

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

1. Name of Property

Historic name: Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District

Other names/site number: N/A

Name of related multiple property listing: N/A

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

2. Location

Street & number: Vicinity of Cherry Street, Gee Avenue, and Revere Street, Gloucester, and North Main Street, Rockport

City or town: Gloucester and Rockport State: MA County: Essex

Not For Publication: Vicinity:

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this ___ nomination ___ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

___ **national** ___ **statewide** ___ **local**

Applicable National Register Criteria:

___ **A** ___ **B** ___ **C** ___ **D**

Signature of certifying official/Title:	Date
State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.	
Signature of commenting official:	Date
Title :	State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

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4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

- entered in the National Register
- determined eligible for the National Register
- determined not eligible for the National Register
- removed from the National Register
- other (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

- Private:
- Public – Local
- Public – State
- Public – Federal

Category of Property

(Check only **one** box.)

- Building(s)
- District
- Site
- Structure
- Object

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Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	buildings
<u>46</u>	<u>0</u>	sites
<u>12</u>	<u>4</u>	structures
<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	objects
<u>66</u>	<u>6</u>	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

DOMESTIC/single dwelling
DOMESTIC/secondary structure
GOVERNMENT/public works
EDUCATION/school
RECREATION and CULTURE/marker
RECREATION and CULTURE/museum
AGRICULTURE/SUBSISTENCE/agricultural field
LANDSCAPE/natural feature
TRANSPORTATION/road-related

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

DOMESTIC/single dwelling
GOVERNMENT/public works
RECREATION and CULTURE/marker
RECREATION and CULTURE/museum
RECREATION and CULTURE/outdoor recreation
LANDSCAPE/natural feature
LANDSCAPE/unoccupied land
TRANSPORTATION/pedestrian-related

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7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions.)

COLONIAL/Postmedieval English/New England Colonial
LATE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY REVIVALS/Colonial Revival

Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)

Principal exterior materials of the property: Stone, wood, concrete

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and noncontributing resources if applicable. Begin with a **summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

Summary Paragraph

The Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District (the District) encompasses 2,057 acres on the Cape Ann peninsula in Essex County in northeastern Massachusetts. The District is bordered by private property on all sides, along with Massachusetts Route 127 on the southeast. The District encompasses 66 contributing resources (5 buildings, 12 structures, 46 sites, and 3 objects), and 6 non-contributing resources (1 building, 4 structures, and 1 object). Contributing resources include buildings, cellar holes, and stone walls dating to the late-seventeenth to early-nineteenth-century occupation of Dogtown; historic road traces; the Babson Reservoir and its associated components; twentieth-century walking trails and carved boulders; and multiple archaeological sites. Non-contributing resources include Goose Cove Reservoir, the Boston and Maine Railroad tracks, and resources in the Blackburn Industrial Park that are encompassed within the District boundary. The Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District retains integrity, and its present appearance conveys its later significance as an inspirational and recreational landscape while preserving the archaeological remains of its earliest English settlement.

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Narrative Description

The Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District is in the northeastern part of the city of Gloucester and the western part of the town of Rockport, Essex County, Massachusetts. Gloucester and Rockport are at the northern tip of Cape Ann on Ipswich Bay to the north and Sandy Bay to the east. Both Gloucester and Rockport are seaside residential and industrial communities closely associated with the fishing and granite quarrying industries. The center of Gloucester is south of the District, and the center of Rockport is to the east.

The **Dogtown Landscape (1688-1968, contributing site, Photos 1-43)** is an abandoned rural vernacular landscape bounded roughly by Cherry Street and residential development in Gloucester on the west, Old Rockport Road in Gloucester and Rockport on the south, and private residential development in Rockport on the east and north. The 2,057-acre Landscape occupies the approximate center of the northern tip of the Cape Ann peninsula and incorporates natural and cultural resources consisting of cellar holes associated with the core of the Colonial-era Commons Settlement, historic woodlots, pastures, boundary delineation and circulation systems, and modern water supply systems, all overlaid on a terminal glacial moraine landscape. Collectively, these resources and their setting embody the late-seventeenth to mid-nineteenth century occupation of the area, its subsequent abandonment after 1845, and its later recreational and municipal uses.

The landscape itself consists of uneven and rocky topography associated with its bedrock and glacial geology. Cape Ann's granite bedrock is overlain with a dense sheet of glacial till deposited during the retreat of the Laurentide Ice Sheet, the last major continental ice sheet. The ice sheet formed in northern Canada about 75,000 years ago and stopped its southern advance on Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket about 18,000 years ago (Brown 1997; Knebel et al. 1992; Oldale 1988; Roberts 1996; Waters 1992). As the glacier retreated, it left behind a terminal moraine consisting of an unconsolidated, ridge-like accumulations of stone, sand and clay known as glacial till.

On "that strange plateau in the very centre (sic) of the Cape" (Babson and Saville 1936:81) known as Dogtown, characteristic features of a terminal moraine landscape are conspicuously visible as massive glacial erratics such as Whale's Jaw and Peter's Pulpit and expansive boulder fields such as Raccoon Ledges near Briar Swamp and the Moraine on Wharf Road. These natural formations are iconic landmarks in present-day Dogtown, and were (and are) important elements of its real and imagined history (see Section 8).

More subtle evidence of the glacial retreat can also be found in and around Dogtown. Striations, or scratches, in the granite bedrock created as the glacier pulled back and forth across the landscape from northwest to southeast are visible on outcrops around Blackburn Industrial Park southeast of Dogtown, and just west of Babson Family Quarry at Halibut Point State Park (Dennen 1992). The advancing and retreating ice also left perpendicular ridges of glacial till creating valleys that now contain Cape Pond (south of Old Rockport Road, outside the District) and Alewife Brook. On a larger scale, the path of the glacial retreat is visible in aerial images that show a distinct northwest to southeast alignment of surface stones and boulders across the landscape. The alignments are sometimes distinct enough to suggest stone walls until compared to known stone walls that typically are narrower and were built on more variable orientations.

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The many stones left behind by the glacier were used from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries to build the System of Stone Walls and to line several of the Dogtown cellar holes. Portions of the System of Stone Walls (see below) have been identified by cross-referencing Odum's (1971) map¹ with current aerial and LiDAR hillshade imagery²; in several instances, Odum's walls could not be relocated while additional stone walls could be discriminated from the aerial and LiDAR imagery.

Major waterways along Cape Ann are Ipswich Bay and the Annisquam River to the north and Gloucester Harbor to the south. Minor waterways within Dogtown include Alewife Brook to the south and Wine Brook to the east. Swampy or boggy areas, which may be glacial kettle holes, include Granny Day Swamp near Dogtown Square and Briar Swamp near the east edge of the District in Rockport.

On first arrival, the English colonists would have been presented with a dense forest dominated by oak, which was prized for shipbuilding and house construction. That forest was quickly cleared leaving an open but hilly landscape that was, at best, a marginal farming proposition. That marginality would increase throughout the eighteenth century as the soil, unmoored from the underlying bedrock with the removal of the trees, rapidly eroded. Abandoning any sort of tillage in favor of pasturage during the nineteenth-century, Dogtown took on the appearance of a weirdly manicured moonscape as the stony skeleton of the terminal moraine was exposed through the self-perpetuating cycle of livestock grazing and erosion.

Dogtown's eroded landscape appears to have survived into the 1950s. In his paper *Cape Ann Forests: A Review*, Robert Grayce (1952:211) discusses Dogtown's characteristic vegetation of pitch pine, ground juniper, blueberries, and grasses. But he goes on to note that as cattle grazing diminished, gray birch and red cedar were overtaking the landscape "like an invading army across the windswept heath, making it less barren yearly... Such a conspicuous landmark as Whale's Jaw will, at the present rate of plant succession, be screened by trees in two decades. It seems ironic that the age-old charm of Dogtown will disappear because of the protection given its vegetation."

Circulation routes, including major and minor Colonial-era transportation corridors and modern footpaths, provide access to all corners of the District with varying degrees of ease. Many, if not all, of the roads fell out of general use by the time of Dogtown's complete abandonment in 1845 but continue to be used by foot and bicycle traffic. There is no public vehicular access to Dogtown, although fire roads are maintained by Gloucester and Rockport to provide emergency access as necessary.

Resources within the Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District are described beginning with landscape components of the District and overlaying systems of circulation and boundary marking, followed by buildings and archaeological resources associated with the Commons Settlement, other early resources associated with the District, and finally resources associated with mid-nineteenth-century development of Cape Ann and twentieth-century philanthropic activities.

¹ Drawn by Gloucester City Engineer George Odum and updated by Frank Glaister in 1989 with Babson Boulder information, the 1971 Odum map is a detailed drawing of Dogtown showing extant features such as roads, stone walls, and water bodies, and historic features such as mill sites and house foundations keyed to Babson and Saville's (1936) Dogtown map.

² LiDAR, an acronym for light detection and ranging, is a surveying method that measures distance to a target by illuminating the target with pulsed laser light and measuring the reflected pulses with a sensor. Differences in laser return times and wavelengths can then be used to make digital 3-D representations of the target. LiDAR is especially useful for creating high-resolution digital elevation models (DEMs) of archaeological sites that can reveal micro-topography and cultural features (such as cellar holes and stone walls) that are otherwise hidden by vegetation.

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The **Commons Pasture (ca. 1688, GLO.966, contributing site)** is on the north side of Commons Road, east of Goose Cove Reservoir and west of the 1722 Woodlots. The pasture is not formally delineated by stone walls or circulation routes, but does have several sections of dry-laid, uncoursed stone walls marking partial divisions of the center of the pasture. The formerly open space used for grazing animals is overgrown with successional growth forest.

The **1722 Woodlots (1722, GLO.967, contributing site)** are narrow, wooded lots oriented northeast-southwest in the northeast part of Dogtown, north of Commons Road and east of the Commons Pasture. The woodlots were originally laid out in six-acre sections but now range in size from 0.9-acres to 16.9-acres. Several of the woodlots retain their original 1722 lot lines.

Dogtown Road (1719, GLO.955, contributing structure, Photos 1 and 2) is a 0.88-mile long remnant Colonial-era road trace that runs approximately northeast-southwest from Cherry Street and terminates at Dogtown Square immediately southeast of Granny Day Swamp. The south end of the road, near Cherry Street, is asphalt paved, transitioning to a maintained dirt road leading to the Town of Gloucester compost area. At the north edge of the compost area, Dogtown Road is blocked from vehicular access by a triangular metal gate. Beyond the gate, Dogtown Road is a dirt and gravel footpath edged with grass and brush and enclosed with low, uncoursed, dry-laid fieldstone walls.

Commons Road (1719, GLO.954, contributing structure, Photo 3) is a 1.1-mile long remnant of a Colonial-era road trace that runs approximately northeast-southwest from Gee Avenue on the west to Briar Swamp on the east. The west end of Commons Road was destroyed by the creation of the Goose Cove Reservoir in the early 1960s, although archaeological evidence of the cellar holes which lined that section of the road may survive within the impoundment. Commons Road is accessible from the reservoir service road and consists of a dirt and gravel footpath edged with grass and brush. It connects to Dogtown Road via Wharf Road and provides access to Peter's Pulpit on the south side of Commons Road and Whale's Jaw via the Road from Sandy Bay to Squam Meeting House.

Dogtown Square (late 18th – 19th century, contributing site, Photo 4) is a Y-shaped dirt and gravel intersection of Dogtown Road, Wharf Road, and the Parting Path. The west arm of the Y is Wharf Road, the east arm is the Parting Path, and the south arm is Dogtown Road. Dogtown Square is marked by one of the Babson Marker Stones, a low fieldstone inscribed "D.T. SQ" just east of Dogtown Road immediately south of the intersection.

Wharf Road (Post-1741, GLO.957, contributing structure, Photo 5) is a 0.34-mile long Colonial-era road trace that runs approximately north-south from Dogtown Square on the south to Commons Road to the north. At the south end, Wharf Road is a dirt and gravel footpath that becomes a grassy footpath with exposed rocks toward the north end.

The **Road from Sandy Bay to Squam Meeting House (Squam Road) (ca. 1717, contributing structure, Photo 6)** (present-day Revere Street) is a 1.9-mile long remnant of a Colonial-era road trace running approximately southeast-northwest through the northern area of Dogtown. It begins at a metal gate east of the Dennison House in the northwest corner of the district, turns almost immediately to the southwest to run past Whale's Jaw, and terminates at Upper Main Street in Rockport northwest of Loop Pond. Successional growth and managed forest has encroached onto the historic road bed.

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Old Rockport Road (1707, GLO.952/RCP.915, contributing structure, Photo 7) is a 1-mile long remnant of a Colonial-era road trace and modern transportation route in the southeast portion of Dogtown. The historic road trace, which consists of a grassy roadbed lined with successional growth forest and shrubs, begins at Dory Road in the Blackburn Industrial Park as is marked by the Olde Rockport Road Stone Marker. The road trace connects to the modern alignment of Rockport Road (also called Upper Main Street) in Rockport south of Beaver Dam Farm, where it turns into a two-lane, asphalt-paved state highway (Massachusetts Route 127). The west end of the road trace is blocked from vehicular access by a triangular metal gate.

The **Olde Rockport Road Stone Marker (late 20th century, non-contributing object, Photo 8)** is a machine-carved, approximately triangular stone on the north side of Old Rockport Road near the access point on Dory Road.

The **System of Secondary Roads (17th and 18th centuries, contributing structure)** consists of remnants of six historic road traces that lead through various sections of Dogtown, primarily along the north and east sides. The Parting Path was extant ca. 1693, and the Road to Baker's Mill (present-day Dennison Street) was constructed before 1741. The Old Road to Gloucester was constructed after 1741, and the East and West branches of the Path through the Woods and Road to Beaver Dam date to the eighteenth century. The roadbeds generally consist of narrow dirt footpaths bounded by successional growth forest.

The **System of Stone Walls (17th – 19th centuries, GLO.961/RCP.918, contributing structure, Photo 9)** comprises a series of linear stone walls composed of freestanding, dry-laid, uncoursed fieldstone that delineate former property boundaries, pastures, animal enclosures, or other uses. Stone walls associated with Dogtown Road house sites are generally perpendicular to the road with smaller enclosures formed by smaller walls. Most of the stone walls within Dogtown are overgrown with vegetation, and successional growth forest has infilled the space between many of the walls.

The **System of Walking Trails (20th century, GLO.960/RCP.917, contributing structure, Photo 10)** consists of numerous dirt and gravel footpaths leading to and from various areas of the District. The trails are typically marked by paint blazes or metal medallions. Many of the trails, such as the Tarr Trail, Luce Trail, and Art's and Nellie's trails, are named after conservationists and local residents who have been instrumental in the care and preservation of Dogtown.

Whale's Jaw (contributing site, Photo 11) is a massive glacial erratic at the east edge of the original Commons Settlement in a clearing surrounded by successional growth forest. It is most easily reached via the Luce Trail (System of Walking Trails). The asymmetrically split erratic originally resembled the gaping jaws of a whale protruding out of the ground. In 1989, a campfire was lit under the lower jaw, causing it to crack laterally in two.

Peter's Pulpit (contributing site, Photo 12) is a massive glacial erratic on the south side of Commons Road surrounded by successional growth forest.

Raccoon Ledges (contributing site, Photo 13) is an expansive glacial boulder field surrounded by successional growth forest southeast of Briar Swamp in Rockport.

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The **Alewife Brook Mill Site (ca. 1642–1652, contributing site, Photos 14 and 15)** lies on level ground on the south side of Alewife Brook between Old Rockport Road and the Boston and Maine Railroad Tracks. The surrounding vegetation consists of secondary growth forest including beech, birch, and maple. The provisional site boundary encompasses 1.8 acres and contains an east to west-oriented stone-lined mill race connecting the former dam to the remains of the former mill structure, which comprises an irregularly-shaped depression scattered with unworked fieldstone. The dam was destroyed in the 1930s during the Babson Reservoir construction, and the mill (or its ruins) may have been destroyed during an expedient quarrying operation that was set up in that area during the railroad construction in 1861.

The **Alewife Brook School House Site (ca. 1658–1900, contributing site, Photo 16)** is at the intersection of Old Rockport Road and the trail leading down to the Alewife Brook Mill Site. It consists of a small, heavily overgrown cellar hole filled with unworked fieldstone that has collapsed from the surrounding foundation walls.

The **Beaver Dam Farm Site (ca. 1776, contributing site, Photos 17 and 18)** encompasses approximately 6.2 acres between Upper Main Street (Route 127) to the southeast and the Boston and Maine Railroad Tracks to the northwest. A narrow, channelized brook runs southeast to northwest at the east end of the site. The site boundaries capture the residential and functional core of the late seventeenth- through early twentieth-century farm that at its maximum extent covered 182 acres. It also captures the presumed site of James Babson's seventeenth-century cooperage shop. Extant resources include the James Babson Museum; a stone barn foundation and cellar hole; a portion of an earlier house foundation that has been incorporated into the museum retaining wall; granite block stone walls, one of which incorporates a carved stone reading "Beaver Dam 1832;" farm roads; and a large open field to the west bounded by thrown up fieldstone walls.

The **James Babson Museum, 291 Main Street, Rockport (ca. 1900, contributing building, Photo 19)** sits atop a low rise on the north side of Rockport Road. The building is surrounded by grass on the north, south, and west sides, and brush on the east. The museum is a west-facing, one-story, one-bay-by-one-bay wood-frame building topped with a side-gable roof. A one-story addition containing bathrooms was constructed off the north elevation in the 1970s, and a one-story, shed-roof addition containing utility equipment projects from the north bay of the east elevation. The walls of the main block are clad with mortared stone, and the addition is clad with wood clapboards. The center and gable end of the south elevation is clad with wood clapboards. The roof is clad with wood shingles. A large, square, brick chimney laid in common bond pierces the west slope of the roof near the ridgeline at the north end of the main block. Entrances are in the south end of the west elevation of the main block and the addition; a tertiary entrance is in the north elevation of the utility shed. The doors consist of vertical-board panels affixed with metal strap hinges. The main entrance is accessed via a run of stone steps running north to a curved, poured-concrete path which terminates at a flat stone doorstep. Fenestration consists of diamond-pane, leaded glass windows protected by vertical board shutters.

Two houses associated with Dogtown, the Dennison House at 90 Revere Street and the Anthony Bennett House (also known as "The Castle") at 41 Gee Avenue, both in Gloucester, remain extant. The other dwellings in the settlement were no longer extant by 1845, leaving only their cellar holes behind (see **Criterion A – Exploration and Settlement** and **Criterion D – Archaeology: Historic, Non-Aboriginal**).

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The **Dennison House, 90 Revere Street, Gloucester (ca. 1727, altered 1932, GLO.647, contributing building, Photo 20)** is a two-story, five-bay-by-two-bay, First Period, saltbox-style house seated on a stone foundation. A two-story fieldstone addition (1932) topped with a gable roof is northeast from the main block of the house and is connected to the house by a one-story, gable-roof hyphen. The walls are clad with wood clapboards and the roof is covered with asphalt shingles. The center of the roof is pierced by a large, brick chimney. The entrance is in the center of the south elevation and consists of a multi-panel wood door protected by a fully-glazed storm door. The door is surrounded by Doric pilasters supporting a wide entablature. Fenestration consists of symmetrically-spaced, six-over-six and nine-over-six, double-hung wood sash with simple surrounds. The addition is topped with a compound gable and hip roof and is fenestrated with wide, plate glass window and a full-height multi-pane window centered under the gable peak in the east elevation.

A non-historic barn is south of the house, and a non-historic garage is to the east.

The **Anthony Bennett House (27)³ (or “The Castle”), 41 Gee Avenue, Gloucester (ca. 1688, altered 2006, GLO.773, contributing building, Photo 21)** is a two-story, five-bay-by-two-bay, First Period, saltbox-style house seated on a stone foundation. It is bordered on its south and west sides by a tall, dense hedge above a low, mortared fieldstone retaining wall. The walls are clad with wood clapboards and the roof is covered with asphalt shingles and solar panels. A large, square, parged chimney pierces the south slope of the roof near the ridgeline. Near the top of the chimney, on the south face, is painted “1679,” which is the construction date recorded in the Assessor’s database. A two-story, two-bay-by-two-bay garage addition, constructed in 2006, is northwest of the house and attached by a narrow, one-bay-by-one-bay hyphen. Entrances are in the center of the south elevation of the main block, in the south elevation of the hyphen, and in the north elevation, obscured from view by dense shrubs. The main entrance is protected by a vertical board storm door affixed with strap hinges, and the door in the hyphen is a nine-light, modern door. Fenestration consists of symmetrically-spaced, six-over-six, double-hung wood sash.

The **Dogtown Cellar Holes** are on the north and south sides of Commons and Dogtown roads and the east and west sides of Wharf Road. Most of the cellar holes have not been systematically surveyed or evaluated and field conditions are such that in many instances it is not possible to see or photograph the individual resources.⁴ For example, the **Stanwood Cobbler Shop Site (29) (post-1741, contributing site)** and the **John Morgan Stanwood House Site (30) (post-1741, contributing site)** are submerged in the Goose Cove Reservoir and are identifiable only by their Babson Marker Stones, and it is likely that the **Bennett Farm Site (28) (post-1741, contributing site)** – which is marked by a Babson Boulder Stone – and the **Lydia Riggs Canneby House Site (31) (ca. 1696, contributing site)** and **Hilton-Rhines House Site (R,T) (pre-1741, contributing site)** – which are not – were wholly or mostly destroyed during the reservoir’s construction in the 1960s. All of the sites formerly lined a segment of Commons Road that also is submerged. Those cellar holes that are not submerged or destroyed are heavily overgrown with dense thickets of cat briar, low-bush blueberry, sumac, and ground juniper, or obscured by thick stands of red cedar. At several sites, it is difficult to determine whether the observed depressions and stones are part a cellar hole or a later borrow pit.

³ The parenthetical numbers that follow most of the house sites mentioned in this section are those on the Babson and Saville (1936) Dogtown map and the ones carved into their associated Babson Marker Stones.

⁴ At those house sites where it was not possible to see or photograph the cellar holes, their descriptions are based – to the extent possible – on Patrice Titterington’s (1988), Irving Sucholeiki’s (1992), and Mark Carlotto’s (2015) site descriptions, maps, and photographs.

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Where visible, the cellar holes generally consist of roughly square to rounded ground depressions adjacent to or within approximately 20 feet of Dogtown, Commons, and Wharf roads. The **Stanwood-Stanley House Site (S) (ca. 1691, contributing site)**, which is not marked by a Babson Marker Stone, is nearly 900 feet north of Commons Road and is anomalous in its distance from the historic road trace, a condition that also makes it largely inaccessible. Some of the depressions are lined with worked or natural flat stones while others are completely unlined. Scatters and piles of brick masonry associated with former chimneys are visible at several of the cellar holes.

South of Commons Road and west of the Adams Pines Trail, the **Davis House Site (32) (ca. 1690, contributing site)** consists of a small cellar hole depression heavily overgrown with small trees, bittersweet, and poison ivy. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Jabez Hunter House Site (X) (ca. 1717, contributing site)** is approximately 50 ft north of Commons Road and consists of an amorously shaped cellar hole depression partially lined with unworked fieldstone. The site is not marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Arthur Wharf House Site (33) (ca. 1722, contributing site)** is on the south side of Commons Road immediately opposite the Jabez Hunter House Site. It consists of a large cellar hole partially lined with unworked fieldstone and surrounded along its perimeter by piles of large and small fieldstones and boulders. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

On the north side of Commons Road is the **Joshua Elwell House Site (W) (ca. 1717, contributing site, Photo 22)**, consisting of a roughly rectangular cellar hole depression with heaped fieldstones along its longitudinal edges. A pile of brick at the depression's southeast corner marks a possible chimney fall. Evidence of unauthorized excavation was observed in the form of a homemade mesh screen just north of the cellar hole, and redware ceramics sherds, untyped metal fragments, and cut and hand-wrought nails scattered across the ground surface or heaped in small piles on the stones surrounding the cellar hole. The site is not marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Unknown Commons Road House Site A (34) (post-1741, contributing site)** is on the north side of Commons Road and consists of a heavily overgrown cellar hole depression lined with intact and collapsed unworked fieldstone walls. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

Approximately 100 ft west of the Unknown Commons Road House Site A on the south side of Commons Road is the **Benjamin Harraden House Site (36) (ca. 1701, contributing site)**. This site is comparatively open and consist of a large open swale cut through a low hill and covered with bedrock, boulders, and immature oak, birch, and beech. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Wither House Site (37) (post-1741, contributing site)** is at the southeast corner of the intersection of Commons and Wharf roads. It is marked by a Babson Marker Stone, but no evidence of a cellar hole was observed in the field and there is no indication of a cellar hole on the LiDAR hillshade imagery.

The **James Wharf House Site (35) (post-1741, contributing site)** is north of Commons Road east of the Wither House Site. It is marked by a Babson Marker Stone, but no evidence of a cellar hole was observed in the field and there is no indication of a cellar hole on the LiDAR hillshade imagery.

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The **White House Site (38) (post-1741, contributing site)** is south of Commons Road east of the James Wharf House Site. It is marked by a Babson Marker Stone, but no evidence of a cellar hole was observed in the field and there is no indication of a cellar hole on the LiDAR hillshade imagery.

The **Benjamin Allen House Site (39) (ca. 1731, contributing site)** is approximately 200 ft north of Commons Road between the White House Site to the west and Peter's Pulpit to the east. The cellar hole is within a D-shaped fieldstone enclosure and consists of a shallow depression scattered with unworked fieldstone. The site comparatively less overgrown than most of the other cellar hole sites and this fact, combined with its distance from Commons Road, likely has encouraged unauthorized excavation of the site. During the field survey, mounds of freshly overturned dirt and piles of rock were observed around the foundation along with Staffordshire slipware and redware ceramics sherds, ball clay pipe fragments, and dark green bottle glass fragments scattered across the ground surface. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Unknown Commons Road House Site B (40) (pre-1741, contributing site)** is immediately northeast of the Benjamin Allen House Site within the same D-shaped fieldstone enclosure. It consists of a shallow depression scattered with unworked fieldstone and is smaller than the Benjamin Allen cellar hole. Its size and distance from the Benjamin Allen House Site suggests it may be an associated outbuilding rather than a residential dwelling. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Peter Lurvey House Site (25), (ca. 1764, contributing site)** is 350 feet east of Wharf Road. It is marked by a Babson Marker Stone but no structural remains were observed, and it is not clearly discernible on LiDAR hillshade imagery.

Approximately a quarter of a mile north of Dogtown Square east of Wharf Road is the **Abraham Wharf House Site (24) (post-1741, contributing site)**. The round cellar hole is approximately 10-ft across and almost entirely overgrown with brush and cat briar. A small well lies south of the cellar hole. Sucholeiki's excavated assemblage from the site included slipped and lead-glazed redware, creamware, and pearlware ceramic sherds, ball clay tobacco pipe fragments, German stonewares, and a copper boot buckle. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Colonel William Pearce House Site (23) (post-1741, contributing site)** is on the south side of the Road to Beaver Dam southeast of its intersection with the Babson Boulder Trail. It consists of a dual quarried granite cellar hole that is completely obscured by overgrowth but is clearly visible on LiDAR hillshade imagery. A stone-lined well is just east of the cellar hole. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Joseph Riggs House Site (22) (ca. 1708, contributing site)** is on the north side of the Road to Beaver Dam immediately southeast of its intersection with the Babson Boulder Trail. It is marked by a Babson Marker Stone and is visible on LiDAR hillshade imagery, but no structural remains were observed.

The **Thomas Witham House Site (21) (ca. 1693, contributing site)** is north of Dogtown Road south of its intersection with **Dogtown Square** along the **Parting Path**. The site consists of a large, amorphously-shaped depression filled with unworked fieldstones and boulders. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

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On the east side of the intersection of Dogtown and Wharf roads is the **Joseph Day Sr. House Site (20A) ca. 1708, contributing site**. The rectangular cellar hole is approximately 13-ft long and 6-ft-6-in wide and consists of a jumble of partially-worked fieldstones almost completely obscured by brush and successional growth forest. Sucholeiki's (1992:32) identified a fieldstone well immediately northwest of the cellar hole and stone walls bounding the site to the north and east. The site is not marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Widow Jane Day House Site (20) (ca. 1688–1704, contributing site)** is on the north side of Dogtown within 300 ft of Dogtown Square. It is marked by a Babson Marker Stone, but no structural remains were observed in the field. LiDAR hillshade imagery shows a small depression approximately 130 ft northwest of the road that may be the remains of the cellar hole. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Mollie Jacobs House Site (19) (ca. 1766, contributing site)** is on the south side of Dogtown Road between the Widow Jane Day and Isaac Dade house sites. It consists of a shallow cellar hole depression completely obscured by brush and cat briar. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Isaac Dade House Site (18) (post-1741, contributing site)** is approximately 20 feet north of Dogtown Road at the end of a grassy path and consists of a cellar hole depression lined on its north and east sides with dry laid fieldstone. Brick fragments are scattered throughout the cellar hole that may be the remains of a chimney stack. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Dorcas Foster House Site (17) (post-1741, contributing site)** is on the north side of Dogtown Road and consists of an irregularly shaped depression surrounded by and filled with an uneven scatter of small-to medium-sized unworked fieldstones. Titterington (1988:29) noted a small concentration of brick in the center of the depression during her field survey, but no brick is currently visible. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Joseph Ingersoll House Site (16) (ca. 1723, contributing site)** is directly opposite the Dorcas Foster House Site and is one of the better-preserved cellar holes on Dogtown Road. The approximately 30 by 30 ft cellar hole depression is lined with remnant dry-laid quarried stone walls with a possible stone chimney base or cellar entry at its east corner. Brick fragments are scattered through the interior and around the edges of the cellar hole. LiDAR hillshade imagery shows what appears to an approximately 200 by 200 ft partially enclosed fieldstone pen immediately southeast of the cellar hole. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **James Demerit House Site (15A) (pre-1741, contributing site)** is south of Dogtown road and approximately 35 ft west of the Dan Pierson Trail. The site consists of an elongated rectangular depression surrounded by brush and boulders. The site is not marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

On the west side of Dogtown Road, approximately halfway between the metal gate at the south end of Dogtown Road and Dogtown Square, is the **Joseph Winslow House Site (14) (ca.1724, contributing site, Photo 23)**. The roundish cellar hole is approximately 15-ft across, and its floor is littered with fieldstones from the collapsed cellar walls. One to three courses of stones along the bottom of the south and west walls remain in place. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Joseph Stevens House Site (13) (post-1741, contributing site)** is north of Dogtown Road and immediately west of Dogtown Trail. The site consists of an undifferentiated jumble of fieldstones in an amorphously-shaped ground depression. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

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The **Wilson-Priestly House (12) (post-1741, contributing site)** north of Dogtown Road retains portions of a dry-laid granite foundation wall on its north, east, and south sides, and the possible remains of a center chimney in the form of a raised mound in the middle of the cellar hole scattered with brick and blackened granite. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Unknown Dogtown Road House Site (11) (post-1741, contributing site)** is north of Dogtown Road east of the Henry Davis House Site and consists of a cellar hole depression with quarried foundation stones at either end of its southern wall. Brick and fieldstone were scattered inside the depression in no discernible pattern. The site is not marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Henry Davis House Site (10) (post-1741, contributing site, Photo 24)** is also on the north side of Dogtown Road just east of the Joseph Clark House Site. As described by Titterton in the 1980s, the cellar hole depression was completely overgrown and filled with pasture stones turned up from the surrounding agricultural fields. Currently it is a roughly square depression lined along its perimeter by large and small field stones and brick that have been removed from the cellar hole. Although Sucholeiki (1992:13–24) worked at this cellar hole and noted a chimney fall at its northwest corner, he did not excavate inside it, which suggests the removal of the stones and brick is the result of unauthorized excavations. Sucholeiki did excavate just north of the cellar hole at the presumed location of a trash midden and recovered a high density of brown and black lead-glazed redware, Staffordshire slipwares, English white salt-glazed stoneware, Chinese porcelain, and creamware sherds, ball clay tobacco pipe fragments, window and drinking glass, and hand wrought nails. The site is not marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Joseph Clark House Site (9) (ca. 1688–1824, contributing site)** is on a rise on the north side of Dogtown Road at its western end, and consists of a cellar hole lined with remnants of dry-laid quarried granite foundation walls along its southeast and southwest sides. The rest of the foundation has tumbled down the northeast slope behind the cellar. A concentration of bricks in the east corner of the cellar hole may be a chimney fall. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Benjamin Stanwood House Site (pre-1741, contributing site)** is on the north side of Dogtown Road approximately 800 ft east of its intersection with Cherry Street. It consists of a broad, shallow cellar hole depression partially filled with unworked fieldstones that have collapsed from the surrounding foundation walls. The site is marked by a Babson Marker Stone.

The **Babson Marker Stones (1930s, contributing object, Photos 25–28)** are fieldstones of varying sizes carved with numbers or locational information. They are typically adjacent to a cellar hole identified by Roger Babson in the 1930s (see **Criterion A – Social History**) and situated near the edge of the road. Others are several feet east or west of the roadbed and surrounded by brush and successional growth forest. The locational stones, of which there are three, are carved with “D.T. SQ,” “Moraine,” and “To Rockport.” All of the stones were carved by out of work Finnish stone workers, under the auspices of Roger Babson, and exhibit multiple styles of carving, indicating the work by numerous hands. Most of the numbers on the stones are regularly painted over with black or purple paint to make them more visible, but others, typically cellar hole markers found further from the road bed, are unpainted.

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A second set of 23 carved and painted boulders is east of Dogtown Road, along the north side of the Moraine Trail, running east from Dogtown Square, and the **Babson Boulder Trail (1930s, contributing structure, Photo 29)**, which runs south from the Moraine Trail. The Boulder Trail approximately follows a portion of the Colonial-era Old Road to Gloucester (System of Secondary Roads), and today is a dirt and gravel footpath. The **Babson Boulders (1930s, GLO.964, contributing object, Photos 30–32)** were also carved by Finnish stone workers under the auspices of Roger Babson. The boulders are carved with inspirational and/or educational sayings, including “If Work Stops Values Decay,” “Keep Out of Debt,” “Never Try Never Win,” and “Help Mother,” and single words like “Kindness,” “Intelligence,” and “Save.”

On the east side of Dogtown Road, just north of the Isaac Dade House Site (cellar hole 18) is a short spur trail leading to the **Merry Boulders (1892, GLO.965, contributing object, Photos 33–34)**, two boulders commemorating the death of James Merry following a bull attack. The first boulder encountered is “Jas. Merry Died Sept. 18 1892,” carved into a nearly flat stone, and is believed to mark the location where Merry took refuge from the bull after being gored. Just to the east is the second stone, “First Attacked,” carved into a large, upright boulder. At the terminus of the trail is the Babson Boulder “Never Try Never Win.”

The **Babson Reservoir (1930, GLO.962, contributing structure, Photo 35)** is a man-made water reservoir covering approximately 42 acres, constructed by the Town of Gloucester to provide adequate drinking water to the residents of the town. The reservoir was designed by Boston engineering firm Fay, Spofford and Thorndike, and built by the C & R Construction Company of Boston. The reservoir was filled by impounding Alewife Brook with the Babson Reservoir Earth and Concrete Dam. The approximately rectangular reservoir is bounded on the southeast by Massachusetts Bay Transit Authority (MBTA) railroad tracks (Boston and Maine Railroad [Gloucester and Rockport Branch]), Poplar Street on the southwest, and uninhabited land to the north. Residential development is immediately west of the reservoir complex. Dam and pump control buildings are to the north and south of the dam, and an overflow pool, constructed in 2015, is south of the dam, near the southwest corner of the complex. The complex is enclosed by a low stone wall and protected by a modern, metal, electronic gate (Babson Reservoir Stone Walls and Entry Gates), and asphalt-paved roads lead to the pump control building and a non-historic utility building (Veolia Building) southeast of the dam.

Babson Reservoir Earth and Concrete Dam (1930, altered 2015, GLO.968, contributing structure, Photos 36–39) is an approximately 630-ft long, gravity-fed earth dam on a northwest-southeast axis with a concrete core and spillway; there are no abutments. The north face of the dam is clad with concrete, and the south face is covered with earth on either side of the center spillway. The dam’s spillway is of poured concrete and was renovated in 2015 as part of an overall rehabilitation of the dam in order to comply with modern flood control regulations. Concrete flow dissipators project from the floor of the spillway.

North of the Babson Reservoir dam is the **Babson Reservoir Dam Control Building (1930, contributing building, Photos 36 and 37)**, a utilitarian, one-story, one-bay-by-one-bay, stone-clad building, accessed by a narrow, poured concrete causeway leading from the top of the dam. The building has a poured concrete foundation and is topped with an asphalt shingle-clad, end-gable roof with a wide cornice. The gable ends are clad with vertical board siding. The primary entrance is in the center of the south elevation, filled with a metal door affixed with strap hinges. Pairs of windows are evenly-spaced in the east and west elevations. The openings have stone sills and are covered with metal panels affixed with strap hinges.

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South of the dam is the **Babson Reservoir Stone Pump House (1930, contributing building, Photos 36 and 39)**. The pump house is a utilitarian, one-story, three-bay-by-two-bay, L-shaped, stone-clad building topped with a side-gable roof with a wide, wood cornice. The roof is covered with slate shingles, and a stone chimney pierces the north slope of the roof near the west edge. The gable ends are ornamented with half-timbering infilled with stucco and have louvered panels in the center. The entrance is in the center of the south elevation in a narrow projecting bay topped with a gable pediment and accessed by a low concrete step. Windows are evenly spaced in the side walls and on either side of the entrance. All window and door openings have been infilled with plywood.

On a hill at the southeast corner of the reservoir complex is the **Veolia Building (1980, non-contributing building, Photos 36 and 40)**, a utilitarian, one-story, U-shaped, brick and concrete building topped with shallow-pitch, end-gable roofs. The west portion of the building sits on a raised concrete foundation, matching the slope of the land. Entrances are in the north elevations, filled with modern metal doors. Narrow casement windows are under the eaves at the south end of the east and west elevations.

The **Babson Reservoir Stone Walls and Entry Gates (1930, contributing structure, Photo 40)** span both sides of the entrance road at the south edge of the reservoir complex, and consists of a pair of tall, stone piers on either side of the entrance road, flanked by angled, curved walls with square piers, seven to eight courses high, at each end. A low, two-to-three course high stone wall extends east along the property line from the east wall, and is composed of mortared fieldstone capped with poured concrete. Metal pedestrian gates are on either side of the center piers, affixed to the north pier of the curved walls. Bronze plaques commemorating Roger Babson and the construction of the reservoir are affixed to the center piers.

Briar Swamp Dam (1930s, RCP.920, contributing structure) is at the southwest end of Briar Swamp in Rockport and consists of a two-to-four-course, mortared fieldstone and quarried stone dam topped with a poured concrete cap believed to have been constructed by the Works Progress Administration to divert the iron-discolored water from Wine Brook from the Babson Reservoir.

Goose Cove Reservoir (1963, GLO.963, non-contributing structure) is a manmade water reservoir covering approximately 57 acres. The reservoir was constructed in 1963 in order to supplement the Babson Reservoir water supply for the city of Gloucester. The reservoir is formed by the impoundment of several brooks by a pair of stone-clad dam and dike pairs (**Goose Cove Reservoir Dams and Dikes**), one each at the north and south ends of the reservoir.

The **Goose Cove Reservoir Dams and Dikes (1963, GLO.696, non-contributing structures)** are at the north and south ends of the Goose Cove Reservoir and consist of earth-built structures faced with mortared, dressed stone. A vehicular access road runs along the top of the dam and dike system. Dam control structures are at the north and south ends of the reservoir, adjacent to each dam.

The **Boston and Maine Railroad, Gloucester and Rockport Branch (1861, GLO3959/RCP.916, non-contributing structure)** is an approximately 17-mile long, single-track, railroad spur line between Beverly and Rockport. The first section of the rail line, from Beverly to Gloucester, was constructed in 1847, and expanded to Rockport in 1861. Today the rail line is operated by the MBTA for commuter rail use (Karr 1995:264–265).

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The **Blackburn Industrial Park Water Tower (1995–2001, non-contributing structure)** is a large, cylindrical water tower located north of the intersection of Heritage Way and Great Republic Drive in the Blackburn Industrial Park. It is immediately adjacent to a wind turbine to the west, and asphalt parking lots to the south.

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**Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District
Data Table**

MHC ID	Resource Name	Date	Resource Type	Contributing/ Non-Contributing	Photo No.
Unassigned	Dogtown Landscape	1688–1968	Site	Contributing	None
GLO.966	Commons Pasture	ca. 1688	Site	Contributing	None
GLO.967	1722 Woodlots	1722	Site	Contributing	None
GLO.955	Dogtown Road	1719	Structure	Contributing	1 and 2
GLO.954	Commons Road (Walled-In Road)	1719	Structure	Contributing	3
Unassigned	Dogtown Square	Late 18 th –19 th century	Site	Contributing	4
GLO.957	Wharf Road	post-1741 ⁵	Structure	Contributing	5
Unassigned	Road from Sandy Bay to Squam Meeting House (Squam Road)	ca. 1717	Structure	Contributing	6
GLO.952/ RCP.915	Old Rockport Road	1707	Structure	Contributing	7
Unassigned	Olde Rockport Road Stone Marker	Unknown	Object	Non-Contributing	8
Unassigned	System of Secondary Roads	17 th and 18 th centuries	Structure	Contributing	None
	Path through the Woods – West Branch	18 th century			
	Path through the Woods – East Branch	18 th century			
	Road to Baker’s Mill	pre-1741			
	Parting Path	ca. 1693			
	Old Road to Gloucester	post-1741			
	Road to Beaver Dam	18 th c.			
GLO.961/ RCP.918	System of Stone Walls ⁶	17 th – 19 th centuries	Structure	Contributing	9 (Representative)
GLO.960/ RCP.917	System of Walking Trails	20 th century	Structure	Contributing	10
Unassigned	Whale’s Jaw	N/A	Site	Contributing	11
Unassigned	Peter’s Pulpit	N/A	Site	Contributing	12
Unassigned	Raccoon Ledges	N/A	Site	Contributing	13
Unassigned	Alewife Brook Mill Site	ca. 1642/1652	Site	Contributing	14 and 15
Unassigned	Alewife Brook School House Site	ca. 1658–1900	Site	Contributing	16

⁵ Those resources for which exact construction dates could not be found have been assigned a “pre-1741” or “post-1741” date depending on whether they appear on Bachelder’s map drawn in that year.

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MHC ID	Resource Name	Date	Resource Type	Contributing/ Non-Contributing	Photo No.
Unassigned	Beaver Dam Farm Site	ca. 1776	Site	Contributing	17 and 18
Unassigned	James Babson Museum 291 Main Street (Route 127), Rockport	ca. 1900	Building	Contributing	19
GLO.647	Dennison House 90 Revere Street, Gloucester	ca. 1727, altered 1932	Building	Contributing	20
GLO.773	Anthony Bennett House/ The Castle (27) 41 Gee Avenue, Gloucester	ca. 1688, altered 2006	Building	Contributing	21
Unassigned	Dogtown Cellar Holes				
	Stanwood Cobbler Shop Site (29)	post-1741	Site	Contributing	
	John Morgan Stanwood House Site (30)	post-1741	Site	Contributing	
	Bennet Farm Site (28)	post-1741	Site	Contributing	
	Lydia Riggs Canneby House Site (31)	ca. 1696	Site	Contributing	
	Hilton-Rhines House Site (R,T)	pre-1741	Site	Contributing	
	Stanwood-Stanley House Site (S)7	ca. 1691	Site	Contributing	
	Davis House Site (32)	ca. 1690	Site	Contributing	
	Jabez Hunter House Site (X)	ca. 1717	Site	Contributing	
	Arthur Wharf House Site (33)	ca. 1722	Site	Contributing	
	Joshua Elwell House Site (W)	ca. 1717	Site	Contributing	22
	Unknown Commons Road House Site A (34)	post-1741	Site	Contributing	
	Benjamin Harraden House Site (36)	ca. 1701	Site	Contributing	
	Wither House Site (37)	post-1741	Site	Contributing	
	James Wharf House Site (35)	post-1741	Site	Contributing	
	White House Site (38)	post-1741	Site	Contributing	
	Benjamin Allen House Site (39)	ca. 1731	Site	Contributing	
	Unknown Commons Road House Site B (40)	pre-1741	Site	Contributing	

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MHC ID	Resource Name	Date	Resource Type	Contributing/ Non-Contributing	Photo No.
	Peter Lurvey House Site (25)	ca. 1764	Site	Contributing	
	Abraham Wharf House Site (24)	post-1741	Site	Contributing	
	Colonel William Pearce House Site (23)	post-1741	Site	Contributing	
	Joseph Riggs House Site (22)	ca. 1708	Site	Contributing	
	Thomas Witham House Site (21)	1693	Site	Contributing	
	Joseph Day Sr. House Site (20A)	ca. 1708	Site	Contributing	
	Widow Jane Day House Site (20)	ca. 1688-1704	Site	Contributing	
	Mollie Jacobs House Site (19)	1766	Site	Contributing	
	Isaac Dade House Site (18)	post-1741	Site	Contributing	
	Dorcas Foster House Site (17)	post-1741	Site	Contributing	
	Joseph Ingersoll House Site (16)	ca. 1723	Site	Contributing	
	James Demerit House Site (15A)	pre-1741	Site	Contributing	
	Joseph Winslow House Site (14)	ca. 1724	Site	Contributing	23
	Joseph Stevens House Site (13)	post-1741	Site	Contributing	
	Wilson-Priestly House Site (12)	post-1741	Site	Contributing	
	Unknown Dogtown Road House Site (11)	post-1741	Site	Contributing	
	Henry Davis House Site (10)	post-1741	Site	Contributing	24
	Joseph Clark House Site (9)	ca. 1688-1824	Site	Contributing	
	Benjamin Stanwood House Site (7)	pre-1741	Site	Contributing	
Unassigned	Babson Marker Stones (31)	1930s	Object	Contributing	25-28
	Cellar Hole Markers				25, 26, 28
	"D.T. SQ"				26

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MHC ID	Resource Name	Date	Resource Type	Contributing/ Non-Contributing	Photo No.
	“Moraine”				
	“To Rockport”				
Unassigned	Babson Boulder Trail	1930s	Structure	Contributing	29
GLO.964	Babson Boulders (south–north)	1930s	Object	Contributing	30–32
	“Get a Job”				
	“Help Mother”				
	“Be True”				
	“Be Clean”				
	“Save”				
	“Truth”				
	“Work”				
	“Courage”				
	“Loyalty”				
	“Kindness”				
	“Intelligence”				30
	“Ideals”				
	“Ideas”				
	“Integrity”				
	“Initiative”				
	“Industry”				
	“Spiritual Power” (“Uncle Andrew’s Rock”)				31
	“Be on Time/Study”				
	“Prosperity Follows Service”				
	“If Work Stops Values Decay”				
	“Keep Out of Debt”				
	“Never Try Never Win”				

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MHC ID	Resource Name	Date	Resource Type	Contributing/ Non-Contributing	Photo No.
	"Use Your Head"				32
GLO.965	Merry Boulders	1892	Object	Contributing	33-34
	"First Attacked"				33
	"Jas. Merry Died Sept. 18 1892"				34
GLO.962	Babson Reservoir	1930	Structure	Contributing	35
GLO.968	Babson Reservoir Earth and Concrete Dam	1930; altered 2015	Structure	Contributing	36-39
Unassigned	Babson Reservoir Dam Control Building	1930	Building	Contributing	36 and 37
Unassigned	Babson Reservoir Stone Pump House	1930	Building	Contributing	36 and 39
Unassigned	Veolia Building	1980	Building	Non-contributing	36 and 40
Unassigned	Babson Reservoir Stone Walls and Entry Gates	1930	Structure	Contributing	40
RCP.920	Briar Swamp Dam	1930s	Structure	Contributing	41
GLO.963	Goose Cove Reservoir ⁸	1963	Structure	Non-Contributing	28 and 42
GLO.969	Goose Cove Reservoir Concrete Dams and Dikes	1963	Structure	Non-Contributing	42
GLO.959/ RCP.916	Boston and Maine Railroad (Gloucester and Rockport Branch)	1861	Structure	Non-contributing	43
Unassigned	Blackburn Industrial Park Water Tower	1995-2001	Structure	Non-contributing	N/A

⁸ Date taken from City of Gloucester website.

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8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

- A. Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
- B. Removed from its original location
- C. A birthplace or grave
- D. A cemetery
- E. A reconstructed building, object, or structure
- F. A commemorative property
- G. Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

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Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

- EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT
- SOCIAL HISTORY
- ART
- LITERATURE
- RECREATION
- ARCHAEOLOGY: HISTORIC, NON-ABORIGINAL

Period of Significance

Ca. 1642–1968

Significant Dates

- ca. 1642 – Establishment of Alewife Brook Mill Site
- 1688 – Initial settlement of Dogtown
- 1845 – Last Dogtown house torn down
- 1930 – Construction of Babson Reservoir

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

N/A

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Architect/Builder

N/A

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Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

The Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District is locally significant under Criterion A in the areas of Exploration and Settlement, Social History, Recreation, and Art and Literature, and under Criterion D in the area of Archeology: Historic, Non-Aboriginal. In the area of Exploration and Settlement, the District is significant for its association with the seventeenth and early-eighteenth century agricultural settlement of Gloucester's interior uplands, known as the Commons Settlement. Under Social History, the District is an example of a marginalized community created and perpetuated by a shift from a subsistence-based agrarian economy to booming fishing and quarrying economies centered away from the interior of Cape Ann. The District possesses secondary significance in the area of Social History for its association with the philanthropic efforts of Roger Babson, including the Babson Reservoir and the carved boulders created under his auspices. In the areas of Art and Literature, the District is significant for its association with the artistic career of avant-garde painter Marsden Hartley, and the literary career of Gloucester poet Charles Olson. Under Criterion D, the District is significant as a regionally unusual and spatially intact abandoned settlement with the demonstrated and potential ability to provide important information about Cape Ann's shift from an agrarian to maritime economy, and how that shift created and perpetuated the socio-economically marginalized community at Dogtown.

The period of significance for the Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District begins ca. 1642, the earliest potential date of construction of the oldest extant resource in the District, the Alewife Brook Mill Site, and extends to 1968, the 50-year cutoff for National Register listing., due to the District's continuing recreational use and ecological and historical importance to the Cape Ann community.

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Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

CRITERION A – EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT

The Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District is significant under Criterion A in the area of Exploration and Settlement as an economically and socially integrated seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century farming community in Gloucester's interior uplands. The original Commons Settlement from which Dogtown would later "devolve" epitomized the "closed corporate community" of early Puritan villages and the importance of kinship for maintaining socio-economic stability. Gloucester's storied reliance on fishing as symbolized by the iconic Fisherman's Memorial and emphasized through regional tourism campaigns obscures an older, more diverse settlement history rooted in a mixed subsistence economy of farming, fishing, and small-scale local industry. The settlement of Dogtown is significant as an example of an *interior* colonial settlement in a place that is now inextricably linked in the popular imagination with the sea.

Moreover, Gloucester's, and later Rockport's, late eighteenth- through twentieth-century pivot toward the ocean can be linked to, among other things, the ecological transformation of Cape Ann's fragile terminal moraine landscape by seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century farming and logging practices. Aggressive land clearing, thin soils, and severe weather combined to strip much of the Cape's already stony terrain to a "barren waste" (Essex Antiquarian Society 1897:43) and forced most families off their farms and into the more profitable, if equally unpredictable, business of fishing. This Cape-wide phenomenon was particularly pronounced in the formation of the **Dogtown Landscape (1688–1968, contributing site)**.

In the Beginning

The first documented European explorer to Cape Ann was Frenchman Samuel de Champlain, who first visited what is now Whale's Cove in Rockport in 1604 and Gloucester Harbor in 1606.⁹ While beached at Rocky Neck to caulk his shallop (a small boat used to navigate shallow waters), he drew an accurate map of the harbor, which he called Le Beau Port, that depicts clusters of wigwams and cornfields along the coast and illustrates a pattern of dispersed Native American "farmsteads" surrounded by cornfields. Upland areas along secondary streams and tributaries likely were targeted for smaller, task-specific (e.g., hunting, fishing, and trapping) settlements. On the basis of his observations during his two visits, Champlain estimated a population of several hundred.

English Captain John Smith sailed to the region in 1614 and—true to his boundless narcissism and penchant for unverifiable stories—renamed it Tragabigzanda in honor of a Turkish princess he claims was sympathetic to his plight while he was held captive in the Ottoman Empire. The three islands within sight of the shore he dubbed The Turks' Heads to commemorate his boasted beheading of three Turkish gladiators during that imprisonment (Babson 1860:21–22; Babson and Saville 1936:7–8; Kupperman 1988:48–49, 52–55).

⁹ Pringle (1892:9–11) asserts that Thorwald Erickson (brother of Leif) and his crew of Viking sailors were the first Europeans to make land on Cape Ann in 1004. After desecrating several Native American graves, Thorwald and his party were attacked by outraged tribal members and Thorwald was mortally wounded. At his dying request, he was interred on "the promontory where I thought it good to dwell," with the place to be called "Krossanes (the cape of the cross) in all time to come."

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After Smith reported his “discoveries” to the English crown, King Charles renamed the cape after his mother, Anne of Denmark; the Turks’ Heads would eventually become known as Straitsmouth, Thacher’s, and Milk islands. The place name “Cape Ann” appears to have been in common usage by the first half of the seventeenth century as it is mapped and mentioned in William Wood’s (1634) *New England’s Prospect*.

Epidemics in the early seventeenth century (1617–1619) devastated Native American groups throughout coastal New England. As the English trader Thomas Morton (1637) wrote:

in short time after the hand of God fell heavily upon them, with such a mortal stroke that they died on heaps as they lay in their houses... For in a place where many inhabited, there hath been but one left alive to tell what became of the rest; the living being (as it seems) not able to bury the dead, they were left for Crows, Kites and vermin to pray upon. And the bones and skulls upon the severall places of their habitations made such a spectacle after my coming into those parts, that, as I traveled in that Forrest near the Massachussets, it seemd to me a new found Golgatha.

While the underlying cause of the epidemics has been the subject of long debate among historians and epidemiologists (Marr and Cathey 2010), the Pennacook tribe, of whom the Cape Ann natives were a part, was hit hard. Despite high mortality and an almost unimaginable degree of social disruption, the Penacook were able to forge new political alliances and continue to negotiate with the English regarding land use and rights. The toxic combination of recurring disease, political infighting, and the piecemeal trade and sale of traditional lands to English colonists, however, eroded the Penacooks’ political and economic standing and eventually would undermine any coordinated resistance to European expansion throughout the region.

More concerted settlement efforts on Cape Ann began in 1623 with Plymouth Colony’s establishment of seasonal fishing stations around Gloucester Harbor, including at Half Moon Beach. Raised wooden platforms (“stages”) at the water’s edge topped with rudely built sheds and tables for landing, salting, and drying fish eventually would give the area its better-known name of Stage Head. Later that same year, the Dorchester Company sent 14 fishermen and their families from England to establish a competing settlement. Tensions between the two groups led to an armed conflict in 1625 in which the Dorchester Company was the victor. Both establishments failed, and the area was abandoned for several years after 1625.

During the 1630s, both the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth Colony governments attempted to revive a seasonal fishing industry on the Cape by introducing squatters. While not a rousing success, the efforts were considered important enough that Massachusetts Bay’s governor, John Endecott, sent men from Salem to throw up earthworks at Stage Head (now Stage Fort Park) to protect the fishing station from possible attack during the Pequot War (1636–1638) (Lepionka 2017). Settlement during this period consisted of small fishing villages clustered around coves, inlets, and creeks along the Annisquam River, Ipswich Bay, and Gloucester Harbor. The largest settlement was on the east side of the Annisquam River near Trynall Cove, and the second largest was on the west side of the river stretching to the Chebacco (now Essex) border, which had the best agricultural lands. Fishing was a mainstay for the earliest settlers, with cod, haddock, and mackerel taken off the immediate coast and as far away as Georges Banks. Water travel remained the fastest and most convenient mode of transportation between the early fishing stations and the scattered coastal settlements.

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Settling In (1642–1688)

In 1642, Cape Ann received an influx of settlers from Plymouth Colony under the ecclesiastical leadership of Reverend Richard Blynman. He and “several Welsh gentlemen of good note” had originally landed in Marshfield, but after some unspecified “dissensions,” they relocated to Cape Ann with a group of families hailing mostly from Gloucester, England (Babson 1860:51; Baylies 1866:285; Felch 1899:234). Among these earliest settlers were the midwife Isabel Babson and her son James, and Anthony Day, George Ingersoll, and John Pearse (Pierce), whose families would figure prominently in the history of Cape Ann (Babson 1860:52–53).

Blynman’s group boosted the permanent population enough to warrant the incorporation of Gloucester as its own town with the first meetinghouse—or First Parish—established near today’s Grant Circle on Route 128. Known as “The Green,” the area was sheltered from the worst of the coastal weather, had ample forests for building material and fuel, and was surrounded by stretches of comparatively arable land (Copeland and Rogers 1960:19–20). The Green was close to the Annisquam River, which provided safe passage in and out of Ipswich Bay. In 1643, much of Gloucester was made an island when Blynman directed the excavation of a canal—known as “the Cut”—to link the Annisquam River with Gloucester Harbor. This canal provided a direct, all-water route across Cape Ann and eliminated the long and often hazardous open-ocean route (Carlotto 2012:3).

The earliest fishing hamlets developed into small villages within the bounds of the First Parish. Before 1651, settlement was almost exclusively confined to Gloucester Harbor and “the neck of house-lots” on the stretch of land between the Annisquam and Mill rivers (Babson 1878:132). With a slow influx of new arrivals, the community began to expand away from the water after 1651. Titterington (1988:5) argues that early Gloucester resembled a “closed corporate community” in that it restricted membership, retained ultimate authority over the allocation of land, sought to guarantee its members equal access to resources, and maintained internal order by enforcing common standards of behavior consistent with Puritan principles.

While the deep woods of Cape Ann’s interior may have seemed inexhaustible during the first decades of settlement, by 1649 wood was becoming scarce enough that timber grants were instituted at a fee of four pence with a fine of 15 shillings per tree for cutting unrecorded timber (Babson 1955:313). By 1667, so many trees had been felled that the town restricted the locations and amounts of lumber that could be harvested by individuals and families. These types of restrictions were not unique to Gloucester; by the 1660s, the situation was so dire in Essex that selectmen were required to issue “felling permits” before any trees could be cut (Brockway and Grady 1993:15). The pace of deforestation no doubt was accelerated with the construction of sawmills along Cape Ann’s many streams and rivers; the earliest of these mills is believed to have been built along Alewife Brook.¹⁰

Town records and secondary histories are vague and often contradictory about the construction dates and locations of seventeenth-century mills in Gloucester (Babson 1860:200–203; Copeland and Rogers 1960:22–23), but it seems likely that the **Alewife Brook Mill Site (ca.1642/1652, contributing site)** consists of the remains of a circa (ca.) 1642 (see Pringle 1892:22) or ca. 1652 (see Babson 1860:202) sawmill sited to take advantage of the heavy stands of oak and pine that once forested the adjacent hillsides.

¹⁰ In histories of Gloucester written during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Alewife Brook is variously (and often confusingly) referred to as Wine, Cape Pond, Briar, and Stony brooks).

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The mill's original ownership is unclear, but by 1661 the Reverend John Emerson owned it and several other mills throughout Gloucester. A man of god, the reverend seems also to have been a canny businessman. Although his ministerial salary was only 60 pounds a year—payable in produce—in his later years he was reported to be one of the wealthiest people in Gloucester thanks, in part, to his extensive milling interests (Copeland and Rogers 1960:22).

The sawmill along Alewife Brook was in operation until at least 1741, when it was run by William Ellery (Babson and Saville 1936:60; Batchelder 1741), but it was abandoned some time later in the century and fell into ruin. In their *Tourist Guide of Cape Ann*, Babson and Saville (1936:50) describe the remains of the dam as it existed in the late nineteenth century:

An earthen dam about 170 feet long was built, the base 20 feet and the top 10 feet wide. It extended westward from a large rock on the east end, almost to what is now the railroad land on the west end. This dam was about 10 feet high and held back the waters into a mill pond at the north. This covered about a half square mile of the area and averaged some ten feet deep. This mill dam existed in our boyhood days. We remember that, when it was frozen over in winter, horse lovers would go to trot their horses on the ice and snow.¹¹

From the Alewife Brook Mill, a road was opened up along the crest of the ridge south of the brook to haul the lumber west to The Green. This route would be improved in 1707 as **Old Rockport Road (GLO.952, RCP.915, contributing structure)**, an original portion of which survives between Alewife Brook and Railcut Hill (Babson 1955:312; Copeland and Rogers 1960:21).

The road also ran east toward Sandy Bay and directly past what is now the **James Babson Museum (ca. 1900, contributing building)**, the location of the former James Babson cooperage (Carlotto 2012:13). James Babson (1623–1683), who had come with his mother, Isabel, to Gloucester from Salem in 1637, built his cooperage on 32 acres of land in 1658; that land would later become part of Rockport when it was incorporated as a separate town in 1840. Babson made—among other things—barrels to ship dried fish from Gloucester Harbor. To make his barrels, he used staves, hoops, and ends hauled by ox cart along Old Rockport Road from Reverend Emerson's Alewife Brook sawmill less than 1 mile west (Babson and Saville 1936:58). While in operation the cooperage, referred to as "Cape Ann's First Factory" (Babson and Saville 1936:63), and the Alewife Brook mill provided a tidy example of the importance of fishing, lumbering, and milling to Cape Ann's seventeenth-century economy and the commercial connectivity of the interior to the coast.

At the time the mill and the cooperage were in cooperative business the population of Gloucester was fairly small, although James Babson and his wife, Elinor, went a long way toward boosting that number with 10 children born from 1648 to 1670. James and his family did not live on the cooperage property, but in a house near the intersection of Eastern Avenue and Witham Street on a parcel that is now Calvary Cemetery (Babson and Saville 1936:59–60).

¹¹ The 1861 construction of the Boston and Maine Railroad (GLO.959, RCP.916) immediately north and adjacent to the mill site, which included the excavation of an expedient quarry in the former location of the mill building, severely compromised its integrity (Karr 1995:264–265). In 1932, the Gloucester Water Board destroyed the mill dam and pool as part of the Babson Reservoir construction (Babson and Saville 1936:50).

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The Babson family legacy in Gloucester would be broad and deep, especially during the mid-nineteenth through early twentieth centuries. In the second half of the seventeenth century, however, their concerns were limited to the Alewife Brook mill, their farm, and a small schoolhouse that reportedly was run by James' father-in-law (Babson and Saville 1936:60). The cellar hole of the **Alewife Brook School House Site (ca. 1658–1900, contributing site)** is immediately west of Old Rockport Road at its intersection with the old path leading down to the Alewife Brook Mill Site.

Babson and Saville's (1936) attribution of the cellar hole to a schoolhouse is puzzling as there is no mention of the school in any earlier histories of Gloucester in general or of Dogtown in particular. The first school in Gloucester was not established until 1698 (Copeland and Rogers 1960:27), before which the population was "too scattered...that no considerable portion of the children could be conveniently gathered in one school" (Babson 1878:135). In his history of Gloucester, Babson (1860:218) comments that "Private or domestic instruction in the elements of learning must have been common among the early settlers," so it is possible that the cellar hole was a residence that was used informally as a schoolhouse.

Lotteries, Woodlots, and Family Ties at the Commons Settlement (1688–1741)

With the end of King Philip's War (1675–1678), Cape Ann's population growth ticked up and the previously unstructured land settlement process was formalized on February 27, 1688, with the disbursement of 6-acre land grants to men of legal age living in Gloucester. A total of 82 lots were laid out east of the Cut, and 31 lots west of the Cut (in what is now West Gloucester and Magnolia). The grantees were assigned the parcels by lottery and owned them in fee simple with rights of way for free passage and, perhaps more importantly, the privilege of cutting wood on the lots (Babson 1927; Pringle 1892:30–31).

In addition to assigning some order to a previously haphazard settlement system, the land division likely had a larger economic impetus. Gloucester's small-scale shallop fishery had effectively collapsed by 1675 in the face of political conflicts with the French that resulted in costly shipping restrictions. As an economic alternative, Gloucester residents looked inward to Cape Ann's forests and rocky fields and began more concerted logging and farming (Vickers 1994:146, 192). Control of the acreage through organized land division then became of paramount importance for maintaining social and economic equilibrium. This pattern of land division with a sprawling undeveloped "commons" space was typical of many colonial towns and functioned as a sort of "land bank" for future settlement, and was very different from the nucleated freehold system that would characterize later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century rural communities (Donahue 2008:158, 161).

Because one had to be living in Gloucester to receive the allotment, many of the grantees likely remained in their existing homes and farmed and logged their new parcels. Several families, however, did relocate to the newly parceled lots. For example, Anthony Bennett, a carpenter from neighboring Beverly, settled with his family in Gloucester in 1679 along Alewife Brook near present-day Cherry Street where he ran a sawmill (Bachelder 1741; Sumner 1959). In 1688, he was granted 6 acres at Goose Creek. Bennett moved from Alewife Brook and built the **Anthony Bennett House (ca. 1688, GLO.773, contributing building)**—known locally as "The Castle"—at some time between 1688 and 1691; the house is still standing, probably in a much altered form, at 41 Gee Avenue just east of **Goose Cove Reservoir (1963, GLO.963, non-contributing structure)**. The **Bennett Farm Site (28) (post-1741, contributing site)**¹² later expanded out from The Castle to include another house built after 1741 (Babson and Saville 1936:33).

¹² The parenthetical numbers that follow most of the house sites mentioned in this section are those on the Babson and Saville (1936) Dogtown map and the ones carved into their associated Babson Marker Stones.

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Other early arrivals to the new settlement included John Davis who settled the **Davis House Site (32) (ca. 1690, contributing site)**, Thomas Witham who settled the **Thomas Witham House Site (21) (1693, contributing site)** in 1693, and Thomas Riggs, Jr. who settled the **Lydia Riggs Canneby House Site (31) (ca. 1696, contributing site)**. Jonathan Stanwood settled at what would become known as the **Stanwood-Stanley House Site (S) (ca. 1691, contributing site)** on a prominent rise approximately 850 ft north of Commons Road. Stanwood's son, Nehemiah, would later live in the house as would Nehemiah's son, John Morgan Stanwood. In the nineteenth century, the house would acquire a livelier reputation as the home of Sammy Stanley and his grandmother (see **Criterion A – Social History**).

Just down the hill from the Stanwood-Stanley House is the **Unknown Commons House Site A (34) (post-1741, contributing site)**. Carlotto (2015:62) places Oliver Whipple at the house. Whipple, who is known to have purchased the Stanwood-Stanley House in the later nineteenth century, is assigned to the unknown house site based on a claim that he lived “in the vicinity” of the Stanwood-Stanley House (Mann 1896:57), but this attribution is problematic. Another Stanwood reportedly settled at the **Benjamin Stanwood House Site (7) (pre-1741, contributing site)** north of Dogtown Road just up the road from modern-day Cherry Street.

No map survives showing the 1688 land division. Portions of the **System of Stone Walls (17th–19th centuries, GLO.961/RCP.918, contributing structure)** that crisscross Dogtown, however, hint at portions of that original division through a discontinuous pattern of fully or partially enclosed 6-acre parcels (Carlotto 2015:21).

The ca. 1727 **Dennison House (GLO.647, contributing building)** at 90 Revere Street is in the northwest corner of Dogtown. The saltbox style house was built by John Day for George Dennison, a wealthy trader with humble Irish origins who moved to Gloucester and married Abigail Haraden, daughter of the famed Annisquam mariner and pirate slayer, Captain Andrew Haraden (Babson 1860:287). Because the house was on the busily traveled route between Sandy Bay and Annisquam, the enterprising Dennison reportedly ran a store out of his home that would be continued by his son, George Jr. Nineteenth-century descendants operated a grist mill and lumber business on the property until 1908, when it was clear cut by a new owner, Haverhill lumberman Charles Hoyt. Stained glass artist Earl E. Sanborn (1890–1937) later purchased the house and added a studio and “factory” where he produced windows for the Washington Cathedral in Washington, D.C., St. John the Divine in New York City, and Story Chapel at Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge/Watertown, Massachusetts, among others (Hilbert and Woodford 1985). Dr. Frederick Norton, who would conduct archaeological investigations during the 1940s at several Dogtown cellar holes and at the “Mill Cellar,” purchased the property in 1944 and reestablished the acreage as a pine tree plantation. In 1975, he gifted 158 acres to the New England Forestry Foundation (NEFF) to be maintained as a permanent forest, now known as the Norton Memorial Forest (NEFF 2018).

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In 1719–1722, approximately 1,000 acres north of the 6-acre allotments were parceled out and granted for “cow rights” and “wood lots” (Babson 1955:313; Babson and Saville 1936:17; Mann 1896). Although the grant was divided into 136 lots measuring 10–20 rods wide and 160–320 rods long, they were for the most part managed communally (Anonymous [Anon.] n.d.a) (Figure 1). Lots 1–47 and 51–94 were in Rockport (which was still Gloucester at that time) and Lots 48–50 and 95–136 were in Gloucester; Lots 31–50 had become walled-in pastures by the early twentieth century (Babson and Saville 1936:18).

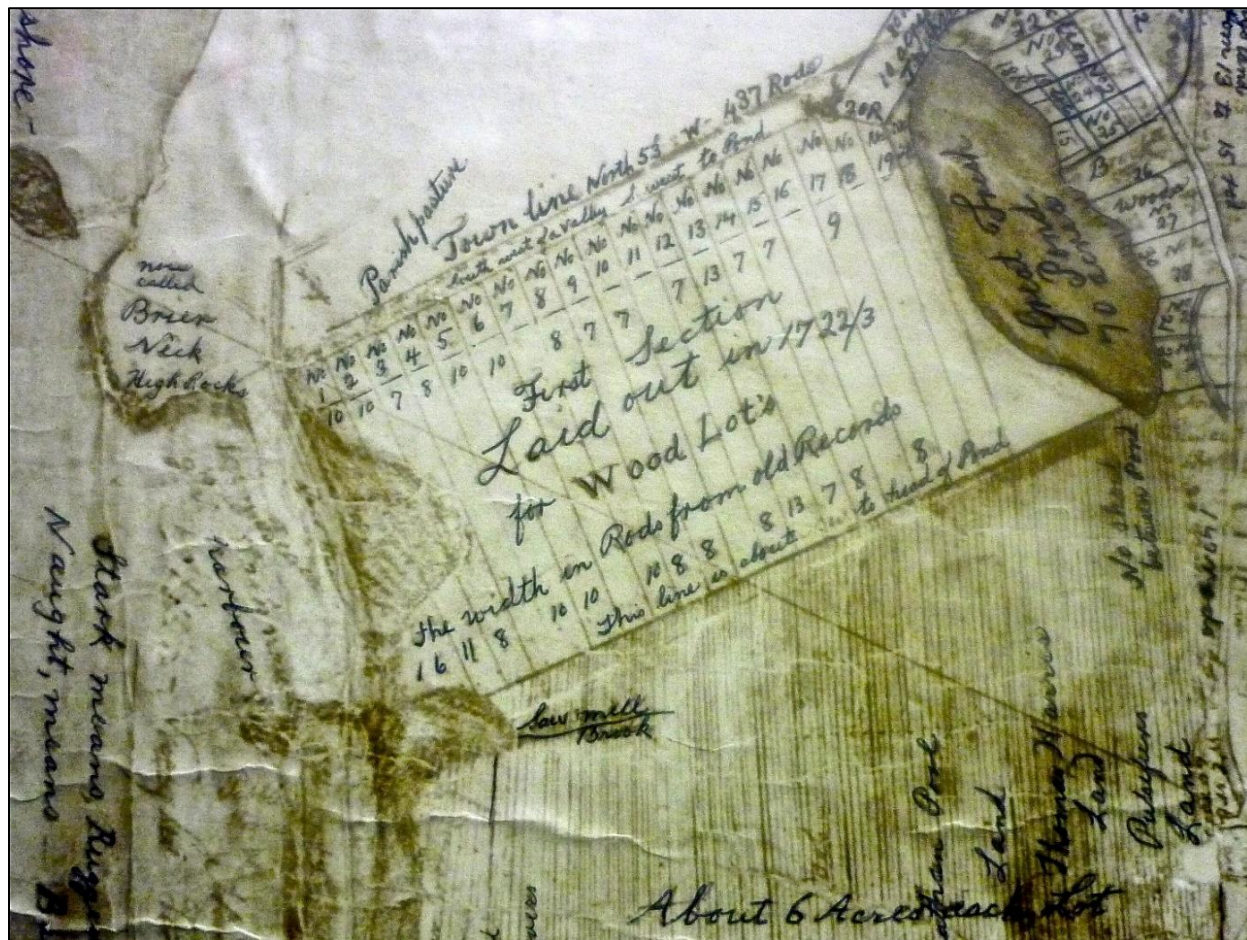


Figure 1. Detail of undated map showing lots 1–20 of the 1722 woodlot division in Gloucester (Anonymous n.d.a.)

The parcel boundaries for the **1722 Woodlots (GLO.967, contributing site)** are still clearly visible on current assessors’ maps for Gloucester and Rockport, and evidently many were still owned by the “old Gloucester estates”¹³ into the twentieth century (Babson and Saville 1936:74). Clear cutting of the lots for building material, fuel, and animal grazing resulted in the **Commons Pasture (ca. 1688, GLO.996, contributing site)**.

¹³ This term presumably refers to Gloucester’s earliest land grantees, many of whom remained on Cape Ann for generations.

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The Commons Settlement, alternately known as Town Parish or Upper Parish (Cape Ann Museum [CAM] 2012:6), was connected to the neighboring coastal villages by three main roads: **Commons Road (1719, GLO.954, contributing structure)**, **Dogtown Road (1719, GLO.955, contributing structure)**, and the **Road from Sandy Bay to Squam Meeting House (Squam Road) (ca. 1717, contributing structure)**. Commons Road was also known as the “walled-in” road because of the stone walls that lined it on either side (Mann 1896), long segments of which are still intact and visible on the landscape. Commons Road and Dogtown Road were laid out in 1719, presumably in advance of the formal wood lot division; Squam Road was laid out ca. 1754 to connect the newly established Fifth Parish in Sandy Bay to Annisquam (Babson 1955:317). In some instances, portions of those roads and other segments of the **System of Secondary Roads (17th and 18th centuries, contributing structure)** may have been laid out along former Native American trails. Portions of other roads such as the Road to Bakers’ Mill and Squam Road have been incorporated within modern-day Dennison and Revere streets, respectively (Carlotto 2012:9).

Several prominent Gloucester families moved to the Commons after the 1722 wood lot division, which appears to have been the enticement many needed to settle the acreage already granted to them in 1688. More than half of the houses within what would become Dogtown were built between 1688 and the mid-1720s, before the 1741 parish division described below. Many of the Commons families would intermarry and exchange land in a way that created complex and often confusing patterns of residential settlement that persisted into the early nineteenth century. The Wharf, Allen, and Riggs families provide a good example of that pattern.

When he was 11 years old, Nathaniel Wharf moved from Maine to Gloucester with his family after the death of his father in 1673 (Babson 1860:53). In 1684, he married Anna Riggs, daughter of Thomas Riggs Sr., who was Gloucester’s town clerk for 51 years, a selectman, its first schoolteacher, and a General Court representative (Babson 1860:168; Carlotto 2015:79–80; Copeland and Rogers 1960:27). Riggs’ grandson built the **Joseph Riggs House Site (22) (ca. 1708, contributing site)** on Dogtown Road on a parcel purchased by his father, Andrew, in 1708; Joseph’s sister, Mary, married Benjamin Allen and settled at the **Benjamin Allen House Site (39) (1731, contributing site)** on Commons Road. Nathaniel Wharf gave his third son, Arthur, his land grant on Commons Road in 1723, after which Arthur and his wife, Martha Lee, built the **Arthur Wharf House Site (33) (ca. 1722, contributing site)**. The **James Wharf House Site (35) (post-1741, contributing site)** was built by one of Nathaniel’s grandsons after 1741 on Commons Road, and the **Abraham Wharf House Site (24) (post-1741, contributing site)** on the eponymously named **Wharf Road (post-1741, GLO.957, contributing structure)** which was built by Abraham Wharf after his marriage to Benjamin Allen’s daughter, Mary. Abraham, a “lonely and weary” sheep farmer, committed suicide in 1814 at or near **Whale’s Jaw (contributing site)** (Mann 1896:50). Based on its location, the pre-1741 **Unknown Commons Road House Site B (40) (contributing site)** may also be associated with the Allen or Wharf families (Carlotto 2015:68).

Other early comers to Commons Settlement who became more or less tied to the community through kin networks included Joseph Clark, who built the **Joseph Clark House Site (9) (ca. 1688–1824, contributing site)** at the west end of Dogtown Road on his 1688 land grant (Carlotto 2015:83). His son, Joseph Clark, Jr., would inherit the house at his father’s death in 1697 and eventually pass it to his grandson, John Clark. John, a mariner, who died intestate in 1824, after which the house was demolished (Titterington 1988:11).

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Joseph Clark, Jr. inherited the Joseph Clark House in 1697, but at some point relocated to the south side of Dogtown Road in a house built ca. 1688 by James or John Stanwood. The only two-story house in Dogtown, it was most famously occupied until 1820 by the “poor, but quite respectable” (Mann 1896:39) Easter (Esther) Carter, after whom it takes its name – the Easter Carter House (15). The poor but not-quite-so-respectable Becky Rich and her daughter Rachel, or “Granny,” Rich, then took up residence. Granny Rich “told fortunes, boiled cabbage, baked Johnny cake, and made life merry for all the youth who visited her” (Mann 1896:40) and acquired an unsavory reputation that in many histories has been erroneously conflated with Easter Carter’s tenure on the property (Babson 1927; Mann 1896:40). The house, which was reportedly built without a cellar, was dismantled sometime after Rachel’s death in 1837 (Ancestry.com 2018a), and the site completely destroyed when it was used for a gravel pit by the City of Gloucester. The original location of the house was marked by one of the **Babson Marker Stones (1930s, contributing object)** carved with the number “15;” the stone survives but was moved to the north side of Dogtown Road when the site was graveled out (Carlotto 2012:34).

Thomas Witham received his 1688 land grant and built the Thomas Witham House Site (21) at the Parting Path (System of Secondary Roads). Witham was married to Abigail Babson, daughter of the cooper and miller James Babson, so the siting of the house on a road that linked Commons and Dogtown roads to the Babson Cooperage was likely no accident. By 1741, the house was occupied by Stephen Robinson.

The Day family settled near a swamp that would later bear the name “Granny Day Swamp.” Anthony Day, the family patriarch of English birth, relocated from Ipswich to Gloucester in 1645 and, at the age of 72, was one of the 1688 Gloucester land grantees. In 1704, he gave “several parcels of land and Marsh scituate in said Gloucester” to his youngest son, Joseph, including his:

dwelling house and barne & about six acres of upland lying on ye westerly side of ye way leading to the mill on part of which land the said Dwelling house and barne standeth...
(Sucholeiki 1992:28)

Joseph purchased an adjacent parcel east of the swamp in 1708, after which he and his wife moved to Attleboro, leaving both parcels to their son, Joseph, Jr., and his wife, Jane (née Boyd). Bachelder’s 1741 parish map (see discussion below) lists the “Wido [sic] Jane Day” at the southern house site. Why she is listed as a widow in 1741 is a mystery, as her husband’s death isn’t recorded until 1785 in York, Maine. Whatever the circumstances, the surviving foundation is now assigned the **Widow Jane Day House Site (20) (ca. 1688–1704, contributing site)**, also known as the “Granny Day” site. Babson and Saville (1936:28) note a well in the yard and also that the lot was the site of the local school. It is unclear based on their description whether the school was run out of the house or whether it was a separate building, the remains of which have not yet been found. The Tingley (1901) map shows the house and school as separate buildings. The assignment of the extant foundation north of Dogtown Road to Jane Day, however, is problematic. The 1723 deed description of Anthony Day’s land transfer to his son, Joseph, and Tingley’s (1901) and Eben Day’s maps place the house and the later school south of Dogtown Road at its intersection with Wharf Road.

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The foundation east of the swamp was excavated in the early 1990s by Irving Sucholeiki (1992:25–43) who believed it was the house site of Granny Day. However, it is not marked by one of Babson’s stones or explicitly discussed in any of the later Dogtown histories. Given the confusion concerning the locations of the Day family houses among the deed and map data and secondary historical sources, the house has been provisionally assigned as the **Joseph Day Sr. House Site (20A) (ca. 1708, contributing site)**, as it was likely part of the landholdings given to him by his father, Anthony. Carlotto (2015:46) suggests that Jane Day relocated to this site at some time after 1741, but it’s unclear where that idea originates.

Another early house site that is not marked by a Babson Marker Stone is the **James Demerit House Site (15A) (pre-1741, contributing site)** on the south side of Dogtown Road. Built at some time before 1741, Demerit lived there with his wife, Sarah (née Elwell) until his death in 1751, after which Sarah sold the house, married Joseph Riggs, and moved in with him at the Joseph Riggs House Site (22). The Demerit house was later occupied by Easter Carter’s niece, Anne (Carlotto 2015:40; Mann 1896). Another Elwell settled the **Joshua Elwell House Site (W) (ca. 1717, contributing site)** on Commons Road in the early eighteenth century on land inherited from Captain Isaac Elwell. Just east of the Arthur Wharf Site (33), the house would later be occupied by James Wharf Sr., leading Babson to carve a “W” on its associated stone marker (Carlotto 2015:61).

The **Benjamin Harraden House Site (36) (ca. 1701, contributing site)** on Commons Road may have been built ca. 1701 by Benjamin Harraden, the maternal grandfather of the famous Revolutionary War patriot Peter Lurvey. The **Joseph Ingersoll House Site (16) (ca. 1723, contributing site)** and the **Joseph Winslow House Site (14) (ca. 1724, contributing site)** also were built and occupied not long after the 1722 woodlot division.

Not all people within the Commons Settlement were so “familiarily” tied to their neighbors. Jabez Hunter, for example, probably settled the **Jabez Hunter House Site (X) (ca. 1717, contributing site)** at the west end of Commons Road not long after his marriage to Abigail Tucker in 1717. Other than noting his relatively early arrival to Gloucester (Babson 1860:259), however, local histories are silent on Hunter’s role in or connection with the larger community.

A Fateful Division (1741–1791)

In 1738, the original meetinghouse at The Green was relocated to Middle Street closer to the harbor (Copeland and Rogers 1960:25). Meetinghouses during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were the centers of both religious and political life, and where they were sited often had powerful implications for a town’s developmental trajectory (Copeland and Rogers 1960:19; Titterington 1988). In the case of Gloucester, the meetinghouse’s move to the shore meant that the people “up in town” in the Commons Settlement had to walk or ride a significantly longer distance to attend weekly services (Babson 1860:451). This was no small consideration when traveling over marginal roads, often in inclement weather, and was certainly an inconvenience to what was described as a “thriving community settled by fine people” (Babson 1927:3).

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To remedy the increasingly untenable situation, Gloucester hired surveyor Josiah Bachelder to map out the residences and roads across Cape Ann for the purpose of redrawing the boundaries of the First Parish: a second and third parish had already been established west of the Mill River and in Annisquam (Copeland and Rogers 1960:26). Bachelder's 1741 map is one of the most important documents to Cape Ann history in general and the history of the Commons Settlement in particular, as it illustrates, numbers, and lists the people who were living there in that year (Figure 2). Bachelder's scale, however, is more impressionistic than accurate, a deficiency even Bachelder concedes on the map's margin where he wrote

This Plann of the first parrish in Glocester wherein is Represented the old and new meeting houses therein and the Distance between them and the high ways and the petitioners houses as they stand as exact as I could Plann them



Figure 2. Detail of Bachelder's (1741) map showing houses along Commons and Dogtown roads.

Bachelder's "Plann" shows about 80 homes within the First Parish, with approximately 25 of those homes within the boundaries of what would become Dogtown (Copeland and Rogers 1960:32). Having confirmed there were enough families to warrant the division, in 1742 the Harbor settlement maintained the distinction of the First Parish and the Commons Settlement, including The Green, was re-designated the Fourth Parish.

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In the years between the parish division and the American Revolution, population growth within the Commons Settlement was achieved mostly through natural increase as was the case throughout the rest of Essex County (Vickers 1994:156). Based on their absence from the Bachelder map, the James Wharf House Site (35), the **Joseph Stevens House Site (13) (post-1741, contributing site)**, and the **Wilson-Priestly House Site (12) (post-1741, contributing site)** all are presumed to have been built after 1741, but likely before the war. James Wharf may have been Arthur Wharf's nephew (Carlotto 2015:65); Joseph Stevens was married to Mary Winslow, the daughter of Joseph Winslow who lived just east on Dogtown Road; and William Wilson operated a shipping business with his great-grandfather, Nathaniel Babson.

Although the **Henry Davis House Site (10) (post-1741, contributing site)**, the **Wither House Site (37) (post-1741, contributing site)**, and the **White House Site (38) (post-1741, contributing site)** were built about the same time, the occupants are unusual for their lack of any clear kin connections. Between the Davis and Wilson houses is the **Unknown Dogtown Road House Site (11) (post-1741, contributing site)**; other than a post-1741 construction date, nothing else is known about it.

The years immediately before the Revolution marked the peak residency of the Commons Settlement before the movement to the coast became a sustained population shift. During that period, the settlement accounted for about 1/9th of Gloucester's total property and about 1/6th of its population (Babson 1860:451). The "elimination of the Barbary pirates" (Babson and Saville 1936:19) is a favored explanation for the growth of the coastal villages, but it has no substantial basis in fact.¹⁴ The real reason for the relocation was the exhaustion of the soils and lumber in the center of Cape Ann and the futility of farming as compared to fishing.

The rise of the fishing industry also was having pronounced effects on the distribution of wealth in Gloucester in a marked change from the "flatter" economic divisions of the seventeenth-century. Between 1690 and 1715, the wealthiest 10 percent of the community held about a third of the total wealth. That percentage would jump to 40 percent between 1716 and 1735, and by mid-century the concentration of wealth was such that the lower 60 percent of society owned only 12 percent of the town's total wealth (Heyrman 1984: 65). This division, already in place before the American Revolution, would be amplified in the aftermath of the war.

CRITERION A – SOCIAL HISTORY

The Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District is significant under Criterion A in the area of Social History as an example of a marginalized community created and perpetuated by a shift from a "commons" agrarian economy rooted in kin networks to a nucleated free hold farm system and fishing and quarrying economies that dissolved those networks and the traditional social relationships they supported. It also illustrates how Dogtown's marginalized community – and landscape – was popularly mythologized to accommodate uncomfortable social inequities by rationalizing the sequestering of "degenerate" behaviors to the "wastes" of Cape Ann's interior uplands.

¹⁴ Barbary pirates did in fact threaten colonial and American merchant ships in the Atlantic, which led directly to the establishment of the United States Navy in 1794, but there is no good evidence that they raided colonial or American coastal settlements (Oren 2005).

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Dogtown Days (1791–1845)

Altho (sic) in 1700 it was a sign of respectability to live in this section, yet less than a hundred years later it became a sign of distress. I well remember hearing my grandfather tell of what an insult it was to call a boy a ‘Dogtownner’” (Babson 1927:5)

The American Revolution (1775–1783) took a tremendous toll on Cape Ann. British embargoes blocked much needed food imports and other supplies; the war carried away many of the able-bodied men so that local sawmills, gristmills, and smithies fell into disrepair; and the already meager support provided to the poor all but evaporated (Swan 1983:252–253). Desperate for relief, in 1780 Gloucester petitioned the legislature for a tax abatement. To bolster the request, the town provided an itemized list by parish of the widows and children requiring public support and the number of families in each parish that were considered “not taxable,” or too poor to tax. The Fourth Parish, of which Dogtown was a part, ranked miserably in both categories (Swan 1983:255).

The Cape Ann fisheries also suffered badly. By the end of the war in 1783, only a few dozen serviceable fishing boats were still afloat, and hundreds of skilled fishermen had either died in combat or as prisoners-of-war on British prison hulks (Vickers 1994:265–266). The demand for fish, however, had never been greater, and the scarcity of labor across all maritime industries guaranteed favorable wages even to men with limited to no fishing experience. Those with experience could expect to profit handsomely. In this opportunistic economic environment, trying to scrape out a living from Cape Ann’s rocky soils bordered on irrational, and the Fourth Parish’s already poverty-stricken and declining population thinned even further as second and third sons, in particular, took to the sea. This out-migration further reduced the available labor to farm the intractable landscape and diminished the once extensive family and supportive family networks that made farming feasible in the first place (Martin 2011).

Contrary to popular conceptions, GIS-based research into farming patterns in Concord, Massachusetts, suggests that rather than “an unstable world of careless husbandry,” early New England farmers were careful and considered in their approach to the land, carefully maintaining wetlands and meadows for water and hay, siting barns around the “home fields” so that manure could be more easily spread, and planting apple orchards on stony hillsides that were excellent at holding water but too bony to plow (Donahue 2008:171). Assuming Gloucester farmers were at least as careful in their approach to the land, it is a testament to how fragile and unforgiving the terminal moraine landscape was (and is) that it was so quickly and thoroughly stripped of its agricultural potential, leaving those families that could afford to move out with few other options but to do so.

Those that left the Commons Settlement for the better prospects offered by the coast either sold their land or rented it out. In some instances, the land was purchased by neighboring property owners. Joseph Stevens’ 1826 probate inventory, for example, lists two houses with barns and adjoining fields, “a cow pasture Bought of Priestly,” “7 acres of Clarks pasture” to include a small adjoining lot and the “Clark House Lot,” “Wharf Field,” “Winslow Field,” and several additional lots around Dogtown. This land was acquired through marriage and kin connections and through outright sale, but property expansion was the exception rather than the rule (Titterington 1988:21). By 1799, the exodus was nearly complete, with the Salem diarist Reverend William Bentley noting, “In our visit to the Town (Gloucester) we had an opportunity to be informed of the great increase of new homes. As Squam & Upper Town have decayed, the Harbour has been enriched” (CAM 2012:6).

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The first documented use of the term “Dogtown” to describe the Commons Settlement dates to a 1791 deed between Sarah Allen of Gloucester, acting as executrix of her husband’s estate, and Gloucester attorney John Law. In the deed, the four acres Allen sold to Law are described as “being scituate on the left side of the highway leading up to Dogtown so called in Gloucester...” (Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds [SEDRD] Book 159/Page 171). The fact that the term was used as part of the deed’s formulaic and legally binding language suggests it had been in circulation for some time before 1791 and was a commonly understood geographical reference.

The origin of the name is less well documented. Many historians have argued that it arose from the packs of roaming, semi-wild dogs that were purportedly kept by the war widows as protection in the increasingly remote and socially isolated village (Babson 1927; Copeland and Rogers 1960:31–32; Essex Antiquarian Society 1897; Kenny 1971:189; Mann 1896:10).

But there is another possible interpretation. Modern American sentiments aside, dogs have occupied a morally ambiguous role at best and a place of revilement at worst beginning as early as pharonic Egypt. Rabies, which was an invariably deadly scourge for millennia and is inextricably linked to its canine vector, may be in part to blame. Whatever the root cause, that antipathy was amplified during the spread of Christianity from the fourth to eight centuries. Of the 40 or more times that “dog” or “dogs” appears in the Old and New Testaments of the Bible, depictions of the animal range from revolting to merely distasteful. The most complimentary description occurs in Ecclesiastes 9:4: “Anyone who is among the living has hope—even a live dog is better than a dead lion!” (Wasik and Murphy 2012:40–41). This perspective followed through to the Middle Ages and was undoubtedly a thread in early post-medieval life, especially in agrarian populations where dogs often posed a serious threat to livestock.

With that symbolic and practical history in mind, it’s possible that “Dogtown,” even as late as the eighteenth century, was used as a knowing and deliberate epithet to describe the straitened community living within the former Commons Settlement after the Revolutionary War. Revelation 22:15 is especially revealing in its characterization of the dog as it applies to the dissipated Cape Ann community: “Outside are the dogs, those who practice magic arts, the sexually immoral, the murderers, the idolaters and everyone who loves and practices falsehood” (Wasik and Murphy 2012:41).

Gloucester town historian John J. Babson (1860:450) writes that 20 years after the war there were approximately 40 houses scattered throughout Dogtown. **Dogtown Square (Late 18th–19th centuries, contributing site)**, which marked the intersection of Dogtown Road, Parting Path, and Wharf Road, claimed a grocery store and blacksmith shop, but many of the mills, schools, taverns, and ancillary businesses common to small villages had relocated to serve the population centers near the coast. Dogtown’s isolation was compounded by the restructuring of the transportation network on Cape Ann. As fishing became ascendant after the Revolutionary War, the antiquated road system in Dogtown was superseded by an expanding network of external roads designed to link the thriving coastal settlements. Dogtown, Commons, and Wharf roads along with most of the secondary road system saw less and less traffic and fell into disrepair, a condition that only further discouraged their use (Babson 1955; Titterington 1988:8, 39).

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Those left in Dogtown were mostly of the “unfortunate class” of war widows or women who had lost their husbands to the sea. One of those war widows was Sarah Lurvey. She had been married to Peter Lurvey, the son of a Gloucester fisherman who marched from his farm fields to defend the coast during The Battle of Gloucester on August 8, 1775, only to be killed by cannonade from the British warship the *Falcon*. Hiram Rich wrote a rhapsodic poem about Lurvey’s bravery, albeit mistakenly attributing the gallant deeds to Lurvey’s son-in-law, John Morgan Stanley (who by all reports was anything but) (Mann 1896:36). Mrs. Lurvey lived of the rest of her 104 years at the **Peter Lurvey House Site (25) (ca. 1764, contributing site)** on Wharf Road, occasionally lamenting that she never saw her husband after his death, as no one could tell her what became of his body. As Mann (1896:54) drily notes, “Our progenitors were peculiar about such things.”¹⁵

Another who was especially unfortunate was Dorcas Foster, whose father sent her to live in Dogtown when she was only eight years old, ostensibly in an effort to escape the depredations of British privateers along the coast. Married three times with many descendants throughout Gloucester, it seems Foster did not stay too long at the **Dorcas Foster House Site (17) ((post-1741, contributing site)**, because she is reported as having spent most of her life in an “ancient house...at the corner of Warner and Prospect streets (Mann 1896:41).

One husband who did not make his wife a Dogtown war widow was Isaac Dade (1756–1819), a British sailor who defected to the Continental Army in 1775 and lived one house east from the Dorcas Foster House (17). After the war, he and his wife settled at the **Isaac Dade House Site (18) (post-1741, contributing site)** at the eastern end of Dogtown Road. Dade’s granddaughter, Mrs. H. G. Wetherbee, recounted to Charles Mann (1896) the rather convoluted path her grandfather took to settle in Gloucester.

While a school boy in London, Isaac was impressed on board an English man-of-war that anchored off Gloucester, from where it was his job to row one of the officers ashore. Once on land, he escaped to a fishing vessel bound for Virginia and joined the American army, in the service of which he was wounded at Yorktown by a saber cut across the neck. After the war, he married Fanny Blundell, the daughter of a Virginia plantation owner, and had two children with her. In failing health, and perhaps with fond memories of the bracing Cape Ann climate, Dade and his family relocated to Gloucester, where he “kept a fish market...under great disadvantages, as the women preferred to get the fish from the boats as they came in” (Mann 1896:48). Dade’s “great disadvantages” suggest a mean income for the family which likely influenced their settlement in Dogtown. At Dade’s death, he was listed as a laborer and his pension was paid to his widow (Ancestry.com 2018b). Mann (1896:48) argues that the Gloucester-bound English ship that Dade arrived in was the *Falcon*, the same ship that launched the deadly cannonade that killed Peter Lurvey in 1775. If so, one can only imagine the strained relations between the Lurvey and Dade households.

The man for whom Peter Lurvey was mistaken in Hiram Rich’s poem, “Morgan Stanwood,” also lived in Dogtown after the Revolution, although Stanwood “never went to the wars, so those who knew him as Captain Morgan Stanwood made a mistake if they thought the title a military one” (Mann 1896:63). John Morgan Stanwood, the son of Nehemiah Stanwood, set up his home and business at the west end of Commons Road after moving out from under his family’s roof at the Stanwood-Stanley House (S).

¹⁵ Babson and Saville (1936:37) state that Lurvey’s body was eventually recovered and buried in “the Arlington Cemetery.”

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The **John Morgan Stanwood House Site (30) (post-1741, contributing site)** and the **Stanwood Cobbler Shop Site (29) (post-1741, contributing site)** are now submerged under Goose Cove Reservoir but likely would have been highly visible landmarks when “Johnny Morgan” and his wife, Mary (Lurvey) Stanwood, lived there with their brood of “many children” (Mann 1896:64). Neither building was constructed by “Granther” Stanwood (another of his nicknames), but he is by far their most well-known occupant. In addition to cobbling, Stanwood apparently practiced “itinerant dentistry” among his Dogtown neighbors, the most famous being Thomasine (Tammy) Younger (1753–1829), “The Queen of the Witches” (Copeland and Rogers 1960:42; Essex Antiquarian Society 1897).

Tammy, “who was in every characteristic a type of the women of fragrant reputations, who are usually termed Dogtown widows” (CAM Scrapbook n.d.), lived on Fox Hill about 1 mile southwest of Dogtown Square. Tammy’s checkered reputation seems to have originated in her indifferent approach to hygiene and her “large and too expressive vocabulary” which she used to great effect in cursing (and some claim bewitching) passing wagons that refused to pay her a “toll” before crossing the bridge near her house. This toll usually took the form of firewood or food, as Tammy’s only other source of income was selling butter and blueberries and begging for fish at the harbor. As the story goes, Tammy was complaining—no doubt in colorful language—that her canine teeth had become terribly infected and painful. Stanwood offered to extract them for her, but instead pulled them only partially out, claiming they were too obstinate to pull out completely and leaving Tammy with a decidedly feral appearance (Copeland and Rogers 1960:42). After several days of consideration and a torrent of verbal abuse, it appears Tammy finally persuaded Stanwood to finish the job.

Tammy’s identification as a “witch” by her neighbors was a convenient trope assigned to women of lower socioeconomic status and “questionable” moral compunctions. Her penchant for entertaining buccaneers and “other lawless men” in her house with fortune-telling, cards, and “other amusements” certainly did nothing to diminish her witchy reputation, and it’s unclear if she would have wanted it diminished. Her practice of extortion-through-sorcery among the passing drovers was an important source of food and fuel for Tammy, who otherwise had no larger family network to support her. As Babson (1927:16) presciently commented,

Tammy had great courage and apparently remarkable executive ability. In fact, a study of the witch problem indicates that these so-called witches were merely people of marked individuality, determination, with ability to get others to do what they wished them to do. Today these same people would be leaders in political gatherings, labor movements, and various reforms. They might even become captains of industry. A common opportunity, existing in those days to show such ability in a little village, consisted in witchery, so-called.

Tammy, however, was by no means the only woman in the area credited as a witch. Judith Ryon, known locally as Judy Rhines, lived at the **Hilton-Rhines House Site (R,T) (pre-1741, contributing site)** and was connected to the Riggs family through Elizabeth Tucker, granddaughter of Thomas Riggs. Tucker’s father, William Hilton, built the Hilton-Rhines House at what is now the east side of Goose Cove Reservoir before 1741, and it eventually came down to Elizabeth through inheritance. Described as a “double cellar supporting two houses” (Carlotto 2015:57; Mann 1896:59), the ruins have not been definitively identified and may be submerged under the reservoir. Rhines was Elizabeth Tucker’s niece, and as a young woman moved in with her aunt.

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Born in Gloucester in 1771, Judy Rhines was a “tall, rawboned woman, who had great courage” (Mann 1896:60) and who led a life in many ways as precarious as Tammy Younger’s. Unlike Tammy, Judy is reported to have “had many friends,” but at the same time, “if she told a person approaching her house to stand still, they would not move any nearer” (Mann 1896:60). This seemingly formidable reputation may have led some (but by no means all) people to call her a witch. That attribution, however, may have also derived from her association with Cornelius Finson, also known as Black Neil, who lived with her for many years at her Dogtown home. Various descriptions of Finson as a clerk for Annisquam fisherman or a hog butcherer, Finson remained in Rhines’ house after her death in 1830. Some writers have imagined a romantic connection between Finson and Rhines (Diamant 2005), which if true would have amplified Rhines’ conflicted social standing.

Clarifying the timeline for Rhines’ death and the duration of Finson’s tenure at her house after her death is important, as Finson is consistently cited as the last person “living” in Dogtown. In his history of Dogtown, Mann (1896:60–61) writes that Rhines “was living in 1830, nine years before the death of her colored friend ‘Neil’ Finson,” which would place Finson’s death in 1839. However, earlier in his book, Mann wrote, “long after Judy Rhines was dead he (Finson) lingered around her house, until its walls fell in, when he sought refuge in the cellar. From this, cold, dirty, half-starved, and shaking with the combined infirmity of old age and fright, he was taken *on a bitter day in winter, 1830*, by Constable William Tucker of Riverdale. and carried off to the almshouse... Within seven days Neil was dead” (Mann 1896:51). This points to 1830 as the latest occupation date for Dogtown, a date circumstantially confirmed by Mason’s (1831) that illustrates Dogtown as completely empty of any houses.

The 1830 U.S. Census lists “Jeda Ryon,” a woman between the ages of 50 and 59, living by herself in Gloucester in that year, bracketed on either side by her neighbors Rebecca Elwell and John M. Stanwood (Ancestry.com 2018c). This person is almost certainly Judy Rhines. The poorhouse records for Gloucester report the death of Cornelius Finson on February 7, 1839, at the age of 64 (Ancestry.com 2018d). These combined documents indicate that Judy Rhines was alive, but possibly not well, in 1830 and that she may have died shortly after the census. Finson then continued to live at her house for the better part of a decade as the last resident of Dogtown until his death in 1839.

In addition to suspected witches, Dogtown was home to less supernatural but equally socially complicated individuals. Mollie Jacobs, born in 1763 in Sandy Bay, lived on Dogtown Road in a house possibly built in 1766 by a “sojourner” named Bishop Stanley. The **Mollie Jacobs House Site (19) (1766, contributing site)** was occupied by Mollie and two “unfortunate companions” (Mann 1896:57), Sarah Phipps and “Mrs. Stanley.” While never directly stated, the language used to describe all three women—but especially Mollie—strongly suggests that they were prostitutes. Mann (1896:45) remarks, “No traditions, except those of a rather unsavory reputation, remain of Molly,” and Babson and Saville (1936:29) go so far as to say that the women were responsible for Dogtown’s reputation as “the ‘red light’ district of Cape Ann.”

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At some point Mollie, Sarah, and Mrs. Stanley pulled up stakes from Dogtown Road and moved into the Stanwood-Stanley House on Commons Road. The women were looked after by Sam Maskey, also known as Sammy Stanley, who was purportedly Mrs. Stanley's grandson (Figure 3). Maskey was raised as a girl and, in addition to wearing a "handkerchief tied over his head" while doing housework, may also have dressed as a woman, although sources conflict on this point. Whatever his attire, after the three women were committed to the poorhouse, Sam moved to Rockport where he worked as a "washerwoman," and eventually saved enough money to become a major stockholder in the Sandy Bay cotton mill (Copeland and Rogers 1960:40).



Figure 3. Undated photograph of Sam Maskey (Stanley) (source: Sandy Bay Historical Society Archives).

Another unconventional figure in early nineteenth-century Gloucester was Old Ruth, who added to Dogtown's reputation as a refuge for outcasts. Living on the second floor or attic of Easter Carter's house, Ruth was alleged to be a freed slave who built many of the stone walls in the area. In addition to her exotic provenance and trade, Ruth dressed solely in men's clothing so that she was equally well known as John Woodman. A solitary person by nature, in her old age she would be committed to Gloucester's poorhouse where she would die alone, forced into women's attire.



Figure 4. Ca. 1925 photograph of the Colonel William Pearce cellar hole (23) ruins (source: Herman W. Spooner Collection, Cape Ann Museum).

The decline of the Commons Settlement to Dogtown from the last quarter of the eighteenth century to the first quarter of the nineteenth century was dramatic but not entirely uniform. The scoured landscape, while impossible to farm, provided excellent pasturage, especially for sheep. The **Colonel William Pearce House (23) (post-1741, contributing site)** at the far eastern end of Dogtown Road was home, for a time, to one of the wealthiest merchants in Gloucester and site of the finest house and farm in Dogtown (Copeland and Rogers 1961:51) (Figure 4). William Pearce was born in Gloucester in 1752 and was descended from one of the original 1688 land grantees from where his land in Dogtown originated. Owning multiple properties across Cape Ann, Pearce's sheep farm provided an inland retreat during the War of 1812, although British soldiers did make off

with "two fat sheep" from his farm after unsuccessfully trying to track Pearce to his Dogtown home (Copeland and Rogers 1960:161).

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Abraham Wharf also kept sheep, although he did not prosper to nearly the same extent as Colonel Pearce. Whether financial hardships played into his 1814 suicide is unknown, but his death may have come as quite a shock to his neighbors, among whom he seems to have been well regarded. It also seems to have signaled the permanent downward trajectory of Dogtown to abandonment as its increasingly aged and poverty-stricken residents died, moved away to live with family in town, or, all too commonly, were sent to the poorhouse. By 1814, only 6 of the original 40 or so houses were still left standing (Babson 1927:5).

Cornelius Finson's removal from the Hilton-Rhines cellar hole in February 1839 marked the end of residential occupancy in Dogtown, but several dilapidated buildings were still standing at that time. Mann (1896:57–58) writes that sometime during the first half of the nineteenth century, the ruined Stanwood-Stanley House on Commons Road was taken apart by Isaac and Reuben Day and reconstructed near the intersection of Washington and Reynard streets. The other houses within Dogtown did not enjoy the same gentle fate. Mann (1896:43–44) claims that the James Demerit House (15A) (which he attributes to Annie Carter, Easter Carter's niece) was the last house standing, while Tingley notes on his 1901 map that the Wilson-Priestly House (12)—last occupied by a spry old man named Philip Priestly in the early nineteenth century—was the final house taken down. Neither Mann nor Tingley, unfortunately, provides dates for their claims. Babson (1927:5), however, writes that the last of the Dogtown houses was torn down in 1845, which for lack of better documentation seems a reasonable date.

Tammy Younger, Judy Rhines, and Cornelius Finson illustrate the physical and social danger of deeply eroded or non-existent community networks in a world where those networks were critically important, especially for the elderly. However, not all of the people in Dogtown, even those with outsized or “peculiar” reputations, were so abandoned in their later years. Easter Carter, for example, is said to have had many friends and “was killed by kindness” when she moved out of Dogtown to the Harbor and was exposed to an unaccustomed luxurious diet (Mann 1898). Cross-dressing Sam Maskey, despite his Dogtown associations, went on to some degree of wealth and comfort in Rockport as an investor in a Rockport cotton mill. These people, though, were the lucky ones.

Gone But Not Forgotten: Mythologizing the Marginalized (1845–1925)

After its abandonment, the folklore of Dogtown began to take shape. The first account of Dogtown as a “ghost town” of sorts dates to an 1846 *Boston Post* article – printed less than a year after the last house in the village was demolished – and contains all of the quasi-historical and anecdotal elements that would come to define the place over the following century

Dogtown was the earliest settled, and for a long lime the most populous part of the Cape. The reason why the inhabitants preferred this wild and barren retreat to a home nearer the sea shore, it is said, was because in the old war times it was harder to be found, and less accessible to enemies. The men who once lived there were nearly all engaged in the fisheries and in the old French and revolutionary wars enlisted to serve in them, and but a few of whom ever returned to their homes. Fifty years ago there was scarcely any one left but “widders,” who finally all “died out.” Many of these “widders” were thought to be witches, and indeed they couldn't have been anything “else,” if half the wonderful stories told of them be true.

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The place for many years has been entirely deserted, and all that remains of its former life and glory, is to be found in its old half filled up cellars, and here and there a few remnants of stone wall. It is a rough and dreary spot, of several hundred acres in extent, almost entirely covered with rocks, with hardly a shrub or tree to be seen. For utter loneliness, there is no spot like it short of the top of Mount Washington when enveloped in clouds Except now and then a solitary crow — which is actually believed by some to be the new form witch the old witches assumed after death — not a living thing could be discovered.

The author goes on to recount colorful stories about the “witch widders” of Dogtown, including those about Tammy Younger and Judy Rhimes, and concludes with a discussion of one of “the ‘lions’ of the place,” Whale’s Jaw.

Dogtown’s marginal landscape was an ideal setting for the colorful narratives surrounding Dogtown’s marginalized population. While Martin (2011) argues that the overgrown landscape contributes to the “naturally” spooky mood of the place, earlier accounts suggest just the opposite – that it was the scoured uplands, especially at night, that reflected the imputed desperation and deviance of Dogtown’s former inhabitants.

Dogtown’s “feral” landscape of slaving dog packs, rampaging bulls, marauding pirates, and “gray waste(s) of boulders” was also applied to the characters of its former inhabitants. A good example of this are the consistent stories about Tammy Younger’s oversized canines (see narrative above), a physical trait that also is attributed to Judy Rhimes and Cornelius Finson (Mann 1896). An implicit wildness and “animality” associated with that peculiar dentition is ascribed to three of Dogtown’s most memorable occupants (Martin 2011:113), ignoring entirely that Finson was a literate and skilled bookkeeper in Annisquam before coming to the village and Rhimes was well-regarded, if somewhat fearsome, presence. In that sense, the racial and gender overtones of their physical descriptions, much like that of the witchcraft accusations, cannot be overlooked.

In her dissertation about Dogtown, Elizabeth Martin (2011:31–32) argues that the alternately wry, gruesome, and scary folklore that grew up around the abandoned village of Dogtown was the product of a “nervous archive” of highly repetitive stories designed to neutralize or mythologize uncomfortable or frightening aspects of the past (Hall 2000:119). Dogtown was—and to a large extent still is—a story cobbled together from incomplete colonial and state records; old maps; sensational legends and lore conflated from real people and events; and competing claims to the use—and misuse—of the “natural” landscape. For all these competing perspectives, the histories of Dogtown are highly redundant, with most borrowing in part or wholesale from Babson’s (1860) *History of the Town of Gloucester* and Mann’s (1896) *In the Heart of Cape Ann or The Story of Dogtown*. With this redundancy, paradoxically, comes a great number of contradictions. As Mann himself noted two years after the publication of his book, “Accuracy is a very desirable element in all historical works, but in the Dogtown book it was difficult to be accurate when so many of those who could furnish reliable information were dead, and where the living disagreed so positively on certain points” (Mann 1898).

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But in the case of Dogtown, accuracy could prove an uncomfortable proposition. The abject social and economic disenfranchisement of most of those living in Dogtown in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and first quarter of the nineteenth century was the product of a fundamentally different economy and worldview than that of previous generations. As traditional family networks eroded, and new transportation networks bypassed Dogtown, those who lived there were excluded from the fish and granite economies, and as such were considered failures within the norms of “productive” society. The plight of the village, however, had to be rationalized as a failure of character rather than the vagaries of circumstance, so stories about the Dogtowners’ moral degeneracy took hold in the form of uncomplicated and easily digestible folklore.

The historical context of many of these stories is as instructive as the stories themselves. While many of the Dogtown tales originated at least as early as the mid nineteenth century, it was Mann’s (1896) and Babson and Saville’s (1936) books and Percy MacKaye’s (1921) poem, *Dogtown Common*, that formalized them into a cohesive narrative that would be cited and repeated for the next 100 years. All three narratives were written by men from wealthy Cape Ann families and were written during the Colonial Revival era, a period that some scholars argue was designed by word and action to “whiten” the New England landscape by placing non-white populations outside of the rest of society, both physically and historically (Melish 1998; Paynter 2001). Many of the Colonial Revival narratives about America’s past – and certainly those written by Roger Babson – emphasized the uncompromising self-sufficiency of the region’s earliest farmers and fishermen. In this context, Dogtown emerges as a “morality play” writ large.

But as Martin points out, true self-sufficiency was never really an aspect of early colonial farming despite its absence from any critical analysis of the pre-capitalist market economy in New England. Drawing from historian Winifred Rothenberg’s 1981 article *The Market and Massachusetts Farmers, 1750–1855*, she writes that a market mentality existed as logically as networks of regional exchange and trade, and that “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” (Rothenberg 1981:312 as quoted in Martin 2011:89–90).

The relationship between Cape Ann’s coastal fisheries and interior farms and mills during the seventeenth century provides a good example of this interconnectedness (**see Criterion A – Exploration and Settlement**). When viewed through this lens, Dogtown may best be viewed as a “forced retreat into self-sufficiency” (Rothenberg 1981:313) accomplished, however meagerly, through berry picking, begging on the wharves, reading fortunes, or prostitution by those who lived there, and made anodyne through funny or tragic cautionary tales by those who didn’t.

CRITERION A – SOCIAL HISTORY

The Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District is significant under Criterion A in the area of Social History for its association with the philanthropic efforts of Roger Babson including the carved boulders and marker stones in and around Dogtown, the donation of more than a thousand acres of land for the construction of the Babson Reservoir, and the creation of the James Babson Museum as a public museum.

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Roger Babson (1875–1967) was a member of the tenth generation of the Babson family to be born and raised on Cape Ann. Son of Nathaniel Babson, who owned a dry goods store at Gloucester Harbor, Roger graduated from MIT in 1898 and began work at a Boston investment firm where he learned about securities. When his too pointed questions about how the firm was handling its clients' money got him fired, he set up his own business selling bonds in New York City and then Worcester before returning to Boston in 1900 to work for a different investment house (Kenyon 1982). That same year he married Grace Margaret Knight, a Gloucester native and graduate of Mount Holyoke College. Roger Babson would later quip in his autobiography, *Actions and Reactions*, that he was attracted to Grace because "instead of telling me how wonderful she was, she let me tell her how wonderful I was" (Babson 1935:74).

The title of Babson's autobiography is a direct reference to Newton's third law of motion "for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction," a principle he learned at MIT and incorporated into nearly element of his personal and business life. While recuperating from tuberculosis under his wife's care at their home in Wellesley, Massachusetts, Babson began independent analyses of stock trends, which at that time were redundantly forecast by a group of statisticians who duplicated each other's work. Published under the business name of Babson's Statistical Organization, a major component of Babson's analyses was the questionable idea that gravity was responsible, in part, for market fluctuations, and that if the market could be shielded from that force it would become more stable and predictable. This notion led him to found the Gravity Research Foundation in New Boston, New Hampshire in 1948 (Elan 1950). Babson was one of the few people to accurately predict the catastrophic Wall Street Crash of 1929 and, in doing so, protect the sizable profits generated through his company (Babson College 2018).

Like other extremely wealthy men of his generation such as Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, Babson believed strongly in public philanthropy, especially when it could be used toward intellectually or morally edifying ends. Babson believed it was his duty to share his business expertise with young people, and in that spirit he founded Babson College in 1919 to provide practical business instruction for men. This impulse originated while Babson was an engineering student at MIT, where he encouraged a professor to develop a "business engineering" curriculum, an idea that later would develop into what we now know as Masters of Business Administration programs (Mulkern 1995). In 1927, he established Webber College, a business school for women that offered similar courses to those of Babson College. His investments were directed toward businesses developing products to improve public health and safety, including manufacturers of sanitary paper towels and other hygienic products, fire alarm call boxes, fire sprinklers, and traffic signals.

Babson believed that personality traits were hereditary. While there is some biological logic to that perspective, Babson took it further and claimed that one could "choose" one's ancestors and his or her heritable personality traits through careful genealogical study:

I tell students... there are three really important days in their lives-namely (1) the day when they select their ancestors; (2) the day when they select their wives or husbands; and (3) the day when they select their life vocations. Of all these days, the first-when they select their ancestors-is the most important, even though they have the least to do with it. It always makes me cross to hear people referred to as "illegitimate" children. Certainly it is not the fault of the children; they are legitimate enough. The criticism, if any is due, should be directed against their ancestors. The truth is that a real autobiography should be started many generations back, but publishers will not stand for it. (Babson 1935:1).

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Babson's indignation at the idea of illegitimacy no doubt stemmed from historical whispers surrounding the parentage of his beloved ancestor, James Babson, the seventeenth-century cooper of Gloucester. James' mother, Isabel, was a practicing midwife and claimed to have lost her husband (and James' father) during the ocean crossing from England. Evidently not everyone bought this explanation, and rumors of James Babson "the bastard" dogged the family.

Whatever the truth of the rumor, Roger Babson attempted to deflect the implicit criticism by claiming that a person could cherry-pick desirable personality traits from the family tree (e.g. thrift, industry, optimism, cheerfulness), but only after that family tree had been carefully and selectively pruned. There is a palpable current of eugenicism¹⁶ underlying Babson's claim, particularly when he goes on to write:

Not only does one's own health, success, and happiness depend largely on getting mated properly, but his or her greatest responsibility to mankind depends on this likewise. I mean by this that our greatest responsibility is not feeding, clothing, and sheltering ourselves; it is not the making of a name or reputation; it is rather the conceiving of children. When we bring a child into the world we not only determine its fate, but also the fate of thousands of descendants (1935:2-3).

However unsavory the social implications of Babson's philosophy may have been, it manifested itself in a deep historical interest in the developmental trajectory of Cape Ann in general and Dogtown in particular:

...it should be remembered that its (Dogtown's) real history was not that from 1750 to the present time, concerning which so much has been written, but rather from 1650 when the first house was built, to 1750 when it was a thriving community settled by fine people (Babson 1927:3).

This statement is important as it reflects Babson's deep-seated beliefs about the "definite economic cycle" of improvement, prosperity, decline, and depression that dictated the evolving successes and failures of society.

Certainly the superstitions and traditions connected with the widows and witches, who last inhabited the village, are not sufficient to keep alive the memories. As literature must contain sound philosophy in order to survive thru (sic) the ages, so the present interest in Dogtown must be based upon something worthwhile. Frankly, I believe the "something" to be the economic lesson which Dogtown teaches (Babson 1927:18)

Babson and His Boulders

During the Depression, the granite quarries to the north and east of Dogtown were all but closed, leaving stone cutters, many of whom had immigrated from Finland, out of work. Babson hired 36 Finnish stone carvers to help him enact an "educational" project, which had the goal of providing something for young people hiking around Dogtown to see something other than "advertisements to smoke certain brands of cigarets [sic] and to use certain soaps to return that schoolgirl complexion" (quoted in Carlotto 2012:57).

¹⁶ The eugenics movement, which espoused the "improvement" of the human species through selective breeding, gained currency in the United States in the early twentieth century (Cohen 2016).

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Part of Babson's plan was to record the former locations of the Dogtown houses by carving sequentially-assigned numbers into adjacent stones that corresponded to known occupants (Babson Marker Stones). Babson's project initially started with wooden posts marked with numbers for each cellar hole, but those were knocked down by grazing cattle, prompting Babson to have new, permanent markers carved in stone (East 2009:151).

Not long after the completion of the Babson Marker Stones, Babson and Foster Saville published a *Tourist Guide to Cape Ann* (1936) and marked the stones on their Dogtown map showing the locations, and listing the former occupants, of the houses as deduced from historical research and local memory (Figure 5). Beyond the markers adjacent to the cellar holes were a small number of descriptive or locational markers: "Moraine," "D.T. Square," and "To Rockport."

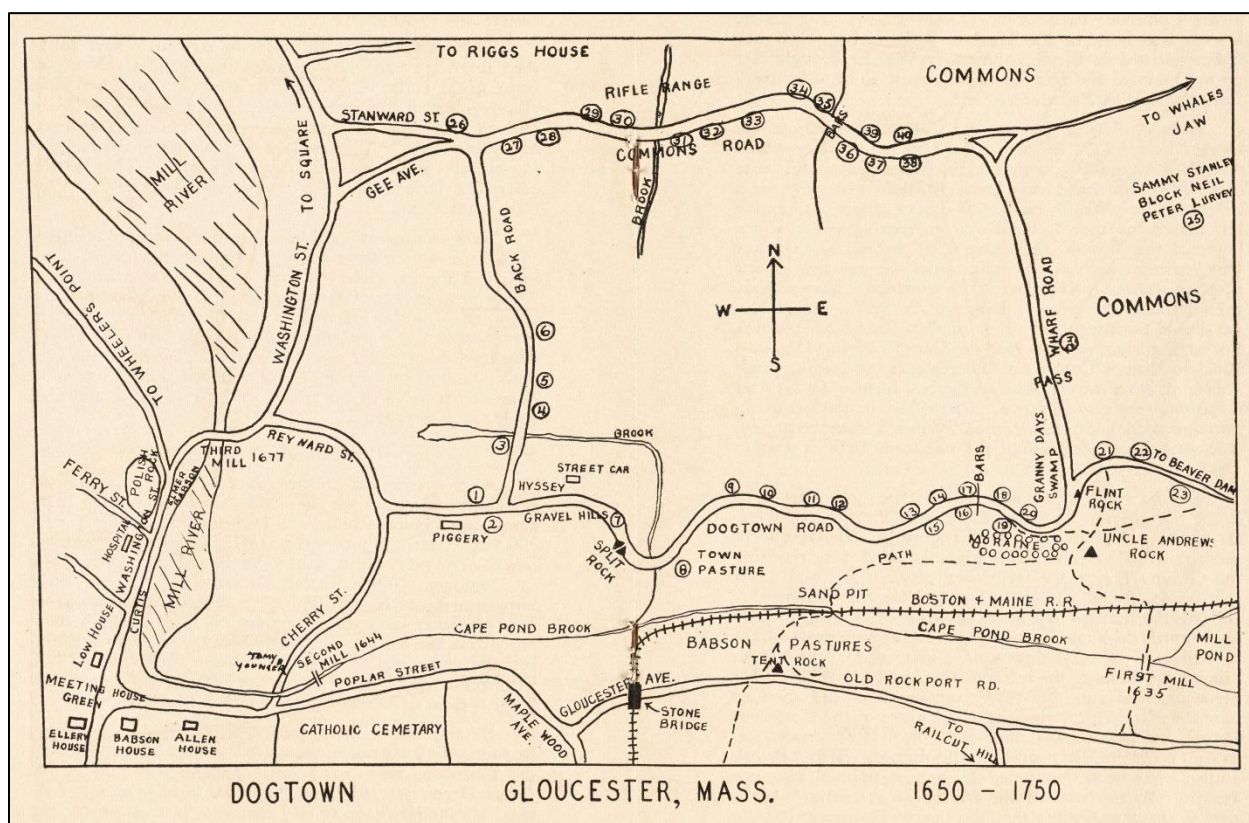


Figure 5. Babson and Saville's 1936 map of Dogtown with numbered cellar holes (Babson and Saville 1936).

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At the same time he commissioned the marker stones, Babson also decided to have “inspirational” sayings inscribed onto the enormous glacial erratics scattered across the open landscape. While he had earlier expressed outrage that Peter’s Pulpit’ “ha[d] been desecrated by a sign painted by some fanatic” (Babson 1927:12), he had no personal compunction about carving stones for what he believed was an educational purpose. His 26 **Babson Boulders (1930s, GLO.964, contributing object)** are strung out along the **Babson Boulder Trail (1930s, 1930s, contributing structure)** (which follows portions of the former alignment of the Old Road to Gloucester [System of Secondary Roads], Parting Path (System of Secondary Roads), and the eastern end of what remains of Dogtown Road. In a 1932 speech at the **Babson Reservoir (1930, GLO.962, contributing structure)**, Babson addressed the carvings by stating, “I have typified this section as a warning to future generations by carving on a boulder at the extreme northeastern end of this sanctuary and watershed these words, ‘When Work Ceases Values Decay’ [sic]” (*Daily Boston Globe* 1932). Babson was so pleased with his project that he thought that “many other cities which happened to be blessed with boulders will likewise adopt [the practice] and make it a part of their educational system (quoted in East 2009:151).

Many of the boulders are clearly visible from the **System of Walking Trails (20th century, GLO.960/RCP.917, contributing structure)**, while others are tucked farther back along overgrown paths primarily on the north side of the Parting Path and Moraine Trail. All of them would have been highly visible on the open landscape of Babson’s day. The mottos range from inspirational (e.g. “Be True” and “Never Try Never Win”), to hectoring (“e.g. “Get a Job,” “Use Your Head, and “Keep Out Of Debt”), to didactic (“If Work Stops Values Decay” and “Prosperity Follows Service”). The phrases were selected from Babson’s “Good Cheer” library, a collection of self-help and inspirational books (East 2009:151). Babson also may have been giving a sly wink to a popular Dogtown story with his carving of the “Never Try Never Win” boulder just beyond the Merry Boulders, which mark the site of the fatal goring of James Merry, the “Matador of Gloucester” (see **Criterion A – Recreation**). Various carving styles are evident across the many stones, and several of the boulders have “chipped out” backgrounds suggesting, perhaps, different training and preferences among the carvers (Gage 2012:9).

Over his lifetime, Roger Babson wrote 47 books on topics as diverse business, education, health, industry, politics, religion, social conditions, and travel, with the primary message underlying each that individuals and society could and should change for the better (Babson College 2012). By his own admission, the Babson Boulders were his attempt to “write a simple book with words carved in stone instead of printed on paper,” in a place that was source of joy for him in his childhood and one of his many “hobbies” in his adult years (Babson 1935:247, 255). Babson conceded, however, that his project was not without its detractors:

My family says that I am defacing the boulders and disgracing the family with these inscriptions, but the work gives me a lot of satisfaction, fresh air, exercise and sunshine.
(Babson 1935:255)

It wasn’t only Babson’s family who thought he was defacing the boulders. Mrs. Leila Webster Adams, a descendant of another early and prominent Gloucester family, became deeply and vocally annoyed when Babson wandered onto her property one day looking for another likely prospect. An interview, printed in the *Boston Herald* on July 8, 1935, entertainingly describes her perspective:

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The Babsonian message... which Mrs. Adams... said caused her to reach the point of exasperation, reads "Prosperity Follows Service." Mrs. Adams feels prosperity does not always follow service... While Mrs. Adams declined to discuss the merit of the Babson maxims, she expressed the opinion that many of them are not within keeping of the spirit of the times. She explained the word "propaganda" summed up the carvings.

Babson and His Reservoir

During the same period that boulders across the south-facing slope below Dogtown Square were being carved with inspirational mottos, Cape Ann was experiencing a water crisis. For many years water was pumped to Gloucester and Rockport from off-Cape reservoirs under the Annisquam River in West Gloucester. In 1930, the main water line ruptured and left the Cape without a reliable public fresh water source. To solve the problem, Gloucester resolved to dam Alewife Brook and create its own reservoir. Damming the brook would not be a problem; all but one the historical dams along its length were long removed, and the one surviving dam at the Alewife Brook Mill Site (ca. 1642/1652, contributing site) could be easily dismantled. What was a problem, however, was land; Gloucester needed to purchase large swaths of it surrounding Alewife Brook to accommodate the reservoir pool and allow for a sufficiently large and protected watershed.

As it happened, the Babson family owned just such large swaths of land in the center of Cape Ann. Although Roger Babson was told that he could sell his acreage at a healthy profit, when he found out that one of his former MIT instructors, Professor Spofford, was in charge of the engineering, he decided to gift the land under the condition the reservoir bear his family name (Babson 1935:40). In 1930, Roger and his cousin Gustavus Babson offered 1,100 acres in Gloucester and Rockport to the City of Gloucester so that reservoir construction could begin; the acreage in Gloucester was fully gifted while the Rockport land – owned by Gustavus, who presumably did not have the same personal ties to Spofford, was “sold for a very reasonable amount” (Babson and Saville 1936:43). One condition of the gift was that Babson’s stone carving project be allowed to proceed without interruption, and the cellar holes of Dogtown be left intact. Another important condition was “*that the deeds provide that the property shall always be kept as a Public Park for the free use of all inhabitants of Cape Ann (italics original),*” a condition that is elaborated on the plaque at the entry to gates to the dam (Babson and Saville 1936:43).

The city purchased additional land north, east, and west of the Babson land gift, and construction for the Babson Reservoir, including the **Babson Reservoir Earth and Concrete Dam (1930, GLO.968, contributing structure)**, began almost immediately with a force of 200 crewmen and was finished in six months (East 2009:153; Myott 1932). One of the crewmen was 20-year-old Charles Olson, home on summer vacation from his studies at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut. Olson and others were allegedly fired due to labor unrest; the event would be included in Olson’s magnum opus, *The Maximus Poems* (East 2009:153). The **Babson Reservoir Dam Control Building (1930, contributing building)**, and **Babson Reservoir Pump House (1930, Contributing building)** were likewise completed in 1930. Once finished, the Reservoir itself was nearly a mile long with a capacity of 200 million gallons (Myott 1932).

At a 1932 ceremony unveiling the bronze tablets affixed to the **Babson Reservoir Stone Walls and Entry Gates (1930, contributing structure)**, Babson addressed the proximity of the Babson Boulders to the reservoir itself, stating:

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Let me say that no one need fear that the beauty of these 1100 acres will be marred by these carvings, which are now confined to an area of 20 acres, leaving more than 1000 acres, where my aesthetic friends can remain out of sight of this modest educational experiment (Daily Boston Globe 1932).

In the mid-1930s, a low stone dike, called the **Briar Swamp Dam (mid-1930s, RCP.920, contributing structure)**, was constructed by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) across the south end of Briar Swamp at the east edge of Dogtown. Water flowed from Briar Swamp to the Babson Reservoir via Wine Brook, so named because of the iron oxide in the water. The dam was constructed in an attempt to prevent the discolored water from flowing into the reservoir, and in turn, into the homes of Gloucester where it was staining laundry, among other issues (Berg and Schuler 2007).

The construction of Babson Reservoir is important not just as an illustration of Roger Babson's civic philanthropy, but for its role in preserving thousands of acres of the Dogtown Landscape in perpetuity. But for strict deed and development restrictions associated with the reservoir's surrounding watershed, it is highly unlikely that much land so close to Boston would have survived as open space into the twenty-first century. The creation of Goose Cove Reservoir in 1963, while effectively cutting Commons Road in half and submerging several Dogtown cellar holes, protected more land to the northwest, but it is the Babson Reservoir that represents the baseline public works initiative that would preserve Dogtown as a cohesive landscape.

Babson and His Museum

The historic preservation movement in the United States emerged during the nineteenth century as an outgrowth of a burgeoning sense of American national identity and a growing appreciation of historic buildings as tangible links to the past. This concern with the past led many wealthy citizens to save buildings from demolition and to stabilize, restore, and use them as continuing historical and cultural assets for the public's benefit. In the first decade of the twentieth century, preservation efforts organized by New England elite gained momentum at the same time that the federal government was beginning to recognize the importance of historic resources. The region's most important preservation organization was the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA, now Historic New England), founded in Boston by William Sumner Appleton in 1910 on the model of the English Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. Appleton preferred documentation and preservation over restoration and purchased historic buildings that he and others deemed important for their representation of traditional aspects of colonial architecture. Appleton, who attended architectural classes at Harvard in 1906, consulted with well-known architects who used scientific methods in their approach to the restoration of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century buildings. From 1910 to 1940, the SPNEA acquired more than 40 buildings and developed one of the first networks of historic house museums in the country (Lindgren 1995:3, 8, 41, 69; 2004:118; Murphy 1998:47; Murtagh 1997:80; Scofield et al. 2014).

The Colonial Revival movement was a significant expression of the larger historic preservation movement and an explicit response by American elite to the perceived cultural and political instability caused by mass immigration, especially from southern Europe. With roots in the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia where colonial lifeways and building types were prominently featured, the movement offered a narrative of "simpler" times as an idealized counterpoint to an increasingly complex and culturally heterogeneous industrial society.

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The movement was multifaceted, spawning national patriotic organizations such as the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution and the Mayflower Society and numerous smaller groups dedicated to commemorating historic persons and events or preserving Colonial-period buildings (Pineo 2013:13). Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century preservation efforts in the greater Boston area illustrated the philosophical and aesthetic influence of the Colonial Revival movement and provided a way to negotiate the social and political tensions generated by the competing paradigms of tradition and progress (Scofield et al. 2014).

Heritage and house museums provided a public venue for upper class members of society to demonstrate the inexorable march of progress toward a better future. Proponents of these museums believed the buildings and artifacts conveyed three ideas: aesthetics, individualism, and technological progress (Pineo 2013:15; Hosmer 1965:137, 141; Ettema 1987:66). Individualism, in particular, may have been a focus of Babson, with its emphasis on self-reliance, courage, and simplicity (Ettema 1987:67–68). Another influence may have been the 1930 celebrations of the Massachusetts Bay Colony tercentenary across the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The celebrations across the Commonwealth included pageants, parades, and historical reconstructions, one of which was in nearby Salem, the Pioneer Village (MHC No. SAL.GM) (Glassberg 1987:974).

Roger Babson's staunch belief in the value of carefully selecting one's ancestors was coupled with an equally staunch belief in the value of hard work as the antidote to all social and economic ills. Babson believed that the crisis suffered by America during the Great Depression could be remedied by a national recommitment to the "industry, thrift, hardiness, and courage" and "self-sacrifice" that formed the backbone of colonial society (Babson 1935:ix, 328–330). This sentiment was most clearly expressed in the *Tourist Guide of Cape Ann* (Babson and Saville 1936:47), and is worth quoting in its entirety:

Cape Ann Stands for rugged individualism. Its people were always workers. They received no help from England or the General Court. They were hardy, courageous and self-reliant. Their only natural advantages were rocks, trees and salt water. Of these they made the best without help from friend or foe. We mention this because these same natural advantages exist now on practically the same terms. There is less reason for any family freezing or starving today on Cape Ann even without any aid than there was three hundred years ago. Besides, those here today have good roads, free schools, police protection and a host of other advantages of which the early pioneers did not dream. Like it or not, the simple truth is that our people today lack spiritual resources rather than material opportunities.

Later known as the "Mayor of Dogtown" (Parsons 1963), Babson had these sentiments carved in stone across the Dogtown Landscape, but also honored them in his purchase and "restoration" of James Babson's cooperage property in Rockport. For Babson, the historical embodiment of "rugged individualism" could be found in his earliest family members to Gloucester, Isabel Babson and her son, James. Isabel, a "useful and beloved citizen" was rewarded for tireless midwifery in 1648 "with one of the most fertile tracts of land on Cape Ann" (Babson 1935:4). Ten years later, James would build a cooperage on that land adjacent to Old Rockport Road and, in doing so, establish "Cape Ann's First Factory" (Babson and Saville 1936:63) on what would become the **Beaver Dam Farm Site (ca. 1776, contributing site)** by the nineteenth century.

The property, which James Babson worked but never lived on, was inherited by his daughter Abigail, who had married into the Witham family. The land seems to have been productive as it was known as the time as "The Farms" or the "Farms Village" (Gott 1888:31), and it may be that the road connecting the farm to Dogtown Common, which would come to be known as the Road to Beaver Dam, was in use by that time.

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The Withams sold 20 acres of the farm to Joseph Foster in 1776, and it remained in that family until 1809 when John Manning purchased it from Foster's grandson, Nathaniel Wade, Jr (SEDRD Book 134:211; Book 331:3). The Mannings, who renamed the farm "Beaver Dam" for the huge such dam behind it on Alewife Brook, were locally prominent as mill owners, attorneys, doctors, and merchants, although they met with uneven success in the last category of employment.¹⁷ The Manning heirs sold the farm to William Schenck in 1855, at which time it had grown 182.5 acres through a series of abutting land purchases on both sides of Alewife Brook and Old Rockport Road (SEDRD Book 510/Page 220). The parcel then cycled through the Day (1868–1878), Randall (1878–1919), and Wurts-Dundas (1919–1928) families before it was acquired by Roger and Gustavus Babson between September 1928 and January 1929 (SEDRD Book 2789/Page 130; Book 2791/Page 32).

Babson and Saville remark that "originally only the present old stone cooperage shop existed," followed by a stone barn with a keystone bearing the inscription BEAVER DAM 1832; the keystone has since been incorporated into the stone wall in front of the museum (Babson and Saville 1936:62–63). A ca. 1900 photograph of the "Foster-Manning-Beaver-Dam Farm" shows the Nugents, the last family to live on the property, standing in front of the stone building, which is flanked on either side by wood frame buildings (Figure 6). A hand-written note on the photograph states that the stone cooperage was used as a "summer kitchen" at that time.



Figure 6. Ca. 1900 photograph of Beaver Dam Farm and the Nugent Family. The center ell, clad with stone, is now the James Babson Museum (courtesy Babson Historical Association, Rockport, MA).

¹⁷ Gott (1888:64) reports that "Dr. Manning (1761–1841) in early and later years engaged in commerce, both in Gloucester and here (Rockport), and made and lost much money. He said that he had lost in foreign trade forty thousand dollars, both in ships and brigs, including six hundred tons of shipping.

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Patrick Nugent (1850–1900) emigrated from Ireland and was living in Rockport by 1871. Described as “a practical farmer and a good mechanic, sturdy and thrifty,” he died suddenly at Beaver Dam on December 17, 1900. The recorded cause of death was “Erysipelas,” an infectious skin disease caused by the bacteria *Streptococcus pyogenes*, which before the age of antibiotics could prove fatal (Ancestry.com 2018e). Before his death, he was restoring the farm to its “old time appearance” and apparently was working on the barn, “not the *alleged* Babson cooper shop,” and “even the *putative* cooperage shop of James Babson on the way into (or out from Rockport) got a renovation and became a modest tourist attraction after the highway (Route 127) was opened” (Swan 1980:277, 386; italics added) (Figure 7).



Figure 7. Undated photograph of Roger Babson and his wife (?) at the “restored” James Babson cooperage.

The implicit skepticism expressed by Swan regarding the authenticity of the cooperage as restored by Babson has merit. A stone building in early seventeenth-century New England would be unusual, especially in a place like Cape Ann that could be reasonably characterized as a “frontier” environment. An abundance of wood, a scarcity of labor, and traditional English knowledge of timber-frame construction would have conspired against building anything out of stone, particularly a utilitarian rather than residential structure (Cummings 1979).

Another oddity is the lack of any mention of the building in the early deeds for the farm. The first mention of a stone structure is the “dwelling house, *stone barn*, and outbuildings” the 1868 mortgage deed between William Schenck and Abraham Day (SEDRD Book 741/Page 105),¹⁸ although it could have been grouped under the unspecified “appurtenances” cited in earlier deeds. Lastly, had James Babson build a stone cooperage in the seventeenth-century, the early historians and tourism boosters of Cape Ann would have almost certainly remarked on it if it was still standing; however, no such building is mentioned in the histories by Babson (1860, 1878), Gott (1888), or Pringle (1892), nor do any of the tourism guides mention the extant building as anything more than a quaint looking “stone structure” (Proctor Brothers 1896:61; Webber 1885:51). With his 1935 autobiography, Roger Babson was the first to claim the stone building was the original cooperage, an assertion that he and others would repeat in many subsequent publications.

¹⁸ Day would default on the mortgage and trigger several bitter years of attorneys, auctions, and frantic re-mortgaging before the farm was bought by the Randall family in 1878.

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For the reasons cited above, however, it is unlikely that the stone building that is the James Babson Museum is the seventeenth-century building used by James Babson for his cooperage. What seems more plausible is that the Federal-style (1780–1820) house shown in the ca. 1900 photograph (see **Figure 4**) was built first, and the stone building added later, likely sometime after 1830 when the granite quarries were in full swing and the material and expertise to construct it would be readily available. The stone barn, which is first mentioned in the 1868 deed for the farm and is no longer extant, was likely built at roughly the same time.

It is not clear what buildings and structures were standing when the Babsons purchased Beaver Dam Farm in the late 1920s. No archival documentation for Roger Babson’s “restoration” work at the cooperage has been identified, and no architectural or dendrochronological analysis of the structure has been conducted to establish a defensible date for its construction. At some point, however, all the buildings except for the “cooperage” were removed, and the building was “restored” to include diamond-pane leaded-glass windows and an enormous hearth. A bathroom addition was built in 1973, but otherwise the building appears to be unaltered since the 1930s.

Whatever the actual date of the “cooperage” building, its preservation was undertaken with the intention of creating a public museum, an intention that is alluded to in the April 30, 1931 deed transferring the property to the city:

That said City of Gloucester will permit said old stone house known as the James Babson House to stand upon said tract and permit an acre of land surrounding said house to be used in connection therewith, and that said City of Gloucester will accept and retain the custody of said stone house and land and allow to remain thereon such tablet or tablets as the grantors herein or either them or his or their legal representatives may desire to have placed or erected thereon from time to time; that the said house shall be accessible and open to the free use of the heirs of said Gustavus Babson, grandfather of the grantors, and of those whom they may grant said privilege, between the hours of 9 A. M. and 5 P. M. on any day during the months of June, July, August and September of each year, the key to said house to be kept at the office of the Board of Water Commissioners of the City of Gloucester and to be delivered to said persons when called for; That the said City of Gloucester will permit the grantors or their executors, administrators, trustees, heirs and devisees, in the event either desires to do so, to enter upon said land and in or about said stone house at all reasonable times to care for, improve, beautify, repair, or re-construct said house and improve said acre of land surrounding it (SEDRD Book 2883/Page 259).

Roger Babson underscored his pedagogic intent when he wrote “Both the old house in which James lived and the modern house- the home of John James Babson, the historian - have been destroyed by fire. The little stone shop, however, should continue to stand as a landmark for centuries to come” (Babson 1935:4). With that sentiment, Roger Babson was expressing the larger preservation ethos of his time and social class as manifested in the Colonial Revival movement.

CRITERION A – RECREATION

The Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District is significant under Criterion A in the area of Recreation for its association with passive and active recreational activities beginning shortly after its abandonment and continuing to the end of the period of significance and beyond.

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The final abandonment of Dogtown in the mid-nineteenth century coincided with an important industrial and commercial turning point in Cape Ann's history. As fishing took on an ever-larger role in the local economy, so too did granite quarrying, which until the early nineteenth century did not exist in any form beyond primitive ledge extraction. The first granite reportedly shipped from Cape Ann was a single millstone cut in 1800 from a ledge in Lobster Cove in Annisquam. By 1823, however, more than 500 tons of paving stone was quarried at Pigeon Cove and shipped to Boston, a delivery that spurred demand and launched a multitude of quarries and motions¹⁹ in Annisquam, Bay View, Eastern Point, Folly Cove, and Lanesville. The first large-scale quarry in Gloucester—Deep Pit on upper Revere Street—opened in 1828 (MHC 1999). Commercial quarrying grew rapidly over the next 80 years; a birds-eye view map of Pigeon Cove depicts a landscape teeming with derricks and quarry pits connected to the coastal villages and shipping wharves through a maze of interconnected roads (Walker 1884).

But this commercial boom, for all intents and purposes, bypassed Dogtown. While Dogtown Road and Commons Road likely were used as convenient passage between the quarries on the north side of the Cape to Gloucester Harbor in the south, that use merely underscored Dogtown's marginality—a shortcut through an impoverished and abandoned interior landscape to reach the prosperity of the coast. The only quarry in Dogtown was the expedient one just west of the Alewife Brook Mill Site used to build the Boston and Maine Railroad in 1861.

After its abandonment, Dogtown's "barrenness and desolateness on all sides afford(ed) a fruitful subject for the exercise of imagination" (quoted in Cape Ann Scientific and Literary Association 1923:37), one that was exercised to great effect among the local residents of Cape Ann. In addition to summarizing the folklore that would come to define it for later generations (**see Criterion A – Social History**), an 1845 *Boston Post* article makes the first, oblique reference to Dogtown as an area attraction of sorts:

Having often heard of a place called Dogtown, which is located near the centre [sic] of Cape Ann some miles from the public road, I had quite a curiosity to see it, and in company with an intelligent "old settler" familiar with its history as guide, lately paid it a visit.

In 1858, author and philosopher Henry David Thoreau walked through Cape Ann, beginning at Good Harbor Beach and proceeding east to Loblolly Cove in Rockport before turning north to Pigeon Cove and returning back east (Cape Ann Historical Association 1985:9). Once he reached Annisquam, Thoreau headed into Dogtown, noting:

We could see no house but the hills strewn with boulders, as if they had rained down, on every side, we sitting under the shelving one... When the moon rose, what had appeared like immense boulders half a mile off in the horizon now looked by contrast no larger than nutshells... against the moon's disk (Torrey 1906:179).

¹⁹ Motions were small granite extraction sites that were worked by one or two men with limited equipment.

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The next mention of Dogtown as a (reservedly) recommended place to visit occurs in John J. Babson's history of Gloucester where he wrote "the ancient cellars, the grass grown roads, and the traditions of the place, still impart a melancholy interest to the deserted hamlet" (Babson 1860:450). When Babson was writing, just 15 years after the last house was taken down in the village, Dogtown was open pasture. While it seems almost inconceivable from a modern perspective that a such huge amount of acreage would devolve back into what was essentially a "commons," ownership of the scores of Dogtown parcels was opaque at best. Had the land presented something more than a "waste of rocks" (Mann 1896:6), there may have been a more concerted effort to establish legal title. As it was, people cited the "squatter sovereignty principle" (CAM n.d.) for the lack of land titles, and the area reverted to public pasturage, home to "lowing kine, an occasional decrepit horse turned out...as a pensioner," and herds of snuffling pigs (Mann 1896:6) (Figure 8).



Figure 8. Ca. 1908 photograph of pigs in Dogtown (source: Sandy Bay Historical Society Archives).

The use of the Dogtown Landscape as pasturage had the important effect of creating and maintaining its barren, windswept aspect, and allowed for a clear view of Dogtown's abandoned cellar holes, relic road network, and walled pastures. Additional stone walls and "bars" were added to the older portions of the System of Stone Walls to contain wayward livestock, but discriminating among the seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century constructions is not easy or obvious (Babson and Saville 1936:36). It was Dogtown's "exposed" historical landscape that likely spurred the "melancholy interest" among Gloucester locals during the mid- to late-nineteenth century and encouraged fanciful storytelling about the place.

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The denuded landscape also allowed for broad views across Cape Ann – including excellent vistas to the Annisquam River and Ipswich Bay from the Stanwood-Stanley House Site (S) – and the punctuated visibility of many monumental natural stone formations. Whale’s Jaw and **Peter’s Pulpit (contributing site)**, which are physically impressive in the currently overgrown environment, would have reared up even more dramatically from the barren landscape of the mid nineteenth- through early-twentieth centuries (Babson and Saville 1936:34; Copeland and Rogers 1960:39) (Figures 9 and 10).



Figure 9. Undated archival photograph of Peter’s Pulpit (source: Sandy Bay Historical Society Archives).

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Figure 10. Undated archival photograph of Whale's Jaw (source: Sandy Bay Historical Society Archives).

One of the earliest accounts of becoming lost in Dogtown (a story that would become common as the years went on) repeatedly mentions the huge stones as false wayfinders in the dark. The anonymously-written *A Night on Dogtown Common* is a first-person account of a woman who spent a trying night in July 1868 wandering the abandoned village of Dogtown after attempting a shortcut between Gloucester Harbor and the Wheeler Schoolhouse in Annisquam. Among the many wrong turns and plunges into swamps, she remarks on the times she mistook the huge boulders for houses and, more generally, on the marvel of such enormous stones on the landscape:

For instance, three or four times I thought I saw Mr. Charles Norwood's house, and I hurried through swamp and briar to find it was large rock...

Suddenly I felt sure Mr. Hooper's House was quite near, but it was another great rock. Oh. I shall never forget those great rocks that looked like houses to me in the night...

Once it seemed as if I were near Mr. Hood's and could see his house and barn, but after hard work in reaching the dark objects I saw, I found them to be as before, immense rocks. I know not where they are, perhaps in the middle of Dogtown Common...

I came to great rocks heaped one upon another. I never saw such rocks and had no idea any such being in the woods. They seemed something like the rocks down by the seashore...

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The last two statements are especially evocative in that they could easily be referring to the Moraine immediately east of Dogtown Square that would later be commemorated by one of the Babson Marker Stones, and **Raccoon Ledges (contributing site)** just southeast of Briar Swamp. The woman's tale is interesting in that at no point does she express any real fear about being lost in Dogtown, remarking only that "I did not feel frightened at all, but very lonesome."

In 1873, renowned Transcendentalist minister Thomas Wentworth Higginson (1823–1911) compared Dogtown to John Bunyan's Christian allegory, *Pilgrim's Progress*, describing the area's "couchant monsters," "wild foot-paths," and "devious tracks" that he had spent many summers traversing (East 2009:146). Higginson was just one of many people who walked through Dogtown, hunting for orchids, berry picking, picnicking, or just enjoying the surroundings.

Another, more famous story of misadventure in Dogtown concerns James Merry, a Gloucester native who shipped off to Spain in the 1880s and returned home fancying himself a bull fighter. To impress his friends with his newfound talent, Merry staged wrestling competitions with a young bull calf in a Dogtown pasture in an odd variation of the traditional Iberian sport. Described as a strapping man of 250 pounds, Merry outmatched the bull for a time, but when the animal had grown large enough to pose a real threat, Merry seemed not to recognize the danger.

One July afternoon in front of a group of no doubt bemused onlookers, Merry's winning streak came to end when he collapsed from exhaustion after wrestling the bull for more than hour and had to be dragged from the pen before being injured. Humiliated (and possibly inebriated), Merry went to the pasture by himself several weeks later on September 18, 1892, determined to "best" the bull and prepare for the next public engagement (Fisher 1955). His wife noticed his absence later in the day, and a search party set out to see what had become of him. His wife noticed his absence later in the day, and a search party set out to see what had become of him. Charles Olson in his *Maximus Poems* (see **Criterion A – Art and Literature**) perhaps best described Merry's fate:

*The four hundred gods
of drink alone
sat with him
as he died
in pieces*

*In 400 pieces
his brain shot
the last time the bull
hit him pegged him
to the rock*

*before he tore him
to pieces*

*the night sky
looked down*

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The true story of Merry's death was far more prosaic. James Merry (or Murray) was a Maine native who came to Gloucester some time before 1850 to work as a fisherman. He married in 1856, had three sons, and left fishing to work the Gloucester docks after 1870. A large man at 6'3", he was a town constable by 1892 (the year of his demise) and reportedly was a well-liked and "productive citizen." Far from any intention of bull baiting, James Merry walked up to Dogtown on that fateful September day to pick blueberries when a roaming Jersey bull became agitated and viciously gored him. Merry, horribly injured, was found later that afternoon wedged between two rocks, where he must have died while seeking protection (Seminara 2017). Whichever version of the story one prefers to believe, Dogtown seems to have inspired the lurid over the factual, and the legend of the "Matador of Gloucester" took root. Whichever version of the story one prefers to believe, Dogtown seems to inspire the lurid over the factual, and the legend of the "Matador of Gloucester" took root. What is certain is a week after Merry's death, his neighbors Raymond Tarr and D. K. Goodwin returned to the spot he was killed and carved the **Merry Boulders (1892, GLO.965, contributing object)** reading "First Attacked" and "Jas. Merry Died Sept. 18 1892."

Merry's death during an innocuous blueberry picking expedition highlights another element of the Dogtown Landscape that was important not only to its original inhabitants but to the visitors who would flock to it after its abandonment. Low-bush, or wild, blueberries are native to North America and thrive in well-drained, gravelly soils with a surface layer of organic "duff" and minimal forest canopy, and are common in abandoned fields and succession forests (Lord 2018). These conditions are a near-perfect description of Dogtown, and indeed the area was overrun with the bushes as least as early as the first quarter of the nineteenth century when Tammy Younger, among others, harvested them for sale in Gloucester Harbor. Many Dogtown residents were reduced to berrying for subsistence, an activity the poor but "aristocratic" Easter Carter scorned with the comment "I eats no trash" (Copeland and Rogers 1960:33; Mann 1896:39).

As time passed and memories of the impoverished witches faded into folktale – aided and abetted by Mann's (1896) *The Story of Dogtown* that featured a witch streaking across its cover on a broomstick – berrying in Dogtown became a respectable recreational pastime. The abandoned roads and paths lined with blueberry bushes provided "easy pickings" during weekend family outings, a tradition that would continue well into the twentieth century (McLane 1994).

As industrialization became a larger and larger part of the New England landscape after the Civil War and people began to seek bucolic retreats far from madding crowd, the "wild" space of Dogtown became a more focused destination, especially as part of the burgeoning hiking club movement (Olausen et al. 2016). In the late 1890s through the early 1920s, during the American Progressive Era, people became more interested in both built and natural environments, including the deleterious effects of industrialization and urbanization on people and the natural environment (Olausen et al. 2016). The Appalachian Mountain Club, formed in 1876 by Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) astronomer and physicist Edward C. Pickering, selected Dogtown as the subject for one its field studies, with about 40 club members spending an October afternoon in 1889 exploring its "topographic individuality" (Cape Ann Museum 2012:9).

Dogtown was also featured in tourism guides to Cape beginning in the late nineteenth century. While it doesn't specifically mention Dogtown, *In and Around Cape Ann* recommends Babson's former cooperage site, Beaver Dam Farm Site, as a pleasant bicycling destination. Published in 1896 in the early years of the Colonial Revival movement, *Pleasure Drives Around Cape Ann* devotes an entire chapter to the abandoned village, noting that those with an interest in the American Revolution and prominent Colonial-era residents should be sure to visit Dogtown (Webber 1885:51–52; Proctor Brothers 1896:71–73).

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Mann provided a map of the Dogtown cellar holes in his history, and *Along the Old Roads of Cape Ann*, a chatty walking guide, gives explicit directions to reach Peter's Pulpit and Whale's Jaw along with reference to Captain Kidd's treasure, allegedly buried under a stone marked by a cross (Cape Ann Scientific and Literary Association 1923:37–41).²⁰ It's difficult to judge how popular these destinations were, but historical photograph collections of Gloucester are rife with images of well-dressed men, women, and children picking their way along the rocky Dogtown roads and fields, scrabbling over and posing in front of boulders, or reclining under parasols sketching and painting the bony landscape (Figure 11).



Figure 11. Painting Dogtown, ca. 1900 (source: Herman W. Spooner Collection, Cape Ann Museum).

²⁰ Captain Kidd's buried treasure is another favorite story about Dogtown, although its location varies by author: Babson and Saville (1936:38), for example, report the unclaimed booty at Beaver Dam Farm.

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With the advent of the automobile in the early twentieth century, city dwellers especially began to take pleasure drives into the countryside. For some, destinations were chosen based upon historical interest, while others merely found their excursions pleasantly enhanced by the presence of historic places (Rhoads 1986:133). The **James Babson Museum (ca. 1900, contributing building)**, purportedly the cooperage shop of Roger Babson's forefather, was conveniently sited on the edge of the road between Gloucester and Rockport. One wonders if the location of the building in relation to a main thoroughfare along the south side of Cape Ann had an influence on Babson's decision to create a museum in the little stone building on the north side of the road (see **Criterion A – Social History**).

In 1936, Roger Babson and Foster Saville published *Cape Ann: A Tourist Guide*. Ostensibly a guide to all of Cape Ann, the book focuses heavily on Dogtown, providing a running commentary to accompany walking directions leading visitors through the abandoned village and Babson Marker Stones. The guide also points out numerous locations associated with the early industry and settlement of Dogtown, such as the Alewife Brook Mill Site, the Alewife Brook School House Site, and the James Babson Museum (Babson and Saville 1936).

In 1937, the Federal Writer's Project of the WPA published a guide to Massachusetts which, along with giving brief histories of towns and cities throughout the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, also suggested walking and driving tours of those locales. In the Gloucester and Rockport chapter, Motor Tour 2, a 19-mile loop around the outer edge of Cape Ann beginning near Long Beach in Gloucester, directs drivers to Dogtown from Washington Street after passing through Pigeon Cove and Lanesville (Federal Writer's Project 1937:240–243). The entry for Dogtown in the guide describes the area as a "blasted heath," "strewn with glacial boulders and rendered yet more desolate by a sparse growth of stunted cedars" (Federal Writer's Project 1937:242). The entry goes on to describe the Babson Marker Stones, explains the naming of the area based on "ferocious watchdogs," and briefly recounts a litany of women who were believed to have been witches, including Luce George, Tammy Younger, and Peg Wesson (see **Criterion A – Social History**).

In the post-World War II era, increased leisure time and travel flexibility afforded Americans more opportunities to take advantage of outdoor recreational activities including camping, hiking, and visiting historical sites, assisted by the wholesale adoption of the automobile as the dominant form of transportation in the United States (Olausen et al. 2016). The nascent environmental movement, beginning in the mid-twentieth century and expanding significantly in the 1960s, led to attempts to protect and preserve the natural environment from the dangers of nuclear testing, pollution, and the use of chemical agents such as DDT (Olausen et al. 2016).

Development of the thousands of unused acres in Dogtown was the subject of municipal debate as early as 1944, with a proposal for a "Dogtown Airport" (*Gloucester Daily Times* 1944) followed by a nuclear industrial park in 1958 (Abbott 1958), a Sentinel anti-ballistic missile base in 1967 (Harrigan 1967), and a wind farm in 1980 (Orange 1980). During the same period, many Cape Ann residents pressed for the preservation of Dogtown as a park or, more generally, as open public space. In the mid-1970s the Boston law firm of Rackeman, Sawyer, and Brewster was hired to conduct a title search for Dogtown as part of a proposal for the city to acquire conservation parcels (Sullivan 1976); a similar conservation effort was repeated in 1980 (Quinones 1980). By the 1970s, Dogtown's reputation had become more ominous with its increasingly overgrown and inaccessible landscape. The term "ghost town" was applied to the village in magazine and newspaper articles—a decided shift from the more folkloric tone that characterized earlier descriptions (e.g., Alt 1975; Axelrod 1981; Woods 1973).

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While developers, residents, and politicians haggled over various propositions, Dogtown declined into a sort of no-man's-land of illegal campsites and shooting ranges, late-night high school party spots, and whining dirt bike trails, all largely unregulated. People continued to hike the uplands, pick blueberries, and speculate about the abandoned cellar holes to the extent they could find them, and hiked along the **System of Walking Trails (GLO.960/RCP.917, contributing structure)** that was developed throughout Dogtown by naturalists and enthusiasts such as Ted Tarr, Art and Nellie Hatfield, and Dorothy Luce (Carlotto 2017; Naismith 1994). At night, however, Dogtown was not a place most wanted to be.

The brutal murder of Anne Natti in Dogtown in 1984 shocked and horrified Cape Ann residents and galvanized them to “Take Back Dogtown” (East 2010). The Dogtown Steering Committee (DSC) was formed and produced *Developing a Management Program for Dogtown*, a report for the mayor that laid out the geology, history, and land ownership of Dogtown and included recommendations and resource requirements for the management of its many natural, cultural, and recreational components (DSC 1985). While action on the report would ebb and flow over the following years, it was critical in shining a bright light on Dogtown as an invaluable public asset. Illicit shenanigans would still go on in the woods—for example, an illegal bonfire built under Whale’s Jaw in 1989 would fracture and collapse its lower jaw—but an identifiable preservation constituency had formed that would expand over the years.

CRITERION A – ART AND LITERATURE

The Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District is significant under Criterion A in the areas of Art and Literature for its association with the artistic career of avant-garde painter Marsden Hartley and the literary career of poet Charles Olson. Both men’s work, and in the case of Olson, his most significant work, *The Maximus Poems*, were heavily influenced by Gloucester and, more specifically, the landscape of Dogtown.

Cape Ann is now a world renowned artist colony...The artists, appreciating Cape Ann’s background of history and legend, find it rich in subjects in which their genius delight. The result of their appreciation has been not only a great number of pictures of Cape Ann which have been distributed all over the world, but they have made out other visitors familiar with the places best worth seeing (Babson and Saville:1936).

Improvements in public transportation during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries facilitated access to Cape Ann, especially for summer visitors who flocked to the coast looking for relief from overcrowded urban neighborhoods. The appeal of Gloucester and Rockport to tourists applied equally to artists, including “painters, photographers, sculptors, writers, and actors who were inspired by the same interplay of land, sea, and light.” A kind of symbiotic relationship emerged between the two groups, with the seasonal tourist community proving to be significant patrons of the artists’ community. The Rocky Neck Art Colony, one of the oldest art colonies in the United States, was established in Gloucester in the 1880s. The rugged beauty of the area previously had been by popularized by nationally known artists such as Winslow Homer (1836–1910), who had summered there in 1873 and 1880. His evocative paintings drew some of the most influential painters to the city, including the American Impressionists Frank Duveneck (1848–1919), John Twachtman (1853–1902), and Childe Hassam (1859–1935), the last of whom was often called the “American Monet” (Frontiero and Kelly Broomer 2016; Olausen et al. 2015).

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Most of the artists drawn to Cape Ann were inspired by the working waterfront, including wharves, lighthouses, boats, and warehouses. Works such as Duveneck's *Yellow Shed from Banner Hill* (1905, oil on canvas), Homer's *Sailing Out of Gloucester* (1880, watercolor on paper), and Hassam's *Gloucester Harbor* (1899, oil on canvas) depict the harbor and the men working out of it, captured in impressionistic styles (Davies 2001).

Among the many artists drawn to Cape Ann in the early twentieth century was the avant-garde painter, Marsden Hartley (1877–1943). Born in Lewiston, Maine, he left home at 16 as a troubled and restless youth and spent most of his adult life wandering the United States, Europe, and Mexico. “Early in his life, he developed a penchant for solitude and a simultaneous desire for crowds—mutually exclusive needs which created a rootless personality” (Haskell 1980:8–9).

In 1898, Hartley moved to New York City to study painting at the New York School of Art and, in 1909, he met Alfred Stieglitz, the famed American photographer and art promoter. Stieglitz introduced Hartley to European modernist painting and tirelessly promoted his work through individual and group exhibitions with the likes of John Marin, Max Weber, Arthur Dove, and Georgia O’Keeffe. He also helped finance Hartley’s first trip to Paris in 1912, where the painter experimented with the compositional structure of Cézanne and the Cubists and the palette of Matisse and the Fauves. Hartley moved to Berlin in 1913 and, drawing from his friendships made in Paris with Gertrude Stein, Hart Crane, and Sherwood Anderson, began writing in addition to painting (Maine State Library 2018).

Hartley’s rootlessness brought him to Gloucester in 1920, where he spent the summer at 1 Eastern Point Road, listlessly painting the surrounding landscape and making sporadic contact with the larger Rocky Neck Art Colony.²¹ It is unclear whether Hartley ventured into the uplands of Dogtown in 1920, but he did go there when he returned to Gloucester from New York in July 1931, deeply depressed, artistically enervated, and ready, as he wrote, “to go either to a monastery or a crematorium” (Marsden Hartley [MH] to unknown correspondent, August 3, 1931, as quoted in O’Gorman 2012:15). Spending the first several weeks recuperating on Niles Beach and wandering the “wastes” of Dogtown alone, by August he had five paintings of the abandoned village in progress, describing the place as “almost hostile to the human eye” (MH to Adelaide Kuntz, November 4, 1931, as quoted in O’Gorman 2012:16).

His paintings of the Dogtown Landscape, however, were anything but hostile, evoking a sense of chaotic beauty through bold colors and lines painted under the “strongest light that ever was.” *Wind Bitten Moors, Dogtown* (1931) and *Rock Doxology* (1931) (Figure 12) capture its austere beauty, while *Summer Outward Bound, Gloucester* (1931) and *Dogtown Common* (1936) (Figures 13 and 14), the latter of which was painted from memory, present greener and gentler views. In all four paintings, the human influence on the landscape is evident, both implicitly in the scoured topography caused by centuries of logging and farming, and explicitly in dilapidated fence lines and tumbled stone walls meant to mark property lines and contain grazing animals. Many of his paintings started as pen and ink drawings, a form that captured the sparse ghostliness of the uplands and its many “magnificent boulders driven & left there by the glacial pressures years ago,” including *Whales Jaw, Dogtown* (1931) (Figure 15).

²¹ Although Hartley lived just on the outskirts of the artists’ colony during both of his stints (1920 and 1931) in Gloucester, he never exhibited locally and generally avoided getting involved in its formal or informal social activities, preferring the company of non-artists (O’Gorman 2012:16).

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Figure 12. Marsden Hartley, *Rock Doxology*, 1931. Oil on board. Cape Ann Museum, gift of Robert L. and Elizabeth French.

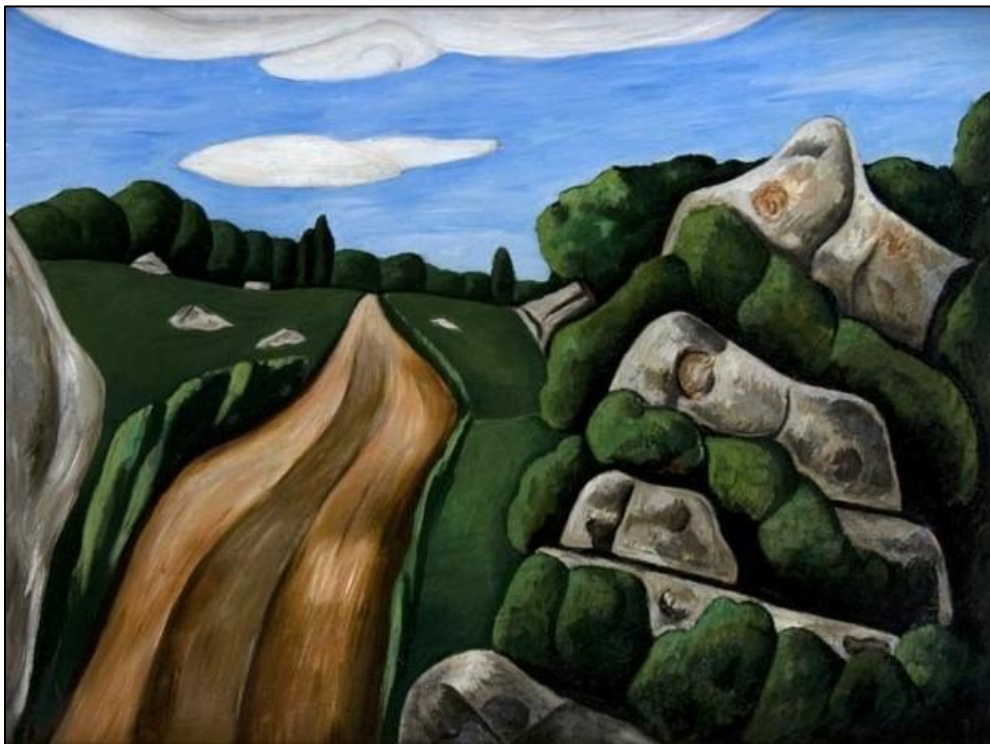


Figure 13. Marsden Hartley, *Summer Outward Bound, Gloucester*, 1931. Oil on board. Cape Ann Museum, gift of Robert L. and Elizabeth French.

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Figure 14. Marsden Hartley, *Dogtown Common*, 1936. Oil on academy board. Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum, gift of Ione and Hudson D. Walker.

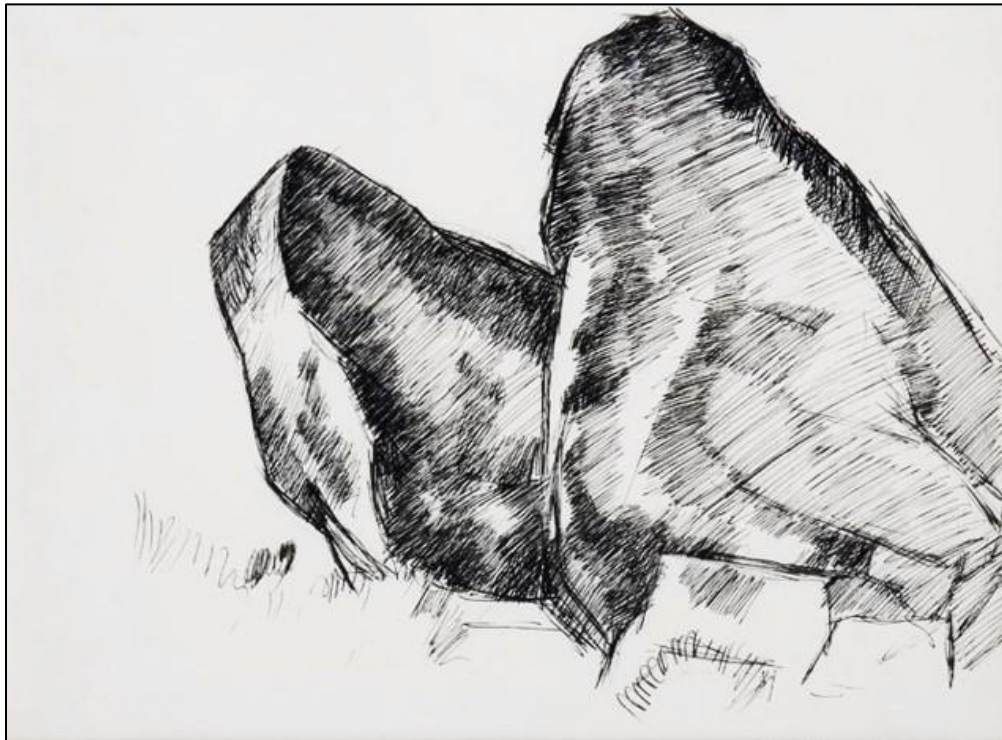


Figure 15. Marsden Hartley, *Whale's Jaw, Dogtown*, 1931. Ink on paper. Cape Ann Museum, gift of Robert L. and Elizabeth French.

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With the obvious exception of landmarks such as Whale’s Jaw, it’s difficult to pinpoint the exact locations of most of Hartley’s Dogtown paintings. The stony “wastes” that Hartley wandered in 1920 and 1931 have become heavily overgrown, with most of the interior and exterior landscape views obscured. Two paintings, however, contain enough detail to infer their locations. Based on the organization of the rock formation and the curve of the road, *Blueberry Highway, Dogtown* (1931) appears to be the stretch of Dogtown Road looking east between the James Demerit House Site (15A) and Joseph Ingersoll House (16) (Figures 16 and 17).



Figure 16. Marsden Hartley, *Blueberry Highway, Dogtown*, 1931. Oil on composition board. High Museum of Art, bequest of Charles Donald Belcher.



Figure 17. Dogtown Road, November 2017, The Public Archaeology Laboratory, Inc.

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The Old Bars, Dogtown (1936) could well be the “Commons Bars” (Babson 1927:12) in “Pearce’s Pasture” south of Dogtown Road (Figure 18). Both *Blueberry Highway* and *The Old Bars* are valuable as artistic works, but also as visual documentation of the degree of environmental change that has occurred at Dogtown since the early twentieth century.

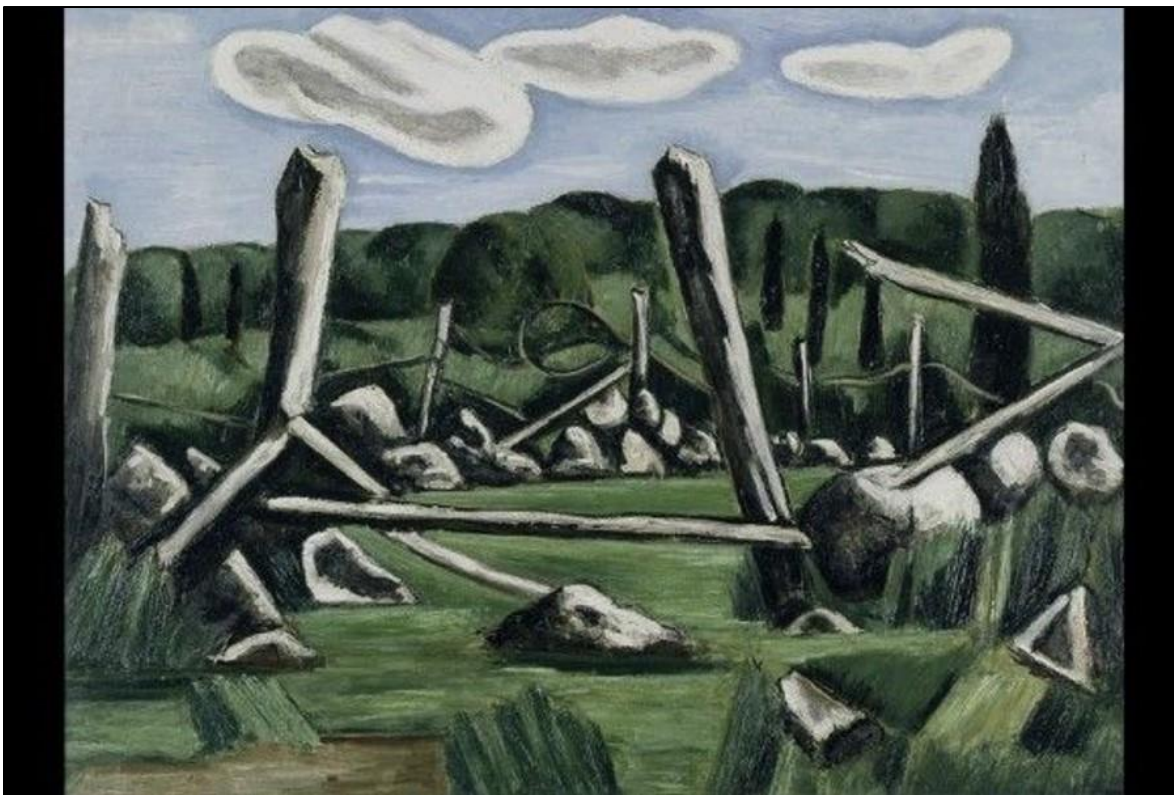


Figure 18. Marsden Hartley, *The Old Bars, Dogtown*, 1936. Oil on composition board. Whitney Museum of American Art.

For Hartley, Dogtown was a restorative landscape, one where he was able to re-connect with his New England roots after a lifetime of running away from them. Months after his 1931 stay, he wrote that it had “proven a great deal more than I expected of it. All I asked was physical restitution... (but) Gloucester has proven itself to be a creative shot... It has given me real connection with my native soil” (MH to Rebecca Strand, November 27, 1931, as quoted in O’Gorman 2012:15). This creative shot allowed him to move forward to the most artistically productive period in his life. While on Cape Ann, he believed and hoped his work would establish him as the “painter of Dogtown” (MH to Alfred Stieglitz, August 12, 1931, as quoted in O’Gorman 2012:16). Instead, he became the “painter of Maine,” although several of his Dogtown paintings were exhibited in a ground-breaking retrospective exhibit of his work at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1944 (Anastas 2012). Hartley’s work in Maine, however, had its roots in his artistically transformative experience at Dogtown, an experience that would lead him to write near the end of his 1931 stay on Cape Ann, “Dogtown is mine” (MH to Rebecca Strand, December 12, 1931, as quoted in O’Gorman 2012:15).

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Hartley's proprietary sentiment would be endorsed just over 30 years later in a querulous letter to the *Gloucester Daily Times*. Writing to object about the selection of artist Winslow Homer as the subject for a new commemorative stamp for Gloucester, the poet Charles Olson (1910–1970) complained that Homer's work was overly sentimental and not local enough (Anastas 2012:1). Olson instead offered Hartley as a far preferable alternative, stating,

What would be more interesting is the story of a painter like Marsden Hartley and Gloucester, in whom (if anyone who has the Feininger-Hartley catalog of the Museum of Modern Art can see), that Hartley changed by going to places on Cape Ann alone and that his Maine thing, replacing the international style, dates at this time (quoted in Anastas 2012:2).

In that passage, Olson is clearly referencing Hartley's work at Dogtown, a place Olson himself knew very well. Born in Worcester, Massachusetts, Olson spent his childhood summers with his parents in a cabin named *Oceanwood* between Cressy's and Half Moon beaches in Gloucester. After his father's death in 1935, Olson's mother moved full-time to Gloucester and Charles would continue to visit her there, working seasonally as a letter carrier or on local fishing boats (Rich 2010:v). Although Charles Olson did not move to Gloucester permanently until 1957, his memories of Cape Ann formed the backdrop of his projective (or open) verse work, *The Maximus Poems*, which formed a critical stylistic bridge between earlier poets including Ezra Pound and William Carlos Williams, and the New American poets, including Beat poets such as Allen Ginsberg (Olson 1985). Olson's new form of poetry, which he viewed as "a system of relationships rather than a series of artfully arranged statements," (quoted in Case 2009:51) combines the history, geography, and economics of place as a way to examine the relationship between the observer and the observed (Case 2009). As the Black Mountain poet²² and Olson acolyte Robert Creeley noted, Olson is "central to any description of literary 'climate' dated 1958" (Poetry Foundation 2018a).

Olson began writing the three volume *Maximus Poems* in 1950 as a lyric exploration of Gloucester and his relationship to it through the juxtaposition of his memories with historical data (Rich 2010:v). Designated by the *American Poetry Review* as one of the ten finest long poems of the twentieth century, it is mediated through the voice of Maximus, a figure based partly on Maximus of Tyre, an itinerant Greek philosopher, and partly on Olson himself. Olson may have selected Maximus due to the maritime connection between Gloucester and the ancient Phoenician city of Tyre, which the Reverend John Wise compared Gloucester to in 1721, possibly due to Tyre's reputation in shipbuilding and its location on a rocky island (Holder 1980:224–225; East 2009:164).²³

²² The Black Mountain Poets were group of progressive poets who, in the 1940s and 1950s, were associated with the experimental Black Mountain College in North Carolina. They promoted a nontraditional poetics described by Olson in 1950 as "projective verse," an improvisational, open-form approach to poetic composition, driven by the natural patterns of breath and utterance (Poetry Foundation 2018b).

²³ Olson also likely chose Maximus for his sympathetic philosophical writings. One of the philosopher's best-known treatises, *Dissertation XX*, compares Prometheus' creation of mankind into a world of natural abundance, peace, and health to mankind's "second life," which started with the division of the earth into property which was then enclosed with fortifications and walls, populated with houses, and "molested... by digging into it for metals." The sea and the air were then invaded by killing animals, fish and birds in what Maximus described as a "slaughter and all-various gore, pursuing gratification of the body" (Taylor 1804:199). Humans became unhappy and, to compensate, sought wealth, "fearing poverty...dreading death...neglecting the care of life...They blamed base actions but did not abstain from them and "the hated to live, but dreaded to die" (Taylor 1804:199–200). He then contrasts the two lives and asks, which man would not choose the first?

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Olson often wrote outside on a tree stump in Dogtown. Like Hartley before him (with whom Olson had only one brief and uncomfortable encounter in New York City in 1941), Olson experienced the Dogtown Landscape in its historical depth and folklore, and as renewal through the experience of nature in its rawest form (Anastas 2012:13).

*Dogtown is soft
in every season
high up on her granite
horst, light growth
of all trees and bushes
strong like a puddle's ice
the bios
of nature in this
park of eternal
events is a sidewalk
to slide on, this
terminal moraine:*

*the rocks the glacier tossed
toys
Merry played by
with his bull*

Beyond the mythic elements of Dogtown, including Merry and his bull reference above, Olson described who lived in the village, where, and when:

*Lt. James Davis 14 acres 1717 and to share 4
More 1728/9 with his son-in-law James
Stanwood—all on the east side of the lower
Road, defining therefore that stretch...(quoted in Holder 1980:243).*

Olson often referenced Hartley, and his friend and fellow poet, Vincent Ferrini, in his poems, speaking to and about them through the device of his family memories and Dogtown's most famous landmarks and events. Throughout *The Maximus Poems*, Olson situates Maximus in space, describing his location for the reader:

to the left *Dogtown to the right the ocean*
at my feet *opens out the light the river flowing*
Gloucester to my back

*the light hangs
from the wheel of heaven*

*the great Ocean
in balance (quoted in Case 2009:53).*

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Olson also referenced specific incidents and places in Dogtown. As illustrated above, James Merry and his lethal run-in with the bull was a favored subject (see **Criterion A – Recreation**), as was Whale's Jaw,

*There is this rock breaches
the earth: the Whale's Jaw
my father stood inside of*

*I have a photograph, him
a smiling Jonah forcing back those teeth
Or more Jehovah, he looks that strong
he could have split the rock
as it is split, and not
as Marsden Hartley painted it
so it's a canvas glove*

*(such gloves
as fish-handlers - as Olsen, say,
or gardeners wear - or Ferrini ought to,
handling trash:*

*a man's hands,
as his eyes,
can get sores)*

*Hartley had so many courages,
and such defeats,
who used to stay too long at Dogtown,
getting that rock in paint,
he who was so afraid of night, and loons*

But what he did with that bald jaw of stone,

*(my father differently usurped it,
took it as he took nature, took himself
until all bosses struck him down)*

*such cloth he turned all things to,
made palms of hands of gulls,
Maine monoliths apostles,
a meal of fish a final supper
- made Crane a Marseilles matelot*

Such transubstantiations

*as I am not permitted,
nor my father,
who 'd never have turned the Whale Jaw back*

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*to such humanness neither he nor I, as workers,
are infatuated with*

*(as you are not either permitted, Ferrini,
friend I was too kind to,
in other letters)*

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What Hartley did was according to his lights (Maximus, to Gloucester, Letter 7)

After relocating to Cape Ann, Olson wrote a series of letters to the *Gloucester Daily Times*, including the Hartley-themed letter quoted above. His correspondence was to preserve Gloucester as a “living entity,” and to save it from urban renewal efforts that threatened its centuries old historical and cultural fabric (Poetry Foundation 2018a). Olson was one of only a few voices to protest Gloucester’s 1960s program of Urban Renewal—or as he characterized it, “renewal by destruction,”—by warning the city was “ours to lose” if we did not stop “this renewing without reviewing” (Anastas 2014). In an impassioned December 3, 1965, letter to the *Gloucester Daily Times* titled “A Scream to the Editor,” Olson writes (as quoted in Anastas 2014),

*I hate those who take away
and do not have as good to
offer.
I hate them. I hate the carelessness.*

Olson backed up his words with action, working to preserve historic buildings in the city and save wetlands. Olson would ultimately despair of Gloucester’s future, writing that it had become a “city of mediocrity and cheap ambition.” But Dogtown, which persisted as the quiet and undeveloped center of Cape Ann, would remain for him “an actual Earth of value...” until his death from liver cancer in 1970 (Don Byrd as quoted in Anastas 2012:13–14).

CRITERION D – ARCHEOLOGY, HISTORIC – NON-ABORIGINAL

The Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District is significant under Criterion D in the area of Archeology, Historic – Non-Aboriginal as a regionally unusual and spatially intact abandoned settlement with the demonstrated and potential ability to provide important information about Cape Ann’s shift from an agrarian to maritime economy, and how that shift created and perpetuated the socio-economically marginalized community at Dogtown.

Archaeologists have given lifetimes, almost, to the investigation of the modes of life of the cliff dwellers of Arizona and New Mexico. There are comparatively few ruined cities in America; and even more rare are the instances of deserted villages which were once inhabited by white men, the progenitors of people who are living to-day.

So wrote Charles Mann (1896:5–6) in his colorful and frequently gossipy history, *In the Heart of Cape Ann or The Story of Dogtown*. At the time, no archaeological work—or at least none that anyone knows of—had been conducted in Dogtown. Beginning early in the twentieth century, however, avocational archaeologists and collectors began to explore the old settlement.

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History of Archaeological Research at Dogtown

Frank Speck and Frederick Johnson conducted the first documented survey of Cape Ann (including Dogtown) in 1918–1925. Speck was an ethnologist who specialized in coastal Algonquians and became interested in the pre-contact history of Cape Ann because of his summer residence in Gloucester. Johnson, one of Speck’s students, shared his interest, and the two of them set out primarily to record Native American sites across the Cape. Speck and Johnson eventually reported their findings to the Robert S. Peabody Museum in Andover in 1939–1941, but there is no indication that either ever conducted any excavations.

Instead, Cape Ann native N. Carleton Phillips undertook fieldwork at several of Speck and Johnson’s survey sites beginning in 1939 with the tacit blessing of Johnson. Phillips and his friend, Foster Saville (younger brother of renowned archaeologist Marshall Saville²⁴) frequently went artifact hunting across Cape Ann, and Phillips likely was introduced to Speck and Johnson through his association with the Saville family. Phillips did not personally excavate any sites, noting that “it is hard work and I can’t swing a pick or a shovel,” but he had an untrained crew excavate and bring to him any artifacts at the end of each day. Although he was in the field only on weekends and holidays, he is reported to have been meticulous in his documentation of the sites and artifacts. Phillips presented his findings locally but never produced any formal publications. More problematically, his field documentation has been lost so that the only record of his work is in the form of transcripts of his public presentations and those artifacts that found their way into private or museum collections (Lepionka 2013:47–48).

While the chronology is unclear, Frederick Johnson and Ralph Dexter, a marine biologist, conducted a separate survey of Cape Ann in which they documented estuarine shell middens and several old house sites, including a “few deteriorating foundations in Dog Town [sic]” (Lepionka 2013:48). Speck’s grandson and biographer suggests that survey work was undertaken in the 1940s and that Phillips may have been involved. Whoever was involved collected artifacts from several of the Dogtown cellar holes and, startlingly, recorded a burial site within the settlement but did not indicate its location or if the remains were those of a Native American or someone of Euro-American descent. As with the earlier survey effort, there is no record of where the artifacts or field notes ended up, and Dexter makes no reference to the survey in his papers relating to Cape Ann (Lepionka 2013:47).

At the same time Phillips was excavating sites around Cape Ann, Frederick Norton decided to conduct his own archaeological investigations at Dogtown. Norton, a Professor of Ceramics (now known as Materials Science and Engineering) at MIT, excavated and collected artifacts from several cellar holes, including Peter Lurvey’s House Site (25) and the “Mill Cellar.” Norton never published the results of his work but did donate the artifacts to the Sandy Bay Historical Society and other museums in Rockport. The artifacts were delivered in glass jars or plastic bags with little to no accompanying provenience information (Sandy Bay Historical Society n.d.; Sucholeiki 1992:1).

The next round of Dogtown archaeological investigations was conducted by Roland Wells Robbins early in 1954. Robbins, a self-taught archaeologist who made his name excavating Thoreau’s cabin at Walden and the ironworks at Saugus, was brought on board by the City of Gloucester to explore the possibility of “reconstructing” Dogtown as a living history museum similar to Old Sturbridge Village and Plimoth Plantation.

²⁴ Primarily associated with Ohioan and Central American archaeology, Marshall Saville also collected artifacts from Cape Ann and endowed the Sandy Bay Historical Museum to curate them.

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Accompanied by local residents, Robbins and Evan Jones hiked the Dogtown trails and recorded cellar holes and associated eighteenth-century artifacts, the latter of which he remarked could be collected by mere “digging with fingers” (Robbins and Jones 1959:157–158). Robbins also identified the remains of one of the seventeenth-century mills that had operated along Cape Pond Brook (later Alewife Brook). The mill remains included remnants of the former dam, a filled-in channel, and the mill’s wheel pit. Robbins returned to the mill site that summer with a volunteer crew and excavated the wheel pit, which was described as “walled with field stones and buttressed with rocks” (Robbins and Jones 1959:157–158). However, there are no extant records of those excavations or where any of the recovered artifacts were housed. It is also unclear which mill he was excavating, although the remains of the ca. 1642 First Mill Site in Rockport is the most likely candidate. Details about Robbins’ work at Dogtown are limited to a series of *Gloucester Daily Times* articles (Erkkila 1954a, 1954b, 1987) and a short recounting of his walkover and subsequent excavations in his 1959 book, *Hidden America*, written with Jones.

In 1974, schoolteacher William Heitz took his 6th-grade students to Dogtown as part of an archaeology-themed educational project. They excavated around at least one of Dogtown’s cellar holes, but no field documentation has been found; the unprovenienced artifacts were donated to the Cape Ann Museum in Gloucester in 2009 (Holler 2014:7). Sophia Holler’s (2014:44) analysis of the assemblage concluded that the items have limited interpretive value for lack of provenience but have educational value for the museum. Holler believes that if the assemblage were ever linked to a specific house site, it would constitute an important material record of an eighteenth-century “working class” household.

Two years after Heitz and his students conducted their excavations, the City of Gloucester proposed the installation of a new City well and associated pipeline to run through Dogtown. Cultural resource management was still in its infancy at the time, and a professional archaeological survey was not conducted for the project. However, the City had Massachusetts Historical Commission staff archaeologist Francis McManamon visit Dogtown as part of a wider effort to assess Gloucester’s archaeological heritage, and he identified a cellar foundation that would have been impacted by the installation of the pipeline during his visit (Nathan 1976). The pipeline was relocated so that it would not impact the foundation, and McManamon recommended that Dogtown be listed in the National Register.

From 1990 to 1992, MIT research chemist Irving Sucholeiki conducted the last recorded archaeological excavations at Dogtown. Sucholeiki learned about Dogtown after moving to Boston and chose three cellar holes to excavate along Dogtown and Wharf roads: the “Unknown” cellar (10), which Carlotto (2015:34) would later attribute to Henry Davis; the Widow Jane “Granny” Day cellar, which Carlotto (2015:45–46) would later link to Jane’s father-in-law, Joseph Day Sr. (20A); and the Abraham Wharf cellar (24) (Sucholeiki 1992:13, 25, 47).

Sucholeiki selected an area west of the Henry Davis House Site (10) (which he incorrectly linked to Benjamin Clark, Joseph Clark Sr., or Joseph Winslow) as a likely spot for a trash pit and excavated a 1-x-1-ft test pit there. A solidly eighteenth-century artifact assemblage was collected from 2 to 4 inches below the ground surface: redware, delftware, and creamware; green-tinted window glass; colorless “flip” and tumbler glass; hand-wrought nails; an iron plate and iron ox shoe fragment; animal bone; and ball clay pipe fragments. Sucholeiki calculated a 1754 mean occupation date for the site using the pipe stem dating technique developed by archaeologists J. C. Harrington (1954) and Lewis Binford (1962) and interpreted the occupants as “lower class” residents of Dogtown who occasionally acquired more expensive goods such as imported Chinese porcelain (Sucholeiki 1992:16–17, 24).

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Sucholeiki's work at the "Granny Day" cellar consisted of a preliminary metal detector survey followed by the designation of three discrete excavation locations: X₁ adjacent to the cellar hole; X₂ approximately 15 ft from the cellar hole; and X₃ approximately 20 ft from the cellar hole at a metal detector hit for copper. His documentation provides no explicit description of the testing unit sizes, but it's likely they were similar to the test pits at the Henry Davis cellar. The excavations at the Granny Day cellar recovered an eighteenth-century artifact assemblage similar to that from the Davis cellar: a large amount of redware, gray-colored (likely burnt) earthenware, delftware, and white salt glazed stoneware; ball clay pipe fragments; window and bottle glass; shell and animal bones, including a horse's cheek tooth; gunflints; hand-wrought nails, an iron knife, an iron ox shoe fragment, and other untyped iron fragments; an untyped lead fragment; and a copper sleeve button, a copper boot buckle, and a copper plate. The ball clay pipe stems yielded a mean occupation date of 1762 for the site (Sucholeiki 1992:42). Sucholeiki concluded that the site residents relied on inexpensive, locally made redwares supplemented by more expensive ceramic imports; owned a flintlock weapon and at least one horse and ox; and had a pipe smoking habit. He also surmised that they were poor based on their absence from local store ledgers or tax records, although this absence does not necessarily indicate poverty.

Sucholeiki excavations at the Abraham Wharf cellar were similar to those at the Granny Day cellar and yielded a similar assemblage consisting of redware, delftware, pearlware, and creamware; animal bone; window glass; hand-wrought nails; a copper thimble and copper boot buckle; and an iron hook and iron plate. Unlike the other two sites, only two ball clay pipe fragments were found, so he was unable to calculate an occupation date using the pipe stem dating method. The overall assemblage, however, suggested a somewhat more prosperous family based on the comparatively larger amounts of imported ceramics (e.g., creamware and pearlware) and a somewhat longer occupation from the mid-eighteenth through early nineteenth centuries as reflected by the collection of a green shell-edged pearlware sherd manufactured between 1790 and 1820 (Sucholeiki 1992:52).

In concluding his site report—the only one produced for any of the excavations conducted at Dogtown to date—Sucholeiki (1992:58) writes:

Most of the artifacts housed at the Sandy Bay Historical Society and Museums are consistent with those this author excavated from the three cellar sites. We can now be confident that the artifacts...represent fairly well the types of artifacts used by the average eighteenth-century Dogtown resident. It is hoped that this information will shed more light on the early residents of Dogtown and their contributions to the settling of Cape Ann.

Two academic reports concerning the archaeology and social history of Dogtown provide more nuanced theoretical approaches to the village. Patrice Titterington's (1988) Brown University's master's thesis, *An Archaeological and Historical Perspective on Community Abandonment: Dogtown, MA*, attempts to unravel the decline of Dogtown through genealogical and historical research and a limited field survey of 10 cellar holes along Dogtown Road. Titterington's (1988:3) central thesis is that the decline of Dogtown is attributable to three major factors: 1) the restructuring of Cape Ann's road system to accommodate the maritime industry during the second half of the eighteenth century that resulted in Dogtown's social and economic isolation; 2) the shift from commonly held to privately held agricultural land tenure that diminished the amount of inheritable land for most by concentrating it in the hands of a few; and 3) the stubborn adherence to an outdated and unsustainable agriculture economy in opposition to the booming fishing industry.

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Titterington's documentary and archival research focused on secondary histories and limited deed data, although she reached different—and likely incorrect conclusions—about the occupants of several of the cellar holes than what is currently known. The field survey component of the project consisted of clearing and mapping the presumed remains of cellar holes 9–18 to confirm Mann's (1896:36–37) description of a typical Dogtown house as “a small structure, perhaps 15x35, standing side to the road, with a door in the middle, and with an ordinary pitched roof. The cellars, which are generally 15 feet square, were under only one end of the houses... Scattered among these (dwellings) were a few two-story houses of a more pretentious character, gambrel roof and lean-to in the rear.”

On the basis of her field survey results, Titterington suggests that Mann's description of the smaller houses was generally accurate for the cellar holes she surveyed along Dogtown Road, and that his description of the two-story house held true for the more distant Dennison House and may also have been true for the Easter Carter House (consistently described elsewhere as the only two-story building in the village). The larger, and much rarer, gambrel-style houses she attributes to the first period of settlement at Dogtown from 1688 to the mid-1700s, and the smaller houses, which are far more numerous, to the pre-Revolutionary War population boom in the village. She suggests that the architectural commonality among the smaller house forms could reflect a continuation of the “closed corporate community” mentality designed to reinforce socioeconomic stability among an ethnically and religiously homogeneous group (Titterington 1988:32). She goes on to caution, however, that this idea could be misleading, as the observable cellar holes represent only a portion of the superstructure and could mask significant architectural differences. This caution is valid as her surveyed site plans illustrate such ambiguously shaped and sized cellar hole features that it is difficult to understand how they provide any clear confirmation of Mann's architectural descriptions.

Titterington analyzed the ceramic sherds surface collected during her field survey and those in Norton's collection curated at the Sandy Bay Historical Society and reached three basic conclusions: 1) the sites where these sherds were collected were strictly residential in nature, 2) the preponderance of glazed redware storage vessels indicates the persistence of dairying and the “yeoman tradition” well into the nineteenth century, and 3) the disparity between the ceramic assemblages and the available probate inventories makes it problematic to draw strict status distinctions among the households.

As for the decline of the community, Titterington traces the dissolution of family bonds as the mechanism for property transfer and the rise of the fishing industry as the mechanism for that dissolution. As the tradition of primogeniture broke family parcels into smaller and smaller units, the marginal suitability of Cape Ann for agricultural purposes was further diminished. Second and third sons facing such diminished prospects relocated to the coast and its expanding maritime trade opportunities, leaving the already straightened family farms short of labor. Land was sold at bargain prices, rented out, or altogether abandoned, and many of the properties were re-occupied by people with limited ties to the local community. Because strong community and family ties were so critical to socio-economic stability before the era of social welfare programs, these “unattached” individuals typically occupied the lowest rung of society and brought with them to Dogtown the stigma of that social position.

One notable exception to this pattern that Titterington calls out is the Joseph Stevens family. Stevens purchased many adjacent properties after their owners had moved away and was able to pass that land down to his heirs in sufficient acreage to support a reasonable farming operation that kept his children close to home rather than heading for the sea.

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Elizabeth Martin's 2011 dissertation *Deconstructing Marginality: Exploring the Foundations of Dogtown Common, Massachusetts*, analyzes Dogtown as an "outsider community" in which the village's post-Revolutionary history was fabricated as an object lesson in moral degeneracy to support an early twentieth-century narrative of white, upper class privilege as embodied by the Colonial Revival movement. Although she does provide a good summary of the historical development of the Commons Settlement, and cites interesting comparative studies (e.g., the Lighthouse Community in Connecticut [Feder 1994] and Skunk Hollow in New York [Geismar 1982]), her argument obscures basic observations (e.g., the historical record is biased) with overly theoretical jargon. In doing so, she inadvertently essentializes the "characters" of Dogtown in the service of trying to deconstruct the processes of economic and social marginalization that created those "characters."

Martin did reanalyze the ceramic assemblages from the Joseph Clark House Site (9), the Wilson-Priestly House Site (12), the Joseph Stevens House Site (13), the Easter Carter House Site (15), and the Abraham Wharf House Site (24) (inclusive of Titterington's surface-collected materials). She, like Titterington, concludes that the preponderance of lead glazed redware suggests a dairying orientation in the village. She then goes on to argue that the ratio of creamware to white salt glazed stoneware sherds collected from the various sites indicates a pattern of curation among most families, with only the relatively prosperous Stevens family able to transition from white salt glazed stoneware to creamware as fashion changed. Given the small sample size and largely uncontrolled methods used to collect the ceramic assemblage, the latter interpretation is difficult to support.

In closing, Martin (2011:37–38) argues that the current narrative history and management choices in Dogtown have been designed to perpetuate a seemingly "natural" spooky forest as a backdrop for stories about witches and that "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." The credibility of this argument is strained by the fact that Dogtown, until very recently, was not really managed at all, and the seemingly "natural" forest is a product of more than 50 years of forest non-management. The spookiness of that landscape would also seem to be in the eye of the beholder; where today some see a conflicted "classed and gendered landscape," others see nothing more than a peaceful walk in the woods.

Dogtown as a Significant Archaeological Landscape

Given the lack of systematic survey at Dogtown it is difficult to develop overly detailed statements regarding its research potential, at least from an individual archaeological site standpoint. Multiple, overlapping, and repeated occupations over nearly 150 years, thin soils, erosion, landscape disturbances in the form of gravel excavations (e.g., the former Easter Carter Site) and expedient quarrying (e.g. the Alewife Brook Mill Site) and unauthorized excavations (e.g. Benjamin Allen House Site [39]), have conspired to "smear" much of Dogtown's archaeological record at best, and obliterate other parts of it at worst. Site-specific questions such as the accuracy of Mann's described Dogtown house sizes or the comparative socio-economic status of its various inhabitants would be difficult to address given the conditions enumerated above.

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In the absence of a clear idea about the integrity of individual sites in Dogtown, it is more productive to look at the village at the broader landscape level as a spatially intact archaeological resource with a high degree of integrity. Abandoned settlements are fairly common in the American Midwest and West and are typically associated with specific commercial or industrial contexts (e.g. Gold Rush towns; iron-mining villages; railroad depot settlements). In New England, however, the “abandoned village” site type is rare. Intact examples do exist but are often the result of “paid-out” abandonments in advance of reservoir construction such as the Quabbin Reservoir in Massachusetts, the Waterbury Reservoir in Vermont (Heitert et al. 2004), and the Mansfield Hollow Reservoir in Connecticut (Cherau et al. 1994). Those settlements, while spatially intact, are submerged beneath millions of gallons of water and are accessible only during extreme drawdown events.

Dogtown also is exceptional for its occupational duration. While most abandoned settlements – regardless of location – encompass three or fewer generations of settlement, the Dogtown was continuously occupied for nearly 150 years. For these reasons, the Dogtown Landscape is a significant archaeological resource of spatially and functionally inter-related sites (e.g. cellar holes, former pastures and fields, and woodlots) and structural features (e.g. road traces, stone walls) nominally independent of the integrity of the individual resources. Moreover, a landscape-level analysis of Dogtown allows for a substantive discussion about the relationships among those sites and features and how those relationships reflect or reject broader historical and social trends.

This landscape-level approach was applied as part of a re-analysis of the National Register-listed Lighthouse Archeological Site (5-37) in what is now the Peoples State Forest in Barkhamsted, Connecticut. Located on a terrace on above the east bank of the West Branch of the Farmington River, the settlement was occupied from the mid eighteenth century to ca. 1860 by an economically marginalized group of mixed Native American, African American, and white residents. The “lighthouse” moniker was assigned to the settlement as its lights acted as a beacon marking the north to south stage road that paralleled the river.

Dr. Kenneth Feder’s (1994) excavations at the site identified the remains of 10 buildings, four charcoal kilns, a well, and a small cemetery. While Feder's work focused on the community's insularity and outsider status, later analysis by Janet Woodruff (2001; 2007:2) found that it was more connected to the larger landscape and villages in the region than previously believed. Arguing for a more complex analysis of the landscape, Woodruff found 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 2001; 2007:5). As a case in point, she found that the Lighthouse settlement, as is the case with many outsider communities, was outside of the settled town on marginal, forested land which made farming a difficult proposition. To supplement the meager yield, Lighthouse residents took part in local market days nearby, bringing basketry and other goods for sale or exchange for the ceramics and other goods in a pattern that placed them solidly within a colonial New England economic context.

The social marginalization of places like the Lighthouse community was the product of the decline of that traditional barter and exchange economy rooted in kin-based social networks and the rise of capitalism that encouraged individuation and a belief that one’s was a direct reflection of moral character. “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). This characterization is wholly applicable to Dogtown and suggests a comparably complex and evolving social system to be tracked through additional research and survey.

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Dogtown, like the Lighthouse community, is one of only a few abandoned historical settlements in New England that preserves the spatial arrangement of its resources largely intact. The full extent of those resources, however, is unknown. Dogtown's long and complicated occupational history suggests the potential for the identification of many more post-contact resources within its boundaries than are currently recorded. A cursory review of the LiDAR imagery alone shows more depressions and linear features than are currently mapped. If they are cultural in origin (e.g. cellar holes, stone walls, wells) and can be defensibly associated with the village, they would provide new information about its settlement and use to supplement, and perhaps alter, the accepted historical narrative. One useful approach would be to ask what site types are not accounted for in Dogtown that could be reasonably expected to have existed when it was occupied from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Mann (1896) and Babson and Saville (1936) mention a store and a blacksmith shop that might have been at or near Dogtown Square, but no evidence of either building has yet been identified.

An expanded understanding of Dogtown's place within Cape Ann's larger socio-economic, cultural, and landscape history also could provide new interpretive contexts and resources to expand or elaborate on the district's areas of significance and boundaries. For example, a clearer picture of the full ethnic and racial diversity within Dogtown could allow for a more nuanced discussion of its role in the marginalization of the community, an issue which could only be superficially addressed at this time through the persons of Cornelius Finson and Old Ruth. Another intriguing research avenue could include the role that mental illness played in the establishment and isolation of the community. In a time before there was any clear understanding of the mechanisms of and treatment for mental illness, could it be that those people who suffered from mental illnesses and who lacked sympathetic family ties were segregated to the literal margins of society along with other "undesirables"? If so, what might that look like archaeologically?

Several researchers (e.g. Carlotto 2015; Martin 2011; Titterington 1988) have traced land ownership and genealogical information at Dogtown using deeds, probates and wills, marriage and death certificates, and census records. Carlotto (2015:74) fused historical map data with genealogical records to reconstruct some of the complicated family and social connections that existed in the village, some with roots as far as the late seventeenth century. One important issue that remains unaddressed, however, is the changing sizes and spatial relationships of the commonly and privately held land in Dogtown. Historical plans show portions of the woodlot divisions, for example, and deeds provide verbal descriptions of sold and transferred property, but the pictorial and verbal ambiguity of the sources make it extremely difficult to understand how the parcels changed over time, to say nothing of the sheer number of parcels involved.

New software programs designed specifically for deed research provides a digital solution to the problem. DeedMapper 4.2 aids in reconstructing physical parcel boundaries by mapping in the original metes and bound survey units that were commonly employed in historical surveys. The software allows the user to find the location of a particular plot by anchoring a group of neighboring plots against a stream; identify genealogical relationships through land sales and transfers between and among specific people; untangle personal relationships among people with the same name by analyzing their landholdings and transfers; create a map of original landholders in a region; and trace changes in parcel ownership over the years (Direct Line Software 2018). The deed-reconstructed map can then be converted into a geo-rectified GIS shapefile to be compared against historical and modern maps and LiDAR aerial imagery. DeedMapper also allows users to rotate plots based on magnetic declination so that the maps illustrate accurate, if not precise, locations of historical parcels that can be treated as estimates of physical locations (Sportman et al. 2017).

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DeedMapper 4.2 was successfully used to reconstruct the complicated occupational and land-use history of the Wolf Pit Historic and Archaeological District in Waterford, Connecticut. Like Dogtown but of a slightly later date, the 2,884-acre Wolf Pit District comprises the remains an eighteenth- and nineteenth-century settlement arranged around two abandoned, intersecting historic road traces near the head of the Niantic River. The district includes the remains of farmsteads, homes, bark mills, charcoal mounds, sawmills, tanneries, and a shoemaking shop, paths, stone walls, and causeways, and timbering sites that reflect the community's economic focus on the extraction, use and sale of forest-related products (Sportman et al. 2017). All of the resources were identified and mapped through a pedestrian survey of the area; no archaeological testing was conducted within the district boundaries.

Like Dogtown, the decline and eventual abandonment of the Wolf Pit Historic and Archaeological District was the product of an economy that shifted from an agrarian to a maritime and quarrying focus. Through careful deed reconstruction, the scope and rate of this change could be tracked as a slow then precipitous decline in land transactions as people subdivided then pooled their acreage in an effort to keep up until finally abandoning the area in favor of better opportunities at the coast (Sportman et al. 2017:56–57). Using DeedMapper, the longer occupational history and amazingly colorful cast of characters at Dogtown promises even more complicated and detailed insights into the general economic and social narrative of the village, especially in clarifying the conflicting occupational sequences assigned to many of the residential sites.

One important resource that has not been identified in Dogtown is evidence of a burying ground (or grounds). Early on, Commons Settlement residents were interred in the First Parish Burial Ground (GLO.810), also known as the Bridge Street Cemetery. The 2.51-acre site off Centennial Avenue was established in 1644 and is the oldest burying ground on Cape Ann. It contains many of the most prominent people associated with the settlement of Gloucester, several of whom lived within the bounds of the Commons Settlement such as members of the Babson, Stanwood, Bennett, and Pearce families (DCR 2005; Lyon and Friedberg 2010; Sandy Barry, personal email communication, February 17, 2018).

The final disposition of a few of the later Dogtown residents is known, at least provisionally. Easter Carter, for example, was “killed with kindness” in the household of friendly neighbors at Gloucester Harbor, the victim of an “unaccustomed luxurious diet” (Mann 1898); her death is recorded in the Universalist Church records (Jude Seminara, personal email communication, February 17, 2018). Sam Maskey's final resting place was the source of some speculation, with Mann (1898) writing that “Mr. (Eben) Day thinks Sammy Stanley died in Hamilton. I had supposed he died in Rockport.” Tammy Younger's burial location also is speculative, with one source commenting that she is possibly interred at “the old Bridge Street burying ground” (Anon. n.d.b)²⁵. Other Dogtown residents ended their days at the poorhouse. Pringle (1892:87) writes that the first “almshouse” was built in 1719 but had only one female resident for so long that it became known as her house. Between the 1730s and the 1790s the poor were tenanted around the town until 1796 when another poorhouse was built on Granite Street near Washington Street. That building was in use for 50 years (Pringle 1892:87) and was likely the place that many of Dogtown's most poverty-stricken and marginalized residents died, including Cornelius Finson, Old Ruth, Mrs. Stanley, Mollie Jacobs, and Sarah Phipps.

²⁵ An undated newspaper article (Anon. n.d.c) on file at the Sandy Bay Historical Society states that “When Tammy Younger passed away, her little house (at the junction of Poplar and Cherry streets) stood forlornly on the hill, almost overgrown with sumac tress and barberries. Some years later, Mr. Brown's grandfather cleared the land, found the original cellar, and built his own big home on the same location.”

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The deaths of many Dogtown residents, however, went unrecorded in Gloucester. This could be because they relocated to another town, or because their deaths were recorded under different names (Jude Seminara, personal email communication, February 17, 2018). Although the thin, stony soils and shallow bedrock would seem to mitigate against a formal burying ground within the boundaries of Dogtown, it is entirely possible that at least a few of these people were buried there. Identifying how and where these “Dogtowners” died and where they were buried has the potential to provide important information about their degree of social isolation or connectedness and whether those conditions were circumstantial, imposed, or self-chosen. For example, Cornelius Finson’s and Old Ruth’s fates seem to have been a product of racial segregation, the complete dissolution through attrition of community-based ties, and – at least in the case of Ruth – some degree of choice. But where is Judy Rhines who, for all of her eccentricities, seems to have enjoyed some measure of social tolerance? And where is Abraham Wharf? As a modestly successful sheep farmer with a large immediate and extended family, he was certainly tied into the community, but his burial place is not recorded. Was his suicide so socially transgressive that he was denied that final consideration? Whatever the reasons, the lives and deaths of the people who lived in Dogtown on the physical and social margins of Cape Ann society are important to understanding the full story of that society, witches, warts, and all.

Statement of Integrity

The Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District possesses integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. The buildings and archaeological resources associated with the Dogtown settlement remain in their original locations and are largely undisturbed. Alterations to the Dogtown Landscape are largely the result of successional forest growth, and a lack of significant intervention by humans. Resources associated with Roger Babson’s philanthropic efforts remain in their original locations and continue to serve the functions for which they were built or created, such as the James Babson Museum and the Babson Boulders and Marker Stones.

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Newspaper Collections and Archival Repositories

Cape Ann Museum Library and Archives, Gloucester, MA

Sandy Bay Historical Society, Rockport, MA

Annisquam Historical Society, Gloucester, MA

Sawyer Free Library and Gloucester Lyceum, Gloucester, MA

Gloucester City Archives, Gloucester, MA

Rockport Public Library, Rockport, MA

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____
- recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # _____

Primary location of additional data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
 - Other State agency
 - Federal agency
 - Local government
 - University
 - Other
- Name of repository: _____

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): GLO.AA, RCP.N

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property 2,057 acres

Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates (decimal degrees)

Datum if other than WGS84: _____

(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

A. Latitude: 42.661976 Longitude: -70.661040

B. Latitude: 42.661645 Longitude: -70.654261

C. Latitude: 42.663966 Longitude: -70.644008

D. Latitude: 42.659767 Longitude: -70.630952

E. Latitude: 42.655050 Longitude: -70.629377

F. Latitude: 42.653612 Longitude: -70.632735

G. Latitude: 42.653152 Longitude: -70.629560

H. Latitude: 42.637222 Longitude: -70.639424

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I. Latitude: 42.632331	Longitude: -70.639157
J. Latitude: 42.624156	Longitude: -70.668161
K. Latitude: 42.627138	Longitude: -70.699700
L. Latitude: 42.634244	Longitude: -70.661229
M. Latitude: 42.633374	Longitude: -70.665238
N. Latitude: 42.643050	Longitude: -70.668799
O. Latitude: 42.649555	Longitude: -70.662634
P. Latitude: 42.649630	Longitude: -70.658004
Q. Latitude: 42.651838	Longitude: -70.654986
R. Latitude: 42.655492	Longitude: -70.656426
S. Latitude: 42.654362	Longitude: -70.659457
T. Latitude: 42.656231	Longitude: -70.662100

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

The Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District is roughly bounded by Cherry Street, Dennison Street, Gee Avenue, and Revere Street on the west, Upper Main Street and the Boston and Maine Railroad tracks on the south and east, and Squam Road on the north. The District is abutted by private property on all sides. The boundary encompasses 58 parcels in Gloucester and 37 parcels in Rockport. The Gloucester parcels are: 125_52; 188_74; 294_1-4; 295_1 and 5; 296_1; 308_1-3, 5-10, and 11; 309_1-20; 310_1-10; 311_1 and 2; and 325_1-6. In Rockport, the parcels are 11_21E and 23; 4_22; 4_6; 5_1, 1A, and 2; 12_79 and 79B; 6_2, 2A, 2B, 2C, 2D, 2E, 2F, 2G, 2H, and 2J; 6_3-12; 6_12A; and 6_13-19.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The boundary of the Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District conforms to modern parcel boundaries that are, in some cases, coterminous with historical parcel boundaries and/or surviving stone walls. The boundaries were selected to encompass extant circulation, property delineation, First Period buildings, and archaeological resources associated with the Colonial-era settlement of Dogtown. Additional resources associated with later philanthropic efforts by Roger Babson that are associated with Dogtown were also included. Resources which may have historically been associated with Dogtown but have been spatially separated by encroaching modern development have been excluded from the District boundary due to a lack of integrity in the intervening land.

11. Form Prepared By

name/title: Kristen Heitert, Sr. Archaeologist; Gretchen Pineo, Architectural Historian;

Dianna Doucette, Sr. Archaeologist

organization: The Public Archaeology Laboratory, Inc. (PAL)

street & number: 26 Main Street

city or town: Pawtucket state: Rhode Island zip code: 02860

e-mail kheitert@palinc.com

telephone: (401) 728-8780

date: July 2018

Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District
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Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)

Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

Photo Log

Name of Property: Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District

City or Vicinity: Gloucester and Rockport

County: Essex

State: Massachusetts

Photographer: Gretchen M. Pineo

Date Photographed: November 13–15, 2017 and June 27, 2018

Description of Photograph(s) and number, include description of view indicating direction of camera:

1 of 43. Dogtown Road, looking southwest.

2 of 43. Dogtown Road, looking northeast.

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- 3 of 43. Commons Road, looking southeast.
- 4 of 43. Dogtown Square, looking northeast.
- 5 of 43. Wharf Road, looking south.
- 6 of 43. Road from Sandy Bay to Squam Meeting House (Squam Road), looking southwest.
- 7 of 43. Old Rockport Road, looking southwest.
- 8 of 43. Olde Rockport Road Stone Marker, looking north.
- 9 of 43. Dogtown System of Stone Walls, looking southeast.
- 10 of 43. System of Walking Trails, looking southeast.
- 11 of 43. Whale's Jaw, looking northwest.
- 12 of 43. Peter's Pulpit, looking northeast.
- 13 of 43. Raccoon Ledges, looking southeast.
- 14 of 43. Alewife Brook Mill Site, looking southeast.
- 15 of 43. Alewife Brook Mill Site mill race, looking southwest.
- 16 of 43. Alewife Brook School House Site, view southwest.
- 17 of 43. Barn foundation at Beaver Dam Farm Site, looking south.
- 18 of 43. Beaver Dam stone at Beaver Dam Farm Site, looking north.
- 19 of 43. James A. Babson Museum, looking north.
- 20 of 43. Dennison House (GLO.647), 90 Revere Street, Gloucester, looking northwest.
- 21 of 43. Anthony Bennett House (The Castle), 41 Gee Avenue (GLO.773), looking northeast.
- 22 of 43. Joshua Elwell House Site (W), looking northeast.
- 23 of 43. Joseph Winslow House Site (14), looking southwest.
- 24 of 43. Henry Davis House Site (10), looking south.
- 25 of 43. Babson Marker Stone, looking northwest.
- 26 of 43. Babson Marker Stone – Dogtown Square, looking east.
- 27 of 43. Babson Marker Stone, looking southwest.

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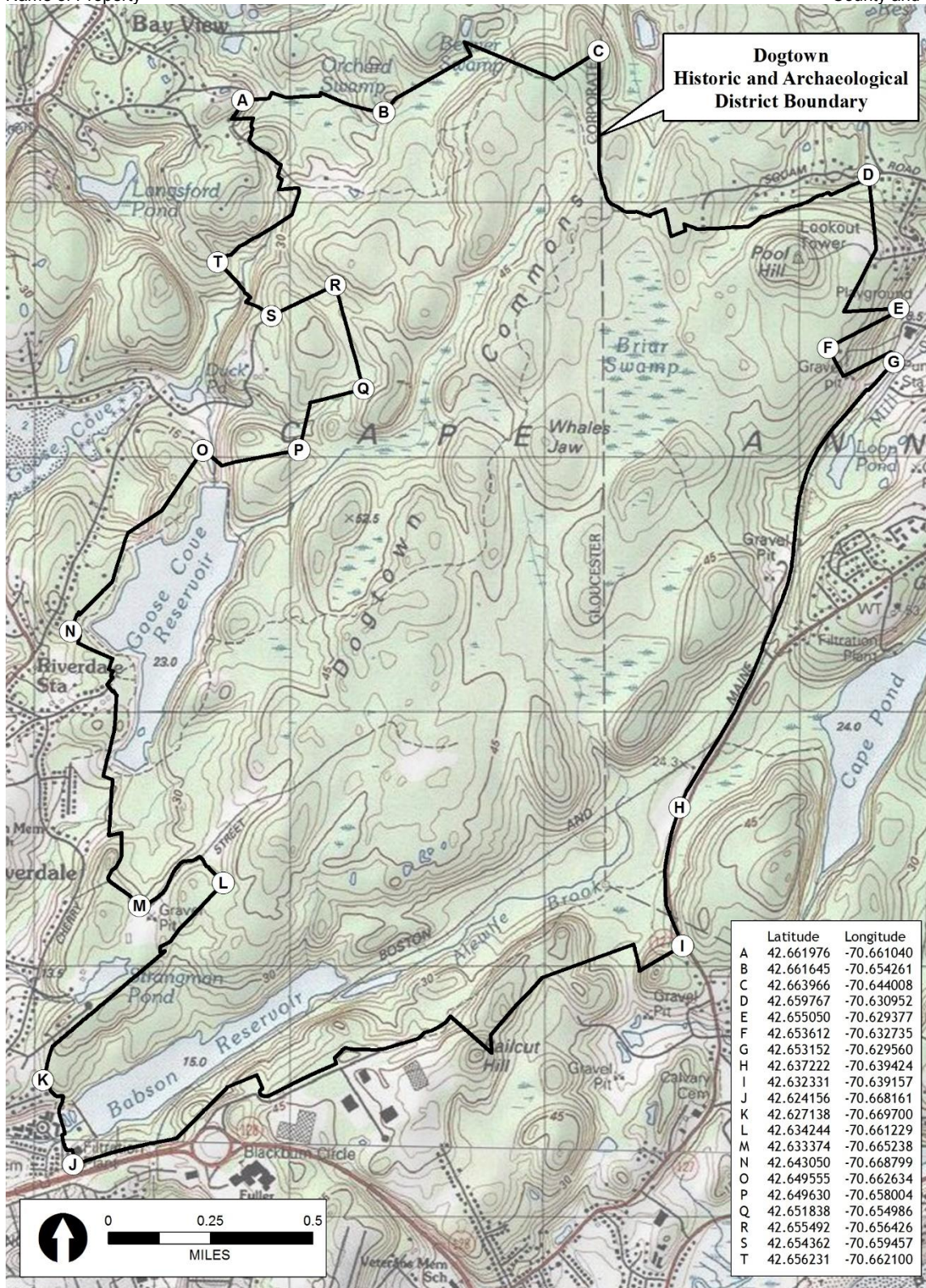
- 28 of 43. Babson Marker Stone (29) in Goose Cove Reservoir, looking east.
- 29 of 43. Babson Boulder Trail, looking northwest.
- 30 of 43. Babson Boulder "Intelligence," looking west.
- 31 of 43. Babson Boulder "Spiritual Power" (Uncle Andrew's Rock), looking north.
- 32 of 43. Babson Boulder "Use Your Head," looking south.
- 33 of 43. "First Attacked" stone (Merry Boulders), looking northeast.
- 34 of 43. "Jas. Merry Died Sept 18 1892" stone, looking north.
- 35 of 43. Babson Reservoir (GLO.962), looking northeast.
- 36 of 43. Babson Reservoir complex (including, L to R, Dam and Dam Control Building, Pump House, and Veolia Building), looking south.
- 37 of 43. Babson Reservoir Dam Control and Earthen Dam (GLO.968), looking southeast.
- 38 of 43. Babson Reservoir Dam Spillway, looking northeast.
- 39 of 43. Babson Reservoir Pump House, looking north.
- 40 of 43. Babson Reservoir Stone Walls and Entry Gates, looking east.
- 41 of 43. Briar Swamp Dam, looking northwest.
- 42 of 43. Goose Cove Reservoir Dam and Dike, looking southeast.
- 43 of 43. Boston and Maine Railroad tracks, looking southwest.

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

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 Name of Property

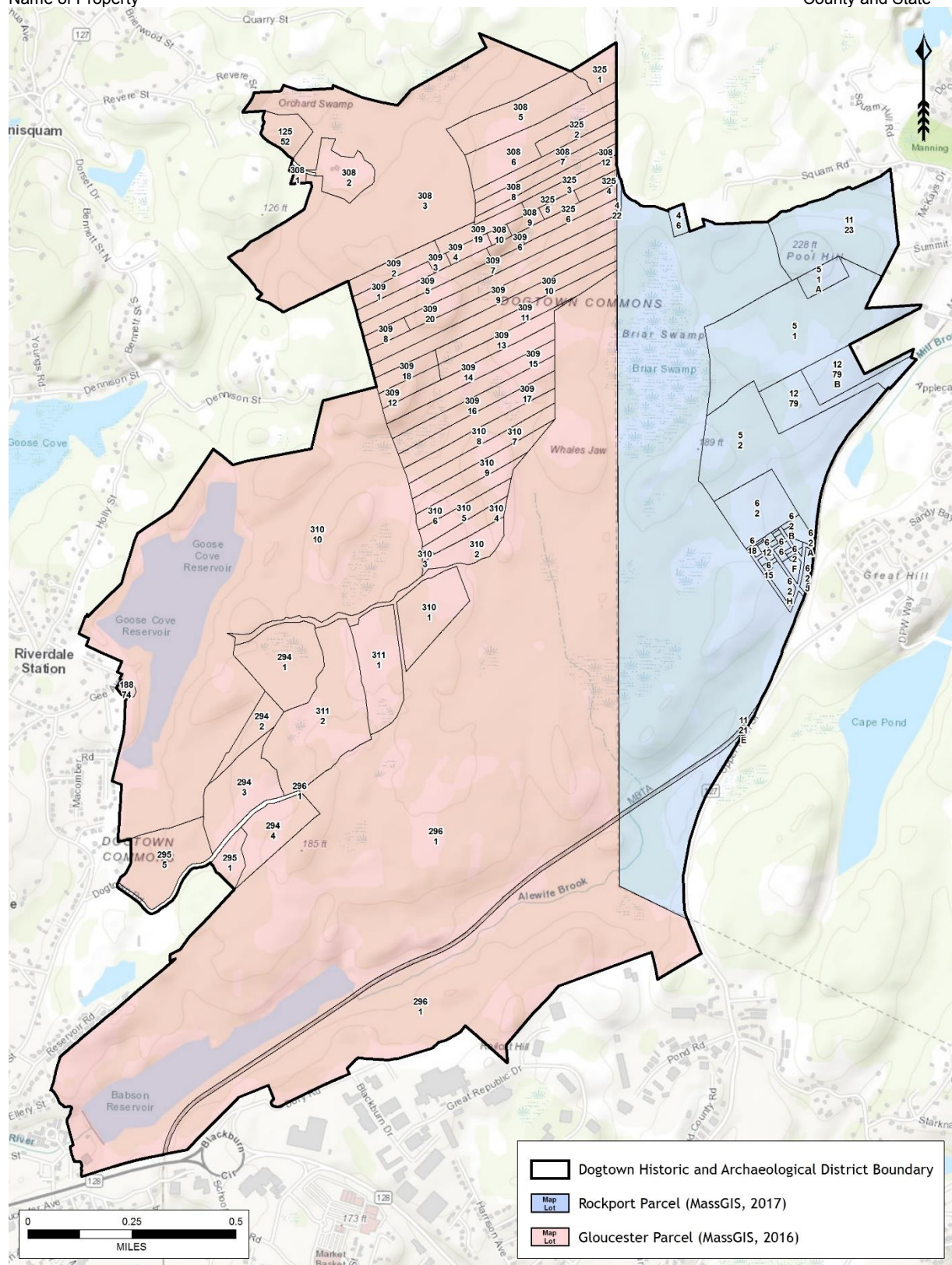
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Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District Coordinate Map.

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Dogtown Historic and Archaeological District Assessor Map.