that the nearby Riggs and Wharf families

worked their holdings similarly. Even the Stevens family moved on eventually though. With farm shares distributed among a growing number of heirs, an eventual depletion in profit would have occurred and they are thought to have been gone by c. 1830 when Cornelius Finson, Dogtown's last resident, is said to have been taken down to the poorhouse.

The land was not abandoned completely though, returning to a kind of unofficial common land for nearby grazing animals throughout the rest of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Two of Dogtown's boulders contain memorials to a man named James Merry who stated that he had learned the art of bull-fighting in Spain. He died on September 10, 1892 while drunkenly fighting his own bull (Mann 1896:44). One rock is labeled “First Attack” while the other, inscribed with the date, memorializes the place where his body was found.

Photographs taken during the early twentieth century of famous rocks in Dogtown like the Whale's Jaw (See Figure 2.5) and the image of Dogtown Road from the early twentieth century seen below (Figure 4.3) show an environment that looks much more like the historic pastureland than today's forest.

Figure 4.3: Road into Dogtown, circa the early 20th century.

The Vivian family pastured animals along Dogtown Road during the early twentieth century as well. Although "Dogtown" was abandoned, the Vivians were there from at least 1896, when "Vivian Barn" is noted as a local landmark on Mann's map (see Figure 4.4), until 1934 when city records show Doris Vivian listed as the owner of a car cottage and 20 acres of pastureland valued at $900. A barn had existed at least until 1932 as well when it was listed as worth $250.[18] Much like the Stevens family, although Doris Vivian would have been the last widow in Dogtown she and her family appear to contradict the general "abandonment" narrative and are never included in the local history the place.

[18] Information courtesy of Sarah Dunlap, Gloucester City Archives.

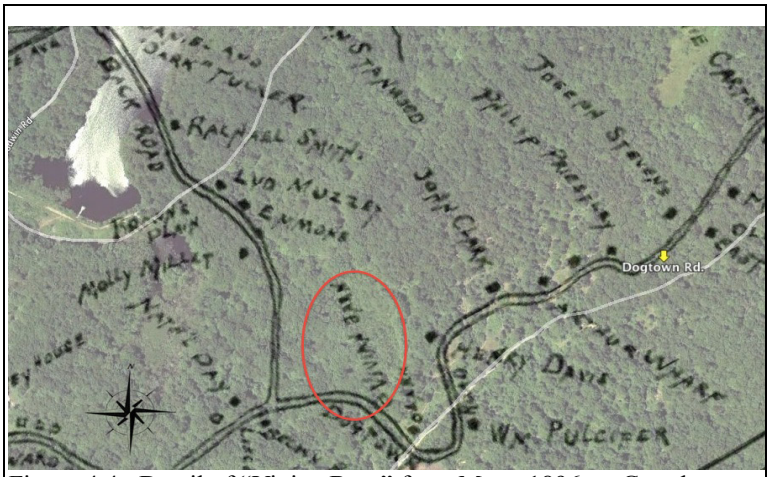


Figure 4.4: Detail of "Vivian Barn" from Mann 1896 on Google Earth map 2011.

The Place Called Dogtown

The story of Dogtown is viewed here as the story of a people and a place. This portion of the chapter will discuss the changing place and its differing boundary lines as understood in the public memory. One is reminded here that the glacial moraine would have retained its size and importance throughout both the first as well as the second settlements and that the walled-in field systems also would have been quite obvious on the landscape at the time of Dogtown's settlement as the second growth forest has really only come back after the 1930s. The boundaries of the community were changing, with some portions of the area becoming more isolated while others were incorporated into the rest of Gloucester. For example, the Bennet family house called "the Castle", originally located on the Commons Road, can be found at 41 Gee Avenue. Today it is a house on the Massachusetts Register of Historic Houses but the road is disconnected due to the Goose Cove Reservoir which was built in 1963. It is clear that both Mann and Babson

knew of this house during their lifetimes though as Mann mentions that it was owned by members of the Riggs family c. 1896 (1896:66) and Babson states that Lemuel Friend and his family owned it c. 1927 (1927:15). One wonders, then, why Mann states that the last house to be torn down in Dogtown was Annie Carter's at 16 Dogtown Road (Mann 1896:44)? Was this portion of the Commons Road no longer considered Dogtown?

As with the inclusion of Luce George and Tammy Younger on Cherry Street, one finds a clearly symbolic viewpoint here as to who does and does not live in Dogtown. Although Dogtown's geographical location was located quite close to the town's "center," the separation of the First Parish into two may have begun its symbolic isolation from the center. Dogtown Road, the Commons Road, the Back Road, and Wharf Road were regularly traveled, attached to the rest of Gloucester by Cherry Street. According to Thomas Babson (1955:307) this street was built c. 1646 as an access road for lumbering along the Mill River. Washington Street, which went from the "town" down to the sea, was built by c. 1698. The Old Rockport Road, which traveled from the Meetinghouse Green to Sandy Bay, was probably built by c. 1707 as well (T. Babson 1955:307). (See Figure 4.5)

Figure 4.5: USGS Map 1893 placed on Google Earth map 2011.

As time went by, it seems that at least one road became separated its Dogtown origins. The Commons Road originally spanned the Mill River connecting to Washington Street although according to Mann, by c. 1896 a portion of it had changed loyalties. The piece connected to Washington Street became today's Gee Avenue and its exclusion from the Dogtown settlement allowed Mann to construct a narrative of houses decaying beyond repair when in fact there may have been houses still inhabited up on the section of the old Commons Road. Perhaps it was this section's proximity to Washington Street that allowed it to survive as the rest of the settlement collapsed as this became a main thoroughfare of Gloucester. Washington Street grew to the newly built Goose Cove dam and bridge c. 1829, whereas the older road, Cherry Street became by-passed much of the time. Figure 4.5 illustrates the location of these roads as they existed on an 1893 United States Geographical Service map.

Mann's lack of historical accuracy is found here as he makes the case for geographic isolation by stating the it was the bridge construction over Goose Cove that led to the eventual abandonment of Dogtown (1896:27). Construction of the bridge did not occur until c. 1829, however, making it clear that this cannot have been the cause of the community's economic failure. This small population does not appear to have contained enough of a political voice to advocate for themselves in town politics though, finally becoming as geographically marginalized as they had become financially and socially. The later Dogtown community was much smaller than the Commons Settlement as the population dropping from about forty to sixty inhabited house sites to perhaps ten

to fifteen. Many were not the owners of their houses but rented from the previous farmers, or perhaps even just squatted in the empty houses.

Much of what else is "known" about the Dogtown community is reconstructed oral history though. A belief in a communal identity can be found in how Gloucester has reconstructed the history with their social network portrayed as based on familial ties as well as on other friendship or neighborly relationships. Becky Rich is said to have lived on and off with her adult daughter Rachel Smith and Rachel's son Thomas. Many other people are believed to have lived with their kin as well. For example, Mann was told that Sammy Stanley lived with his grandmother Mrs. Stanley, while Tammy Younger lived with her aunt Luce George and also raised her nephew Oliver Younger. And Liz Tucker lived with her niece Judy Rhines. Others are believed to have lived in non-familial situations. Molly Jacobs is said to have lived with two other women, Sarah Phipps and Mrs. Stanley (with her grandson Sammy). Easter Carter and Old Ruth are thought to have been housemates as well as Judy Rhines and Cornelius Finson. These last two are often alleged to have been more than just friends.

The Dogtown community, unlike the earlier Commons Settlement, is believed to have moved house quite often. This fact is perhaps related to their status as tenants not owners, of the house sites, as well as to the age of the houses themselves. "Aunt" Rachel Smith is said to have lived in three places, at the then empty "Castle" on the Commons Road, along the Back Road near Molly Millet's old house, and with her mother, Becky Rich, in Easter Carter's old house at 15 Dogtown Road. John Morgan Stanwood may have moved his family from his mother-in-law's house off Wharf Road to his families'

house site on the Commons Road near the Morgan Creek. Babson says Morgan Stanwood had tried working as a cobbler but this was not long-lived. Eventually he is associated by historical narrators as living alone in a dwelling labeled a "little hut...by the big boulder" (Babson 1927:16). One finds other people on the move too. Sammy Stanley is believed to have moved with his grandmother and her friends to Dogtown Road but then is also associated with the Lurvey house on Wharf Road when the women were brought to the town's poorhouse. Eventually Stanley is believed to have moved out of the settlement, finding a home in Rockport. Cornelius Finson is said to have moved from the Lurvey house site to Judy Rhines' house, before he was removed from Dogtown by the town constable. He is also associated with Molly Jacobs' house site at times (Mann 1896:51). These stories are not verifiable at this time however and are viewed here as giving a sense of life to the historic landscape more than a history of said landscape.

Conclusions

This chapter has introduced the community called Dogtown. Although it retained most of the previous physical traits of the first community, by the end of the Dogtown settlement c. 1829 the place had transformed from somewhere that was "inside" Gloucester to that of one beginning to be placed "outside" the town both physically and mentally. In its final days this last Dogtown population consisted of a poverty-stricken class of people consisting of single women, socially marginalized families, and two people of African-American ancestry. This is the group formed from the founding of the new Fourth Parish discussed in Chapter 3, immortalized as strangers in Gloucester my

Charles Mann (to be further examined in Chapter 5), and isolated from future narratives of success due to their lack of involvement in the coastal economy growing at the harbor during the mid-nineteenth century. The population of mostly aging, single women may have found small ways to take part in Gloucester's larger economy, offering important services such as cooking, nursing and perhaps even the brewing of herbal remedies, yet it is argued here that, as this place became marginalized from the town's central power structure, the people associated with it became depicted as more feral themselves. For example, East (2009:131) points out that Tammy Younger and Judy Rhines, two of the "witches," as well as Cornelius Finson and Ruth, the only people of color in the community, are all referred to by Mann (1896:24) as having had especially large or bright teeth.

Chapter 5 will delve more into this construction of the Dogtown mythology with a discussion of the building of an outsider community through a specific usage of the archive and the landscape in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. One no longer finds the open pastures and little cabins that once populated the place. Instead it is a forest with fallen in house foundations and enclosed views, making it appear more like the outsider village it is supposed to have been.

Chapter 5: Constructing Dogtown

> In the shadow of a great rock they are their lunch sprawled on the dry, stubby grass...
>
> "Witches don't live here anymore," said Tibby dreamily.
>
> "They used to scare people and put spells on them and tell sailers' fortunes," shivered Lovey in spite of the hot day.
>
> "All the cellar holes you see are where they used to live when they were driven out of Salem, people say," added Ceylon. "But my father says that that is all nonsense and respectable people lived here before the Revolution when the main road to Gloucester crossed from Rockport past the Whale's Jaw."
>
> – Langland Holberg 1943:82

Introduction

This chapter begins as the actual settlement of Dogtown ends. It will explore the uses, interpretations and changes to the heritage landscape that is today's Dogtown. One will witness it transform over time into a more bounded environment, now separated out from the inhabited portions of Gloucester as it was not in previous incarnations. Mann's oral historical folktales will be related in more detail here as well as various other narratives that played a role in the late-nineteenth century version of Dogtown. It will also focus on Roger W. Babson's ownership in the early twentieth century and how his interests in the place have affected the reading of the archive as well as the physical landscape. He passed on ownership to the city of Gloucester and the dialectic this has caused about conservation, heritage, and land-use will be discussed in a third section here as well. This chapter argues that the site has been just as transformed by the activities involved in its post-settlement heritage construction as it was when it was an inhabited

place. It works with the term “heritage” and “heritage management” through the critique of theorists such as Handler (1996), Lowenthal (1994, 2003), Mattivi Morley (1994), Shackel (2001) and Stepenoff (2008). Lowenthal (2003) has analyzed the production of history working from British novelist L.P. Hartley's statement that “the past is a foreign country: they do things differently there.” As with any society, an understanding of the past involves interpretation and choice. If the job of a heritage site is to create common ground through a celebration of certain aspects of a communally agreed upon past (Mattivi Morley 2004:287) then Dogtown can be viewed here as a place that has been interpreted and preserved by historical agents for all of Gloucester to experience and learn from. Handler finds that “preservation involves artful fakery” (2006:568) and while one may not be ready to call the Dogtown landscape a “fake,” this chapter will point to aspects of its produced experience.

One of the tools of a heritage site is its archive, hence Dogtown's archive is explored further here as well. Archivists such as Randell Jimerson are beginning to argue that the process of archiving “legitimize[s] and sanctif[ies] certain documents while negating and destroying other others” (Jimerson 2006:20). Trouillot succinctly states: “history means both the facts of the matter and a narrative of those facts, both 'what happened' and 'that which is said to have happened'” (1995:2). For him, an un-critiqued archive places the historian and other officially sanctioned interpreters in a position of power over the people who experience the archive. They are given the power to choose; to decide what happened, what did not happen and, perhaps sometimes, the power to make tangible what they would like to have happened.

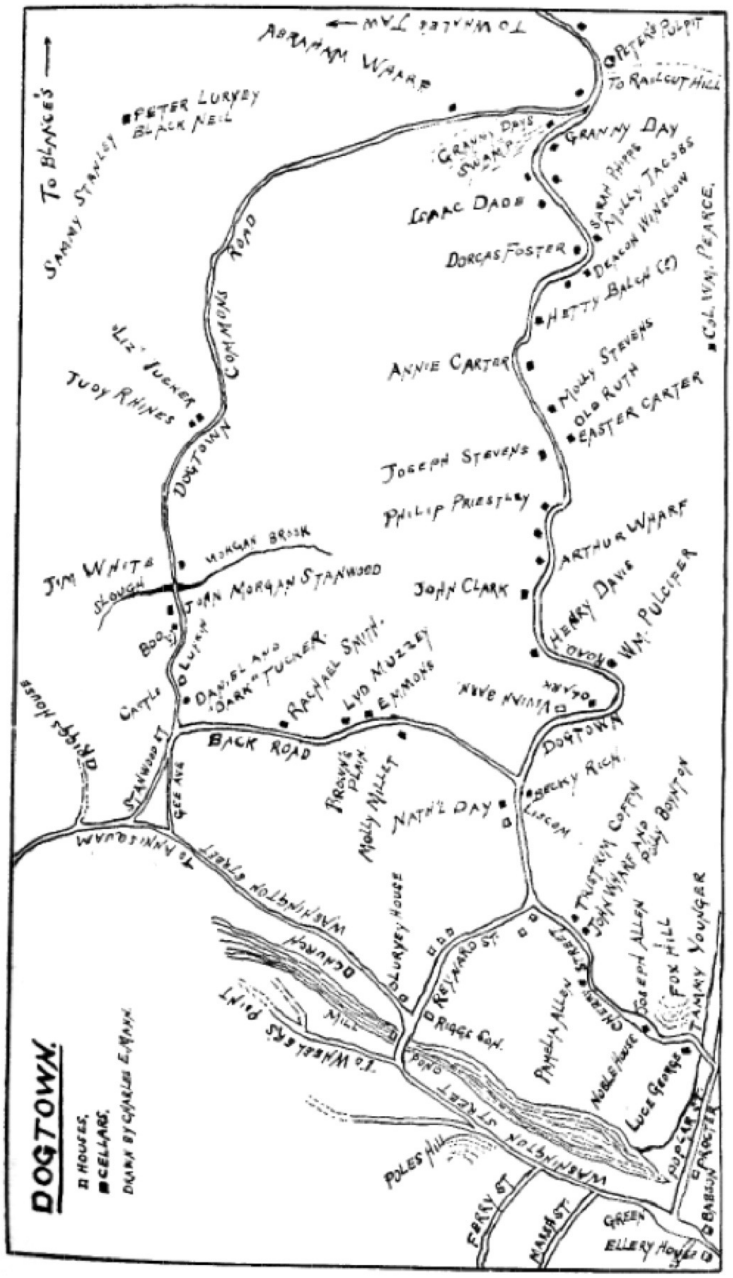
The Foundations of the Narrative

Although Dogtown's dwellings were abandoned by the mid-nineteenth century, the pastures were still used by nearby farmers throughout the rest of the century. Turn of the twentieth century photographs as well as oral histories from the local community attest to this sort of use. (See Figures 2.5 and 4.3) Charles Mann, editor of the Gloucester Daily Times, and a local historian, published his oral history, *In the Heart of Cape Ann or The Story of Dogtown,* in 1896. As has been discussed throughout, it was his published account of the place that has leant the folktales an historical credibility. He also published a hand-drawn map of the settlement, associating certain individuals with particular house sites. It has been pointed out though that his narrative has certain flaws, not the least of which is that it contains a bias toward abandonment for, as previously discussed in Chapter 4, there was at least one farm still located in Dogtown into the late nineteenth century. The place is marked on Mann's map as "Vivian Barn," referencing a family that owned land on Dogtown Road in the late nineteenth century when Mann was doing his work. Doris Vivian, the widow of William H. Vivian, was the owner of a car cottage and 20 acres of pastureland valuing $900 until 1934. (See previous Figure 4.4) However, the Vivian family history did not appear to have found meaning for Charles Mann and instead he blithely moved past the "Vivian barn" in his tour of the landscape, keeping it quite separate from the rest of Dogtown.

Mann's specific agenda here is unknown. Historical fact was quite clearly over-looked here though and it seems plausible to argue that he, being a person of his historic moment, not only strove to tell the history of Dogtown with accuracy, but to write a

compelling narrative as well. For men of his era, moral character was often connected to social standing. Today one can critique these sets of assumptions through the understanding of a how a capitalist mode of production thoroughly changed the dynamic between different groups of people. Mann's belief that morality related to one's social standing was not unusual and would have masked these capitalist mechanisms of social change. Yet, as James Moore points out, "it [was] not capitalism which created poverty, dispossession, and disempowerment" (2011, personal communication).

There are two sketch maps to be considered here. Mann's from 1896 and Roger W. Babson's from c1927. These are of interest here as it is these two men whose interpretations of the site have affected it so interestingly. Each man had a slightly different recording styles as well as personal interest in the settlement. (See Figures 5.1 and 5.2) For example, while Mann was willing to label house areas without observing foundation holes, Babson was not. He appears to have only listed those people he could associate with a physical site. This affected each man's total population number as one finds that Mann placed ten house sites on the south side of Dogtown Road while Babson found only four. There is inconsistency here, of course, as Babson was able to find almost twenty house foundations to label on the Commons Road (mostly missing as of now) while Mann's map does not label even ten. And interestingly, many of the people on Babson's map date from the earlier settlement while Mann's date from the later.


DOGTOWN.
Figure 5.1: Charles Mann's 1896 Map.

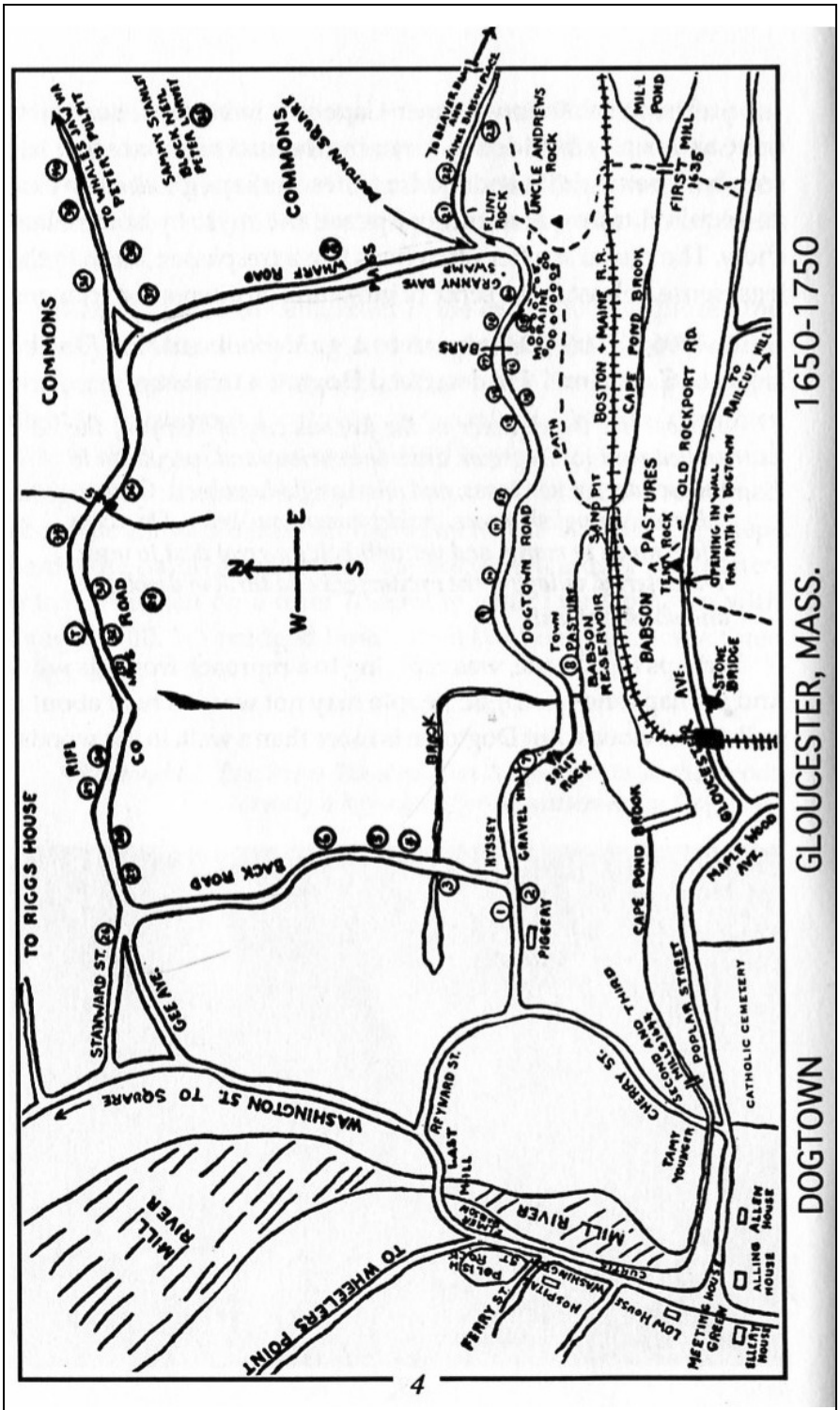


Figure 5.2: Roger Babson's 1927 Map.

It is possible that Mann's version of Dogtown created a desire in the twentieth century benefactor Roger W. Babson, a man interested in his era's Colonial Revivalism, to return the landscape to its earliest incarnation, mythologizing the Commons Settlement as much as Mann had mythologized the Dogtown one. Babson does appear to make different choices about who to include in the settlement. See, for example, that the house ascribed to Molly Jacobs on Mann's map is said to be associated with a Commons Settlement farmer named Joseph Ingersoll on Babson's. Babson also noted that one of the foundations he labelled "R" or "T," ascribed to either Judy Rhines or Liz Tucker, would have been built originally by earlier Commons folk, James Wharf or James Marsh. Mann does not seem to mention these earlier owners as often as Babson does.

Both men were inconsistent in their maps though, inter-mingling both settlements in with each other. Mann's Dogtown narrative was based on the folklore told to him by people who still remembered the place when it was populated. This would have presumably biased his record towards the later population and their stories, since the likelihood of someone being alive between 1750 and 1896 is not high. Babson, on the other hand, clearly preferred the first settlement and the ancestors of the "best families" on Cape Ann (1927:3). He, in fact, used the term "best," saying that he based his use of this word on work of archaeologist Frederick H. Norton, Professor of Ceramics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who provided evidence of their so-called status. Unfortunately, he was not clear about what this "evidence" was.

In the end, it seems possible to say that most differences between Mann's and Babson's maps are due to their personal choices regarding who should be recognized as

the main residents or owners of the house site. Babson's own interest in these "best" families was undoubtedly related to a personal involvement in the history of Dogtown. His ancestors were allotted some of the first land up near the Commons, located near Beaver Dam and the Old Rockport Road c. 1658. This was James Babson, who had immigrated with his mother Isabel from England prior to the town's incorporation in 1642. James Babson was a cooper, making barrels for the local shipping industry. Roger Babson preserved and donated this cooperage to the city of Gloucester along with the Dogtown land. Oddly enough though, the early Babson property is not on Roger Babson's map (1927) because he was only discussing those properties along the four main roads (the Commons Road, Wharf Road, the Back Road, and Dogtown Road.)

In addition, Mann and Babson both use the term "witch" in their discussions of the last women associated with Dogtown. These women were seemingly wholly different from the Puritan witches of an earlier era one might associate with this northern Massachusetts region. However, these "witches" were never put in the town stocks or even brought to trial for example. It is possible the the word was ascribed to them more as a pejorative term indicating their meanness of character, age, and poverty as well as their possible job description as the readers of palms and coffee grinds and the brewers of various herbal remedies. These differences will be discussed further in Chapter 6 yet for now, suffice it to say that the term has quite clearly become dis-associated with any kind of danger. In fact, Babson even stated that "children were told that they were free to steal their property or abuse them in any other way" (1927:16). In affect, the label of "witch" was utilized here as Melish (1998:3) has argued the category of race worked in the "re-

visioning" of New England's history. In both of these circumstances, the historical narrative has been written to justify the removal of a population of people from the possibility of successfully engaging in the harbor's economic success during the early nineteenth century.

The Tales of Dogtown

The following are folktales from the Dogtown archive, constructed from oral history, newspaper accounts,[19] and even works of fiction. Many of the individuals introduced in Chapter 4 appear as characters in stories that are examined here. These stories are seen as important building blocks of the Dogtown landscape. They are also analyzed through the lens of Martin Hall's nervous archive (2000), with the constant reiteration of strange and funny stories having played an important role in the shaping of the environment. In his 1896 opus, Mann labeled Tammy Younger "the Queen of the Witches," but immediately recanted, explaining that it was probably her aunt Luce George, who once shared the house on Cherry Street with her that was truly more of a "witch." Luce George (discussed previously as present on the 1790 Census in Chapter 4) is accused of bewitching oxen teams to "stand with their tongues run out" until some corn was distributed to her (Mann 1896:25). He said that Luce George as well as an eighteenth-century woman named Peg Wesson, were able to bewitch a load of wood so that it would not stay on the ox cart. And both George and her niece Tammy Younger are said to have often exacted a toll of fish from people passing by the house after a trip to the markets at the harbor as well.

Luce George and Tammy Younger would have been well situated on Cherry

[19] See Table 1 for this list.

Street for this sort of activity since most people heading north from the harbor would have passed their house. However, as previously discussed in Chapter 4, Cherry Street is the road leading into Dogtown so one wonders why these women have always been included as key members of the Dogtown narrative. Why are there no other stories of individuals from Cherry Street? It seems more likely that these women are consistently included in the narrative of the Dogtown community because of their status as "witches" and women such as them could only have lived in Dogtown.

The inclusion of Peg Wesson is another good example of this sort of boundary definition by Charles Mann. She is included in J. Babson's history of Gloucester (1860:321) as well as Pringle's (1892:62) but Mann included her in his narrative of "Dogtown witches" specifically even though he understood that she probably lived c. 1745 much closer to the harbor at the "Garrison House" located on the corner of Prospect Street and Dale Avenue .

To return to the descriptive history, Tammy Younger, said to have had a "very choice vocabulary," is also remembered by Mr. Benjamin P. Kidder of Rockport as "not as bad as she was painted" (Mann 1896:24). She is described as short and squat with a long pair of canine teeth. This identification of her teeth is a very specific physical characteristic that appears to have been found fairly often within this population. Mann makes it a point to mention the size of Cornelius Finson and Judy Rhines' teeth as well. As mentioned in Chapter 4, one question's the coincidence of three of the most notorious individuals associated with a place called "Dogtown" having large teeth.

In any case, Mann relates a story about Younger's teeth specifically. One day she

called in John Morgan Stanwood (also known as Granther Stannard) who worked on occasion as a dentist, to pull her two extra-long teeth out for her as they had been bothering her for quite some time. According to Mann's un-named sources, Morgan Stanwood deciding to play a trick on her, only partially pulled them out so that they dangled even longer. He is said to have returned later to finish the job (1896:25-6). Regardless of whether this is physically possible to do or not, it begs the question, playing a trick on a witch? Would this seem like a good idea? Yet, according to myth, Stanwood did not think this would cause any serious repercussions. Tammy Younger was apparently understood to not be worthy of real fear. Upon analysis though, this story can be seen to be an example of how a story told and re-told throughout history can remove the power of a woman by calling her a "witch," making her look more like a fool with her own pain becoming a joke.

Mann relates other folktales about the people in the community as well. He says that Esther (also known as Easter) Carter, was an Englishwoman noted for her work as a nurse. Mann states that she "was poor, but quite respectable, and *undeserving* of the distinction which classes her with other Dogtown dames of doubtful reputation...She did not like to have people think that she, like some of her neighbors, subsisted on berries in the summer time. 'I eats no trash,' she remarked to a suggestion at one time" (1896:39, my emphasis).

Carter is said to have had a woman named "Old Ruth" living on her second floor. Ruth, already mentioned above. Ruth is said to have used the aliases "Tie" or "John Woodman" and to have worked like a male laborer, often building stone walls.

Furthering her gender confusion, she is said to have always worn men's clothing, preferring them for her work and eventually home life as well. Mann states that "when she was taken to the poor-house, she was obliged to conform to the customs of civilization and put on skirts" (1896:43). As mentioned in Chapter 4, Reilly's List of Gloucester's "Servants for Life" does list a Ruth, labeled a "mulatto" child. It states that she was baptized in the Third Parish on September 18, 1743. Unfortunately, there is no guarantee that this is that same woman who becomes Dogtown's "Old Ruth."

Dogtown residents are believed to have ended life either nursed in their last sickness at home like Judy Rhines and Tammy Younger or taken to the poorhouse such as Ruth. Pringle, a local historian writing in 1860 says that the first almshouse was built in 1719 but had only the one resident, Ruth Miller, for so long that it was generally known as her house. Then, between the 1730s and the 1790s the poor were tenanted around the town, with the total number staying under ten individuals. In 1796 another house was erected for the poor on Granite Street, near Washington Street. Pringle states that this one was used for fifty years (Pringle 1892:87) so the use of this poorhouse would have encompassed the time period of the Dogtown settlement, indicating that the individuals from there were probably taken to this poorhouse before it was closed.

Babson states that Becky Rich was the "leading fortune teller of Dogtown, using "the coffee grounds method" (Babson 1927:8). She apparently spent most of her time helping young people with their love lives and was "a pleasant old woman and a favorite in the neighborhood" (Babson 1927:8). She and her daughter, Rachel Smith, are believed to have lived at 15 Dogtown Road after Easter Carter and Ruth. Rachel Smith also made

a “'dire drink,' brewed from foxberry leaves, spruce tops, and other botanical specimens, which she was wont to peddle in the village, saying as she entered a house, 'Now, ducky, I've come down to bring a dire drink, for I know you feel springish'” (Mann 1896:31). The two women told fortunes as well as were famous for their boiled cabbage dinners served to the young people who trekked in from other neighborhood which caused the house to develop a reputation as a “road house.”

Although the Wharf family had settled at the Commons one hundred years earlier, and had a generally good reputation throughout the rest of Gloucester, the last Wharf to live in Dogtown did not end life on good terms. Abram (sometimes Abraham) Wharf began life as the son of Arthur Wharf, inheriting property at 10 Dogtown Road. Later he lived with his own family at 24 Wharf Road[20] and it was probably near there that he is said to have crawled under a rock in 1814 to commit suicide. Once a fairly well-off sheep farmer, Babson says that he committed this act after his children left home. Mann records a story that is supposed to have taken place on the day of his death. He says that Wharf's sister, possibly identified as the Revolutionary War hero Peter Lurvey's widow, was sitting with him near the fire at his house on Wharf Road as he sharpened his razor.

> “Sister,” said he, “do you think people who commit suicide go to heaven?”
>
> “I don't know; but I hope you will never do such a thing, brother,” was her answer.
>
> “God forbid,”was his solemn response.
>
> Soon he slipped the razor into his shoe, unobserved, and went out. A little later he was found with his throat cut, dead.
>
> – Mann 1896:54

[20] Chapter 4 discussed the ceramics assemblage from 24 Wharf Road.

One hears that other women told fortunes as well. Judy Rhines, Molly Jacobs, and Sarah Phipps (also called Sally Jacobs) were all reputed to have told fortunes in their youth. Babson states that "the trio were the leading characters of Dogtown, who used to vamp the young men from conservative families of Gloucester and Rockport...[They] were [some] of the few who were responsible for the bad reputation which Dogtown once had when – in its later days – it was the 'red light' district of Cape Ann" (Babson 1927:11).[21]

Those days could not have lasted very though and as they aged Molly Jacobs, Sarah Phipps, and Mrs. Stanley are believed to have been cared for by Mrs. Stanley's grandson, Sammy Stanley at the old Morgan Stanwood house. These three women are said to have raised Sammy to wear a handkerchief and do "women's work in preference to any other" (Mann 1896:56). Sammy was associated with the Peter Lurvey house site, presumably after his grandmother was taken to the poorhouse. Mann states that he was brought up as a girl and that "after his aged relative was taken off his hands [to the poorhouse with the other two women], he moved to Rockport, where he went out washing for a livelihood" (1896:56). Stanley is portrayed as having done unusually well for himself though, said by Mann to be become known as Sam Maskey, a large stockholder in cotton mills. As discussed in Chapter 4, he may also be the same Samuel Stanley Maskell who appears in the town's apprenticeship records in 1808 but this history

[21] This accusation is not explored in great detail at this time. As of now there is no evidence, documentary or material, of prostitution by the women who lived in Dogtown. The scope of this research also does not encompass the archaeology of prostitution but it is out there if the reader is interested. Timothy Gilfoyle's *City of Eros* examines the history of prostitution in New York City while the team led by Rebecca Yamin at New York City's Five Points found material remains of this profession as well. As Warren Perry has pointed out though (2011, personal communication), it is also possible that any involvement in a sexual relationship was deemed as evidence of immorality here.

was over-looked by Mann.

Judy Rhines is believed to have lived with her aunt Liz Tucker and although both women had suspect reputations later in life, Judy's only primary source record is of her baptism in Sandy Bay on December 30, 1771 (Mann 1896:60 from parish documents). Her brother Daniel was baptized the year before. Their father was an Irishman named Patrick Ryon hence not local, but her mother was the daughter of William Riggs, making Judith and Daniel Ryon related to one of the more powerful and long-standing families in Old First Parish of Gloucester. She is described as a "tall, rawboned woman who had great courage" (Mann 1896:60). Mann relates a story about Rhines' interaction with two Gloucester youths. One will find another example of a dis-respected Dogtown witch here as the two children can be seen to have more power than the so-called "witch" herself.

> He said two boys who considered the poultry and chattels of a "witch" public property, stole from Judith Ryon a couple of geese. They were safely away, as they thought, when they heard Judy coming brandishing a hoe, and screeching, "'Now, ye hell birds, I've got ye!"
>
> The response was a goose, plump in her face, and the asservation, "No you haint."
>
> Prostrated by the foul assault, Judy lay senseless, while the boys again securing their prey, vanished.
>
> – Mann 1896:61-2

The last resident of Dogtown was Cornelius Finson, or "Black Neil." He is thought to have been an imposing man, once respected as a clerk for a boat fisher near the Annisquam River although often working as a hog butcher also. Like his neighbors, Neil seems to have moved quite a lot, perhaps due to the nature of the housing available to this

Dogtown population at the time. He is associated with Peter Lurvey's house site and also is said to have lived for a while in the basement of Molly Jacobs' house. He then lived with Judy Rhines until her death and in her cellar hole after the house collapsed. Local folklore says he was looking for the buried treasure of Captain Kidd when he was taken down to the poorhouse by the town constable in the winter of 1830. He died there a week later (Mann 1896:51).

Although it was simply the first book published about Dogtown, Mann's book has continued to be the foremost authority on Dogtown folklore since its publication in 1896. Longevity as well as good story-telling having created credibility here perhaps as, since then, all narratives appear to repeat his folklore, using the tales as a basis for their own work. Some appear to agree with his interpretation, such as Anita Diamant's novel *The Last Days of Dogtown* (2005), while others use it as somewhat of a foil, as Roger Babson did. The poet Charles Olson and the painter Marsden Hartley both found a strange relief in Mann's melancholy understanding of the last years of the settlement, finding some sort of inevitability of collapse in the very nature of the place. The big boulders could dwarf any human it seems, leaving these ghosts of the past in their cellar holes and not at the poorhouse where most of them actually ended their days.

One must point to certain aspects of Mann's folklore that have caused misinterpretations of the site as well. His lack of historical accuracy has already been demonstrated through the discussion in Chapter 4 of his explanation of the construction of the dam at Goose Cove having led to the marginalization of the Dogtown community. Finding that the extension of Washington Street and the corresponding construction of a

dam and bridge over Goose Cove did not take place until c. 1829 has allowed for a new understanding of the process of marginalization in this community. Dogtown's geographic marginalization became a factor only as the neighborhood was already almost empty since it seems possible that the area was basically uninhabited by c. 1829 around the time that Cornelius Finson, the last known resident, was taken to the poorhouse. Mann's mis-understanding of the timeline has been repeatedly reiterated by other noted interpreters of Dogtown such as Babson (1927) and Dresser (1991) as well as in works of historical fiction such as Blessington's locally published novel *The Last Witch of Dogtown* (2001). I have argued that this mis-understanding of the historical process has led to a mis-representation of abandonment as well. It has allowed for an ignorance of the relationships of power that played a part in the decline of the neighborhood, in affect allowing for the construction of the narrative, much like the forest, to appear more "natural."

Mann shows a further lack of historical accuracy when he asks the question, "why did more than one hundred families exile themselves from the life of the villages so near them, and dwell in loneliness and often in poverty, in this barren and secluded spot?" (Mann 1896:10). This question allows one to see how he has combined his constructed view of the Dogtown population (i.e., that of sadness, loneliness, and poverty) with the first community, the Commons Settlement. Two points can be made about his above question: first, there were never one hundred families at the Commons, although there were perhaps one hundred people; and second (and more importantly) these families at the Commons did not "exile" themselves. Although they were inland, they had placed

their community's roads just off of Cherry Street which was one of the main roads leading from the First Parish Meetinghouse at that time. On the other hand, it is Dogtown that can be seen to have been marginalized and isolated as time progressed. The town's center had shifted away from them, yet the aging population found it more and more difficult to travel out of their own community to reach the center near the harbor.

It is clear then that Mann's mis-reading of past events allowed for a more dramatic reconstruction of the neighborhood's history, changing the historic timeline to suit his narrative choices. The mythological Dogtown that Mann created may have also allowed for a romanticization of the past, thereby reifying his version of the place every time someone wrote a story about the settlement. Table 1 lists of some of the local newspaper and magazine stories about Dogtown. Many authors appear to simply enjoy re-telling the various "ghost" stories about the place's "witches" without thinking through the ramifications to the landscape and the people who once inhabited it. (See Table 1) One author, local *Gloucester Daily Times* reporter Barbara Erkkila, stands out for her attempt to humanize Tammy Younger however. Ultimately, her thoughtful article fails to do so though. When faced with some pieces of pottery that have been attributed to coming from Younger's house site Erkkila says, "it doesn't seem possible that a witch owned these lovely dishes." (See Table 1, Erkkila 1954) This statement begs the question, was she wondering if Tammy Younger was an actual witch, or calling into question the provenience of the ceramics in the first place.

Roger Ward Babson and his "Book in Stone"

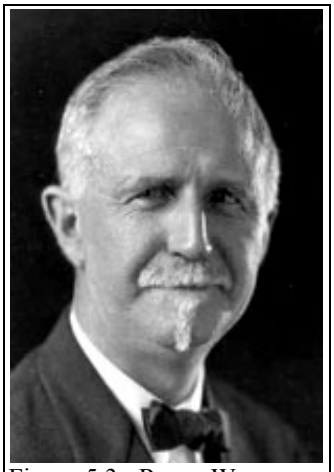


Figure 5.3: Roger W. Babson, 1875-1967.

Roger Ward Babson (1875-1967) is the other individual who has most affected Dogtown's popular opinion and this section will examine his history and the motivations for his work there in the 1930s. His religious certainty and belief in the need to be useful, as well as his interest in his colonial forebears, created a desire in him to bring Dogtown back into Gloucester's psyche. For him, it could be made into a heritage site in which to experience the progress of time as well as a natural wilderness.

The end of the Dogtown settlement appears to have left the land somewhat open for common use again and Roger Babson knew this place well. He was a tenth generation Babson from Gloucester; a descendent of Isabel Babson who arrived from England in 1637 with her son James. He had childhood experiences there, having gone up to Dogtown on Sunday afternoons to "salt the cattle" first with his grandfather and then his father in the late nineteenth century (Smith 1954:213). Dogtown became a natural playground for the young Babson then, a place for bird-watching and animal tracking, as well as one full of old stories about his ancestors and their neighbors.

Babson attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology from 1895-1898, working first in New York and second in a Boston for a securities firm after graduation. Early on in his career he began applying Sir Isaac Newton's theory of actions and reactions to his economic theories. Newton's theory proposed that two opposing forces or bodies react simultaneously and opposed to each other and Babson saw this as applicable to his understanding of the world of finance. He began studying old issues of the *Commercial & Financial Chronicle*, a paper similar to *The Wall Street Journal*, to prove that these processes worked similarly to Newton's theory. He then translated these past processes into the present and future markets, inventing what he termed the "Babsonchart," a graphing system that keep track of current market fluctuations and could predict future ones. He described the method in his autobiography, *Actions and Reactions* (1935). "Other systems of forecasting considered only the high and low of the other charts, while our system considered the *areas* of the charts. Based on Newton's Law of Action and Reaction, we assumed that after a depression area, equal in area to the preceding area of prosperity, had developed, another period of prosperity would be due" (Babson 1935:147, his emphasis).

Babson's predictions saw a market that worked on a cycle of boom and bust that he could separate into four periods: improvement, prosperity, decline and depression. To him, these periods were consistently predictable from the past behavior of the market, the past always foretelling the future or at least relating to it. In fact, he and his staff famously predicted the 1929 Stock Market Crash. The business became quite successful and Babson became a leading member of the New England business world, founding

Babson College in 1919 in Wellesley, Massachusetts as well.

Babson's history of success is quite impressive. A member of a founding family of Gloucester; a smart man able to succeed outside of his family's home environment; and a Presidential Candidate in 1940 for the National Prohibition Party. Becoming involved in the Colonial Revivalist ethics that swept through New England in the 1930s, he was also key in Dogtown's preservation, eventually buying up 1150 acres throughout the mid-twentieth century which he donated to the public trust upon his death in 1967.

However, as with all histories in this work, his too must be examined more closely. While writing the history of their founder, Babson College's website (http://www.babson.edu/Pages/default.aspx) reiterates a premise from Babson's autobiography, which is that a young person must already contain characteristics such as integrity, industry, imagination, common sense, self-control and a willingness to struggle and sacrifice before they can succeed in life. In his autobiography he wrote, “I am convinced that heredity is an important key to character and success. If the ancestral background has been good, we know that the environment has been of a satisfactory type...We can overemphasize the importance of the great names on our family tree, but not the significance of the dominating traits and characteristics” (Babson 1935:397). The application for admittance to Babson's school followed this principle to the letter, asking the applicant for an analysis of the parents' characteristics as well as their own. Students were supposed to check the boxes that their family members might fit into. These included: many changes of residence, seriousness, selfishness, patience, popularity with people, popularity with the opposite sex, trading instincts, mechanical and handy with

hands, lover of nature, musical, literary or artistic ability, dependability, unselfishness, scientific attitude, domesticity, executive ability, leadership, and athletics (Babson 1933:397-400).

Although the college has clearly moved on from its foundational principles and does not expect such self-sacrifice from its student body today, Babson himself did believe that education alone would not help a young person achieve success if they did not already have the character qualities such as those listed above given to them by their parents or ancestors. Similar to Mann's biases of character, Babson was perhaps then predisposed to be against the admission of certain individuals whom he would have viewed as being from the wrong class or upbringing. He did however hold himself to this same standard, seeing his inheritance as having been key to his character and ability to succeed. He had been raised with the belief that all the unusual characteristics in him were Babson family traits passed down in the family's gene pool from Isabel Babson who had arrived from England as a single mother (Babson 1935:5).

Babson's religious conversion at the age of fifteen undoubtedly affected his belief in a kind of predestination. A member of the Congregational-Christian Churches, later known as the United Church, he ran for President in 1940 on the Prohibition ticket as a good Christian, not expecting to win but hoping to bring issues of morality back into American politics. He writes that the sons of ministers were more likely to do well in the world, having been given a good moral base in childhood (Babson 1935:13) and that Jesus, in fact, would have recommended thrift and accumulation. The accumulation of wealth was not to be used just for oneself though, but also for the greater good of society

(Babson 1935:15). To this end he often recommended his clients invest in philanthropic ventures and other social services such as the country's infrastructure and the creation of public safety devices. He himself had invested in public fire call boxes.

Finding all aspects of his interests connected, he was able to apply his practical understanding of science to his religion as well, interpreting the Bible as allowing for scientific thinking, of a kind. In *Actions and Reactions* (1935) he explains how he had negotiated his religious beliefs with his MIT education:

> I should emphasize that the writers of this great book discovered these facts and did not make them. Furthermore, I should show that these facts are based upon and correlate with physical laws. For instance: THIS HOLY SPIRIT WHICH WE CALL GOD IS THE GENERATING FORCE OF EVOLUTION. THE POWER OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE IS DUE TO THE SAME LAW OF ATTRACTION AS THAT WHICH HOLDS THE PLANETS IN THEIR COURSES. THE EFFECT OF PRAYER IS A LAW OF PSYCHOLOGY, PROVEN IN THE LABORATORY. THE GOLDEN RULE IS FOUNDED ON THE SAME LAW OF ACTION AND REACTION WHICH UNDERLIES PHYSICS, CHEMISTRY, MECHANICS, AND OTHER SCIENCES. ETERNAL LIFE IS MERELY THE LAW OF THE CONSERVATION OF ENERGY APPLIED TO OUR SPIRITUAL EXISTENCE. THESE ARE THE GREAT MESSAGES WHICH JESUS TAUGHT. EVERY ONE IS DEMONSTRABLE AS A PROBLEM IN GEOMETRY.
>
> – Babson 1935:360-1, his emphasis

When Babson began buying up abandoned lots in the Dogtown area in the late 1920s, spending his money on what he saw as his ancestral homeland, he began a public works project as well. He walked the land, bird-watching, and adventuring with his wife but he also began two large endeavors that would change the landscape of Dogtown forever. He began hiring jobless stone workers during the Depression to carve numbers into boulders marking the place of each house foundation he could identify around Dogtown, a place he termed “Gloucester's Deserted Village” (1927).

Figure 5.4: House site marker for 20 Dogtown Rd.

After this project was completed he began what he called his "book in stone," among the Dogtown boulders. He called it a simple book of "mottos," written for posterity (Babson 1935:347). Figure 5.5 is a map of this boulder trail while the next few figures are photographs of some of the boulders themselves. It is interesting to note the open landscape found in these photographs. The pictures were taken in the 1950s for a biography of Babson (Smith 1954).

Figure 5.5: Babson's Boulder Trail. Map courtesy of Google Earth 2011.

A list of some of these mottos illustrates that he was not taking his project lightly. Walking the Babson Boulder Trail involves passing phrases such as: Save, Help Mother, Use Your Head, Keep Out of Debt, Never Try Never Win, Be on Time, If Work Stops Values Decay, Truth, and Spiritual Power as well as his "I" series: Industry, Initiative, Integrity, Ideas, Ideals and Intelligence.

Figure 5.6: Babson Boulder "Be On Time." Photo courtesy of G. Porter.

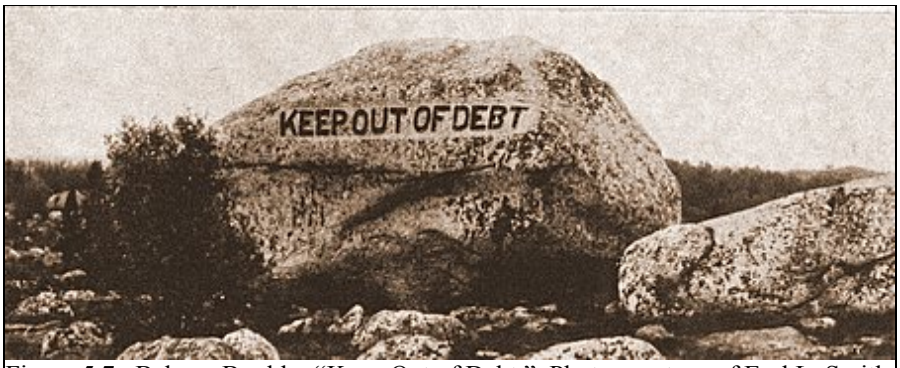


Figure 5.7: Babson Boulder "Keep Out of Debt." Photo courtesy of Earl L. Smith 1954.

Figure 5.8: Babson Boulder "Never Try Never Win." Photo courtesy of Earl L. Smith 1954.

Figure 5.9: Babson Boulder "Prosperity Follows Service." Photo courtesy of Earl L. Smith.

About Dogtown, he wrote:

> I am always captivated by the native flowers. Wild roses, blue astors, bayberry and thistles bloom today identically as they did when this former village – now extinct – was at its height of activity... Through the centuries the native Dogtown flowers have developed

> some divine technique of invisible control from within...Scientists have not yet discovered how this has been accomplished; but they do know that it is a slow process. In these days when we want government quickly to bring about a new social order, has not Dogtown a lesson for even political leaders? Dogtown teaches me clearly that progress comes only slowly and from developing within the individual self-control, high ideals and other fundamental immunities.
>
> – Babson 1935:337

For Babson, Dogtown was one of Gloucester's legacies and to that end he planned on donating it to the city upon his death. It is clear though that his belief in contributing to the greater good had strong moral undertones and Dogtown is where he was able to exercise this interest. He interpreted the natural world of Dogtown as one formed by slow processes of independent work and control by the individual botanicals, proving tangible those principles of self-control and independence he idealized on his college application form. He considered the natural world to work with a purpose in mind, ignoring the ways in which the English settlers of the last two hundred years had affected the environment, opening up the forest to the sunlight and allowing those flowers and berries that come with a second-growth forest to grow in the first place.

In Dogtown Babson had found a material way with which to project his understanding of Newton's theory of action and reaction. As seen above he had interpreted Newton's science for his business but also for his religion, stating that "the golden rule is founded on the same law" (1935:361). In a sense, one can see this is possible if "doing unto others as you would have them do unto you" is a rule based on the fact that there are consequences for ones' own actions. Babson had ambitions to improve the world, trying to give Gloucester their inheritance and a lesson in morality as a way to improve their own behavior as well. His reconstruction of Dogtown built it into a perfect

example of how an action (immorality) led to a reaction (the downfall of the community.) When he donated this property to Gloucester it was as a lesson in the landscape. He was not simply preserving a forest for the city but directing the interpretation of the place as well. And this has, in fact, worked fairly well as his "book in stone" has withstood the decades, keeping people interested in visiting his deserted village in order to find his labeled house foundations, walk his trail of boulders, consider the people that once abandoned the landscape, and ponder the man that wrote his belief system all over the landscape.

A book in stone it surely is and, like Mann's, his interpretation has affected all scholarship as well as every daily interaction. For him, the four periods of improvement, prosperity, decline and depression were inevitable to all realms of human society with Dogtown standing "as a definite example of the economic cycle which is constantly in operation in every community, industry and family" (Babson 1927:19). He further states, deterministically, that "every community and industry is now in one of these four periods and some day may experience all of the other periods. Thus connected with the story of Dogtown is a great economic lesson as well as a story of romance" (Babson 1927:21).

Although Babson was not able to predict that he would become one of the more odd characters associated with Dogtown (known as one of Gloucester's many eccentric benefactors) he was able to understand that his physical interpretation of the landscape would be hard to erase. His vision of Dogtown as a place that would undergo an inevitable decline has infected twentieth century research questions, finding meaning for all writers of fiction and non-fiction in the last twenty-five years including Susan Johns

who titled her 1968 paper "The *Fulfillment* of an Economic Cycle in Dogtown, Massachusetts" (my emphasis) and the historical archaeologist Patrice Titterington writing her masters thesis in 1988 on community abandonment. Although Titterington's scholarship is sound and undeniably helpful to this work, it was also clearly written from a perspective of a community's collapse, not questioning what appears to have been the inevitable end of such a place (i.e., economic collapse and subsequent abandonment.)

While the reasons for collapse are not questioned here, as it is fairly undeniable that the glacial moraine made sustainable farming impossible, one does wonder about the use of the last population as an example of this economic collapse. The Dogtown community has become an example of why the place was abandoned, i.e. with their supposed immorality they brought about their own economic collapse. Yet, as discussed throughout this work, the Commons Settlement was unsustainable from very early on and Dogtown was, in fact, already fighting a loosing battle as a community of people left out of Gloucester harbor's economic rise after the end of the American Revolution. Individuals such as Easter Carter, Judy Rhines, Becky Rich, and Cornelius Finson should not be held up as examples of a decaying economy when they were never brought into that economy in the first place. Further, the people who were able to sustain a living on the land, namely the Stevens and the Vivians, have been mostly left out of this narrative of collapse. I see the reasons for this as twofold, first that the Stevens and Vivian households were not made up of morally suspect people and so there are no titillating stories to tell about them; and second, that their financial respectability does not fit in with the almost universally agreed upon narrative that has become "Dogtown:

Gloucester's Deserted Village" (Babson 1927).

Dogtown will not be an "Old Sturbridge Village"

Babson wanted his lesson to survive on the ground, making his use of the archive tangible. It is this tangibility of the archive, this literal "book in stone," that has led to an interesting perception of inevitability in Dogtown's history. The last section of the chapter examines the physical preservation of his archive and how it has affected the construction of the environment since Babson's death in 1967. The city of Gloucester has added to the property, keeping it in public trust as common land for the city once again, while also retaining the role handed to them by Babson as leading interpreters of this public heritage landscape. Today's archaeological site of Dogtown Village incorporates about one hundred acres that are centralized around Dogtown Square, with about 1600 acres surrounding it that are owned by the city of Gloucester as well. Other portions of Dogtown are owned by Gloucester's neighbor, Rockport. In total there are about 3000 acres that could be described as Dogtown yet most of these were not included in the original historic village. (See Figure 5.10)

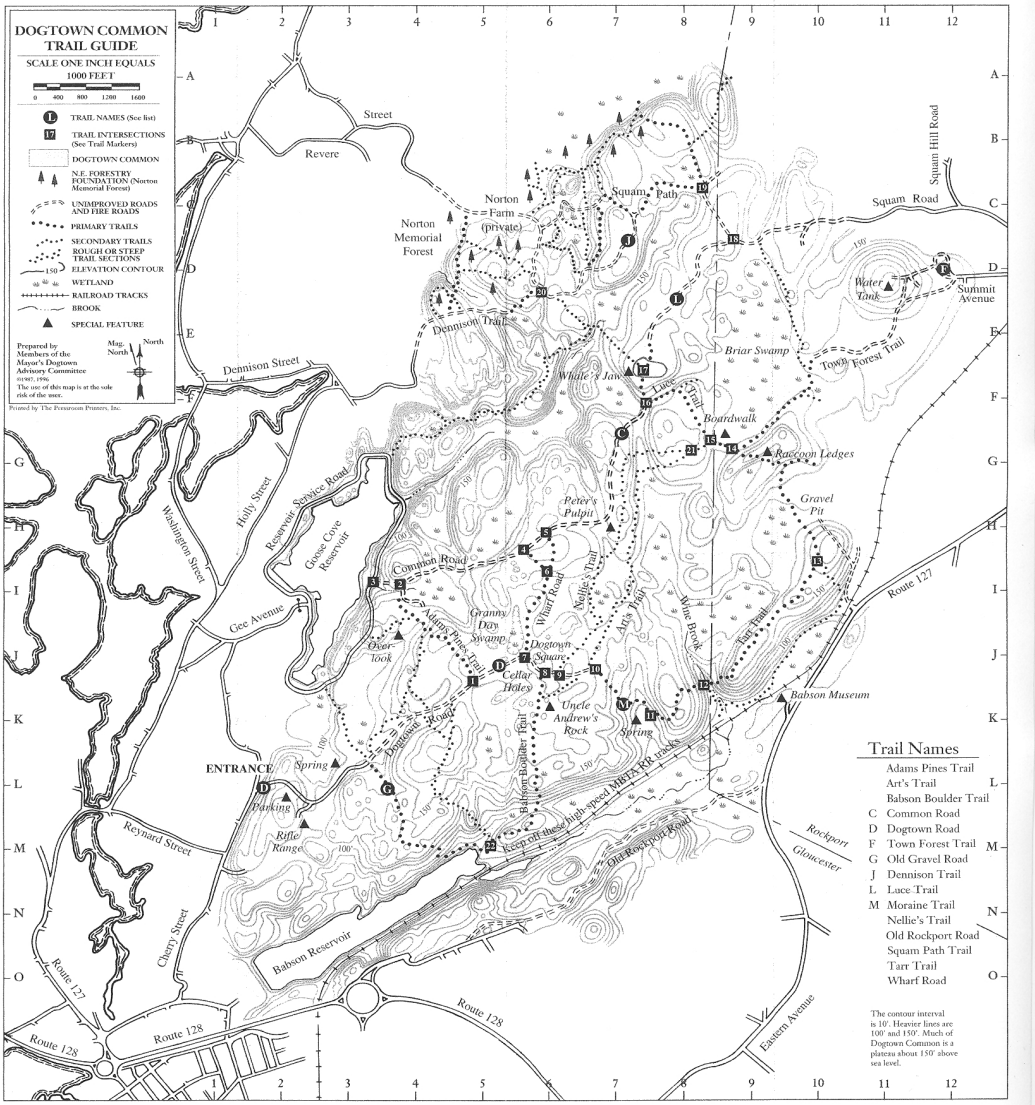


Figure 5.10: Dogtown Commons Trail Guide from 1996.

The northern portion, above Goose Cove Reservoir borders the Norton Forest, a 121 acre forest donated to the New England Forestry Foundation by the Professor and Mrs. Frederick H. Norton in 1975. Norton had begun planting trees north of the Commons Pasture in the 1930s, hoping to bring back some of the forest logged long ago.

In 1984 the Dogtown Steering Committee (DSC) was formed after the murder of a local teacher named Anne Natti took place in the forest. The murder was unusually brutal for this small city and it created a public outcry about the lack of land management in the forest. For local people, the place became dangerous on a whole new level. His long history of instability and run-ins with the law did not seem to keep some in the area from deciding that Dogtown's own long history of outsider behavior enabled some of his behavior.[22] It was at this time that the Dogtown Steering Committee was formed as a volunteer advisory committee focusing on all things Dogtown for the Mayor of Gloucester. They wrote a report to the Mayor in 1985, meant to develop a plan for the management of Dogtown's land, trying to make sure that the place was able to be safe and open to all those interested in it in the future. In the report the DSC stated that they were working under three general objectives of management: for the "preservation of important natural and cultural features of the area;" to project its watersheds and reservoirs; and to maintain "Dogtown as safe and attractive for passive recreational use by the people of Cape Ann and their visitors" (DSC 1985:15). They define "passive recreation" as walking, jogging, skiing, riding horses, dog-walking, berry-picking and picnicking as well as hunting birds or small game in season.

[22] Elyssa East's 2009 book *Dogtown: Death and Enchantment in a New England Ghost Town* delves much more completely into this chapter of Dogtown's history.

The first order of business according to the committee was to finish Babson's work by gaining public ownership of the rest of the properties associated with the Commons and Dogtown. They were to discover that the process was quite difficult as most ownership by then was fairly unclear. While certain portions of land were available for purchase from local families such as the Riggs, others still appeared to be owned by long-dead Commons and Dogtown residents. Wendy Quinones of the *Gloucester Times* had been reporting on the confusion since 1980, discovering that Granny Day was still being taxed a yearly rate of $149.40 for her 17.9 acres of land in 1978, while Abram Wharf was taxed $116.20 as the principle owner of 14.4 acres of land (July 19, 1980).

This 1985 DSC report illuminates the discussions surrounding the physical preservation and transformation of Dogtown under the city of Gloucester's leadership. They inherited Babson's protected acreage and have held it in trust, keeping it an open territory for the city while also continuing his work as interpreters of the landscape. Dogtown's advisory committee was aware that previous development plans had failed to gain local support. A private airport had been proposed in 1944, an anti-ballistic missile system site in 1967, and recently a wind farm had been proposed. An “old Sturbridge Village” reconstruction had been proposed in 1974 but even then it seems Gloucester was not looking to capitalize on its heritage but to preserve it (DSC 1985:11). The committee's final recommendation was that the best way to portray and preserve the archaeological site of Dogtown for public use and understanding was with an “impression of the 'lay of the land' as it was in the early settlement. They decided that this would be done more effectively with visible cellar holes, old roads, and cleared pastures, than with

an 'Old Sturbridge Village' type of reconstruction" (DSC 1985:4), clearly stating that they believe Dogtown would be best preserved in an "as is" state, with some appropriate cleaning-up of trails and cellar holes. There was to be no visitors' center, or concession stands of any kind (DSC 1985:22). The natural beauty of the place that Marsden Hartley had described as containing "the speechless progress of geologic structures of earth" would be preserved (DSC 1985:12). However, it should be noted that this choice to avoid reconstruction has left an impression of collapse and abandonment upon the landscape as well, for the fallen in cellar holes are not necessarily accurate either. As of now there is no true knowledge of how decrepit the Dogtown dwellings became before the last of the population was removed to the poorhouse yet the experience of the landscape brings this collapse and abandonment narrative to the forefront. In keeping it in an "as is" state, the DSC was negotiating an ideal of a place that had found a new "natural" state of second growth forest however. They had many objectives to negotiate. Much of the landscape had already become this type of forest since the practice of grazing animals there had ended in the last few decades. They also wished to balance this forest ideal with a place conducive to blueberry production, since keeping some of the pastures open brought in picnickers looking for wild blueberries every summer. These picnickers were seen as helping keep Dogtown useful and of interest to the local population. Periodic mowing of the remaining pastures was recommended for this purpose then, with other areas set aside for development into mature forest, both of which would allow for some of the old pasture system to be experienced by hikers as well as preserve the quiet forest for wildlife (DSC 1985:3).

Today, Dogtown's land has been made to be both practical and useful to the city. A gravel pit, a town composting center and a rifle range also share the space with the archaeological site and nature preserve but these are mostly located outside of the borders of the archaeological site. When wandering the woods one comes across various dog-owners, families hiking the trails, and bike riders. Due to Babson's influence perhaps, public engagement has also long played a part in the city's development plan. School visits and events arranged for public participation such as clean-up days and walking tours are often planned.

Interestingly to this study, the DSC recommended a number of "barriers to access" to be put in place. While these barriers were mainly advised in order to keep four-wheelers out of the area, they have also managed to create more physical boundary markers for the forest. Gates were placed at the Cherry Street entrance, and boulders on Dogtown Road, Gee Avenue, Reservoir Road, the Old Rockport Road entrance area and along the north side of Goose Cove Dam (DSC 1985:16-17). Although it is possible that these many markers to Dogtown brought the place more awareness in the public psyche, one can also see that where Dogtown once contained fairly porous boundaries, it has now become quite a bounded landscape.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the decisions that have gone into the conservation of today's Dogtown landscape as a site of local heritage for the city of Gloucester. Built from an archive made up of Mann's oral histories (repeated multiple times since publication), Babson's tangible morality lessons, the Dogtown Steering Committee, and

the people of the city itself who use, interpret, and re-tell the tales on a daily basis, the Dogtown landscape found today is one multiply constructed and narrated. It is also still a landscape in flux, under negotiation and production by every trail blazer who walks through. The natural wilderness that Babson saw as his legacy to the city of Gloucester is not so much "natural" as it is an historical construct, containing within its boundaries all of the different places that have been made of it since the middle of the seventeenth century. As Bender (1993) would point out, Dogtown, being a place under management as an archaeological and nature preserve, has never once been an inert landscape. Further, Rotman and Nassaney would view this place as a cultural landscape and as such point out its that it was "designed and created to be seen and experienced" (1997:42). For them, landscapes should be conceptualized "as a medium for communication" (1997:42) enabling one to bring to the forefront the complicated dynamic of preserving a landscape that should appear to be wild and natural. As Bonnie Stepenoff has argued about Yellowstone National Park (2008:91), the end result experienced here masks the production, allowing Dogtown to appear as if it is in fact a "natural" "outsider community." These processes have over-written any actual historical events that happened in this landscape, causing a loss of power in the population who once inhabited it. The following chapter will further this argument with its discussion of what being a "Dogtown witch" means and how this term can be related to a further loss of power in the historical record.

Chapter 6: Dogtown, Reconstructed

> Why not imagine their stories as real, if not true. For the space of this entertainment, where's the harm?
> – Diamant 2005:Author's Note

Introduction

There is a pamphlet sold at the Cape Ann Historical Museum entitled *Dogtown, A Village Lost In Time* (Dresser 1991) in which the author summarizes the history of the landscape and the people as well as gives directions for pleasant nature walks along the trails. This is often many tourists' first introduction to the subject with Anita Diamant herself admitting that it was this pamphlet that gave her the introductory material for the novel, *The Last Days of Dogtown* (2005:Author's Note). Most local citizens were probably introduced to Dogtown in childhood though, either in school lessons or by their parents or grandparents around the dinner table. Ghostly tales of wailing dogs and guides to Roger Babson's boulder trail often appear in the *Gloucester Times* as local interest stories. (See Table 1) The preceding chapters have not taken these stories at face value though, finding that the very heart of the archive, i.e., Charles Mann's 1896 oral history, can be viewed as a reconstruction of the people and the place not dissimilar to Diamant's novel in some ways. In reconstructing the site's documentary archive and historic landscape one finds that the modern reconstruction is based on a constructed and interpreted archive, reiterated repeatedly throughout the last century.[23] This discovery made it clear that the site needed to be critiqued as a constructed environment before any

[23] Recent writing on the website http://www.dogtownecologywalks.com/ by Robert Farmer (August 2011) discuss reports of ghost and werewolf sightings as well as a discussion of the author's experience of getting lost in the forest.

more physical excavation took place. Although one cannot presume to replace the local narrative, it is the hope here that this deconstruction of the narrative will add to the many-layered archive already in existence.

This concluding chapter is split into three sections. The first two sections explore the use of the term "witch" when describing a few of Dogtown's most infamous women, The utilization of this term is seen to have been a tool in a narrative of local history in which the capitalist mode of production is displayed as bringing success to some while masking the fact that other groups of people become left out. Then, related to this narrative of subaltern women, Dogtown's existence as an outsider community is discussed. Here a deconstruction of the archive and the heritage landscape has allowed one to re-examine Dogtown's role as an outsider community in Gloucester, while also enabling an examination of this site's larger relationship to the landscape of the outsider in the northeast.

The "Witch"

Mary Beth Norton (2003) points out that today's view of witchcraft has changed substantially since the the famous Salem trials of 1692. Between the changes wrought by post-Enlightenment thinking, as well as twentieth century characters such as the Wicked Witch of the West from *The Wizard of Oz*, Samantha on the television program Bewitched, and the Harry Potter series, Westernized populations around the globe have become less concerned with satanic influences affecting daily lives (Norton 2003:5). It appears to have been the case though that the accusation of witchcraft had already begun to mean something much more benign by the early nineteenth century when the six or

seven women involved in Dogtown's community were given that title. For instance, although one might think that the term "witch" comes with substantial baggage in a nineteenth century New England community located so close to Salem, Gloucester's community does appear to have become a part of a post-Enlightenment worldview in that the Dogtown witches were clearly not treated as the Puritan women of the seventeenth century were. For instance, no Dogtown witch ever stood trial for sorcery, none was ever put in public stocks or drowned, and, as seen in Chapters 5, the "witches" themselves appear to have often come to more physical harm than anyone else. These nineteenth century witches may not have been "accused" at all, in fact, as much as the term was used as a tool in a late nineteenth century "re-visioning" (from Melish 1998) of history where these women's immorality became related to their poverty hence they were unable to take part in the harbor's economic success.

We begin here with John Putnam Demos' study of witchcraft in early New England (1982) which studies trials even earlier than the Salem witch trials of 1692. He finds that there were four trials for witchcraft in Gloucester itself in 1653 and one in 1657. In 1653 four women were accused of witchcraft: Agnes Evans, Grace Dutch, Elizabeth Perkins and Sarah Vinson. None of the women were found guilty and they each, in fact, counter-sued for slander. Unfortunately, it is unknown if they won. (Demos 1982:403). In 1657 an indictment of witchcraft was also brought against William Browne by his neighbor the Goodwife Prince. As with many cases of accused witchcraft around New England, Demos finds that these two individuals were in the midst of a neighborly dispute when the said indictment was written. He also finds that Browne

already had a reputation of misbehavior and that “neutral parties urged that Browne's threats of harm be discounted, 'knowing what manner of man [he] was;' Goody Prince 'would put it out of her mind, but could not.' Eventually Browne was convicted although not of witchcraft but 'diverse miscarriages'” (1982:62). With the case of William Browne having been an exception, Demos finds that most people accused of witchcraft in colonial New England were women, at ratio of four to one, in fact. And even when men were accused, they were often put on trial with a close female relation such as their wife (Demos 1982:60).

Demos and Norton are in agreement that neighborly disputes may been the cause of many accusations of witchcraft, citing the fact of an early capitalist economy having caused a changed social dynamic that left the wealthy feeling less desire to simply give their money or goods to the poor. Norton states that many of the poor who had relied on hand-outs from their wealthier neighbors were elderly, widowed women with no income. To her, these are the women who also become open for identification as “witches” (Norton 2001:5). The two appear to disagree on the topic of poverty and social status however. Demos' study (1982) found that economics only occasionally played a role and that, if the accused were women, they were rarely social outcasts or single women either (1984:160). Perhaps this a case of each community containing its own recipe for accusation.

In Gloucester, eleven women connected with the town were accused during the Salem witch trials in 1692. These women seem to follow Norton's pattern as opposed to Demos' in that most of them were quite poor, somewhat mentally altered, or aged and

unable to take care of themselves. One woman, Rachel Vinson, is also connected to an earlier accusation against her relative Sarah Vinson (Heyrman 1984:105). Although they were from Gloucester, these women were all accused and tried in Salem, making one believe that it was the culture of Salem that was the determining factor here.

Allison Rowlands' study (2001) of pre-Enlightenment accusations of witchcraft in rural Germany finds the age of the woman to have played a more determining factor there. Interesting parallels to Dogtown that can be explored here as well. For Rowlands, all sorts of women were accused though they were generally married or widowed as opposed to never married. Their social standing and age did not always matter either though aging or middle-aged women were perhaps more vulnerable to accusations of witchcraft due to the fact that the general population did not hold the mental faculties of most women very high in the first place. Aging women were seen to be more mentally unstable, believed to have allowed more for the practice of witchcraft (2001:50). Interestingly however, she finds that more often than not, it was the accuser and not the accused who had a longer history of mental instability (2001:53).

While Rowlands' research into German society may not be perfectly comparable here, there are some interesting similarities in the case histories. She finds that the power or strength of character of the middle-aged women seemed to have posed a problem in social relations. If these women were accused more often than other people, they seem to have confessed less often though. She finds that while young women often confessed to practicing witchcraft quite quickly, women over fifty did not seem to have bent as easily. For Rowlands, the “evidence suggests that as women got older their sense of identity

became stronger and the likelihood that this would be broken by accusations of witchcraft or the processes of interrogation lessened rather than increased" (2001:53).

With regards to the specific situation in Massachusetts, Heyrman finds other reasons for accusations of witchcraft to have flourished in the region. She questions whether a 1691 change in voting rights by the English Crown, which erased the previous need to be a church member and began allowing for a voting right based on the ownership of property alone, was seen as an attack on the Puritan church's ability to retain social and political power in the Massachusetts Bay Colony (Heyrman 1984:143). She argues that a fear of attack by witchcraft from within the community may have evolved from these changes in voting rights and that inter-community attacks on specific religious groups (namely the Quakers) can be linked to these changes (1984:106). Heyrman makes the case that a sustained animosity against the Quakers can be witnessed in Gloucester's records, characterizing the town as a place of "localism, insularity, intolerance toward outsiders, an aversion to risk, and an attachment to tradition" (1984:143). For example, one of Gloucester's earliest accused was a woman named Mary Stevens, who was called a "witch" by her brother just as she became engaged to marry into the most prominent Quaker family, the Norwoods[24] (Heyrman 1984:111). She also points out that the Salem household of Rebecca Nurse, an woman accused of witchcraft, contained an orphaned Quaker boy named Samuel Southwick and relates Arthur Miller's famous protagonists from *The Crucible*, John and Elizabeth Proctor, to Quakers through Elizabeth's family, the Bassets, from Lynn, Massachusetts as well (Heyrman 1984: 112-

[24] As a side note, members of the Norwood family appear as owners on Reilly's 1771 list of Gloucester's Servants for Life as well. (See Appendix A, Table 9)

113).

There is one infamous story of witchcraft from within the Dogtown forest itself during the summer of 1692 described in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1703:621). Ebenezer Babson is believed to have caused a collective delusion of French and Indian attack that was eventually ascribed to the Devil and his worshippers. At that time he was living with his wife and children on a small farm cut out of the woods north of the Meetinghouse Green probably near the Cape Pond Brook. Babson's family had lived in the area for around sixty years as it was his grandmother, Isabel, and young father, James, that arrived from England in the 1630s. In mid-summer he began reporting sightings of Native Americans wearing the French's blue coats and one afternoon, as he returned from the fields, he thought he saw two men wearing blue coats walking out of his house even. His wife and children promised him that no one had visited them that day but Babson had been paying attention to local events. In the past few years English families living in the northern Massachusetts Bay colony had either experienced or at least heard reports of towns attacked, families murdered and farms burned by the French and their Native American allies. Gloucester, a larger metropolis compared to many villages in the region, had not been attacked to date, but many believed it's surrounding farms to be in imminent danger. Babson, deciding that his family was under French surveillance, moved them into the town garrison.

Because of the ongoing warfare between the French and English and their Native American allies, his friends also were not surprised to hear of his troubles.[25] According

[25] In 1692 the Northern American British and French colonies were involved in King William's War. Fighting ended in 1697 though broke out again in in 1702 over succession for the Spanish Throne, this time called Queen Anne's War (1702-1713.)

to Cotton Mather's report in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1703:623), local men named Ezekial Day, John Hammond, Benjamin Ellery, Richard Dolliver, among others helped him search the woods for the rest of the summer. They began reporting sightings of soldiers as well, describing chases and musket fights through the local woods. And although they never had more than their one own bullet hole in a tree trunk to show for these altercations, a British army patrol, said to be practiced in Native warfare practices, set off through the forest to find the missing evidence. They found nothing however.

At the end of the year a hearing was held. The town called in the "village scolds, misfits and poor widows" (Mather 1703:622) to determine the cause of these incidents but blame could not be placed even on them. In a letter to Cotton Mather written for his *Magnalia Christi Americana* Gloucester's Reverend John Emerson wrote: "I hope the substance of what is written will be enough to satisfie [sic] all rational persons that Gloucester was not alarumed [sic] last summer for above a fortnight together of real French and Indians, but that the devil and his agents were the cause of all molestation which at this time befell the town" (Mather 1703:623).

Although an interesting fact, it is perhaps simply coincidental that Ebenezer Babson's delusion occurred in the Dogtown forest. He may have been honestly nervous of attack, hearing of other French attacks on other rural settlements around northern Massachusetts. What may be less coincidental in relation to our topic here, however, is who in Gloucester was asked to stand accountable for the potential crimes against Babson. East (2009:74) points out that when a French attack had been disproven, and before Satan was blamed, the court looked for real persons that they could hold

accountable, calling in all “village scolds, misfits and poor widows” (Mather 1703:622). For East, these were “the same type of people who would later populate Dogtown” (East 2009:74).

The “Witch” in Dogtown

The above discussion may not characterize one specific individual who would have been accused of witchcraft in Massachusetts or New England but it does suggest where the characterization of the women in Dogtown may have come from. While Old World anxieties of powerful women would have played a role, by the early nineteenth century a post-Enlightenment worldview would also have taken hold. This would have made it difficult to see Satan operating in one's midst. It is more likely then that these women fit into a stereotype of “poor, aged, and strong-willed” making them socially liminal for Gloucester.

Additionally, it can be argued that the groups' poverty was ascribed to them due to their degraded moral character by nineteenth century narrators who often looked upon one's outward appearance as relating to an inner morality. This assumption of moral degeneracy was then used to explain the groups' impoverishment masking the fact that the poverty experienced by these individuals was likely related to the fact that the growing capitalist mode of production in the region created classes of people who succeeded and classes who did not. Dogtown's witches then also relate to a larger narrative about what happens to a region as the capitalist mode of production takes hold. This topic will be discussed further in the last section of this chapter.

It is possible to view the so-called “height” of the Dogtown population to have

been somewhere between 1800 and 1820. (See Appendix A, Table 7) The male population was slowly dying off with Abram Wharf having died in 1814 and Isaac Dade in 1819. John Morgan Stanwood (said to have lived until 1852) and Joseph Stevens, dying in 1826, would have been the only two adult men in the community.[26] But by c. 1820 the community also included Molly Jacobs, Sarah Phipps and Mrs. Stanley still, as well as Becky Rich and Rachel Smith. Easter Carter, Ruth and even perhaps Annie Carter. Prior to 1820, then, it seems possible to say that there were a total of fourteen women: Luce George, Tammy Younger, Liz Tucker, Judy Rhines, Molly Jacobs, Sarah Phipps, Mrs. Stanley, Becky Rich, Rachel Smith, Easter Carter, Ruth, Annie Carter, Abram Wharf's elderly sister Peter Lurvey's widow, and her daughter, the often over-looked Mary (Lurvey) Stanwood. (See Appendix A, Table 7 again) Six of these fourteen were labeled by Mann as Dogtown "witches."[27] Let us examine who was and who was not referred to as a witch and how the stories told about the women in Dogtown have placed them further out on the margins of society.[28]

As stated previously, upon examination, these women do not appear to fit the seventeenth century picture of "witch" in New England painted by Demos (1984) but certain other portrayals of "witch" do seem to have colored the narrative about them. Although not all elderly, they were generally an aging population of single women.

[26] Colonel Pearce from 23 Dogtown Rd. remains somewhat of an enigma as it is unclear how long after the War of 1812 he lived there, having brought his sheep in from outside the community only due to that war in the first place.

[27] Peg Wesson, discussed in previous chapters, is often included in the tales of witches in Dogtown yet this will not be done so here as she actually lived in the mid-eighteenth century, a half century before most women in Dogtown, and at the corner of Prospect Street and Dale Avenues closer to the harbor community.

[28] Just to confuse the issue, there is a house in Rockport known as the "Garrison or Witch's House" which is said to have been built c1692 by the sons of John and Elizabeth Proctor after their parents were executed for witchcraft in Salem.

Mann's oral history is used here as well as church documentation because the analysis below is as much about the perception of the age of the women as much as it is about their true age. A discussion of their exact ages is difficult because we only have three birth dates and one death date. Tammy Younger is the best documented of the group. Church records say that she lived from 1753 to 1829 making her seventy-six when she died. Church documentation also states that Judy Rhines was born by 1771. Although we do not know when Rhines died, it is said that Dorcas or "Dark" Tucker, daughter of Daniel Tucker on the Commons Road nursed her in her "last sickness" (Mann 1896:31) which was not long before Cornelius Finson was removed to the poorhouse. This would make Rhines over the age of fifty when she died. The last birth date known at this time is that of Molly Jacobs who was born in 1763. She is said to have been taken to the town poorhouse in her old age along with Sally Phipps and Mrs. Stanley. Mann was told that the three were old ladies often found sharing a bed as snow fell through their roof (Mann 1896:55) which may allow one to surmise that Sally Phipps and Mrs. Stanley would have been even a bit older than Molly Jacobs, perhaps aged somewhere between forty and fifty at that time.

As discussed throughout, folklore can become fact through sheer repetition. Hence, when one finds some of these women discussed prior to their old age they are often made to appear marginalized then as well. Molly Jacobs, Liz Tucker, and Judy Rhines are said to have "vamped the young men from the conservative families of Gloucester and Rockport," making this place the "red light district of Cape Ann" according to Babson (1927:11).

To return to the previous example of powerful or strong-willed German women having caused a certain anxiety in the pre-Enlightenment German communities (Rowlands 2001), Mann's history as well as Babson's monograph both utilize similarly strong descriptions of the women and their behavior, perhaps explaining their use of the the term "witch." On the simplest level, Babson describes Molly Jacobs simply as "quite a character" (1927:11). Others get more detailed physical descriptions, allowing one to experience their social presence a bit more. Mann describes Luce George as "tall and raw-boned" while her niece Tammy Younger "short and inclined to plumpness" (Mann 1896:25). Tammy also is believed to have two long teeth in her upper jaw, referenced as partially removed by John Morgan Stanwood in Chapter 5 (Mann 1896:25). As far as her character is explained, Tammy was also said to have utilized a very "choice vocabulary, especially in the line of invective" (Mann 1896:24).

Like Luce George, Judy Rhines is described as a "tall, rawboned woman." And similarly to Tammy Younger, she is said to have had two quite long teeth "decorating each side of her upper jaw" (Mann 1896:25).[29] Mann was also led to believe that she "had great courage" (Mann 1896:60) and Babson stated that he had been told that "Judy like Tammy had great courage and apparently remarkable executive ability and that it was perhaps due to the fact of their individuality of character that they were sometimes placed in difficult positions. Here then a study of the witch problem indicates that these so-called witches were people of marked individuality, and determination, with ability to get others to do what they wished them to do" (1927:16). As usual though, Babson is slightly inconsistent in his story-telling as he says that these women were feared in their

[29] Finson is said to have had the longest of the long teeth in fact (Mann 1896:25).

community while also stating that “children were told that they were free to steal [the witches'] property or abuse them in any other way” (Babson 1927:16). The story of Judy Rhines and her stolen geese and John Morgan Stanwood's dentistry prank on Tammy Younger are both related in Chapter 5. Each appear to back up the second aspect of Babson's statement. Further, Mann quotes a source as saying that Becky Rich “was a nice old woman, but that little reliance was placed on her forecasts” (1896:30).

In contrast, the descriptions of the women not called “witches” appear to show them in a different light. “Granny” Annie Carter, born in 1776, is called a “little small woman” by Mann (1896:44) and although no physical description of her sister-in-law exists, Easter Carter is noted as a nurse by Mann (1896:40). She is also believed to have kept herself separate from the women who often had to subsist on berries in the summer, famously stating “I eats no trash” (Mann 1896:39).

While earlier Gloucester and Salem accused witches were part of the rest of society, perhaps making them that much more dangerous to the local population, Dogtown's women were not necessarily seen as related to Gloucester's social order. The physical descriptions of women such as Judy Rhines and Luce George as well as Babson's finding them to have been women of marked personality and individuality also appear to give insight into this community of “witches.” Gloucester may have found this population to have been a difficult one to reconcile with its need for communal, religiously-based behavior.

While I do not argue here that modern Gloucester is as anxious about a population of outcast women as they once were, the constant reiteration of the narrative has caused a

reification of the women's subaltern status. It has kept the forest separate and all liminal behavior away from the rest of society, bounded and meaningful on its own terms as an historic site and not related to the rest of Gloucester in many ways. It becomes related to a larger landscape of those people marginalized during the United States transition into a capitalist system however. These sites are beginning to be studied by archaeologists throughout the northeast and this subject is discussed below.

Dogtown and Outsider Communities

Today's Dogtown site is viewed here as an environment built not only in the historic past but during the present as well. The use of repetition in the archive as well as the physical re-ordering and bounding of the place have both worked to keep the place separate from Gloucester's other narrative of early capitalist and successful industrial fishing and shipping endeavors, creating what appears to have been a separate village. A re-analysis of the Dogtown archive, however, allows one to see a broader theme to the narrative as well though, connecting this particular site to the surrounding archaeological landscape of the Northeastern states. For example, Joanne Pope Melish (1998) has found that, beginning in the late eighteenth century, New England recreated itself as a white patrician society founded on the principles of liberty and justice, while Robert Paynter (2001) points out that Colonial Revivalism affected the Massachusetts state school curriculum, teaching history on a geographic time line of sorts which gradually moves from east to west as the United States expanded. For him, “red-white” contact is taught to have occurred in seventeenth century New England with stories of the Pequot wars and the first Thanksgiving yet by the early nineteenth century, discussions that focus on the

Trail of Tears and Indian Reservations imply that the Native American presence is gone from the eastern states. Similarly, "black-white" history is placed in New England only during the early Colonial era, moving south through time (2001:127).

It is in this way that both Melish (1998) and Paynter (2001) view today's understanding of a free New England as a deliberate historical construction. They find that a "moral society" (Paynter 2001:128) was created due to the elite's own struggle for power and that, although many New England colonies began the process of ending slavery in the 1780s through a gradual manumission, they did not institute the social reforms that would have allowed their once enslaved populations to improve their unequal status. In fact, many laws were structured to deny rights to any person of color. By the early nineteenth century Melish observed black neighborhoods forming in towns and cities such as Providence and Boston (1998:130). These neighborhoods were portrayed as disorderly with complaints about tenement housing and prostitution beginning to be heard in court at this time. If ruled against, the defendants were removed to their place of origin, which was often located in a much more rural setting. Many others were evicted even before anti-social behavior was even observed (Melish 1998:134).

The ruling class' attempt to construct a population of strangers may not have worked though. In Providence in the years between 1782 and 1899 there were sixty-five examinations made of the average stay in town for people of color. The average in those years was three years, but thirty-seven percent of those examined had lived in Providence for five or more years (Melish 1998:191). Melish also found that much of this removed

population returned to the cities, perhaps because it was harder to find employment outside of the city than inside.

Melish argues (19983:3) that by the 1850s there had been some re-interpretation of local histories in New England towns as well so that their past involvement in the use of captive labor became erased. This left the northern towns with a population of freed African Americans that appeared to have arrived out of no where, constructing a large group of outsiders. Historical archaeologists have begun studying certain types of rural communities which may have been founded by groups of outsiders in reaction to some of this removal. Termed "outsider communities," or even "multicultural outsider communities" (Warren Perry, personal communication), these sites are often found outside a larger urban center, on the margins, yet constructed by people who still find a need to relate to the center as well. For example, northwestern Connecticut's Lighthouse community was founded by white Europeans, African American free people, and Native Americans (Feder 1994; Sawyer and Woodruff 2003; Woodruff 2007). Inhabited by people who were not able to take part in society on equal terms due to their race and/or class, they may have either placed themselves outside (or been pushed outside) of the greater society in order make their own way. As small, isolated, and often poor communities, these outsider settlements are frequently found to be located on marginal land as well.[30]

The site of Malaga Island located near Phippsburg, Maine[31] is another example of an outsider communities found in the northern colonies, as is the community known as

[30] There are, in fact, many other stories around the American landscape of outsider communities that could be discussed here but here this discussion is limited by time and place and so only discusses a few sites.
[31] See research by University of Southern Maine archaeologist, Nathan Hamilton, unpublished.

the Ramapo Mountain People in New Jersey. This last community can perhaps usefully illustrate the dialectic nature of the creation of an outsider community in that they were historically kept out of the local economy due to their interracial mixture of Dutch, African, and Native American heritage, yet today, many in the community also choose to stay outside, having become somewhat like a maroon village in Jamaica. The fact that they have never found themselves welcomed into the larger towns nearby may have created even more of an interest within the community for insularity. Figure 6.1 is a map of these sites.[32]

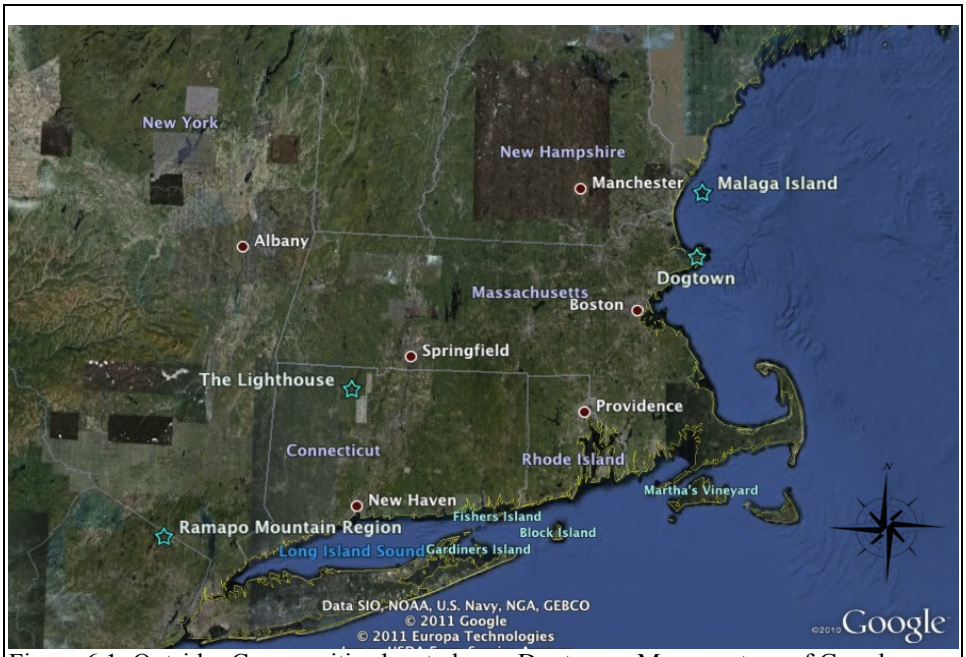


Figure 6.1: Outsider Communities located near Dogtown. Map courtesy of Google Earth 2011. Note that the locations of the communities are designated with a blue star.

The Barkhamsted Lighthouse

Kenneth Feder's published work on the Lighthouse community, *A Village of*

[32] As one opens ones eyes to these sorts of the communities, they appear to be much more numerous, furthering the point that the northern social landscape was much more complex than a Colonial Revivalist history has taught us. For example, Skunk Hollow in Closter, New York (Geismar 1982, 2003) and Dudleytown in Connecticut could also be included in a broader study of outsider communities.

Outcasts: Historical Archaeology and Documentary Research at the Lighthouse Site (1994), was one of the first archaeological examinations of an outsider site in the northeast. More trained as a prehistoric archaeologist, he found this site to be a good lesson for those beginning to take an interest in historical archaeology and his written work describes the process of excavation as well as the sorting through of the documentary evidence. Since the community had never been explored archaeologically before, his was an important first step in bringing the community and its broader themes of race and class in the Colonial New England landscape into focus.

The Lighthouse community was built through the mixing of people of differing backgrounds in a region that had been historicized as uniformly "white" and "free" so here, as with Dogtown, one finds that the choices made in the re-telling of the local history to have affected the "truth" of the site. Prior to 1994 the site's history was known mainly through a local folkloric narrative about an eighteenth century European woman named Molly Barber who was said to have "run off" with a Narragansett man named James Chaugham. They and their children founded a community which was rumored to have been welcoming of outsiders, such as an African-American free man named Isaac Jacklin who married their daughter Mercy. As with the work by Melish and Paynter, Feder found colonial Connecticut to be a more complex social system than previous histories had led him to believe.

Since Feder's book was published, the broader theme of multicultural outsider communities in New England and the other northern British colonies has become a key part of the work of archaeologists Warren Perry, Jerry Sawyer and Janet Woodruff from

Central Connecticut State University. These three have connected another site, Danbury Quarter, to the Lighthouse community. Woodruff has also begun to re-examine the Lighthouse, finding interesting new interpretations of the site and even bringing it somewhat back inside its larger community. As one finds with many outsider communities, this one was located outside of the settled town, on marginal, forested land, which made it hard to practice subsistence farming alone. Instead, the people from the Lighthouse community were able to take part in local market days nearby, bringing basketry and other goods for sale or exchange for the ceramics and other goods that can be seen to place them thoroughly within a Colonial New England economic context. While Feder's work focused on their community's insularity and outsider status, Woodruff's new analysis finds a place more connected to the larger landscape and villages in the region (Woodruff 2007:2). Arguing for a much more complex analysis of the landscape, she finds that "a careful search through documentary records, and analysis of artifactual remains, shows that virtually all New England towns had a multicultural, stratified, and nonconforming population" (Woodruff 2007:5). She theorizes further that it was the widely-focused capitalist mode of production that began to dominate rural Connecticut's economy which affected the relationship between the Lighthouse and their neighbors. Suddenly their poverty and self-reliance were taken as a story of economic failure. "As Barkhamsted's population and economic base expanded, the Lighthouse people endeavored to maintain their way of life within a changing economic and social climate...Over time, social and economic differences and the institutionalization of racism in the community deepened the perception of otherness in the Lighthouse people"

(Woodruff 2007:5).

Malaga Island

A narrative about a community's race and class play a part in the history of the people from a late nineteenth century community on Malaga Island as well. The word Malaga originates from the local Abnaki word for “cedar” and the island is believed to have been a fishing station for local pre-Columbian Native Americans. It was settled more permanently in the mid-nineteenth century by free African-Americans and Europeans though (Heflich, Troyansky, and Farrell 2003:3).

Their story is by far one of the more dramatic of outsider communities. At the turn of the twentieth century the demand for Maine coastal fishing rights as well as for vacation land led to the closing of the fishing village (Dubrule 2005). Similar to Woodruff's argument for the Lighthouse as well as the one found throughout this work for Dogtown, local Maine reporter, Deborah Dubrule, argues that the community was not originally seen as so “outside” the rest of the local experience as most local people were located on marginal farmland, making their livings on small fishing vessels as well. It was in the beginning of the twentieth century that “racial prejudice flourished in concert with the growth of the eugenics movement, and as developers sought islands for the booming summer tourist industry, rumors published by the mainstream press about the islanders' "immorality," poverty and questionable ancestry spread, offending Victorian sensibilities on the mainland and threatening the tourist trade” (Dubrule 2005). Local gossip began at this time, calling the community's ancestors “cave-dwelling degenerates” (Heflich, Troyansky, and Farrell 2003:2) and imputing incest.

By 1912 Maine's Governor Frederick Plaisted decided to forcibly evict the forty-five remaining islanders from their homes. Governor Plaisted even had their houses razed in order to discourage resettlement and placed much of the community into public housing. Eight people were even placed in the local mental institution as there was no other public housing available. The affects of this institutionalization on the Malaga Island community were devastating with many people and their descendants became too embarrassed of the stigma of institutionalization to admit to ever having been associated with the island in the first place (Dubrule 2005).

Today's Governor LePage officially apologized to the descendants of the community in 2010. It is now owned by the Maine Coast Heritage Trust under archaeological investigation by the University of Southern Maine. And although the story of Malaga Island is tragic it can also be seen to contain elements of a relationship with Dogtown and as well as the Lighthouse community. A narrative of moral degeneracy was constructed which created the ability for Governor Plaisted to begin his program of eviction. And while the Dogtown community was not submitted to such extreme molestation, there is a similar element of mis-treatment in the archive. The last example of an outsider community contains elements of this type of story as well.

The Ramapo Mountain People

The community known as the Ramapo Mountain People, named for the mountains that border New York and New Jersey, is still active to this day. Ostracized and marginalized since the eighteenth century, local racism has constructed a history for them through the telling of various myths and untruths. For example, local history long

stated that the community was related to the Revolutionary War era's women of Lispenard's Meadow. This was a group compromised of British and Caribbean captives described in local myth as having been coerced into prostitution during the British occupation of New York City.[33] Attempting to address these persistent accusations of prostitution, David S. Cohen's 1974 ethnography dispelled some of the local mythology, instead tracing the community's origins to be in Dutch New Amsterdam when Dutch slave owners fathered mixed race children. Eventually freed, a number of these black Dutch families settled on farms along the Hackensack River although they began to sell off their farms and move into separate communities further into the Ramapo Mountains after the American Revolution (Cohen 1974:43). While the exact reason is unknown, New Jersey statutes regarding a free black population may explain it somewhat. In 1714 a statute read, "it is found by Experience, that Free Negroes are an idle, and slothful People…" (Cohen 1974:43). Slavery was also still officially legal in New Jersey until 1865 and free black citizens were often treated as slaves unless they could prove otherwise.

By the early twentieth century a shift in the local economy created a situation where most Ramapo Mountain People became employed in factories or mining jobs rather than as farmers. Iron foundries had been constructed at Mahwah and Ringwood, New Jersey and in Hillburn, New York by the mid-nineteenth century though large valley farms still hired laborers in Mahwah and Ringwood as well (Cohen 1974:59). This then was a population that did take part in the local economy and industry of the area but the

[33] Note the similarity to Dogtown here as well. Prostitution is alleged of each community, indicating their immoral behavior.

local mythology created for them has raced and classed the group as uneducated and in-bred causing their communities to be segregated from the other towns anyway.

Dogtown

Dogtown can be seen to exist within this larger outsider community context by examining its particularities within Gloucester. As argued in the preceding chapters, many factors are believed to have led to the characterization of Dogtown as an "outsider community" but the history must be examined as a constructed narrative in the first place. It is believed that it was also the choices that have been made about how to tell the history or even which history to tell that has helped segregate the community. As discussed previously, and as Melish (1998) found for other towns in New England, that Dogtown's history has been written to fit into a construction of abandonment and moral collapse. For example, it is interesting to note that J. Babson's *History of the Town of Gloucester, Cape Ann, including the Town of Rockport* (1860) and Pringle's *History of the Town and City of Gloucester, Cape Ann, Massachusetts* (1892) both overlook the history of the Commons Settlement and Dogtown, over-writing the existence of each settlement. Mann's history of Dogtown may have been a response to these two in fact although it is an unknown. When one looks underneath the folklore of farm abandonment that Mann propagates one finds that there is another narrative involved as well and this appears to be the one that both J. Babson (1860) and Pringle (1892) found to be more meaningful. This other one is of the nineteenth century town's involvement in a North Atlantic colonial economy and the resulting economic growth and industrialization the harbor and greater Gloucester experienced during those years. As argued in Chapter 5 though, the Dogtown

community, as re-constructed and maintained from within the worldview of Charles Mann and Roger Babson, was formed into a lesson in how immorality can lead to economic failure. Babson mapped his moral compass onto the landscape in order to display his colonial heritage, yet it also brought into stark relief the asymmetry in treatment between the two communities who built the landscape. While the Commons Settlement was portrayed as morally upright and determined in their farm work, Dogtown became known for its poverty at best and as a place of degenerate behavior at worst. It is this interpretation of the Dogtown landscape that allows it to be compared to other "outsider" sites in and around New England.

Conclusions

This chapter has explored the term "witch" as it may have been by used Charles Mann and his contemporaries. It has been argued that the later nineteenth century use of the term as well the local mythology of marginal behavior has helped construct an environment that looks appropriate for a group of witches and other strange folk. A true understanding of what the women of Dogtown were called in their own lifetime has not been possible here, nor is it a goal of this research. What is of interest is how the local construction of history has placed Dogtown outside of Gloucester making it seem similar to other outsider communities in the larger northern region. While the differences between these communities and Dogtown should be noted (namely, that Dogtown was not as much of a multi-generational, multi-ethnic population as the others discussed here) this chapter has focused on the similarities between outsider sites in the northeast. It has found that the construction of each community's history has been partially due to the

needs of the more economically powerful population telling the story. For although these sites very clearly once existed, perhaps even fulfilling a need for many as safe havens, the choices made in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries about how to tell the region's local history has also helped make them into the places that one experiences today.

These few communities discussed above are not the only ones of course. If the above communities were formed as a response to a capitalist system which re-wrote the local historical narrative in terms of success and failure due to the strength of the moral fiber of the group in question then these four will not be alone. A principle of archaeology can be found here, meaning that as one looks for a particular type of site, there that site will be found, be it a previously over-looked ground scatter from stone tool production or an historic outsider community of renters who cannot be found in the local property records. One should note then that there are likely more of these sorts of communities to find, one simply needs to look for them.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

The research presented in the preceding chapters is viewed as layering one more level of complexity onto the Dogtown archive. The site has been deconstructed, finding that its "history" is not entirely known, or knowable. The local narrative is shown here to have been reiterated so often as to have affected the preservation and maintenance of the site itself.

While this study has deconstructed one specific site's documentary archive as well as the history that has gone into building and maintaining its landscape, it has also argued for placing the site into a larger context of marginalized communities in the British Colonial-era northeast. Often it is through the examination of the particular circumstances of one site that one can draw larger conclusions about a broader region. For example, outsider community sites such as the Lighthouse community and Malaga Island in Maine are beginning to be studied by historical archaeologists. More such sites will be found as archaeologists begin to look for them.

As stated above about the work on the topic of Dogtown in particular, it has been the aim here to add another layer of critique to the historical record of outsider sites such as these as well as to the understanding of the broader landscape of difference in the northeastern region. Although Dogtown may not be the most perfect example of an outsider community (if such a thing even exists), the site has a role in this larger landscape of outsider behavior because of the way it has been reconstructed. It plays dual roles here then, as a marginalized neighborhood in Gloucester and as an outsider

community connected to a larger landscape of marginalized people.

As stated previously, archaeological excavation was not deemed advisable for this initial project as it seemed necessary to first deconstruct the information that was already available. Future work might very well include excavation though. As discussed in Chapter 4, the house areas along the Commons Road have been under-explored. Digging on the grounds of "the Castle," still standing on Gee Avenue today, may elucidate interesting information about the Commons Settlement as well as the early settlement of Gloucester itself.

Themes from the Previous Chapters

The Introduction and Chapter 1 toured the reader through Gloucester, relating the site to the modern city. A deconstruction of the Dogtown archive was begun, leading one to search for a more complex reading of its built environment. Theoretical material was introduced in order to strengthen the analysis of an archive as constructed through time and use. This material enabled an examination of the landscape as a built environment and not a "natural" site. It also brought out the understanding that the landscape needed to be studied through a gendered and class-based lens of power relations.

Chapter 2 introduced the reader to the construction of a dialectic of inside and outside between two geographical locations on Cape Ann, the harbor and the rocky interior, during the early days of Gloucester's foundation. This chapter is viewed as relating an historical and geographical perspective of the larger community and its foundations. Gloucester has long seen itself as a community focused around the harbor, yet an examination of its history shows that this was not always an absolute. An early

dialectic relationship between the interior and exterior of the peninsula existed, placing the two in a complexly balanced relationship until the shipping industry's ties to British trade in the early to mid-eighteenth century shifted the power to their side, making a farm-based economy less of a focus in the area.

Chapter 3 further focused on the narrative of a power relationship between the harbor and the the interior, emphasizing how this has affected the story of the inland community called the Commons Settlement. The introduction of the Gloucester schooner c. 1713 as well as a burgeoning industrialization of shipping at the harbor led to a shift in the power dynamics within Gloucester's First Parish.

The Commons, a community of farmers on marginal land, found itself left out of Gloucester's economic development. By the mid-eighteenth century, negotiations surrounding the construction of a new meetinghouse brought upon a schism within the First Parish, eventually splitting it into two, creating a new First Parish as well as a Fourth Parish. The New First Parish Meetinghouse was located closer to the harbor on Middle Street, which moved the seat of power further into the harbor community while the Fourth Parish remained near the old center of town.

While Chapter 3 focused on the first community, Chapter 4 examined the place that became known as Dogtown in the nineteenth century. Gloucester history positions this second, short-lived community as geographically isolated and socially marginalized. Their inability to take part in Gloucester harbor's rapidly expanding post-War development kept them separated from the larger regional economy.

In Chapter 5, Dogtown's re-creation as a place appearing separate from the rest of

Gloucester, both socially and spatially, is explored. It is argued that it has been constructed into an "outsider" site through the interpretation of the Dogtown archive and its built environment since the late nineteenth century. Continuing the legacy left by Charles Mann and Roger Babson as well as incorporating more modern notions of the management of a heritage site, the city of Gloucester has attempted a balance between the needs of a nature preserve or "natural wilderness" and the preservation of an archaeological site. This has led to the construction of a built environment that continues to make Dogtown appear as just that "outsider" village of witches that Mann began painting it to be in 1896.

Chapter 6 examines the use of the term "witch" in the Dogtown literature. This term becomes a part of the Dogtown lexicon in the mid-nineteenth century as Gloucester attempted to explain away this one group of people who were not included in the larger community's capitalist success story. By calling them "witches," the group of women became part of a separate class that could be explained away through their moral degeneracy and not seen as the outcome of a capitalist system that creates different classes of people, some who profit and some who do not. For the Dogtown "witches" then, their role appears to have been to be the opposite of economically successful.

The northeast's narrative of thriving industrial capitalism may have, in turn, called for an opposite category as well. Dogtown's outsider status is comparable to other similar communities for this reason. It is then argued that the history constructed for the colonial American northeast has created a dialectical relationship of "insider" versus "outsider" propagating a myth of financial success and freedom.

Conclusions

This research has argued that these outsider sites have been placed in a dialectically opposite relationship to their more economically successful neighbors. Just as many cultures define their society by those who they are not, it is argued here that nineteenth and early twentieth century narratives of capitalist success have created a need for an oppositional population, one often painted as diametrically opposed to "success" instead of having been left out of said success.

Like Diamant, one might wonder, "where's the harm?" (2005:Author's Note). These chapters have worked to re-analyze the Dogtown archive, placing it more within the context of Gloucester's history. In doing so one has found that the repetition of the known archive, composed of interpreted and often even false historic events, has led to a misunderstanding of the Dogtown community as an outsider settlement of socially marginal people. While, of course, no physical harm has come to any person through the passing down of these stories, the past Dogtown community can be viewed as repeatedly wounded in the narrating of historic events that continually remove the population from the rest of the local history.

In total, the outsider communities discussed here can be held up as examples of how the interpretation of a constructed history using an archive and built environment based on myth and stereotype can affect the historic narrative of a region such as the northeastern United States. The language used in these folk histories ("witch" in the case of Dogtown, "runaway" and "inbred" in some of the other cases) has helped construct the perception of what sort of a landscape one might expect, sometimes even leading to an

external manifestation of those expectations. For example, today's Dogtown is an overgrown forest, reconstructed in the twentieth century from a landscape viewed as a more open pastureland. This reconstruction of the landscape has aided in the building of an outsider landscape which can be interpreted as appropriate for witches to have inhabited.

This place is most clearly a built environment though. Since European colonial occupation it has been transformed from an old growth forest located on top of a glacial moraine, to a deforested English Colonial farming settlement whose large boulders impeded farming, to a place of poverty and decrepit houses. Left open for grazing animals for almost one hundred years after the last house was inhabited, the landscape became ripe for reinterpretation. Twentieth century Early Modernist artists such as Marsden Hartley and Charles Olsen added their own mystery to the place through their romantic visions of the abandoned and rocky landscape while Roger Babson turned the place into the physical manifestation of his moral universe making it into a site of Gloucester's heritage, and so, as such, in need of constant management and maintenance. Yet one more Dogtown has been uncovered here with local interpreters working through concepts best raised in Haitian anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot's profound statement.

> Human beings participate in history both as actors and as narrators...In vernacular use, history means both the facts of the matter and the narrative of those facts, both 'what happened' and 'that which is said to have happened.' The first meaning places the emphasis on the sociohistorical process, the second on our knowledge of that process or on a story about that process.
>
> – Trouillot 1995:2

Appendix A: Tables

Table 1: Bibliography of Local Newspaper and Magazine Coverage of Dogtown

Anonymous
7/14/1923 Dogtown Commons: Interesting Area in the "Heart of Cape Ann" now Deserted...Once the Site of a Hamlet of Fisherfolk, the Home of "Witches" and such in its Last Days. The Cape Ann Shore.

Anonymous
8/20/1954 At Tammy Younger's Wake. The Gloucester Daily Times.

Anonymous
6/24/1960 On Dogtown Common: a Deserted Village that Bears the Scars of History. The Gloucester Daily Times.

Axelrod, Joan
10/1/1981 A Ghost Town in Gloucester. The Boston Herald.

Bartlett, M.E.
9/15/1897 The Ghosts of Dogtown, the Deserted Village of Cape Ann. The Boston Sunday Herald.

Cahill, Robert Ellis
1989 New England's: Things that go Bump in the Night. Chandler-Smith Publishing House Presents Collectible Classics No. 16. Peabody, Massachusetts.

Comstock, Sarah
12/1919 The Broomstick Trail. Harper's Magazine Vol. CXL No. DCCCXXXV.

Dabrowski, Maria
12/1958 Village of 100 Ghosts. Yankee Magazine.

Darcy, Jacqueline
7/21/1949 Dogtown Common: A Relic of the Past. The Sun.

8/6/1954 A Very Strange Collection of Odd Character. The Sun.

Erkkila, Barbara H.
1954 Tammy Younger No Witch Concludes Scribe, Citing Tea Cups. The Gloucester Daily Times.

8/20/1965 Dogtown Stone Still a Mystery. The Gloucester Daily Times.

7/8/1966 The Cats Snarled at Witch's Funeral. The Gloucester Daily Times.

Hill, I.F.
5/12/1961 Dogtown Home to a Witch and a Southern Belle. The Gloucester Daily Times.

Olson, Al
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Table 2: Commons Settlement Records

Name	Location	Birth Date	Death Date	Marriage	Notes
Nathaniel Day	1 Back Rd. on Babson, possibly 55/56 on Bachelder			Mary Davis, 11/27/1764	Had 17 children (Mann 1896:30)
Molly Millet	3 Back Rd. on Babson, possibly related to 50 labeled Jos. Millet, other Millets are at 19, 57, 58 on Bachelder		12/07/1816		Died at the workhouse, aged 80 (Mass. Archives.) Became mentally ill after she moved to the Harbor but no known date. (Mann 1896:30)
Emmons family	4 Back Rd. on Babson, 22 on Bachelder (spelled “Emans”)				
Mussey family	5 Back Rd. on Babson				
Smith family	6 Back Rd. on Babson				
Benjamin Stanwood	7 Dogtown Rd. on Babson, possibly 61 on Bachelder				Bachelder has 58 and 61 opposite from Babson's 7 and 8 so it seems possible that Babson referenced these owners incorrectly
Jeremiah Millet	8 Dogtown Rd. on Babson, 58 on Bachelder				Bachelder has 58 and 61 opposite from Babson's 7 and 8 so it seems possible that Babson referenced these owners incorrectly

Clark Family/ John Clark, Sr.	9 Dogtown Rd. on Babson, probably 60 on Bachelder	06/18/1718		Rebecca Brown, 02/21/1740	Father Joseph Clark, Sr. inherited land in 1697, probate #5469 though unclear where this land was (Titterington 1988) Children John, Jr. and Rachel b. c1740, baptized in the First Parish Church.
John Clark, Jr.	Inherited 9 Dogtown Rd.	c1740	07/20/1824, intestate		Occupation mariner (Titterington 1988.) House was torn down c1824 and lot bought by J. Stevens after this.
Nathaniel Wharf	father of Arthur at 10 Dogtown Rd.	03/09/1684	08/11/1755, intestate		Sons Arthur, caulker and Isaac, yeoman, inherited a "wooded lot" on the Commons (Titterington 1988), probate #29423, a Nathaniel Wharf located at #30 Bachelder, off the Commons Road.
Arthur Wharf	10 Dogtown Rd. on Babson	03/05/1694	07/15/1789, intestate	Martha Lee, 03/24/1737	Children: Abraham, John, Sarah, Martha, Samuel, and Mary, probate #29407. Titterington (1988:12) states that Abraham Wharf lived and committed suicide at #10 while Mann and Babson both associate him with house site #24 on Wharf Rd., Mann (1896:37) mistakenly calls Arthur the son of Abraham.
Philip Priestly	11 Dogtown Rd. on Babson			Hannah Winslow, d. of Deacon Winslow, 12/23/1769	Wife Hannah was daughter of Deacon Joseph Winslow who lived at #13. Widow Hannah Winslow Priestly is associated with #13 until the Stevens take ownership. (Titterington 1988:14)
Philemon/Philip Priestly	Inherited 11 Dogtown Rd.	10/31/1771		Jenny Carter,	Children: Philip, Jr., Jenny, William, Anna and Eliza (Titterington 1988:13),

				04/04/1796	died of consumption aged 75 (Mann 1896:37)
Philip Priestly, Jr.		08/13/1798		Naomi Clark, d. of John Clark, Jr., 06/01/1828	Naomi was daughter of John Clark, Jr. at #9 but neither family lived there at the time, lot had already been bought by J. Stevens by the time of his death in 1826.
William Wilson	12 Dogtown Rd. on Babson, 62 on Bachelder			Sally Stevens, daughter of J. and H. Stevens at #13*	Titterington references a marriage to Sally Stevens found in Mann (1896:39) but I cannot find this reference or any reference to a Sally Stevens in Mann. Also, I think the Wilsons lived here before the Stevens who don't arrive until c1800 or a little before perhaps. Children: John J., fisherman, and Anne. A William H. Wilson died in the Fifth Parish at Sandy Bay in 1828. (Titterington 1988:13)
Joseph/Deacon Winslow	13 Dogtown Rd., (Mann placed him further down and across the road perhaps where Bachelder placed Ingersoll at 64)			Sarah Day, d. of John and Abigail Day, 12/24/1719	Daughter Hannah marries Philip Priestly from #11, inherited bulk of father Winslow's estate, perhaps living as a widow at #13 while Hannah Stevens lived as a widow at #14.

James Stanwood	15 Dogtown Rd. though associated with Easter Carter by both Mann and Babson, 61 on Bachelder	03/17/1690		Mary Davis, d. of Lt. James Davis, 12/25/1713	4 children between 1714 and 1728. James and his brother John Stanwood, Jr. are listed as absentee owners from Falmouth when James sells a lot of land in Gloucester to his brother c.1734. (Titterington 1988:15) Bachelder re-draw associates the house site with Jos. Clark, Jr. son of Sr. at #60 and Isaac Davis son of Anna Davis at #40, later residents also include Easter Carter, Old Ruth and Becky Rich and Rachel Smith, Babson (p10) says there is no cellar on this site but it ws 2 stories
James Demerit	16 Dogtown Rd. on Babson, (associated with Annie Carter on Mann instead)	08/08/1745		Susanna Allen, 12/03/1765	5 children between 1766 and 1776 according to 4th Parish Church Records. (Titterington 1988:15) Later occupied by Annie Carter (Babson 1927:10), wife of William Carter baptized in the Fourth Parish 4/1/1776, Easter Carter's brother. (Mann 1896:43)
Dorcas Foster	17 Dogtown Rd. on Babson	c1768		1st to an Oakes, 2nd to a Stevens, 3rd to Capt. Joseph Smith	Mann 1896:45, says she was born at the Harbor and was 8 during the Revolution. Daughter Luisa Smith had son George Wonson. Dorcas (Foster) Smith lived adult life closer to the harbor. (Mann 1896:46)
Joseph Ingersoll	19 Dogtown Rd. on Babson				Later occupied by Molly Jacobs (Babson 1927:11) although Mann associates her with the Winslow (1896:44) and the

					Lurvey house site (1896:45).
Jane/Granny/ Widow Day	20 Dogtown Rd. on Babson, 65 on Bachelder			Joseph Day (b.03/03/1698), 12/07/1719	Called the school house by Babson, Carlotto gives it 2 GPS points – 20A and B, had two children – Jane and Joseph
Stephen Robinson, Jr.	21 Dogtown Rd. on Babson, 66 on Bachelder				
Joseph Riggs	22 Dogtown Rd. on Babson, 67 on Bachelder			Sarah Dermerit, 09/30/1751	
Abram/ Abraham Wharf	24 Wharf Rd. on Babson	07/17/1738	c1814	Mary Allen, 02/09/1762	Associated with #10 also, committed suicide near site #24, probate #29406 May 21, 1816 lists a house, 2 acres of land, lot goes to J. Stevens after this (Titterington 1988) (is this #10 though?) (Birth, marriage, and death dates from Sucholeiki 1991)
Peter Lurvey	25 Wharf Rd. on Babson, Bachelder has no Wharf Rd. but he does have a house site in the area where Lurvey's house would have been		c1775		Lurvey's widow listed on the 1783 Widows List, Lurvey married a sister of Abraham Wharf (Mann 1896:52) John Morgan Stanwood married his daughter, associated with this house site after Lurvey's death. Also associated with “S” Stanwood/Finson or Stanley from Carlotto.

Stanwood house	26 Commons Rd. on Babson, 46 on Bachelder				
The “Castle”/ Abigail Bennett	27 Commons Rd. on Babson, 35-39 on Bachelder				Built by Anthony Bennett. Now on Historic Register at 41 Gee Ave.
Bennett Farm	28 Commons Rd. on Babson				
Hilton Place/ William Hilton	29 Commons Rd. on Babson				A William Hilton, Jr. m. a Mary Wharfe [sic] 09/22/1741 while a William Hilton (not Jr.) is listed as m. a Rachel Lurvey 04/04/1767 (from Mass. Archives) Babson (1927:16) says house site was later occupied by John Morgan Stanwood.
Joshua Hunter and Joshua Elwell	30 Commons Rd. on Babson, Hunter is noted at 41 and Elwell at 43 on Bachelder				Babson notes 2 houses and a separate cobbler shop but does not know which is which. (1927:16) Under Goose Cove Reservoir now.
James/ Jim White	31 Commons Rd. on Babson, property may have been owned by Bennets at the time from Bachelder				Babson associates this house site with Widow Lydia Canaby after White (1927:16)
Ann Davis	32 Commons Rd. on Babson, 40 noted as “Davis” on Bachelder				

Esther Wharf	33 Commons Rd. on Babson, a Wharf noted at 42 on the south side of the Commons Rd. on Bachelder				Babson (1927:16) identifies her as the widow of Arthur Wharf making her the mother of Abraham Wharf. Unsure why she would live here and not at #10.
Unidentified	34 Commons Rd. on Babson				
James Wharf, Sr.	35 Commons Rd. on Babson				Babson is the only identifier of this site.
Whipple family	36 Commons Rd. on Babson				a James Marsh listed as m. Sarah Riggs 04/29/1728 and a James Marsh, Jr. m. Hanna Loring 03/31/1753. Babson associates this house site with Judy Rhines post-War.
Wither family	37 Commons Rd. on Babson				
White family	38 Commons Rd. on Babson				
Benjamin Allen	39 Commons Rd. on Babson, 45 on Bachelder				a B. Allen m. a Mary Riggs 10/01/1727. (from Mass. Archives)
Unidentified	40 Commons Rd. on Babson				Possibly 46, Stanwood on Bachelder map. Labeled “S” by Carlotto 2007, off Wharf Rd. Could be Nehemiah Stanwood, m. Ruth Morgan, and father to John Morgan Stanwood. One dwelling house taxed in 1771, 10 shillings annually. (from Mass. Archives)

					*Notes on Mann – he lists Molly Stevens next door to Easter Carter/Old Ruth, Annie Carter next to M. Stevens, Hetty Belch not discussed anywhere else, and Sarah Phipps/Molly Jacobs across from Dorcas Foster, and doesn't list Ingersoll or Dermerit.

Table 3: Apprenticeship Records

Name	Father	Employer	Job of Apprentice	Period of Service	Notes
Isaac Dade	Isaac Dade	Moses Wheeler, Mariner	Mariner	March 12, 1806 -July 20, 1815	"a poor child unable to maintain himself"
Thomas Dade	Isaac Dade	William Young, Fisherman	Fisherman	Oct. 1, 1805 -Dec. 24, 1817	"a poor child"
William Dade	Isaac Dade	Moses Wheeler, Mariner	Mariner	May 12, 1806 -July 20, 1815	"a poor child unable to maintain himself"
Rouel Lourve [sic]	Peter Lourve [sic], deceased	Soloman Parsons and his wife, Cordwainer	to be taught to read, knit, sew, spin	Oct. 1, 1763 -Nov. 30, 1768	
Samuel Stanley Maskell	Joseph Maskell, deceased	Capt. James Dennison	Husbandman	Dec. 28, 1808 -Nov. 12, 1822	
Samuel Stanley Maskell	Joseph Maskell, deceased	Asa Brown	Husbandman	May 31, 1810 -Nov. 12 ,1822	Brown was from Hamilton, MA

Table 4: Material Culture

Titterington Artifacts				
Material	**Style**	**# of Sherds**	**Mid-Range Date**	**Notes**
Stoneware				Titterington surveyed sites 9-18, finding artifacts at 12, 13, 15, 16, 18.
	White Salt-Glazed	1	c1758	From 12
	Scratch-blue	2	c1760	From 12, 16
	Westerwald/blue floral geometric	1	c1738	From 13
	Hohr, gray Rhenish embellished	1	c1700	From 18
	Littler's Blue, salt-glazed, white	1	c1758	From 13
Porcelain				
	Overglaze, Chinese Export	1	c1730	From 13
Refined Earthenware				

	Creamware	15	c1791	5 from 12, 3 from 13, 1 from 1, 6 from 18
	Pearlware, polychrome	1	c1805	From 12
	Pearlware, undecorated	3	c1805	1 from 12, 2 from 13
	Pearlware,hand-painted	3	c1800	2 from 12, 1 from 13
	Pearlware, transfer-printed	1	c1818	From 18
	Metropolitan slipware	11	c1645	From 12
	Clouded ware	2	c1798	From 12
Unrefined Earthenware				
	Lead glazed, glaze missing	30	17th - 18th c.	5 from 12, 3 from 13, 21 from 15, 1 from 18
	Mottled glaze	4	17th - 18th c.	2 from 12, 2 from 16
	Yellow-red glaze	10	c1725	1 from 13, 7 from 15, 2 from 18
	Olive glaze	1	c.1725	From 13
	Black glaze	6	c.1770	From 15
Small Finds				
	Pipe stem	6		3 from 13, 3 from16

	Pipe bowl	5		3 from 15, 2 from 18
	Iron Pin	9		From 15
Faunal				
	Unidentified bone	27		found at 9, 12, 13, 15, and 18; majority (16) of the frags. found at 15
	Unidentified shell	14		found at 9, 10, 12,13, and 16
Misc. Architectural Material				
	Mortar	34		found at 9, 12 and 13
	Brick	53		found at each site
	Window glass	16		found at 12, 13, 15, and 18
	Iron Nails	2		found at 9 and 15
Norton Artifacts				
Material	**Style**	**# of Sherds**	**Mid-Range Date**	**Notes**
Stoneware				Norton left his artifacts unprovenienced except for a few labeled from 13

	Littler's Blue, salt-glaze, white	5	c1758	found at 13
	Staffordshire, white	9	c1800	
	Staffordshire, underglaze,orange rim	2	late 18th c.	
	Staffordshire, underglaze,blue/ green rim	2	c1800	
	Staffordshire, underglaze green	3	late 18th c.	
	Staffordshire, underglaze, brown	4	c1800	
	Staffordshire,underglaze, blue flower design	5	late 18th c.	
	Bristol,yellow, orange, blue flower design	1	c1787	
Porcelain				
	Overglaze, Chinese Export, blue design	3	c.1800	
	Overglaze, Chinese Export,maroon/ orange flower design	1	c.1800	

Refined Earthenware				
	Red Salt-glazed	5	late 18th c.	
	Creamware, Wedgwood, white	3	late 18th c.	
	Creamware, underglaze,green trim	1	late 18th c.	shell-edged?
	Creamware, yellow, black underglaze stripe	1	c.1762-80	
	Staffordshire, salt-glaze, light gray	3	c1720-80	found at 13
	Boscoware, salt-glaze, red/brown	8	late 18th c.	found at 13, date questioned by Titterington
	Chalkware, brown, white enamel design	1	late 18th c.	found at 13, date questioned by Titterington
Unrefined Earthenware				
	Lead glazed	25	17th - 18th c.	
	Lead glazed, glaze missing	20	17th - 18th c.	found at 13
	Black glaze	1	c1725-1815	found at 13
	Brown glaze	3	17th - 18th c.	found at 13

Sucholeiki Artifacts				
Material	**Style**	**# of Sherds**	**Mid-Range Date**	**Notes**
Stoneware				Sucholeiki excavated at #9, 20 and 24
	Salt-glazed Stoneware	37		Majority (27) of the sherds from 20 but found at all 3 sites
Porcelain				
	Unidentified	3		From 9
Refined Earthenware				
	Creamware	95	late 18th c.	Majority (75) from 9 but found at all 3 sites
	Delftware	44	18th c.	#9, 20 and 24, fairly even between sites
	Pearlware	3	early 19th c.	From 24
Unrefined Earthenware				
	Black glaze	40		found fairly evenly divided at all 3 sites
	Brown glaze	172		Majority (132) from 20 but found at all 3 sites

	Lead glazed, missing	167		Majority (134) from 20 but found at all 3 sites
	Other colors, brownish yellow, green and red	18		Majority (14) from 20 but found at all 3 sites
Glass				
	Bottle glass, green	14		13 from 9, 1 from 20
	Window glass, green	20		Majority (12) from 20 but found at all 2 sites
	Flip glass, a tavern glass	6		From 9
	Crystal,painted (glassware?)	5		From 20
Small Finds				
	Pipe stem, 0.079" diameter	14		11 from 9, 3 from 20
	pipe stem, 0.074" diameter	4		Found at 9 and 20
	pipe stem, 0.071" diameter	9		Found at 9 and 20, a fairly even distribution
	pipe stem, 0.062" diameter	7		Found at 9 and 20, a fairly even distribution

	pipe stem, 0.058" diameter	4		Found at 9 and 20
	Pipe stem, diameter unidentified	1		From 24
	Pipe bowl	17		Found evenly distributed between 9 and 20, 1 at 24 marked "V" on one side, "G" on the other
	Polished wood frag.	2		From 20
Faunal				
	Unidentified bone	69		12 from 9, 57 from 20
	Unidentified teeth	3		1 from 9, 2 from 20
	Unidentified shell	99		From 20
Misc. Architectural Material				
	Iron Nails	73		33 from 24, the rest at 9 and 20
	Iron frags.	7		From 20
Misc.				
	Iron Oxen shoe frag.	2		1 from 9, 1 from 20
	Iron plate	2		1 from 9, 1 from 24
	Lead frag.	1		From 20

	Iron Knife	1		From 20, 8” blade
	Copper Boot Buckle	2		1 from 20, 1 from 24
	Gun Flints	3		From 20
	Copper Plate	1		From 20
	Iron Hook	1		From 24
	Copper Thimble	1		From 24

Table 5: Probate Records

Name	Occupation	Date of Death	Inventory at Probate	Notes
Allen, Benjamin		Sept. 5, 1761	house, barn, 8 acres 110 rods, 56.18.8 English lbs, bed, bedstead, quilt, 5 sheets, pewter, coverlid, some other miscellany, 1 cow, 1 swine	Mass. Archives
Bennett, Anthony	Bricksmith, Blacksmith?	April 6, 1796	cows, sheep, pigs, books, bibles, 2 beds, bedsteads and bedding, old tables, chairs, stock pots, kettles, cooking pots, shovel and tongs, dogs, sledges, hammers, brick iron, steel yards, bellows, vice and tongs, scale and weights, large kettle, raw iron, raw pewter	Associated with the Castle on Commons Rd., Mass. Archives
Clark, John, Jr.	Mariner	July 20, 1824	Died intestate	Mass. Archives, Titterington 1988
Ellery, Nathaniel	Merchant		no record found	Mass. Archives
George, Luce (Lucy)	Widow		no record found	Mass. Archives
Priestly, Philip		May 12, 1817	no record found	Mass. Archives, this could be Philip Priestly, Jr.
Stanwood, Nehemiah	Weaver, Fisherman	c.1736	no record found	Mass. Archives

Stevens, Jr., Joseph	Yeoman	March 7, 1826	Two houses, barns and adjoining fields, "'1 cow pasture Bought of Prestly' (site #11), 'Clarks pasture', '1 small Lot adjoining Clarks pasture' (perhaps site #10), the 'Clark House Lot' (site #9), 4 acres of salt-marsh, and several other pieces of land in Dogtown, all valued at $1422.00," 2 oxen, 2 cows, 1 2-year-old heifer	from Titterington 1988:14
Wharf, Abraham		c1814	Committed suicide in 1814, probate inventory taken May 21, 1816: "dwelling house and land...adjoining two acres" of salt-marsh	Titterington 1988:12, Table 5
Wharf, Arthur	Yeoman	July 15, 1789	Died intestate, three cow rights, 3 acres of marsh, 1 acre of mowing land	Titterington 1988:Table 5
Wharf, Nathaniel	Yeoman	Aug. 11, 1755	Died intestate, leaving wooded lot at the Commons to sons Arthur, caulker and Isaac, yeoman: 3 ¼ acres of field orchard and mowing land, 25 acres of pasture land, 4 acres of thatch land	Titterington 1988:Table 5
Winslow, Deacon Joseph	Yeoman, Caultker [sic]	Oct. 3, 1780	Hannah W. Priestly inherited bulk of the estate consisting of: a chest of drawers, a bed and bedding, a pair of andirons, half the house, cooking wares, 1 cow pasture, 1/3 of Priestly's marsh, "Day field," "Wharf field," and salt-marsh (about 25 acres), 4 cows, 1 yearling heifer, 1 pair oxen	Mass. Archives, Titterington 1988:Table 5

Table 6: 1783 Gloucester Widow's List

ID #	Widow's Name	Children	Location	Notes
1	Wd. Grover	7	Cape Parish	Cape Parish designated Sandy Bay, Fifth Parish, founded in 1754, called Cape Parish c.1792*
2	Peggy Grover		Cape Parish	
3	Abigail Grover		Cape Parish	
4	Anna Oakes	3	Cape Parish	
5	Patience Fobnights	6	Cape Parish	spelling of last name questionable
6	Thyer Adams	2	Cape Parish	
7	Wd. Wilham		Cape Parish	
8	Anna Baker		Cape Parish	
9	Sarah Harris		Cape Parish	
10	Wd. Lane		Cape Parish	
11	Paty Stevens	3	Cape Parish	
12	Wd. Eadey	1	Cape Parish	
13	Wd. Gamage		Cape Parish	
14	Hannah Richardson	1	Cape Parish	
15	Wd. Richardson		Cape Parish	
16	Lule Carna	3	Cape Parish	spelling of first name questionable
17	Paty Thurtton	6	Cape Parish	
18	Wd. Broocks	1	Cape Parish	
19	Wd. Dreffar	4	Cape Parish	
20	Wd. Shaw	1	Cape Parish	
21	Wd.. Mutman	5	Cape Parish	
22	Wd. Frenderson	4	Cape Parish	
23	Wd. Dennis		Cape Parish	

24	Wd. Lane		Cape Parish	
25	Wd. Turner	4	Cape Parish	
26	Wd. Hooper	1	Cape Parish	
27	Bete Tarr	3	Cape Parish	
28	Wd. Finson	5 or 9	Cape Parish	"Fatherton" (Sp?) is written next to this entry, and crossed out, and 2 numbers of children listed
29	Wd. Stevens		Cape Parish	
30	Wd. Tarr		Cape Parish	
31	Wd. Tarr		Cape Parish	a double entry or 2 Tarrs next to each other?
32	Wd. Fletcher	1		"Widdows 3L" ?
33	Jenny Day		Squam Parish	Squam Parish references the Third Parish, and, c1728, designated everything to the north of Rowe Ave. across the cape from Goose Cove
34	Rachel How	1	Squam Parish	
35	Susana Wheeler		Squam Parish	
36	Abigail Jumper		Squam Parish	
37	Patience Lane	2	Squam Parish	
38	Lydia Lufton	2	Squam Parish	spelling of last name questionable
39	Abigail Woodberry	2	Squam Parish	
40	Deborah Webster		Squam Parish	
41	Lydia Robertson		Squam Parish	
42	Widow Sargent		Squam Parish	
43	Susa--- Sargent	2	Squam Parish	
44	Wd. Sargent		Squam Parish	spelling of last name questionable
45	Wd. El----		Squam Parish	
46	Lydia Lane	6	Squam Parish	
47	Molly Davis	4	Squam Parish	listed 4 times, once with

				children
48	Deborah Guffin	3	Squam Parish	
49	Eunice Harriden	2	Squam Parish	
50	Wd. Lowden		Squam Parish	
51	Rachel Han---	2	Squam Parish	
52	Mary Whitridge	2	Squam Parish	
53	Mary Hodgkins		Squam Parish	
54	Elizabeth Gop		Squam Parish	spelling of last name questionable
55	Mary Hall		Squam Parish	
56	Hannah Tarr		Squam Parish	
57	Wd. Thompson		Squam Parish	
58	Wd. Guffin		Squam Parish	
59	Wd. Guffin, Jr.		Squam Parish	
60	Lydia Low		Fourth Parish	Old First Parish, no children listed in entire Fourth Parish
61	Judith Low		Fourth Parish	
62	Susanah El----		Fourth Parish	
63	Sarah Allen		Fourth Parish	
64	Mary Millit		Fourth Parish	
65	Anna Electt		Fourth Parish	spelling of last name questionable
66	Wd. Perry		Fourth Parish	
67	Mary Tucker		Fourth Parish	spelling of last name questionable
68	Wd. D--- H----		Fourth Parish	
69	Wd. Tammy ---		Fourth Parish	
70	Anna P---		Fourth Parish	
71	Mary Riggs		Fourth Parish	
72	Wd. Robinson		Fourth Parish	
73	Anna Millit		Fourth Parish	
74	Lucy Benett		Fourth Parish	

75	Wd. M----		Fourth Parish	
76	Elizabeth Davis		Fourth Parish	
77	Wd. Woodb---		Fourth Parish	
78	Elizabeth Millit		Fourth Parish	
79	Hannah Smith		Fourth Parish	
80	Patience M----		Fourth Parish	
81	Wd. Carter		Fourth Parish	
82	Anne Benett		Fourth Parish	
83	Anna Low		Fourth Parish	
84	Wd. Hammond		Fourth Parish	
85	Ruth Millit		Fourth Parish	
86	Susannah Millit		Fourth Parish	
87	Mary ----den		Fourth Parish	
88	Wd. Ryon		Fourth Parish	
89	Wd. Hunter		Fourth Parish	
90	Wd. Davison		Fourth Parish	
91	Wd. Pheahy		Fourth Parish	spelling of last name questionable
92	Wd. of Peter Lurvey		Fourth Parish	
93	Wd. of D-- Lurvey, Jr.		Fourth Parish	
94	Sarah Flannery		Fourth Parish	spelling of last name questionable
95	Wd. of Stephen Robinson		Fourth Parish	
96	Wd. of Jon Ca---		Fourth Parish	
97	Abigail Noble		Fourth Parish	
98	Wd. of Joseph Lurvey		Fourth Parish	
99	Wd. of John Carter		Fourth Parish	
100	Wd. of James Priestley		Fourth Parish	
101	Wd. of Philemon Priestley		Fourth Parish	
102	Wd. of Joseph Stevens		Fourth Parish	
103	Mary Davis		Fourth Parish	

104	Wd. of William Davis		Fourth Parish	
105	Wd. of --- Davis Jun.		Fourth Parish	
106	Wd. of Amocem Davis		Fourth Parish	spelling of first name questionable
107	Wd. Gardner		Fourth Parish	
108	Wd. of Joseph Davis		Fourth Parish	
109	Wd. A---		Fourth Parish	
110	Wd. Clark		Fourth Parish	
111	Wd. of William Lurvey		Fourth Parish	
112	Wd. Baker		Fourth Parish	
113	Wd. Pattam		Fourth Parish	
114	Wd. Pulcifer		Fourth Parish	
115	Wd. of Jo---- M---tt		Fourth Parish	
116	Wd. Ritch		Fourth Parish	
117	Wd. Wharf		Fourth Parish	
118	Wd. Marsh		Fourth Parish	
119	Wd. Riggs		Fourth Parish	
120	Lydia Davis		Fourth Parish	
121	Hannah Noble		Fourth Parish	
122	Wd. George		Fourth Parish	
123	Wd. --- Daf--		Fourth Parish	
124	Wd Younger		Fourth Parish	spelling of last name questionable
125	Wd. Pharley		Fourth Parish	spelling of last name questionable
126	Wd. Gazea		Fourth Parish	
127	Wd. Benett		Fourth Parish	
128	Wd. Thomas		Fourth Parish	
129	Wd. Fortes		Fourth Parish	
130	Wd. Handley		Fourth Parish	
131	Sarah Lurvey		Fourth Parish	
132	Wd. of Thomas ---		Fourth Parish	

133	Wd. Lane		Fourth Parish	
134	Wd. Witham		Fourth Parish	
135	Wd. Carter, Jr.		Fourth Parish	
136	Wd, Ta------		Fourth Parish	
137	Wd. Ellery		Fourth Parish	
138	Mary Babson		Fourth Parish	
139	Abigail Rye		Fourth Parish	spelling of last name questionable, could be "Gye"
140	Wd. of Ambrose Allen		Fourth Parish	
141	Wd. of Daniel Tucker		Fourth Parish	
142	Wd. Emmons		Fourth Parish	
143	Rachel Sanborn		Fourth Parish	spelling of last name questionable
144	Rachel Noble		Fourth Parish	
145	Sarah Dyell		Fourth Parish	
146	Wd. Hodgkins		Second Parish	
147	Wd. True		Second Parish	
148	Wd. Hodgkins, Jr.	2	Second Parish	
149	Wd. Collins		Second Parish	
150	Wd. Stanwood		Second Parish	
151	Wd. Penney		Second Parish	spelling of last name questionable
152	Wd. Roberts		Second Parish	
153	Wd. Parran	4	Second Parish	
154	Wd. Eveleth		Second Parish	
155	Wd. Guthrage		Second Parish	
156	Wd. Addams		Second Parish	
157	Wd. Ares	3	Second Parish	
158	Wd. Boyle		Second Parish	
159	Wd. Davis		Second Parish	
160	Wd. Witham	2	Second Parish	
161	Wd. Morgan		Second Parish	

162	Wd. Brown		Second Parish	
163	Wd. Bond		Second Parish	
164	Wd. Hadlock	1	Second Parish	
165	Wd. Burnam		Second Parish	
166	Wd. B---y		Second Parish	
167	Wd. Avery		Second Parish	
168	Wd. Baffin	3	Second Parish	
169	Wd. Woodbury	2	Second Parish	number of children may be crossed out
170	Wd. A----		Second Parish	
171	Wd. Jaymes		Second Parish	spelling of last name questionable
172	Wd. Rust		Second Parish	
173	Wd. Flannery		Second Parish	
174	Wd. Davis, Jun.	2	Second Parish	
175	Wd. Bray		Second Parish	
176	Rachel Harding	1	Spring St.	spelling of last name questionable
177	Sus. Frear	2	Spring St.	spelling of last name questionable
178	Mrs. Pike	2	Spring St.	
179	Mary Fuller	4	Spring St.	
180	Naby Ingorsoll	2	Spring St.	
181	Mrs. Littlehale		Spring St.	
182	Nabby Day	1	Spring St.	
183	Catherine Sargent		Spring St.	
184	Mrs. Winter	3	Spring St.	
185	Anna Odle	3	Spring St.	
186	Sally Wier	3	Spring St.	
187	Rebecca Ingorsoll		Spring St.	
188	Rebecca Ingorsoll, Jr.	.	Spring St.	
189	Rebecca Hill	4	Spring St.	
190	Wd. Bennet		Spring St.	

191	Lucy Elwell		Spring St.	
192	Hannah Ingorsoll		Spring St.	
193	Mrs. Oakes		Spring St.	
194	Mrs. ---rgue		Spring St.	
195	Molly Hodgkins	3	Spring St.	
196	Mary Lord		Spring St.	
197	Mrs. Glover		Spring St.	
198	Sus. Millings		Spring St.	
199	Mary Ingorsoll		Spring St.	
200	Rachel Sargent	3	Middle St.	
201	Mrs. Huffin	3	Middle St.	
202	An. Ingorsoll		Middle St.	
203	Rachel Jhing	2	Middle St.	spelling of last name questionable
204	Betsy Gidings	3	Middle St.	
205	Mary Haskell		Middle St.	
206	Thankfull Haskell		Middle St.	
207	Mrs. Robertson	2	Middle St.	
208	Sally Allen		Middle St.	
209	Mrs. Bookman	1	Middle St.	
210	Hannah Somes	4	Middle St.	
211	Lydia Davis		Middle St.	
212	Hannah Howell	3	Middle St.	
213	Eunice Mayhew	5	Middle St.	
214	Mrs. Crowley		Middle St.	
215	Mary Ellery	3	Fore St.	Designated Main St. west from Duncan/Pleasant St intersection to Washington St.
216	Mrs. Logan		Fore St.	
217	Elizabeth Stevens		Fore St.	
218	Mary Babson		Fore St.	
219	Mary Thorp		Fore St.	

220	Mary Evans	2	Fore St.	
221	Mrs. Chappel	2	Fore St.	
222	Mrs. Balham	2	Fore St.	spelling of last name questionable
223	Dorcas Parsons		Fore St.	
224	Judith Warner	1	Fore St.	
225	Naby West		Fore St.	
226	Naby Glover	1	Fore St.	
227	Hannah M--hean		Fore St.	
228	Jemimiah Dennison	4	Fore St.	
229	Anna Lane	4	Fore St.	
230	Elizabeth Elwell		Fore St.	
231	Judith Porter	3	Fore St.	
232	Hannah Jackson		Fore St.	
233	Polly Brooks		Fore St.	
234	Jenny Morgan	1	Fore St.	
235	Rebecca Smith	2	Fore St.	
236	Rebecca Clark		Fore St.	
237	Rebecca Boynton		Fore St.	
238	Mary Card		Fore St.	
239	Mary Warner		Fore St.	
240	Mary Flanigan		Fore St.	
241	Nancy Morse	1	Fore St.	spelling of first and last names questionable
242	Hannah Parsons		Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
243	Rebecca Parsons	2	Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
244	Rebecca Joelyn		Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
245	Sarah Parsons		Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
246	Hannah Tucker		Fresh Water Cove and Cut	

247	Billy Parsons	2	Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
248	Mrs. Morgan	3	Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
249	Patty Sawyer	3	Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
250	Patty Davis	4	Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
251	Sarah Morgan		Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
252	Sarah Morgan, Jr.		Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
253	Mrs. Doliver		Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
254	Mrs. Webber	3	Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
255	Mrs. Huvard		Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
256	Mrs. Parsons		Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
257	Mrs. Bayley	3	Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
258	Elizabeth Hammond	2	Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
259	Mrs. Yamson	4	Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
260	Mrs. Bufsel	4	Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
261	Mrs. Millet	4	Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
262	Eunice Donahough	4	Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
263	Mrs. Tippin		Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
264	Mrs. Fuldon	5	Fresh Water Cove and Cut	

265	Mrs. Sargent		Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
266	Mrs. Bing		Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
267	Mrs. Honours		Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
268	Mrs. Lufkin		Fresh Water Cove and Cut	
269	Abigail Smith		The Point	Probably designated Eastern Point, i.e., all of East Gloucester from about Bass Ave. on
270	Mrs. Gullison		The Point	
271	Sarah Ballin	5	The Point	
272	--Jane Coax		The Point	
273	--- Coax		The Point	
274	Anna Ballin		The Point	
275	Mrs. Robertson		The Point	
276	Mrs. Gardner		The Point	
277	Mrs. Elwell	1	The Point	
278	Mrs. Somes		The Point	
279	Mrs. Akins		The Point	is Akins missing the t for Atkins?
280	Mrs. Curney		The Point	spelling of last name questionable
281	Mrs. Baker		The Point	
282	Sarah Parsons	8	Farms	Designated along Eastern Ave. and Witham St.
283	Beth Parsons	1	Farms	
284	Susan Parsons		Farms	
285	Elizabeth Row		Farms	
286	Sara Smith	1	Farms	
287	Sarah Row		Farms	
288	Anna Woodberry		Farms	

289	Sarah Collins		Farms	
290	Sarah Row	3	Farms	
291	Molly Curny		Farms	
292	An-- H---k	8	Farms	
293	Allice Brown	3	Farms	
294	Allice Cook	1	Farms	
295	Abigail Collins	2	Farms	
296	Hannah Williams	2	Farms	
297	Bety Row	1	Farms	
298	Hannah Brown		Farms	
299	Marthy Tumbleson		Farms	spelling of last name questionable
300	Esther Gardner		Farms	
301	Hannah Stanwood		Farms	
302	Rebecca Brown		Farms	
303	Elizabeth Brown		Farms	
304	Molly Row		Farms	
305	Elizabeth Brown	4	Farms	
306	Sarah Doyle	3	Farms	
307	Mary Smith		Farms	
308	Mary Smith	1	Farms	
309	Mary Pool		Farms	
310	Sarah Hadly		Farms	
311	Mary McHeal		Farms	
312	Sarah Row	2	Farms	
313	Anna Saunders	5	Farms	
314	Mrs. Somes		Farms	
315	Hannah Babson	1	Farms	
316	Wd. Elwell		Back Street	Prospect St. west of Pleasant St. to Washington St.
317	Molly Lee	4	Back Street	

318	Naby Row		Back Street	
319	Lydia Boynton	2	Back Street	
320	Lydia Woodberry		Back Street	
321	Lydia Elwell	1	Back Street	
322	Mrs. Elwell		Back Street	
323	Sarah Gouget	4	Back Street	
324	Elizabeth Andrews		Back Street	
325	Rachel Williams		Back Street	
326	Mrs. Brook		Back Street	
327	Anna Wallice	4	Back Street	
328	Hannah Tar		Back Street	
329	Betty Miover	2	Back Street	
330	Mary Stevens	4	Back Street	
331	Anna Cuighton	1	Back Street	spelling of last name questionable
332	Mrs. Steel	3	Back Street	
333	Mary Wilcome	2	Back Street	
334	Mary Elwell		Back Street	
335	Mrs. Grimes		Back Street	
336	Sarah Millet	3	Back Street	
337	Lydia Millet	3	Back Street	
338	Patricia Wharf	1	Back Street	
339	Patty Collins		Back Street	
340	Mrs. Truebody		Back Street	
341	Mrs. Oxdon	3	Back Street	
342	Mrs. Newcomb		Back Street	
343	Mrs. Lufkin		Back Street	
344	Mrs. Steacy	4	Back Street	spelling of last name questionable
345	Mrs. Sawyer		Back Street	
346	Mrs. Frears		Back Street	spelling of last name questionable

				*Many place descriptions courtesy of Sarah Dunlap, Gloucester City Archives

Table 7: Dogtown Settlement Records

Name	Location	Birth	Death	Marriage	Family/ Roommates	Notes
Becky Rich	2 Back Rd. then 15 Dogtown Rd.					Moved to 15 when E. Carter left
"Aunt" Rachel Smith, widowed	"The Castle", and a house on the Back Rd.			Thomas Smith	Daughter of Becky Rich, son Jack Bishop Smith	Associated with "The Castle" and a house on the Back Rd. near Molly Millet's. Eventually at 15. Her son is said to have killed himself at the house on the Back Rd. (Mann 1896:31)
Hannah Stevens/ Joseph Stevens	14 Dogtown Rd.	J. Stevens b. 08/16/1763		Joseph Stevens, deceased 03/07/1826	8 children	The Stevens family owned properties 9-14 before abandonment in the 1820s
Esther/Easter Carter, "Old Ruth"	15 Dogtown Rd.		11/26/1836		"Old Ruth" (aka Tie or John Woodman), Sister-in-law of Annie Carter, #16	Died at age 81 (Mass. Archives) Lived with Old Ruth, perhaps the "mulatto slave" baptized in the 3rd Parish Sept. 18, 1743.
Molly Stevens	perhaps near Easter Carter's property				Sister of "old Joe Stevens" (Mann	Babson identified "a little cellar in a hollow" near #15 as that of Molly Stevens' house. (1927:10)

					1896:43) Joseph Stevens?	
Annie Carter	16 Dogtown Rd.	Baptized in 4th Parish, 04/01/1776		William Carter	Sister-in-law to Easter Carter, #15	Babson places her at #16 after the Dermerit family. (1927:10) She died before husband William and he is said to have moved away after her death (Mann 1896:44) Why is this house site named for her and not her husband?
Isaac Dade	18 Dogtown Rd.		02/04/1819	Fanny Brundle		He received a War Pension in 1818, his widow through 1820.
Molly/Moll Jacobs, Sarah Phipps/Sally Jacobs, Mrs. Stanley, Sammy Stanley/Sam Maskey	perhaps at Ingersoll property #19, Sammy Stanley also assoc. with Lurvey house on Commons Rd.	"Moley Jakups" baptized 5th Parish 1/31/1763				
Col. William Pearce	23 Dogtown Rd.		02/03/1845			Raised sheep during the War of 1812 (Mann 1896:68)
Abraham/Abram Wharf	24 Wharf Rd. although also perhaps owner of 10 Dogtown Rd. until Stevens family	07/17/1738	c1814		Brother of P. Lurvey's widow	

Liz Tucker	T, on Commons Rd.				Aunt of J. Rhines	
Judy Rhines/ Judith Ryon	R, on Commons Rd., perhaps Marsh house site #44 on Batchelder	Baptized in 5th Parish, 12/30/1771			Niece of L. Tucker, associated with C. Finson	Shared a “double house” with Aunt Liz Tucker (Mann 1896:59) until her death though each are listed at different house foundations on Babson and Mann.
Cornelius (“Black Neil”) Finson	Lurvey house, 25 Wharf Rd., the Rhines house on the Commons Rd.		c1830		Associated with Judy Rhines	Lived at the Lurvey house, then moved in with Judy Rhines according to (Mann 1896:56)
John Morgan Stanwood/ Johnny Morgan	At P. Lurvey's house on Wharf Rd., then on the Commons Rd. near Morgan Brook	Baptized 08/07/1774	10/30/1852	Mary Lurvey, d. of Peter Lurvey	son of Nehemiah and Ruth (Morgan) Stanwood	Site called “S” for Stanwood/Finson by Carlotto 2007.
Thomazine/ Tammy Younger	House on Cherry St. near Meetinghouse Green with L. George	07/28/1753	02/04/1829		raised nephew, Oliver Younger, lived with her Aunt L. George.	Parents: William and Lucy (Foster) married March 6, 1750 by 1st Parish Rev. John White (Mann 1896:17; Mass. Archives) O. Younger m. daughter of John Wharf, Polly Boynton (Mann 1896:29)

Luce/Lucy George	House on Cherry St. near Meetinghouse Green with T. Younger				Aunt of T. Younger and lived together	
Peg Wesson	“Garrison House” on corner of Prospect St. and Dale Ave.					Lived before Dogtown existed and not even in the settlement. (Mann 1896:15, 69) Her story originally found in J. Babson (1860:62).
Vivian Barn	On Dogtown Rd., just after the intersection of the Back Rd.					Willard Vivian had 20 acres c1911, barn c1916. Heir William listed barn until 1928. Doris Vivian, widow to William listed at 5 Marchant St. c1932 and then at Dogtown Common Rd. c.1934: barn, pasture, cottage, car cottage. (From Glouc. City Archives, Sarah Dunlap.)

Table 8: Census Records

Census Year	Name	Notes*
1790		
	Abraham Wharf	p.5, recorded with 1 Free White Male Head of Household and 4 under the age of 16, and 2 Free White Females
	Arthur Wharf	p.5, but Arthur Wharf is said to have died in 1789, recorded with 2 Free White Males 16 and over including the Head of Household and 1 under 16, and 1 Free White Female
	Nathaniel Day	p.5, recorded with 8 Free White Men over 16 including the Head of Household and 2 under 16, and 7 Free White Women
	Lucy George	p.5, recorded with 1 Free White Male, and 3 Free White Females
	Isaac Dade	p.5, recorded with 1 Free White Male Head of Household and 1 under the age of 16, and 3 Free White Females
1800		
	Nehemiah Stanwood	recorded with 1 Free White Male under 10 and 1 over 45, 1 Free White Female under 10, 1 between 26-44 and 1 over 45
	John Carter	recorded with 1 Free White Male under 10 and 1 between 26-45 , 1 Free White Female under 10, 1 between 16-25 and 1 over 45
	Arthur Wharf	recorded with 1 Free White Male over 45, and 2 Free White Females over 45, yet noted as deceased by 1789 elsewhere

	Joseph Stevens	recorded with 2 Free White Males between 10-15 and 1 between 26-44, and 3 Free White Females under 10 and 1 between 26-44
	Abraham Wharf	listed twice, also nearer to Stephen Robinson, could this be the Wharf Rd. house?, recorded with 1 Free White Male under 10, 1 between 10-15, 1 between 16-25, and 1 between 26-44, and 2 Free White Females under 10, 1 between 10-15 and 1 between 26-44
	Stephen Robinson	recorded with 2 Free White Males under 10 and 1 between 26-44, and 1 Free White Female between 10-15 and 1 between 26-45
1810		Notes on 1810 Census: everyone but Day and Robinson found in a group on p.6
	Nathaniel Day	recorded with 1 Free White Male under 10,1 between 16-25, 1 between 26-44 and 1 over 45, and 1 Free White Female between 16-25, 1 between 26-44 and 1 over 45
	John M. Stanwood	recorded with 1 Free White Male under 10 and 1 between 26-44, and 4 Free White Females under 10, 1 between 10-15, 1 between 16-25, 1 between 26-44, and 1 over 45
	Abraham Wharf	recorded with 1 Free White Male between 16-25 and 1 over 45, and 1 Free White Female between 10-15 and 1 over 45
	Nehemiah Stanwood	recorded with 1 Free White Male between 10-15, and 1 between 26-44, and 1 Free White Female over 45
	Mary Stevens	recorded with 1 Free White Female over 45 (just head of household perhaps?), perhaps J. Stevens sister?
	Anna Carter	recorded with 1 Free White Male between 10-15, and 1 between 26-44, and 1 Free White Female between 26-44, the Annie Carter?

	Joseph Stevens	recorded with 1 Free White Male under 10, 1 between 10-15, 1 between 26-44 and 1 over 45, and 1 Free White Female between 10-15, 2 between 16-25, and 1 over 45
	Philomen Priestly	recorded with 1 Free White Male under 10, 1 between 10-15, and 1 between 26-44, and 4 Free White Females under 10 and 1 between 26-44
	Stephen Robinson	recorded with 1 Free White Male under 10, 1 between 10-15, and 1 between 26-44, and 1 Free White Female between 26-44
1820	Peter Lurvey, Jr.	recorded with 1 Free White Male 16-26 and 1 over 45, and 1 Free White Female under 10, 1 between 10-16 and 1 over 45
	Isaac Dade	recorded with 1 Free White Male between 26-45, 1 Free White Female under 10 and 1 between 16-26
	Philip Priestly	recorded with 1 Free White Male between 16-26, and 3 Free White Females between 10-16, 2 between 16-26 and 1 over 45
	Joseph Stevens	recorded with 1 Free White Male between 16-18, 2 between 16-26, 1 between 26-45 and 1 over 45, and 2 Free White Females between 16-26 and 1 over 45, and 1 other individual "engaged in agriculture"
	Nathaniel Day	recorded with 2 Free White Males under 10, 1 between 26-45 and 1 over 45, and 1 Free White Female under 10 and 2 between 26-45
		* Each Head of Household was included in the census tally so they should not to be considered one additional person in the house.

Table 9: Gloucester Servants for Life c1771

Name	# Enslaved Persons	Names of Enslaved Persons	Baptism Date	Marriage Date	Death Date	Parish	Notes
Allen, Nathaniel	1	Nancy	Sept. 1, 1751		June 12, 1756	CR 1	
Allen, Thomas, Jr.	1						
Allen, William	1	Cuff s. James	April 10, 1748			CR 1	
Baker, Anne	1	Philis		June 28, 1763		CR 5	married Dick, slave of William Norwood
Coffin, Peter, Jr.	2	Fortune, Phillis			1779, May 6, 1779	CR 2	
Coward, Rebecca	2						
Davis, Benjamin and Elizabeth	1	Dill	July 16, 1749			CR 3	
Davis, Elias	1	Cezar	Jan. 7, 1732/3			CR 1	
Davis, Jedidiah and Martha	1	Ruth (Mulatto child)	Sept. 18, 1743			CR 3	
Davis, Joseph and Jemima	1	Scipio	July 16, 1749			CR 3	
Davis, Lt. James	1	Anthony	April 18,		Oct. 22, 1777	CR 1	death recorded

			1742				in CR 3
Davis, William	1	Fillis	May 9, 1748			CR 1	
Denning, Mary	1	Cloe	Sept. 24, 1740			CR 2	Mary is listed as head of household including some Eveleths as well
Ellery, Capt. Nathaniel	6	Neviah, ch. Pomp; Percy, s. Dinah; Pomp; Pompey; Reuben, s. Pomp; Silvia, d. Dinah	Sept. 1, 1754, May 28, 1749, Dec. 2, 1754, May 16, 1742, Feb. 5, 1748/9, Aug. 26, 1749			CR 1	Neviah baptised in CR 4
Ellery, William	2						
Ellery, William Jr.	1						
Eveleth, Elizabeth	1						
Fellows, Jonathan	1	Happy	June 9, 1754			CR 2	
Finson, Ambrose	1	Dill	April 17, 1757			CR 3	present on the 1790 census with no slave recorded
Gilbert, Capt. Jonathan	2	Prince and Gibbs		both Nov. 12, 1775		CR 2	married to each other

Harriden, Daniel	1						
Harskell, Nathaniel	1						
Harskell, William	2						
Haskell, Andrew	1	Titus	July 28, 1751			CR 3	
Haskell, Andrew and Eleanor	1	Happy	Sept. 16, 1744			CR 3	
Haskell, Hubbard	1						
Haskell, Isaac	1	Nancy	April 5, 1747			CR 2	
Haskill, Capt.	1	Cloe d. Rose	March 1, 1746/7			CR 1	
Haskill, Lt.	1	Ruben	Sept. 21, 1746			CR 2	
Honnours, Robert	1						
Kent, Nathaniel	1						
Lane, Deac. James	1	Cuff (formerly servant)			April 6, 1777	CR 3	
Lane, Joseph and Joanna	1	Shela	Aug. 25, 1754			CR 3	
Lane, Mary	1	Cornwell	Oct. 30, 1751			CR 3	
Lane, Nathaniel	1						

Lane, Rachel	1						
Marchant, Daniel and Hannah	1	Phillip	May 18, 1755			CR 3	
Norwood, Francis (Quaker)	5	Candace, Dick, Else, Flora, Leah	all July 21, 1745 but Else: Jan. 20, 1744/5			CR 3	
Norwood, Jonathan	1	Grace			Sept. 30, 1775	CR 3	
Norwood, William	2	Dick		June 28, 1763		CR 5	married Philis, slave of Anne Baker
Parsons, Deac. William	2	Francesco, Cornelius s. Cuff	March, 15, 1740/1, Jan. 29, 1748/9			CR 1	
Phips, Thomas	1	unnamed child	Nov. 29, 1762			CR 5	
Plumer, David	1						
Pool, Isaac	1						
Rogers, Rev. John	1	Cloe	Aug. 31, 1766			CR 4	
Sargent, Capt. Epes	4	Cato, s. Titus; London, s. London; Phillis, d. Titus; Cloe	first 2: Feb. 7, 1751/2; next 2: Dec. 4, 1757			CR 1	
Sargent, Col.	1	Scipio	May 22,			CR 1	

			1742				
Sargent, Winthrop	2	Bacchus		Nov. 13, 1776		CR 1	married to Dinah, slave of Samuel Sayward
Sayward, Samuel	1	Dinah		Nov. 13, 1777		CR 1	married to Bacchus, slave of Winthrop Sargent
Stevens, Capt. William	1	Scipion s. Dill	June 9, 1757			CR 1	
Stevens, James	1	Dinah d. Flora	Feb. 14, 1747/8			CR 1	
Stevens, John	3						
Stevens, John, Jr.	1						
Warner, Deacon	1	Richard	Sept. 1744			CR 3	
White, Rev. John	1	Prinn (Indian Lad)	Aug. 10, 1712			CR 1	
Woodbury, Caleb and Armah	1	Reuben	Oct. 7, 1744			CR 3	

Table 10: Ceramics from Sites Associated with the Stevens Family

Ceramic Material Totals	**Total**			
Porcelain	4			
Refined Stoneware	15			
Refined Earthenware	133			
Unrefined Earthenware	86			
Unrefined Stoneware	6			
Earthenwares	**Site 9**	**Site 12**	**Site 13**	**Total**
Boscoware, salt-glaze, red/brown			8	8
Chalkware, brown and white enamel design			1	1
Clouded ware		2		2
Creamware, unidentified	75	5	3	83
Delftware	18			18
Metropolitan slipware		11		11
Pearlware, hand-painted		2	1	3
Pearlware, polychrome		1		1
Pearlware, undecorated		1	2	3
Unrefined lead-glazed	50	7	29	86
Porcelains	**Site 9**	**Site 12**	**Site 13**	**Total**
Overglaze, Chinese Export			1	1
Unidentified	3			3

Stonewares	**Site 9**	**Site 12**	**Site 13**	**Total**
Littler's Blue			6	6
Scratch-Blue		1		1
Unrefined Salt-glazed Stonewares	6			6
Westerwald			1	1
White Salt-Glazed			3	3

Table 11: Ceramics from the Carter and Wharf Sites

Ceramic Material Totals	**Total**		
Refined Earthenware	34		
Unrefined Earthenware	79		
Unrefined Stoneware	4		
Earthenwares	**Site 15**	**Site 24**	**Total**
Creamware, unidentified	1	18	19
Delftware		12	12
Pearlware, unidentified		3	3
Unrefined lead-glazed, black glaze	6	7	13
Unrefined lead-glazed, brown glaze		18	18
Unrefined lead-glazed, glaze missing	21	19	40
Unrefined lead-glazed, other colors		1	1
Unrefined Lead-glazed, yellow-red glaze	7		7
Stonewares	**Site 15**	**Site 24**	**Total**
Salt-glazed Stoneware		4	4

Appendix B: Charts

Chart 1:

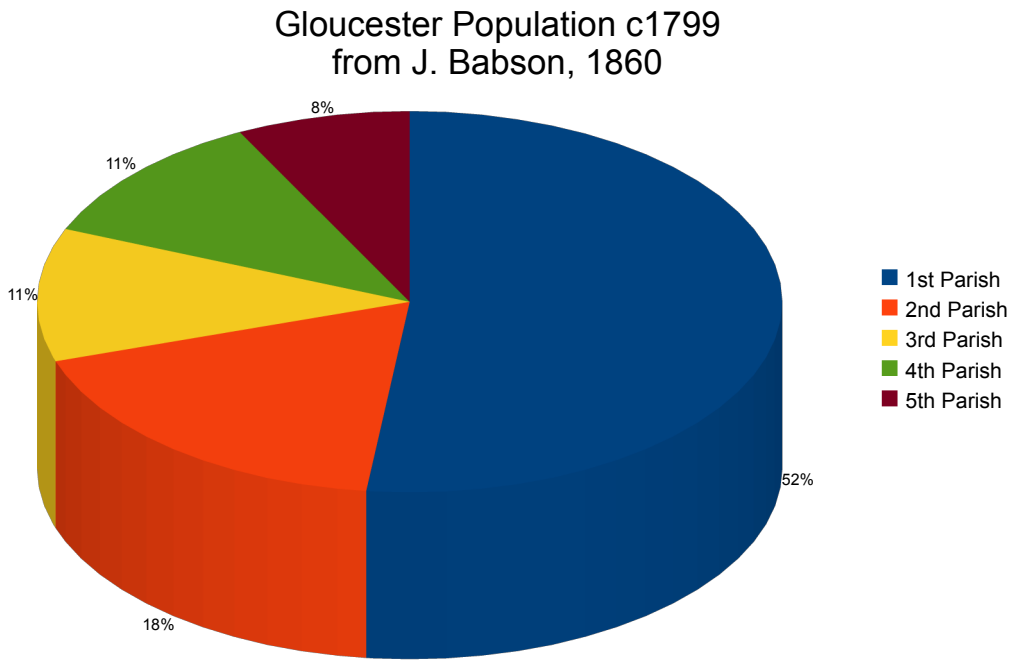

Gloucester Population c1799
from J. Babson, 1860
8%
11%
11%
52%
18%
1st Parish
2nd Parish
3rd Parish
4th Parish
5th Parish

Chart 2: Widow's List Percentages by Parish

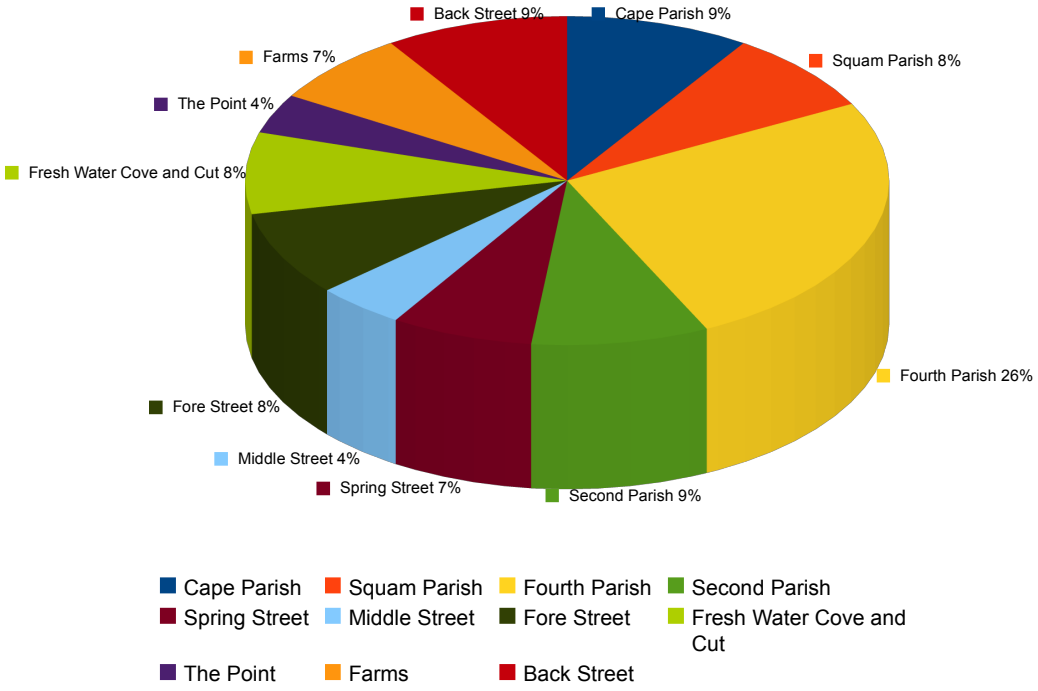


Chart 3: Sites Associated with the Stevens

by Material

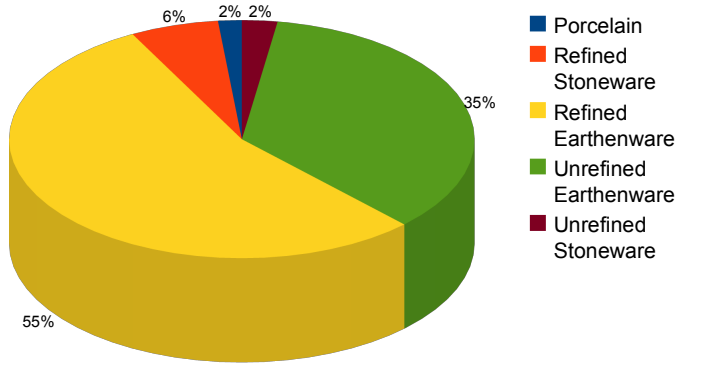


Chart 4: Sites Associated with the Stevens

Stonewares

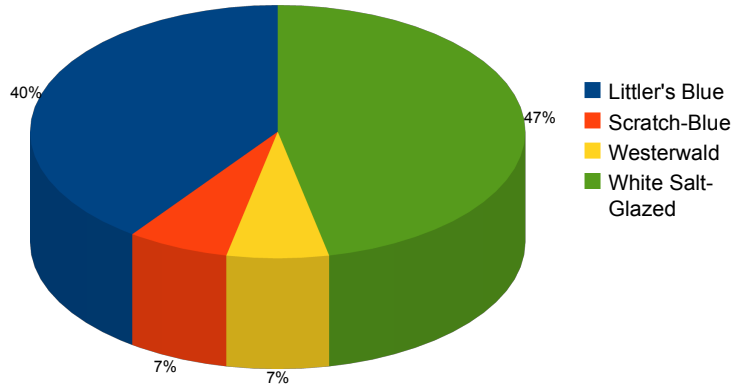


Chart 5: Sites Associated with the Stevens

Earthenwares

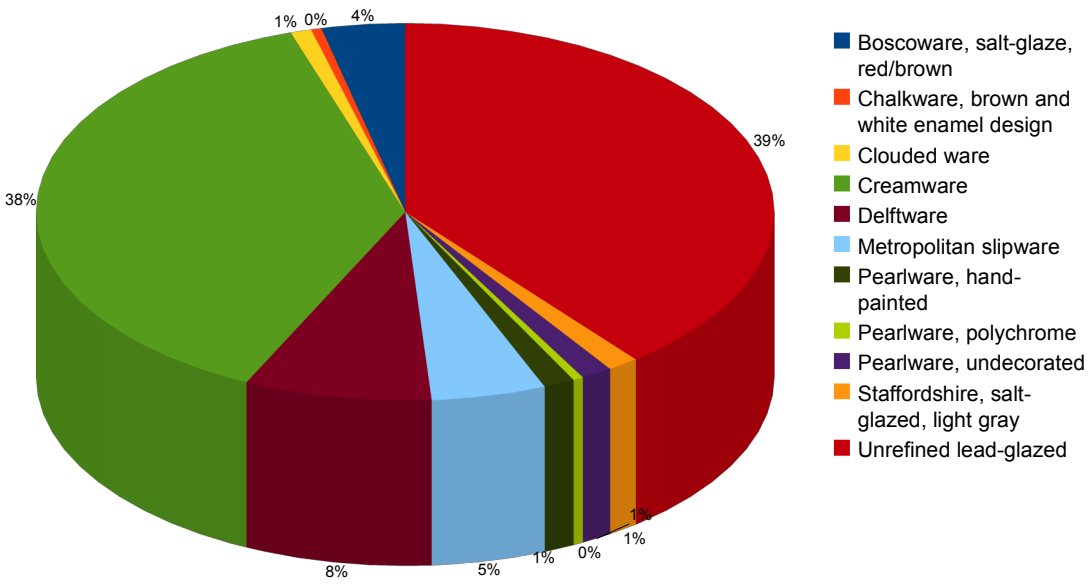


Chart 6: Ceramics from Sites 15 and 2

by Material

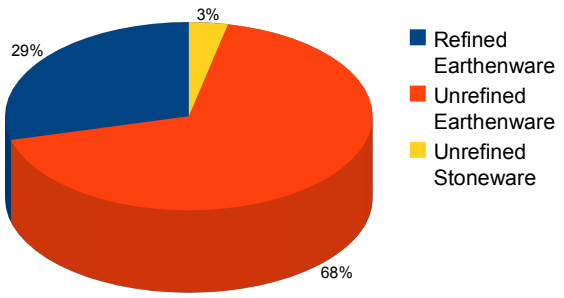
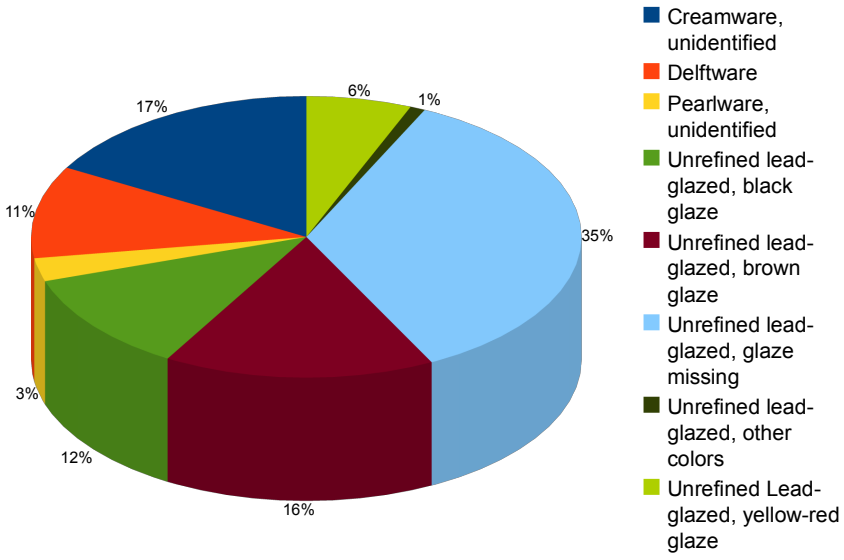


Chart 7: Earthenwares from Sites 15 and 24



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