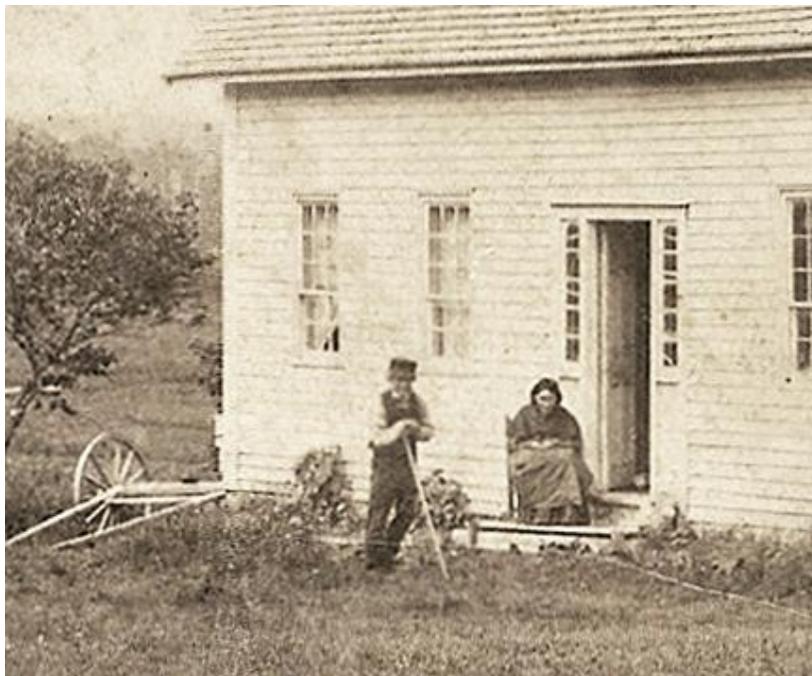


DOLLY COPP

AND THE PEABODY VALLEY PIONEERS

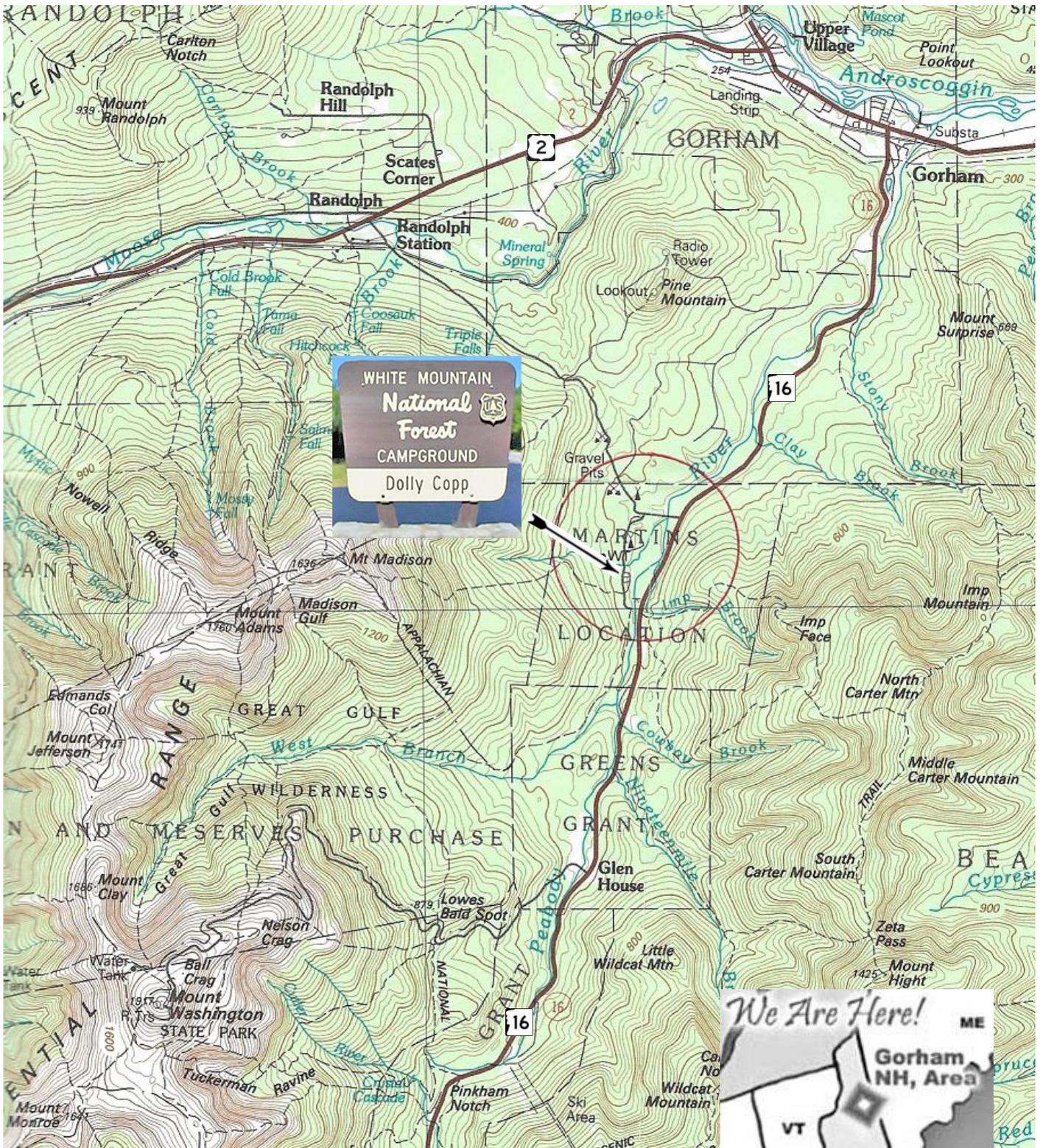
WITH BIOGRAPHY OF
DANIEL PINKHAM



HAYES AND DOLLY COPP IN
NEW HAMPSHIRE'S WHITE MOUNTAINS

BY JONATHAN CHEW

UPDATED TO 4/17/2024



THIS VOLUNTEER RESEARCH IS FREE
FOR WHITE MOUNTAIN HISTORY FANS
DOWNLOAD AT DOLLYCOPP.COM
chat at doloresjonathan@hotmail.com



CONTENTS

LINKS MAY ACTIVATE ONLY AFTER DOWNLOAD

1. ORIGINS OF DOLLY COPP CAMPGROUND

[1-1. CAMPING WITH THE AUTOMOBILE](#) 7

1-1A. MOTORIZED ACCESS ENABLES AUTO CAMPING; 1-1B. PLANNED SUMMER HOMES BLOCK EXPANSION; 1-1C. EAST BANK CAMPING CROSSES PEABODY; 1-1D. CAMPGROUND BECOMES MAJOR ATTRACTION

[1-2. THIRTIES ENHANCEMENTS](#) 21

1-2A. CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS ERA; 1-2B. DOLLY COPP CAMPERS ASSOCIATION; 1-2C. HOMESITE MEMORIAL; 1-2D. POOL, VISITOR CENTER, PICNIC SHELTER

2. EXPANSION AFTER 1940

[2-1. WORLD WAR TWO AND FORTIES](#) 42

2-1A. WARTIME ADJUSTMENTS; 2-1B. OTHER FORTIES ACTIVITIES

[2-2. FIFTIES AND THEREAFTER](#) 46

2-2A. APPALACHIAN MOUNTAIN CLUB ASSISTS; 2-2B. AUTHOR VISITS AND FIRST REHAB 1958-1963; 2-2C. SECOND REHAB 2017-2021

3. HISTORIC WALK THRU

[3-1. ENTRANCE, BARNES FARM AND NORTH END](#) 56

3-1A. MARY BARNES NAME ON LANDSCAPE; 3-1B. WORKSHOP, CREW CABIN AND OLD CHECK-IN; 3-1C. NATURE TRAIL AND SKI TRAIL

[3-2. CULHANE FARM AND COPP'S NORTH FIELD](#) 61

3-2A. PINKHAM - CULHANE HOMESITE; 3-2B. PINKHAM FIELD NOW BIG MEADOW
3-2C. MADISON BROOK BECOMES CULHANE BROOK; 3-2D. NORTH FIELD TOTEM POLES; 3-2E. GRAVEYARD AND HOMESITE; 3-2F. HIKING TRAIL WEST TO PRESIDENTIALS

[3-3. COPP'S SOUTH FIELD AND MORE](#) 72

3-3A. VIEWS TO NORTH AND SOUTH; 3-3B. BIRCH LANE, PLAY FIELD, END LOOP; 3-3C. PEABODY RIVER ITS POOLS AND BRIDGES; 3-3D. FIRE TOWERS VISIBLE FROM CAMPGROUND; 3-3E. HIKING TRAIL SOUTH TO GREAT GULF; 3-3F. EVOLUTON OF RT 16; 3-3G. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

4. HAYES AND DOLLY COPP

[4-1. COPPS AND EMERYS DRAWN NORTH](#) 104

4-1A. COPP FAMILY, DODAVAH AND SON HAYES
4-1B. EMERY FAMILY, NATHANIEL AND DAUGHTER DOLLY; 4-1C. ROAD LABOR SHORTAGE DRAWS HAYES; 4-1D. COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

[4-2. COLLAPSE OF PINKHAMS GRANT](#) 123

4-2A. PEABODY PIONEERS SETTLE IN; 4-2B. LOCAL GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED BRIEFLY; 4-2C. BELLOWS RESTORES COLONIAL BOUNDARIES; 4-2D. FOUNDERS THOMAS MARTIN AND FRANCIS GREEN

[4-3. IMP VIEW ATTRACTS TOURISTS](#) 135

4-3A. VIEW FROM COPP FARM; 4-3B. LODGING FOR HIKERS AND TOURISTS; 4-3C. HIKE EAST FROM COPP FARM TO IMP

[4-4. BUSTLING DOLLY COPP FARM](#) 144

4-4A. HOMESITE FEATURES; 4-4B. PRODUCTS OF THE FARM;

4-4C. ARTIFACTS, PAINTING, REFERENCES; 4-4D. EDUCATION, VOTING, TAXATION; 4-2C. EARLY CAMPING NEARBY; 4-4F. MT. WASHINGTON RELATED

[4-5. AUTHORS AND PERSONALITIES](#) 156

[4-6. RETIREMENT AND ADULT CHILDREN](#) 171

5. BIOGRAPHY OF DANIEL PINKHAM

[5-1. PINKHAMS FIRST TO SETTLE VALLEY](#) 183

[5-2. LOCATION OF THE PINKHAM FARM](#) 182

[5-3. PREACHER, POLITICIAN, POSTMASTER](#) 194

[5-4. PINKHAM'S SHORTCUT TO PORTLAND](#) 199

5-5. LEGACY AS PINKHAM NOTCH under construction

6. CULHANES, BELLOWS AND HOTELS

[6-1. CULHANES IN FARMING AND TOURISM](#) 207

[6-2. DOING BUSINESS WITH JOHN BELLOWS](#) 216

[6-3. BELLOWS HOTEL BECOMES GLEN HOUSE](#) 226

[6-4. SAMUEL COPP HOUSE AS GLEN HOUSE ANNEX](#) 231

7. PEABODY VALLEY SAWMILLS

[7-1. SAWMILL OVERVIEW](#) 237

[7-2. MARTINS LOCATION SAWMILL](#) 238

[7-3. GREENS GRANT SAWMILL](#) 241

8. PEABODY VALLEY LOGGING

[8-1. LOGGING OVERVIEW](#) 246

[8-2. LIBBY FAMILY LOGGERS](#) 248

[8-3. LOGGING ROADS AND CAMPS](#) 252



INTRODUCTION

"Don't expect too much of human critters, child, and bein' as you're one o' the outspoken sort you'd better hang onto them two sayins' – 'every path has its puddle' and 'it's better the feet slip than the tongue.'"

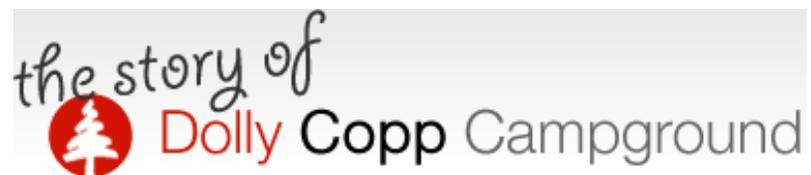
- Dolly Copp advising author Louisa May Alcott in 1861



Drawing of Dolly from the estate of Edward J. Reichert of Gorham, an early enthusiast for this research

STORY OF DOLLY COPP CAMPGROUND

I first visited the Campground in 1962. Many old-time campers there had deep connections to the place and spoke about changes over the years. Sensing an interesting story, I took notes and copied their photos. A booklet *“The Story of Dolly Copp Campground”* was the result.



I was honored by its review in the *Summer 2000 Windswept Magazine*, the Bulletin of the Mount Washington Observatory: “A well-illustrated, well researched monograph on one of the White Mountains’ earliest campgrounds. Worth the notice of anyone interested in the broader history of the White Mountains.”

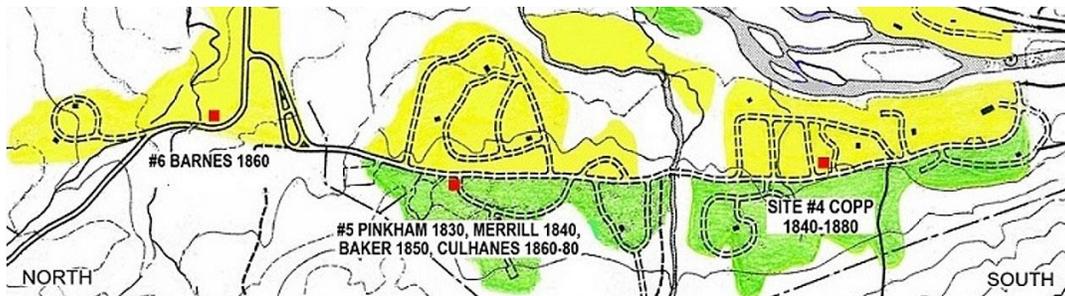
BIOGRAPHIES OF COPPS AND PINKHAMS

My connection to the Campground then broadened into an ongoing hobby project. I added biographies of Dolly and Hayes Copp and found they reflect much of northern New Hampshire history.

The Copps had close links to the Daniel Pinkham Family, Daniel the Pinkham Notch namesake. Great orator and author Edward Everett Hale praised Hayes. Author Louisa May Alcott recorded Dolly’s story.

HISTORIC HOMESITES

Until now an untold tale. Once the Peabody Valley became valuable for tourism the pioneer community was uprooted by a cunning entrepreneur. See what is happening on the six early homesteads today. Enjoy White Mountains history south from Gorham, NH past the Imp Profile, Great Gulf and Mount Washington to Pinkham Notch.



Census year occupancy with farmland categories from 1915 USFS
Sketch Map – fields yellow or lighter, pastures green or darker, white for woods



At left Joshua with Academy of Kempo Martial Arts 2012 World Tour; at right Tony, Dominic, Giovanni and Krissy Ferreira in 2019

Krissy in 2021: “We can tell the time without a watch, and know the weather before it is coming. There’s something about mountain air that makes us feel rejuvenated. We feel so grounded here and immediately want to experience all that nature has in store. It never gets old for us.”

1. ORIGINS OF DOLLY

COPP CAMPGROUND



USFS 1925 promotional photo

“Of all the campgrounds, the Dolly Copp in the White Mountains is the most popular. Fortunately, there is ample area for the physical expansion of the facilities.”

– National Forest Reservation Commission 1927



1-1. CAMPING WITH THE AUTOMOBILE



Martins Location farms circa 1900 ready for the new fad of “camping by auto”, view south across Peabody Valley from Gorham’s Mount Surprise, Library of Congress photo

1-1A. MOTORIZED ACCESS ENABLES AUTO CAMPING

The sudden proliferation of motor cars after 1900 had a dramatic impact throughout the nation. From the perspective of northern New Hampshire, access to its White Mountain recreation area was greatly facilitated. Urban populations in Massachusetts were now particularly well positioned to drive north.

New Hampshire’s “North Country” had welcomed the economic stimulation brought about by the arrival of railroads, the first transportation revolution. But reaction to the post-1900 flood of auto tourists was mixed. It took a little time for the economic advantages to win the argument - or perhaps in some areas the argument never was won - there being no way to exclude thousands of prowling automobiles.

Soon after the automobile's arrival came the national "auto camping movement", its basic feature true to the dictionary definition of camping: *"Briefly living out of doors in a much simpler lifestyle than that to which the camper soon returns."* The fast rise of auto camping correlated directly with the 1900-1920 steep increase in motor vehicle registrations. This camper surge soon reaches the highly scenic Peabody Valley, where automobiles became the impetus for the new Dolly Copp Campground.



Boarded up Copp House circa 1910 by Guy Shorey – note altered angle of view in framed photo – first Dolly Copp biographer George Cross writing in 1927: "This building was standing within the memory of the writer"

White Mountain historians owe a large debt to **Guy Shorey** of Gorham (photo), a photographer specializing in scenes of the White Mountains. He lived eighty years, 1881 to

1961. As with his photo of the Culhane House, Shorey's carriage is a subtle background feature in his circa 1910 photo of the Copp House.

Shorey was recorded by the Forest Service as camping in Dolly Copp in 1936. I remember original Shorey post cards still available in 1962 at Welsh's Restaurant in Gorham for ten cents each, now collectible items!



Turn of the century Greens Grant agriculture: at left crops on Glen House field - right Glen House pasture on 1910 post card with Carriage Road toll house at right

While at the turn of the century camping itself was not new, the auto camping variant, that is dependence upon a motor vehicle, was.

In 1905 a newly formed auto club toured the White Mountains and passed through Martins Location. As the lodging for these early motorists was "superior hotel and garage accommodations" this was new **auto travel** but not yet new auto camping. Excerpt from a White Mountain Echo of 1905, when "Glen Cottage" was at the former Glen House.

LOOK OUT FOR THE AUTO!

From July 15 to 23, inclusive, there will be many automobiles touring the mountains, and those who drive horses which are unaccustomed to motor cars are cautioned not to venture into the danger zone. On July 17 and 18 the running will be principally between the Crawford House, Bretton Woods, around by Twin, Pinkham Notch, and around Mount Jefferson, and go on to **Glen Cottage**, as during these two days Mount Washington climbing contests will be in progress.

Appalachian Mountain Club (AMC) camping is documented in the Peabody Valley in 1906: *"The August Camp pitched its tents in the open pasture at the rear of the site of the old Glen House. A dam was built across the Peabody River to form a swimming pool."* But the AMC campers had used traditional **rail passenger** service to reach Bartlett, with horse drawn transport north from there, so this was not the new auto variant of camping.

Throughout the nation, after 1900 early auto campers spontaneously squatted on rural private property. While a fee to the landowner was paid by some, others located out of view of farm owners, without permission or supervision. There were no *campgrounds* into which to herd the sudden motorized invasion - the concept of an organized, designated area for auto campers was *yet to appear*.

Soon, rural governments targeted recreational auto camping squatters with municipal control ordinances. Annoyed farmers put up strategic fences and no trespassing signs. Like most societal changes it took some time to assess what was happening, recognize the problem and create designated auto camping areas.

As the availability of random roadside camp sites dwindled, the provision of the first formalized campgrounds around 1920 was welcomed by auto campers. The circa 1920 transition from overnight "auto squatter spot" to "auto campground" was rapid and successful. The specific timetable for the founding of Dolly Copp Campground conforms nicely to this national generality. Some North Country perspective from the Bethlehem, NH White Mountain Echo:

8/21/1920: *"One cannot ride any distance along any of our highways without coming across a camping party. Never in the history of the White Mountain region has there been so many of these parties in evidence."*

8/9/1924: *"With the increase in roadside camping the burden of the fire protection organization is considerably increased. A tourist who camps by the roadside has a great responsibility to perform no act which makes him liable or endangers woodlands."*

9/5/1925: *"Camping parties, lured by the promise of free camps in the principal White Mountain towns and in the great National Forest Reserve have also increased and assumed a volume hardly conceivable. This it is claimed does not interfere with the regular business of hotel and inn - and naturally everyone hopes that it doesn't."*



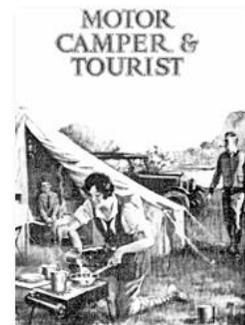
But a finer class of tourists camping than ever before is seen here and about fifty percent of the campers are traveling in limousines or sedans with their outfit on trailers, combining luxury and comfort with utility and economy."

9/5/1925: *"The New Hampshire Publicity Board handles 6,131 requests, many are made for road maps, more than 1,000 ask for information on camping grounds."*

Auto camping soon became a national craze. Even the elite were drawn in, President Warren Harding, Henry Ford, Thomas Edison and Harvey Firestone camping together in 1921, a deliberate media event. Camping was also driven by the "fresh air is good for your health" movement. In the twenties, popular literature on how to camp out became available.

"Most of us are possessed of the desire to be somewhere else. Restlessness remains. In the United States a new and increasing way of satisfying the desire for recreation and adventure has swept over the country. Motor camping is a leading national pastime." -1923 Motor Camping Magazine

"Instinct had long been cited as justification for camping out. It is an elemental instinct that thrills into active life at Nature's vernal call. A vacation in the woods means renewed contact with more primitive and stronger currents of being. The campfire was an opportunity for sociability."



For auto camping tourists, living outdoors added the problem of devising ways to cook, clean and perform everyday domestic chores. This was approached as a challenge, a deliberate self-imposed hardship. Auto camping offered training in traditional values of self-help and all around dexterity.

The ordeal was a welcome escape from the luxuries that alienated modern man from 'first principles.' Families who played together would stay together, a return to an earlier age when families cooperated on isolated homesteads." – from Warren Belasco's 1979 *Americans on the Road*

Drivers saw that the east riverbank of the Peabody River by the Copp Bridge had great potential as an early, informal, auto camper squatting spot. There was a suitable spring for water supply. The riverside field was flat and had a fine mountain view. Since the 1850s the Peabody Valley had been a destination for tourists. Early overnight stays aided the little Martins Location crossroads to become one of the earliest formalized auto camping locations.

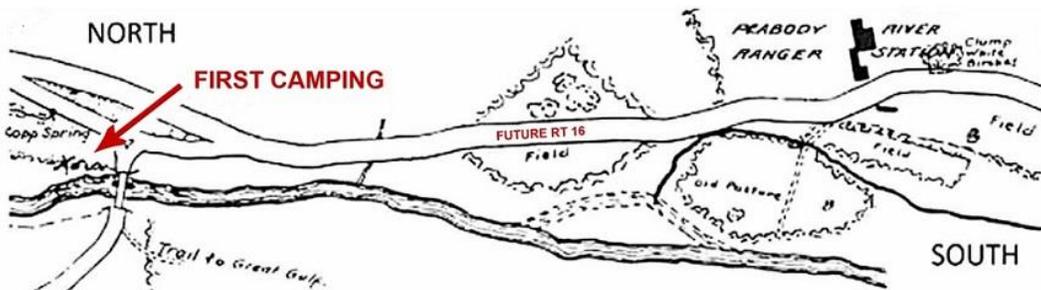
The 8/3/1933 Gorham newspaper looks back: *Early in the twentieth century a stragging camper pitched his tent on Martins Location. He found fishing, swimming and tramping {early term for hiking} on the side of Mount Washington good and told his friend. The word went around from mouth to mouth until the field and surrounding country bordering on the Peabody River became the haven of the camper who craved a change from city life."*

Informal auto-squatter camping aside the Peabody in Martins Location between 1914 to 1920 was *organized incrementally* into a public camping area. Dolly Copp campers today are much indebted to the foresight of U. S. Forest Service officials of that time:

"Early officials of the White Mountain Purchase Units realized that **Martins Location**, with clear openings close to the Presidential Range and a good water supply, would be well suited for recreational development." --- History of Forest Service Eastern Region 1997



An archival United States Forest Service (USFS) memo indicates its employee, Elmer. D. Fletcher "made the first survey of this area and established the Camp Grounds." Knowledgeable authority David Govatski says Elmer Fletcher was a USFS Forest Examiner, by 1912 appraising properties for federal purchase. And that Fletcher was experienced with determining fair market values, preparing his own surveying and mapping.



Early pioneer Site #2 reused as **Peabody River Ranger Station** on Fletcher's 1915 Sketch Map, **Copp Spring** at left hosts the first camping (annotations added)

Fletcher's initials appear on the 1915 *USFS Sketch Map* of central Martins Location that has been so valuable for this research, thanks to its long preservation by USFS Androscoggin District staff. There is also an undated, unattributed, document in the USFS file at the Androscoggin office stating that in 1915 campers had already been using the Peabody wayside "for years."

While after 1910 we can assume there were squatter auto campers there, no "campground" designation was placed by Fletcher on his 1915 map. From the viewpoint of 1915

mapmaking, it seems that any observation of overnight recreational auto camping did not as yet confer a designation about the land so camped upon. The “auto campground” concept itself was just emerging.

From a 1920 USFS promotional publication: “On the Glen Road, six miles from Gorham, N.H., the Forest Service has opened a public camp ground for the automobile tourist, known as the ‘**Copp Spring Camp Ground.**’ Here the camper will have plenty of room to pitch his temporary home, and he will find a large stone fireplace upon which to cook his meals. Near the highway is the old ‘**Copp Spring,**’ which has been stoned up and surrounded with stepping stones.”

From a circa 1939 USFS summary of early Dolly Copp Campground history: “As early as 1915 there was picnicking and possibly some camping at the spring on the east side of the Peabody River.” And from 1938 State of New Hampshire tourism literature: “The spring carries a long historical background.”



Above left and below Guy Shorey post card courtesy of camper Scott McClory; above right USFS 1925 promotional photo

It may be that informal auto camping at the Peabody wayside could not be upgraded by the USFS until some supervisory staff was lodging around the clock nearby. To fill that need, the venerable 1835 Samuel Copp House - Bellows House - Glen Cottage building transforms to its final role as the **Peabody River Ranger Station** and staff residence. This venerable farm house was demolished about 1939.



At left “Home Site #2 **Glen Cottage** building in 1911 before its 1914 federal purchase, center on 1915 USFS Map as **Ranger Station**, right under USFS operation in thirties

As newly purchased federal property, the 1915 USFS Sketch Map shows the old Site #2 structure in use as a ranger station, that designation differing from a 1914 USFS map that as yet had no federal usage notation there.



At left Picnic Area's "Great Fireplace" built by 1919 - above Horace C. Currier (1879-1943) and Xeno Fontaine at Fireplace, Currier Deputy WMNF Supervisor in 1923 and Currier Mountain in the Dartmouth Range named for him - the 1926 NH Forestry Commission cites "central fireplaces" provided at early federal campgrounds in NH

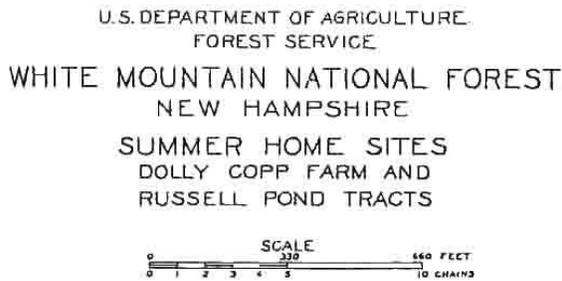
USFS literature states that the origin date is **1921** for the Dolly Copp Campground. But that is, taking a close look, for *the west bank facility* we know today. Various dates for the government endorsed opening of *the east bank* Copp Spring Camp Ground are from 1915 to 1920.

Important to qualify, in a few years both east and west bank camping are united by the bridge and operated as a single campground, into the early thirties. After that the east, Route 16 side, was converted into a Picnic Ground with no camping.

The much greater acreage on the west side grew to become the Dolly Copp Campground of today. A plan for west bank camping was endorsed by the USFS in 1921 then stimulated with a sturdier, higher capacity bridge in 1924.

1-1B. PLANNED SUMMER HOMES BLOCK EXPANSION

Odd as it seems now, the USFS initially encouraged summer home development on some of its newly acquired White Mountains land. This reflected national policy and included the west bank of Peabody River Copp and Culhane farmlands in Martins Location.



From the USFS's *History of Outdoor Recreation Development in National Forests 1891-1942* we learn that by 1912 the demand upon the USFS "is growing rapidly for sites on which summer camps, cottages and hotels may be located. In some of the most accessible and desirable localities land has been divided into lots of from one to five acres."

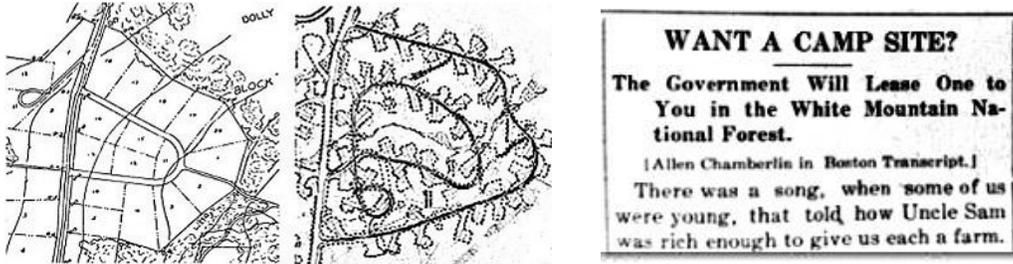
An excerpt from the *NH Forestry Commission Report* of 1915-16 describing locations for planned summer homes includes "the open fields west of the Glen Road about five miles south of Gorham."

According to a 1915 *Gorham Mountaineer* news report "some of the best cottage sites available in the mountains are located directly adjacent to some of the fine new motoring roads that the state of New Hampshire has been building in the past few years.... On the road that runs from Gorham through Pinkham Notch to Jackson are a number of old farm sites, commanding beautiful views of the Presidential Range and the Carter-Moriahs."

Accordingly, the entirety of what is today the Dolly Copp Campground was initially proposed as a summer colony of 89 lots. Lots were generally one acre in size. An excerpt from the 1916 USFS leasing brochure:

“The White Mountain National Forest contains certain open grassy parks which offer exceptional opportunity for the development of summer homes under almost ideal conditions.” As for Dolly Copp Farms “the locality is one of especial natural charm.

The Peabody River with its rapid, crystal clear waters, boulders, and bordering birches adjoins the location for more than half a mile. Picturesquely dividing the site into several blocks is a beautiful forest of birch, maple and spruce....



At left excerpt from 1916 **Dolly Copp Farms** summer home lot plan compared to same area evolved into Campground’s **Big Meadow** section; at right early **public notice**

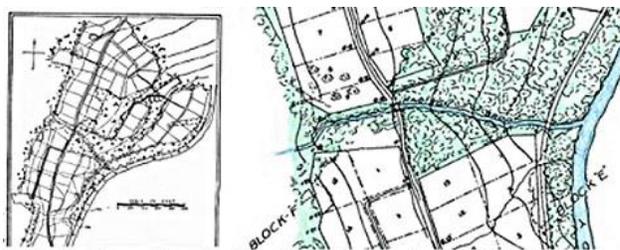
The lots have all been surveyed and the numbers marked on corner posts. The Forest Rangers at the Peabody Ranger Station will accompany visitors over the ground and give needed information. Lots will be leased at prices ranging from \$18 to \$25 per year, with the proviso that the improvements shall have a minimum cost value of \$1,000.

In order that the buildings may harmonize with the situation, it is desirable that they be of the bungalow type. By prompt application, groups of friends can arrange for adjacent lots, a feature that will add much to the enjoyment of life during vacation time {much like camping today}.

On most of the lots, a supply of pure water can be obtained at minimum cost either by gravity or wells. As development takes place, a permanent water system can be installed, making use of the water from nearby mountain streams. All sewage is to be disposed of thru septic tanks.”

In 1918 the USFS released a national manual entitled *Landscape Engineering in the National Forests*. Professional advice was provided therein for regional USFS staff facing the task of laying out summer home lots on some of the newly acquired federal forest lands.

Quite a distinction, the 1918 manual features as its **national model** the 1916 subdivision map of “*Dolly Copp Farm Summer Home Sites*.” Evidence points to Frank A. Waugh, a leading landscape architect at the University of Massachusetts, as the designer. Other evidence points to Waugh as responsible for the smaller “Great Fireplace” camping layout on the east bank of the Peabody. According to the University of Massachusetts web site “*at a time when the field of landscape architecture was still taking root, Waugh’s influence was significant in shaping the profession.*”



Dolly Copp Farm Subdivision pictured at left in 1918 federal manual; excerpt along Madison Brook {Culhane Brook in 1932}

Comparing the 1915 USFS Sketch Map to Waugh’s 1916 subdivision lot plan published nationally in 1918 reveals the proposed open space areas were primarily the swampy, wetland areas that had not been suitable for farm use in earlier days. Logically enough, wetlands preservation remains the practice within subdivision layout today.

To the public's advantage proposed private use of the west riverbank is soon reversed. From the 1997 *Forest Service History* specifically on Dolly Copp: "In 1917 the Forest Service had what is viewed now as a 'bad idea.'

They were going to put the campground out to lease to campers. But the Forest Service realized in time that 'they were in a position of putting land together for all people for all time, not just special people,' so they cancelled the whole program."

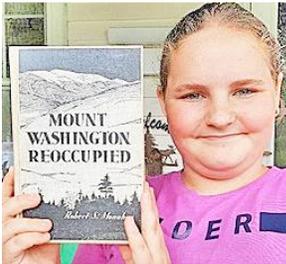
The United States had one half million autos registered in 1910, growing rapidly to eight million in 1920. That growth was reflected in the greater need for auto campground sites, not private cottages. Further perspective from the *White Mountain Echo* of 9/24/2021: "The opportunities for obtaining lands for permanent camp and cottage sites are so favorable just outside the National Forest boundaries that the Forest Service does not issue permits for such camps for personal use except in the most exceptional cases."

One difference between the 1915 USFS lands purchased map and the following 1916 USFS lands purchased map is that the roads within the proposed Dolly Copp Farm subdivision are newly included. These look like rudimentary access lanes, put in place on the old fields to permit summer home lot inspection by potential bungalow builders. Defining a dirt access way on a relatively level farm field was not a large capital investment.

Comparing the proposed subdivision plan with contemporary Campground maps, many subdivision road features were incorporated into the final campground design, a good example being Riverside Drive. The little lanes of the proposed subdivision were the logical circulation pattern for the topography of this acreage.

West bank summer home roads remain in place on the 1920 USFS lands map. Then those roads are removed on the 1924 USFS lands map, no intervening yearly maps available. This pattern correlates well with the 1997 *Forest Service History*:

"In 1921 the summer home idea was abandoned. Although similar plans proved successful in other parts of the country, lots on the 'Dolly Copp Farms' were not sought after. The area was opened for tent and trailer camping and has remained in popular use by visitors ever since."



Newspaper reporter Robert Monahan (his classic work *Mount Washington Reoccupied* displayed by my granddaughter Laura Myshral, a big campground fan by the way) reported in 1922 that "the fields beyond the bridge {on Peabody's west bank} were used only by horse grazing permittees."

It sounds like the west bank's fields were still in agricultural use and not formally available to auto campers yet. There could have been some informal use, but then again, USFS staff required fire permits for occupancy, effective authority to manage camp site placement.

"Almost a hundred years ago Hayes and Dolly Copp journeyed to the cabin home where they toiled together for fifty years to wrest from the forest the sunny fields and fruitful orchards where now each summer thousands of tourists from many lands find vacation joy in the open."

- George Cross in his 1927 "Dolly Copp and the Pioneers of the Glen"



“Copp Spring Camp Grounds” is written on the back of this early east riverbank view south

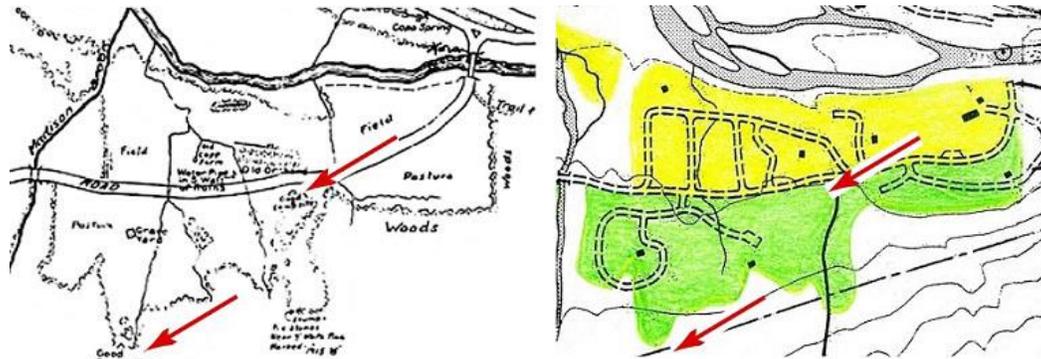


East riverbank north in 1922 courtesy of Kathleen Small from a long-time camping family, her grandmother Natalie Donnelly was a Campers Association officer in 1948, colorization by camper David Veit

1-1C. EAST BANK CAMPING CROSSES PEABODY

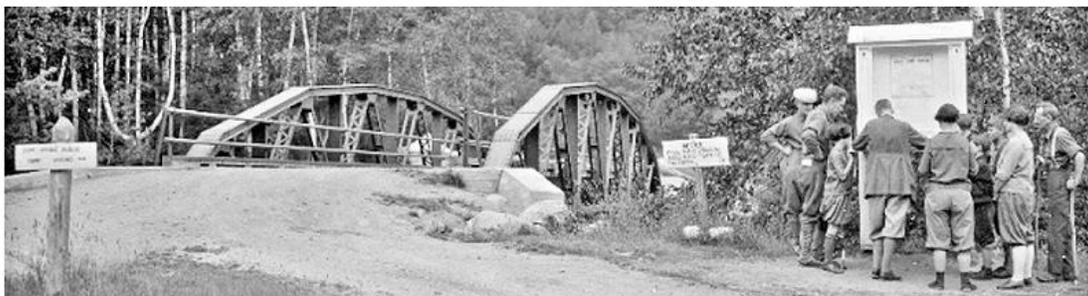
By the mid-twenties demand for Dolly Copp camp sites was high. Perspective from the 1924 *Biennial Report of the N.H. Forestry Commission*: “The Forest Service has improved six delightful public camp sites along the main highways, the most popular at present being the Dolly Copp camp six miles south of Gorham on the Peabody River, where 5,000 visitors made camp during the past summer.”

Included on the 1915 *USFS Sketch Map* are two west bank notations “Good Camp Site.” We are left to wonder if these were *already in use* in 1915 for early camping or were they the cartographer’s value judgment of what areas could be desirable camping spots for *future use*.



At left the two “Good Camp Site” notations in 1915 and at right same locations today – southern site on ridge separating Copp’s north and south fields had a view up and down the road – view to Imp from elevated north site with farmland still open must have been great

The 1915 map contains no other notations interpreted as anything but actual conditions of that year - no proposed future conditions shown. So, perhaps there was some early west bank camping in these attractive locations, of the hiker or horse drawn variety, predating “auto” camping.



*View west at **bridge built in 1924** – the year “river adequately*

bridged” – sign at left reads “Copp Spring Public Camp Ground” and points north along east bank; west bank now also available as evidenced by top of tent across river

Reporter Robert Monahan looking back from 1933 on what next: *“But with the river adequately bridged in 1924 the camp ground extended to the opposite bank and the development of the area proceeded rapidly.”* That statement focuses on the 1924 federal bridge improvement as a key facilitator of camping expansion to the west bank.

At first appearance at odds with the USFS 1921 origin date, the 1924 date may reflect the time interval needed to implement the 1921 policy authorizing expansion of auto camping to the west bank. Or the 1921 date is a little off. Pressure to expand must have been intense, as the nation’s total auto registrations of 8,132,000 in 1920 skyrocketed up to 17,481,000 in 1925; the numbers using their vehicles for auto camping assumed to be rising in tandem.

On the 1924 update of the USFS White Mountain National Forest (WMNF) map a symbol first appears in the legend for “Public Camping Ground.” In Martins Location, that symbol is placed north of the bridge and directly over the Peabody River, *seemingly to identify combined east and west bank camping areas.* Then on the 1931 and later WMNF maps, the campground symbol is placed *on the west bank only*, final west side camping dominance.



And in 1924 the USFS WMNF map designation for the facility had evolved to “Dolly Copp Camping Ground,” revised from the 1920 “Dolly Copp Farms Public Camp Ground.” At this time roadside picnicking was still mixed with camping on the east bank.

Dolly Copp Campground has always been enjoyed by northern New Hampshire’s residents, not just vacationers arriving from a distance.



BROWN COMPANY BAND AT DOLLY COPP. GEORGE STEVENS, DIRECTOR, STANDS AT RIGHT OF PICTURE

In September of 1927 Berlin’s papermaking Brown Company Burgess Band held its picnic (photo at left) on the east bank: *“Sunday, August 14th, will be remembered by the Burgess Band men and their wives.*

The trucks and private cars left Berlin for Dolly Copp Camping Ground, Sunday at 10:30 with one of the merriest crowds that had been seen in this vicinity.



The cover of the employee bulletin for the Brown Company heralds that company’s 1927 kindergarten picnic at the landmark east riverbank fireplace

The weather was uncertain as heavy clouds rolled by but this did not seem to worry this merry crowd as they performed their acrobatic acts and played horse shoes.

At 12:30 Frank Sequin arrived in his Ford with a pot of beans and rolls. John Lavoie gave them the trumpet mess call. Everyone was hungry enough to eat the bark off the trees.... After dinner some sang, others visited campers and others smoked.

At 2:30 the Band started the concert assisted by John Laffin, vocalist. Cars from different part of the Union filled with passengers were very cheerful and blew their horns after every number. The crowd was estimated at 700.”

Evidence of successful expansion over to the west bank in a 1927 Forest Service memo: *“The smooth and barbed wire on the area across the river has been taken down on the south side of the road to the old gravel pit and on the north side of the road as far as the old Dolly Copp place.”*

Casey Hodgdon advising in 2001: *“It is interesting about the barbed wire. I found some years ago to the right of the Pinkham B Road just west of the Peabody River. It could have been from the days of E. Libby & Sons after they purchased the farm from Nathaniel Copp.”*



Host David Evans at pasture fence remnant in 2023, photo by his wife Carol Matthes Evans

By 1927 Randolph, New Hampshire's resident historian George Cross in his Dolly Copp booklet ends with a section entitled *The Motor Car Comes to the Glen*.

He notes dramatic change in travel mode through the Valley: *“Today the jolting buckboard, the heavy mountain wagon, the gorgeous mountain coach with its six prancing horses, no longer drag through the dust clouds of rut worn roads. Palatial touring cars by thousands glide along tar highways. Cars by hundreds park along the banks of the Peabody. The motor car possesses the Glen.”*

The necessary physical infrastructure was expanded for the surge in auto camping. Water supply needs are featured in 1926 Forest Service correspondence on the spread of camping from the east bank west into today's Dolly Copp: *“At the present time we have a supply of water pipe which was originally purchased to furnish running water to the Peabody River Ranger Station.... The **spring at Dolly Copp** takes care of the water supply for that side of the river”* (at right USFS 1931 Dolly Copp Spring photo).

“However, the camping is extending to the opposite side of the river, and in fact more people are using that side than the area originally opened. It is too far to carry water from the spring to the opposite side of the river, and a number of people have been using the river water for cooking and drinking purposes.

*This is not a safe measure. I have been planning to use the supply of pipe in order to furnish running water on the places available for camping on both sides of the river. This supply can easily be obtained from **Imp Brook**.”* Never implemented, the Campground water supply today is a well just north of Culhane Brook.

Early camper **Mildred J. Richardson** * (at right photo with daughter Betty in 1927, Betty the *first recorded birth* within the White Mountain National Forest) confirms the walk from the west bank to the east bank spring for water supply:



“This particular morning while we were having breakfast we needed some water. We had to get the water from the Peabody River that was on the other side of the road. Al said he would get it but I wanted the exercise so went with Bobby {her dog} following right behind me. As we were going back across the road a car hit Bobby.”

* As those in the Peabody Valley gaze east, the massive wall of the Carter Range seems like an impenetrable barrier. Not so – you will enjoy discovering the remote Wild River Valley that lies beyond it. Visit of course, but a good start is to read what has become an instant White Mountain classic, published in 2019 *Where the Wild River Flows* by **Mildred J. Richardson**.



Edited and annotated by her granddaughter Caroleen “Mac” Dudley (in photo with book). The focus of Mac’s work is given in the subtitle: “A U.S. Forest Guard’s Work and Family Life in the White Mountains National Forest 1926 to 1937.” Ordering at wherethewildriverflows.com. All profits donated to the Charitable Foundation for Trails in the Wild River Valley.



*East bank **camper registration** – note both central very steep entrance (soon phased out but footprint still visible on landscape) and southern more gentle entrance road (also now abandoned but still in place)*

From 1926 Forest Service correspondence on the new west bank camping: “*That area is sufficient to take care of between 125 to 175 camps, and we are now able to enlarge that space since the pasture fence can be moved due to the permittee giving up the special use permit for the pasture.* Background for such permits from a 1925 USFS brochure on management of newly acquired White Mountain lands: “*The grasslands and pastures are open under a permit system for the grazing of local cattle.*”

Continuing, “*with central toilet facilities, I am convinced we would induce more and more of the people to use the opposite side of the river, which would leave the original side open for picnic and supper parties.*”



Here we see the closing of east bank auto camping (still active in photo above) *contemplated* in 1926, the plan that was soon followed. Perhaps the erosive ravaging of east bank camp sites by the major Peabody flood of 1927 speeded the action.

We see east bank closing imminent in a response to a 1931 survey as a camper pleads “*do not stop campers from camping on the street {Route 16} side of the river. That would spoil the camp grounds. There are fewer bugs on this side and more shade.*”

Other 1931 survey results: Length of Stay: 1 week or less 28 -25%, 2 weeks 40 -36%, 3 weeks 10 -9%, 4 weeks 11 -10%, 4+ weeks 22 -20%, Total 111 -100%. What are urgently needed improvements, percent that checked: tables and benches 36, satisfied as is 36, swimming pool 23, oil roads 18, place for picnickers 12, more toilets 11, have fields mowed 8, dogs to be leashed 4, grocery store 2, electric lights 1, central hall for rainy weather 1.

Typical comments made: There were requests for tables, benches and rustic furniture for each camp, that the grounds be plotted into lots, that picnic parties be given a special place away from the river, and to please oil the road through the Campground.

From the 1936 Campground rules: *“The area west of the Peabody River is reserved and developed for camping only. That east of the river is for picnicking.”* And so it has remained.



At left joy ride under the Imp, fuzzy but one of my favorite pics; at right USFS view north at east bank camping entitled “Guard Weeks emptying garbage into pit”

1-1D. CAMPGROUND BECOMES MAJOR ATTRACTION

During the twenties, the USFS was building additional campgrounds in the White Mountain National Forest. There were many popular locations with easier long-distance access for population centers in eastern Massachusetts than the relatively more remote Peabody Valley. Overall, in the “roaring twenties” camping was booming.

Other USFS campgrounds also have their fans – Jigger Johnson

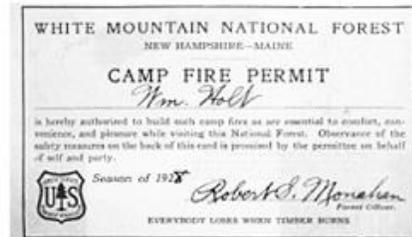
The 1926 *Biennial Report of the New Hampshire Forestry Commission* records six USFS WMNF Campgrounds that year: Dolly Copp, Glen Ellis, Zealand, Gale River, White Ledge and Oliverian. The total today is twenty-three. As for Dolly Copp in 1928, Robert Monahan’s September article that year is entitled “Dolly Copp Camp Ground Now Famous for Tourists.” Therein he describes the current camping season:



Robert Monahan 1907-1994

DOLLY COPP CAMP GROUND NOW FAMOUS FOR TOURISTS

Many of the Campers Spent Previous Summers, and This Year Returned To Renew Friendship. Rock-dison Spring and lakes of the clouds. The variety of interests which the campers have is always worthy of notice. Many photographers find the camp ground and ideal center from which they



Article by Robert Monahan in 1928 Berlin Reporter; then in his USFS staff role a 1928 Camp Fire Permit with his signature - courtesy of the Scott McClory Collection

“As usual the campers came from all parts of this country and Canada. Some stayed overnight departing the next morning with the wish that their itinerary allowed for a longer stop and others settled for the entire season.

Many of the campers had spent previous summers at Dolly Copp and this year returned with their friends.... But whatever their camping experience, their age or their occupation, a mutual desire for friendship was obvious all summer. The hospitality for which the namesake of the camp ground was famous is still to be found on all sides of her homestead site....

A tenting party less fit to haul and chop wood than others will wake in the morning to find a neat pile of firewood just outside their tent. Campers unfamiliar with the nearby trails will be guided by those more experienced.... Families with children return to school after Labor Day with the youngsters in fine condition for the winter. They have spent all summer outdoors on their rafts in the shallow pool just below the bridge or hauling water from the spring and dead wood from the forest.



Statistics of the past few years indicate the growing popularity of Dolly Copp. The average daily number of tents during August 1925 was 31, August 1926 55 and August 1927 73, while this year the average jumped to 79....

The record number of tents this season was tallied Thursday night, August ninth, when 106 tents were counted. The Forest Service now maintains other camp grounds but Dolly Copp still enjoys the greatest popularity among the camping public.

The Forest Service is laying out an ambitious program for continued improvement of the camp ground when the funds are available so that ten years from now the fields may present a somewhat changed appearance.” Monahan’s 1928 prediction for 1938 will be accurate.

Educational programs at Dolly Copp are a regular Saturday night feature today. An early USFS document dates them back to at least 1928: *“Every Friday evening in August, {District} Ranger Spinney gave an illustrated talk before the assembled camp explaining the purposes and activities of the Forest Service...*

*In attendance at one of these talks was Colonel Henry S. Graves, Dean of the Yale Forestry School.” Graves had been national USFS Chief from 1910 to 1920. (At right Campers of 1928 enjoyed **Dolly Copp Ginger Ale** made in Gorham – annotated with date of Herbert Hoover’s election).*



Monahan’s 1928 news article cites another new federal campground to the south: *“Glen Ellis Camping Ground is 12 miles from Gorham on the same highway. Parking space is provided at the entrance of the beautiful Glen Ellis Falls.”* The Glen Ellis camping was dismantled soon thereafter. Perhaps it became redundant as Dolly Copp to the north had so much room for expansion.

On family histories linked to Dolly Copp from the 1997 USFS History: *“The Dolly Copp Campground on the White Mountain National Forest is one of the oldest used public campgrounds in the country. Forest Historian Billie Hoornbeek has spoken to fourth generation campers there.”* This characteristic remains much in evidence. USFS Androscoggin District Ranger Katie Stuart writing in 2009: *“Dolly Copp is almost unique in my experience in terms of the generational use the site has enjoyed.”*

WMNF Forest Supervisor James E. Scott writing in 1928 saw the need to think big: *“It has not been possible to do as much as might well be done on account of the limited funds provided for this purpose. The Forest Supervisor had only \$750 for this work during the present fiscal year. The fact that over 8000 people camped on Dolly Copp alone during the month of August shows the popularity of the Forest Service Camp Grounds.”*

While improvements were still needed, the Campground by the early thirties had basic services in place. We see this in the 1932 Report of the *NH Forestry Commission*: “At some of the more intensively used camp areas, notably the Dolly Copp Forest Camp water has been piped to many convenient points throughout the camp area.



Chemical toilet systems {photo of 1931 chemical outhouse in Dolly Copp, outhouse system still in place in 1962} have been installed, refuse collection and incinerating systems have been established, and efficient camp police are continually in service throughout the busy summer months.”

1-2. THIRTIES ENHANCEMENTS



At top, view north about 1938 at CCC workers aside new log barrier on Play Field, entrance to End Loop at left – bottom same view in 2023 by host Carol Matthes Evans, (thanks Carol!) with DC seasonal staff recreating 1938 workers

1-2A. CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS ERA

Once the Great Depression struck late in 1929, camping at Dolly Copp and elsewhere in the country generally did not decline. This was due in part to camping's low cost and to automobiles being the last amenity to be surrendered in hard times. Dolly Copp camping actually increased during the turbulent thirties. It of course helped that during that decade, the number of camp sites increased, and amenities were enhanced with CCC labor and federal funds.

The *USFS History of Recreational Development 1871 – 1942* tells us that in the early thirties funding was increased by the Roosevelt Administration: “*The Forest Service received recreation funds and support far beyond its wildest dreams of earlier years. The resulting new wave of recreation development overwhelmed the work done before 1933.*”



Rock strewn Dolly Copp camp site prior to CCC landscape renovation

Several years earlier the service had customarily insisted that it could only provide simple campgrounds and the like, leaving private developments to fill the demand for more elaborate facilities.

The Service now saw its role as providing all structures convenient and necessary to National Forest visitors, including bathhouses, picnic shelters and the like. the Forest Service would also strive to design and locate those facilities in aesthetically pleasing ways.”

Using newly available low-cost labor from the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the USFS now erects substantial recreation structures in National Forests from coast to coast. As examples of the new construction, thirteen photos are included in the 1942 national *USFS History*. One of these is the “large pavilion – administration building {1934}, Dolly Copp Campground, White Mountains National Forest, New Hampshire.” Another of the thirteen is the “Appalachian Mountain Club’s store adjoining its lodge {lodge built 1920} at Pinkham Notch Camp.”

The 1942 national text also states that “at the Dolly Copp Campground, the Service erected a log-framed picnic shelter {1936} with a massive stone fireplace {the adjacent George Cross “Great Fireplace” was saved} and a log pavilion or community house large enough to shelter several hundred persons. Both structures fell within the so-called ‘rustic’ style of recreational architecture.” These features are beloved landmarks today.

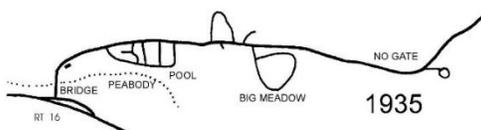
According to historian Aurore Eaton also among the projects undertaken by CCC men was the clearing of ski trails at Wildcat Mountain Ski Area in Pinkham Notch.



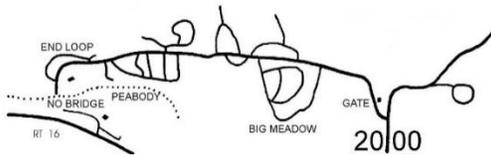
*At left, early **Big Meadow** from the Bob Rich Collection; at right **Cummings Family** members tune their automobile under the Imp*

Seventeen CCC work camps were established in the White Mountains, including one in 1935 on Route 16 just 1.2 miles south of the Dolly Copp Picnic Ground. The location was south of the 1835 Samuel Copp house used since the mid-teens as the Peabody River Ranger Station and across the Martins Location civic boundary in neighboring Greens Grant. There was also a sub-camp in Pinkham Notch.

As “Camp Peabody” was established on land with a significant slope, I have found no previous use as a pioneer farm site. The location remains active today as the Appalachian Mountain Club’s Camp Dodge Volunteer Center, named in honor of Joe Dodge of AMC Pinkham Notch fame.



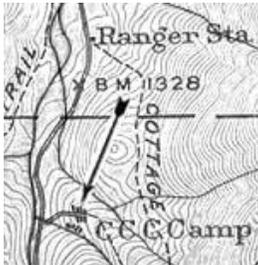
Dolly Copp Campground’s 1935 traffic circulation pattern with north at right – on to that base the CCC added many of today’s drives, lanes and loops – the entrance moved from south to north in 1950



A Forest Service record of about 1940 summarizes CCC contributions to Dolly Copp in the thirties: “A few minor improvements were in place around 1925 and others followed slowly until 1933. The development of the area in its

present form began with the advent of the CCC program and was completed in the next three or four years.”

The initial improvements at Dolly Copp were made by labor based at CCC Camp Kilkenney in Berlin that had opened in 1933. Kilkenney labor built the Administration Building in 1934. Labor from the newer 1935 Greens Grant CCC Camp Peabody then completed the Picnic Shelter and remaining work at Dolly Copp.



At left Civilian Conservation Corps **Camp Peabody** in Greens Grant on 1937 US Geological Survey Map; that Camp in operation; volunteers at **Joe Dodge Center** here today

According to the *First CCC District 1937 Annual Report* “the work projects of Peabody Camp {known as the 1126th Company} are practically all recreational developments within the WMNF. Considerable landscaping has been completed in the Administration Area of Dolly Copp. This includes the erection of suitable guard rails and the moving of about fifty large trees required to enhance the beauty of the grounds and the attractiveness of the building.

Several roads for the use of the summer campers have been constructed opening the most desirable camping areas. In connection with the roads, parking areas and spurs have been constructed and camp sites developed.

Other work projects completed to date by this camp are the Log Picnic Shelter 30 feet by 60 feet constructed with flagstone floor and fireplace, 20 single unit toilets plus 100 picnic tables, 50 fire place grates plus water outlets and extensive landscaping.”

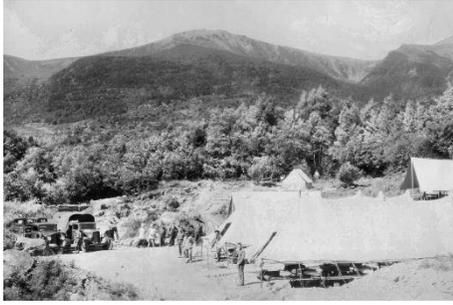


Peabody Camp on parade at the 1936 Gorham Centennial – photo courtesy of the Gorham Historical Society

And this emergency event nearby: “On March 13, 1936, the entire Camp was called out to open the Glen Road below the camp,

which had become flooded over during the night. A snowslide off the mountain had completely blocked the Glen Road near the AMC huts, and through the hard labor of the enrollees it was finally made passable.”

Mount Washington historian F. Allen Burt looking back to 1933: Robert Monahan “oversaw the thirty-five-man side camp at Darby Field in Pinkham Notch during the summer of 1933. He directed much of the initial work undertaken by the Civilian Conservation Corps in the vicinity of Mount Washington.”



156TH CO. C.C.C. PINKHAM NOTCH SUB-CAMP, GORHAM, N. H

156th Company in Gilead Maine primary responsible for Evans Notch;
1126th Company in Gorham New Hampshire responsible for Camp Peabody



A Dolly Copp camper’s letter to the USFS in 1936 grumbles about the CCC expansion then underway: “My personal opinion is that the more grass that is removed from the ground, the more dust that the camper has to contend with. This is another reason why some of us think that the spurs should not have been made.”

First row second from left Cheri Stephanian with CCC men: below Cheri at far right still camping in DC in 2010!



USFS internal staff correspondence of March 19, 1938, on how to respond to camper complaints regarding CCC young men: “Possibly the following complaints can be corrected without too much trouble. CCC boys allowed in camp when off duty, CCC boys shouting at girls in camp during day, CCC trucks driven at high speed through camp before 8 am accompanied by shouting.”

CCC Kilkenny Camp and CCC Peabody Camp had brief tenures, both closing in 1937. The CCC Moose Brook Camp in Gorham remained open until 1939. Then during World War II, Camp Peabody briefly reopened as a conscientious objectors’ work camp, providing additional low-cost labor for the USFS.

As recorded in the Androscoggin USFS file in 1934 University of New Hampshire forestry professionals advised the Forest Service: “They agreed that some kind of blocking system is necessary both for better utilization of the grounds and so that the location of each camper may be known and designated for the benefit of visitors.

The advantages suggested for a blocking arrangement of camp sites are the possibility of reserving a particular site or group of sites by communication, the ability of the camp superintendent to assign small blocks to a group of campers who wish to live near each other.

And to segregate those who intend to stay all season, mostly mill workers from Berlin and Gorham, from the transients who object to the noise of cars starting early in the morning and returning late at night and from the annoyance of numerous weekend visitors.”

The 1934 experts also “suggested a permanent fireplace, ice box and table for each camp site and criticized the present tables for their excessive weight and low seats.” Of note from a 1936 USFS memo: “In some areas grates have been furnished for campfires while at

others campers are allowed the use of roughly made fireplaces which they themselves construct.”

An undated Forest Service memo near 1939 on the years of upgrading just completed: *“Road system of 1.9 miles, Administration and Recreation Building, 1 swimming pool, 1 water system with chlorinator, 250 camp sites with tables and fireplaces. Large picnic shelter with stone fireplace and tables, 2 parking areas, spring development, 1 stone fireplace, 22 picnic units with tables and fireplaces.”*

The wooden guard rails so abundant in late thirties photos were to be replaced with large boulders, many of which remain today. By 1940, Dolly Copp had attained the basic layout we see today.

Former Campground host John Hamlin of Maryland grew up in Gorham and graduated with the high school class of 1939. Working as a host in Dolly Copp in 1999, he recalled that in the late thirties *“no fees were charged. You camped wherever you wanted and campsites were crowded against each other. Sections had not yet been named. The area was ‘a lot of fields.’”*



Mr. Hamlin on the later thirties: *“The swimming pool was a popular attraction. The campers of the period were ordinary people, not well off; this was an inexpensive vacation. The pattern was already established whereby many fathers worked in Greater Boston during the week while the mother and children spent multiple weeks here.”*

Statistics in a USFS memo of 8/18/1937 document Campground usage that date; 279 tents with 828 tent campers therein, in addition 22 trailers with 71 trailer campers, total 899 campers.

My mentor, early camper **George Brackett** (two photos below - at left with his father camping on east bank in 1926, at right camping late in life), relates that the typical method for early camp site refrigeration was to buy ice in Gorham and place it in a wooden crate sunk in a hole dug aside the camp site. Covered with canvas, food would then be preserved in a primitive but effective cooler.



Photo of in-ground refrigeration at Dolly Copp in 1929. Many early camping photos herein such as this are unattributed, the result of having been unmarked when donated to the USFS for the Campground’s seventy fifth anniversary celebration.



Forest Service correspondence indicates that informal shoulder pullover parking areas, each large enough to serve a few nearby sites, were initially the CCC design norm. It was only after the circa 1960 rehabilitation that most campsites received their own on-site, or very near-site, parking spaces.

In the thirties colorful supervisor Ranger Benedict was a “one-man show” who ran Dolly Copp with a firm hand. He managed everything himself without assistants. George Brackett says that it was the custom for rangers then to wear high leather boots and a .38 revolver, as did Benedict. His tenure included at least the years 1916-1936.



Ranger Smitty

The camp rules of 1936 confirm that at that time Ranger Benedict was housed at the Ranger Station, early camper George Brackett recalling that Benedict's wife and children were with him. As of 2023 his replacement Ranger Smith "Smitty" (photos at left) is still remembered by today's honored "grand dame" of DC campers, Margery Cummings Towne.

How could campers place their tents in proximity without friction when space was short, without the definitive site boundaries of today as a guide? George Brackett answers: *"The top authority at that time, Ranger Benedict, ran the place with an iron hand, to the extent that the finality of his rulings prevented most problems and complaints."*

George also recalled that in early years' grass on the camping fields was not regularly cut: *"You might arrive to find grease on the tall grass, deposited by the suspension of the automobile of the previous occupant."*



View south over future Play Field in 1931 courtesy of Scott McClory; at right Gorham's Bob Ross as CCC worker



Back in the thirties E. Libby & Son still ran a general store in nearby Gorham. A colorful piece of local history, it operated from the 1850s until 1948. Many Dolly Copp campers would trade there and be given free ice as a courtesy.

Gorham resident and CCC member Bob Ross, who lived from 1922 to 2005, recalled that some campers were allowed to leave their heavier camping gear in storage at that store at no charge for the winter.

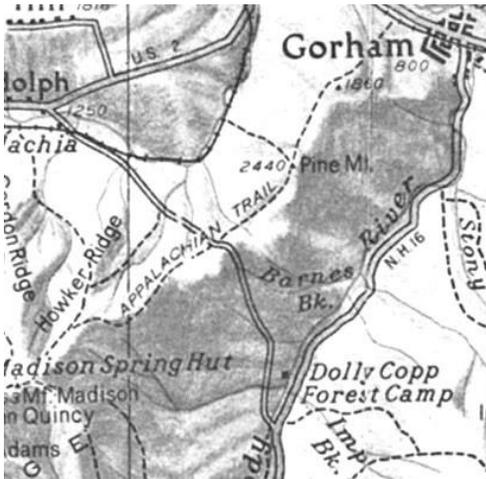
D. B. Wight writing on 1936: *"Gorham merchants were now greatly benefited by the Dolly Copp Camp Ground during the summer months. Over 7,000 campers stayed there during the year and most all of them came to Gorham to do their shopping."* Significant contributions by campers to the area economy continue today.

In 1938 the *NH State Planning and Development Commission* released a booklet extolling the State's major public recreation areas. Its comment on Dolly Copp Campground: *"Located on the old Copp farm beside the Peabody River 6 miles south of Gorham on Route 16, this forest camp and picnic area has the highest public demand of any forest campground in the East..."*

Forty thousand people registered here during the summer of 1937. An excellent system of gravel roads makes the camping spots readily accessible. Dolly Copp Spring, on the picnic side of the river, not only supplies good, cold drinking water but also carries a long, historical background."



Caption on 1937 photo at left: “Scene shows sportsmen at **Dolly Copp Forest Camp**. From this site, skiers travel only a few miles to enjoy June skiing in Tuckerman Ravine” – view from bridge into Dolly Copp of **Wildcat Ski Trails** 5.2 miles distant



On this thirties USFS map the early **Appalachian Trail** was routed northeasterly over Pine Mountain. Then The 1948 AMC Cutter Map shows the link from Pine to Gorham rerouted by then. Relocation was described by travel author William Teg in 1950:

“Between Mt. Washington and Gorham, N.H. two alternate routes of the Appalachian Trail are available; one via Mt. Jefferson (Gulfside Trail), Samuel Adams, Mt. Madison, (Pine Link):

The other via Tuckerman Ravine (later revised to avoid the steepness of that ravine), Pinkham Notch Camp, (Wildcat Ridge Trail) Wildcat Mountain, Carter Notch, Carter Dome, etc. This latter route offers a greater variety of spectacular outlooks than the other route.”

From the 1936 Campground rules: “No advance reservations for particular locations will be made.” That policy has changed since then, a reservation system was introduced for most of the Campground in 1988 (as of 2024 accessed at recreation.gov).

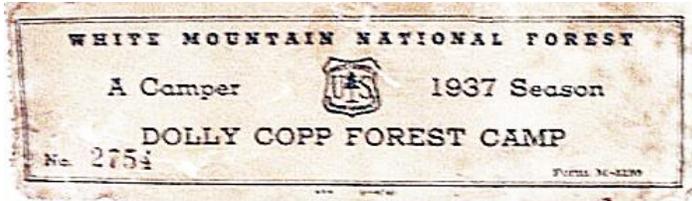
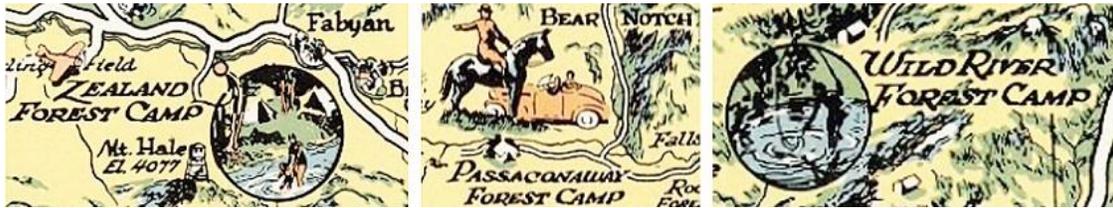
The 1940 USFS report *Forest Outings* provides an end of decade perspective on Forest Service sponsored camping. As White Mountains fan Robert S. Monahan was a contributing author, he is assumed to be responsible for this reference to Dolly Copp:



“On the 161 national forests there are now some 53,000 free outdoor recreational sets, not nearly enough to supply the thronging demand. The 17 national forest camps in New Hampshire offer 2,000 sets between them; and of this number **Dolly Copp Forest Camp**, alone, has 1,000.”

More from the 1940 report: “Dolly Copp, at the height of its season, is probably the least peaceful national forest camp in the whole country, yet people keep flocking there and liking it more and more. The camp population from June to September runs around 74,000 for the season.

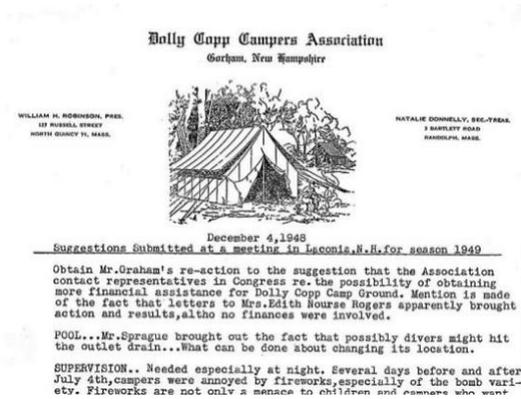
The problem of its administration is fairly comparable with that of the administration of a boom town, and when the more or less resident throng is swelled by holiday transients, squirming for a swim or a day’s outing, the scene and situation are not entirely idyllic. Last year’s 1938 Labor Day crowd at Dolly Copp totaled 2,600 – a peak. ‘It was like Coney Island without the chute the chutes,’ says the resident forest guard.”



Starting in the thirties, for some years titles of WMNF "Campgrounds" substituted replacement words "Forest Camp"

1-2B. DOLLY COPP CAMPERS ASSOCIATION

A 1980 unsigned memo preserved in the Androscoggin USFS file places the origin of the Dolly Copp Campers Social & Recreational Association in 1933:



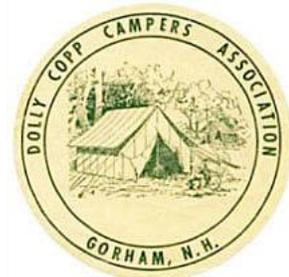
"The 'esprit de corps' generated by the reclamation of the Copp home site and the latrine petition to move an outhouse away from the home site encouraged the campers to formally organize."

Spearheaded by a group of long time campers from the Boston area, the 'Dolly Copp Campers Association' elected officers and began to hold regular meetings."

George Brackett makes a distinction between two phases of Association history: "The first limited itself to organizing a collection for the homestead restoration, completed in 1933. This was a different leadership with a limited purpose, in contrast to the broader goals of the second and longer lasting group that emerged a few years later and continued until 1958."

From the 1980 memo: "The new association became more influential and better organized as the years went by. They wanted more campsites added to the campground each year..."

By the late thirties many of the core group had been coming to the camp for ten or more years and occupying the same campsites all summer each summer." (Dolly Copp Campers Association window sticker courtesy of Bob Craig).



A subset of the organization is noted in a 1936 letter from a camper in Massachusetts: "In New Bedford, we have a group of Dolly Copp Campers that meet once a year. To belong, the party must have camped at Dolly Copp for five years."

From Forest Service correspondence dated 1939: "The Dolly Copp Campers Social and Recreational Association.... has been of considerable assistance in promoting functions and supplying facilities for the added enjoyment of campers. The Association purchased a piano to be used in the Administration Building and conducted dances and other social entertainments in 1937."

After World War II, the Campers Association was held in high enough regard that Forest Service officials attended its annual winter meetings. The 1947 session was held at the Statler Hilton Hotel in Boston. According to the 1997 USFS History:

“Since the Forest Service was hard up for funds, they began to accept the campers’ offers to do various jobs in the Campground. Campers operated the information center, the lodge, and had movies, dances, religious services, and even a library. They were sort of a closed operation; if you weren’t from this Massachusetts group, you might kind of belong, but not really.”

Campers Association correspondence in 1954 cites activities: *“We put on a dance for the campers every Tuesday and Saturday night at the Recreation Hall. Last night it was really crowded.”* According to Bernice Brackett *“we were members of the Association. The children had a great time-- the Mexican Hat Dance, the Bunny Hop, and the ever-popular Hokey Pokey. We all had membership numbers and they had drawings for gifts. They had an annual field day. All kinds of races and games, topped off by the crowning of Miss Dolly Copp.”*

From the 1957 Association newsletter: *“The past season at Dolly Copp proved to be the greatest yet. From all available records the number of campers exceeded all previous years, and membership in the Dolly Copp Campers Association soared to a new high of 616.*

Campsites, unused for years were reclaimed. The recreation hall floor was washed and oiled, pits were filled, and a new organizational area cleared.... Also under consideration by your Board of Directors are ways and means of improving the enjoyment of Field Day evening.”

After the demise of the Association in 1958, the USFS maintained the Saturday night dances until 1968, open to the public. Yours truly was at the last dance of the last open dance season. In 1965, invincible high school seniors, we drove my 1957 Chrysler up from Reading, Massachusetts on Route 125 and then Route 16 *just to attend the Dolly Copp Saturday evening dance.* Speeding south to return by midnight curfew, my trusting parents were none the wiser. Good thing my own three teenagers never pulled stunts like that (I hope).

TWO WEEK CAMPING LIMIT BEGINS: With interstate and other highway improvements reducing travel time to the White Mountains, and parents of the baby boom generation camping in ever greater numbers, demand for sites at Dolly Copp increased yet again. As a result, a 14-day visitation limit starting in 1958 was the USFS response, continuing today.

That action broke the back of an association built around the interests of continuous summer season occupancy of a single site. Perhaps it is no coincidence that 1958 also marked the return of management to USFS from the AMC as contractor, the crowding problem having developed during the fifties but the scope of AMC responsibilities not including major policy changes.

From a USFS press release on the new time limit: *“The free Dolly Copp Campground in the Pinkham Notch section of the White Mountain National Forest should be available to all who wish to make use of it for camping purposes, and its choice sites not monopolized for extended periods by the same parties, it was made clear yesterday at Forest Headquarters here.”*



The view of former USFS Campground manager Belvin Barnes: *“Some campers had been marking choice sites with personal possessions in the late spring, clear notice that those sites were to be theirs*

exclusively over the entire summer season. A few would even go so far as to take this step in the preceding fall, leaving some personal property on their site under the snow for the entire winter.”

Comment on the demise of the Association from the 1980 unsigned memo: *“An easy answer would be that it was the 14-day limit, but the problems go much deeper than that. The relationship between the Forest Service and the Association had deteriorated before the final straw.*

The Forest Service had relied on the volunteers so heavily that the Association felt they were in control. The Association considered their campsites their summer homes. They had paid for these homes with 20 years of stewardship. Part of the problem was the changing times and a group of people that were desperately trying to maintain a lifestyle they had developed over a period of 20 to 30 years.”

Campers Association leading member Emma Cummings, living from 1898 to 1984, spent most summers at Dolly Copp. She was a tireless worker, volunteering to manage many Association activities. When Emma was forced to interrupt her summers by the two-week limit she remained in the area at a different campground until she could return. A few years later she bought a small piece of land in Conway, where she could set up camp for the required interim before returning for another two weeks at Dolly Copp!



Photos for this collage courtesy of the Cummings Family



Emma Cummings



Cummings Family camping continues – 2020

*left to right June Deblois, Diana Chamberlin, **Emma's daughter Margery Cummings Towne**, Marge Kennard and Carolyn Cummings Kennard*

1-2C. HOMESITE MEMORIAL

The emotional heart of the Campground is the Copp homesite. It was never so overgrown or forgotten as to obscure its status as an historic remnant. The site was duly noted on the 1915 *USFS Sketch Map*, and a 1919 reference to old turnpikes in New England records the Copp's abandoned cellar hole here. A 1933 news report by R. S. Monahan states that *“the Homestead was left to the ravages of time, which reduced it to a dilapidated cellar hole.”*

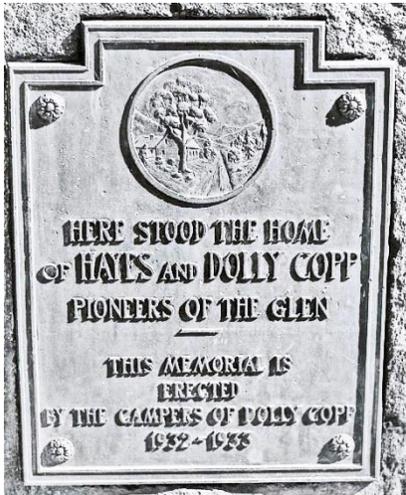
The origins of the Memorial are recorded in the 1980 unsigned memo in the USFS file: *“In 1932 one of the female campers from Massachusetts became upset by the fact that the site of the Copp farmstead was receiving no care or recognition. In addition, the Forest Service had erected latrines in close proximity to the site. She wrote to the Forest Supervisor concerning the matter and suggested a meeting of interested campers to try and raise*

money for protecting the site and volunteer labor for stabilizing the cellar hole and landscaping the area.”



Left view south at Copp home near 1910; right similar perspective today

According to a 9/7/1933 *Berlin Reporter* article “the project of reclaiming the Copp home site was started by a number of the campers who come annually to this famous camp ground and who have grown to love its natural beauty and appreciate the facilities it provides for an ideal vacation in the mountains.



The memorial bronze plaque is registered with the Smithsonian Institution as an example of American outdoor art: “Sculptor Albert Oertel, foundry T. F. McGann & Sons Company, control number IAS NH000446” - photo courtesy of Mike Dickerman 2023

One of the first men to start work in rebuilding the cellar walls and cleaning debris from the site was Mr. James A. Howes of Eastondale, Mass. Later the Association was formed to plan the work and assist in grading the lawn, building the rustic fence, planting the pine trees and procuring and placing the boulder.”

Additional perspective is provided by an unattributed news article in 1932: “A crew of men with a leader excavated the old wall and solicitors raised enough money to rebuild the original wall, using the same stone and laying it in the same location.... The work is almost

completed. The wall is standing in its old glory.

Four corner stones have been placed and chains will be used to mark off the old homestead site. The government has filled and leveled off the remainder of the plot and a boulder from the ground will be hauled in and placed within. A noted sculptor has offered to make a model of the old homestead and this statue will be cast and placed on the boulder.”



View northeast at 8/30/1933 **Dedication of Copp Memorial**

Continuing from the 1933 *Berlin Reporter* article: “The old foundation has been preserved and that part of the cellar wall that had fallen in was rebuilt by Ed Savoy and a crew of men. The house site has been marked by four cornerstones taken from the cellar and the old

flagstone which was placed at the entrance to the Copp homestead placed as nearly in the original place as possible. Over this flagstone trod the feet of New Hampshire pioneers.”

On the ceremony itself from the 1933 *Berlin Reporter*: “There were several hundred people, campers, summer tourists and townspeople, gathered by the site of the old Copp homestead. An invocation by a minister opened the ceremony. There was singing accompanied by an organ brought in for the occasion.

The speaker of the afternoon was the Reverend Henry. M. Ogilby {Brookline, MA Church of Our Saviour Episcopal, later served in Manchester, NH} who told events of Dolly's and Hayes' lives. In the course of his remarks he introduced four of those present who had known Dolly and Hayes personally; Laban Watson of Randolph, A.G. Philbrook of Shelburne, C. C. Libby of Gorham and Mrs. John McLellen of Berlin, all of whom received a hearty hand.”

Continuing from the *Berlin Reporter* “the monument was unveiled by Glen Franklin Benedict, the three-year-old son of Forest Guard and Mrs. Earl F. Benedict.... “The tablet was designed by Albert Oertel, Boston Sculptor, an annual visitor to Dolly Copp for the past 14 years.... The monument is a large boulder from the outlying forest.”

HONOR MEMORY OF DOLLY COPP

Plan Monument to Pioneer
Wife at Campgrounds
Named for Her 1933

GORHAM, Aug. 5.—Just 100 years ago Hayes Dodifer and Dolly Emory Copp, both typical New Hampshire citizens, settled as pioneers on Mar-

Other members of the Dolly Copp Campers association are Harold L. Langdon of Lowell, Mass., James Howes of Eastondale, Mass., Dearborn Goodwin of Beverly, Mass., E. H. Elliott of Peaks Island, Me., Arthur Furlong of Beverly, Mass., Mrs. Jack Hoffman of Arlington, Mass. The Gorham Woman's club was requested to sponsor the project of erecting a monument to Dolly Copp and a committee of 10, besides the president, Mesdames Mary Stevens, C. A. Walker, Mable Wight, Augusta Ryan, Mabel Hamin, Lilla Barnett, Isabelle Edwards, Helen Philbrook, Geraldine Audley and Hazel Laffin, is working on contributions for such work as shall be necessary. A committee is securing funds from the merchants of Berlin and Gorham and already the campers have turned in



The possibility that the 1933 memorial fervor was in part an “over-reaction” to the then “accepted as accurate” 1927 embellishment of the Copps by George Cross is countered by the testimonial presence at the Memorial Dedication of well-regarded area elders such as Laban Watson of Randolph.



A 1927 USFS photo shows Dolly's Butternut Tree. Historian George Cross wrote of it standing on the north side of the homesite in 1927. More from a Dolly Copp Campers Association newsletter of 1932:

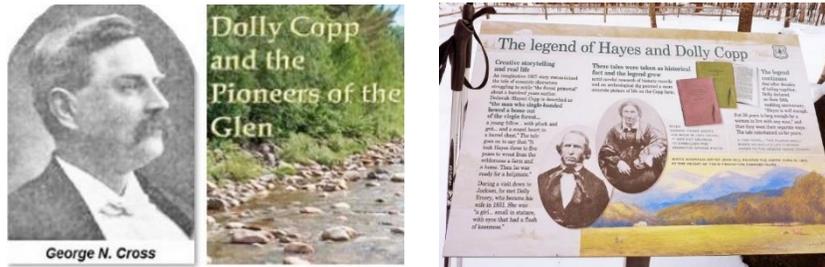
“During a terrific wind and rainstorm some years ago the original butternut tree was blown down, but thru an act of God it again sprouted and is now in a healthy growing condition.”

Casey Hodgson recalls that in the early sixties, some remnants of the Copp dwelling and barn were smoothed over. “The ruins had more color and romance before they were spruced up in the sixties” he said.

OUT OF DATE INFO PANELS: Durable, plastic coated informational displays were added to the Memorial site in May of 2008, replacing informative but weathered wooden signs. USFS staff member, Campground advocate, and contributor to this history Marianne Leberman symbolically tightened the first installation bolt, a well-deserved honor.

By 2008 the USFS staff was aware of some of the 1927 George Cross embellishments when it included the following on the new display: “An imaginative 1927 story romanticized the tale of eccentric characters struggling to settle ‘the forest primeval’ about one hundred years earlier. These tales were taken as historical fact and the legend grew.” The “legend” of Dolly Copp.

*“Creative storytelling and real life. When George Cross wrote his book in 1927 it was not unusual to embellish and dramatize sparse facts. The tale entertained us for years. **The facts tell another story.**”*



***But they do not** - with the more in-depth research available herein the text of the 2008 display is now unnecessarily, and inaccurately, deflating*

1. KINSHIP GROUP DOCUMENTED: When the USFS prepared text for the 2008 sign it was only known that there were six early Peabody Valley farms, not just that of Dolly and Hayes. The surrounding kinship group of which *Hayes was a member* has now been analyzed and becomes a critical component in the settlement story of the Cops.

USFS Archaeologist Sarah Jordan commenting in 2020: *The settlement pattern you outline aligns with research we have done in other areas of the White Mountain National Forest, where settlements of this period were based around kinship ties and operated cooperatively.*”

2. DANIEL PINKHAM NEXT DOOR: We now know why group leader Daniel Pinkham offered relative Hayes Copp land – in exchange for his labor on Pinkham’s road. Further, there is compelling evidence that Daniel Pinkham, leader of the settler kinship group, lived within what is today Dolly Copp Campground, just north of the Cops.

3. TIES BETWEEN DOLLY AND IMP: In earlier years we knew only generally that Dolly showed the Imp to tourists. Details on her links to that attraction have been newly documented and could be reviewed for a quote:

--- From *A Day in the Pinkham Notch* in the **1852 Boston Literary Journal**, describing the Imp: *“You will find this Old Man, however, not half so great **a curiosity as the old woman who shows him.** She has lived in the house which stands at the best point of view to see him for a quarter of a century.... She will tell you that she has never seen the Franconia Old Man, but she thinks that he must be great if he can beat this Old Man. We wish we could agree with her.”*

--- An **1853 Portland Transcript** newspaper: *“The good dame of the farm house is sociable, and never tires of talking of the old man, away up there on the mountain top. As he is her nearest and most steadfast neighbor, she has a great esteem for him.*

She will be delighted to see you, and will furnish you a cup of excellent milk, telling you as she puts the bit of silver which you offer her into her pocket, that she ‘never taxes anything for a cup of milk.’

She is a contented, genial, old lady, living there with her family, shut out from the great world, and we know you will be delighted to make her acquaintance... It is worth a trip to the White Mountains to walk once through that green bowered road that leads you to the Imp and a glass of that milk.”

--- A Harvard student hiking in **1861**: *“I took a train, alone, for the White Mountains, stayed a day or two at a **curious hostel** known as ‘Dolly Copp’s’ near the Glen House, and then walked over Mount Washington to the Crawford House.”*

4. HIGH PRAISE FROM EDWARD EVERETT HALE: Truly a dramatic upgrade in historical perspective, Hayes was praised by nationally prominent author, U.S. Senate Chaplain and orator Edward Everett Hale. Hale’s remarks while visiting upper class England in **1861**:

“Here, at the top of civilization, was the same luxury in which a year before, I found Hayes Copp living under the shade of Mount Madison.

He had made his own farm with his own hands, and was dependent annually upon civilization only for nails (always nails, you observe), needles, salt and fish-hooks. For pins, it was observed that his wife had always had two, and always knew where they were.”

5. DOLLY TELLS HER STORY TO LOUISA MAY ALCOTT: Another dramatic upgrade in perspective, Dolly’s remarks in **1861** to visiting author Louisa May Alcott are a newly uncovered treasure: *“Don’t expect too much of human critters, child, and bein’ as you’re one o’ the outspoken sort you’d better hang onto them two sayins’ – ‘Every path has its puddle’ and ‘it’s better the feet slip than the tongue.”* The full text of Louisa’s Boston newspaper report is now available.

6. NEWLY SURFACED PHOTO AND DRAWING: For revised info panels, rather than again reproduce the 1915 photo of the Copp home, in that scene abandoned and shuttered, a quality photo from the 1850s of the house and barn still in a vibrant state has been provided courtesy of Randall Bennett of Bethel, Maine. Dolly, Hayes, and their two eldest sons are pictured in the doorway.

In addition, an antique ink portrait of Dolly has surfaced, out of circulation for many decades, framed and hanging inside her well-preserved grandfather clock. The base for the portrait was the circa 1880 photo of her – but bringing out her features to better and more pleasing detail.

1-2D. POOL, VISITOR CENTER, PICNIC SHELTER

SWIMMING POOL: Recharged by diversion of water from nearby Culhane Brook, the swimming pool was maintained for campers between 1933 and 1958. The pool was on the northeast elbow of Hayes Field Drive, known as Swimming Pool Drive back then.



Constructed by a detail from the CCC Kilkenny Camp in Berlin, the Pool was about 100 feet across and 200 feet long. A lifeguard tower was on the north side. The Pool was primarily used by children. Camper Stuart Smith remembers campers at the edge of the Culhane Brook diversion to the pool placing food in submerged containers for effective cooling. The siting of the pool created an unanticipated parking problem, revealed in the rules of 1936:

“Parking of automobiles along the Pinkham B Road or along the camp drives by users of the swimming pool is prohibited.” The low roadside CCC log barriers near the Pool and along adjacent Swimming Pool Drive (Hayes Field Drive today) were likely placed there to help enforce this rule. From the 1940 rules: *“Non-campers may use the swimming pool provided that they park their cars in the picnicking area parking spaces”* – quite a walk.

Hints of the pool’s demise appear in 1946 Forest Service correspondence: *“There was a possibility that our swimming pool did not conform to State Board of Health regulations.”* Use continued for a time, as evidenced by a February 1947 memo: *“The Forest Service will take steps this spring to bulldoze the south side of the swimming pool, making a shallower and less dangerous approach on that side.”*



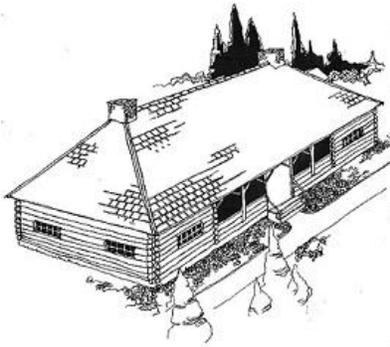
Taken from near log-fenced **Dolly Copp Pool**, view west towards Pinkham B Road along today's Hayes Field Drive

Casey Hodgdon recalls that in the early fifties there were no lifeguards at the pool. Long time camper Elsie Ashworth: *"The swimming pool was very popular for quite a few years until the perimeter seemed to close in from growth. The Camping Association deemed it to be unsafe after a couple of incidents of children getting caught in the under growth."*



At left long time camper Charlie Kotsiroplos with his family in 2015, at totem pole with sisters, and at **swimming pool** in 1958

Facility manager Belvin Barnes cites lack of lifeguard staff as a key reason for pool closure a few years later. After 1958 the Pool was not filled with diverted Culhane Brook water and went unused. Then in 1960, it was filled in with earth to insure permanent closure. While the pool site is now grown over with brush, not far into the woods a dam remnant remains.



VISITOR CENTER: We treasure today's rustic 1934 Visitor Center, originally known as the Administration Building. But some campers in the early thirties did not want a building of any kind plucked down amidst the bucolic setting of old farm fields.

Just attend the meetings of your local zoning commission; neighbors often react negatively to changes in their vicinity. (Overview drawing from mid - sixties Campground brochure, courtesy of Carol Matthes Evans).

From a 1932 news report: *"A community hall has been suggested but a keen protest is being put up by the association representing campers."* From the campers' perspective the need for such a building had ranked very low on a 1931 opinion survey – for many in the thirties Dolly Copp was for "roughing it", early Forest Service style. In spite of grumbling - the location had been a popular field for camping - this now venerated meeting hall was completed in 1934 by CCC workers.



Views north to **Administration Building** when almost completed
- reproduced with permission of the New Hampshire Historical Society



Until this new building became available, staff administration was located in the by now one-hundred-year-old nearby east bank “Samuel Copp - Bellows House – Glen Cottage - Libby Logging - Ranger Station” building out on Route 16. The new Administration Building was placed at the *front end* of Campground as it was configured in 1934, finding itself at the *back end* after the Campground entrance bridge was relocated a mile north in 1950. This was not a bad change for campers – the building environs today are pedestrian friendly.

The 1934 orientation of the building on a southeast to northwest alignment mirrors the historic Pinkham Road right of way along which it originally fronted. The road along the west side of the building was bowed out further westerly by 1939, adding lawn and greenery to the setting, the 1940 campground map reflected that just-completed western relocation.



View south from knoll across **pre-1940 camping** on what will become in 1940 the Play Field – early Birch Lane in foreground

The stone walkways to the building are early features, recorded on the 1940 campground map. Today the east walkway appears to lead to the edge of the woods, but in 1940 it continued to outhouses serving the building, their flat foundation stones still visible in the woods. The structure was lit with gas lanterns before electricity arrived in the mid-sixties. From a USFS display accompanying 1998 renovations to the Visitor Center:

“This monumental building is an excellent example of CCC era log construction. It was constructed without the use of power tools by novice crews of the CCC. It exists as one of the largest intact historic structures in the eastern national forests.



Saturday Evening Program at the Visitor Center

Saturday evening program at the **Visitor Center** - At left in jeans Danielle Rugg and to her right sister Michelle; in center background preserved totem pole

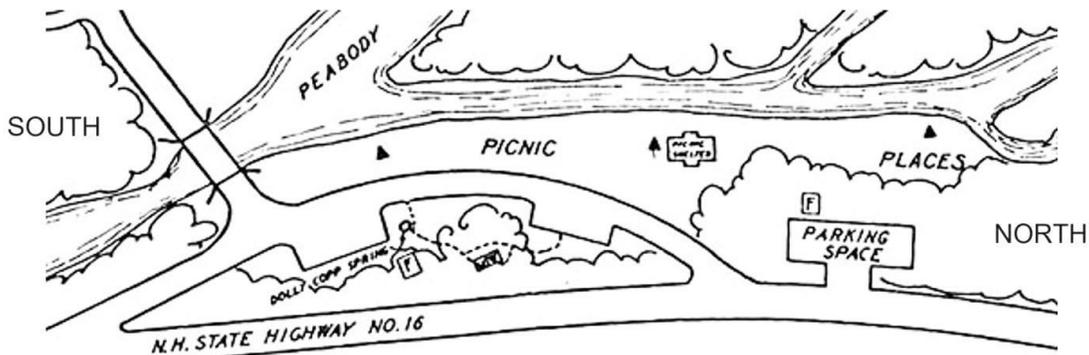
Comment by Becky Perkins Pearson: We have such wonderful memories. Except for the bats that swooped down in the Ranger's Hall while we watched cartoons and wildlife movies!

The CCC's were the first inhabitants of the building, using it primarily for administrative headquarters. As the CCC program was phased out, the building became the administrative

center and workshop for the Forest Service in the upkeep of Dolly Copp Campground. It had fully enclosed rooms at both ends and the center was an open pavilion.

The north room was used for administrative purposes and the south room consisted of a kitchen and a bunk room. In the mid-sixties the center portion was enclosed, doors were added and the windows closed in, done primarily to provide more space and security for interpretive displays. Around 1964 the kitchen area was renovated into storage and office space.”

PICNIC SHELTER: The Peabody east riverbank “Copp Spring Campground” was closed early, replaced circa 1932 by east side “picnicking only.” That activity is now concentrated south of the 1936 Picnic Shelter, the structure marking the northern edge of today’s landscaped area. As for the more wooded area north of the Shelter, the original thirties layout anticipated that that now overgrown section would be more intensively utilized than it is now.



Picnic Places in 1940 – the Peabody shifted west to leave the northern half of the Picnic Ground fronting on a dry river bed, that section a lesser amenity for visitors today

The limitation to “picnicking only” on the east bank near 1932 appears to have been in coordination with construction of the new access road. The graded and now vegetated base of the pre-1932 steep entrance is still visible in the Picnic Ground today. It proceeds easterly and upgrade to Route 16 across from the pre-1950 bridge abutment.

The design plans for the Picnic Shelter were completed by 1935. While traditionally the USFS policy for national forests was too Spartan to consider such an amenity, the national policy had just broadened on this specific point. The now rustic Picnic Shelter was then completed by the CCC in 1936. A petition in 1936 by 200 campers expressed concern that their habits might be disrupted:

“We the undersigned campers at Dolly Copp Camp, having heard that there is a possibility of a ruling that all religious services shall be held in the {new 1936} picnic shelter outside the camp ground on completion of said shelter, do hereby request that all meetings of a social or religious nature be allowed to continue in the {completed in 1934} Administration Building as heretofore.”

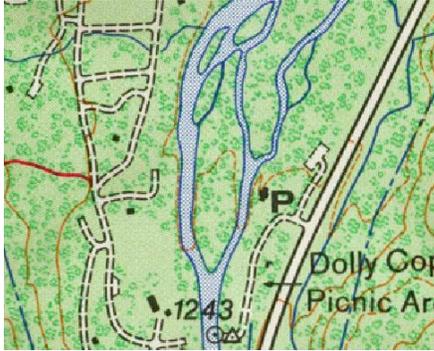
USFS staff member Belvin Barnes recalls that the drinking fountain just south of the Shelter was also built in 1936, the same year as the building, a pipe from the old Copp Spring its original supply source.

A memo in the USFS file dated 5/19/1949 confirms the popularity of the Picnic Ground: *“At three o'clock Sunday afternoon the Picnic Area was overcrowded and many groups of picnickers were over to the camping side. I am sure that not less than 60 parties were on the grounds at that time and the number could have exceeded 100.”*

George Brackett recalls supplemental in-ground fire pits in place in 1940, surviving past 2000 but since removed. Both Bob Cook and George Brackett recall that for a time there

was a second large stone fireplace, removed after the sixties. I recall it also. Old photos show that the one in place today is the older original, restored by the Forest Service in 2001.

Fifties Campground Manager Belvin Barnes confirms a Peabody River diversion here in 1958. That year, high waters from a storm threatened the stability of the riverbank near the Picnic Shelter. The Forest Service intervened and built up the river rocks so that the main



flow veered away from the east channel, successful as that more westerly course is still dominant. The easily accessible and level "Peabody Island" between the two channels is fun for exploring youth (map of the Island at left from 1988 Washburn Map, now in public domain).

As such an exploring child in the fifties, Bob Brown found the remnant of a twenties auto in the woods north of the Picnic Shelter. The story then was that it had washed down from the Picnic Ground in the great hurricane of 1938 – still there.

But by the early nineties the Shelter had fallen into disrepair, and in 1993 was officially closed and to be razed. A shocking proposal to many, Belvin Barnes became the leader of a grassroots movement advocating for restoration rather than demolition. They succeeded. (Below is a late in life photo of Mr. Barnes, who lived from 1921 to 2019).



Mr. Barnes located in his Bartlett attic the original architectural plans dated 7/22/1935. Those documents, his and other's advocacy, including strong support from the Town of Gorham, persuaded the Forest Service to switch from demolition to preservation.

Restorative action took place in 1996 (photo above). This specialized work was completed by volunteers of the National Timber Framers Guild, "a non-profit educational membership association dedicated to the craft of timber framing." Guild members camped in End Loop, the USFS providing a temporary rope and slat pedestrian bridge across the Peabody for them.

During the 1996 restoration each dismantled timber was catalogued and numbered. Wood in good condition was reused, rotten pieces were replaced with replicas, and some wood from trees planted by the CCC crew in 1936 was added.

The specialized Guild took pride in its thirties era construction techniques. In 1997 the New Hampshire Preservation Alliance presented its Preservation Award to the "Timber Framers Guild of North America, White Mountain National Forest and the Town of Gorham for Restoration of the Dolly Copp Picnic Pavilion."



Gail and brother Bob Craig in 1954 about to climb the Imp – Wedding at the Dolly Copp Picnic Pavilion in 2003 of Bob Craig's daughter Kim Craig to Tom Steele

The late Bob Craig was a generous contributor to this project. Bob on his father: *“My Dad’s whole life revolved around Dolly Copp. We all consider my father the true ‘Old Man of the Mountains.’ We are certain that his spirit will roam the quaint little roads of Dolly Copp and the mountains surrounding them hand in hand with my mom for eternity.”* Bob’s dad was a friend of the AMC’s Joe Dodge in Pinkham Notch. The Craig Family cherishes photos of them together.



*Picnic Ground **Great Fireplace** – at left original circa 1919 Guy Shorey photo, reproduced as a post card during early decades, one identifying this scene as at “Copp Spring” – 2014 photo right shows 2001 restoration*

COPP SPRING: Born in 1919, as a small child the late Marian Chase of Rowley, Massachusetts camped at this early Dolly Copp. For the 1996 75th Anniversary Celebration in 1996 she recalled *“a pure spring for water and that the children were ordered not to throw rocks in it or sully it in any way.”* Later in life Mrs. Chase was the author of *Rowley, Massachusetts: An Historical Perspective*.

From the early Forest Service file: *“The spring, a splendid source of water supply for nearby campers, is at an inconvenient location for the more distant occupants of the grounds. A ditch has been dug from the spring and along the draw above the Spring, in order to carry off the water at the outlet of the Spring and the seepage water from above.”*

The 1940 Campground map placed the Spring on the east side of the Picnic Ground, about 260 feet northeast of the edge of the old bridge. A comparative overlay using 1940 and modern maps yields the same location. Other recollections agree, George Brackett placing the spring just south of today’s restroom. (Brown Company Golden Age Club members pumping at Copp Spring in 1957).



Fifties Campground manager Belvin Barnes stated that it was in the opened area between the manmade earth mounds, again near today’s Picnic Ground restroom. He recalls that the flow of groundwater from the east that had fed the Spring was permanently blocked by a major Route 16 realignment and widening near 1958.

According to Casey Hodgson in the early fifties some campers did not prefer the piped water from Culhane Brook. As an alternative they would fill containers from the Dolly Copp Spring remnant still flowing at that time.



Today this recreational facility is available for reservation from the USFS for family gatherings, wedding receptions or other events. Praise from a 1989 USFS archaeological

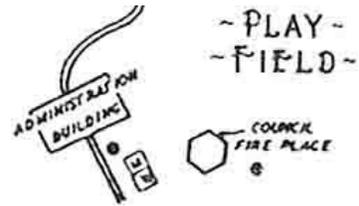
assessment of the Visitor Center and Picnic Shelter: *“The CCC built structures on both sides of the river are the finest examples of that era of craftsmanship we have on the forest.”*

Research mentor Casey Hodgson related that Bradford Washburn sought to locate historic Dolly Copp Spring remnants for inclusion on his authoritative 1988 topographic map *Mount Washington and the Heart of the Presidential Range*. He found none. Note that Washburn’s field inspection of this area and the Presidential Range was assisted by Casey, who is professionally credited on the *Presidential Range* map (photo at right Casey surveying for Washburn).



COMMUNAL FIREPLACE AND CAMP WOOD: Eleanor Eells in her history of camping documents group campfire facilities at many early camping areas. The east riverbank Copp Spring Campground had George Cross describing a “Great Fireplace” there by 1919.

Today’s west riverbank campground had two communal fireplaces, the first built inside the 1934 Visitor Center. A second open air pit fireplace was also built by the CCC, outside of and northeast of the Administration Building (“Council Fire Place” on 1940 map), since relocated to the southeast of that building. From a 1937 USFS memo:



“I am of the opinion that the open air Council Ring would afford an excellent opportunity for informal talks on the aims and activities of the Forest Service. The campers gather at the Council Ring on pleasant evenings and the atmosphere of the open fire and community singing tends to make the group unusually receptive.”

Another memo from 1937 states *“at the Council Ring, there were 27 campers enjoying the fire as they sang popular songs. The Council Ring will seat about sixty campers without overcrowding.”* Lifelong camper Bob Cook recalls that there was then no communal campfire for many years until the early seventies, when a new communal campfire was built southeast of the Visitor Center, still in use today.



At left view east with campfire circa 1925 - center photo’s caption “July 1939 around campfire at Dolly Copp campsite on a very, very cold night” – right 2021 photo with commentary by Ruthie Arvanian Bowler: “Extremely windy last night with off and on pouring rain yesterday. Very ‘sparky’ fire. Only 53 degrees when we crawled into our tent last night.”

Obtaining wood for the campfire is a ritual for the camper. To assist, by 1940 the USFS had placed seven fuelwood yards around the Campground. From the 1940 administrative guidelines: *“Provide four-foot split wood in central yards designated by the District Ranger with sawhorses and chopping blocks. Each year they shall be stocked to capacity at the beginning of the season.”*

As a youthful CCC worker in Dolly Copp Bob Ross of Gorham remembers: *“We delivered wood from the wood yards to camp sites and kept the Campground clean.”* George Brackett recalls the fuel wood yard near Midway Lane offering large slabs of wood: *“These were brought back to your site to chop up for campfire use. There was no fence or fee and you were welcome to take all you wanted.”*

The 1940 wood yards were at the south end of End Loop, between Imp View Lane and Midway Lane, the center of High Woods, at the top of Brook Loop, in the Gravel Pit, and two in the Picnic Ground to serve the north and south sides of the Picnic Shelter.

On the 1951 Campground brochure the seven fuelwood yards of 1940 had been reduced to three. Those remaining were in End Loop, Midway Lane and Brook Loop. The 1951 brochure states *“persons not desiring to work up wood in the central wood yard may buy fitted wood, which is for sale at the gate house.”*

At least one wood yard was still operating until 1957. Bob Brown recalls that for decades after, the resulting enriched soil at these locations was a good source of worms as bait for fishing in the Peabody. If you ask him he knows the best fishing spots today.

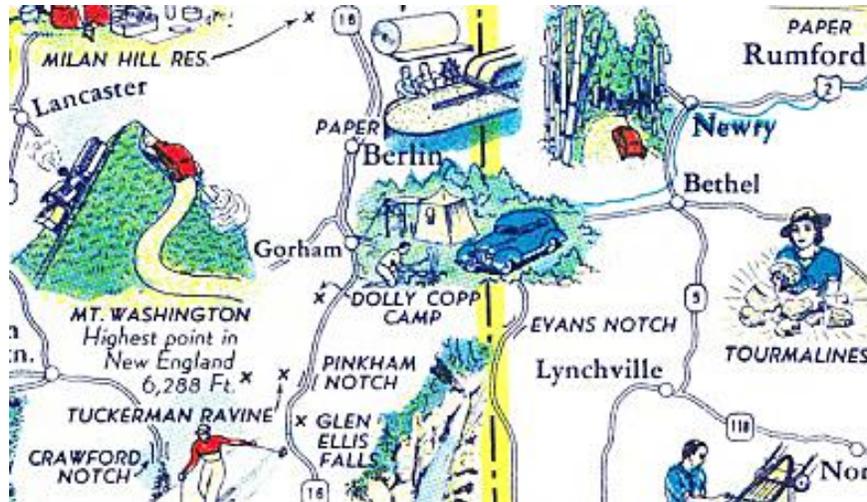
For quite a few seasons fuel wood was available for sale at each camp site by a roving vendor licensed by the Forest Service – very convenient. That amenity was dropped after 1996, replaced by wood sales at the Gate House, Gorham, and elsewhere.

[Back to Contents](#)

2. EXPANSION AFTER 1940

“Post-war camping was rapidly accepted by the general public as the thing for a youngster to do during the summer. It was almost as universally accepted as Sunday School, creating a market that seemed to justify almost unlimited expansion.”

- Camping book author Eleanor Eells in 1986



Excerpt from 1941 Esso (now Exxon) Gas Map

2-1. WORLD WAR TWO AND FORTIES

“My introduction to Dolly Copp Campground was in 1944 with the Boy Scouts. It was only partially open due to the war effort and shortage of rangers. We camped near the swimming pool and were expected to take a dip every morning.”

- Ernest Arsenault of Reading, Massachusetts 2021

2-1A. WARTIME ADJUSTMENTS

The demands of World War II soon worked their way into the relaxed Dolly Copp scene. National histories of camping document the difficulty of operating most campgrounds during those war years. Reasons were the absence of male staff, gasoline rationing discouraging leisure travel, and lack of new equipment due to diversion to war production.

According to the Androscoggin USFS file's 1980 unsigned memo *“World War II effectively stopped pleasure driving for 5 or 6 years and the Campground slumbered during those years. The Picnic Area was utilized by local citizens but for all practical purposes the Campground was closed.”* A Forest Supervisor's memo from this period states *“we did virtually nothing except have some of the lookouts and fireguards do what they could to keep the place reasonably picked up.”*

Evidence of closing in a USFS press release: *“White Mountain National Forest Camping and Picnicking Areas will not open for the usual summer season, Supervisor Graham announced today.*

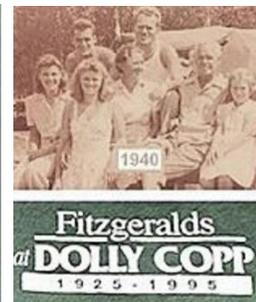
This move had been made necessary by the President’s order restricting travel by all Government vehicles to an absolute minimum in an effort to help relieve the acute gasoline shortage in the Eastern states.” The “Dolly Copp Recreation Area near Gorham, N.H.” is then listed, along with fifteen other WMNF camping and picnicking facilities. (Photo of Dolly Copp Spring and its position annotated on 1940 Campground Map).



Yet that draconian move was soon modified. From the June 10, 1942 *Lewiston Sun*: *“The White Mountain picnicking and camping areas are now opened to the public.... Campers coming to Dolly Copp should expect to find the Administration Building closed and the system of registration, used so successfully for several years, abandoned for the duration. Camp areas must be policed by the users.*

Wood is not available this year on the area, but those wishing to cut their own wood may do so outside the limits of the Recreation Area... The swimming pool will be available for use without the benefit of life guard service.... Only by complete cooperation from the users can it be assured that Dolly Copp Recreation Area will continue open for the entire season.”

The **Fitzgerald Family** remain camping today, Barbara Reynolds (photo) speaking in 2020: *“That is my family, {1940 photo at right} bottom row from left to right my mother Muriel, my Aunt Theresa, my grandparents Mama and Dada Fitzgerald and then my Aunt Marie, second row are my Uncles Robbie and Johnny – “We will be celebrating “100 Years and Still Raining” in 2025!”*



2-1B. OTHER FORTIES ACTIVITIES

The Appalachian Mountain Club held its annual “August Camp” in Dolly Copp during the summer of **1943**. According to AMC records *“the camp took place about one mile north of the Peabody River Bridge along the Pinkham B Road. The area was more populated than most, but it was still quite a bit of fun. In this wartime camp, a horse and wagon provided access to roads and trails for the first section campers.”*

Social bonds are on display in this letter to fellow campers dated October 1, **1943** from Robert Gaffney of Medford, Mass: *“The campers of Dolly Copp season of 1943 are going to hold an informal reunion in the form of a Halloween Party to be held at the Danbury Inn, Danbury, NH. There will be old-fashioned dancing that night and of course our Dolly Copp songs.*

Here’s hoping you will be among those present to make it an overflowing Dolly Copp reunion!” Then written on the bottom, writer unidentified: *“We intended to go but were afraid we would not have gas enough, so gave it up as it was so far. Wish it had been near here.”*



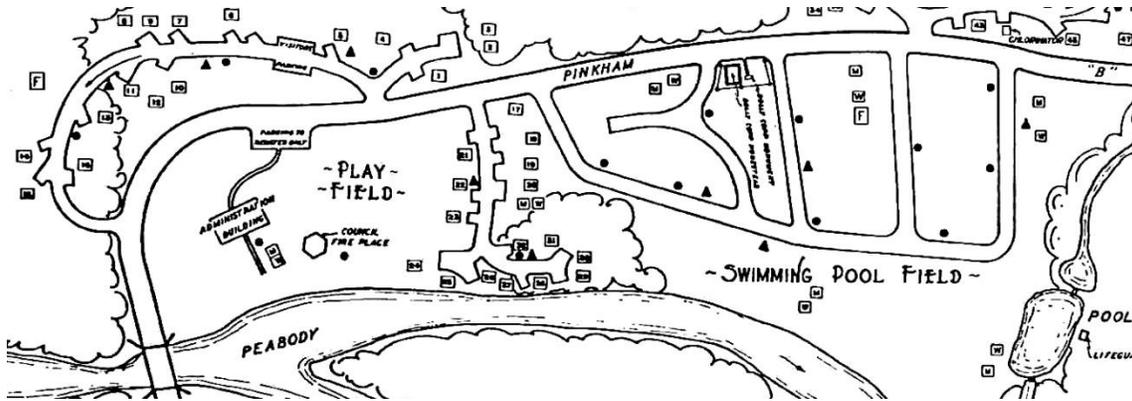
year or so.”



A Forest Service memo of June **1944** indicates that the Administration Building “is to be kept closed again this year.... Apparently from all indications we are going to have more use of Dolly Copp this year than for the past

This message on a Dolly Copp postcard dated August **1945**: “We pass thru this camping ground coming up. You might like to try it sometime. The people seem to have such jolly times.” A Campers Association officer reported in **1946** that “Dolly has gone back to almost a wild stage with overgrown foliage during these past years of war.”

A review of national camping trends reveals a period of growth after World War II. Reasons included pent up demand for recreation, the advent of the baby boom generation (this author born in 1947), and camping’s increased popularity as a summer vacation. Comment on the immediate post war period by Eleanor Eells in her *History of Organized Camping*: “Camping was rapidly accepted by the general public as the thing for a youngster to do during the summer. It was almost as universally accepted as Sunday School, creating a market that seemed to justify almost unlimited expansion.”



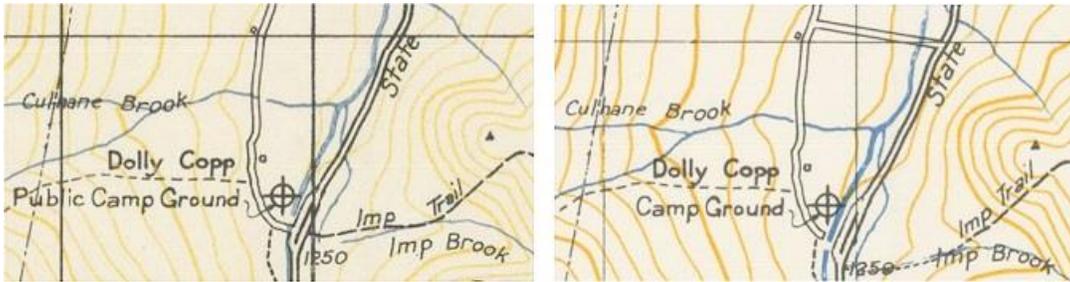
Excerpt from **1940 Campground Map** – first camp site encountered after entering was at one-way entrance to what is today End Loop, numbered “Site 1” in 1940 – note today’s Birch Lane crowded with popular waterfront sites recently relocated to construct Play Field - north at right

A **1947** USFS memo addresses upcoming service limitations: “Mr. Graham stated that he doubted if it would be possible to provide the personal supervision at Dolly Copp which we have been accustomed to provide in the past, with the exception of the war years.”

There is also evidence of a budget crisis in a **1947** USFS staff memo: “Since the users of **Dolly Copp Forest Camp** have an organization, would you be in favor of contacting the officers to explain the problems confronting us and to determine if they would be willing to employ someone to dispose of their garbage and sewage?”

Concerns of the era are reflected in a **1949** list of suggestions from the Dolly Copp Campers Association to the Forest Service: “Although the rules specifically state that trailers shall be placed in the Swimming Pool Area and the Big Meadow, for the past few seasons they have been placed all over the camp ground and in many instances on excellent tenting camp

According to AMC worker Casey Hodgson, once the old bridge was gone the habits of some drivers leaving the campground took time to change: *“A few mid-fifties motorists, by force of habit upon leaving Dolly Copp, would proceed at a good clip towards the old south end bridge site. They then jammed on their brakes just in time to avoid a row of boulders placed to save them from the river rocks below.”*



Comparison of 1948 AMC Map at left with 1952 AMC Map at right documents primary access relocated north



Campground's south end entrance bridge before its 1951 removal

2-2. FIFTIES AND THEREAFTER



Fifties view northwest over Campground's Midway Lane

2-2A. APPALACHIAN MOUNTAIN CLUB ASSISTS

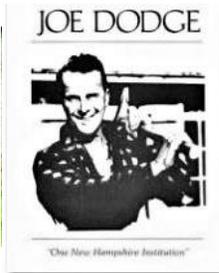


A tight postwar budget was noted in Forest Service memos from 1946 and 1947, the opinion being that it might be inevitable to run Dolly Copp on a concessionaire basis.

Long time camper Nancy Birch recalls the worry at this time, that the public nature of the Campground might be compromised. Casey Hodgson (photo) said it was the fiscal pressure of the Korean War that kept the Forest Service budget so lean during the early fifties.

In the Spring of 1951, the Appalachian Mountain Club (AMC) was competitively selected for the management responsibility. The *Ford Times* magazine of June 1953 extolling the virtues of “Dolly Copp Forest Camp” under the AMC: *“Dolly Copp is now managed by the*

Appalachian Mountain Club, under the direction of Joe Dodge, the Club's nationally famed Hut manager. There are two on-the-spot supervisors, both experienced mountain and forest men."



Left book cover on Joe Dodge - right supervising host **Tom MacKay**, for many years the "Joe Dodge" of modern Dolly Copp

From the 1951-1952 *Biennial Report of the NH Forestry Commission*: "Recreation use on the White Mountain National Forest continues to boom. The Dolly Copp Recreation Area is now being operated by the Appalachian Mountain Club on a non-profit basis. In 1952 the charges were increased to \$1.00 per night per party of six or less, or \$5.00 per week, with no charge for children under 12."

The AMC operated Dolly Copp under a five-year contract. A letter of 7/21/1954 from the Campers Association to the Forest Supervisor expresses approval: "The AMC is doing a splendid job. The young men in charge are very well liked. We are so happy that they now have nice living quarters."

From the 1986 book **Joe Dodge**, *One New Hampshire Institution* (photo of book cover above) by William Lowell Putnam: "Joe's closest contemporary among the fish cops was **Paul Doherty** of Gorham, chief game warden to the entire North Country."

Doherty had stocked the swimming hole at Dolly Copp Campground, so the summer visitor would have some legal angling. But Doherty expected that certain knowledgeable locals might take advantage of this in the off-season and decided one day to sneak in and check the pond.

Sure enough Hizzoner {Joe Dodge} was there, but had heard a twig snap in the distance and quickly hidden himself in a grass-filled gully. Paul saw no one and left. But, on his next social visit to Porky Gulch {Pinkham Notch Camp}, was loudly advised by Joe to 'get yourself a pair of specs before you go back snooping around that Dolly Copp Pond.'"



*To Dolores
Have fun at Dolly Copp
Paul Doherty
11/10/92*



At left Children's Fishing Derby at Swimming Pool in 1954, top row from left Almon Farrar, **Paul Doherty** and one other adult, winners bottom row from left George and Bernie Brackett's daughter Barbara, unnamed boy, Kathy Heath, another boy – at center in 1992 Paul Doherty autographed his book "Smoke from a Thousand Camp Fires" for camper Dolores Chew, wishing her "**Have fun at Dolly Copp**" – left **Paul Doherty** in uniform

The "Old Hutcroo Association" was first convened in 1926, to be the "alumni association for anyone who's ever worked in, on, or around an Appalachian Mountain Club hut, people who share a lifelong bond." The organization's newsletter for the Spring of 2006 included an article by **Chris Van Curan** entitled "The Dolly Copp Story."

Curan notes that "AMC had a 'Use Permit' with the USFS to administer and maintain the Dolly Copp Campground, which the AMC did from 1951 through at least 1957. I spent four years there as a crew member. **George Hamilton** was the Campmaster. George came to Dolly Copp to run this new AMC operation with a crew of six, of which the author was one of those crew members. I had just finished my freshman year at Middlebury College and Joe Dodge hired me on the spot for the summer.

*This first year's crew also included **Jack Middleton**, Joe's son-in-law married to **Anne Dodge Middleton** {worked at Dolly Copp 1954 and 1955}. We were all deputized by the*

United States Forest Service to carry out the rules and regulations of the Forest Service, which enabled us to wear a USFS badge.”

The Middleton’s went on to be closely associated with Mount Washington. According to the Summer 2022 Windswept Magazine “*Jack is retiring after 65 years as a Mount Washington Observatory trustee – and that he has served on the Mount Washington Commission since its inception in 1968.*”



Mid-fifties AMC helps out at Dolly Copp: from left George Hamilton, Chris Van Curan, Anne Dodge Middleton and Jack Middleton

“On my early June 1951 introduction to Dolly Copp I followed Joe down to Dolly Copp in my car. We took the left off Route 16 on to the access road to Dolly Copp and the Pinkham “B” Road to Randolph. We stopped at the new gate and the gatehouse, which was in the finishing stages of construction {entrance from Route 16 having just moved north}.

As we approached the gate, I noticed a huge bear strung out on a pole high up in a tree. Boy! What an introduction! After Hiram gutted out the bear, he proceeded to display it at the entry way to the Dolly Copp Campground. The bear did not last long there. Joe ordered it out of there — it would scare the hell out of the campers registering for a nice wholesome vacation in the peaceful woods of New Hampshire.



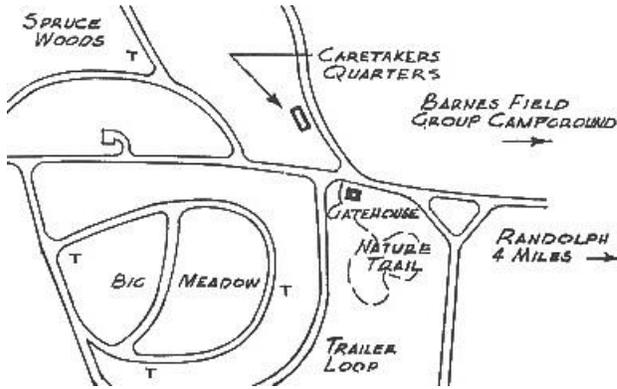
Our first job every summer was the get the campground ready for summer occupancy. After we got the crappers cleaned out, the grass mowed, and the water running, we had to turn our attention that first summer to getting our crew quarters built-out and the entrance gatehouse {photo} built.

Our daily chores consisted of picking up the trash in an old green 1939 Chevrolet pickup truck, cleaning out and re-charging the chemical toilets, fixing the roads after heavy rains, and maintaining the gravity fed water line from Culhane Brook to the water spigots in the campground. Our quarters were in the old log Administration Center built by the CCC.

The gatehouse had a back bunkroom to house one of us each night to man the gate entrance, which opened at 6 AM and closed at 10 PM weeknights and 11PM on weekends. The early opening allowed the local area campers who worked for the Brown Company in Berlin or in the tube mill in Cascade to get to work on time for their 7 AM shift.

Some campers lived locally in Gorham or Berlin and commuted to work to one of the pulp and paper mills in Cascade or Berlin and spent the entire summer at Dolly Copp. We had to keep out the “non-resident” campers — the crowd from Berlin and Gorham who were looking for trouble, some nights a difficult task.

The first year there was a metal bridge across the Peabody River, which connected the southern end of the campground to the picnic area along Route 16. At times it required us to use our one party line crank phone to call Roger Gauthier, the local State Patrolman to come and settle some of the altercations and quell raucous beer parties in the picnic ground. At other times we had to call Paul Doherty, the District Fish & Game Warden.



The second year in 1952, the AMC ran Dolly Copp Campground. The Campmaster was Jack Middleton and I was his assistant. The third year in 1953, I was the Campmaster. That was the year that a young man joined us who would become a legend on the eastern side of the Mount Washington valley.

Early sixties map, north at right, includes the new Trailer Loop, Caretakers Quarters, Gatehouse and adjacent Nature Trail

We knew him as **Russ Hodgdon**, fresh out of high school. He joined the Navy after we closed up the Campground, but he returned to the mountains to work at Pinkham after his tour of duty. Russ was to be known later to everyone as “Casey” Hodgdon. His father worked as a railroad man for the Boston & Maine Railroad and “Casey” would join his father on a number of those trips through the mountains. We nurtured his lust for the mountains and his trust in them.

I spent the next couple of years in the service of the US Army, G-2 Intelligence, the Pentagon. My described USFS seasonal position was ‘Campground Supervisor’ and enabled me to get a seasonal discharge from the Army three months early to go back to be the Campmaster at Dolly Copp in 1957. I have been an Old Hutcroo Association member for some 50 years and it was time to tell this story.”



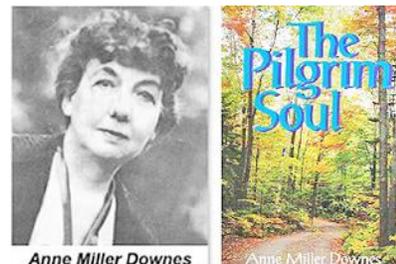
Brown Company's **Golden Age Club in 1957** at Picnic Pavilion – photo courtesy of Plymouth State University

On the 1940 Campground Map loops and drives had not yet been named. So when did these names arrive? Ruthie Arvanian Bowler: “My earliest recollection of camping at DC was in the late forties and early fifties. Then the Big Meadow was already labeled with a wooden sign with the letters carved into it. The carved lettering was painted a pale yellow.”

2-2B. AUTHOR VISITS AND FIRST REHABILITATION 1958-1963

In 1952 author Anne Miller Downes completed her historic novel of the Copps entitled **The Pilgrim Soul**. The 1952 book jacket stated Downes “writes fiction with a clear purpose and faith – to remind us of ideals that have shaped our national destiny and to reaffirm old fashioned virtues.”

While her work reflects some original research on pioneer life, and certainly creative insights on Dolly’s family life, Downes mostly reconstructed Dolly’s world based on the 1927 George Cross account, all that was available to her in 1952. Casey Hodgdon remembers Mrs. Downes visits to the Campground, noting she was not herself a camper so lodged nearby. Downes’ book was reprinted in 1997 by Durand Press of Lyme, NH and remains an enjoyable read.



Anne Miller Downes

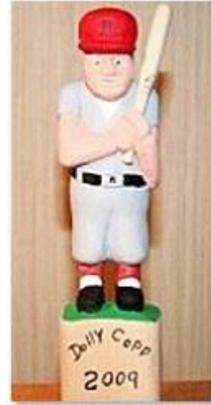
Anne Miller Downes

Chris Stuart writing in a 2009 *Mountain Ear* stated that when the original Anne Miller Downes book “first appeared, the popularity of the book caused a stir and prompted Sears and Roebuck Company, who ran their own book-of-the-month club, to purchase the publishing rights.

Unfortunately, they decided that the book’s ending was too harsh and sad a tale to tell, so they reprinted the story except for the final section where Dolly strikes out on her own. Readers of this edition will find the sun setting in Pinkham Notch as the Cops retire, together, into their home.”

By 1951 part of the now historic Pinkham Road through the Campground had for the first time been black topped. The narrower side lanes, drives and loops serving camp sites were as yet dirt surfaced. A Dolly Copp Campers Association newsletter in 1957 notes the main road was by that year paved all the way to the Administration Building.

(At right Red Sox carving by camper Jay Milliken, who made dozens with different themes, including USFS ranger, as gifts to camping friends). Paving of the smaller camp roads proceeded during the fifties. According to the then campground manager Belvin Barnes, the side spurs and loops were all paved by 1960.



A *Manchester Union Leader* article on 8/13/1958 on the inventory of camp sites: “Although the campground has been set up for 210 sites, the average use during the 1957 season was 235 from July third to Labor Day.”

Mr. Barnes on tightly packed tents on peak weekends in the Hayes Field and Midway Lane areas: “In the fields the tents were so crowded that the ropes extending out from the sides of one tent would cross right into those of the neighbor’s tent.” Belvin Barnes confirmed that the official site total when he managed the Campground in 1957 was 210. He recalls that this total made Dolly Copp the largest campground in the entire National Forest system.

The sequential numbering system we have today, beginning nearest the entrance at the north end, was put in place after the 1950 opening of the new, north end entrance.



At left **Brian, Melissa, Caleb and Emily Craig**, part of a family at Dolly Copp since 1924 – right **Betsy Bodien** checks in, her comment in 2020: “I recall that moment very well - it had been a long drive from North Carolina and the cool mountain air felt wonderful!”

National perspective on the circa 1960 rehabilitation from the 1997 *USFS History*: “In the mid to late fifties, many campgrounds in the National Forests were in need of repair. They had been built during CCC days, and all were worn out at the same time.

There had not been appropriations or manpower available for upkeep for many years, so the National Forest had to deal with a tremendous rehabilitation need. During the late fifties and early sixties recreational use of the forests had grown enormously.”

Site reorganization at Dolly Copp was included. Evidence in a 1958 letter from the Forest Service to the Campers Association; “As we rehabilitate each area camping sites will be

spaced at 50 to 100 foot intervals and eventually specific places for trailers will be set aside.” That is a high spacing standard compared to what had been allowed earlier. Dolly Copp is to be redesigned for low density. A lasting advantage, we are the “exclusive suburb” of campgrounds.



My friend Bob’s mother Dorothy Brown remembered that by the late fifties, sites had fallen into disrepair and that there was concern about overuse. Long time camper George Brackett also recalls those conditions and the site reorganization that responded to it. (Photo of Bob Brown’s granddaughter Evelyn Joy Phair).

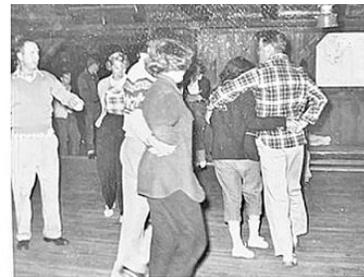
From a June 1958 USFS file item: *“A detailed study of the demand and use at Dolly Copp Campground was made last year. It found that the Campground has been used in excess of its design capacity for several years. Use of the 210 sites fluctuated from a low of 169 camps on a week day in mid-July to a high of 299 camps on a Sunday in early August.*



Even under conditions of overcrowding, there were a few sites that were still unoccupied. These unused sites are poorly located and apparently undesirable. In our rehabilitation of this area, camps of this nature will be removed and placed in more desirable locations where they will receive use.”

At left mentor George Brackett at Dolly Copp in 1960, Photo from his daughter Carol Goulet who adds: “Mom made the curtains for the back of our 1958 Ford station wagon and she and dad and Glenn slept in the car while Barb and I spent the night in a little canvas two-person tent.”

The problems at Dolly Copp were included in a 1962 national study entitled *The Quality of Outdoor Recreation: “Facilities at this campground were found to be in a rundown condition, due partly to extremely heavy use by campers. The area design leaves much to be desired; maintenance was lacking in many cases, and auto controls were very poor. Heavy visitor use results partially from the extreme popularity of the campground which affords a base for mountain climbing.”*



Left Dolly Copp in late fifties with tightly packed tents; right fifties dance in Recreation Hall - dance photo contributed by Ruthie Arvanian Bowler

Ruthie Bowler (photo below) comments: *“Alamande left and do-si-do, no electricity, notice lantern hanging – they also had square dance callers come in. Sometimes there were small bands that would sing with guitars. I remember She’ll be Comin’ Round the Mountain, Clementine, I’ve Been Working on the Railroad and others of that ilk.” Casey Hodgson recalled battery powered record players were used for dances in the fifties.*

“My dad camped at Dolly Copp shortly after the CCC built it. He and his buddies would go up there to hike. As a family, my first year was around 1947. I met my husband at Dolly Copp when I was 8 or 10. His family had also been camping there for years and years.

We camped with the Goss family, Bill Goss at one time the president of the Dolly Copp Campers Association. My folks were also friends with some older couples, the Robinsons, and Emma Cummings.”

Into the eighties, the lettering on signs in the campground was hand carved into wood, an elegant, rustic touch. These signs have been replaced with machine lettered versions, no carving. The cast outs made great souvenirs. Ruthie Bowler (photo) remembers: *“This wood-carved sign was the only one we were able to retrieve. Many years ago, my mother-in-law found it thrown in the woods near one of the faucets. For years she kept it over her kitchen sink. Now I keep it over my sink.”*



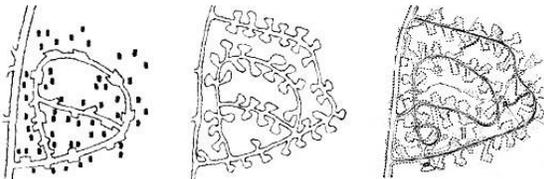
Confirming exceptional popularity, in 1960 and 1961 brochures were produced by the *NH State Planning and Development Commission* listing all public and private camping facilities in the state. Both featured Dolly Copp Campground on their covers.

Memories of this period were recorded by camper Dorothy Shouldis for the 1996 75th anniversary: *“When our children were little they enjoyed the twice a week morning Smokey the Bear programs. On Sunday they held Mass at the Dolly Copp Recreation Hall in the morning and the Protestant service at night. Everybody took off their dungarees and shorts and transformed into ladies and gents with skirts and suits on.”*



TRAILER LOOP ADDED: As part of the circa 1960 rehabilitation, Big Meadow had the distinction of receiving the largest post World War II addition to the Campground. This was the construction near 1962 of what was referred to in its first years as the “Trailer Loop,” consisting of a new, outer circumferential road, encompassing the late thirties Big Meadow loop.

A USFS Campground map from the early sixties included the notation “Trailer Loop” so it was briefly more than an informal term. An early sixties brochure states *“house trailers will be confined to the Swimming Pool Field, Riverside Drive, the Big Meadow, the Little Meadow and **Trailer Loop.**”*



Left to right Big Meadow by 1940, Trailer Loop added to north side by 1963, interior circulation revised in 2020 - right camp manager **Brad Ray**



Brad Ray, who lived from 1938 to 2021, joined the USFS in 1958. Early in his federal career he was Administrator of Dolly Copp Campground. Brad provided several perspectives for this research, including one on the Trailer Loop: *“This was built when I was there. There was an increase in trailers and we felt a need to accommodate them.”* Brad is best remembered today for his decades as the expert Snow Ranger in Tuckerman Ravine.

Bob Brown recalls the loop addition as popular with all campers, those with tents as well as trailers. The reason being that trailers were squeezing into small sites where they could not easily fit, causing annoyance in what were primarily tenting sections. In time the separate identity of the Trailer Loop faded, merging into that of the Big Meadow.

UTILITIES UPDATED: Casey Hodgdon recalled that electric service reached Dolly Copp in 1964. The main electric power line in this part of the Peabody Valley runs through the forest parallel to Route 16 on its eastern side. Linked from there, certain camp sites and all restrooms in Dolly Copp receive their electricity without overhead wires, distributed in underground conduits.

For decades drinking water was drawn from a surface water impoundment on Culhane Brook near the west end of Brook Loop. Dam remnants are still visible. The Culhane dam was featured on a thirties post card shown at left – an attractive wading area today.



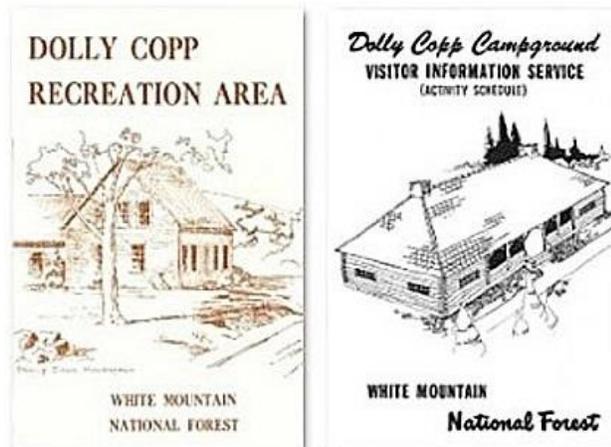
Belvin Barnes recalls that plans in 1958 were for that surface supply to be abandoned and replaced by higher quality groundwater wells, a goal accomplished during the early sixties rehabilitation. George Brackett told me that a spring from a steep rock face on the east side of Route 16 on the drive to Gorham had also been an informal water source for campers, now closed.

From the Forest Supervisor's 1962 report: "A new water system at the Dolly Copp Campground is being installed. This will make possible the installation of flush toilets at a later date." From a 1963 USFS report: "The water system at Dolly Copp Campground was completely rebuilt {as it will be again in the second rehab of 2017 - 2021}. Drilling of two wells and installation of distribution lines will supply the new flush toilets planned for construction next spring."

Bob Cook comments: "Many campers were against the installation of flush toilets, as it was thought they would bring in the riffraff, kept out until then by the hardship."

Brochures with site maps distributed upon arrival

Twelve modern restroom buildings were installed, distributed to maximize convenience. D. B. Wight on 1964: "This year the Dolly Copp Campground was improved when all the old pit type toilets were converted to modern ones, and electric lights were provided by a new power line. This line was connected by a private company and ran from Gorham to Pinkham Notch."



From historians Laura and Guy Waterman we hear that new kinds of tents appear: "Free-standing exoskeleton models during the late 1960s, not requiring stakes or external poles to stand up, and dome designs beginning in the early seventies."

Dolly Copp marks its 75th year

PINKHAM NOTCH — Dolly Copp Campground will celebrate its 75th birthday with a week of fairs, a square dance, a classic auto show, and a parade.

The anniversary also provides a chance to show off the log picnic pavilion that was rebuilt by skilled craftspeople this summer, according to Rebecca Oreskes, a

For people with memories of former camping trips, there will be a "Share the Memories" board in the visitor center for people to jot down stories and read the memories of other campers.

"Dolly Copp Campground has a rich history and has been a special gathering place throughout its 75 years. We've been planning this

line dance.

Sunday — Interpretive program with Floyd Ramsey: Dolly Copp - Beyond the Legend.

Monday — Fiddlers' contest.

Tuesday — Interpretive program with Norm Rheume: King Spruce.

Wednesday — Interpretive program with Missy Brandt: Dolly Copp Campground Through the



USFS Androscoggin District's very successful
75th Anniversary of Campground 1921 - 1996

2-2C. SECOND REHABILITATION 2017 - 2021

The plan for the second Campground rehabilitation of 2017-2021 is presented in a 2009 USFS report entitled *Dolly Copp Campground Rehabilitation Project*, released under the signature of former USFS Androscoggin District Ranger Katie Stuart. Excerpts:

"Dolly Copp is almost unique in my experience in terms of the generational use the site has enjoyed. The number of early, formative outdoor experiences, the significance of the family bonds that have developed around countless campfires, the profound memories and stories

that run from great grandparents to the young campers of today, and the lasting friendships that have been maintained across favorite campsite posts.

These are the compelling reasons that drove me to ensure the best decision for the future of Dolly Copp. Despite its prominence and popularity, important infrastructure within the campground has fallen into disrepair. We are additionally aware that a percentage of visitors bypass our National Forest campgrounds because we do not offer some services commonly available at other sites.



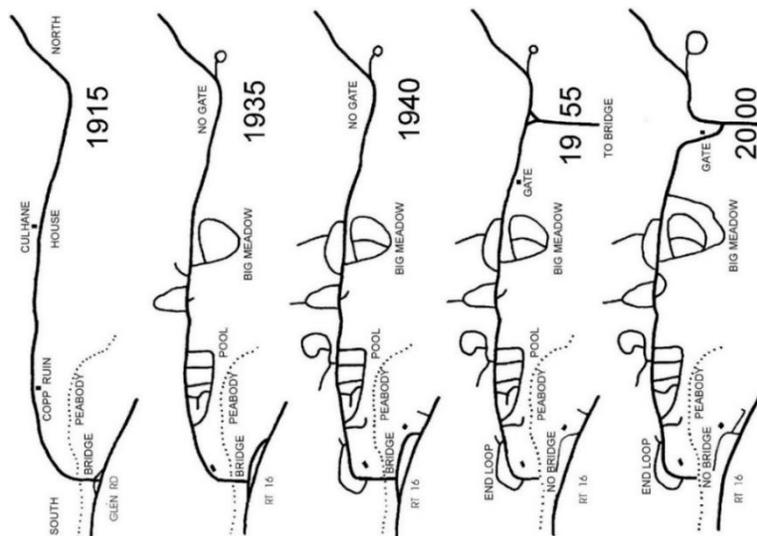
USFS staff reviewing rehab plan in 2018; Katie Stuart Facebook photo; rehab in progress installing new rest rooms on Hayes Field Drive

The eastern side of the main road {pioneer's less sloped farmland} naturally provides for more highly developed sites and facilities while the western side {pioneer's more sloped pastures} feels naturally suited to more rustic, secluded, lower-development sites.... The majority of campsites will remain without individual service hookups, offering abundant opportunity for those seeking that type of camping experience.

It is critical to understand that Dolly Copp caters to those visitors who choose the comforts of larger RVs, fifth-wheel trailers, and pop-ups. There has never been a control on the use of the campground by these vehicles other than the physical limitations of the roads and the campsites themselves.

Consequently, those loops that have been more accommodating to larger vehicles — such as Big Meadow and Hayes Field — have long supported such use. As a result, it seems a relatively minor change in terms of the character of the campground to offer services that are commonly enjoyed by a type of camper that already regularly uses those sites.

Changing internal circulation 1915 thru 2000 – graphic by the author



By making repairs and increasing the range of services and amenities, I believe we can keep what has always been special about this historic place, and at the same time make it more relevant for a broader segment of our public.

In doing so, I believe we lay the groundwork for future generations of powerful memories created around the simple act of sitting outdoors, at night, with family and friends, telling stories around a campfire.”

[Back to Contents](#)

3. HISTORIC WALK THRU

WELCOME TO DOLLY COPP



Campers **Paul and Karen Shiebler** at left and at right – at center **Paul's relatives** in Dolly Copp in 1939

Karen Shiebler in 2020: "In 1973 I met a wicked cute guy in my high school class. He camped, I didn't. I went to Dolly Copp, where Mt. Madison frowned down on my ineptitude. But I stuck with it and improved my camping game. Married him in 1978. We have camped there 44 of the last 47 years."

Paul Shiebler in 2002: "There are few things more important to me in my life, few things that touch my soul like Dolly Copp, the most sacred place in my personal universe!"

"Fifty years ago on Friday, my wife and I celebrated the 50th anniversary of our first date! In the card she gave me, she wrote 'Dolly Copp was wrong. 50 years is not long enough to spend with one man!'"

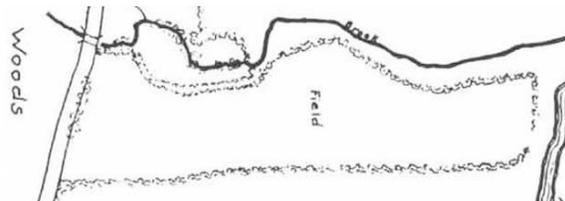
3-1. ENTRANCE, BARNES FARM AND NORTH END



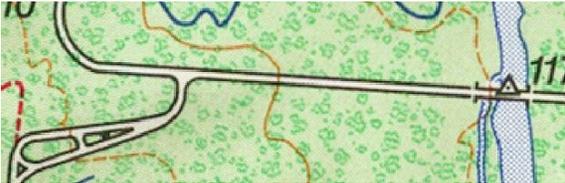
Sign on Route 16, view west at new 2021 Gate House – long time camper **Charlie Kotsiroplos**: "So glad to see the reservation board made it to the new Gate House. So many visits started with a flip of the card on that very board!"

3-1A. MARY BARNES NAME ON LANDSCAPE

Turning west from Route 16 on to the Dolly Copp Road, topography is relatively level. As such bottom land in the Peabody Valley was precious to the pioneer, you can be sure that this area was in agricultural use early on. In this case, part of the Barnes Farm.



Left view south from Mount Surprise across Peabody Valley to Barnes Field *circa 1900* from Library of Congress – right Barnes Field from the 1915 USFS Sketch Map verifies the historic Barnes **crop pattern**

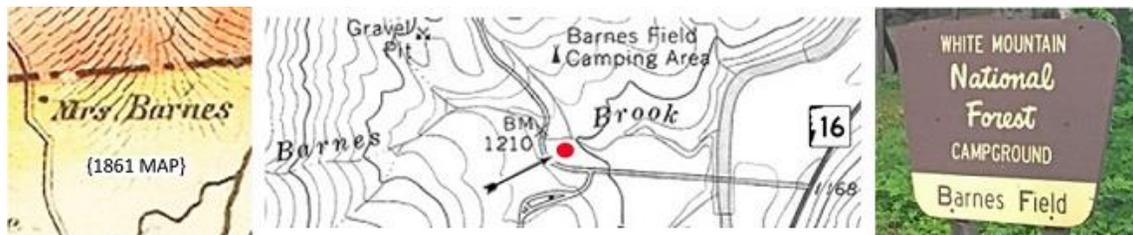


Left map by Washburn in 1987 records the 1950 Campground entrance road built over what had been Barnes crop land **undisturbed** by post 1915 camping activity – right penetrating radar reveals **surviving furrows** beneath now wooded land – furrow “a long narrow trench made in the ground by a plow”

Long time Campground host Carol Matthes Evans comments: *I'm sitting here amazed at the furrowed farmland on either side of the Campground road leading up to the entrance. Can only begin to imagine all those pine trees on either side not being there over 100 years ago! I'm sure there are those who will find this photo as haunting as we do; it certainly brings the Barnes, and Cops for that matter, closer to being more 'real'.*”

The residence of farmer Mary Barnes has been associated with Yates Barnes. I place John Bellows brother George living here briefly after Barnes. The earliest mention of today's Barnes Field in USFS correspondence is in 1938, citing a “*side camping area at Barnes Brook.*” Tourist literature that year notes that Dolly Copp had a separate group section, presumably referencing this area.

There is also a mention in a 1939 USFS memo to “*Barnes Brook Field.*” A 1980 short unsigned history in the USFS file states that in the thirties, some CCC workers were quartered there: “*The CCC Camp at Barnes Field provided carpenters, stone masons and the maintenance crews.*”



The **Barnes residency** is reflected in the landscape through the naming of Barnes Brook and later Barnes Field Campground, arrow to Barnes house in 1865



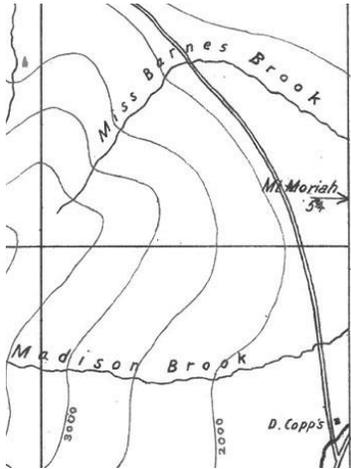
Perhaps with no other notable landmarks nearby, the Barnes family name was utilized by the USFS from its first appearance on the 1861 Walling Map. (Vincent Crosby in 1969 at Barnes Field sign noting “Off Season Camping”).

While until recently the only known map showing the location of the Barnes house was that 1861 map, which was not drawn with positional accuracy, the more recently available 1865 Jackson Iron Map met a higher standard for use in court. As a result, the Barnes farmhouse is now placed about **800 feet south** of the traditional 1861 Walling Map location.

Coos County Record of 4/16/1861: "Sold by Thomas Culhane to Mary Barnes a property beginning on the south line of the Town of Gorham at the west bank of the Peabody River where said River crosses said line of Gorham.

Then west on Gorham line to the east side of the Pinkham Road leading from Randolph to Jackson. Then southerly on the east side of said Pinkham Road about one hundred and twenty rods {1980 feet} to the north line of lot number three.

Thence easterly on the said line of lot number three to the west bank of the Peabody River parallel with the Gorham Line. About one hundred acres more or less."



The designation "Miss Barnes Brook" was not a post-1914 USFS forest purchase decision. Proof in the book *Mountain Summers* is found in this entry for 7/25/1882 by tourist Marian Pychowska:

"Next comes Bumpus Brook which is fairly given on the map rising on the north slope of Madison, and then Triple Falls Brook between Bumpus Brook and **Miss Barnes Brook**."

That three-word title also appears on the 1882 **Pickering Map** (shown at left). The "Miss" was deleted by a federal decision in 1935. On the advice of Casey Hodgson, Bradford Washburn added the "Miss" back on to his authoritative *Presidential Range Map* of 1988.

The characteristic circular road loop in Barnes Field today was recorded on the 1937 USGS topographic map, although with a smaller radius. A major increase in radius was put in place circa the seventies, enabling more and larger group-only camping sites.



And for those enjoying rustic remnants, the old outhouse sanitation system and a hand drawn drinking water pump are still in use here (pump photo from themertsadventures.com).

Barnes Field Campground is open all year. Long time camper Ruthie Arvanian Bowler: "We have camped in Barnes Field many times during off-season. Once, in the early 70's in JANUARY (!) my husband convinced me to camp there. We had just bought mummy bags that were supposed to be good for -20°. I shivered through the entire first night. Second night, I was in a motel."

3-1B. WORKSHOP, CREW CABIN AND OLD CHECK-IN

Proceeding past the new, 2021, architecturally pleasing gate house, replacing a smaller, plain structure from the sixties rehabilitation, turn left and south on to the main campground road. This is a reused portion of the Old Pinkham Road dating from the 1830s. Soon to be seen on the right is the maintenance building labelled "Dolly Copp Workshop and Crew Quarters." Casey Hodgson said it dates from 1966.



And that their construction was part of a group of Forest Service projects that year, including the relocation of the **Androscoggin Ranger Station** from near Downtown Gorham to a Route 16 location south of Gorham. The Station was dedicated on 9/28/1996 and has interesting displays for visitors – worth a visit. (Photo below of Giovanni Ferreira inside Androscoggin Station courtesy of Krissy Ferreira).

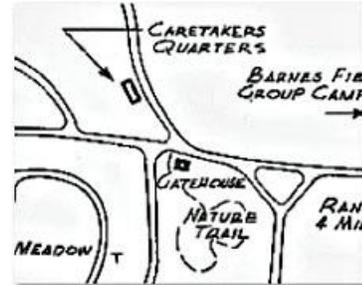


Continuing south further into the Campground, on the right is a little service road. On its left side above the abandoned gravel pit is a nearly level area. A **caretaker quarters** was constructed here in 1954. In 1956 Betsy Strong Kent was the cook here for an AMC crew of six then running the Campground. She told me there were bunks for the crew and parking for a few vehicles. There was a porch on the east side with a fine view south to Carter Notch, Casey Hodgson and the staff cutting a few trees to make it all the nicer.



According to Casey today's more spacious **crew cabin** (photo) further up this road was constructed near 1990. He said that in the fifties, areas adjacent to this structure were used for occasional overflow and group camping, long time camper Bob Cook confirming.

There was once a dirt road on the south side of the Gravel Pit running along the bottom of the slope. Shown on the 1915 *Sketch Map*, it was also incorporated into the 1916 summer home subdivision plan. Note also there is mention in 1939 USFS correspondence of an adjacent "Gravel Pit Loop," active gravel extraction long abandoned but the pit still in place.



Gatehouse built 1951 after access from Route 16 relocated north in 1950 – at center there in 1963 are Charlie and Gail (Craig) Gordon and at left friend Sonny Thomas

Historian Casey Hodgdon remembers that in the early fifties there was a muddy spot at the edge of the pavement just before the steps up to the porch of the gatehouse. He and the maintenance staff wanted to dress this area up a little, as it was the first point of contact for new arrivals.



So they trucked down to the Dolly Copp Memorial and pried out the side doorstep at what had been the back ell of Dolly's house and reused it as a step here (photo at left).



For the next 45 years, the venerable Copp doorstep was a piece of dislocated history. At Casey's urging, in 1998 it was returned to the Copp home site, historic mistake rectified.

In the sixties, a one-unit public pay telephone, soon replaced with two units due to long evening waiting lines, was located at the site of the 1951-1966 gatehouse. You could reach the operator without first inserting a dime, a prudent public safety measure in this remote location. (Photo of Vincent Crosby on 1969 ski trip thru campground clowning at snowbound phone).

According to Casey, at the gatehouse in the early fifties a barrier was placed on the main campground road to close Dolly Copp off from entering vehicles after 10 P.M. Parties arriving after that time would leave their vehicles for the night in a small parking area to the

northeast, behind the row of boulders here now. Casey says the gate itself was about 25 feet north of the old Nature Trail entrance.

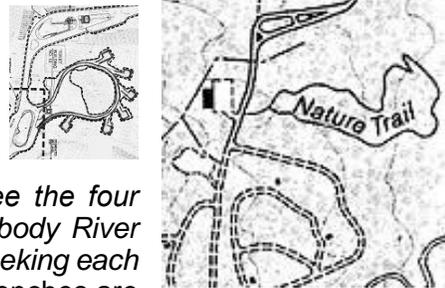
According to Belvin Barnes, by 1957 nightly closing of the gate here had been dropped. USFS Ranger Brad Ray states that *“when the Forest Service took over {from the AMC} there were complaints from campers that they could not get out in an emergency.”* A brief reinstatement of the same nightly locking in the eighties generated the same panic.

Given the lack of parking spaces for registering vehicles, the 1951 location for check in would not have adequately supported today's greater traffic volumes, large trailers and motor homes. In 1966 as a new gatehouse was built to the north, the 1951 gatehouse building was reused at the USFS South Pond Recreation Area north of Berlin. Today the little structure is still painted chestnut brown, has a USFS logo on it, and serves as an office and storage building.

3-1C. NATURE TRAIL AND SKI TRAIL

Casey Hodgson tells us that the long popular **Dolly Copp Nature Trail**, decommissioned in 2015, was constructed as a forest educational feature in 1966. The Trail was an easy loop walk of about four tenths of a mile starting on the east side of the main campground road across from the maintenance building. Fortunately, significant remnants of the Nature Trail are still functional and can be enjoyed from the Big Meadow's north edge camp sites.

Comparative views at right show how the second rehabilitation added a waste dump station and Volunteer Loop, thereby removing part of the Nature Trail



In the original Nature Trail Guide pamphlet, the sign at a top-of-slope easterly viewing point commented on the geological history of the Peabody Valley: *“Can you see the four distinct levels in the land? These show where the Peabody River once flowed, as it has shifted its bed through the ages, seeking each time to carve a lower shelf.”* Just such ancient bedrock benches are also visible on the Great Gulf Link Trail south of Rangers Pool, west side along the way to the pedestrian bridge.

1 P.M.-2:30 P.M. NATURE WALK. Dolly Copp Campground's geology, tree species, wildlife, etc. will be discussed. Participants assemble at the beginning of the Nature Trail. Children under 12 must be accompanied by an adult.

USFS Snow Ranger Brad Ray places the construction of the **Hayes Copp Ski Trail** in 1981. The northernmost section of the Trail was developed on an unimproved dirt road included on the 1937 USGS topographic map. That dirt road was likely an old logging road, the graded bed of which today branches off the Ski Trail northerly to ascend along a south side branch of Miss Barnes Brook.

Snow shoeing is a much older practice in the area than skiing. Early New England colonists adopted the Native American practice of hunting on snowshoes. **Hayes Copp** himself used snowshoes of steamed ash and threads of raw deer hide, inherited by a descendant.

Jennifer Lamphere Roberts writing in AMC Outdoors in 2013: *“Because the **Hayes Copp Ski Trail** covers a variety of elevations and landscapes, this ski is a particularly rich place to witness those seasonal changes.*

On our 5-mile-or-so loop, we crossed an open field along the Peabody River that had a solid, condensed snowpack and another open field on Leavitt's Link, higher on the flank of Mount Madison, where the colder temperatures had kept the snow fluffy. Along the edge of

the river, we skied across narrow flutes of clear ice—tributary streams frozen on their way downhill.



SHORT WALKS ON HAYES COPP SKI TRAIL

With north at right, a walk for campers follows the Brook Loop service road west past the water tank until the Ski Trail, then turns north along the Trail back to the Main Campground Road – excerpt from the 1987 Mount Washington Range Map by Bradford Washburn, in public domain at dartmouth.edu

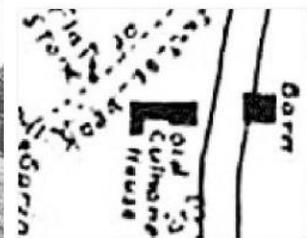
Later we zigzagged through a hemlock stand where the thick evergreen canopy had characteristically caught most of the recent snowfall and held it aloft, leaving a scanty snowpack between the mighty trunks. We picked our way around a rocky patch where a stream had recently rushed and then disappeared, leaving a dry trough across the trail.

On the final leg of our loop, we glided downhill on the wide, old woods road of Hayes Copp Ski Trail, following tracks of coyotes, hares, and red squirrels. Each turn in the trail brought a different environment and different experience under our skis.”



*Dolly Copp Campground (mostly adjacent Barnes Field Campground today) has long been a base for **spring skiers** using Wildcat Mountain and Tuckerman Ravine to the south - view is north towards Pine Mountain*

**3-2. CULHANE FARM
AND COPP’S NORTH FIELD**



Two views north: circa 1910 Guy Shorey photo of **Old Culhane House** courtesy of Peter Crane of the Mount Washington Observatory, Culhane house on 1915 **Sketch Map**

3-2A. PINKHAM - CULHANE HOMESITE

Proceeding south, on the right at the entrance to Spruce Woods is the location of what is known traditionally as the Culhane House. Significant evidence indicates that the first occupants of the property were pioneers Daniel and Esther Pinkham.

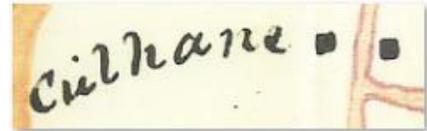
Dr. Thaddeus W. Harris in 1853: "I forded the Peabody River near the old mill seat and walked along that same road two miles or more, for the sake of the view thence of the mountains, and in order to see Pinkham's old residence."

Esther Pinkham was raising a family here in 1830, before newly married Dolly Emery Copp arrived in 1831 adjacent to the south. After the Pinkhams left the property in 1836, it had three other occupants, the Merrill Family and then the John Bellows sponsored Baker and Culhane Families. The Culhane brother's wives were sisters and Emery side first cousins of Dolly.

It is notable that both the Pinkham and Copp homes had good views over adjacent cropland – likely deliberate placement to enhance visibility of, and response to, predators. D. B. Wight on the settlement period: *"The men and boys had to be on the alert at all times to protect the crops and livestock from wild animals. Deer, racoon {photo}, and woodchucks would ruin many crops if allowed to."*



Keen observation by historian George Cross in 1927: *"Along the Randolph Road, beyond the site of the Copp buildings, you will find traces of a house and barn."* The 1915 USFS Sketch Map agrees, just as had the 1865 Jackson Iron Map (1865 excerpt shown with permission of the Peabody Essex Museum).



Casey Hodgson, referring to his time working at Dolly Copp in the early 1950s said *"a sharp eye could still discern rubble protruding above ground at the Culhane farm house site. Boulders on the east edge of the road were from the foundation of their barn."*

The east side depression here today (photo view west from barn foundation by Carol Matthes Evans) was confirmed by a 2013 USFS archaeological study as the center of the barn. The early Culhanes are worthy of their own biographies, presented on dollycopp.com.



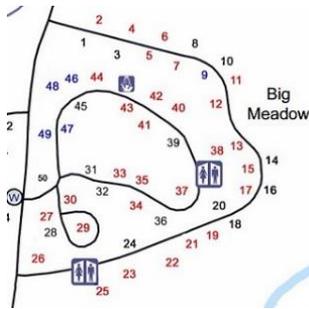
An observation by Campground host Carol Matthes Evans in 2023: *"Adjacent to the barn area across from the Culhane homestead there is a batch of lilac bushes. Perhaps they were planted when the area was first built up."*

This fits with a 2008 comment by Randolph State Representative Edith Tucker: *"Ed Reichert, former moderator of Gorham and now quite elderly still maintains an office at the Mt. Washington Auto Road, was married to a Libby and was lawyer for the Gorham Land Company which sold lands to WMNF. He has pointed out to me where lilacs bloom around old homesteads."*

3-2B. PINKHAM FIELD NOW BIG MEADOW

Big Meadow is the largest subunit in Dolly Copp and the favorite for many. Comparing 1915 and current maps this large section developed nicely on land cleared for farming early on directly across from the higher ground of the farmhouse. An 1846 court record stated that

in 1830 Daniel Pinkham cleared land and fenced and cultivated a farm in Martins Location – and here it is.



The single entrance to the field of 1935 would become in 1962 the southern of two entrance roads, now three due to the 2019 rehab. Prior to the

rehab, near Site 24 was a small public space outside the boundary of privacy for other sites. Casey Hodgson said that here until the mid-sixties was a large outhouse of the pit toilet type. He showed me a remnant of this structure, a row of foundation stones, their flat tops level with the lawn.

FIELDSTONES AND REFORESTING: Converting forest into cropland required removal of field stones. Too heavy to transport far, where did they go? Casey Hodgson in 1998:



*“About 300 feet down the trail east from the Big Meadow, on the left, I discovered a **large pile of stones** that were apparently hauled here by the Culhanes, or **whoever first cleared the fields.**”* (Photo at left). *“Similarly, entering the woods south from Sites 22 and 23 towards Culhane Brook is **another large pile** in testimony to many hours of back breaking labor.”*

At the southeastern corner of Big Meadow is the abovementioned path to the Peabody River, note Casey’s cleared field stones in the woods on left. The origin of Casey’s trail was a road from the Culhane House to a bridge crossing the Peabody. The accessway must have doubled as a farm road to a large field and pasture near the River, reverting to woodland after 1915.



The acreage of former farmland east of Big Meadow was never developed as camp sites. The 1916 subdivision plan would have made use of the non-wetland portions of this property for summer homes, the access road to be from the south.

George Brackett said this area was never developed for camping due to its remoteness from the main campground road. Dorothy Brown remembers these “lost fields” as still unwooded in the forties. At left 1998 photo of Rebecca Chew Myshrall at a beaver dam here.



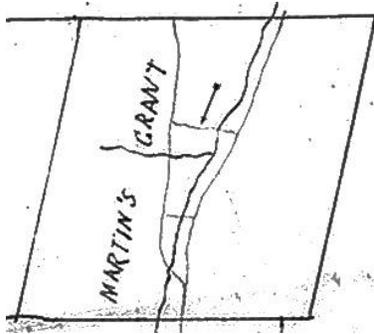
LONG TIME CAMPER BILL FLYNN (photo): Bill describes this area in his 2020 look back: *“There was a trail at the east end of the Big Meadow that would take one to the Flat Rock swimming area. About halfway, there was a little foot bridge crossing the muddy area and the Culhane.*

If one took a southerly turn at that spot and meandered for no more than a few hundred feet, there were three ponds made so by beaver dams. They had some great fishing in the earlier years but was just a neat place to go and explore whatever in our youth.

Later in life, about 1980 to 1985, I took my sons to that area which, of course, I could not find because of the overgrowth, etc. I eventually climbed a substantial tree and saw what seemed, reasonably, like the area of the three ponds that I remember so well.

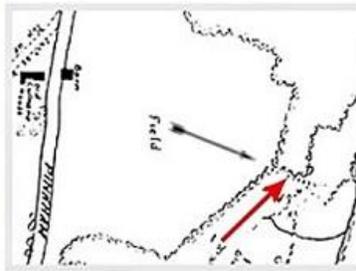
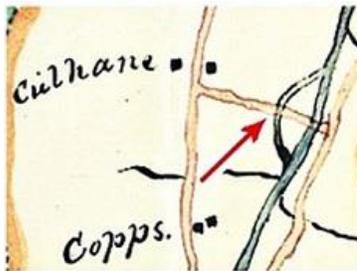
My sons gave me a “sure Dad, we believe you” kind of support and while I understood, there was a momentary sadness that I couldn’t share a part of my Dolly Copp youth that I do fondly embrace.”

CULHANE'S CROSSING: The 1865 *Jackson Iron Map* records a road and bridge - perhaps it was a lesser ford - from the Culhane house easterly across their field on to and across the Peabody River to intersect with the Glen Road. The alignment was directed slightly southwest upon leaving the Culhanes. The *Pitman Map* of 1859 and 1860 confirms this feature, excerpt below left (annotated with arrow) courtesy of Plymouth State University.



The Culhane route exits Big Meadow easterly as the path past the pile of field stones to Flat Rock Pool. The road shown at center below, east of the Culhane Farm on the 1915 *USFS Sketch Map*, fits this alignment. There is also surviving physical evidence, significant alteration of the steep escarpment by reduction of grade to facilitate horse drawn vehicles.

As the Culhane house was located to the north of the Copp house, to first proceed south past Copp's to cross the Peabody at the circa 1860 crossing and then turn north to Gorham requires one and one quarter miles of travel. That compares to just four tenths of a mile for the more direct route across Culhane's field (Big Meadow camping section today).

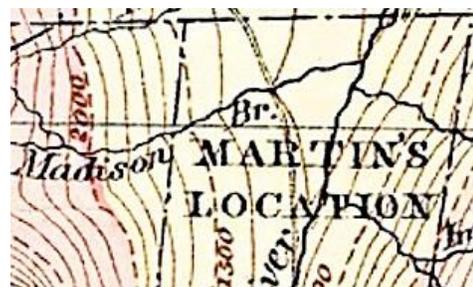


At left Culhane's route east to Glen Road in 1865, center remnant on 1915 map at east edge of today's Big Meadow, right camp host and advocate Bob Cook marking route on east edge of Big Meadow in 2018

3-2C. MADISON BROOK BECOMES CULHANE BROOK

Formerly known as **Madison Brook**, Culhane Brook crosses the main campground road south of the Pinkham - Culhane homesite. Its name dates to at least 1861 when cited in a nature study by Samuel Hubbard Scudder. (Below Madison Brook shown on 1881 Map).

The U. S. Geographic Board's 1931 report states that “in local usage the stream has long been known as Culhane, for Patrick Culhane, former owner of the land through which the stream flows.” The naming revision is then reported in a 1931 *AMC Appalachia Journal*: “To concur with the U. S. Geographic Board in approving the name **Culhane Brook**, not **Madison Brook**, for the brook on the east side of Mt. Madison heretofore called by both names.



Culhane Brook is used by local residents and preferred by the Forest Service. Patrick and Thomas Culhane were guides for guests at the Glen House. One of them found Dr. Ball. The family farm is said to have been at this brook. The federal decision to change the name was effective 1/1/1932.



Floods at Culhane Bridge - At left 1954 Hurricane Carol view south courtesy of Paul Shiebler, at center 1959 flood view north, at right view east at 2011 close call!

The AMC Appalachia Journal of 6/1960 reports: “At Dolly Copp Campground, a new bridge over Culhane Brook is being built to replace the one destroyed by last fall’s flood. It will be completed before the beginning of the summer camping season.”

Looking off from the bridge over the easterly, downstream, side of Culhane Brook, a cement barrier implanted to block an old side channel to the swimming pool is visible. USFS Snow Ranger Brad Ray:

“After the swimming pool was shut down we cemented the opening closed to prevent water from going down to the old pool and causing erosion. You might see a date and my initials in the cement.” (I have not found them). Darcy Thing on Facebook: “My husband and I were engaged at Dolly Copp Campground on the bridge over Culhane Brook in 1977.”



Standing on the bridge viewing westerly and upstream, typical boulders extend as far as can be seen. But just out of view the streambed characteristic changes, at the rear of Brook Loop Site 85. Here attractive bedrock is revealed. (At left Vincent Crosby in 1969 showing high snow pack on bridge).

Natural pools and little waterfalls provide an amenity for the campers nearby, and for others who happen to know about them, scaled for the younger set. Apparently as a compensating enhancement for a second rehabilitation related utility crossing here, at the east end of this feature a large pool was deliberately created using construction equipment – very nice.



Madison Brook on 1916 AMC Map, renamed Culhane Brook in 1931



Culhane Brook Avalanche Area on 1969 Randolph Mountain Club Map

3-2D. NORTH FIELD TOTEM POLES

The carving of totem poles for display in the Campground extends back to at least 1928. The last was seen in 2008. The earliest information was provided to me by Caroleen Mckenzie-Dudley, nicknamed “Mac” Dudley.



At left image from USFS Forest History Society; right from host Carol Matthes Evans in 2023: “We had an event at the lodge last week and we were lucky to see what’s been hiding in the back room all these years!”

Grandparents of Mac were Alva and Mildred Richardson, Alva a 1926 thru 1937 USFS Forest Guard in the WMNF. According to Mac in **1928** her grandfather

Alva (1929 photo below left) was assigned some work in Dolly Copp. He met District Ranger Truman Hale (1931 photo below right) on site to discuss the details. Mac’s grandmother Mildred attended.



“During the meeting my grandmother mentioned to the District Ranger that the totem poles would look much better if they were painted. He told her that if she would like to paint them he would get the paint to do so.

She agreed and from that time on they were preserved by painting them. Unfortunately, there were no photos of the process or finished product, just that she was the first artist, so to speak, to paint the totems at Dolly Copp.”

George Brackett recalls that in the **forties** there were two totem poles in Copp’s North Field. One became a sufficient symbol of Dolly Copp that it was included on the cover of an **early fifties** USFS Dolly Copp Campground brochure.

Long time camper Jay Milliken also recalls that there were two poles circa **1976**, one on either side of Midway Lane at its intersection with Riverside Drive. According to Jay these poles were of painted pine, having axed noses and eyes, boards nailed across their backs for wings, and wooden feathers cut and stuck in their tops.



From left Jay Milliken’s sons at pole in 1976, view of two poles that year, pole preserved today, **Jay and his dog** aside his 1982 replacement pole

The taller was on the north side and the shorter to the south. Also, that a man named Jacobs from Chelsea, Mass. was repainting them periodically, but in time he came no more. As the years passed they decayed, the smaller one disintegrating first. The USFS staff preserved the larger one from this era and Carol documents it on display in the Visitor Center.

In **1982** campers whose longtime favorite sites were in view of the poles, knowing that Jay Milliken had talent as a wood carver, asked him to create a replacement pole. They selected a tree trunk for his use, a spruce taken with USFS permission from the old “Spruce Woods” section on the 1915 *USFS Sketch Map*.

With the blessing of the Forest Service the project proceeded and a new pole about eight-and one-half feet tall was raised on 8/11/1982. The *Berlin Reporter* quotes Jay at the installation ceremony: *"It's really a campers' contribution for our many years of enjoying Dolly Copp."* But after a few years it became apparent that this pole was a too short, as children could climb on it. And with a corner location some camp trailers nicked it.



Left 1958 UPI caption *"Who's Scaring Who! Pamela Manning, 8, of Beverly, Mass. is up against tough competition with totem pole face at Dolly Copp"* – center Jay's 1993 pole – right 1993 pole discarded in 2008

Jay then carved out a larger and more ambitious replacement raised on 9/3/1993, the site relocated to the east edge of Hayes Field. While much admired, in time the base of this pole also decayed and it was taken down in **2006**, last seen in **2008** lying aside the east steps of the Visitor Center. The totem pole tradition enhanced camping culture at Dolly Copp from **1928** to **2008**, eighty years.

3-2E. GRAVEYARD AND HOMESITE

The small Copp farm graveyard, located within today's High Woods camping section east of Site 99, is noted on the 1915 *USFS Sketch Map*. It remains on the current USGS topographic map. Sarah Jordan of the USFS comments: *"The 1884 deed is the first mention of the cemetery on the west side of the Old Pinkham Road, across from the Copp Farm."*

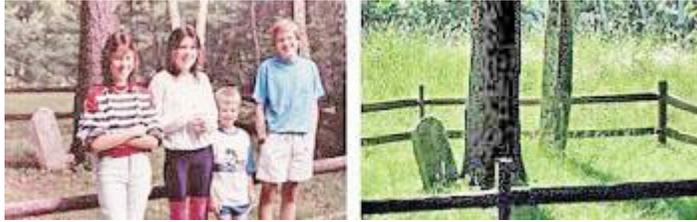
*It is described as an area 'two rods {33 feet} square of said lot 6 where now graves are located, said graves to be at the north side of said two rods.'" From a 1936 USFS file item: "Title to the .03-acre Graveyard is now in the Martin Family, * either absolutely or so long as needed for burial purposes.... The Government owns no interest in this parcel."*

* This Martin Family has not been identified. Perhaps the ten-year interval of the Census missed them as shorter-term residents. One clue is that a Henry Martin (Hazen B.) of Martins Location, NH enlisted for the Civil War on 10/6/1864, Company F substitute, born in Canada, mustered out on 12/19/1865.

From a 1940 letter in the USFS file: *"I talked with a party last year that was one of the bearers at a Copp funeral and he informed me that there are four bodies that are buried in the front of the cemetery."* Yet Hayes, Dolly and their four children all left Martins Location and their out-of-area burials are confirmed. Then the graves of the neighboring Culhanes are well recorded in the Evans Cemetery on Route 2 in Gorham.

Given the gap in their third and fourth children's birth years from 1838 to 1849, one or more Copp infants could have been born in the interval but did not thrive. If so, they would logically be buried here. From a 1989 USFS archaeological assessment of the graveyard: *"The people must have been related to the Copsps because they reserved the cemetery when they sold the property, also the right to visit it."* Such emotional ties may reflect infant burial.

Copp Farm Graveyard - second from left in 1988 Kim Craig with friend Alison, to her right cousins Dube and David - at right 2015 photo by Ruthie Arvanian Bowler



In time the tiny graveyard must have become heavily overgrown and overlooked for it was not generally known to campers in the twenties. Long time camper George Brackett says that it was brought to light by the clearing of brush in the 1931 camping season, his brother and sister participating in what campers saw as an exciting discovery.

Confirmation from eyewitness Mildred Richardson quoted in her granddaughter's 2019 book *Where the Wild River Flows*: "Afterwards we had some work to be done on Dolly Copp Campground, which was much smaller back then. While there I remember the Ranger telling me about **a grave they found** on one of the backside loops, right beside the road, and no one seemed to know just whose it had been."

Fifties campground manager Belvin Barnes, who had earlier been a Civilian Conservation Corps worker at Dolly Copp, recalled two gravestones in the cemetery. A large one as now, but another only six inches high, set back and to the north of the one remaining today. An unattributed, undated, USFS file item states that the graveyard held a rough granite slab carved with "HGE, AD 16 YRS". That last initial E raises an eyebrow, perhaps an Emery side youth.

Archaeologist Sarah Jordan of the USFS adds: "A Forest Service document dated 1971 says the cemetery is thought to contain the body of a child who died while visiting the Copps in 1841, but no source for this information is given." Casey Hodgdon says that over the years some campers thought they saw remnants of chiseled words in the rough surfaces and crevices of the stone marker. But he sees this as just a vivid imagination.

This tour continues to the Copp Memorial, which is today very much the emotional heart of Dolly Copp Campground. It is in a well-kept park-like setting with informational display boards provided.

Into the nineteen nineties, at the head of the homesite's then two parking spaces, was a quaint notice board displaying camp rules pleasingly set into natural wood. Correspondence of 1954 from the Secretary of the Campers Association to the Forest Supervisor reveals that campers communicated with each other by the billboard here:



View northeast at Copp Home circa **1854**; same viewpoint at **1933** dedication of Copp Memorial

"She had a camp site near the Dolly Copp Memorial facing the Imp. Well, this year before camp opened, knowing that I was to have charge of the **bulletin board** located on the Memorial site, I asked if I could have this location." Today, a **Facebook** group fills much of the need for camper communication (571 members in 2024).

Just to the south of the Memorial, by 1940 a small spur for tent sites was in place off Homestead Lane. Casey Hodgson documents that up until about 1966 this short spur was posted as "Notch View Lane." He says it then had an excellent view of Carter Notch, south of the Knoll, since obscured by vegetation.

In the sixties some camp sites were removed from this spur as most of it was repurposed as a walkway to a then new restroom. Casey says the lane name was dropped at the time the tent sites were removed to avoid confusion with the spurs that did offer sites.

3-2F. HIKING TRAIL WEST TO PRESIDENTIALS

Sights in today's Dolly Copp Campground include the comings and goings of mountain climbers. Such sport was present well before the Campground was founded. The Cops supplemented their income by providing beds and meals for their era's climbers.

There were hiking routes developing near the Copp Farm early on, only later formalized as trails. Casey Hodgdon: *"Most of the trails we know today did not exist in those days. The hikers back then 'bushwhacked' up the peaks."* Daniel Pinkham climbed Mount Washington at age 57, Hayes Copp at age 65. Hayes' son Jeremiah and the neighboring Culhanes were employed part – time as mountain climbing guides.

Upon entering the Daniel Webster Trail from the main campground road, you find well shaded forest. But that was not the case in the pre-campground, agricultural era. According to the 1915 *USFS Sketch Map* a fenced pasture extended westerly up slope beyond the point where today's power line crosses the trail. The Daniel Webster Trail passes through this old pasture, into original forest about thirty feet beyond the power line. (Photo of Webster from thedanielwebsterestate.org, Daniel Webster Trail sign from arlettelaan.com).



The 1915 *USFS Sketch Map* records a "White Pine" as a landmark at the up slope edge of the then cleared pasture. A large old White Pine stands at this location today with a circumference of almost twelve feet.

An article in the *Lewiston Journal* of 9/12/1953 relates to this in comments on the early days at the Copp Farm: *"The size of the trees he had to cut must have been great. Now in the vicinity of what was the Copp farm there are few trees of large girth, but up the lower flank of Mt. Madison are to be seen large trees that must have been good sized when Hayes Copp first built a rude shelter."*



The Appalachian Mountain Club's future route map of 1876 included the first proposal for what became in 1933 the Daniel Webster Trail. Soon thereafter appeared this reference in the 1877 *Geology of New Hampshire* by Charles Henry Hitchcock:

"An easier way of reaching Madison is to ascend either from Martins Location, H. D. Copp's, or from the summit {high point at Pine Mountain Notch} of the northern Pinkham Notch Road. The crest of the slope, if followed strictly, will bring one by the shortest road to the summit." (Map excerpted with permission from the 2003 AMC Atlas, arrow added at Pine Mountain Notch).

Trail historians Laura and Guy Waterman: *"In 1878 Benjamin F. Osgood opened a way up Madison from the Glen House, following the long sweeping ridge that since has borne his name."* Observation by tourist book author Samuel Adams Drake in 1882: *"There are several routes up Madison, but the best is probably that leading up the ridge from 'Dolly' Copp's on the old Pinkham Road. The Mountain Club will probably clear and keep this path in good condition."*

Roots of this ascent are seen in an **1885** *Appalachia Journal* including remarks by Eugene B. Cook, a leading trail builder of that time: *“Having twice traversed the mountain tops from Washington to Madison, down to **Copp’s** on the Pinkham Road, I revolved in my mind the various additions that could be made.”*

From the **1889** *Glen House Book*: *“The Cops have lived here about threescore years. In times past this house was a favorite starting point for the ascent of Mt. Madison. The route indicated from the Glen House is now generally preferred.”*

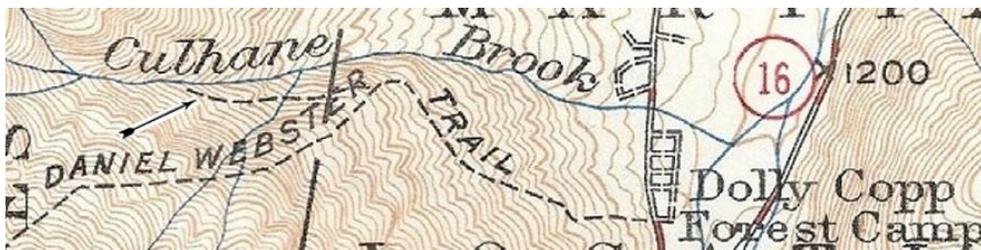
The formalization of a trail west from Cops had to await several more decades. The *Berlin Reporter* of 7/13/1933 informs us that *“eight boy scouts of high rank established a **trail construction camp** at the Dolly Copp Camp Ground the first of the week and will build a new trail up Mount Madison to join the Osgood Trail.*

*It is expected that the new route will be used considerably by **Dolly Copp campers** in climbing over the northern peaks and by skiers in the winter... The USFS has furnished the scouts with tents, blankets, cots and food in return for the volunteer labor.”*

The level area just to the south of the Trail entrance, now Camp Site 170, served as a base area for the Scouts. This was a lively scene with a mess tent. The children of campers, including eight-year-old George Brackett, went over to say hello and would be given a donut or snack.



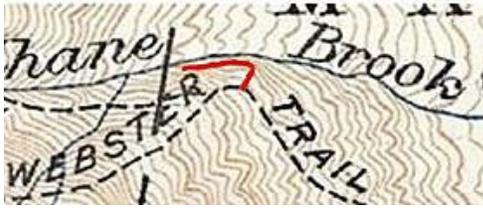
At left, “Daniel Webster Scout Trail Camp” sign from Kathleen Small colorized by David Veit - now Camp Site 170 - at right view north past Administration Building to sign



USGS map of Daniel Webster Trail in 1937 includes a “mystery spur” over to Culhane Brook about .75 miles westerly from the trail head – annotated with arrow – perhaps to some water feature long forgotten – this spur trail not included on later maps

Facebook friend John Compton has investigated many White Mountains trail features. We are in his debt for the personal communication below addressing the 1937 spur:

“Bits and pieces were found of what MIGHT have been the “mystery spur”, but nothing was conclusive. One of several small cascades were found within a tenth of a mile above and below the point where the 1937 mystery spur met Culhane Brook. All of them were nice little cascades, but they seemed unworthy for having a 0.3-mile spur trail to access them.



HOWEVER, near the end of the day, I stumbled upon a corridor, mapped at left, that was more defined than the mystery spur. It diverged from the Daniel Webster Scout Trail about 0.1-mile EAST of the divergence point for the spur shown on the vintage 1937 USGS map. And like the mystery spur, it also led to Culhane Brook.

But UNLIKE the mystery spur at the higher elevation on Culhane Brook this corridor appears to receive foot traffic from occasional adventurers. Also, the corridor provides a more direct route to Culhane Brook than the spur on the old 1937 map. I discovered that at the end of the spur there are cascades much worthier of a spur trail to access them:



Scenic cascades on Culhane Brook photographed by John Compton in April of 2023

All of this left me wondering if perhaps the path of the mystery spur was inaccurately drawn on the 1937 USGS map. Perhaps the more interesting Culhane Brook cascades I found were what the mapmaker was actually attempting to show.”

A Harvard University student hiking in **1861**: “I took a train, alone, for the White Mountains, stayed a day or two at a curious hostel known as ‘Dolly Copp’s’ near the Glen House, and then walked over Mount Washington to the Crawford House.”

Historian Frederick Kilbourne wrote in 1916 of an **1862** climb up Mount Madison as the start of a traverse by the Revered Phillips Brooks. A religious leader of his time, Brooks also wrote the lyrics to “O Little Town of Bethlehem.” From Kilbourne’s description we know Brooks started up Madison by way of the Copp Farm, the more direct Osgood Trail not available until 1878:

“The travelers determined upon doing what was then known as ‘going over the peaks’ which meant crossing the Northern Peaks from Madison to Washington... They started from the Glen House at six o’clock on the morning of August 12. After going **two miles or so on the road to Gorham**, they struck up the mountainside.”

An 1885 *Appalachia Journal* looked back in to an **1865** trip by members of the Alpine Club to the White Mountains: “We drove to the Waumbek House {to the west in Jefferson, NH until 1928} and dined. At a little before five we started again for **Imp Cottage, or Dolly Copp’s**, at the foot of Mt. Madison, by the way of the Old Pinkham Notch Road, then in a very rough condition. Night came on while we were in the woods, and we were obliged to lead the horses by the light of a candle held in a hat, so that it was eleven o’clock before we reached our destination.”

“There is a reason Dolly Copp Campground is the largest campground within the White Mountains; it’s at the start of some of the most epic day hikes in the area.”

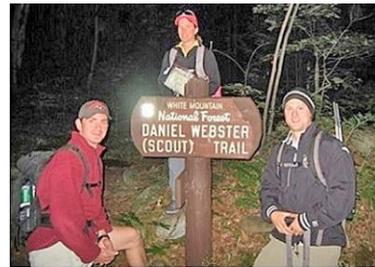
- Freelance Writer Sarah Lamagna 2021

After describing visits to Mount Washington and other locations, we learn from the 1885 Appalachia that *“the next day we had promised, if the day favored, to return to **Dolly Copp’s** by a route that had never been traveled before in its entire extent by women.*

*We next followed down the easterly ridge of Madison until opposite the most favorable point of descent into the forest, and took the precise bearing of **Imp Cottage**, here in view... Noting also “the distant sound of Madison Brook {since renamed Culhane Brook} when we swerved too far to the left...*

*After a little further descent there was no longer doubt; for the baying of dogs could be heard from two points directly in front, - plainly **Copp’s and Culhane’s**, the two farmhouses in the valley – and more exhilarating than a fresh flask of brandy was the sound.... We pushed on, and in a short time were met by parties from below, just as we were about to emerge from the woods, within ten rods of the point at which we had aimed, - the point of the triangle made by the highest clearing above **Copp’s** house.”*

The Copp Farm trailhead for what became known as the Presidential Traverse was included in Osgood’s **1876 Handbook for Travelers**: “An arduous but highly interesting excursion, and one practicable only for skilled woodsmen, could be arranged in the Presidential Range. On the first day an early start should be **secured from Copp’s**, and the party could cross Mt. Madison and Adams, encamped in the ravine beyond. On the second day, cross Mts. Jefferson and Washington and encamp in Tuckerman Ravine.”



Start of Presidential Traverse at 3 am
Source: travelswithtavel.com

As in olden days a traverse from Cops is still popular, using the Daniel Webster Trailhead within the Campground. Facebook comment by MC: “When doing the Presi’s, to go up the Daniel Webster Trail I’ve parked at Dolly Copp near their maintenance garage and have never had an issue.” Alternate access to the Traverse via an often-crowded parking lot on Route 2 in Randolph is much more popular today.

Both access points are cited within the current definition of Presidential Traverse on Wikipedia: “The basic Presidential Traverse begins from a trailhead on **U.S. Route 2 or at the Dolly Copp Campground** at the northern end of the Presidentials, crosses the great ridge of the range and ends in Crawford Notch at its southern terminus, or vice versa.”

3-3. COPP’S SOUTH FIELD AND MORE



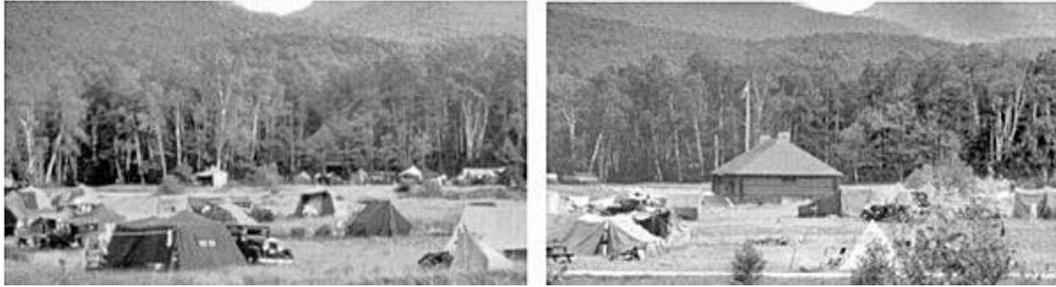
*In this view north from South Field, arrows identify the **low ridge** that separated the Copp Farm into South and North Fields - Pine Mountain to north*

3-3A. VIEWS SOUTH AND NORTH

On the north side of Riverside Drive’s origin at the main campground road is a rise of land, part of a low ridge separating north and south fields on the original Copp Farm. George and

Bernie Brackett remember that campers in the thirties referred to this high point as “the Knoll.”

They tell us that such descriptive names were used as *practical identifiers* before site numbering and lane names came into use. The Knoll was a frequent spot for photos of Campground views south over the heavily used south field and to Carter Notch beyond.



Views south from the Knoll over Copp's south field - at left prior to 1934 construction of Administration Building, at right after its construction



From the George Cross 1924 *Randolph Old and New on Pine Mountain*: “From the south peak you look down its sheer cliffs two thousand feet to the dark forests and quiet green meadows of the Glen.”



Views north along early Riverside Drive, today a popular section served with water and electricity – upper old post card, lower photo courtesy of David Veit

In 1924 some of those green meadows were the open fields of the new Campground. From a Valley News article of 6/18/2018 entitled *Fringe Presidential Peak Bears Many Views*:

“New Hampshire’s Pine Mountain is one of those small peaks with a huge payoff.”



View from Pine Mountain south into the Peabody Valley – photo courtesy of Pine Mountain Horton Center, United Church of Christ, caption: “Experience God’s creation in this ‘thin’ place between heaven and earth”

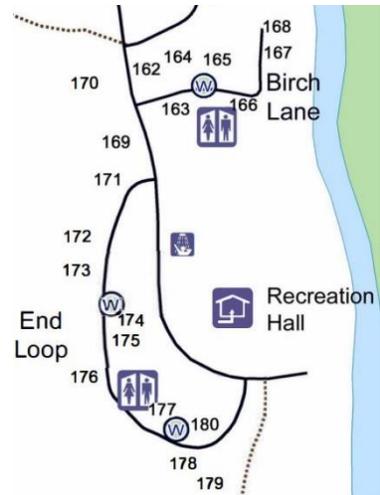
3-3B. BIRCH LANE, PLAY FIELD AND END LOOP

By 1940 **Birch Lane** had very dense campsite development at its east end along its Peabody River frontage. There were eight sites then, reduced to two today.

Perhaps the high density was due to demand for tent sites directly on the water, lost when the old Copp Spring Camp Ground closed across the Peabody and then west bank Play Field construction pushed choice camp sites off of the river frontage there.

This low area occasionally floods, risky for high site density. According to fifties campground manager Belvin Barnes a major storm in 1958 flooded Birch Lane. He dates the resultant cautionary thinning of its dense 1940s riverside sites to that event.

Today, the little stream paralleling Birch Lane makes a sharp turn north to skirt Sites 167 and 168. Early maps show this was not always the case, that the streambed continued directly east to the Peabody. Belvin Barnes says a berm installed along the bank of the river here in 1958 diverting the stream outlet to the north.

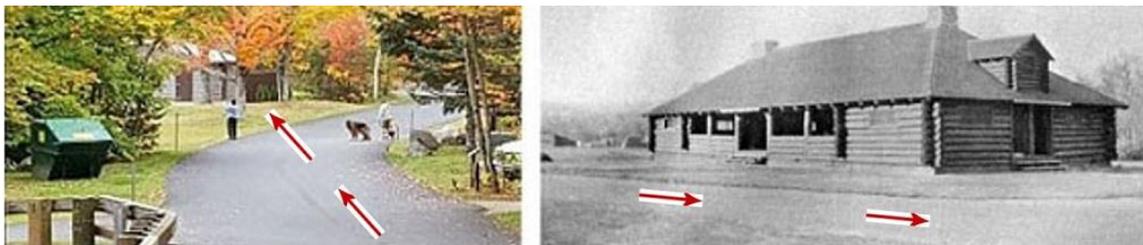


Photos from the twenties and thirties show the openness of today's **Play Field** extending easterly right up to the riverbank, without the buffer of trees grown in since then. George Brackett and Dorothy Brown remember early camping right on the river's edge, removed with the Play Field designation of 1939.



View south at riverbank camping, accessed by an extension of Birch Lane turning south along the west riverbank to the entrance bridge – a charming, wooded path today

George Brackett said that even though what is now the Play Field was open for camping in the thirties, it was large enough that part was often the setting for impromptu ball games, still true for the open area here today. As for the fieldstone water fountain relic at the southeast edge of the Play Field, according to George this remnant probably dates from CCC days. He does not remember it being functional after the late fifties.



At left view south looking beyond the entrance to Birch Lane, campers Rachel and Joanne standing with their dogs - until 1939 the road alignment in the foreground continued across what is now the western edge of the Play Field - right view north at Administration Building fronting on that original road until 1939



View north at new **Administration Building** – Courtesy of the Bob Rich Collection



Snowbound! 1969 photo courtesy of Donna Crosby, her 2021 comment: “Looking at the snow covered rec hall brings me back to many wonderful memories of camping in Dolly Copp or just visiting for the day - romantic memories of the dances held in the rec hall especially the Sept I was turning 16!

George Brackett confirms that the area now occupied by **End Loop** was available for unsited camping in 1930. He says there was no one way drive - through configuration until the southern exit to the main road was constructed by the CCC's in the late thirties. The word “End” in the identifier would not have made sense in the thirties, until after 1951, when the entrance on Route 16 was relocated north and this loop truly became the end camping section.

In early years the north section of End Loop held 22 supplemental parking spaces, 11 on either side. The need for such extra parking for the nearby Administration Building seems hard to imagine now. But in the thirties, this area was the “front door” to the Campground, rather than the quiet back end that it became after 1951.

A wide and well graded path leaves End Loop south to intersect with the Great Gulf Link Trail on that Trail’s way to Rangers Pool. This is a remnant of the original Pinkham Road, this section described by a traveler in 1853 as very scenic.

In 2018 White Mountain National Forest Artist in Residence Quinn Morrisette of Berlin completed a sculpture in Dolly Copp for the 1918 – 2018 WMNF Centennial celebration. As reported in the Conway Daily Sun of May 31, 2018:

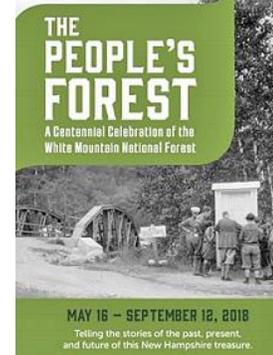


Above White Mountain National Forest on legend of **1936 US Forest Service Map**, “Dolly Copp Forest Camp” prominently featured

“Martins Location – Close to three dozen people, family and friends of artist **Quinn Morrisette**, plus USFS personnel and members of the Arts Alliance of Northern New Hampshire, gathered near the Visitor Center at Dolly Copp Campground on Sunday to fete Morrisette’s sculpture’s completion and to honor the artist.

They came to see the 40-foot-long Centennial Spiral that Morrissette created over a three-month period, August-October, last year. 'Most of the wood in my sculpture was cut from a large fallen white pine that was, in fact, about 100 years old — count the rings!' he said."

That old tree had been at the top of the rise in the Campground's Spruce Woods section. Commenting on the spiral format, Morrissette says *"the work is based on the golden ratio, also known as the divine proportion, that appears everywhere in nature and in drawings, most notably by Leonardo da Vinci. The wood is held in place by a metal framework."*



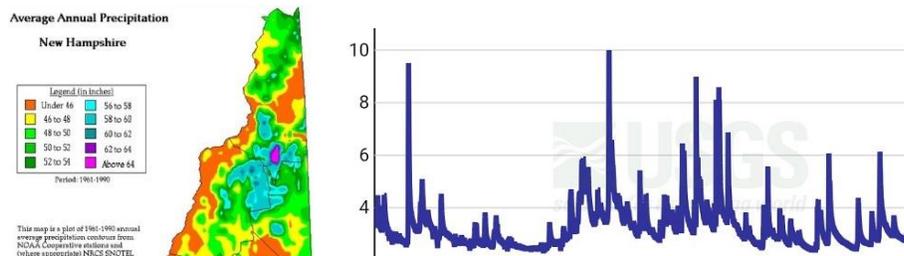
At left artist Quinn Morrissette with Androscoggin District Ranger Jennifer Barnhart at May 2018 Dedication of Centennial Spiral; center photo from quinnmorrissette.com; historic Copp Bridge on one of the notices for the celebration

Continuing, "Androscoggin District Ranger Jennifer Barnhart {until 2020} pointed out that the sculpture is located at a nexus point in the Dolly Copp Campground along with the Visitor Center that serves as a recreation center and lecture hall, the point where anglers head off to fish in the Peabody River, which flows north, and where eager hikers head south to Mount Washington via the Great Gulf Link Trail."

3-3C. PEABODY RIVER, ITS POOLS AND BRIDGES

OVERVIEW: With a length of 13 miles and hosting spectacular scenery, the Peabody flows north from Pinkham Notch to Gorham where it joins the 178-mile Androscoggin River. The source of the Peabody is on Mount Washington, west of the Pinkham Notch height of land.

The Peabody is augmented by tributaries from the Carter Range to its east and from the Presidential Range to its west, near pristine runoff. While average annual precipitation at the summit of Mount Washington is 97 inches, the statewide average for New Hampshire is a much lower 41 inches. The extreme figure makes the Peabody River Watershed a high runoff area.



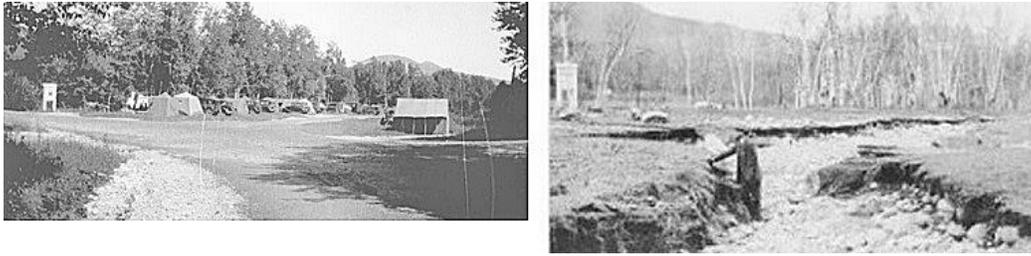
*NH Average Annual Precipitation from mapcruzin.com
- dark highpoint is the Presidential Range; spikes in feet of Peabody at Gorham 12/1/2022 thru 12/1/2023 from waterdata.usgs.gov*

From the Gorham Mountaineer Newspaper in 1903: "The Peabody is an erratic stream. It often rises to bank full and goes back to low water mark in a few hours."

From the 1994 Plant Explorer's Guide to New England by Raymond Wiggers: "Each 1000 foot gain in elevation is equivalent to moving another 250 miles northward. Rising to the characteristic conditions of Quebec, you hit a fair approximation of the taiga found there."

That volume of precipitation on steep grades, coupled with vegetation and absorption decreasing with elevation, has resulted in a record of sudden severe floods in the Peabody Valley. This fierce environment has always challenged the stability of Peabody River bridge

foundations in Martins Location. A new federal bridge installed in 1924 was swept downstream just three years later.



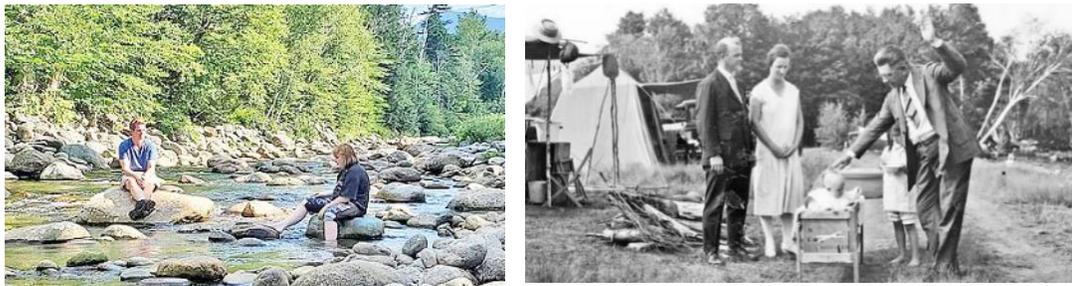
Erosive power of the Peabody dramatized by comparative east bank views north before and after 1927 flood – left from Bob Rich Collection, right courtesy of David Moore

USFS guidance: *“You may decide to venture into the water in June. If so, use caution – the headwaters are at higher, cooler elevations, so the water will be much colder than at late summer.”*

The largest tributary to the Peabody is its West Branch, draining the Great Gulf, a steep glacially formed valley surrounded by the peaks of the Presidential Range. The 1922 *AMC Guide* on the West Branch: *“Joined by numerous lesser streams from the steep slopes, it takes but a day’s storm to transform it from a shallow brook into a turbulent river.”*

The New Hampshire Division of Forests and Lands presents the Peabody as the “poster child” for the classification “boulder - cobble river channel.” The Division’s web site features the Peabody and defines the river type as *“mostly found along the high-gradient riverbeds of streams and small to medium-sized rivers common in mountainous and hilly areas.*

They occur on flashy rivers, flooding rapidly and intensely with snowmelt runoff in the spring and during peak rain events. Good examples of this community occur along the headwaters of most large rivers and streams in the White Mountains.”



At left the Peabody’s **boulder cobble channel classification** is well displayed in this photo contributed by camper Eric Middleton - at right view north at thirties Baptism Ceremony along Peabody at east end of today’s Play Field

Eric comments: “I’ve been camping here for so many years and it’s a perfect place. My grandfather used to take my mom and her siblings here as well about 50 years ago.”

--- From the **1853** *Guide Book of the Atlantic and Saint Lawrence Railroad*: *“Was there ever clearer water than that which shelves and slides, curvets and sparkles over the clean granite rocks which form the bed of the Peabody? Here is freedom, here is truth, here is energy!”* This early description is my favorite.

--- An **1854** *Portland Transcript* on the Glen Road: *“There is no doubt concerning its wild and picturesque beauty. Running through a narrow defile in the mountains, along the shallow Peabody River brawling over its stony bed, and shaded by forest trees of every native growth and foliage.*

When we arrived at the halfway watering place, and in a fine condition to enjoy it, we took a bath in the cool waters of the Peabody, which put a new spirit, better than rum, gin or brandy, into our heated systems."

--- From the **1854** *Weather at the Summit of Mt. Washington*: "The scenery from the Glen House to the Station House {in Gorham} is indescribable: gliding along by the crooked highway is the pleasant Peabody River, with its crystal waters, and snow white stony bottom, into which you will wish yourself immersed a dozen times, if, perhaps, you are blest with a hot day."

--- In **1855** hiker Dr. Benjamin Ball was famously lost on Mount Washington. He later wrote of the adventure in his book *Three Days in the White Mountains*. He leads off describing the trip from Gorham to the Glen House: "Following the only road, which wound along on the bank of a pretty mountain stream, whose waters whirled rapidly over a rocky bed, I very much enjoyed the ride.

--- Observation in **1860** by Thomas Starr King: "The pebbly path of the Peabody.... This stream is often swollen into a tremendous torrent by storms, or the heavy and sudden showers that drench their sides."

-- Louisa May Alcott on her carriage ride from Gorham to visit Dolly Copp in **1861**: "Maples dropped hospitable shade across the way, and a little river foamed and sparkled by, carrying its melodious message from the mountains to the sea."



Left Jefferson, Adams, and Madison from the Peabody River by Alexander Wyant (1836-1892); right Peabody by Campground's Birch Lane

--- The **1876** *Osgood's Handbook*: "There is a series of basins in the bed of the Peabody River, carved out and polished by the action of the water and the rolling stones on the ledges." Note that nearest to Dolly Copp Campground are Rangers Pool and Flat Rock Pool, but neither is listed in these old tourist guides – scenic and good for swimming, but small with minimal depth and waterfalls. Treasures still.

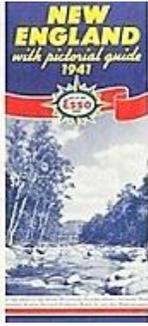
--- Local historian Nathaniel Tuckerman True in **1882**: "The Peabody River is a wild tumultuous stream, which in time of high freshets, bears all before it with its muddy waters." This characteristic expressed itself most mightily in 1869, 1903 and 1927.

--- The **1888** *History of Coos County*: "Gorham is eight miles, but the lovely carriage ride makes it seem not half the distance, the scenery along the Peabody River being so picturesque and grand."

--- From the *Gorham Mountaineer* in **1903**: "The Peabody river began to roar and the white caps began to run. To the uninitiated this may mean nothing, but to one who knows anything about the Peabody River it means the Old Nick to pay. Peabody is an erratic stream. It often rises to bank full and goes back to low water mark in a few hours."

--- The **1916** *USFS Sales Brochure for the Dolly Copp Farms Subdivision*: "The locality is one of especial natural charm. The Peabody River with its rapid, crystal clear waters, boulders, and bordering birches adjoins the location for more than half a mile."

--- To promote New Hampshire state officials exhibited at the **1939** World's Fair in New York City. Souvenirs distributed to visitors included a NH lapel pin and a NH highway map. The map featured on its cover a view south over Route 16 along the Peabody River.

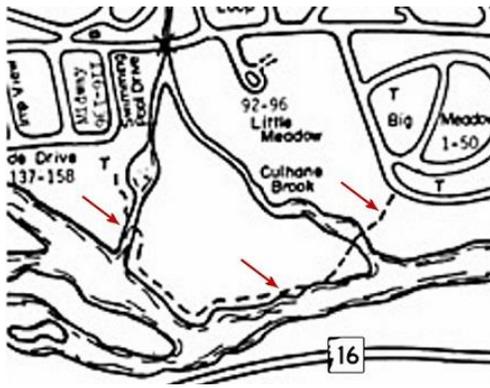


--- The **1941** Esso Gas Map for New England chose for its cover the Peabody River and the then bridge into Dolly Copp, Pine Mountain to north.

--- **2021** Facebook post by April Shaktman, reproduced with her permission: *"I could get lost in the sounds and problems of the world sitting beside the Peabody. It would take a wicked poke in the ribs to bring me back I am afraid."*

Peabody on 1941 Esso Gas Map

FLAT ROCK POOL: This popular feature is in the Peabody River on Route 16 just south of the Campground entrance. A large expanse of bedrock clear of boulders has a depth suitable for wading, swimming, scenery and communion with nature.

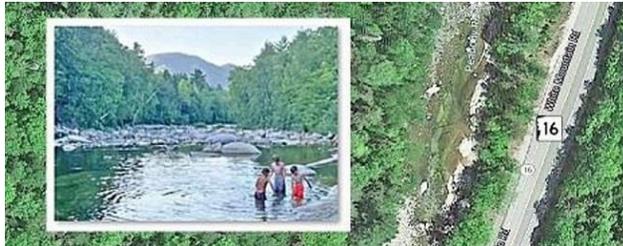


A path linking Big Meadow and Hayes Field Drive to the Pool was included as a mapped feature in the 1965 - 1975 Campground Map (excerpt at left annotated with arrows). The path remains today but is unmarked. Watch your backside - kids know all about it and will be coming along on their bikes. If walking in from the Big Meadow a challenge is the crossing of Culhane Brook.

Old time campers and first cousins Bob Brown and Bob Cook, each with over seventy years of Campground memories, say that the Route 16 highway expansion near 1958 pushed rocks into the pools – more of the flat rocks were exposed before that event. It then took decades for periodic high water flushing to partially clear the pool's bedrock sitting areas.



Early camper George Brackett said the place name goes back *"as far as I can remember,"* tying it to the late twenties. Google Maps labels the location "Peabody River Swimming Hole." A note attached to the Google reference by Russ Clough makes the correction:



*"This particular pool is called **Flat Rocks**. According to my parents I have been going there since the late 1950s. It is one of the greatest places to get in touch with nature. As a plus...kids love it. They will be shivering with blue lips and you will still have to drag them out."*

OLD BRIDGE POOL: The migration of river rocks led to the demise of one of the Campground's most convenient swimming pools. Reporter Robert S. Monahan in 1928 records children *"on their rafts in the shallow pool just below the bridge."*

George Brackett comments: *"In regards to the swimming under the bridge, it was not known as the swimming pool, as Rangers Pool was the popular place to go. I remember having a small raft and using it just below the bridge. I really don't recall any of the campers going there. But perhaps the local people used it when they had a picnic" on the east bank.*

One such local person was Evelyn Ross of Gorham and formerly of Randolph. She recalls that in the forties there was little swimming in Randolph, so her school class would drive over to this location due to its easy access from the Route 16 picnic ground. *"The pool went out when the bridge went out,"* Evelyn recalled. That is, in 1951.



Viewing Bridge Pool – left and center looking north in 1938, at right view northwest from east bank

RANGERS POOL: The popular Rangers Pool swimming and fishing amenity in the Peabody River is adjacent to the Great Gulf Link Trail, about four tenths of a mile south of the Campground. According to long time camper Dorothy Brown, Rangers Pool obtained its name decades ago when Forest Service staff raised a dam of river rocks to keep the pool elevation high for campers and themselves.

This explanation may fit with the fact that the Pool was the nearest swimming area for the rangers themselves in early decades, their headquarters at the Peabody River Ranger Station less than 1000 feet to the east on Route 16. Speculating back further, this pool may have been an amenity for this early building's tourists and the loggers who followed them. An iron pin from the logging era is anchored in bedrock on the west edge of the pool.

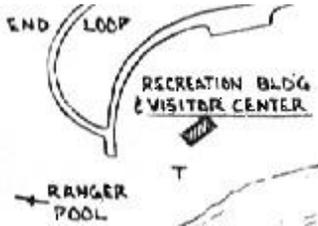
The 1915 *USFS Sketch Map* records an east side pasture with an accessway from the Ranger Station to the riverbank – a remnant of the 1830-1860 Pinkham Road. On the west bank, the best case for that early road's landing looks to be the low point on the Great Gulf Link Trail a little north of the pool.

In the early Campground era the east side accessway would have also provided entry to the incinerator here, built in 1931 by the Forest Service. According to AMC staffer Casey Hodgson it was abandoned by 1954. You can walk in from Route 16 and view the ruin of the concrete base.

A September 1928 news article describing the end of that year's camping season states *"the older folks, too, are sorry to leave for the last time the deep natural swimming pool a quarter mile above the bridge."*



The 1928 report had the distance off, as Rangers Pool is about four tenths of a mile upstream, and the pool is unnamed in the news article. But as there is no closer deep pool south of the bridge this must be an early reference to Rangers Pool. (Pool in 2022 from Facebook post by Scott Mackay).



The Brackett Family's photo of 1930 labeled "Rangers Pool" also provides early name confirmation. Then in a 1938 federal publication, we see the specific name Rangers Pool. Campers and others enjoy their time at this beautiful natural feature. (Sign south to Rangers Pool from sixties Campground brochure documents its then official status).



Build Your Own: "Brad Hurd Pool" on Peabody aside Campground, built by Brad July 2023 with the assistance of John Kennedy and Kevin Robertson



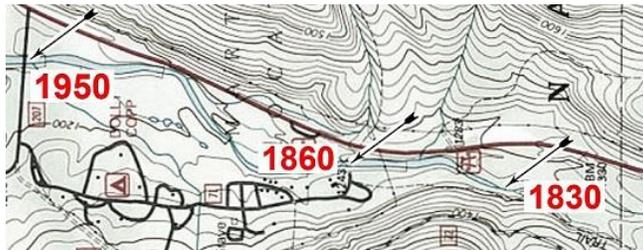
GARNET POOL AND EMERALD POOL: While not cited by Peabody Valley entrepreneur John Bellows in his 1849 tourism plan, scenic pools with waterfalls on the Peabody near his new Glen House hotel became popular attractions. Today they are used by Dolly Copp campers.

From *The Echo* of 8/17/1878: "The road to the **Emerald Pool**, on the left of the hotel, and to the **Garnet Pools**, on the right, is as frequented as ever, the ladies being enthusiastic as of old in their search for rare ferns by the bank of the first named resort." These scenic pools are accessible to today's public but remain without highway signage as the draw would overwhelm the very limited parking available. (Dolores Chew at Manchester, NH exhibit of Bierstadt's 1870 Emerald Pool).



Historian Paul Johnson on great artists of this period: "Church {1826-1900} and Bierstadt {1830-1902}, by showing America's natural resources in spectacular detail, gave a powerful impulse to the movement to preserve them through national ownership."

1830 FIRST PEABODY BRIDGE: Building his road from south to north, Daniel Pinkham would have crossed the Peabody to proceed northwesterly as soon as topographically feasible. Pinkham minimized construction mileage around the northern edge of the Presidential Range, hugging the level land at the base of Mount Madison, northwesterly thru Pine Mountain Notch. The main road thru Dolly Copp Campground was built by him.



Three successive bridge locations at beginning of Martins Location' side road to Randolph – bridge over Ellis River 1883 by Frank Shapleigh had similar length of watercourse

His early 1830 roadbed approaching Dolly Copp Campground from the south can still be seen entering the End Loop section. As the road hugged the Madison slope, its west side frontage was less level pasture, the east side frontage more level, and preferable, crop land. Prime agricultural land was too scarce to waste as a roadbed. This pattern is well documented on the USFS 1915 *Sketch Map* of central Martins Location.



Three views south, at left Old Pinkham Road – now the main campground road aside Copp's North Field; center Pinkham Road circa 1830; same view as center circa 1910

These views face Carter Notch and are within today's Dolly Copp Campground – source of left is Ebay sale by noted artist Robert Gordon, center cover of Carol Hayes' book "Pinkham's Notch" and right Guy Shorey post card

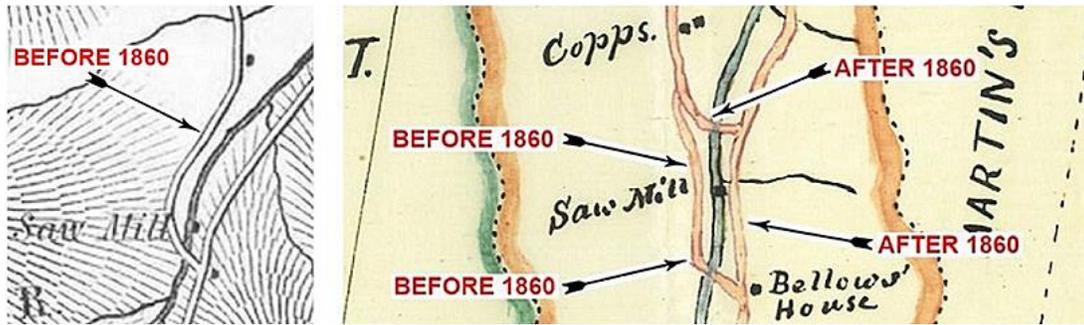
White Mountain history provides an *eyewitness* to the 1830 Martins Location bridge. In the *Appalachia Journal* of June 1919, Frederick Tuckerman retells an old story, White Mountain Historian Lucy Crawford having given much the same account in 1846. He tells us that in **1833** Navy Commander J. S. Paine (in West Indies 1823 - 1824 to fight pirates, to northeast coast of Africa 1840 – 1841) from Kennebunkport, Maine was a participant in one of Ethan Allen Crawford's early escorted trips to the summit of Mount Washington:

While intending to leave his party only briefly, the Captain got lost. Captain Paine then wanders down the mountain on the east slope: *"I then found my way to the bed of a stream, a branch of the Saco, and followed its winding for twelve miles, through briers and over rocks, from 1 till 7 o'clock p.m., and when the approaching darkness warned me of the necessity of a bed, discovered an object more pleasing than all the wonderful scenery.*

Twas a log bridge {underlined in original} crossing the stream in which I was wading. Following the road with renewed vigor, I arrived in an hour at Mr. Hanson's {Glen House site Hanson home doubled as an inn early on}, when a bowl of milk and a good bed left me nothing to regret... This morning I left Mr. Hanson's at five o'clock, walked seven miles to Mr. Wentworth's in Jackson."

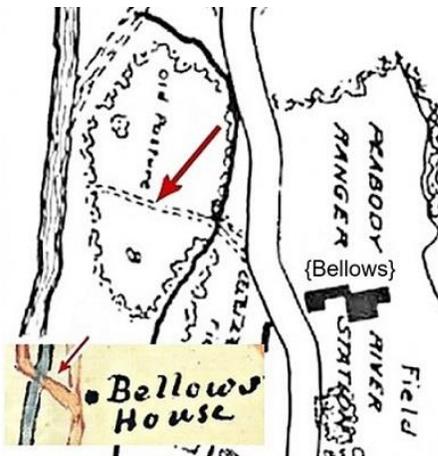
A correction within editor's comment on the 1919 *Appalachian Journal* article: *"It appears from his narrative that he followed the West Branch of the Peabody and then the Peabody, not tributaries to the Saco, till he finally reached the Pinkham Road where it crosses the stream near the Dolly Copp farm, whence he continued {south} to Hanson's Farm, near the site of the old Glen House in Greens Grant."*

Note that even though the 1865 Jackson Iron Map includes both bridges, that is not confirmation that they were operating at the same time. The 1865 map was a legal document recording historic features for reference during court proceedings. Mapped were numerous property descriptions citing landmarks from various years, not to be taken literally as existing simultaneously.



At left 1858 Boardman Map includes circa 1830 southernmost Peabody River crossing; at right 1865 Jackson Iron Map shows both the 1830 crossing and its 1860 replacement three quarters of a mile to the north

There is a reference to the 1830 bridge being swept away within Atlantic and Saint Lawrence Railroad Agent Ezra. F. Beal's report dated Saturday 7/18/1850:



"We have had the greatest rain here yesterday commencing Thursday afternoon ever known. As the inhabitants say, even greater than the August storm of 1824 {year of Pinkham Road setback}.

If this is the case it will be some time before there can be any travel to the mountain {Mt. Washington}. For the present, one bridge on the Pinkham road over the main river is gone and we suppose three more in the same road to Bellows house (early name for later Ranger Station) are carried away also."

Remnant of access road to 1830 bridge site on 1915 USFS Sketch Map – insert of 1865 Jackson Iron Map documents location

Another reference to degraded bridge quality at the 1830 location appears in the 7/17/1852 *Boston Literary Journal*: "You may also, if you choose, make a detour, crossing the river by a rather dangerous bridge."

The origin of today's wide pedestrian path from within End Loop south to Rangers Pool was a segment of the circa 1830 Pinkham Road. This early west bank of Peabody route was lauded for its scenic qualities in the *Portland Transcript* of 7/25/1853:

"You proceed about half a mile, over a broken down bridge, and along a most beautifully shaded and quiet road, to a solitary farm-house in the midst of the hills. All who see a charming bit of still life, should not fail to walk up the green bowered and deserted turnpike."

The earliest tourism map of the White Mountains was drawn by George Phillips Bond in 1853. A biography of Bond by Adam Jared Apt notes that "T. W. Harris, a stickler for exactitude, had reservations about the map, which he had carried with him on his excursion through the mountains."

Apt quotes Harris: "I was sorry not to find laid down on Mr. Bond's map the old road from Bellows' sawmill around the north side of Mount Madison to Randolph." Perhaps that early cartographic omission reflects the obscurity which the 1830 bridge route had fallen by 1853.

The 1830 bridge location is noted within directions to the Imp in the 1853 *Guidebook* by S. B. Beckett: "The excursionist must cross the bridge about a mile and a half below the Glen House, where the old post road turns off towards Randolph, and proceed thence a quarter of a mile or so down the left bank of the river, to the first farm house." The final reference is

the **1858** Boardman Map, which shows the 1830 southernmost crossing point still in use that year.

SECOND CIRCA 1860 PEABODY BRIDGE: With new and speedy railroad access to Portland, as the new north - south road from Gorham to the Glen House opens in 1851, the northwesterly orientation of the Old Pinkham Road is eclipsed. For the Copps and other west bank farmers accessing Gorham, and for tourists diverting from the Glen Road to see the Imp, the 1830 location wasted mileage by requiring backtracking. This inefficiency must have been the, or one of, the reason for the 1830 bridge location to be abandoned.

White Mountains historical figure Laban Watson of Randolph took young George Cross on a wild carriage ride across the rocky bed of the Peabody River at a time when the 1860 bridge was out. Cross referring to the event in his 1927 booklet:

"Where now {1927} a substantial iron bridge spans the river, Daniel Pinkham built a low bridge of logs {Cross is incorrect, the 1830 crossing relocated here after Pinkham's time}. This frail structure and many of its successors went down the stream in spring freshets. In the long bridgeless intervals travelers were forced to resort to a precarious ford.

One of the writer's earliest recollections {Cross lived from 1853 until 1930} of the region is a voyage across this ford in a light Concord wagon, the pilot, Mr. Laban Watson of Randolph. Our frail bark pitching at every possible and frightful angle as the wheels rolled over the large boulders in the swirling waters, and the horse struggled for the opposite shore."

The circa 1860 bridge was likely swept away in the big flood of **1869**. So, Laban's rocky crossing with young Cross was likely after that year. A reference in Sweetser's *Handbook of 1877*: "This route can be taken from the Glen House, without going to Gorham, by turning to the left from the Gorham Road about two- and one-half miles north of the Glen House, passing around the base of Madison."

The **1889** *Glen House Book* tells us that the Martins Location bridge enabled summer hotel patrons to the west of the Presidentials to visit friends at the Glen House. In addition, an **1892** *Glen House and Stage Line Brochure* uses the Old Pinkham Road northwesterly by Copps to serve passengers using railroad stations in Randolph.

Just as in 1869, the year **1903** was calamitous for Peabody River bridges, well documented in the *Gorham Mountaineer* newspaper June 6 of that year: "After 5 o'clock Peabody rose rapidly and the big jam of pulpwood at the Copp bridge started and pieces, few at first then the whole mass, began to come down the stream toward the Androscoggin... Shortly after 7 o'clock Friday evening E. Libby & Sons received word from the Glen that the toll bridge had gone and that Copp bridge probably had. This was later confirmed."

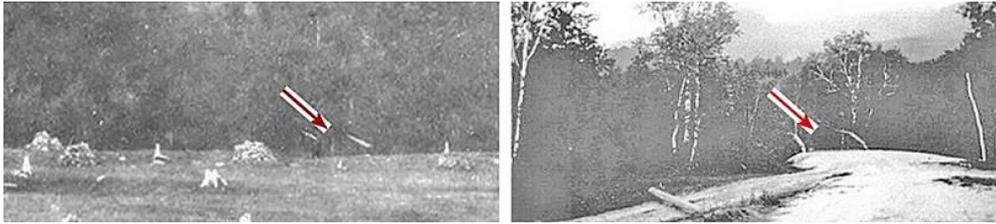


Guy Shorey view east at post 1903 Copp Bridge circa 1910

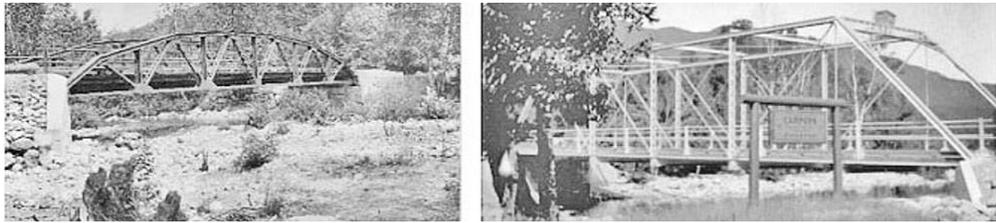
Proceeding past 1915 into the Campground years, with federal funding newly available, from the **1922** *Report of the New Hampshire State Highway Department*: "With the allotment of the Federal Forest Road Fund for roads thru the National Forests, a new bridge is being built on the Pinkham 'B' Road, at what is known as Dolly Copp Bridge." Young Robert Monahan's key observation: "With the river adequately bridged in **1924** the camp ground extended to the opposite bank."

Even with its modern design the 1924 bridge stood only briefly, until **1927**, when it was swept away in yet another flood. According to the National Weather Service the great flood of November third and fourth 1927 "was caused by a tropical storm that produced four or more inches of rain in New Hampshire, at one location on Vermont fifteen inches.

The ground was already thoroughly saturated by heavy rains that fell from October 18-21.” Another source says the ground in the Peabody Valley was already frozen by this date and thus not absorbent to help mitigate flood effects.



Bridges at 1860 location compared - at left appearing in 1864 Copp Farm tourist photo, at right new 1924 bridge with earthen ramp to raised deck



At left new federal bridge of 1924 allowing east bank campers to better access Copp Farm; at right 1928 “recycled” bridge replacement taken from next Peabody crossing to north



Views from west bank at soon to fail 1924 Peabody bridge

A late 1927 Forest Service memo on storm impact: *“I found considerable damage has been caused by the flood of November 4. On the east side.... some of the trees bordering the riverbank on the north end below the fireplace were washed away.... The Dolly Copp Bridge and the east abutment are gone. The west abutment and the surface of the big fill are undamaged.”*

Historian D. B. Wight reports: *“The bridge over the Peabody River at the Dolly Copp Camp Grounds was carried half a mile down the river, and it stood in the woods high and dry, but sadly bent and twisted.”* One half mile takes the wreckage almost to Flat Rock Pool, where the gradient of the descending Peabody lessens significantly.

We can speculate that the severe damage in 1927 to the original east bank camping area alerted USFS administrators to the power of flooding to endanger sleeping campers there. This would have increased support for the permanent removal of east bank camp sites, that action taken in the early thirties.

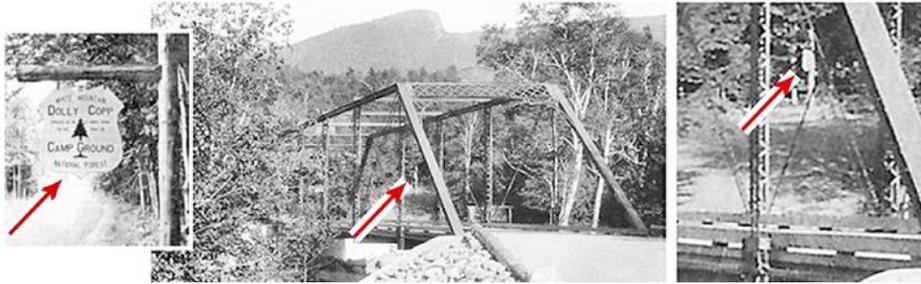
A replacement bridge was quickly substituted, as cited in a September 1928 news article: *“Early in June a crew of U. S. Forest Service men began filling the gullies washed by the November freshet, cleaning the famous Dolly Copp Spring and digging new drainage ditches. By late July the Old Middle Bridge on the Glen Road had been transported and set up on the site of the Dolly Copp Bridge that was destroyed last fall. Thus the August campers were able to pitch their tents in the wide fields that extend a mile down the west bank of the river.”*

Early camper George Brackett remembers the 1928 bridge as a central social point in its own right, dating back to the expansion of camping to the west bank in the twenties.

“The bridge was a congregating point for the Campground. There were at times accordions, instruments and lanterns. My brothers and sisters took our lantern and violin on the nights they danced. Remember that in the twenties, the nearby Administration Building hall had not yet been built.”

Even after the Administration Building was built, available from 1934 on for socializing, old habits die hard. Campers continued to congregate on the nearby bridge as the camp rules of **1936** state *“dancing and entertainment in the Administration Building will be confined to organized affairs. There will be no dancing on the bridge over the Peabody River or on road or drive.”*

The 1928 “recycled replacement bridge” served until **1950**, when the Campground entrance off of Route 16 was relocated north and a new bridge built – the entrance bridge we use today. The reused Old Middle Bridge was removed the next year, leaving its east bank concrete abutment still standing.



At left looking south at **entrance sign on Route 16** in 1927; same sign viewed from east on 9/28/1928; at right blow up of central view



View from west bank across Peabody to east bank **bridge remnant**; Ferreira sons Gio and Dom build dam in 2020

According to Casey Hodgson after 1951 the west abutment from the 1928 bridge was not deliberately demolished. Rather, a hurricane in the early fifties undermined it such that it collapsed, the remnants having then washed down the Peabody.

The natural downstream migration of boulders in the Peabody is more dynamic than may appear during the relatively low flow summer camping season. On the west bank in 2014 a concrete remnant of the abutment in use until 1951 had migrated by storm surge to appear aside Site 167 on Birch Lane, a distance of 800 feet.

To view the remains of the east bank abutments of the 1928 - 1951 bridge, proceed south in the Campground past End Loop and the Visitor Center. Walk easterly to the very end of the Campground Road, then down the path to the water. The east bank remnant is in view across the Peabody. The base of the west bank abutment can still be seen at ground level near you.

1950 THIRD PEABODY BRIDGE: In 1950 the circa 1860 bridge location at the south end of the Campground was moved to the north end. The new access proceeded westerly from Route 16 across what had been the Mary Barnes Farm. Consider that state route thru traffic no longer had to mix with campers along the main Campground road, improving peace and quiet and safety.



At center view south at today's 1950 entrance bridge, left and right 2011 flood damage quickly repaired

In 1949 the Forest Supervisor updated the Dolly Copp Campers Association: *"We are in the process of entering into a cooperative agreement with the State of New Hampshire whereby we jointly furnish the funds for a cut-off road to the north of Dolly Copp, plus a new bridge across the river.*

It is hoped to complete that by late spring next year, and once that is done and the old bridge removed, leaving the entrance to the campground at the north end, Dolly Copp should really quiet down in many respects."

As noted, the change eliminates thru traffic as the campground road becomes today's dead end. *"At the same time, the possibility of charging, quite probably on a concessionaire basis, will be a practicable proposition. Should, for instance, Dolly Copp have a single controlled entrance, a great many of the internal problems would almost automatically disappear, particularly those problems dealing with outside interference."*

Preserved in the Androscoggin file (and kindly made available to me) is a 1949 USFS summary of the presentation to the State Highway Commission and Governor Sherman Adams. That governor was honored in 1980 by the naming of Mount Washington's Sherman Adams Visitor Center. (Photo at left shows Vincent Crosby in 1969 skiing just south of 1950 bridge, Pine Mountain to north).



At left the new access road alignment was not entirely new, following an unpaved spur road easterly on this 1937 USFS Map - at right westerly off of Route 16, the 1950 bridge opens views north and south on the Peabody

"Their immediate reaction was to simply close the Dolly Copp Road at Barnes Brook, with that part of it going through the campground being abandoned by the State. That of course would be the cheapest thing to do, but whether or not we, the State Highway Department, or both, could successfully meet any local opposition that might develop is another matter.

The next alternative is to cut across a spur road, which in itself is not particularly difficult but would involve a pretty expensive bridge." It was the new bridge that got the Governor's nod. From the June 1950 edition of *Appalachia Journal*: *"Camping charges will be levied this year at Compton Pond Forest Camp... in accordance with the policy requested by Congress.*

This will be the first campground in the White Mountain National Forest to which this policy is applied. It was selected in place of Dolly Copp, which would naturally be assumed to be the obvious choice for an operation of this sort, because ingress could be controlled.



The Forest Service is carefully choosing only camps where the prospective camper can be informed that a charge will be made, before he enters and sets up his camp. This is not possible at the Dolly Copp Campground, where a public highway bisects the area.”

Progress is seen in a 1950 memo from the Forest Supervisor to the Dolly Copp Campers Association: *“You will be interested to know that the cut-off road is fast becoming a reality. The east end of it has already been cleared and machinery is being moved in to start construction on both the road and bridge.”*

USFS correspondence of 4/9/1951 then informs us that *“the new entrance road was completed last fall, and our present plan includes barricading or removing the old steel bridge and having controlled entrance from the north.”* It appears from this statement and from remarks by then AMC camp worker Chris Van Curan that for a period during 1950 and 1951, both old and new bridges remained in service.

3-3D. FIRE TOWERS VISIBLE FROM CAMPGROUND

A steep increase in forest fires accompanied the White Mountains logging boom. When the federal government surveyed the public’s new land that would, in 1918, become the White Mountain National Forest, it estimated that 21 percent of the acreage had burned over during the century prior, most of that since logging had accelerated between 1870 and 1880.

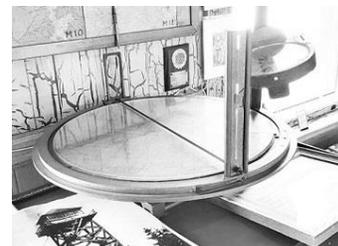
From the *Gorham Mountaineer* of 6/3/1903: *“Fire on Pine Mountain working rapidly toward the Peabody River.”*
From the 1930 *Book of the White Mountains* by John Anderson and Stearns Morse:



“Pine Mountain was, as its name would indicate to the alert mind, originally pine-clad. But a devastating forest fire has denuded it, not only of trees but even of soil, so that the gougings of the glacier are distinctly traceable on its rugged rock summit.” (View north at snowcapped Pine Mountain from Wildcat Mountain).

In response to fire danger a network of fire lookout towers was built and operated for several decades. The first tower visible from the old Dolly Copp Farm was the lookout on **Pine Mountain** (2,404 feet) erected in 1910. Historian Denman Wight: *“This tower proved to be a big help in discovering and reporting fires that were set by sparks from trains, or lightning, before they had a chance to get too good a start.”*

From the AMC 1917 *Guide to Paths in the White Mountains*: *“Pine Mountain, the most northerly peak of the Mount Washington Range, though only 2,440 {slight error} feet above sea level affords a remarkable view. Standing at the meeting point of four great valleys, it looks northerly up the Androscoggin River, easterly down the Androscoggin, southerly up*

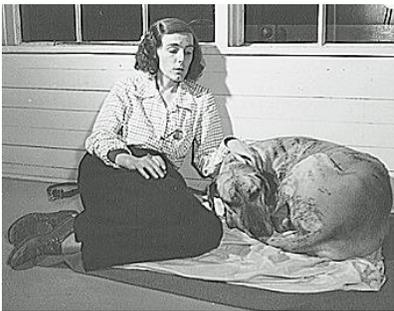


Above at left USFS nineteen forties view northeast from Pine Mountain Tower with Mahoosuc Range on horizon; center Barbara Mortensen at work on Pine Mountain, at right her fire finder on display in 2022 at the Gorham Historical Society, on loan from USFS

the Peabody and westerly up the valley of Moose River. Because of its commanding position and easy access, it has been chosen for a fire lookout station."

According to firelookouts.org *"the tower operated from 1910 to 1967 and was removed in 1975. The station was funded in 1910 by the NH Timberland Owners, with additional funding from the NH Forestry Commission. A new tower was constructed in 1916, and another in 1939 by the CCC." Concrete foundation anchors remain on the summit.*

According to New Hampshire Fire Lookout Historian Iris Baird in her book *Looking Out for Our Forests*, in the early 1940s Barbara Mortensen (lived 1908-2000) of Berlin NH became part of Pine Mountain history. Baird interviewed Mortensen in 1995 at the Mortensen home in Laconia, NH.

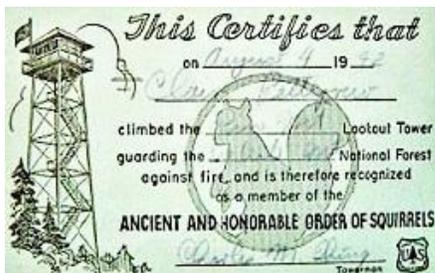


Baird notes that there were a few women during World War II who took on fire tower and airplane lookout tasks, which until then had been "men's work." A standout woman like our Dolly, Barbara was one of the select few new USFS employees.

More from Baird: *"Barbara paid her own way on the railroad and then walked up the Pinkham B Road to her tower. On Pine Mountain Mortensen had a station with a live-in cab perched atop a forty-foot wooden tower ... her husband was in the Navy and at sea.*

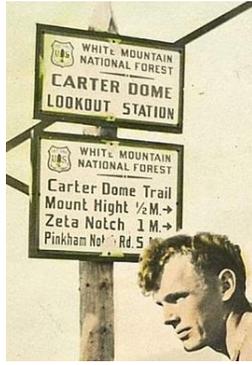
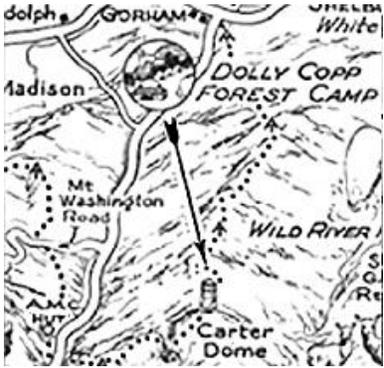
Her dog Brenda had a little trouble getting up the stairs {above with Dog Brenda in Pine Tower 1943} to her living quarters at least for the first few times." Barbara kept Brenda on a leash when walking to or from the Tower so she would not chase after porcupines. "She was very close to the Town of Gorham and was able to enjoy the band concerts from her lookout."

My friend Scott McClory has a family tie to Pine Mountain. *"My mother, Claire McClory, maiden name Pettigrew, was 11 years old at Dolly Copp when she earned a Squirrel Card in August of 1942. The card reads: 'This certifies that on August 4, 1942, Claire Pettigrew climbed the Pine Mountain Lookout Tower guarding the White Mountain National Forest against fire, and is therefore recognized as a member of the Ancient and Honorable Order of Squirrels.'"*



(At left Scott's mother's USFS Order of Squirrels card from Pine Mountain August 1942). Perspective from the Appalachian Mountain Club: *"As a memento for those who hiked up to fire towers across the country, the Forest Service began giving out 'Squirrel Cards.' After these cards were issued the Forest Service's efforts to educate the public received a new face, when Smokey Bear appeared in a new 1944 ad campaign."*

According to the *Appalachia Journal* of December 1952 *"on July 17, 1952, a forest fire lookout working at the summit of Pine Mountain in Gorham spots suspicious smoke rising from the lower heights of the Mahoosuc Range near Gentian Pond {in northern Shelburne, NH bordering Success, NH}. This proves to be the beginning of a stubborn forest fire that is described as the largest in northern New Hampshire in the last 25 years."*



A 1928 news article reports a second tower visible from Dolly Copp: “The Carter Dome lookout tower (4,832 feet) **which can be seen from most of the camp ground** acts as grim reminder of forest fire possibilities.”

On Carter Dome from the 1938 Guide to the Granite State: “East of the Presidential group, across Pinkham Notch, is the long and lofty Carter-Moriah Range, with rounded Carter

Dome (altitude 4,860) as its loftiest elevation. Between this and Wildcat Mountain (altitude 4,415) to the south is another deep cut, Carter Notch.”

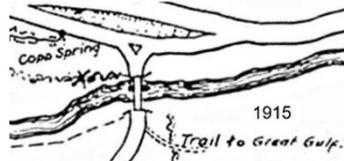


Above left clear view southwest from Dolly Copp Campground to Carter Dome Fire Tower on annotated 1936 USFS map – right summit sign in 1931 - below left campers visit Carter Dome Fire Tower in 1938, below right Cummings Family visit Pine Mountain Fire Tower

According to white mountain history.org “Carter Dome had a progression of lookout towers, with the earliest one a crude log tripod that may have been built for the Glen House Hotel. A series of improved towers were built on Carter Dome culminating in the steel tower built by the USFS in 1924.” That landmark was demolished in 1947.

3-3E. HIKING TRAIL SOUTH TO GREAT GULF

At the south end of the Campground for many decades the Great Gulf Trail had an access point, featured on the 1915 USFS Sketch Map (excerpt in center below). This trailhead was adjacent to the pre-1951 Peabody River Bridge. The trail remains and in 1986 it was renamed the Great Gulf Link Trail, length just .6 miles to connect with the now main Great Gulf Trail.



The 1925 AMC Guidebook documents the early connection: *A few rods beyond the bridge, near the edge of Dolly Copp farm.... following an old logging road {part of which had been the 1830 Pinkham Road}. The logging road is plain except in midsummer when it is overgrown in places with grass and berry bushes.*

It soon passes the Gorham Fish and Game Club shelter, open to the public and accommodating eight.” The 1925 Guidebook places this shelter in the narrow strip between the Great Gulf Trail and the Peabody River and well north of Rangers Pool.

The 1936 edition of the Guidebook also mentions the shelter, for which I have found no trace at ground level. (Notice of Club Banquet on 2/13/1920, mama bear and cub heading towards Gorham Town Hall).

In 1986 the Great Gulf trailhead was relocated further south, to a point more easily accessible from Route 16. This reorientation includes building a fifty vehicle parking lot and a 160-foot-long wood and cable pedestrian bridge. Here there is easy access across the Peabody, just as the 1860 bridge location at Copp Farm to the north had provided for the earlier trailhead.



A USFS spokesperson in 1986 stated that one of the purposes of the new Great Gulf Wilderness parking lot on Route 16 was to reduce hiker traffic through Dolly Copp Campground. The provision of parking also enabled the riverbank at the pedestrian bridge to become a picnic and wading area for campers and the public aware of it.



Peabody River Pedestrian Bridge
Source: <http://matthikes.blogspot.com/>



Between the suspension bridge and parking area you can access a preserved segment of **pre-1958 Route 16**



As the northerly path from the parking lot turns west to the riverbank and suspension bridge, look straight ahead. You will see a well-preserved segment of pre-1958 Route 16 right-of-way. It is much narrower than its higher speed replacement just east, the limited width indicative of the slower speeds of years gone by.

Leaving the Campground southbound on the Great Gulf Link Trail, (photo credit for sign June Deblois) a camper I know *extremely well* was out for a light, level walk, not a climb. He crossed the 1986 pedestrian bridge easterly, then turned north to walk back to the Dolly Copp Campground entrance and into his camp site.

Following Route 16 north, he tires aside the much closer Dolly Copp Picnic Ground, wades the Peabody for a faster return, slips and ruins his cellphone. Dork.

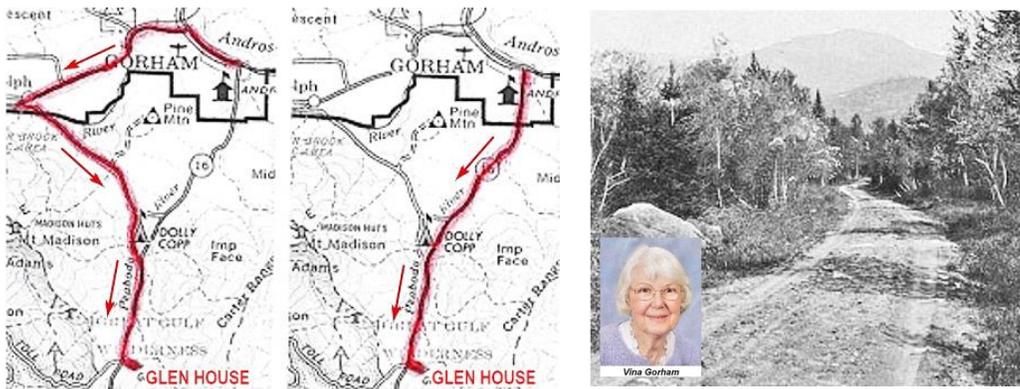
3-3F. EVOLUTION OF ROUTE 16

In time most of the early Pinkham Road serving the Peabody Valley became Route 16. We take that fine access for granted today. How the former became the latter is a central part of the Peabody Valley story.

GORHAM SOUTH TO GLEN HOUSE: Evidence of use of the soon to be outdated northwest route to Randolph passing by Cops, only then easterly to Gorham, is found in a *New York Times* article of 8/8/1861: “*The Mount Washington Carriage Road Finished: The Alpine Station at Gorham was only **seven miles** from the summit of Mount Washington in a direct line. But a **circuitous route of fifteen miles** was the most agreeable for tourists. Private enterprise soon opened various routes to the mountains from Gorham and a carriage road to the Glen House.*”



From the 1995 *Historical New Hampshire, Volume 50*: "Of what is still known in Gorham as the Glen Road, a direct route from the White Mountain Station House to the Glen. Prior to that time, the Route to Gorham from Pinkham Notch had been **by way of Randolph.**"



At left dual maps dramatize change in north to south travel upon opening of the more direct Glen Road; at right later Glen Road view south with Mount Washington in background from Vina Gorham's antique shop

Since its completion in 1835 the Pinkham Road northerly thru the Peabody Valley had crossed the Peabody River in Martins Location, veering off northwesterly, passing thru a low notch by Pine Mountain, then on to Randolph. But as Gorham's growth accelerates and the Glen House is built, the main "desire line of travel" leaving the Peabody Valley shifts from northwest to Randolph to due north to Gorham.

The alignment along the Peabody becomes the "Glen Road", from the railroad station in Gorham to the Glen House in Greens Grant. It must have been obvious in those times that the north - south road link of 5.2 miles, tying in south to the old northwest road and bridge at Copp Farm, would eventually be upgraded to serve wheeled vehicles. It already had a crude passage along the gentle riverside grade. But who would step up to pay for it? Ambitious investor John Bellows and the railroad appears.

By 1849 Saint Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad President Josiah Little was cooperating with Peabody Valley tourism promotor Bellows. In assessing road maintenance responsibilities from Gorham south to Bellows' proposed Site #1 Bellows Hotel, President Little wanted background on what had happened to the segment by Cops northwest to Randolph. Bellows responds in November of 1849:

"I would remark first that the Pinkham Turnpike Road, so called, but in fact is now extinct. The charter has been vacated by reason of corporators neglecting to construct and complete the road according to the provisions of the charter. In the month of April 1848, the Road Commissioners for the county of Coos laid out a nice highway over this route mostly on the same line of road.

Commencing at James Geeay's in Randolph thence running through a part of Randolph, Gorham, Martin, Green and Pinkhams Grants into the town of Jackson a distance of thirteen miles, to a point within seven miles of the stage road leading from the White Mountain Notch, through Bartlett towards Portland.

For the last named distance there is now a good carriage road passing through the small village of Jackson at the distance of four miles from the southerly end of the old Pinkham, or new laid out, road. This road will be expanded through those Grants next season {1850} I think so that it will be in good condition for passing with light carriages in the course of next year."

Insight from Historian D. B. Wight, quoting a mid-nineteenth century riverside route description looking south from Gorham: "There is a road in contemplation to lead from the main road up Peabody River to intersect with one from Randolph through Pinkhams Grant. One old map shows a previous road that follows the south side of the river all the way,

probably not much more than a logging road. The road if made will enhance the value of lands up that Valley."

Wight also informs us that in **1850** a Gorham town meeting voted "to lay out a road up the valley of the Peabody River and raise \$100 to be used on said road, provided the Saint Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad Company would make a passable wheel road up to the south line of Gorham {north from Greens Grant thru Martins Location}. The railroad appropriated \$1,000 for this purpose."

Railroad agent Ezra Beal * cites that same \$1,000 in a report to his company dated 6/7/1850: "I have contracted with Judge Ingalls and Barker Burbank for building our mountain road, 1833 rods {5.73 miles} including all bridges for \$2,000. They take four shares in our road, leaving besides subscriptions now obtained, a little over \$1,000 for the Company to pay in cash." More from Beal's 6/7/1850 report to his supervisor Railroad President Little: "the road is to be completed by the 20th of July next {that is, July of **1850**}."

* According to the Mount Washington Observatory Symposium of 1994 on Grand Hotels and Tourism Beal, invested in the Atlantic and Saint Lawrence Railroad. He was "quickly named one of only two directors on the United States side of the line. This association proved to be very fruitful for Beal, since he contracted extensively with the railroad and ended up building most of the stations on the southern portion of the line."

Burbank attempted to bring in some state support. The *Journal of the New Hampshire House* on 7/10/1850 documents a "petition of Barker Burbank and others for an appropriation for the Pinkham Road."

Another request for state support of the road, by a Pinkham, I assume our Daniel, in the **1851 Journal of the NH Senate**: "Mr. Pinkham presented the petition of the selectmen of the Town of Jackson, and others, praying for the grant of an appropriation to be expended upon the highway through Pinkhams Grant, east of Mount Washington, in Coos County."

They commence next Monday. I have written to Mr. Bellows today, urging the necessity of completing so much of his house, as will be necessary, and also the cutting out the mountain road {pony road to summit}, from his house, that a hand bill can be issued the first day of July concerning the Jubilee of convenient accommodations."

John Bellows' November **1849** proposal to President Little offers Glen Road maintenance funding after road completion: "Should a new carriage road be made up Peabody River {proceeding south} to intersect the Pinkham Road {at Peabody bridge near Copps} I will guarantee this road shall be put in good repair from such place of intersection as I presume this place be near or at the place where this Pinkham road crosses the river, to the point {eastward across from new hotel} from which a bridle road will strike off for the mountain."

The Glen Road newly opened in **1850** is praised in Tripp's **1852 White Mountain Guide Book**: "Over a good and hard road in the valley of the Peabody River."

Perspective on the construction from Gorham historian Wight: "The owners of the land generally **relinquished their right** to the land and it was laid out and carefully recorded in the town records."

Hayes Copp's two one hundred acre lots were originally believed to extend a full **one half mile** east of the original Pinkham Road where it fronted his homes, crossing the Peabody to include the new Glen Road right of way.



While the boundaries of Pinkhams Grant, shown at left one half mile east and west of the Copp home, had been abolished by 1865, the Jackson Iron Map of that year reproduced them for a Washington Summit related court case

With road construction only **three tenths of a mile** east of Copps, Hayes may have relinquished his right to some land. However, in a later 1880 legal contest with John Bellows,

Bellows reinterpreting Copp's original deed, Hayes was forced to trim his easterly ownership claim back to just the Peabody River, shy of the Glen Road.

Praise from the *Portland Transcript* on 7/29/1854: "Good reader, did you ever go up to the Glen? If so, we'll warrant you went in a lumbering old stage wagon, splashing thru the mud, at the rate of three miles per hour... This season it has been greatly improved, and is now a good hard road in excellent condition." But a rough ride is noted in the 1854 *Weather at the Summit of Mt. Washington* by Nathaniel Noyes: "Seven miles of jolting in a heavy wagon took us to the Glen House."

In 1857 John Bellows had already sold the Glen House, but still held Mount Washington summit property and the bulk of the acreage in valley civic units Martins Location and Greens Grant. That year he lobbied for state funding for further road improvements. From the NH legislative record that year: "Mr. Peabody of Gorham presented the petition of John Bellows and others, for an appropriation of \$500 to improve the road from Jackson to Gorham."

Mild criticism within the 1859 *History and Description of New England* by Coolidge and Mansfield: "The visitor breakfasts in Portland, and aligns here by eleven o'clock – rides eight miles over a road sufficiently rough to quicken his appetite, and dines at the Glen House."

Expectations appear normal from Gorham south to the Glen House according to Thomas Starr King writing in 1864: "If the weather has been dry, and the road is hard, this distance can be travelled in about an hour and a half. In very muddy weather more than two hours are needed."

GLEN HOUSE SOUTH TO JACKSON: Bellows' and others' financed road improvements were limited to Gorham south to the new Glen House. The 1852 *Boston Literary Journal* on the poor road conditions remaining south of the new luxury hotel, thru Pinkham Notch and beyond:

"There is an old road in this valley; it was laid out, many years ago, by a man named Pinkham, who was occupied with speculations in the lands in this vicinity. His schemes did not result in accordance with his expectations; and he was hardly able to finish his road, much less to maintain it.

It has consequently been neglected, and from neglect and disuse has fallen into a very bad condition. As a considerable part of it is not situated within any incorporated town, it has not been the business of any town authorities to see that it was preserved in a proper state of repair.

It is not, therefore, considered passable for stage coaches, or for regular travel of any kind. This is much to be regretted, since as it forms a connection between the Station House {in Gorham} and the hotels on the other side of the mountains... After the first half dozen miles from the Bellows Farm {soon renamed Glen House}, the Pinkham Road enters the Town of Jackson, and here a striking improvement in it character begins."

More on road conditions from the July 1853 issue of *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, an article entitled *A Day in the Carter Notch*: "There is the Pinkham Notch, known sadly and sternly to all those who have jolted over its unutterable stones. The road thru this passway has been open for more than twenty years, it is said.

*But was in a fair way to be abandoned to nature again, when the construction of the Atlantic and Saint Lawrence roadway created Gorham and the Glen House. And these new entities straightaway demanded a way of communication with Conway and all western New England. The Pinkham Notch Road is the **barbarous and stony result.**"*

The 1853 *Beckett Guide Book* on the trip south is not quite as grim: "Leaving the Glen House by this route, you proceed some half a dozen miles over a rough road, then strike

upon a turnpike, in a more smooth and open country.” The quality of that ride did not receive much praise in **1853** from descriptive stickler Harvard Librarian Dr. Harris: “*The entire road, from Gorham to Jackson, through the Pinkham Notch, though bad enough for carriages, is extremely interesting.*”

At least some early log bridges from Pinkham’s day had been replaced by **1853**, as a guidebook that year describes gridiron bridges on the road just south of Pinkham Notch near Glen Ellis Falls.

Some exasperation in a ten-day hike through the White Mountains in **1853** by John Witt Randall: “*On the walk from Jackson to Gorham, the road was frightfully and continuously muddy, to the depth of some inches. In the discomfort of tramping thru this Serbonian bog, we lost our tempers a little... When we reached the Glen House, we were on our usual terms.*”



Walling Map of **1861** shows Pinkham Road along the Ellis River in Jackson, north at left

LATER ACTIVITY: There were periodic state appropriations for the repair of the Peabody Valley roads and bridges. In an **1876** NH Legislative Act for Greens Grant and Martins Location: “*From the Town of Jackson to the Glen House three hundred dollars, from the Glen House to the town of Gorham two hundred dollars, and from the Glen Road near Glen Cottage across Peabody River, by **Copp’s** and **Cochrane’s** {incorrect spelling of Culhane’s} to the town of Gorham two hundred dollars.*”



Pinkham Road along the north flowing Peabody River in Edward Hills’ **1884**
“Tuckerman Ravine and Lion’s Head, Pinkham Notch,” – whitemountainart.com

A pleasant coach ride is recorded in *The White Mountain Echo* newspaper of 8/17/**1878**: “*The Glen is reached from Gorham, NH, on the Grand Trunk road by eight miles staging, following the Peabody River the whole distance with hardly a perceivable rise, making it one of the most delightful drives in the White Mountains.*”



A revised funding approach in an **1887** NH Legislative Act: The Glen House property is exempt from taxation for ten years “*provided, however, that W. and C. R. Milliken shall during said term keep and maintain in good and sufficient repair the road leading through Martins Location and Greens Grant from the south line of Gorham by the Glen House to the Jackson Line.*”

*And also the road leading from said road, near Glen Cottage, {designated herein as Site #2} so called, across Peabody River by the **Copp** and **Calhoun Place** {incorrect spelling of Culhane}, to said Gorham Line, being all the main traveled roads in said Martins Location and Greens Grant as now laid and traveled.*”

The hauling of heavy timber by logging companies was a boon to road maintenance. From the February **1890** edition of *The New England Magazine*: “*However winter may dominate*

*the realm, the control of the roads is not yielded. The public owes to the logger the opening of long stretches of highway, impassable were it not for his **heavily loaded sleds.***"



Logging sleds from Transportation of Logs on Sleds, 1925 by the Yale School of Forestry

Another state appropriation is recorded in the **1893 Journal of the NH House**: "Three hundred dollars annually for 1893 and 1894, to repair the Pinkham Notch Road, a highway between the Glen House and Jackson. The three miles through Pinkham woods need to be greatly widened to secure safe travel by the six-horse coaches necessarily employed to meet the demands of the extensive travel in that region."



Ellis River and Pinkham Road excerpt from Washington from the Glen Road, Jackson NH by Benjamin Champney

Leaving the nineteenth century, excellent road conditions from Gorham are cited in the **1897 Rand McNally Guide**: "The town stands at the northern entrance to "The Peabody Glen", through which an **excellent road** extends down the most interesting valley for its views and waterfalls of all White Mountain valleys, past the site of the burned {1893} Glen House to Jackson."

While long travel worthy, by **1900** most of northern New Hampshire's roadways were still unpaved and bumpy. This was not due to indifference. Light maintenance and rutty conditions were adequate for the pace of horse and oxen drawn vehicles.



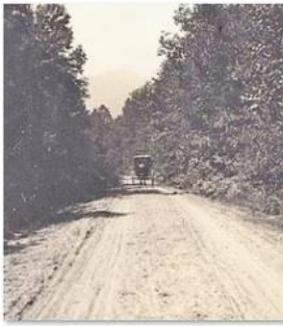
Yet such road conditions were suddenly inadequate for the much greater speeds of sudden proliferation of motorized vehicles. New Hampshire's road policy quickly adapted to the national automobile revolution. (1905 post card view south at Presidentials and Glen Road).

We learn from Bethlehem's *White Mountain Echo* of July 9, 1904 that "between the town lines of Gorham and Jackson the Pinkham Notch Road is kept in repair by the state. The annual outlay is \$250, and the work has been done this year by a contractor who has certainly made the most of his meagre appropriation.

The road has been widened in many places, and raked free of stones. Although the earth in the middle of the road, where it has been thrown up from the sides, is still a bit soft, it needs only a few heavy rains and a little travel to harden it and make it as fine a roadway on the east side."

On the international scene motorized transport suddenly appears. The Glen House web site cites Mount Washington ascents by steam powered vehicles on the Carriage Road from **1899 to 1901**. Then in **1902** the first gasoline powered vehicles reach the summit. In **1912** the first motorized stage ascends.

A NH statute in **1905** added to roads already designated as state highways "as much of the Pinkham Notch Road as lies in Pinkhams Grant, Greens Grant and Martins Location." In addition, "the highway in the towns of Randolph and Gorham which extends from the main highway leading from Jefferson to Gorham to the Pinkham Notch Road."



Further, “the governor and council shall forthwith designate for improvement by suitable description three continuous highways from the Massachusetts state line northerly. The first route so designated shall extent to and through Pinkham Notch, thence through Dixville Notch to Colebrook and shall be known as the East Side Road” - soon known as Route 16 in our study area. (Shorey post card circa 1910 of Glen Road south from Gorham towards Mt. Madison, courtesy of Scott McClory).

From an Appalachian Mountain Club record of its **1906** annual August Camp at the then vacant Glen House site: “As the Jackson-Gorham road in those days was a dirt highway traveled only by horse-drawn vehicles, the camp had adequate privacy.”



“The famous Glen Road embraces the most romantic scenery to be found in this part of the country” - **1906** NH Bureau of Labor. Gorham historian Denman Wight on **1907** road work inside the Gorham corporate boundary: “The Gorham Road Agent found the out-of-town roads, including the **Glen Road**... were all in very bad condition... unfit for the automobile

traffic which had reached a surprising proportion.”

A memory of the AMC’s Joe Dodge: “When I first came thru here with my father, back in **1909**, Pinkham’s old road was still being used; of course, it had been fixed up a little but not very much.” In **1910** Judge Alfred Randall Evans, grandson of Daniel and Esther Pinkham, was serving as Gorham’s town attorney. Evans petitions the *NH Railroad Commission* for protection of the rail crossing at the Glen Road, Route 16 today.



The railroad agreed and a guard was placed on duty there 6:30 am to 6:30 pm. This looks like a municipal reaction to the sudden proliferation of automobile traffic newly impacting Gorham then (photo north of signage at this crossing today).

The Peabody Valley’s main road was significantly modernized by **1912** for the book *White Mountain Trails* to report “a good motor road leads from Jackson to Gorham.”

An advertisement for the revived Glen House remnant in the **1917 Automobile Blue Book** offers “Special Attention to Auto Parties” and notes the location as “In the Heart of U.S. Forest Reserve” - not officially a U. S. National Forest until 1918.



At left Glen Road’s “Two Mile Bridge” (two miles from Gorham center) on a **1918** post card – at right same Peabody crossing today with Route 16 significantly realigned



Statewide maps by the NH Department of Public Works and Highways for 1917 and 1922 identify New Hampshire's east side highway as State Route 3 (not to be confused with today's federal Route 3 thru the White Mountains). The same state map series for 1925 revises the east side corridor designation to Route 16 – so now a century with that familiar number.

Advice from the *Appalachian Mountain Club* in **1926** on reaching Pinkham Notch: “In winter Camp may be reached by train to Gorham, where transportation to the Glen House can be arranged for at E. Libby’s store – three miles from Glen House to camp. Or go to Interval where station agent will arrange for transportation to Jackson and Willard Meserve can furnish sleighs to Doloff Place – five and one half miles from camp.”

From the *Time for Tuckerman Community Forum* we learn that in **1927** Route 16 “would be plowed occasionally from Gorham only to the Glen House, three miles from the Notch, and from Jackson northward not at all.”

According to the USFS Mount Washington Avalanche Center “few skiers came to Tuckerman Ravine before the Pinkham Notch Road {Route 16} was plowed in the winter in the **later twenties**, but by the mid-thirties hundreds, then thousands could be found there on sunny spring weekends.”

A quite modern concern for scenic enhancement is recorded in the 1926 *Biennial Report of the New Hampshire Forestry Commission*: “Special care has been taken to leave the roadsides in good condition along the Pinkham Notch Highway which extends from the Gorham Town Line to Libby’s land in Greens Grant. No unnecessary cutting of line trees was permitted, the shoulders were left smooth and after all work was completed the Forest Service supervised the removal of badly damaged trees and those that were unsightly.”



Above view to **south** at Route 16 Dolly Copp entrance through what is now the Picnic Ground in late 1930s; at right same location three views **north**, upper with this entrance open and lower closed with Route 16 relocated easterly after 1958



In the nineteen thirties, Route 16 through the Peabody Valley was smoothly graded but still unpaved, no blacktop even northerly past Cascade until the Berlin Line. Only within the Berlin city limits does a **1936** map show paving. Also that year, Gorham’s segment of east – west Route 2 was without blacktop easterly to the Maine State Line.

A record of a December **1930** drive to Pinkham Notch seems quite relaxed. According to a report from the June 1931 *Appalachia Bulletin* “an uneventful trip was made over excellent plowed roads to Pinkham Notch Camp, which establishment I sailed right by before realizing that I had arrived, such is the improvement in the roads.”

Low traffic volumes on a rural mountain road can give a haunting, lonely feeling, as felt in William Lowell Putnam's quote of AMC worker Edward "Moose" Damp in October of **1940**: "I scraped up the dough to buy a bus ticket to Boston. Then to Portland, and it finally dropped me off in Gorham. I hiked up to Pinkham that evening; only one car went by the whole three hours."



Two views south along Route 16 in Gorham approaching Two Mile Bridge over the Peabody – this structure was relocated south in 1928 to replace the swept away Copp Bridge



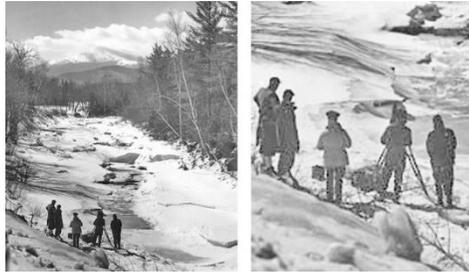
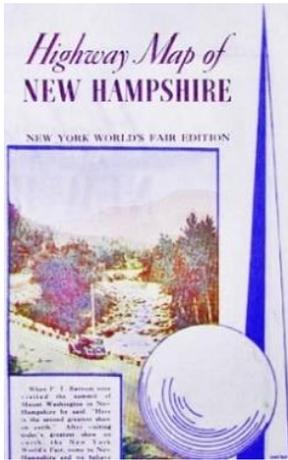
One half mile further south from the Two Mile Bridge crossing is the famous view towards Mount Washington – obscured by vegetation today, the need is to request of NH DOT that brush be cut to reestablish the vista



At left colorized photo of classic view; at right realigned Route 16 still provides parking for vista but trimming neglected



At left 1928 colorized photo by famous artist Charles Henry Sawyer - at right 1995 photo by Dolores Chew - during the interval the channel was realigned by floods



At left New Hampshire's 1939 World's Fair Map – at right photo party captures view

More on Moose from the *Old Hutcroo Association Newsletter*: “His culinary skills and hilarious antics with dining friends became legendary in the Valley. Where else could you ask to have a water glass refilled and be treated by Moose bursting from the kitchen in leather apron and cook’s hat with a garden hose in hand?”

Circa 1958 - 1960, Route 16 through the Peabody Valley was completely rebuilt, radii of curves expanded, and roadway width substantially increased.

Former New Hampshire Congressman James C. Cleveland writing in 1992: “During my years in Congress I became somewhat of a hero to the Appalachian Mountain Club for getting federal funds to improve and widen Route 16 to boulevard proportions to facilitate access to their cash registers and establishment in Pinkham Notch.”



There were several relocations of the roadbed. The most significant was the moving of the travel way westerly to create acreage for a large parking lot of the expanding Wildcat Ski Area. (Arrows on graphic at right identify original Pinkham Route 16 alignment in relation to the circa 1960 westward relocation).

Aside upgraded Route 16 in adjacent woods there remain today a few blacktop remnants of the pre-1958 alignment, such as that just north of the Great Gulf Trail parking lot. While remembering what once was, we can today enjoy the speed and scenery of the forward looking circa 1960 Route 16 design.



Today’s clear sightlines and wide shoulders on Route 16 provide pedestrians and bicyclists with a comfortable buffer

3-3H. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

MODEL HOSTS DAVID AND CAROL EVANS: For the Dolly Copp Campground the USFS goal is a high quality of visitor experience. Much of that task is assigned to the personable caretakers running the facility. These fine folk are well represented by hosts David and Carol (Matthes) Evans, Carol’s family camping at Dolly since 1954. (Now Gorham residents, their NH license plate below).



I enjoy their company and am much indebted to them, for Carol is a competent historical researcher in her own right. She has made many valuable contributions to this work, Dave providing photos. Thanks to you both!



Carol's background with Dolly Copp: *"My earliest recollections of camping at Dolly Copp are tied to our church sponsored Boy Scout Troop from Lawrence, MA, camping at Barnes Field and then Jack Knife Field. My fondest memory was enjoying a huge campfire in the middle of Barnes Field with all of the scouts singing Happy Birthday to me. Who wouldn't feel special?"*

We visited Dolly Copp when my father took his vacation either the last week of July and/or the first two weeks of August. My Mom, and then my family, kept this tradition going right up until recently when David and I started hosting in 2015 and my Mom (aka Dolly II) passed away in 2017. Those are my DC 'roots.'

Now for how David and I found ourselves in our present circumstances. Long story short, we met online. David is from Yorkshire in the north of England and I was born and raised in Lawrence/Methuen, MA. When we married in 2005 the plan was for David to live here in the States until I retired from my job and then we would move to England.

However, when I did retire, instead of the upheaval of totally emigrating permanently, we compromised after we were hired as Dolly Copp hosts in 2015 and decided to spend half the year in the USA and half in England. David knew how much I love Dolly Copp and that my family and I have only the very best of memories from a lifetime of camping here. And because David knows that DC has been an integral part of who I am, he decided to become a host based on what it would mean to me. The best gift I could have ever received!



Summers in northern New Hampshire hosting at DC and able to be with my family for six months and then wintering in the south of England to be able to visit with David's family was the perfect solution. Best of both worlds!"

Birthdays in Dolly Copp: Carol turning 50 then 60 with her Mom Jean (Mutter) Matthes taking the picture

RUSSELL HODGSON AND GEORGE BRACKETT: The late Russell Hodgson of Gorham, his life well lived 1937 to 2002, had his nickname Casey bestowed by the legendary Joe Dodge. A keen student of local history, Casey worked in Dolly Copp during the Appalachian Mountain Club's fifties management and knew its historic remnants like the palm of his hand.



Photo of Casey's 1961 guest appearance to deliver WMTW TV weather- below excerpt from androscogginvalleytour.com

My introduction to him through his wife Julie was one of those oh so fortunate coincidences, in hindsight elevated to a synchronicity. Casey loved the idea of my writing a Campground history and participated generously. Results were the 43 invaluable observations attributed to him herein.

Casey's contributions reflect the words of Gorham historian Nathaniel Tuckerman True: *"In the absence of records, reliance must be had on the memory of men still living for many important facts, which at a later period would be irrecoverably lost."* His biography in full can be found in the 2012 book *Mountain Voices* by Doug Mayer and Rebecca Oreskes.



Russell "Casey" Hodgdon Memorial Bridge

Lifelong Dolly Copp camper George Brackett lived from 1925 to 2012. I met him at the Campground's 75th anniversary celebration – another very fortunate connection. He was a willing mentor, pleased to see Campground history being preserved.

George and his wife Bernice graciously invited Dolores and I to their Randolph, NH home. One cannot forget their back deck's striking view of the Presidentials. Besides the friendship that developed, the result was the 28 valuable observations quoted herein.

As a small child in the nineteen twenties George remembered tents pitched all along the east bank, not just the west bank, of the Peabody. A broadly active man, he was the President of the Gorham Rotary Club, a Town of Randolph selectman, and a member of White Mountain VFW Post 2520. George says it all:

“We can all agree that there is something special about Dolly Copp Campground. And the friendships formed there have lasted me a lifetime!”



George Brackett in 1930 as a small child at Rangers Pool and in Campground 2008

COUSINS BOB BROWN AND BOB COOK: I owe much, the origins of this hobby research really, to my friend since 1959 Robert Brown. His parents Oliver and Dorothy Brown descended from 1920s Dolly Copp campers. They and Bob introduced me to Dolly Copp in 1962. He has been a valued advisor to this project.



*Marriage in 2004 of Bob Brown's daughter **Elissa Brown** to **Joseph Tombarello** on summit of Pine Mountain; **Bob** with Family in 2018 – DC campers all!*

Like his cousin Bob descending from an early camping family, Robert Cook has a long association with Dolly Copp. A friend of many years, he has made significant contributions to this history. At critical junctures, Bob used his connections with USFS staff to facilitate access to archival material, resulting in enrichment of the database.

Comment by fellow Campground host Dave Evans in 2019: *“Needed a new flag for the opening of Dolly Copp. So Bob, on the left, donated the flag that draped his Dad's coffin. Thanks Bob. A very proud moment for you and, of course, Dad. Salute!”*



100TH ANNIVERSARY VIDEO AND SITE MAP: Donna Weiss (photo below) of the Androscoggin USFS: *“Dolly Copp campground celebrated its 100th anniversary in 2021 amidst the Covid-19 pandemic. Due to the pandemic, Forest Service staff were unable to organize a public celebration to commemorate the Campground's anniversary.*

To honor this historic occasion, a 16-minute documentary {access below} was created using historic and current-day photos. Additionally, video clips of Forest Service employees and campground visitors were filmed during the 2021 camping season.”



The Androscoggin
Ranger District presents
**Dolly Copp's Camping
Centennial 1921 – 2021:**

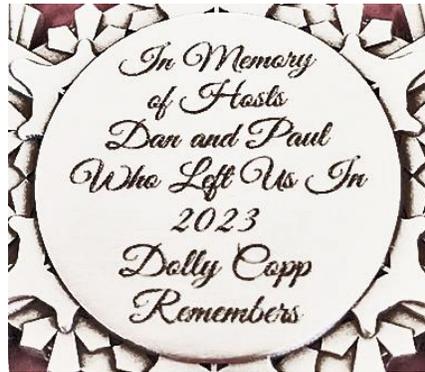
<https://vimeo.com/673648840>



Also by Donna Weiss, the latest Camp Site Map:
[7-17-22 Rev3 Dolly Copp Map.pdf | Powered by Box](#)



Hosts Dave Evans in light vest and Tom MacKay with cap raise sign on opening day 2019



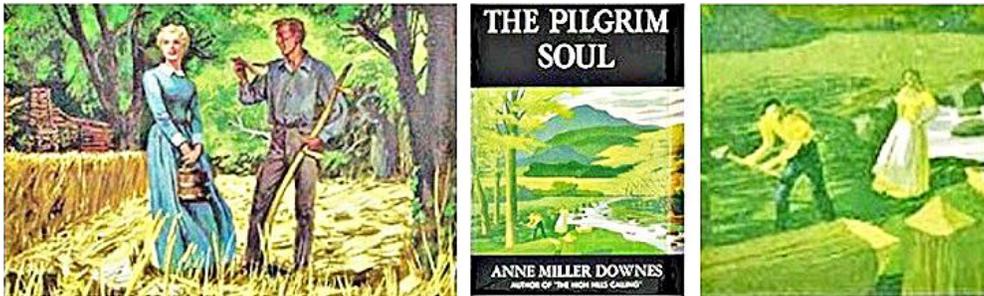
Campground "Christmas Tree" at End Loop includes memorial medallion to Dan Richard and Paul Cyr – photos by Carol (Matthes) Evans

[Back to Contents](#)

4. HAYES AND DOLLY COPP

“Families numbering ten, twelve or more were the rule rather than the exception and there was little patrimony to be divided. Each son faced a choice of staying on his father’s land as a meagerly paid hireling or striking out for himself.”

- Ann Miller Downes’ 1952 biography of Dolly Copp “*The Pilgrim Soul*”



Young marrieds **Hayes and Dolly Copp** from the 1952 book jacket of *The Pilgrim Soul*, an historic novel on Dolly and Hayes, since reissued by Durand Press

4-1. COPPS AND EMERYS DRAWN NORTH

4-1A. COPP FAMILY, DODAVAH AND SON HAYES

A new federal campground in the White Mountain National Forest was named after the fields in the valley where it was to be located – the old Dolly Copp Farm. Simple enough, but there was much more depth in the naming than this - Copps were famous in their own right and in their own time.

The story begins with the family backgrounds of Hayes Dodifer Copp and Dolly Emery Copp, the foundations of their adult lives. Immediately we find a strongly shared trait - both are from southern New England families whose recent generations had migrated north.

Hayes' lineage extends back to the Boston, Massachusetts of 1640, where his ancestor Jonathan Copp was born. In 1908 the New England Genealogical Society recognized this Jonathan as the founder of the Copp Family line *“that later spread through Eastern New Hampshire.”* Both Emerys and Copps were part of migrations from early Atlantic coastal enclaves north into the interiors of New Hampshire and Maine.

Hayes' next ancestor moved thirty miles north of Boston to Haverhill, Massachusetts, abutting New Hampshire. Then this Copp ancestor's son continued north to Rochester in southern New Hampshire. To that Copp in 1742 was born Hayes' Grandfather Samuel Copp. As Hayes was born in 1806 and Samuel lives until 1826, Hayes likely knew his Copp grandfather.

In 1764 Samuel Copp married Hannah Hayes, also from Rochester, she lives from 1743 to 1797. Critical to this story, Hannah's side of the family is far more than a footnote to duly mention and move on. For it was Hannah's nephew **Daniel Pinkham** that gave young

Hayes Copp his start in the remote Peabody Valley, part of the Pinkham kinship group building a road and pioneering there.

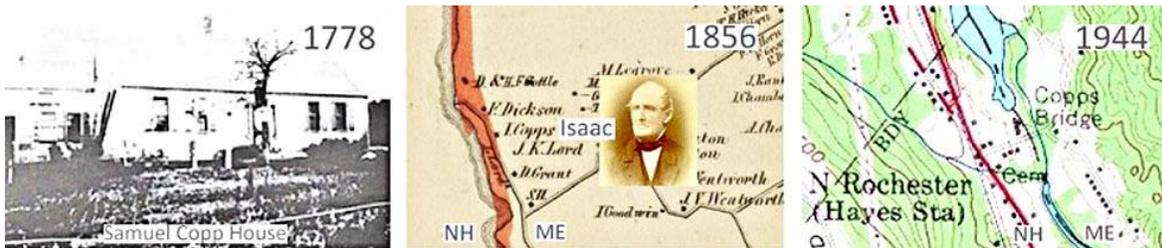


I found the first cousin relationship between Daniel Pinkham and Hayes' father Dodavah well documented in the 2015 *History of Jackson* by **Alice Warwick Pepper** (photo). Suddenly encountering this key link, I almost fell off the couch - yes, I was drinking wine, but a central theme of the Copp pioneer story had suddenly been revealed!

An historian with deep local roots, Alice Pepper is a descendant of early Jackson resident Daniel Elkins Senior, father of the 1830s Peabody Valley Site #1 pioneer Daniel Elkins Junior. I owe much to Mrs. Pepper's work and to the well-organized archives of the Jackson Historical Society.

SAMUEL COPP MOVES EAST TO MAINE: As a young adult, Hayes' Grandparents Samuel and Hannah moved out of Rochester across the nearby state line into Lebanon, Maine. According to 1897 biographer George Chamberlain *"he settled in the extreme western part of the town in the Salmon Falls River Valley, and was the first person to clear a farm in that immediate locality"* - pioneering on 50 acres.

"Copp's bridge spanning the Salmon Falls River near this farm is all that the current generation have to remind them of Samuel Copp." This is now known as the Spaulding Avenue Bridge. A Hayes Family genealogy states that the Samuel Copp Farm *"is the first house in Lebanon at the crossing of the Salmon Falls River."* Here that watercourse is the boundary between New Hampshire and Maine.



At left 1933 photo by Frank Ferrin of the 1778 **Samuel Copp House** in Lebanon, Maine; center same house occupied in 1856 by Hayes's first cousin **Isaac Copp**, son of his Uncle Reuben H. Copp; right nearby **Cops Bridge** on 1944 USGS Map

Samuel was active in Lebanon's pre-revolutionary Committee of Safety and then fought in the Revolution. In 1772 he was the first representative to the state legislature from his district, described as an important honor in the local history. Further, Samuel was elected to be a selectman of Lebanon in 1777 and 1778, then served as a church deacon and elder from 1781.

Leadership in Lebanon was also provided by Samuel's older brother Tristram Copp serving as a selectman. From the 1880 History of York County, Maine: *"The Farnhams, Goodwins, Cops, Husseys and Cowells seem to have been the leading men in Lebanon for a number of years after its incorporation."*

Hayes Cops' father Dodavah was born to Samuel and Hannah Copp on September 20, 1766. The second child of ten, Dodavah and his older brother Reuben had been born in Rochester just before the family moved to virgin farmland across the state line in Maine.

We can characterize Dodavah Copp thru researcher George Chamberlain's 1897 assessment of his father Samuel: *"A man of great physical strength as were his sons."* Perhaps also thru Dodavah's younger brother Roger, a prominent Freewill Baptist preacher ordained in 1822:

*“Brother Copp was a **large, muscular man** of very active habits, a good citizen and universally respected. He was a born controversialist, and never failed to find an antagonist, real or imaginary, upon whom to bestow his attention, in the pulpit and out of it.”*

DODAVAH COPP MOVES NORTH: According to Ferrin’s 1940 *Copp Family in New Hampshire* “on October 10, 1787 shortly after he reached his majority Dodavah purchased from Dominicus and Ichabod Goodwin one half of a one half share in Lot 7 in the Second Division of Lebanon, Maine, being described as a resident of that town. Dodavah’s name appears several times after in York County property records.”

We could assume from his hometown Lebanon land purchase that Dodavah planned to settle locally. But instead, he moved north to Wakefield, NH. As for the York County Maine properties he purchased, that county extends considerably north to include Shapleigh, ME - adjacent to Wakefield NH (before Shapleigh was divided into two towns and newly created Acton was inserted between Wakefield and the remainder of original Shapleigh to the east).

We may assume the move north to Wakefield was after the 1787 land purchase in Lebanon, but the exact year is not known. Genealogist Samuel Copp Worthen (1871-1948) says Dodavah remained in Lebanon until at least January 14, 1789.

The first federal Census of 1790 only provided names for heads of families, and as Dodavah was not yet such in either Lebanon or Wakefield, that may indicate his first marriage was after the 8/2/1790 Census date.

Dodavah then appears on the Wakefield tax list for 1795, either propertied or more simply as paying a poll tax. So overall, it looks like his move north to Wakefield was between 1789 and 1795.

Perspective from the Ferrin genealogy: “Before March 5, 1798 he removed to Wakefield, NH,” This same date is reported by Samuel Copp Worthen, who says a deed recorded in Carroll County proves Dodavah was a resident of Wakefield by then.



Moving ahead, Dodavah was in Wakefield for the 1810 Census, neighboring Shapleigh for the 1820 Census, then back in Wakefield to be recorded there in 1830 and 1840, passing away there in 1846.

What was the motivation for Dodavah Copp to relocate north to Wakefield, NH? One key may be the inheritance practices of the time favoring the eldest son, which he was not.

We know his older brother Reuben took over their father’s Lebanon farm. Reuben’s only surviving son Isaac is then living there in 1856, the “eldest son primogeniture” inheritance pattern common for the era. As Dolly Copp historic novel author Ann Miller Downes stated, “each son faced a choice of staying on his father’s land as a meagerly paid hireling or striking out for himself.”

The northward migration pattern of which Dodavah Copp was a part is reflected in the 1886 *One Hundredth Anniversary of the First Congregational Church in Wakefield*: “Our fathers came generally from Rockingham County {the southeastern most NH coastal county} and the southerly part of Strafford County {next county to the north including Rochester}.

With succeeding generations and increasing numbers the farms had been divided and subdivided until the young and enterprising turned their thoughts to newer lands. Of the settlers who came here early a very large proportion came from families of prominence and high standing in the older towns of the province.” That upscale profile fits parents Samuel and Hannah Copp.

Wakefield must have been one of several draws luring ambitious youth north. Influencing Dodavah's choice could have been the kinship ties readily available there; three well established uncles, David, Jonathan and Moses Copp, all there since at least the Revolutionary War Era's Association Test of 1775. A source on ancestry.com indicates Dodavah Copp owned 75 acres.

On Dodavah's location in Wakefield, the 1940 Ferrin genealogy states *"he lived near a bridge which spans a brook flowing into Great East Lake and which was afterward called for his son the 'Daniel Copp Bridge.' He and his family are buried in the Copp Cemetery nearby."*



As today we know the location of that cemetery, we see the nearby watercourse is Copp Brook, a popular last name in early Wakefield. More from Ferrin in 1940: *"Mr. Albert O. Robinson {1851-1949} of Sanbornville recalls that some half a century ago a number of young men from Union built a camp on the Lake, not far from his former home, which they called 'Camp Dodavah.' Though enlarged and improved and owner by others, it still bears that name."*

In 1819 Wakefield was divided into twenty highway districts. The boundary for each unit was defined by local landmarks. The description for District 5: *"To include all the Parsonfield Road leading from Wakefield Corner by Dow Academy up to the Guide board at Welch Corner, also the cross road leading from said main road by Jonathan Copp's to the center of the river near Dodavah Copp's house."*

could not agree on one pastor.

--- In early years taxes collected by the municipality of Wakefield funded the salary for the minister of the Congregational Church. But by 1788 the Baptist denomination was growing, and the two denominations

In 1794 the tax resources were formally divided between them. (Signatures on the recording agreement included that of Dodavah above). Dodavah Copp and his uncle Jonathan Copp remained with the Congregationalists. Dodavah's most powerful uncle, David Copp, voted with the Baptists.

(Dodavah's 1820 signature with others shown above). Inclusion of his signature implies Dodavah was still an owner of property in Wakefield, even though his primary Census residence in 1820 was neighboring Shapleigh, ME.

--- Then in an 1820 petition to the NH legislature numerous Wakefield residents defended the current boundary against those who would cut off southern Wakefield and add it to Milton to form a new town:

"Increase of taxes is the natural consequence of division of towns... new roads leading to new centers must be laid out... school houses will be thrown from their centers..."

BIRTH OF HAYES COPP: Hayes' older half brothers and sisters from his father's first marriage were by birth year 1791 Cynthia, 1793 Moses, 1795 Hannah and then in 1797 William. After the death of his first wife in 1802, her name unknown, Dodavah soon remarries, that event well documented, in Wakefield, to Deborah Ann Ricker on July 21, 1803. He is 36, she is 23.

According to their marriage certificate Deborah and Dodavah were both Wakefield residents. Decades later as an elderly widow, Deborah is living at the town's subsidized poor farm managed by a Ricker family, possibly relations.

The first child by Deborah was our Hayes, born in Wakefield on October 12, 1806. Next his brother Daniel was born in 1812 when Deborah was 32. While there are anonymous small grave markers next to Dodavah's Wakefield cemetery stone, no other surviving children by Deborah were formally recorded. In the United States at this time survival beyond infancy was just over a grim 50%.

The entry on Hayes in the *Worthen Copp Genealogy*: "177. Dodavah Hayes Copp, commonly known as Hayes D. or Hayes Dodifer Copp. His father also bore the quaint scriptural name of Dodavah entered distinctly in the Family Bible. He himself perhaps owed his full Christian name to a cousin, Dodavah Hayes.

It has been strangely mangled in the records, appearing variously as Dodifer, Dotifer, Doderick, etc. He has also been described in the records as Hayes B. Copp, Hayes D. and Hazen D. Copp." To settle this his 1889 gravestone is marked Hayes D. Copp.

For the 1830 Census Dodavah Copp and family are in Wakefield but not son Hayes, who had already bought land in the Peabody Valley from his father's first cousin Daniel Pinkham. Perhaps he saw no advantage to staying put, as the custom was for his older half-brothers Moses and William to be ahead of him in line for inheritance.

Traveling north thru eastern New Hampshire at this time the Jackson settlement at the foot of the White Mountains was the "end of the line." That is, there was limited foot and horse travel possible from Jackson north. The old 1774 Shelburne Road ascending the Ellis River Valley reaching the Eastern Pass then descending the Peabody River Valley had decayed by 1784 and could not serve wheeled carts and wagons.

Like his father moving north to Wakefield, Hayes must have had some choices as to where to settle in the north. His primary motive to migrate to Jackson and beyond was a road building job offer in 1826 from his first cousin once removed, Jackson's Daniel Pinkham. He may also have been assisted by welcoming kinship ties in Jackson.

Hayes had relatives from two ancestry lines there. The first was the Benjamin Copp Family, Benjamin a first cousin to Hayes's Lebanon, Maine **grandfather**. The second was the Joseph and Elizabeth (Hayes) Pinkham Family, Elizabeth the sister of Hayes' Lebanon, Maine **grandmother**.

In the upcoming migration north from Jackson to settle the still wild Peabody Valley, **both family branches** participated. In Jackson was the William Copp Senior farm, William the father of two third cousins to Hayes that settled the Peabody Valley with him.



William Copp Senior Farm
Jackson Historical Society

DODAVAH AND DEBORAH COPP IN OLD AGE: The 1840 Census for Wakefield we find Dodavah and his second wife Deborah aging in place. Dodavah lived on to 1847 when he passes away at age 80. According to historian Samuel Copp Worthen Dodavah was buried "*in a private cemetery on his farm.*"



*Excerpt from **Dodavah's obituary** pasted into Dolly Copp's Bible*

Long time Dolly Copp camp host Carol Matthes Evans and her husband David researched the location of Dodavah's Wakefield gravestone. They found it near Great East Lake, accompanied by three smaller stones, Dodavah's much the larger and the only one still legible.

Carol Evans' photo of **Dodavah 1847 gravestone** near Wakefield's Arbutus Avenue at Great East Lake



Their subsequent review of Wakefield Town Hall records revealed that one of the small stones is that of wife Deborah. As there was a high rate of infant mortality during his and Deborah's parenting years, perhaps the two remaining stones were infant burials.

In the 1850 Wakefield, NH Census we find Dodavah's widow Deborah Ricker Copp at age 70 in the household of Jeremiah Ricker, a farmer age 37 and possibly a relative. Deborah is listed as a pauper there, that term defined as a person without any means of support.

The Ricker property doubled as a poor farm, a form of municipal welfare for the local needy in this era. According to the 1851 *Wakefield Town Report* section entitled "Stock and at the Almshouse," Jeremiah Ricker as Superintendent is receiving \$165 annually for maintaining the Town's paupers, "Mrs. Deborah Copp" included.

Also, Lydia Varney age 80 and a pauper, Ezra Hinchins 63 pauper, Sally Hodgson 40 idiotic pauper, Mary Wentworth 40 idiotic pauper and Nathaniel Burbank 38 insane pauper.

Jeremiah Ricker appears in Ricker genealogy as the son of Nathaniel Ricker and grandson of Ebenezer Ricker. But how Hayes' mother Deborah fits into these possible relations is not yet clear. Note that Dodavah Copp's sister Hannah Copp also married into the Ricker Family, on 11/28/1805 to an Elijah Ricker, a possible connection.

Trying to pin down Deborah's 1850 poor farm location, according to the 1864 Walling Map for Wakefield a J. Ricker residence was on the east-west portion of Witchtrot Road, not far from the turn in that road northerly towards the Great East Lake area associated with Dodavah Copp.

Could she have moved north to Martins Location with son Hayes as Dolly's elderly mother was to do twenty years later? For one thing in 1850 Dolly Copp's four Copp children had not yet moved out so bedroom space could have been tight.

Perhaps Deborah just wanted to stay in her lifelong hometown and continue to nurture Hayes' problematic younger brother Daniel living there. He was a farmer, age 37 living alone and categorized by the 1850 Census as insane, perhaps incapable of helping his elderly mother. Deborah lived in Wakefield until 1855.

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C O P P

HAYES COPP MAINE BRANCH IN
RELATION TO COPP BRANCH IN JACKSON, NH

COPP FAMILY BRANCH IN LEBANON, MAINE:

1699 Jonathan Copp, brother to **Josiah Copp** below, only descendants relevant to this history shown:

1742 Samuel Copp, early settler in Lebanon, Maine, married Hannah Hayes in 1764, Hannah's sister the mother of Daniel Pinkham, owner of much of the Peabody Valley.

1766 – 1847 **Dodavah Copp**, four children by first wife 1768 – 1802, moved to Wakefield, NH, married second wife **Deborah Ann Ricker**, 1780 – 1851, on 7/21/1803, she the mother of Hayes Copp and then Daniel Copp.

-- 1791 Cynthia Copp, married first Gould, then by second husband Blaisdell had four daughters, two of which were Deborah (married Prescott) and Rebecca

- 1793 Moses Copp, never married, lived at Wakefield Corner
- 1795 Hannah Copp, never married
- 1797 William Copp, nicknamed "Bill Dodavah", lived at Wakefield Corner
- **10/12/1806 – 11/6/1889 Hayes Copp**, married Dolly Emery, and with his and her kinship groups pioneered Martins Location, died 11/6/1889
 - Jeremiah Copp 1832 - 1910
 - Nathaniel Copp 1834 - 1912
 - Sylvia Copp 1838 - 1929
 - Daniel Copp 1849 -1922
- 1812 – 1883 Daniel Copp, a farmer living alone and insane according to the Wakefield Census for 1850 and for 1860, then died in the state asylum

COPP FAMILY BRANCH IN JACKSON, NH:

1702 Josiah Copp, brother to **Jonathan Copp** above, only descendants relevant to this history shown:

1736 Benjamin Copp, first settler in Jackson, NH by 1775

1778-1844 William Copp, Sr. married Hannah Rogers 4/1782-13/9/1861, *Pinkham Genealogy* says Hannah was born in Madbury, NH, many Madbury residents migrated to Jackson, her relationship to Dolly's mother Deborah Rogers could be how Hayes met Dolly

- 1804 Betsey Copp who married Dolly Emery's first cousin Samuel Emery (not her Gorham first cousin Samuel)
- 1807 – 1875 Samuel Copp, in Jackson 1829, married Daniel Pinkham's daughter Betsey on 9/29/1829, pioneered **Martins Location**, pushed out by John Bellows
- 1809 – 1900 Alice B. Copp, married Daniel Pinkham's nephew Alexander Pinkham
- 1815 - 1883 William C. Copp, Jr. married Betsey J. Cobb 1817-1879 on 3/11/1838, pioneered **Martins Location**, evicted and returned to Jackson
- 6/12/1820 Levi Copp, married Elizabeth B. Emery, daughter of Dolly's first cousin Isaac Emery, worked in **Martins Location**

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4-1B. EMERY FAMILY, NATHANIEL AND DAUGHTER DOLLY

The Emery Family migration parallels that of the Copp Family, from southern to northern New England. Emerys arrived in Bartlett about the same time as Copps arrived in Jackson. Like that of Hayes, Dolly Emery's line had its roots in the south in Massachusetts.

Americans understand the national frontier of nineteenth century settlement moved westward across the continent. But lesser known is that the same frontier in its New England expression advanced in stages northward through New Hampshire, Vermont and Maine. Both Copp and Emery lines were very much part of this internal New England migration.

Dolly's American Emery ancestry begins with John Emery born in England in 1598. John sailed for Boston and settled north up the Massachusetts coast in Newbury. His son lived his life in Newbury, a grandson then moved to the Plaistow, New Hampshire area along the Merrimack River. That Emery then moved about 72 miles north to Dunbarton, NH. In 1752 the next in the male line, Dolly's Grandfather Enoch Emery, was born in Dunbarton.

According to historians Donna and James Garvin "*along the Merrimack River in New Hampshire, many of the settlers had migrated from Essex County in Massachusetts*" – just the Emery pattern. The post-Native American History of Dunbarton refers to early European settler arrival: "*Several families from the vicinity of Ipswich, Mass. {near early Emery's Newbury} took up lands near each other, in the southern border of the town.*"

An important personage in early Dunbarton was Colonel William Stark, living 1724 to 1781. Like Martins Location namesake Thomas Martin, Stark had been a soldier in the French and Indian War. Like Martin, as payment for his military service he received a grant of land in New Hampshire's unsettled north.

The state grant to Stark was a long way from Dunbarton, more than seventy miles, at the southern edge of the Presidential Range of the White Mountains. "Stark's Grant" there was too small to be feasible as its own political unit and was soon consolidated with similar small grants to become in 1790 the Town of Bartlett, New Hampshire.

According to Bartlett historian Aileen Carroll few of the first land grant recipients developed their properties, but that "*William Stark, who was living in Dunbarton, did offer generous tracts to anyone willing to homestead on his acreage. Three of Bartlett's earliest settlers, the brothers Humphrey and **Enoch Emery** and Nathaniel Harriman took advantage of that offer and moved north.*"

In *New Hampshire Taverns and Turnpikes 1700– 1900* the details are told of Enoch Emery and Rachel Tirrell in 1773 at William Stark's Dunbarton tavern, resulting in pregnancy outside of marriage. A 7/1/1774 entry in the journal of Bedford, NH Justice of the Peace Matthew Patten resolves Rachel's formal complaint: "*Enoch Emery brought me a certificate of his marriage and paid me a dollar for all the trouble I had about the affair.*"

Dolly's grandmother Rachel Tirrell was born in Bedford, NH, not far from Dunbarton. She was also descended from an ancestral line extending back into eastern Massachusetts.

So, the move by the now married pair from Dunbarton north to frontier Bartlett looks to be after mid-1774. From other perspectives, considering that Enoch Emery reached the majority age of 21 in 1773 to own land, his arrival was likely after that year.

And as part of the 1776 Association Test to certify loyalty to the Revolutionary cause, brothers Enoch and Humphrey Emery pledged their allegiance from Conway, NH, the nearby commercial hub for Bartlett. The Emery homesteading was perhaps just in time, for as a Loyalist who fought for the British, Stark's properties in New Hampshire were soon confiscated by the revolutionary government.

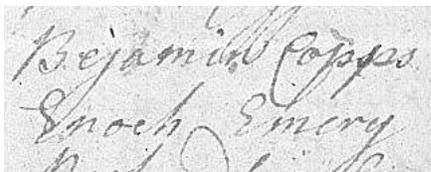
Memories of the first Emerys from early White Mountain historian **Lucy Crawford** (photo) who lived 1793-1869: "*Most amusing stories are told of these brothers Emery. Enoch and Humphrey were their names, the mention of which to this day will provoke a smile.*"



In their general characteristics they differed almost as much as it is possible for two individuals to differ. Enoch was frank, open, generous and manly in his nature, while Humphrey was sullen, obstinate and contrary.

Though differing so much from each other in their disposition, these brothers were uniformly kind and attached to each other. They accommodated themselves to their several peculiarities, agreeing in all things to agree and disagree."

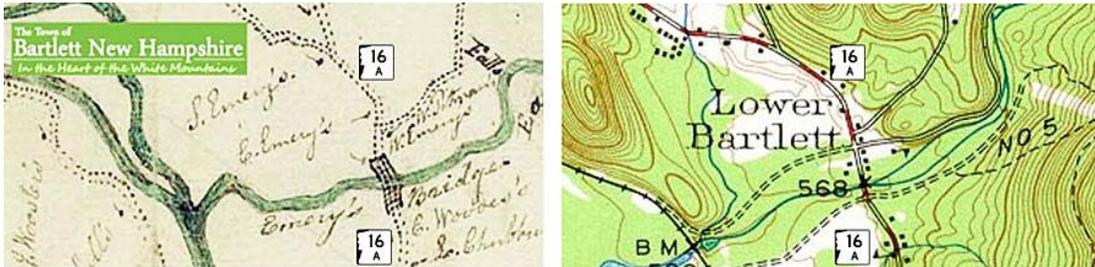
In these early days building bridges over rivers was a vital regional task. Bridging the East Branch of the Saco River in Bartlett was key to the development of that Town as well as to connections to the south from Jackson. Enoch Emery was among the earliest settlers of Bartlett, while Hayes' grandfather's first cousin Benjamin Copp was the single earliest settler in adjacent Jackson. They cooperated on this project.



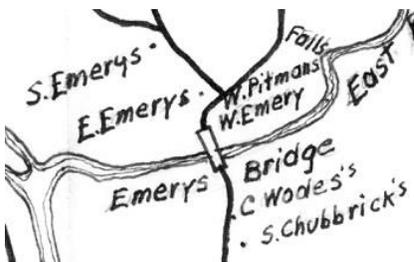
At left, among thirteen signatures, theirs were adjacent on a 1781 petition to the New Hampshire legislature for financial assistance for bridging the East Branch of the Saco River. And Enoch Emery's son, Dolly's father Nathaniel would in time be employed by Benjamin Copp's son William Copp Senior.

Enoch Emery's Bartlett farmhouse doubled as an inn for early White Mountains explorer Jeremy Belknap's 1784 return trip from Mount Washington. Enoch became prominent in the civic life of Bartlett. After the town's incorporation in 1790 he was one of its first selectmen, serving 1790 to 1795.

In daily life Enoch was a blacksmith and farmer. He was also a surveyor of highways in his district, a significant municipal responsibility. Property owners paid some tax debt to the town in the form of road labor, Enoch supervising his neighbor's work in his section of the community.

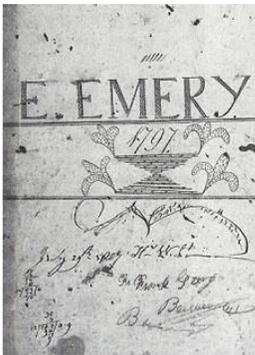


Emery farms on **1805 Map** aside **1945 USGS Map** (before the Route 302 bypass was built) - NH Route 16A signs added on both for orientation – note at left the bridge over the East Branch of the Saco, construction of which had required regional cooperation in 1781



Viewing the 1805 Map of Bartlett (sharper view at left) while referencing today's landmarks, adjacent Emery farms are along the west side of what is today NH Route 16A.

Their swath of rich agricultural land starts at the northern intersection of combined Routes 16 and 302 with 16A and includes today's Swiss Chalet Village Inn. Their farms then extend southwesterly past Town Hall Road and beyond "Emerys Bridge" on the East Brach of the Saco.



Enoch's 1797 Journal

An interpretation of the 1805 map by an Emery related Van Essen genealogist places the home of eldest son William on the south, second eldest son Stephen on the north, and their father Enoch Emery in the middle. This may imply that the two eldest Emery sons received family properties from their father, customary for the times, not favoring inheritance of farmland by fifth eldest son Dolly's father Nathaniel.

There is one glimpse from 1793, when Dolly Copp's grandfather Enoch Emery and other Bartlett settlers complain to the state of road construction costs and request financial help. They did not feel that building state access thru the Peabody Valley should be their responsibility:

"And in that there is a road lately laid out, from Conway to Shelburne {via the Peabody Valley}, by order of court, which must go five miles in Bartlett, and this to at the expense of the inhabitants, together with the cost of keeping in repair, the road leading to Lancaster, north of the White Hills... All which, your petitioners view as a great grievance."

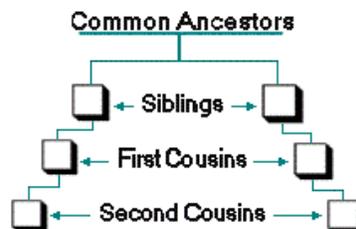
According to explorer Manasseh Cutler in 1804 just as on his and Belknap's 1784 travels, there was an overnight stop in Bartlett: *"Forded the Saco River, and arrived at Mr. McMullen's at twelve. Dined, an excellent house. Went on to Emory's, where we left the chaise. All four company and most of the guides lodged here."*

This is assumed to be a slight misspelling of Emery and a repeat visit to the home doubling as an inn of Dolly's grandfather Enoch Emery. (Cutler by then was nationally prominent thru his role in the 1787 Northwest Ordinance and the settlement of Ohio thereafter).

One more observation of Enoch – part of his business interest remained further north. On March 18, 1806 he speculated on land in the extreme north of New Hampshire at the Canadian border. From the 1915 *Indian Stream Republic* by Luther Parker: "To Enoch Emery of Conway or Bartlett, for \$100 dollars, 100 acres on the east side of Indian Stream. The presumption is he became a resident, although no more is heard of him."

.....


 DESCENT OF DOLLY EMERY FROM HER
 GRANDPARENTS ENOCH AND RACHEL EMERY



Dolly's grandparents Enoch lived 1752 to 1845 and Rachel 1749 to 1844 – while all eleven of their children are shown below, only grandchildren relevant to Dolly's story are included

1. 1772 William Emery, on farm south of parents by 1805
2. 1774 Stephen Emery, on farm north of parents by 1805, married Dolly Rogers of Bartlett in 1796
 - 1798 Isaac Emery, assisted our Dolly's mother with testimony on her pension application
 - 1799 Samuel Emery, Dolly's first cousin married Hayes Copp's third cousin Betsey Copp
 - 1803 Joshua Emery, lived in Shelburne with Emery uncles Samuel and Enoch Junior, could be the Emery Daniel Pinkham negotiated with for Peabody Valley farmland in 1833
3. 1775 Jacob Emery, married his second cousin Rosannah Emery
4. 1783 Samuel Emery, married his first cousin Esther Emery, possibly some early years in Randolph, four children born in Shelburne, then a selectman and prominent in early Gorham, died 1845
 - Joel Emery, 1807-1827, died on market trip back from Portland
 - Freeman Emery, 1809 died young
 - Abigail Emery, 1814-1856, married Curtis Willey, their daughter Esther married her second cousin, Dolly's son **Nathaniel Emery Copp**
 - Samuel F. Emery Jr., 1826, inherited his father's Gorham Hill farm on today's Route 2
5. 1789 Nathaniel S. Emery, lived 5/7/1789 to 12/29/1820, married Deborah Rogers, who lived 11/27/1784 - 10/1/1877, said to be a {yet to be confirmed} sister of Dolly Rogers, wife of #2 Stephen *
 - 5/25/1807 **Dolly Emery** married Hayes Copp and with his *and possibly* her kinship group pioneered Martins Location
 - Jeremiah Copp 1832 - 1910
 - Nathaniel Copp 1834 - 1912
 - Sylvia Copp 1838 - 1929
 - Daniel Copp 1849 -1922
 - 1809 Hannah Emery, died 6/15/1882
 - 1811 Ira Emery, Civil War Private, lived in Rochester, mentioned in Dolly's 1880 letter
 - 1814 Jonathan W. Emery, provided retirement home for his mother Deborah
 - 1852 James C. Emery, provided retirement home for a non-blood

relative, his Aunt Dolly Emery Copp's husband **Hayes Copp**

- 1817 Jane Emery, died as infant
- 1821 Martha B. Emery, married shoemaker George Vining in Templeton, Mass.
- 6. 1791 Humphrey Emery, little is known
- 7. 1793 John Emery, married Dolly Emery {not our Dolly} born 1795, she the daughter of his cousin Sylvanus Emery and Susan (Rogers) Emery
- 8. 1794 Enoch Emery Jr., early migrant north to Shelburne, married Louisa Rumery
 - 1826 Rachel Emery, first cousin to Dolly and wife of neighbor **Thomas Culhane**
 - 1830 Joel Emery
 - 1833 Judith Ann Emery, first cousin to Dolly and wife of neighbor **Patrick Culhane**
 - 1837 Charles Emery
- 9. 1795 Betsey Emery, married George Nicholson
- 10. 1796 Jennie Emery, married Thomas Cole
- 11. 1796 Polly Emery, married her second cousin Russell Emery

* This makes the children from these marriages "double cousins", that is, they share the same four grandparents. That is also my experience, as my mother's brother married my father's sister. The source wording from an Ancestry message board by Betty Smith 10/12/2005: *"My ancestor was Nathaniel Emery. He and another brother, Stephen, seem to have married sisters, Dolly and Deborah Rogers in Bartlett."*

.....

Dolly's father Nathaniel Emery was born in Bartlett on 5/7/1789. He grew up there and in time took as his wife Deborah Rogers. He died young and never moved further north – leaving it to Dolly and a few other Bartlett Emerys to continue that family trait.

Wife Deborah's 1873 pension application indicates their union was without a marriage certificate. The Bartlett Town Clerk commenting in 1873 on the lack of documentation required for her pension: *"I have carefully examined the records of the town and do not find the marriage record of Nathaniel Emery and Deborah Rogers therein."*

As an alternative, the pension application allowed *"testimony as to cohabitation and general reputation of marriage."* An Isaac Emery responded. An Isaac in the family is Dolly's older first cousin born in 1798. As of 1870, cousin Isaac lived in Stow, Maine and was thus near Deborah's Maine residence. Isaac testifying on his uncle Nathaniel Emery:

"I well remember the time he enlisted because I wanted to volunteer as a substitute for him or someone else. I further know that Nathaniel and Deborah lived together as husband and wife before Nathaniel enlisted, nor was their lawful marriage disrupted or questioned."

Another testament from the 1873 pension file: *"I Samuel Copp of Fryeburg, Maine... formerly a resident of Jackson on oath say I was well acquainted with Nathaniel Emery.... and well know that said Nathaniel and Deborah lived together as husband and wife and reared a family of several children."*

The Emery union was what we refer to today as a "common law marriage", a couple presenting themselves to family and the community as married and accepted as such without a marriage license or formal ceremony. The letters of support indicate the Bartlett community did indeed see Nathaniel and Deborah that way. New Hampshire today remains one of just eight states that still permit limited forms of such common-law marriage.

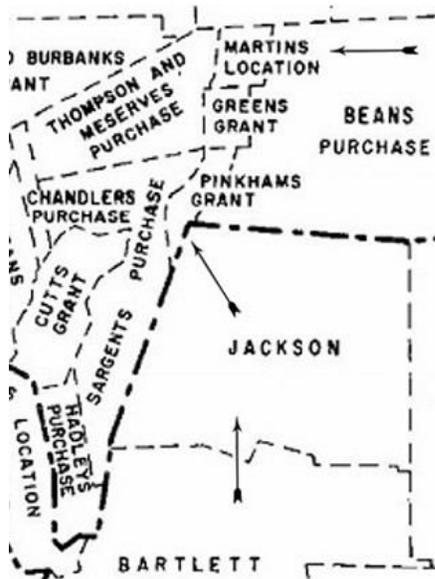
BIRTH OF DOLLY EMERY: Nathaniel had just turned 18 and Deborah was 22 when their first child Dolly was born, on 5/25/1807. Possibly Dolly was named after a nearby aunt, her Uncle Stephen Emery's wife, Dolly Rogers Emery. Both the husband and the wife in that marriage were blood relatives to Dolly as her Emery-side uncle had married her Rogers-side aunt.

The precise location of Dolly's birthplace in Bartlett eludes me. But it could have been in the original, Lower Bartlett cluster of Emery farms on the 1805 map shown earlier. There is evidence that the multiplying Emerys would soon develop farms in an adjacent section of Bartlett, the Rocky Branch River Valley "Jericho" area.



At left **Jericho Emery cluster** on 1861 Walling Map; at right **Jericho neighborhood in context** on 1938 National Geographic Map

As the 1805 map shows the Jericho section not yet settled that year, then well populated by its recording on the 1861 Walling Map, the four Emery farms there in 1861 map must have developed after Dolly's 1807 birth.



This could infer that Dolly's birthplace was in one of the family residences in the older Lower Bartlett farm cluster. The 1810 Bartlett Census duly notes Nathaniel and his family, with two females under the age of ten, the correct profile for first two children Dolly and Hannah.

If proximity on the 1810 Census list correlates with physical proximity, Nathaniel's older brother Stephen and family were not far away, perhaps in the same dwelling.

From Aileen Carroll's *Bartlett, New Hampshire in the Valley of the Saco*: "Enoch Emery finally settled in Jericho, and Humphrey Emery owned the brickyard and lived there for years." According to the Bartlett Historical Society in 2020 the early Emery's "settled in today's Jericho and their descendants live there to this day."

Municipal tax records for 1811 list Dolly's father Nathaniel as from the "middle district" of Bartlett, assumed to be Jericho, not the more easterly "lower district" with the older Emery farm cluster. So, Dolly's later youth may have been spent in the Jericho section.

FATHER NATHANIEL'S LIVLIHOOD: As for what Nathaniel did for a living, sifting thru meagre evidence there is no indication of a farm property with his name on it. As a fifth son in line for inheritance, he was not in the favorable position of his older brothers for family lands, as assumed above the first two receiving the prime properties.

Nathaniel's employment at one point is cited in his widow's 1873 pension file: *I Samuel Copp of Fryeburg, Maine state that the said Nathaniel Emery used to work considerably for my father, hence, am in a position to know well relating to his domestic condition.*"

While Nathaniel might have been eager to have a farm of his own, Bartlett fronts up against the southern edge of the Presidential Range; another migration north for his generation would be difficult. Nathaniel's future son-in-law Hayes Copp was able to do it, fortunately connected to a relative who owned the extremely limited Peabody Valley bottom land suitable for farming.

If not running his own farm, instead lodging with his father or a brother, Nathaniel taking on a wife was not seen as a burden in those times. According to Gorham historian D. B. Wight in that era *“many young men, when they could not be spared by their father, brought their wives home. The addition of a new member to a household **was always welcome** because of the never ending duties that had to be performed by the women.”*

The United States fighting the British in the War of 1812 impacted the young Nathaniel Emery Family. A threat to New Hampshire was the possible advance of British warships to attack coastal Portsmouth.

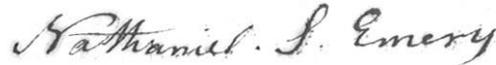
In response, in 1814 the governor called up 5,300 men from the state militia, one of which was Private Nathaniel Emery. Dolly was seven years old as this was taking place.

Nathaniel served in Lieutenant Samuel Carlton's Company organized in Bartlett. Upon arriving in Conway he was transferred to Captain Merriam's Company of New Hampshire Militia. (Locational map of Portsmouth from familysearch.org).

Nathaniel's unit was ordered south to participate in the defense of Portsmouth. His service was limited, from 9/12/1814 until 11/25/1814. This was due to the British deciding they could not win at Portsmouth so did not attack there.

To verify Nathaniel's brief service for widow Deborah Emery's 1873 pension application two former soldiers, war buddies from Conway, NH and Gloucester, ME swore that they had served with him.

Nathaniel was civic minded enough to support petitions to the legislature in 1818 seeking to take Bartlett out of Coos County: *“The town lies on the east side of the White Mountains, which appears to be formed by nature as a boundary line of the county... With their connection with the county of Coos they feel themselves oppressed with the county tax.”* Nathaniel added **his signature** (shown at right) to the petition of 6/14/1818 and was a co-signer with his father Enoch on a similar petition of 6/24/1818.



NATHANIEL'S EARLY DEATH: This soon arrived, at age 31 on 12/30/1820, in Eaton, NH, not far from Bartlett. In wife Deborah's pension application Samuel Copp relates the event: *“Nathaniel Emery was accidentally killed by the falling of a tree many years since and as early as 1820, and that I attended his funeral, and saw him after his said decease and I further well know the said Deborah is still a widow.”*

There is no mention in the application of the twenty-five years Deborah spent in Maine with her *second* husband, Edmund Kelley, by the time of the 1873 pension application also deceased.

DOLLY BETWEEN AGES 13 AND 24: In 1821 Dolly's newly widowed mother at age 36 was suddenly in need of support. Jeff Woodburn writing in the February 2017 *New Hampshire Magazine*: *“Prior to 1846 females had few legal rights and few opportunities to live independently.”* A recent and available widower was not far downstream on the Saco River, just across the state line in Maine. As the crow flies the distance between the center of Bartlett, New Hampshire and the center of Fryeburg, Maine is sixteen miles.



Fifty-seven-year-old Edmund Kelley had lost his first wife on 10/6/1820. Deborah lost Nathaniel less than three months later. D. B. Wight on remarriage in these times: *“If a man lost his wife by death, leaving small children to be cared for, he lost no time in remarrying, sometimes to a widow in the same circumstances as himself.”*

It seems likely that Dolly at **13** left Bartlett with her mother to live with her new stepfather just across the Maine State Line in Fryeburg. If at **19** Dolly was back in, or keeping in touch with, Bartlett's **Jericho** Emerys, she would have been jolted by the 1826 flood disaster

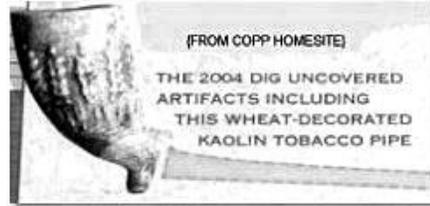
(same storm that set back Daniel Pinkham's nearby Peabody Valley road project). In reference to Bartlett from the 1860 *History and Description of New England* by Coolidge and Mansfield:

*“At the time {1826} of the great disaster near the Notch, when the **Willey family** were destroyed, a circumstance almost as frightful occurred in connection with the family of **Mr. Emery**, who lived at a place called **Jericho**, near the Rocky Branch, a tributary of the Saco. (Graphic shows Willey Slide from margin of 1854 Leavitt Map). It was only by the wonderful workings of Providence that they were saved from a watery grave.”*



Bartlett historian Aileen Carroll, in large part reflecting the account of George Cross in 1927, says of Dolly *“before her marriage she traveled a bit, having visited Portland and other large cities.*

*She had an interest in clothes, dressed becomingly, and wore dainty shoes that flattered her small feet. Her only indulgence seems to have been her **clay pipe**, filled with her home grown tobacco.”* Moving on to age **24**, just before her marriage to Hayes, Dolly was out of Maine, living just west of Bartlett, as attested on her 1831 marriage certificate.



MOTHER DEBORAH IN OLD AGE: With the maiden name of Rogers, Deborah Emery was born in 1784. A marriage record linking Deborah Emery to her second husband Edmund Kelley has not been located. Perhaps this was for Deborah her second “common law” marriage. He leaves her a widow after twenty-five years, in 1843.



The decennial Census shows she then moved around between various children’s and in-laws' homes. Dolly and Hayes Copp take a turn as the 1870 Census for Martins Location includes Deborah “Keely” {spelled incorrectly} age 87 occupation “past labor.”

Second spouse Edmund Kelley was buried in the West Fryeburg Cemetery; Deborah Kelley was laid to rest with her Emery blood relatives in Fryeburg’s Bemis Cemetery. As a *younger* Edmund Kelley is interred in the West Fryeburg Cemetery and lived 1827-1901, could he be Edmund Junior and a half-brother to Dolly? Dolly’s mother Deborah would have been a late age 42 at his birth.

We know Deborah could not write as she signed her pension application with the letter ex between “Deborah” and “Emery”

By 1873 Deborah had moved on from Dolly’s household and was living with her son Jonathan Emery in Maine. Her War of 1812 widow’s pension application was filed from there that year “in care of Jonathan Emery.”

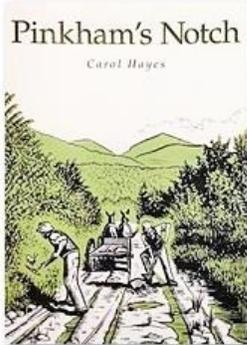
The 1873 application went back to the use of her first married name Emery. Sections of the application vary Deborah’s town of residence as North Fryeburg, Maine and adjacent Stow, Maine; we know her retirement home was in Stow right on the line with North Fryeburg.

An 1871 federal act granted pension benefits to surviving soldiers or their widows who had served at least 60 days during the War of 1812. Deborah filed, hoping to receive eight dollars per month. Her application was rejected. While first husband Nathaniel’s military

service was documented as valid, its length was too short, only 42 days of the minimum 60 days required.

4-1C. ROAD LABOR SHORTAGE DRAWS HAYES

Daniel Pinkham speaking to his wife Esther in Carol Hayes' 1998 historical novel *Pinkham's Notch*: "*Beyond East Pass {Pinkham Notch} there is a splendid valley. The Glen, farther up this valley, has two parts. Our Hansons live in Greens Grant and we will be in Martins Location.*" Esther: "*I rue the day Joe Hanson took her to live in the Glen, she's too frail.*"



As recorded by Huntington Ravine namesake Joshua Huntington, early settlers in the Peabody Valley were the Joseph Hanson Family in 1826 and bachelor Hayes Copp that same year. Both Joseph and Hayes had been born in Wakefield to the south.

Daniel Pinkham may have been working in the Peabody Valley seasonally since 1824, based in a road camp (his son's bio cites use of road construction camps) or bunking at the Hansons after their home was built in 1826. Pinkham does not relocate his wife and children from Jackson north until 1829 or 1830.

Thus, a definitive designation of "first settler" in the Peabody Valley is elusive. Rather, a band of cooperating relatives pioneered **at or about the same time**. Support for this view came from USFS Archaeologist Sarah Jordan in 2020: "*The settlement pattern you outline aligns with research we have done in other areas of the White Mountain National Forest, where settlements of this period were based around kinship ties and operated cooperatively.*"



"*The Hansons farm in Heaven*" – or so it must have seemed to other land starved young adults back in Jackson – 2023 view east in Greens Grant shows quality valley farm land, 2018 Glen House in background

The 1927 research by George Cross on Dolly makes no mention of any Pinkhams settling in the Peabody Valley or of their kinship tie with Hayes. A dating error in his 1927 work could have led him away from fitting Pinkhams and kin into the earliest settlement. A quote from Cross:

"*Early in the decade of the thirties {his error} the legislature of New Hampshire contracted with Daniel Pinkham to build a graded wagon road along the old blazed trail to connect Jackson and Randolph.*" The Pinkham Road legislation was in **1824**, not the early thirties, missing the **1826** storm havoc and labor shortage drawing Hayes north from Wakefield.

Left view south from Campground entrance bridge at 1954 flood from Hurricane Carol, photo courtesy of Paul Shiebler – at right same view with normal summertime water elevation



The abrupt halt to Peabody Valley road construction is described in the 1888 *History of Carroll County*. The Pinkham Road "*was to be made twelve miles thru an unbroken and heavy forest over mountains and across rapid streams. In two years Mr. Pinkham had nearly completed it, when the unprecedented fall of rain of August 1826 put a severe check upon the whole enterprise.*"

The bridges were nearly all swept away; the bed of the road in many places was buried many feet deep beneath rocks, debris and upturned trees from the mountainsides; while in other spots the streams washed away all traces of labor. After the freshet subsided, some of the bridge timbers {swept south down the Ellis River} were found fifteen miles away in Conway."

From the 1887 bio of Randall Pinkham on his father's project: *"The memorable flood of August, 1826 so nearly washed away all traces of a road that the enterprise was virtually abandoned."* The state legislature reacted practically, thereafter extending the completion deadline several times.

A contributing factor to 1826 flood impacts in the Peabody Valley was a recent forest fire there. William Evans in 1882 commenting on the Peabody River: *"In those days, all that range of mountains on the north side of the river was in a pristine state, all covered with a heavy growth of timber, but it was laid low by the fire of 1825."*

Moses Goodno writing in 1882 on the 1825 fire: *After the fire swept over the mountains and valleys of Peabody River, the water ran more swiftly and filled the river... flood tore away the banks and widened the river. Previous to that time the woods and rocks were covered with a deep moss, which checked the force of the water and caused it to run slowly down the sides of the mountains."* The 1825 fire damage would have accelerated flood runoff in 1826.

BARTER HIS LABOR FOR FARMLAND: Perspective on Hayes Copp's move north is a key comment by Daniel's son Randall Pinkham: *"All available **labor in the family** was forced into service on the road."* It seems that the plea to family members to send workers, again Hayes' father was Daniel's first cousin, reached Hayes at his home in Wakefield, NH. Otherwise, why was Hayes among the handful of Pinkham kin in the remote Peabody Valley in 1826?

"Forced into service" is strong wording. A perspective from the Carol Hayes historic novel, written without footnotes to references but with a respectable bibliography, on building Daniel Pinkham's road: *"His brothers and **cousins** {bold added}, along with Dave Bassitt and Will Copp, supported his venture."*

A key quote from a short unsigned history in the Androscoggin USFS file prepared about 1980: *"It is not known how Hayes acquired title to his land. Perhaps he accepted it as **payment for working on Pinkham's road.**"* That assumption is supported by this research.

Hayes did not reimburse Pinkham in cash – as a farmer's third son aged 20, where would he get it? Rather, his payment was later legally recorded as *"in good faith and for valuable consideration"* – easily interpreted as a young man's labor. In addition, his purchase date closely relates to Pinkham's call for road laborers after the **8/28/1826** flood set back.

But it appears Hayes had to wait until he was legally an adult, age 21, that is **10/12/1827**, to be a signatory to the **11/5/1827 real estate transaction** thereafter.

PERSPECTIVE FROM CENSUS OF 1830: William Copp's son Samuel Copp was documented in the 1830 Census living as a head of household in Pinkhams Grant. Perhaps he was also serving Daniel Pinkham as a road laborer-new farmer. Samuel was Daniel's son-in-law.

As a full time resident in Pinkhams Grant, Hayes would have been picked up by the 1830 Census. But under 1830 Census rules, he could not be listed under his own name as he was not yet a head of his own household.

Unmarried Hayes was noted only by an anonymous digit within the age and sex categories of one of the three family related households there. I place him with his patron and kinsman Daniel Pinkham.

Justification: Daniel Pinkham was head of a household in the Peabody Valley in the 1830 Census. And we know from the *Pinkham Genealogy* that there were two parents and eight children in his family by then for a total of ten.

As of the taking of the 1830 Census, the three eldest Pinkham daughters were married and residing with husbands accounted for elsewhere. Then 15-year-old daughter Martha's

whereabouts is not clear, the historic novel on Pinkham says residing with a friend in Shelburne. (Martha does marry a Shelburne man and spends her life there).

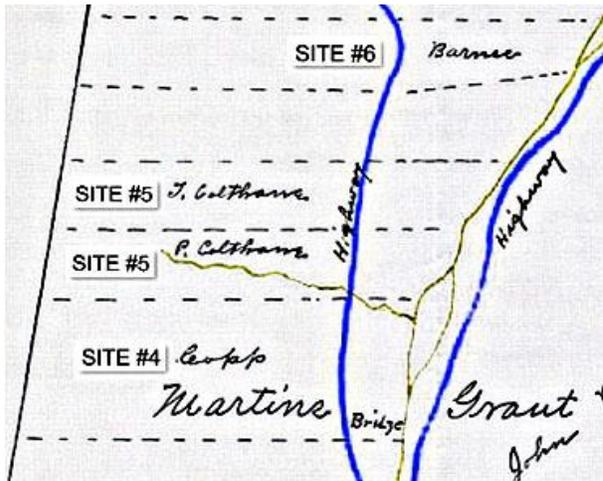
That leaves six members in the Daniel Pinkham Family's 1830 Census record in Pinkhams Grant. Yet the 1830 entry for this household includes eight occupants including the two parents.

The additional two are categorized as males, one aged 20 to 30 and the other aged 30 to 40. We will not be able to prove who these men were, but Hayes Copp needed shelter if he was laboring on Pinkham's Road and getting a start on improving his adjacent farm lot.

Maybe the male age 20-30 is young cousin Hayes, age 23 at the 1830 Census date of June 1, 1830. Facilitating this possibility was the practice for 1830 Census takers to not distinguish between those inside the dwelling as to their status as resident family, visitors, boarders or employees.

By 1790 paying down municipal tax obligation through labor on a public road was a customary practice in Bartlett and Jackson. In 1828 famed White Mountains pioneer Able Crawford bought 150 acres in Hart's Location from the state. When in 1832 he could not pay the purchase price in cash, the state converted his obligation to the equivalent in road labor.

The 6/16/1824 authorizing legislation for Pinkham's road records documents labor as payment: *"Whereas the inhabitants of Lancaster, Jefferson, Kilkenny, Durand, Adams, Bartlett and Conway have subscribed about the sum of one thousand dollars, payable in labor, for the purpose of defraying in part the expenses of making said road and building the necessary bridges thereon."*



Property Lines on the 1862-68 **Goodwin Map**, site numbers added - **Copp's #4 lot** double sized and composed of two of Pinkham's standard 100 acre lots – about 1838 Hayes had a survey made of these two lots

Supporting the view that Hayes bartered labor for Pinkham lots, an 1846 court record indicates that in 1833 Pinkham made an agreement with a man named Emery (no first name or initial) by which he was to own one lot upon paying Pinkham \$100 for it **"by his labor upon the road thru the lots."** That is two years after Pinkham's agreement with Hayes Copp.

As a standard Pinkham lot was 100 acres, that is assumed to be one dollar per acre. Perspective from the greatest of North Country woodsmen Paul Doherty that in Gorham in the early 1830s *"land was for sale at one and two dollars an acre."* This mirrors the then national context, historian Paul Johnson noting that for pioneers to the Midwest in the 1820's the price of land was as low as \$1.25 per acre.

Speculating as to the identity of this 1833 Emery, he may have been Dolly's first cousin, 27-year-old Joshua Emery. In the 1840 Census cousin Joshua is living with two of his Emery uncles in nearby Shelburne. Like Hayes born in 1806, Joshua born 1803 could have been seeking his own farm lot. The other somewhat less likely candidate is Dolly's Shelburne Uncle Samuel Emery himself, soon to relocate from Shelburne to Gorham Hill.

A later reference to the Pinkham Road labor shortage is found in the 1919 *Turnpikes in New England* by Frederic Wood: *"Its remote situation affected so little assistance in road building that the grantee was obliged to appeal to the legislature for an extension of time with which he was to complete such a road."* George Cross: *"It was a work of several years, with few available laborers and few tools."* Perhaps Cross writing in 1927 was merely

reflecting the then recent 1919 *Turnpikes* text.

Excerpts from the 1880 NH Supreme Court Case *Bellows versus Jewell*, reference 60 N.H. 420 - N.H. 1880: "*Pinkham, previous to 1827, divided his grant into lots of 100 acres each, and had marked these once every 825 feet by the side of the road to designate the lots. The only marking done by Pinkham was spotting trees once in 50 rods by the side of the road to designate these lots. Copp's deed was from Pinkham....*

Copp, in good faith and for a valuable consideration, took a deed of lot No. 6, November 5, 1827 in which it was described as situated on the Pinkham road, so called, and designated as lot No. 6, on the westerly side of Peabody river, to run 160 rods each side of the road where it now runs, and wide enough to contain 100 acres.

The plaintiff {John Bellows} claimed title to the land on which the logs were cut, and one Copp, under whose authority the logs were cut, claimed title to 6 and 7. The defendant claimed that all the cutting was on 6 and 7. The plaintiff's title to 6 and 7, and the land westerly of them and southerly of 7, was undisputed, except so far as Copp had acquired title thereto by adverse possession. The referee finds Copp was the owner of 6, but not of that part of 7 from which the logs were cut {at the lot's easternmost end}."

My assumption is that Jewell involved in this 1880 court case is William Jewell (1838-1914) of Gorham. In the 1880 case file he must have been the logging agent for the Cops, the man or company doing the actual cutting. Jewell is cited by D. B. Wight in his 1967 Gorham history:

"William Jewell worked at the lumbering business until 1873. He then moved to Gorham and became established in the livery stable business and also carried on extensive logging operations. In the winter he sometimes employed as many as 150 men and 60 horses. In addition to his stable, he conducted a stage line to and from the summit of Mount Washington."

Could Hayes labor on the road and start building the substantial home shown on the 1854 photo at the same time? His initial shelter was very modest and expanded thereafter. A USFS archaeological survey of the site saw evidence for this. And Dolly herself in an 1886 Gorham newspaper used this choice of words as to their first dwelling: small log camp.

Support for construction staging also comes from Bartlett historian Aileen Carroll, that the first houses of the pioneers "*were crude shelters, replaced as soon as the family had cleared enough land and become prosperous enough to build a more comfortable dwelling.*"

4-1D. COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Gorham historian D. B. Wight commenting on marriageable young adults of this period: "*At the age of twenty, or sooner, some neighborhood young man who had bought a farm would call on Sunday evenings, and in due time arrangement was made for getting married... A young man would buy a lot of undeveloped land, build a small house or cabin, and a barn to house a few livestock. With this start toward a home, he had no trouble finding a wife.*"

The ages at marriage of Hayes and Dolly were only six months apart. In Bartlett and Jackson, Emerys and Copps had "town founder" family names that may have facilitated social approval of their match. The view of historian Aileen Carroll in her *Bartlett, NH in the Valley of the Saco* on the proposal of Hayes to Dolly:

"Up to that point he had seen her twice and spoken to her once! It may have been love at second sight, or it may have been practicality. After all, Dolly was twenty-three, a bit old for a girl to be unmarried in those days."

Also consider that Samuel Copp and Hayes Copp were part of the handful of settlers in Martins Location by 1830. The birth name of Dolly Emery's mother was **Rogers** and the maiden name of settler Samuel Copp's mother was also **Rogers**. Dolly's father worked for Samuel's father and Samuel attended the 1820 funeral of Dolly's father.

Forty-three years later, Samuel Copp assists Dolly's mother with her pension application. Therefore, we may ask, could Samuel Copp be a **Rogers**-side cousin to Dolly? To take this a step further, as Samuel Copp was in proximity to both Hayes Copp and Dolly Emery, *could he have been the go-between that introduced them?*



At left Dolly and Hayes leave Jackson in 1831 from the 1952 book jacket of "The Pilgrim Soul" - at right the newlyweds will pass the Hansons before reaching Hayes' new log camp - source of base map Wikipedia, annotated

Their 1831 marriage license identifies the residence of Dolly as Harts Location. That civic unit is very small and adjacent to the western border of Bartlett, extending northwesterly up the narrow valley of the Saco River. Perhaps Dolly as a young woman was working there as opposed to staying with her mother and stepfather to the southeast in Maine.

The residence of Hayes on the marriage license was Pinkhams Grant, NH, confirming the 1927 Cross account that he was "up there getting a farm ready" before his marriage. The wedding was in Jackson on 11/3/1831, the region's most prominent minister, Free-Will Baptist Daniel Elkins Senior officiating, his son Daniel Elkins Junior soon to be one of the Peabody Valley pioneers.

Young marrieds Hayes and Dolly cross over the Eastern Pass, by 1851 renamed Pinkham Notch, then downgradient into the Peabody Valley. They descend to the Glen, where in twenty years' time a great tourist hotel, the Glen House will be built. Here they no doubt stop at the home of Ann (Pinkham) and Joseph Hanson, Joseph like Hayes having arrived in 1826.

A little less than three miles north of the Hansons, after crossing the Peabody River on Daniel Pinkham's new log bridge, Hayes and Dolly arrive at the farm he has been preparing. Dolly referenced in the *Gorham Mountaineer* of 3/5/1886:

"I will send you some facts told by Mrs. Copp recently, concerning her early life. About 55 years ago, she was married to Hayes Copp and came through the woods to Pinkhams Grant, then one vast wilderness, and moved into a small log camp which Mr. Copp had built the year before upon a small clearing which he had also made there."

Dolly was no doubt greeted by Esther Pinkham, mother of eight, on the adjacent farm lot to the north, in what is now Dolly Copp Campground's Spruce Woods section. Perhaps there was a motherly touch, as Esther was kin by marriage to Hayes and just two years younger than Dolly's own mother somewhat remote now over in Maine.

Author Howard Russell in his 1975 *Three Centuries of Farming in New England* on migration factors leading up to Hayes's time: *"By the middle of the eighteenth century much land, of only moderate original fertility, had been cropped and pastured until yields were small. This may have been a reason why some farmers, or at least their **younger sons** were anxious to find new land.*

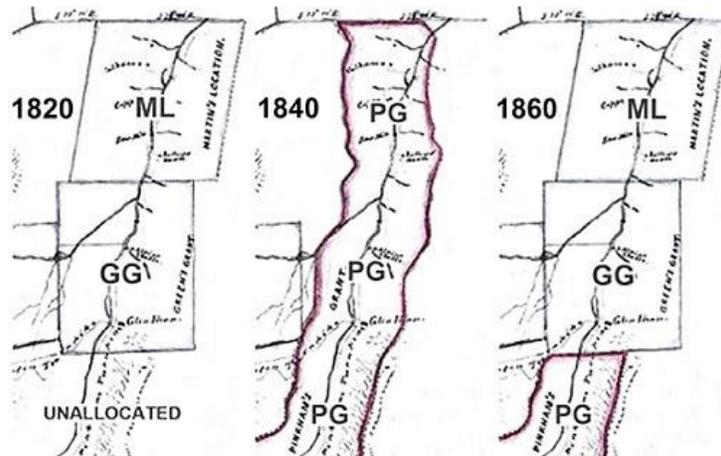
*The character of the settlers who took up land in the new towns seems often to have differed somewhat from that of people who remained in the home towns. They were apt to be the **young and adventurous**, ready to take the risk in order to acquire farms of their own."*

Family traits are often inherited, genetics but also through the raising of young within the value system of their parents. I found such transmission to be quite the rule when researching my own genealogy. Leading historian Walter Isaacson in his biography of Benjamin Franklin: *“A person’s character can be illuminated by rummaging among his family roots and pointing out the recurring traits that culminate tidily in the personality at hand.”*

As seen in an expert’s analysis of Dolly’s personality thru her handwriting, detailed ahead, *“high goals pushed her to attempt challenges that others would not have taken. While not possessing a strong self-confidence, she had many wonderful traits to help overcome its affects.”* Leaving family and comfort for her move north, Dolly will still have two Emery side uncles nearby, in Gorham and Shelburne.

In 1992 North Country woodsman Paul Doherty conveyed what Gorham old-timer Heath had heard of Dolly: *“The only things Dolly had, except for the clothes she was wearing and a few pots and pans, was a grandfather’s clock and a {bed} warming pan {both heirlooms survive}. She said they were wedding presents.”* A little muddle has crept in here as Dolly herself wrote in 1883 that she bought the grandfather clock in 1835, four years after her bridal trip north.

4-2. COLLAPSE OF PINKHAMS GRANT



*Evolution of civic units in the Peabody Valley
comparison of 1820, 1840 and 1860 - 1860 boundaries remain today*

*At left are **Martins Location (ML)** and **Greens Grant (GG)** as laid out in the 1770s – center as invalidated between 1824 and 1846 by new **Pinkhams Grant (PG)***

*At right John Bellows reestablishes older Martins Location and Greens Grant, leaving newer **Pinkhams Grant trimmed** just the southern rump in place today*

4-2A. PEABODY PIONEERS SETTLE IN

The 1840 Census for Pinkhams Grant, geographically representing most of what are today the combined land areas of Martins Location, Greens Grant and remnant Pinkhams Grant, provides details on how the pioneer kinship group, by now with a few non-relatives added, had settled in. What is clear from the 1840 data is that the little Peabody Valley settlement was family and youth oriented. Of its thirty-nine residents twenty-four were ages 20 and under:

1840 P. GRANT CENSUS	0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-Up	Total
Site #1: Daniel Elkins, Jr.	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	5
Site #2a: Samuel Copp	4	-	-	2	-	-	2	8
Site #2b: William Copp Jr.	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	4
Site #3: Robert McCartee	5	3	-	1	1	-	-	10
Site #4: Hayes Copp	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	5
Site #5: Edmund Merrill	5	-	-	2	-	-	-	7
Total	18	6	3	7	3	-	2	39

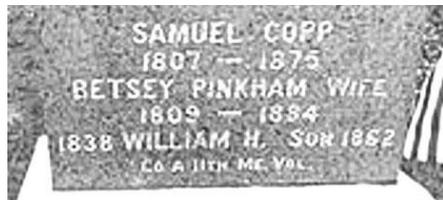
SITE #1 ELKINS FAMILY REPLACES HANSON FAMILY: Note that this dwelling is in Greens Grant, with dwellings #2 thru #5 that follow further north within Martins Location.

The Elkins in 1840 by birth year consisted of 1795 Daniel Elkins Jr., 1795 Sarah Meserve Elkins (replacing her vacating first cousin Ann Pinkham Hanson), 1817 Isaac M. Elkins, 1823 Eunice T. Elkins and 1825 Joseph Warren Elkins. (Below is the obituary for Eunice Elkins in the 9/10/1841 *Morning Star*, a Freewill Baptist newspaper).

As Site # 1 in Greens Grant becomes the location for the Glen House, the history of these early families is detailed within the upcoming section on hotel development.

In Pinkham's Grant, (Coos county N. H.) Nov. 10th, of consumption, Eunice T. Elkins, aged about 18 yrs. daughter of Daniel Elkins, Jr. Esq. She bore her sickness with all the patience and resignation of one aided by a firm reliance on a blessed Savior. Her pa-

SITE #2 SAMUEL COPP AND WILLIAM COPP JR. FAMILIES: The Copp brothers were grandsons of Jackson founder Benjamin Copp, third cousins to Hayes. Samuel Copp's wife Betsey (photo of their grave from Findagrave) was a second cousin to Hayes through Daniel Pinkham – part of the evidence that the Peabody Valley was settled by a kinship group.



Site 2a: Samuel Copp and Betsey (Pinkham) Copp had grown up in Jackson on adjacent properties and were married in 1829. By birth year here in 1840 are 1807 Samuel and 1806 Betsey, then children 1830 Hannah Jane Copp, 1833 Elizabeth Chesley Copp, 1835 Daniel Pinkham Copp and 1838 William Copp Jr.

With the Samuel Copp family are a male and a female both 60 or over, presumably elderly relatives. No names recorded in the Census as they are not heads of households. This pair could not be wife Betsey Pinkham Copp's parents Daniel and Esther, as they were not yet that old and had resettled in Lancaster in 1836.

Nor were they Samuel Copp's father William Copp Sr. and his mother Hannah **Rogers** Copp, again too young and the 1840 Census records them in Jackson. Perhaps the elderly pair were Samuel's maternal Rogers uncle and aunt.

Thomas Rogers, Jr. and wife are referenced in the 1846 legal fight for Site #2 ownership entitled *Bellows versus Copp*: "Rogers moved into the house in the spring of 1835.... and that he and Samuel and William Copp have successively occupied the place ever since."

Court case details indicate that Daniel Pinkham sold Site #2 to Thomas Rogers Jr. on 10/6/1835, Rogers sold the property to Samuel Copp on 5/9/1835, and then Samuel sells it to his brother William on 11/25/1843. That last transfer was questionable as the trial had already started but the judge let it pass.

Site 2b: William Copp Junior family members in 1840 by birth year are 1815 William Copp Jr. and his wife 1817 Betsey (Cobb) Copp, their marriage date 3/11/1838. Their eldest daughter Eliza Copp was born in Pinkhams Grant in 1839 and they had a second daughter between the ages of 10 and 15.

SITE #3 ROBERT MCCARTEE FAMILY: McCartee is a legislative friend of Pinkham. The McCartee household in 1840 included 1795 Robert McCartee, 1802 Sophie (Meserve) McCartee, 1824 Almira McCartee (will marry Dolly's first cousin Samuel F. Emery Jr. of Gorham Hill), 1826 Henry McCartee,

1828 George W. McCartee, 1831 Florinda McCartee, 1834 John McCartee, 1836 Mary McCartee, 1838 Sarah McCartee and 1840 Maria McCartee. These birth years are approximate.

SITE #4 HAYES COPP FAMILY: Census of 1840 residents of the Copp household by birth year are 1806 Hayes D. Copp, 1807 Dolly (Emery) Copp, then children 1832 Jeremiah Copp, 1834 Nathaniel Copp and 1838 Hannah Sylvia Copp. To complete the family only fourth child Daniel was yet to arrive, in 1849.

SITE #5 EDMUND MERRILL FAMILY: Assumed on this site in 1840 by birth year are 1803 Edmund Merrill, 1809 Relief (Frost) Merrill, 1833 Rosetta Merrill, 1834 Edmund Merrill Jr., 1835 Mary Ann Merrill, 1837 Ruby Merrill and 1839 Cullen Merrill. (Edmund Merrill's photo from Ancestry.com).



In the 1840 Census for Pinkhams Grant the Daniel Elkins Jr. family is listed first and the Edmund Merrill family last – south to north order. Recording residents in geographic order was not guaranteed that Census year, but for the 1840 Merrills to be at the north end correlates well with other evidence.

A key assumption is that the Merrills' location by 1838 was on the property vacated by the Pinkham Family in 1836. The Merrill Family *could* have been on the Site #6 Barnes Farm further north. But as documented elsewhere, the Site #6 location was secondary to Site #5 in overall prominence and timing of development.

Entering the workaday world of the 1840s, the tiny Peabody Valley sawmill community reorients from south to north. Logically enough as Gorham was much closer than Jackson. For Gorham to become their new magnet took some time. On Gorham in 1833 from the *History of Coos County*: *“The hard and grinding conditions of absolute poverty had passed away. There were no mills, however, and no center of trade. No attempt had succeeded to establish any business which would draw capital or population.”*

In the settlement pattern of 1840 Bethel, Maine to the east was an economic and cultural center for the as yet very small Gorham population. Consider proceeding east along the Androscoggin River, today's Route 2, with 1840 population totals for Gorham, NH 156, Shelburne, NH 350, Gilead, ME 313 and then Bethel, ME a much greater 1994.

Lancaster was such a central town to the west, again accessed by today's Route 2. Referring to the 1830s, Historian Nathaniel Tuckerman True says these were the two “market towns” serving early Gorham.

From the perspective of the Peabody Valley, nearby Randolph was on an earlier settlement timeline. Cross in 1924 on activity there not far from Copps: *“In 1830, Jonas Green, a resident of Shelburne, cleared a large area on the slopes of Mount Madison beyond Bumpus Brook, for summer pasture in connection with his farm in Shelburne.”* While not formed with a dense village core like Gorham, nearby Randolph may have provided some economic links for Peabody Valley pioneers.

Financial stability must have been established as farm lots are cleared and become productive. As noted, Dolly and Hayes and their neighbors raise young families. By 1840 the little cluster hosted two sawmills. The extended Pinkham kin now with a few others are focused on living their lives.

Harbinger of change, there is now a shift in perception of the White Mountains from unfortunate wastes of land to scenic money makers. By the end of the 1830s, Lancaster investor John Bellows has his business eye on the profits that could be made once tourists are able to easily reach the scenic Peabody Valley. Bellows will soon oust Pinkham kin as the major landowners. Carol (Matthes) Evans nails him: *“Bellows was a shark.”*

4-2B. LOCAL GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED

We saw that for his 1831 marriage certificate Hayes gave the Pinkhams Grant civic unit as his home. In 1880 Dolly writing to her granddaughter gives the Martins Location civic unit

as her home. Both answers are correct, for between those years Pinkhams Grant fell apart, replaced by a revived Martins Location, Greens Grant, and greatly reduced “rump” Pinkhams Grant. This was entirely due to the cunning work of businessman John Bellows.

Realizing the threat to his own and to his children’s properties from Bellows, from his retirement in Lancaster former legislator Daniel Pinkham may now have attempted to buttress the legitimacy of Pinkhams Grant thru his remaining influence in state capital Concord. The 1897 *NH Register and Manual* states that Pinkhams Grant was incorporated in 1840. The designation for incorporation may have been exceptional for a geographic unit so small.

Context is found in the 1866 NH court case *Henry B. Wells versus Jackson Iron Manufacturing Company* on the low status of tiny civic units: “*Know all men by these present, that I, George P. Meserve of Jackson, sheriff of the county of Coos and collector of taxes from the year 1841 on unincorporated places **having so few inhabitants** as to be incapable of choosing town officers.*”

As additional evidence for 1840 incorporation, the 12/17/1840 *Journal of the New Hampshire Senate* records “a resolution authorizing the Secretary of State to purchase and deliver to the selectmen of Pinkhams Grant one copy of the revised statutes and pamphlet laws.” Pinkhams Grant had barely enough men to fill the needed town officer positions. Seemingly in sync, the *Bellows versus Copp* court record documents that the first state taxes on Pinkhams Grant were assessed in 1840.

The most threatened officers themselves served, west bank Hayes Copp less so, the 1842 – 1844 *New Hampshire Annual Register* recording them:

- Site #1 **Postmaster** Daniel Elkins, Jr.
- Site #2 **Selectman** Samuel Copp
- Site #3 **Selectman** and **Town Clerk** Robert McCartee
- Site #3 **Selectman** Sarah (Pinkham) Wentworth – a Lancaster resident in 1840, perhaps property ownership was her qualification for local office

The 1846 *New Hampshire Annual Register* provides a snapshot of civic function. It includes the results of the election for governor in 1845. Results within each municipality in the state are listed, along with the name of each certifying town clerk. Pinkhams Grant, small but included, shows six men there voting for John Hardy Steele, the winner, their town clerk listed as above, Robert McCartee.

It is the timing of Bellows takeover attempt that supports the view that the creation of a local government was in reaction to Bellows threat. The enabling of a local government might enhance the chances of tiny Pinkhams Grant resisting breakage back into its colonial pieces, a preemptive administrative defense, a higher hurdle to John Bellows’ 1841 - 1846 legal challenge to undermine state legislative legitimacy bestowed upon the combination of colonial grants in 1824.

CENSUS	Berlin	Gorham	Shelburne	Martins Location	Greens Grant	Pinkhams Grant	Jackson	Bartlett	Conway
1840	116	156	350	34	5	na	na	na	1,811
1850	173	224	480	12	6	na	589	761	1,767
1860	433	907	318	19	14	na	631	735	1,624
1870	529	1,167	259	17	71	na	474	629	1,607
1880	1,144	1,383	252	33	8	na	579	1,044	2,094
1950	16,615	2,639	184	0	2	17	344	1,074	4,109
2020	9,425	2,698	353	2	0	0	1,028	3,200	9,822

With the 1840 Census total for Shelburne at 350, Wight explains the major increase to 480 for 1850: “*The large number in Shelburne when the 1850 Census was taken were all foreigners at work building the railroad.*” I assume the two residents recorded for Martins Location in 2020 are statistical anomalies.

It must have been clear at its creation that population totals for Martins Location would always be small – not enough farm acreage and related supportable population for commercial establishments or church. The total was 34 in 1840, dropping to 12 in 1850 reflecting Bellows’ evictions, 19 for 1860, 17 for 1870, then rising to 33 in 1880 as itinerant loggers crowded into the Site #2 structure then in use as their boarding house.

4-2C. BELLOWS RESTORES COLONIAL BOUNDARIES

Bellows’ takeover focused first on the east bank Site #1 early Hanson farm and inn, at his 1846 takeover date occupied by the Elkins Family. He installed Frederick B. Spaulding of Lancaster as a tenant there. He next sues for control of the Site #2 Samuel Copp homestead and then the Site #3 Robert McCartee (court used name of tenant, not Pinkham family owner) residence and sawmill property.

--- Seizure of **Greens Grant Site #1** *Bellows versus Elkins*: Case record not preserved.

--- Seizure of **Martins Location Site #2** *Bellows versus {final owner William} Copp* lawsuit opening words: “*Writ of Entry, {an indictment to obtain land from one who has unlawfully possession} to recover 2000 acres {area of Martins Location} of land in this county called Martins Grant 9/28/1841.*”

--- Seizure of **Martins Location Site #3** *Bellows versus McCartee* lawsuit opening words: “*Writ of Entry, to recover 2000 acres of land in this county 10/21/1841.*”



View north at Site #2 former Samuel and William Copp property on 1911 post card; right excerpt from court challenge over Site #3 sawmill property

JANUARY TERM, 1846.

517

Bellows v. McCartee.

now is, and that the mill was erected in the year 1838. The former dam was twelve or fifteen rods from the present one. There was evidence that since the year 1836 improvements had been gradually made on the premises, by the erection of buildings, &c.

From the fact-finding section of the *Bellows versus {Samuel} Copp* suit we know that in the winter of 1839-1840 an agent of Bellows sought a pretext to advance the takeover. He challenged timber cutting on Site #2 by resident owner Samuel Copp and his Jackson brother Levi Copp: “*Went up to see if any person was committing depredations thereon, and he then found Samuel Copp and Levi Copp cutting timber on the demanded premises, near the Peabody River... He told them that {the last owner before Bellows} claimed the land and forbade them to meddle with it or the timber thereon.*”



At the trial over claims to the Samuel Copp Site #2 property, the Samuel Copp side defended what they saw as their legitimate property rights. They introduced as evidence a copy of the 1824 legislative act promising that land to Daniel Pinkham, then their own deed derived from Pinkham. (View north along Route 16 in Conway, NH).

Pinkham’s integrity in initiating the project was defended, with the claim that he had no knowledge of

Martins Grant until June of 1834. The Samuel Copp side also claimed there was no record of any Thomas Martin, namesake for Martins Location, ever existing. But those lines of defense did not win the argument.

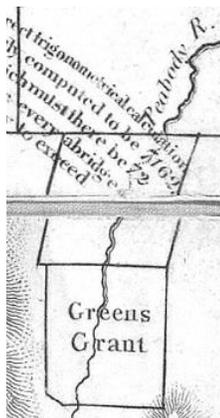
Switching tactics, now hedging on the existence of Martin, the Samuel Copp defense stated that if Martin did exist, that neither he nor later owners ever met the conditions of the original 1773 grant, such as attracting settlers within a specific time period. That is certainly true, Martins Location remained empty of settlers for more than fifty years, 1773 to 1826.

But the state court did not accept that line of argument either. It was not for decades later courts to enforce archaic deed conditions that had not been taken seriously in their own time. The Superior Court of Judicature of New Hampshire – the New Hampshire Supreme Court – ruled against Samuel Copp and in favor of John Bellows:

“That Pinkhams Grant embraced, by its terms, such land only as the State owned at the time of making it. Martins Grant, having been earlier, was not, or course, cut in upon by that made to Pinkham.”

The ruling above is a major milestone in the history of the Peabody Valley. Apparently, all Daniel Pinkham retained after 1846 was the southern rump of his formerly linear, north-south grant, the most topographically rugged and agriculturally unproductive segment, still carrying today the name Pinkhams Grant. This southern segment was “*such land as the State owned*” at the time of the 1824 designation of Pinkhams Grant - no underlying colonial grant for a speculator to “revive” and use to overturn the 1824 legislation.

Post-1846 “Lesser Pinkhams Grant” remains on the New Hampshire map today, part of the White Mountain National Forest - it’s 1824 eastern and western boundaries equally distanced one-half mile from the original Pinkham Road, in contrast to the colonial rectangles of revived Greens Grant and Martins Location just to the north. Maps of the period reflect confusion:



--- Evidence that the Martins Location boundary was still viable is mixed. Supporting viability was the recent **1816 Carrigain Map**, (excerpt at left) authorized by the New Hampshire legislature. Both Martins Location and Greens Grant are properly included on this early, “official” state map.

But on the Carrigain Map the Martins Location unit has no name attached while the Greens Grant unit does. This may be part of the confusion seen in the 6/1/1824 *Journal of the NH Senate and House* as Pinkham’s road proposal is discussed:

*“That the contemplated route ... has fewer hills than the old road over the Jefferson Turnpike: that the particular road prayed for is eleven miles, six of which pass through the **state’s land lying on each side of Greens Location.**”*

--- A problematic perspective is seen in the **1823 Gazetteer of NH**, describing itself as “a comprehensive geographic and statistical view of the whole state.” The description for Shelburne, NH (which then still included Gorham) reads “**bounded on the south by unallocated lands.**” That is not the case had Martins Location and Greens Grant been seen as viable civic units.

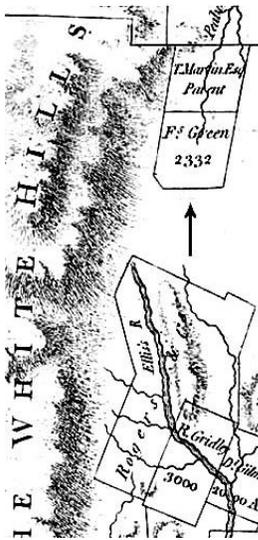
Future Gorham "over bounded" on 1828 Robinson Map

--- Then the **Robinson Map of 1828** correctly identifies future Gorham as that year still part of Shelburne, but with Martins Location and Greens Grant inaccurately tacked on to its southern boundary. Perhaps the Robinson cartographer did not know what to do with these "pesky little units."

--- On the **1833 Goodno Map** of New Hampshire, as on the Robinson Map, Martins Location is again drawn as a small southern extension of still combined Shelburne and Gorham. By its inclusion within Gorham, Martins Location is clearly "already allocated," ignorant of the 1824 legislation.



The above records of civic status reflect confusion. It seems the creation of Pinkhams Grant was based in part on inadequate record keeping. Perhaps there was *no one in New Hampshire* after the Brown purchase of 1779 who was aware of the existence of the underlying Martins Location deed, laying quietly dormant as a tiny component in a large estate in Rhode Island.



Looking at alternative realities, perhaps this mess could have been avoided. At left is an excerpt from the Samuel Holland Map of 1784, annotated with an arrow. In 1796 Jackson was consolidated from small grants and **proposed to extend north** to include Greens Grant and Martins Location, arrow indicating potential union.

Had that happened, in 1824 Peabody Valley civic units would have been secure within a recognized municipal boundary. John Bellows may still have invested in Peabody Valley lands, but in a more traditional way without the power to throw people out.

Pinkham third daughter Sarah Pinkham Wentworth and her husband William G. Wentworth also lost their Martins Location **Site #3** mill property due to Bellows' suit against their tenant McCartee.

The Wentworth's are in Lancaster Village in 1850, living at their centrally located tavern, the American House, its dining room Wentworth Hall. In 1860 the Wentworths are still in Lancaster, living with Sarah's widowed mother Esther Pinkham at the "Old Parson Willard Place," Daniel having died in 1855.

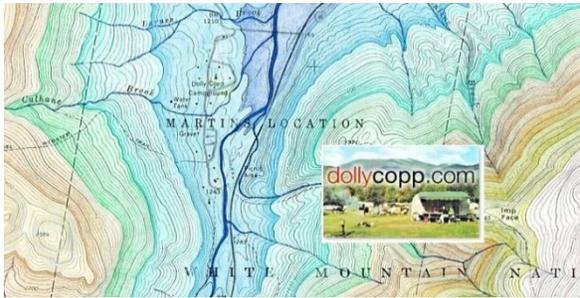
It is not clear if Hayes Copp's 1827 Pinkham derived deeded rights to Martins Location **Site #4** were impacted by Bellows 1846 court victories. Obviously, Hayes and Dolly were not evicted like the others, their son Nathaniel successfully selling their property to Libby logging decades later.

Perhaps possession for a minimum of twenty years was the key – their ownership from 1827 to 1846 coming too close for a successful suit - *not* the circumstance with the slightly later settlement dates for Bellows' desired Site #2 and Site #3.

On the relevance of twenty years from the 1880 lawsuit *Bellows versus Jewell*: "Under this deed twenty years' continued possession gave Copp a valid title to lot 6... He had no constructive possession of it {lot 7} under his deed, and no continued, open, adverse possession for twenty years is shown." One way or another Bellows soon owns Pinkham - Culhane Site #5.

4-2D. FOUNDERS THOMAS MARTIN AND FRANCIS GREEN

Commenting on early Gorham Area history, Historian Denman B. Wight, who lived from 1908 to 1972, in his classic 1967 book *Androscoggin River Valley*, found only limited acreage suitable to attract pioneer farmers. However, he included on his short list "a small section of the Peabody River Valley."



Wight was referring to the two small broadenings of the Peabody Valley floor that became the farmable cores of Martins Location and Greens Grant. The central lowland of Martins Location is today the Dolly Copp Campground.

The central lowland of Greens Grant is today the Great Glen Trails Outdoor Center. Boundaries were drawn in the 1770s such that these cores were the agricultural centers of new civic units.

The British colonial policy promoted settlement in such remote parts of New Hampshire. Recent soldiers like William Stark of Dunbarton, Thomas Martin of Portsmouth and Francis Green of Boston were the beneficiaries of delayed military pay for their gentlemanly service in the French and Indian War, which had ended in 1763.

Payments were not made with cash, but by small grants of state land in remote and unsettled northern New Hampshire. As the war ended, English New Hampshire bordering French Canada was newly secure, ready to be surveyed and granted with the hope of attracting settlers. Foundation of a future problem, the little units were too small to develop into viable communities and would need to be consolidated to form towns.

To the west, the fertile and more accessible Connecticut River Valley was populated first, including an easterly offshoot into nearby Jefferson and Randolph. To the east, families migrated from coastal Maine upstream along the gentle grade of the Androscoggin River Valley northwesterly to Bethel, Maine and then further west into Shelburne, New Hampshire.

In between these migration routes were Gorham and the Peabody Valley, remoter, and with much less viable farmland, thus a secondary and later draw for settlers.

There were standard conditions included with these first grants: the recipient must settle families, raise flax, etc. Yet if no one settled, the grants were not usually revoked for non-compliance, governments encouraging eventual settlement by not enforcing penalties.

In the regular employ of the Province of New Hampshire, Surveyor Hubartus Neal laid out the boundary lines of Martins Location and certified them on 12/4/1772. Of the four sides of the new unit's rectangular form, only the northern boundary was preexisting, laid out by him when surveying Shelburne Addition (Gorham) in 1770. The other three sides were duly added to the New Hampshire provincial map.

While the northern and southern boundary lines of Martins Location are horizontal, the eastern and western boundaries are parallel to each other but offset northeasterly. Interpreting his map, it looks like Neal inserted the offset so that the eastern and western boundaries would roughly parallel the northeasterly course of the Peabody River through the grant.

"Thomas Martin Esquire" as his Portsmouth gravestone reads was born in 1732 and lived until 1805. On 1/25/1773 Colonial British Governor John Wentworth granted Thomas Martin this newly surveyed and pristine 2000-acre tract in the Peabody Valley:

"Whereas Thomas Martin of Portsmouth was appointed a conductor of artillery stores and served under General Amherst in America and is now reduced and he having personally applied for such grant." A portion of the boundary description: "Beginning at a beach tree standing in the south boundary line of Shelburne Addition two hundred and ten rods {two-thirds of a mile} easterly of the Peabody River."

There was soon minimal access. The first road was cut through in 1774, Francis Green newly owning Greens Grant contributing funds to its construction. Taking a few liberties with an old reports' cryptic reference, the template for this road is assumed to be a 1772 road feasibility report by Surveyor Neal to the state.

Thanks to Martha Benesh (photo) of Jackson, NH for contributing this timeline of Martins' activities:

--- **1768** Thomas Martin granted land in Sunapee, NH; --- **1772** Martin receives 500 acres in Piermont, NH; --- **1773** Martin receives Martins Location, NH.

--- **1775-1781** During the Revolution Martin bankrolled American naval harassment of British shipping. Martin and Jacob Treadwell, owner of the Rogers, Wentworth and Treadwell Location Grant in Jackson, were both involved in such privateering.



The bonder of a ship promised to stay in the battle and received a governmental right to attack British vessels, that is, protect American interests, receiving one half of the seized cargo. This was a common practice for major merchants like Martin.

--- **1776** Ship McClary, bonder Thomas Martin, 1 of 3 for 5,000 pounds, captures eleven prizes in little more than a year starting in the fall of 1776.

--- **1777** The Sheriff of Rockingham pursued Thomas Martin, Mark Wentworth and Jacob Treadwell for not turning over rum needed for the American Army.

--- **1778** Ship McClary, bonders Jacob Treadwell and Thomas Martin, 2 of 3 for 5,000 pounds;

--- **1780** Ship Diana bonder Thomas Martin, 1 of 3 for 20,000 pounds, owner Thomas Martin half owner with George Wentworth.

Martin soon sold his 2000-acre uninhabited Peabody Valley tract for 1,200 pounds, on 4/27/1779. The sale was to mega - merchant John Brown of Providence, Rhode Island. To soon sell was not considered ungrateful to the grantor – the land was only meant as mundane military pay.

For sixty-one years, 1779 to 1840, the deed to Martins Location was held by the wealthy Browns *outside* of New Hampshire. As noted above perhaps that lack of proximity contributed to tiny Martin Location's proof of ownership getting mixed up or lost by 1824, when the state granted most of the *same land* to Daniel Pinkham – it cannot be granted twice, an error to be exploited by John Bellows as the tourism era promised profits.

For John Brown there is a full biography, more in-depth than the few details on first owner Martin. This is the 2006 *Sons of Providence* by Charles Rappleye, noted by historian Doris Kearns Goodwin as a *"terrific study and a splendid work of history."*

Brown was born in 1736 and lived until 1803, a close generational match to Thomas Martin. Brown was a founder of Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, and at one time the richest man in that state. His wealth was based on real estate but even more so on maritime ventures and slave trading.

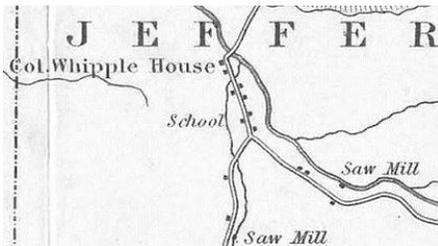


Like Martin in coastal Portsmouth, during the Revolution Brown bankrolled naval harassment of British shipping from near coastal Providence. While Brown and Martin were both on the Patriot side, biographer Rappleye tells us that Brown *"wheels and deals with the Continental Congress and Washington's army, finding areas to profit while the nation wallows in privation."*

In the Brown biography there is no mention of the specific purchase of Martins Location – the 2000-acre tract was probably too small. But the biography does state *"beginning in 1780, John went on a real estate buying spree... most of the properties John obtained were bargains."* He had purchased Martins Location on 1779.

Author Rappleye tells us that Brown “plunged deeply into a real estate venture in the Adirondack region of northern New York,” a massive 1795 purchase there of 210,000 acres. These acquisitions were in what Brown thought would be the path of pioneer settlement. We may assume the same motive for his remote Ellis River Valley and Peabody River Valley investments, promising increasing land values.

On the same date in 1779 as his purchase of six years old Martin’s Location, Brown buys the Rogers, Wentworth and Treadwell Location segment of future Jackson, first created in 1774. It is noteworthy that the Rogers, Wentworth and Treadwell Location encompasses the northwest section of Jackson, holding *the two access routes* north into the Peabody Valley, the adjacent Ellis River and Wildcat River Valleys. Jackson Historian Alice Pepper’s remark on early grant turnover: “*The grants were sold and resold by speculators, usually in Portsmouth, before anyone came to live in the area.*”



To Thomas Martin, Collector of Customs, Portsmouth, N. H., from
Secretary of the Navy

[PHILADELPHIA]

Navy Department December 12th 1798

THOMAS MARTIN Esq^r
Portsmouth N. H.

SIR It is intended that Cap^t Adams in the revenue Cutter *Scammel*, should sail on a Cruise without delay, to the West Indies. I have the honor to request that you will give Cap^t Adams notice of this,

In Portsmouth Martin was a political rival for federal appointments with Colonel Joseph Whipple of Jefferson. (Above excerpt from the 1858 Boardman Map shows the Colonel Whipple House in Jefferson). A pioneer in Jefferson, Whipple’s early home was the destination and first “civilization” encountered westerly by 1784 explorer Jeremy Belknap as he exited the then uninhabited Peabody River Valley.

In 1789 Martin was appointed by President Washington to the new US Customs Service, serving in his native Portsmouth. The Portsmouth Athenaeum characterizes Martin as a “collector of customs and ship-owner.” When in 1862 Charles Brewster created his list of “Famous Old Portsmouth Men” Thomas Martin was included.

A year after Martin was given Peabody Valley land, Governor Wentworth created “Greens Location,” that title revised thereafter to “Greens Grant,” adjacent to Martins Location on its south. Born in Boston in 1742, Green was ten years younger than Martin, part of a wealthy Boston family, high society there and a Harvard University graduate as well.

Like Thomas Martin, Lieutenant Francis Green of Boston had provided military service during the French and Indian war. He took title to his new land unit in 1774. At 2,032 acres, Greens Grant was just 32 acres larger than Martins Location adjacent on the north. Its original survey states “*beginning at a Beech tree standing on the south boundary line of Thomas Martins Location.*” The standard, if unrealistic, land grant conditions were applied, build roads, induce settlers, etc. Settlers were not interested in this area this early.



Portrait of Francis Green from Findagrave.com

Soon entering Revolutionary political times, Green was sympathetic to the American view as to the evils of taxation without representation. However, while serving in the British military, he had sworn an oath of loyalty to the King. Gentleman Green gave that commitment his priority, an oath back then could not be set aside temporarily. Most of his Boston upper social strata remained loyal to Britain as well.

With the British in Boston, surrounded by George Washington’s troops, in 1776 Green and a large flotilla of ships fled to Halifax by sea. In 1777 Green is back, in the loyalist bastion

of New York City. It is ironic that while there he used his wealth to help bankroll loyalist naval defense, just as Martin north in Portsmouth was bankrolling patriot naval raiders.

After the war loyalists including Green applied to the British government for compensation for their American property losses. Road work and cultivated land, but not raw woodland, were eligible for compensation. Green not making a claim for any cultivated land correlates well with other evidence that his Greens Grant unit was uninhabited this early.

From *Eleven Exiles* by Phyllis Blakeley: *“Francis Green was truly a loyalist and was awarded an allowance of 150 pounds per annum from the Treasury, and 40 pounds for the sum he had expended for making a road on the 2,032 acres {precise acreage confirms this is Greens Grant} he had received in New Hampshire for his services as a Veteran in the Seven Years’ War. And which he had valued at twenty shillings an acre.”*

On that first road from historian Randall Bennett: *“In 1774... the Province of New Hampshire hired John Evans of Fryeburg to head up a work team to construct a road between Conway and Shelburne through the Eastern Pass {early name for Pinkham Notch}.”* Evans lived 1731-1807 and had a background as Fryeburg, Maine’s surveyor of highways by 1767.

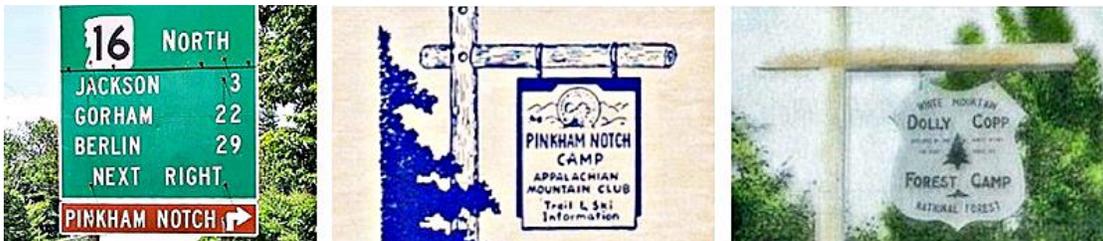
As a British sympathizing Tory, Green moves to Canada. Then after the war when tempers had cooled, Green moved back to the U.S. He spends his last years in Medford, Massachusetts, just north of Boston, not far from Reading where I grew up.

In 1784 Reverend Jeremy Belknap undertook an exploratory trip thru the largely unknown Peabody Valley. Starting northward from his home near coastal Portsmouth, NH, explorer Belknap (portrait courtesy of the New Hampshire Historical Society) and his party lodged in Rochester, NH.



Hayes Copp’s father Dodavah was 17 when the next morning, the group passed what became the Copp Bridge over the Salmon Falls River very close to his father’s farm in Lebanon, Maine. They continued north to dine at David Copp’s tavern in Wakefield, NH.

David was a *first cousin* to Peabody Valley pioneer Hayes Copp’s grandfather Samuel Copp south in Lebanon, Maine. Leaving Wakefield northbound, Belknap and his party continue on to what will become Jackson, NH. There, Benjamin Copp, the earliest Jackson settler, was *another first cousin* to Hayes’ grandfather Samuel Copp. Thus the Belknap party twice visits with Hayes Copp’s pioneer relatives.



Later landmarks along **Jeremy Belknap’s** 1784 expedition route

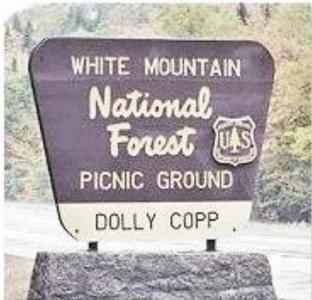
Continuing from Belknap’s journal: *“Proceeded along the old Shelburne Road, full of wind falls and mires, and overgrown with bushes. Three fourths of a mile further brought us to our proposed encamping ground, which is near a meadow, in which Ellis River and a branch of the Androscoggin {Peabody River} have their heads. Consequently, we are at the height of land {Pinkham Notch} between Saco and Androscoggin waters.”*



Jeremy Belknap **camped** at Pinkham Notch in 1784, experiencing what many tent campers can well relate to: *“The rain increased and continued all night. Our tent leaked, and our fire decayed; but, by frequent attention, we kept it alive, and so continued to lay that we avoided being wet.”*

Most of the explorers in the party then climbed Mount Washington. But not portly Belknap. They then proceed downstream along the Peabody, on Evans' 1774 Shelburne Road, built only ten years earlier but obviously not maintained. *“We set out, about 9 o'clock... proceeded down the Peabody River, keeping it on our left, after having crossed it near its source. This is the Shelburne Road, which has not been travelled for some years, and is grown up with bushes and filled with wind-falls, the bridges broke, and the mires deep.*

After travelling about 6 miles, at 1 o'clock we found the road cut off by the River, which, in some violent flood, had changed its course more to the east, leaving the old channel on the opposite side dry, as far as we could see.” Historian Frederick Kilbourne in his 1916 *Chronicles of the White Mountains* records a great flood in the Peabody Valley in October of 1775, perhaps the cause of the watercourse disruption encountered in 1784.



Belknap's reference to the barrier at about 6 miles north of Pinkham Notch places him along the Peabody near the entrance sign to today's Dolly Copp Picnic Ground. *“Here we sat down and dined, while our pilot went back to reconnoiter, and soon returned, reporting that the place where we should have crossed the river was about 100 rods back.”* Can we say the first picnic in the Picnic Ground was in 1784?

Back-tracking 100 rods (16.5 feet in a rod) takes the explorers near today's South Imp Trail entrance. Belknap's Peabody River crossing point is thus estimated to be between Daniel Pinkham's 1830 Peabody Bridge location at the north end of today's Rangers Pool and its replacement 1860 Peabody River bridge location at the south end of today's Dolly Copp Campground.

“We then went back, crossed the River, and took another old road, which had once been cut, but was now filled, and travelled with much difficulty, at the rate of a mile and a half an hour, one going before with an ax. Met with a shower, which wet us to the skin; found ourselves deceived as to the distance, and were obliged to encamp in the woods, and turn our horses out to browse the bushes.” Can we say the first Dolly Copp campers?

The explorers then arrive at Colonel Whipple's, the early pioneer in a newly settled area in what would become in 1796 Jefferson, NH. From Dr. Cutler of the party on the visit there: *“A sermon was delivered by Dr. Belknap to an audience of thirty-eight persons, the first sermon ever preached there, and eight children were baptized.”*

For the return trip, proceeding counterclockwise around the Presidential Range, Belknap and his party cross the Ammonoosuc River and its branches, arriving at the Western Notch, now known as Crawford Notch, Pinkham Notch then the Eastern Notch.

Travelling easterly, south of the Presidential Range, downgradient along the Saco River, they arrive at newly settled Stark's Grant, that unit to be consolidated by 1790 into Bartlett, NH. From Belknap's journal: *“At night got to Enoch Emery's and lodged there.”* Enoch's fifth child Nathaniel, his birth still five years ahead, will in 1807 become the father of our pioneer heroine Dolly Emery Copp.



4-3. IMP VIEW ATTRACTS TOURISTS

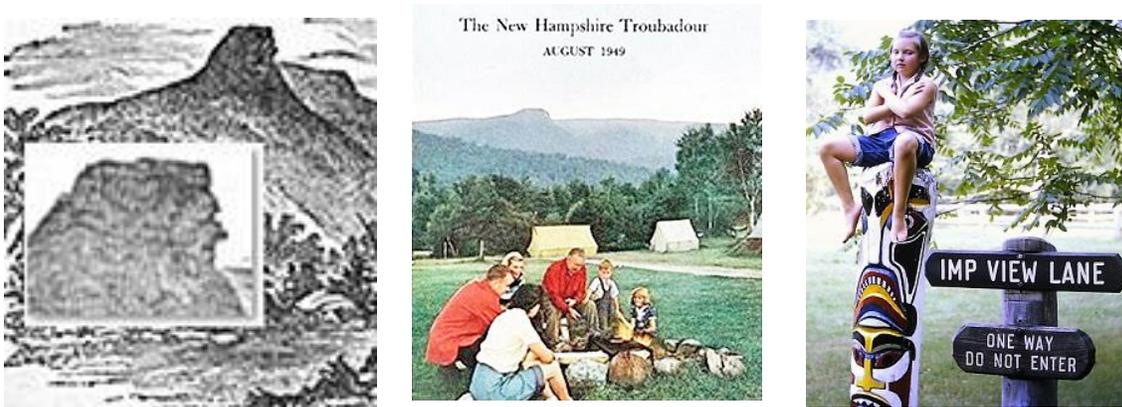


*Imp post cards left 1953 and right 1907 – center **Mike and Julie Hart** in 2019 having morning coffee while viewing the Imp from the Play Field, by then their 23 year tradition, Mike camping at Dolly Copp since 1967*

4-3A. VIEW FROM COPP FARM

The human brain evolved to recognize features in the landscape that imitate parts of the body, especially faces. Faces could be potential threats, survival at stake. As man evolved natural faces were seen as radiating supernatural influence.

Historian Anthony Donahue tells us that the religious centers of ancient Egypt were placed near reflections of divine beings inferred from natural formations. Finding similar thinking closer to home, George Barstow in his 1853 *History of New Hampshire*: “Wherever surpassing excellence appears in the works of nature, the Indian discerns the presence of a divinity.”



At left Imp Profile in Eastman’s 1853 tourist guide with face blown-up; center Profile from Imp View Lane on August 1949 cover of NH Troubadour Magazine; right Carol Matthes Evans at Imp View Lane in 1963

Dictionary: “An imp is a mythological being similar to a fairy or demon, frequently described in folklore and superstition. Imps are often described as mischievous more than seriously threatening.”

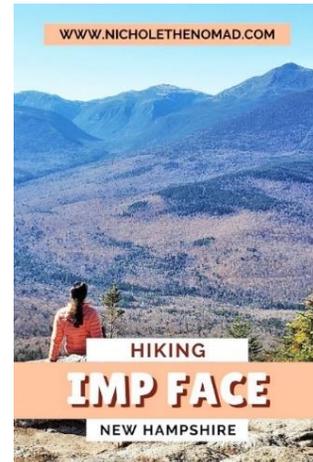
Comment in 2011 on the 1949 *Troubadour* cover by long time camper Margery Cummings Towne: “I have always treasured this picture. National Geographic took it originally and I don’t know how it got in the *Troubadour*. I am sitting in the middle with the blonde hair. Next to me to your left is Bill Robinson and the older couple sitting on each side are his parents.” Comment in 2012 by Jim Carpenter: “The little girl is my mom, Gail Samuelson.”

In the Peabody Valley, the western sidewall of the Carter Range hosts a natural rock face in profile, requiring “just the right angle” for its facial features to come into focus. The best viewing location is precisely the Copp farmhouse. The Imp is not easily viewable from Route

16 itself due to intervening tree canopy, some set back by crossing the Peabody River to open sections of the Dolly Copp Campground needed.

In the short distance north from the Campground's **Imp View Lane** to the Big Meadow section, Imp facial features are obscured. Dare we think settling exactly at the best viewpoint could have been for good luck - Hayes' 1826 choice of available Pinkham lots – enjoying the benign influence radiated by a natural feature? Or, seen as a more pragmatic property asset, which in twenty-five years from 1826 *it indeed becomes*.

The first we hear of what will soon be known as the Imp is in 1849, when Peabody Valley tourism promoter John Bellows writes to railroad president Josiah Little praising the natural marvels in the Peabody Valley: “*You would have seen visibly the **Profile view of Dragoon, or Cat Head Mountain**, no less a perfect representation of the human face than the far famed Old Man of the Mountains seen at Franconia Notch, and I can not say this may not be equally as old, but not so long known as one of natures favored curiosities {underlines in his original}.*”



Perhaps the reach into the animal kingdom for the early name Camel's Rump for nearby Pine Mountain was of a similar vein to the early use of Cat Head Mountain for the Imp Profile.

The name 'Imp' does not appear in the earliest post tourist train arrival report on the profile, which is in a *Portland Transcript* article in **1851**: “*We pass the road which turns off to the mountain farm, where may be seen an '**old man of the mountains**' cut in the mountain rock.*” Similar for *A Day in the Pinkham Notch* in the 7/17/1852 *Boston Literary Journal*, on the journey south from Gorham to the Glen House:

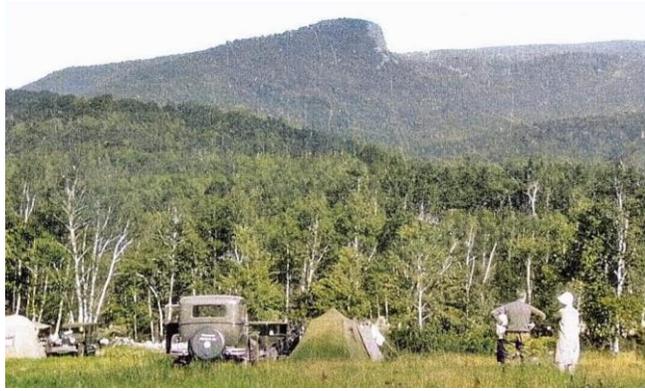
“*You may also, if you choose, make a detour, crossing the river by a rather dangerous bridge, to see a **Profile Old Man of the Mountain**. A sort of rival candidate, - this Granite State of New Hampshire is a great place for candidates, you know, - a sort of rival candidate for public attention and favor, with the veritable and genuine Franconia Old Man of the Mountain. You will find this Old Man, however, not half so great a curiosity as the **old woman** who shows him.*”

“Old woman” Dolly was just 45. The rigors of pioneer farm life may have aged our former ‘Belle of Bartlett’ rapidly. In 1832 English commentator Frances Trollope offered that the immense tasks performed by American pioneer women led them to “lose their beauty” by age 30.

The 1852 account continuing: “*She has lived in the house which stands at the **best point of view to see him** for a quarter of a century.... She will tell you that she has never seen the Franconia Old Man, but she thinks that he must be great if he can beat this Old Man. We wish we could agree with her.*”

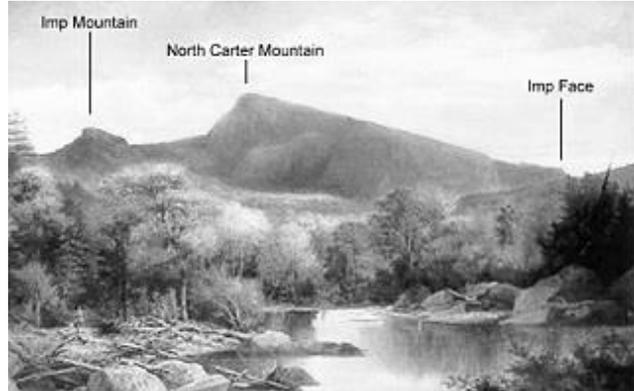
View east from Campground to Imp Face in 1928 – colorized by David Veit

Moving on to the **1853** *Guide Book of the Atlantic and Saint Lawrence Railroad* by Sylvester Breakmore Beckett: “An object of interest to the curious between the Alpine and Glen Houses is a **grotesque figure or sphinx**, colossal in its proportions, formed by the crags of Imp Mountain {incorrect mountain cited, the Imp Profile is a spur of North Carter Mountain, see below}.



Imp and North Carter Mountains from the Peabody River in Gorham by John Mix Stanley - source whitemountainart.com

In order to get to the **point of observation**, the excursionist must cross the bridge about a mile and a half below the Glen House, where the old post road turns off towards Randolph, and proceed thence a quarter of a mile or so down the left bank of the river, to the **first farm house**.



The image looks up the valley, as if on duty as a sentry, but like a sentry who has become dozy through long watchfulness. Many think it a more wonderful icon than the celebrated ‘Old Man of the Mountain’ at Franconia.” This 1853 description may be reflecting wording of Bellows’ 1849 promotional text which read “no less a perfect representation of the human face than the far famed Old Man of the Mountains seen at Franconia.”

This same year an **1853** *Portland Transcript* cites the proper noun in use today: “On our way to the Glen House we turned off into an old disused turnpike, leading towards Randolph, to get a view of ‘**The Imp**.’ Where if the sun is shining from the right quarter, you see looking out from the lofty peak upon the right, a great stone face, singularly faithful in its features to the liniment’s of the human countenance. Seen through a pocket telescope the resemblance is surprising, and draws exclamations of delight from all who behold it.

The **good dame of the farm house** is sociable, and never tires of talking of the old man, away up there on the mountain top. As he is her nearest and most steadfast neighbor, she has a great esteem for him. She will be delighted to see you, and will furnish you a cup of excellent milk, telling you as she puts the bit of silver which you offer her into her pocket, that she ‘never taxes anything for a cup of milk.’ She is a contented, genial, old lady, living there with her family, shut out from the great world, and we know you will be delighted to make her acquaintance.”

According to *Place Names of the White Mountains* by Robert and Mary Julyan “it is said that Dolly Copp herself gave the mountain its name”. While no attribution for that statement is provided by the Julyans there is circumstantial evidence for the connection.

First, Dolly’s close association to the Imp was established early, as documented by the 1850’s references. Perhaps her naming of the Imp, a revision from Bellows 1849 “Cat Head Mountain” can be inferred from that close association.

A tightening of the link is found in an 1885 *Appalachia Journal*: “We shall also endeavor to find good water on some slope of Carter Middle and mark a way of egress over **Dolly Copp’s Imp** from Carter north to the Peabody Valley.”

A *Portland Transcript* report of 7/29/1854 on travelling the Glen Road southbound on foot: "Arrived at the half-way watering place... Some distance from this point we turned off on the Randolph road, we get a view of **the Imp**."

B. Took an excellent likeness of the grave gentle man with the stone face, and after obtaining at the farmhouse, a drink of the sweetest milk we ever tasted, we returned again to the Glen Road. It is worth a trip to the White Mountains to walk once through that green bowered road that leads you to the Imp and a glass of that milk."



Moving on to the 1858 *White Mountain Guide Book* by Samuel Eastman: "The point, as we have already said, from which the face with its quaint expression upon the mountain top is seen, is nearly two miles from the Glen House, on the road that diverges from the road to the Alpine House."

A guest invoice dated August 13, 1860 is preserved at today's Glen House (excerpt below). This historic document reveals a strong relationship between Glen House management and the Imp.

Days Board,
Seats to Ledger,
 " " *Falls,*
 " " *Imp,* ←
Horses, Mount Washington
Washing,
Sundries,

The grand hotel's invoice form had basic services printed in advance. The charge for two "Days Board" was five dollars. This guest had no charges for "Seats to Imp", a service popular enough to also be printed on the form.

In 1861 soon to be famous author Louisa May Alcott leaves the Alpine House south to see the Imp and visit Dolly: "Come, Tot, put on your habit and ride up **to see the Imp** before tea."

From the 1874 *Handbook of the Boston and Maine Railroad* referencing Garnet Pools: "About one and one half miles beyond, by crossing the bridge to the left, the point is reached near a farmhouse {Copp's} where the singular appearance of a distorted human face is seen on a peak of Imp Mountain {referencing again the incorrect mountain}."

An advertisement for the Glen House appears in *Summer Excursions for 1875 via the Lehigh Valley Railroad* which served primarily New York and Pennsylvania. "This widely known favorite summer resort will be reopened June 17, 1875.... This fine establishment occupies a most picturesque location in the beautiful valley of the Peabody River." The ad cites the nearby Imp among its "other drives of especial interest:"

THE SUMMIT

(The buildings of which can be distinctly seen from the Piazza of the Glen House) is reached one hour quicker than from any other house in the mountains. Other drives of especial interest are to

GLEN ELLIS FALLS, CRYSTAL CASCADE AND THE IMP.

Then from Osgood's *Handbook* of 1876: "The Imp is a 'grotesque colossal sphinx' which appears on one of the peaks of the Carter Range... and having a weird resemblance to a distorted human face. This appearance is best observed at late afternoon, and **from the Copp's farm**, two miles north of the Glen House, on the old road to Randolph west of the Peabody River." The 1887 *Ticknor Guidebook* then includes similar language to Osgood's.

Samuel Drake in his **1882** *The Heart of the White Mountains*: “Travelers going up or down, between the Glen House and Gorham, usually **make a detour as far as Copp’s**, in order to view the Imp to better advantage than can be done from the road. The road a few rods back from the house, {slight climb up what was then a sloped and open pasture, still there of course} the best point from which to see it.



Left, drawing in Drake’s 1882 book; below, close-up of Imp Profile by permission of hiking blogger John Compton, stating “this “in-your-face” view of the Imp Face profile was obtained by leaving the trail about a tenth of a mile from the top of the Imp Face Cliff, and then bushwhacking southward to a small ledge located about 200 feet below the traditional on-trail viewpoint.”



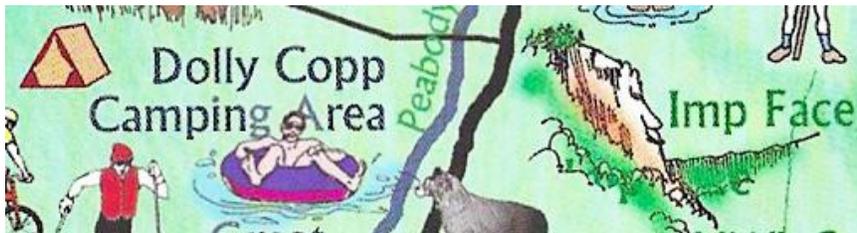
Glen House Book of **1889**: usual description, then “a strong, clear light behind it is necessary to bring out all the features, the mouth especially, in bold relief against the sky, - when the expression is certainly weird enough to justify the name it has received.”

From the **1893** book *Through the Wilds* by Charles Farrar: “In the evening, while sitting on the piazza {Glen House}, and talking over their future movements, they concluded to walk back to Gorham, it being only eight miles, and visit the **Copp farm house** on the way, from which the best view of the ‘Imp’ is obtained.”

From the AMC Guidebook of **1907**: “The Imp is a spur of North Carter Mountain and has no path. It can be climbed from the Gorham – Glen House road six miles from Gorham. Best view of the Profile is obtained from the Copp place on the west side of the Peabody River.”

When the Martins Location Peabody River bridge was relocated north in 1950, access to the historic Imp viewing point at Copp’s became a much slower, dead-end drive through Dolly Copp Campground. Due to this access change the classic Imp view could no longer be easily accessed by a quick diversion from Route 16.

The barrier introduced by such time-consuming access may account for the Imp’s more subdued reputation today. That is, outside of the Campground community and its Facebook group, where photos of the Imp are often posted.



*But not forgotten - Campground and Imp
on excerpt from 2024 Gorham Tourism Brochure*

4-3B. LODGING FOR HIKERS AND TOURISTS

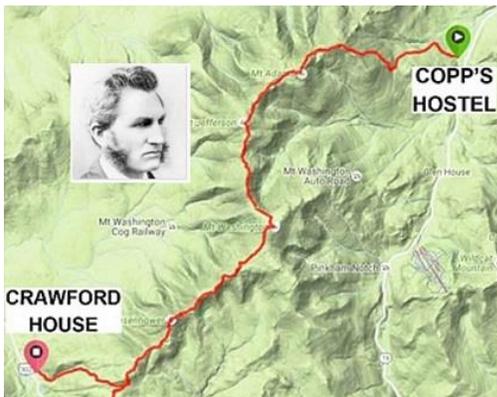
A significant theme in Copp lore is the renting of rooms. In their case not so much to travelers, the surviving data indicate primarily to post - 1851 railroad arriving hikers and tourists. The Copsps were not alone. In a broad pattern, many rural New England scenic and agricultural areas began attracting summer visitors. Shrewd residents like Dolly welcomed this economic opportunity.



From Howard Russell's 1975 *Three Centuries of Farming in New England*: "The increasing influx of visitors brought many an up-country farm family a lucrative market for milk, cream especially, eggs and vegetables. And a welcome income also from **surplus rooms** in the farm dwelling." Three of the four Copp children had moved out of the house by 1860, freeing up sleeping quarters for the booming tourist business.

In 1927 George Cross linked Dolly to the tourist trade: "Keen eyed Dolly quickly saw the significance of the coming of the 'city folks.'" He records a business relationship with the Glen House: "The house demanded more and more of the products of Dolly's skillful hands, and filled those eager hands with ready money." Perhaps Dolly's handicrafts were also sold from her home to tourists viewing the Imp.

In overview of those lodging at Copps, most of the recorded visitors had an interest in recreational hiking. In the Cross account, Eugene B. Cook (1830 – 1915), an early president of the Appalachian Mountain Club, was at some point a storm bound overnight guest at Copps. Another visiting hiker was student Nathaniel Southgate Shaler (photo inset below) who lived from 1841 to 1906.



In 1861 Shaler was a brilliant summa cum laude (highest distinction) student at Harvard University in Cambridge aside Boston. According to his autobiography for relief of stress after oral exams, Shaler made a quick trip from Boston to the White Mountains for some hiking:

*"I took a train, alone, for the White Mountains, stayed a day or two at a **curious hostel known as 'Dolly Copp's'** near the Glen House, and then walked over Mount Washington to the **Crawford House**. Three days having given me my breath and sense of balance I returned to Cambridge."*



A naturally strategic location for Presidential Range tourism and hiking, the site of the Crawford House is in heavy use today as the Appalachian Mountain Club's Highland Center.

Photo at left credited to John Compton with his comment "*northward view that features Crawford Depot left, at center AMC's Highland Center, and at right Saco Lake.*"

For this Harvard student the Copp's rooms were seen as a hostel. That term is defined as "*an establishment which provides inexpensive food and lodging for a specific group of people, such as students, workers, or travelers.*" And "curious" is an intriguing choice of words for us to ponder!

A representative of family style visiting was Ohio's touring Drew Family, boarding at the Copp farm during the summer of **1874**. Still living at home then, the youngest child Daniel Copp falls in love with the Drew's daughter. A Cross embellishment: "*It needed only moonlight rambles along the river bank, fire lit chats in the living room in autumn, for Lizzie Drew to learn that 'nor frock nor tan can hide the man.'*" Then again that may be just what happened!

Tourist book author Samuel Adams Drake writing in **1882**: "*The house, as we see by Mistress Dolly Copp's register, has been known to many generations of tourists.*" While George Cross in his 1927 booklet on the Copps also mentions an old guest register * he was known to embellish. No such reputation has followed Drake. Perhaps in gathering his

1927 material, Cross had read Drake's 1882 account, and not seen the guest register himself.

* A 2016 presentation by Plymouth State University broadens the inquiry into Dolly's register. Was the register simply for Imp viewing tourists who came by and signed or was it solely an overnight guest register?

IMP COTTAGE: Dolly had been associated with the Imp since the early 1850s. In the 1870s her welcoming accommodations acquire the nickname "Imp Cottage." At that time the term cottage doubled as denoting a small tourist inn. As we might view that name today, good marketing to attract a market segment of tourists.

Historian D. B. Wight: "August 20, 1879 – *Evergreen Cottage, Gorham - situated on Gorham Hill it commands one of the finest views of Madison, Adams and Carter Dome. The rooms are large, and well arranged for families.*" And of course, our own Site #2 "Glen Cottage", the small annex for the Site #1 Glen House, was close by Copp's.

Documenting use of the term for Copp's the earliest is from an **1874** scientific report on insects, in this case butterflies: "*Mrs. Dolly Copp, of 'Imp Cottage', well known to many frequenters of 'the Glen', relates how she has taken more than fifty on the inside of her windows in a single morning.*"

There is also an **1876** reference in the *AMC Journal*: "*Ascending Madison by a steady slope, from Imp Cottage, Dolly Copp's, six kilometers' northwest, this path will furnish a new and desirable way of reaching the Alpine summits from the Peabody Valley.*"

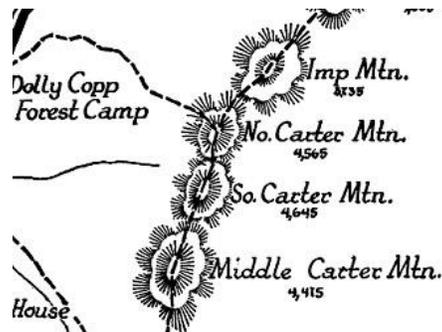
Then the *AMC Journal* of **1884** retells the story of an 1865 trip by members of the Massachusetts Alpine Club to the White Mountains: "*We drove to the Waumbek House {built in 1860 west of Martins Location in Jefferson, NH} and dined, and at a little before five started again for Imp Cottage, {may be term as used in 1884 not 1865} or Dolly Copp's, at the foot of Mt. Madison, by the way of the old Pinkham Notch Road, then in a very rough condition... The next morning, we had promised, if the day favored, to return to Dolly Copp's by a route that had never been traveled before in its entire extent by women.*"

The following inexpensive inns are within easy marches of each other: N. Conway, the Washington House, N. Conway House ; Jackson (9 M.), Trickey's Jackson Falls House ; Copp's farm-house (14 M.), 3 M. beyond the Glen House; Gorham, Eagle House; Mt.-Adams House (11 M. from Gorham, 10 M. from Copp's); Jefferson Hill (6 M.), Jefferson Hill

Excerpt from the 1876 Osgood's White Mountains Handbook on hiking between 'Copp's farm-house' and other "inexpensive inns" – nowhere in the old guidebooks is their home featured as a stopover for the general travelling public

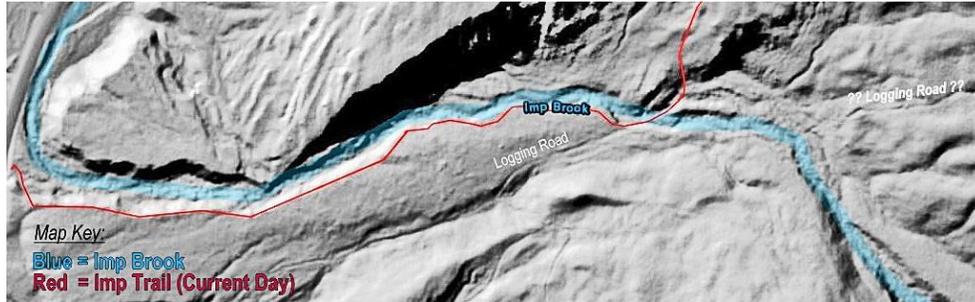
4-3C. HIKE EAST FROM COPP FARM TO IMP

Standing atop the Imp Profile you are at an elevation of 3,165 feet on a western spur of North Carter Mountain. The Imp Profile is not to be confused with significantly higher Imp Mountain, a peak on the Carter – Moriah Ridge about one- and one-half miles to the north.



At left **old logging road** crosses *Imp Brook* on 1918 USFS Map; at right 1938 map shows *Dolly Copp Forest Camp's* access to **Carter Range**

Near the Copp Farm there was access to the Imp. This is documented in an **1883** *Appalachia Journal* article entitled "A Visit to the *Imp Face*:" "Starting one morning in October from the {Randolph, NH} Ravine House, with Mr. Laban Watson we drove to Mrs. Copp's, near the bridge over the Peabody River, on the old Pinkham Road, where we left our team, and, walking to the Glen road, entered the woods **by a logging way**, a few feet to the south of the meeting of the roads {the 1860 bridge crossing, remnants visible today}."



Map courtesy of John Compton – Jon Chew to John Compton 2023: "We both have fun with White Mountain hobbies. Fortunately for me they overlap. Thank you for your many fine contributions!"

Compton: "Superimposed over penetrating to ground LIDAR radar, starting out easterly the North Imp Trail and an old logging road parallel Imp Brook and then cross it - LIDAR data is less help east of the trail and north of Imp Brook as there are locations where erosion, the passage of time, etc., obliterate all traces of old roads."

Continuing from the 1883 *Appalachia* description: "The broken and almost vertical sides of the wall give an impression of great height, and add much to the grandeur of the scene. From there we continued our course through the forest, near the edge of the ravine. Following the southern wall, we descended rapidly to its base, and followed the brook. Again we came upon the logging-road, which led us out to the starting-point, the whole excursion having occupied about two and a half hours."

Ravine House driver Laban Watson lived from 1850 to 1936. He is a major figure in the history of Randolph, NH as both host of the Ravine House and a leading trail builder. He spoke at the dedication of the Campground's Dolly Copp Memorial in 1933.



Andy Cummings aside dirt Route 16 in 1936

According to Mike Dickerman's 2013 *White Mountains Hiking History* "Cutter described the young **Watson** as being 'tall and broad shouldered, with muscle, endurance, and wit strengthened in the school of the farm and the logging camp, a lover of horses and a fierce driver.'"

Watson drove 1927 author George Cross across the rocky Peabody when the circa 1860 bridge was washed out.

By 1907 there was as yet no formalized trail to the Imp as documented in that year's AMC Guide: "*Imp Profile*, sometimes called the *Imp*, is a spur of North Carter and has no path. It can be climbed from the Gorham – Glen House Road six miles from Gorham. Best view of the Profile is obtained from the Copp place on the west side of the Peabody River."

In his authoritative *Outline of Trail Development in the White Mountains* the late Guy Waterman provides trail origin dates: 1929 the northern half of the Imp Trail circuit, 1930 southern half of the Imp Trail circuit, 1934 North Carter Trail from Imp Trail to North Carter Mountain. For the last item he found some evidence that the eastern link to the ridge top had existed in 1911 but deteriorated and was not functioning between 1921 and 1930.

A 1937 USGS map includes the full Imp Trail Circuit, the northern of its two Route 16 trailheads directly across from the Picnic Ground, since relocated and entering the forest from the south side rather than the north side of Imp Brook.



Top view 1938 west from Imp to Campground – more of the old farm fields were visible before the tree canopy closed in.



Bottom view 2020 same viewpoint courtesy of Emily Brown Pearson - Emily's father Bob Brown recalls that south of Big Meadow, in the early fifties, the Imp could be seen continuously from the main campground road.

Long time camper William Flynn in 2020: "What I notice so very often in

the old photos is that the tops of the trees aren't so high as today and one could see so much more of the mountains."

ANOTHER VIEW: While the Copp Farm was long assumed by tourist literature to be the only viewing point for the Imp Profile, there is an exception. A *second*, more remote viewing point is described in the 1883 *Appalachia Journal* article: "Our little party of that day, exploring the Imp Face that is on one of the lower buttresses of Carter Mountain, with Mr. L. M. Watson of Randolph, ascended Carter Mountain from the Face."

Well to the east of the Face on its far side, they then "obtained a view of the Imp Face seen in profile, and presenting **exactly the same countenance** as that seen from the Copps Farm on the Pinkham road to Randolph."



Rare view west of Imp Profile by leading White Mountains hiking blogger John Compton (photo). An avid photographer and trail maintainer, John has contributed much to this research.

Enjoy his inventory of past posts at 1happyhiker.blogspot.com - newer posts are available to John's Facebook followers.

John Compton comments on his hard to obtain photo of this view: "I had an 'imp'ulse to get **another perspective of the Imp** by bushwhacking to a ledge that I had spotted while sitting atop the Imp Face cliff on my earlier hike. Getting to the ledge involved on-trail hiking to the far eastern portion of the Imp Trail, and then bushwhacking to the south wall of the upper end of the Imp Brook Ravine."

4-4. BUSTLING DOLLY COPP FARM



Circa 1854 view of Copp Farmhouse courtesy of Randall Bennett, former Director of the Bethel, Maine Historical Society

4-4A. HOMESITE FEATURES

In 2004 USFS Historical Archeologist Sarah Jordan wrote this valuable commentary on the characteristics of the Copp house: *“It was of the most popular type of connected farmhouse for the period, a one-story, two-rooms-deep Cape Cod style house, probably with a central chimney. From 1760 to 1830, during the major period of pioneer settlement in the areas where connected farms became popular, these houses were the most common choice of settlers for their major dwelling.*

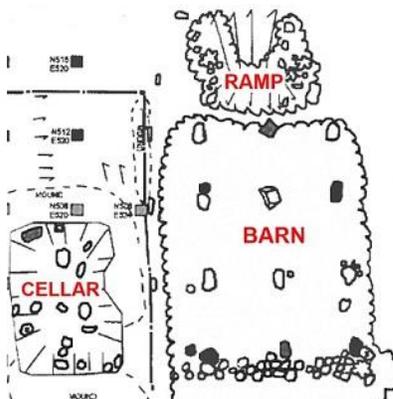
With the addition of the ell, the kitchen would have been moved out of the main house and the ell would have become the center for farm production and industry, particularly for Dolly and her daughter Sylvia.

*It is not clear if the **ell was an earlier small house** that was converted to the kitchen when the larger main house was built, or if the large house was built first and the kitchen ell added on to accommodate a new stove and connect the house and barn.”*



BARN, CELLAR AND GARDEN: Sarah Jordan continuing: *“There is no historical description of the Copp barn, but surviving remnants include the entrance ramp on the north side, fifteen post foundation stones, and the fieldstone south wall foundation... The barn appears to have been the standard three bay alignment and gable end entrance of a New England barn.*

Above 1990s view south of barn ramp since grown in; below excerpt from 2004 archaeological study annotated, north at top



In the 1919 book *Turnpikes of New England* the cellar hole was still a landmark: The Copps *“lived in a house the cellar of which is yet to be seen near the bridge over the Peabody River.”*

Fifties AMC employee Casey Hodgson comments: *“It was likely a small root cellar, storing potatoes, turnips and other farm produce. Such storage areas were naturally cool in summer and sufficiently above freezing in winter, typical of farm homes of that era.”*

In 1927 George Cross observed flowers still growing in what had been the garden of the Copp homesite. He noted apple trees still here that year: *“As you wander about the old Copp farm today you will note the rows of gnarled, decaying tree trunks where Dolly had her fine apple orchard behind the house.”*

A few years later in the 1938 *Guide to New Hampshire* prepared by the Federal Writers' Project: *“The remnants of their apple orchard are visible behind the foundations.”* Author Frank A. Burt writing in 1960 documented Dolly's old apple trees still growing here then. I remember a couple very gnarled ones surviving into the nineties.



Above Carol Matthes Evans' photos of apples and resulting Dolly Apple Pie served when fellow hosts have a party; below Copp Farm hillside iron water pipe relic given to me by Casey Hodgson



Carol writing in 2022: *“I have a half dozen 'secret' apple trees around the campground that I collect apples from and have made a Dolly Apple Pie every year for the past few years. The trees are all of different varieties - the apples go from really good to not so good taste-wise, so I have my favorites. It's now an annual tradition!”*

WATER SUPPLY AND SANITATION: To the rear of High Fields camp sites 112 and 113 a small brook flows easterly. The Copp's drinking water source, water from here easily reached the homestead through gravity and an iron pipe. Casey Hodgson said an arrangement such as this was typical for farms of the Copp era, brook water piped underground to limit freezing. Related evidence is the notation on the 1915 *USFS Sketch Map* at the Copp home site *“water pipe in south wall of ruins”*, compatible orientation for an eastbound flow off the hillside to the west.



At left circa 1854 **water trough** southwest of Copp Home; at right 1915 USFS Sketch Map north at left with notation **“water pipe in south wall of ruins”**

The circa 1854 homestead photo shows easterly flow ending at a metal water trough located across the road from the house. Perhaps the pipe was extended under the road to reach the house after 1854. Or both existed and the outdoor basin was for animal use. A camper's moving memory:

“As children, my brother and sister and I loved to catch fire flies and release them down by a falling-apart stone structure behind our camp site in New Hampshire. Dolly Copp, an early settler to this location in the White Mountains had constructed a well-like structure to capture the water of a stream and then pipe it to her homestead downhill.



Over the years as we returned to the camp site, we watched as the structure became less recognizable as it tumbled apart. I tried to capture that structure at one stage of its existence in my own garden.

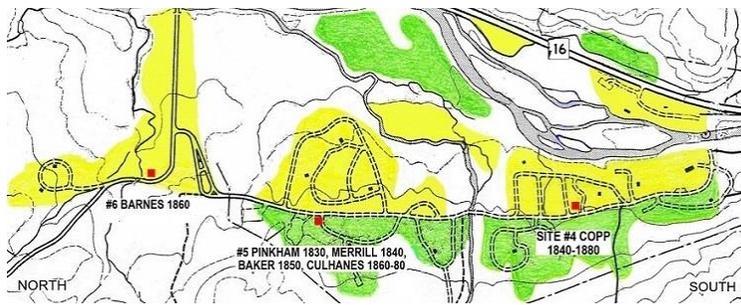
I stopped moving the stones about when they seemed to 'disappear' – when they had blended into the universe comfortably with no need to speak individually for themselves.” - Katzlator (photo) on her radiantrefuge blog.

As for the sanitary needs of tourists stopping by to view the Imp, as horse drawn carriage travel was slow, they could not necessarily speed on to Gorham or quickly get back to the Glen House for restroom needs. Consider also guests at the Glen House that might walk the 2.8 miles north to Dolly's for the view of the Imp. From the 1858 *Eastman's Guide*: “*The point from which the face with its quaint expression upon the mountain top is seen, is nearly two miles from the Glen House... It would be, also, a pleasant afternoon walk.*”

Robert Sanford in his *Reading Rural Landscapes* describes farm privies in the Copp's era as “*frequently between the house and the barn. Many barns also had a privy at one end.*” Other sources suggest the generalized location was a corner of any connecting ell nearest the barn.

4-4B. PRODUCTS OF THE FARM

The first federal Census of Agriculture was taken in 1850. Recorded were two active farms in Martins Location, that of Hayes Copp on Site #4 and adjacent on the north that of Site #5 John Baker. The Samuel Copp farm, he and his family forced out in 1848 and now owned by entrepreneur John Bellows, must have been dormant, as not noted in the 1850 agricultural summary.



Farmland categories transferred from 1915 USFS Sketch Map – fields yellow or lighter, pastures green or darker – white woods - superimposed over 1988 campground roads

Baker's 1850 Census trade was as a painter, almost certainly employed at the new Bellows Hotel; he was only a part-time farmer.

So not surprisingly 1850 farm production by him was much less than for neighbor Hayes Copp. We see that while “improved farm acres” on the two tracts, Sites #4 and #5, were roughly equal, Hayes was well ahead in production. Copp's value of livestock was \$245 versus Baker's \$70, Copp's **Irish Potatoes** \$300 to \$40, butter \$300 to \$100, value of homemade manufactures \$40 for Copp and for Baker \$0.

Potatoes were a major crop in New Hampshire's North Country. The 1849 *Gazetteer of NH* on “production of the soil” in Gorham: buckwheat 321 bushels; **potatoes** 4,597 bushels, hay 216 tons, wool 393 pounds, maple sugar 3,525 pounds.

The 1882 *History of Shelburne* comments on early agriculture there: “*Corn, potatoes, wheat and rye grew abundantly on the new soil, enriched by the fallen leaves of many centuries.*”

From the 9/13/1919 *White Mountain Echo*: “*The possibility of raising fine potatoes at 2,400 feet above sea level was shown by fire warden Victor Leavitt. whose garden on Pine Mountain has been seen by over 300 visitors this summer and afforded potatoes that won first premium.*”

A 1924 comment by George Cross on the soils of the Moose River Valley, characteristics of soils there no doubt similar to those of the adjacent Peabody River Valley:

“The humus of centuries of fallen leaves, rich in potash, was well adapted for bumper crops of potatoes.” (The potato field at right from the 1925 New Hampshire Agricultural Bulletin brings to mind Copp's potato fields).

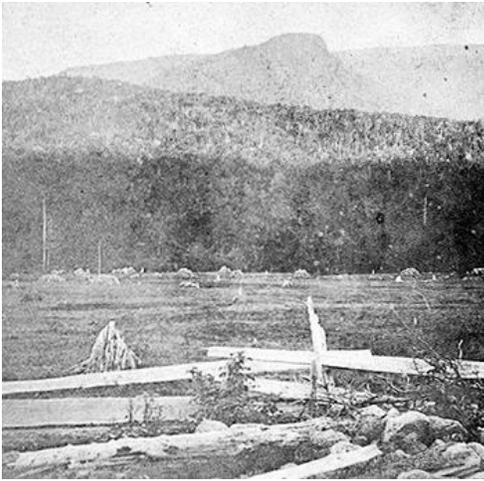


Sarah Jordan of the USFS: *"The primary products produced by the Copps throughout the period covered by the census, as with most farms in the surrounding area, were **Irish Potatoes** and butter."*

*Dolly writing to her Littleton granddaughter in 1880: Your uncle "Nathaniel has been carrying **potatoes** and apples to Gorham."*

From a 2004 overview of Copp farm yields by USFS Historical Archaeologist Sarah Jordan: *"Activities on the farm are documented in the US Census of Agriculture, taken in 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880. Throughout this period, the Copp Farm remained the same size: 200 acres, corresponding with the two lots the Copps eventually sold in 1884. In 1850 and 1860, only 30 of the 200 acres were cleared and farmed.... 30 acres of cleared farmland was about average for the area in 1860.*

The Copp farm appears to have remained fairly stable in production between 1850 and 1860, a period when the three oldest Copp children, born between 1832 and 1838, were still living at home, though they married and left the farm by 1860. Between 1860 and 1870 an additional 20 acres were cleared.



View east to Imp with Copp's south field in foreground, dated 1864 from the Boston Public Library, one panel of dual stereography views, an early form of three-dimensional photography, entitled "Imp Mountain, near the Glen, White Mountains, NH."

The NH Historical Society collection includes this same photo issued as a tourist souvenir card, on reverse written "Mary A. Bellows, White Mountains, 7/14/1864, Profile House."

They also grew hay, oats, and small amounts of wheat and corn. They produced wool, raising 7-11 sheep, and had 9-12 cattle over the span of the four decennial agricultural censuses covering their occupation of the farm. In 1870 and 1880 forest products were quantified in the census, and were a major source of income for the Copps."

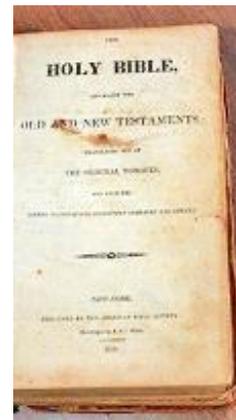
More from Sarah Jordan: *"The 1880 census- the most detailed- specifies that of the 200 acres 30 were tilled cropland, 20 were meadow or pasture, and 150 were unimproved woodland. Although the Copp farm produced similar numbers of crops and products in 1870 and 1880, the estimated value of all farm production fell from \$899 to \$425.*

With values in 1880 less than half what they had been ten years earlier, the Copps could not make the farm economically viable at their current rate of production, which undoubtedly contributed to their sale of the farm, at half its estimated value, four years later."

4-4C. ARTIFACTS, PAINTING, REFERENCES

Researching my genealogy some years ago, my parents and I visited each of their now elderly cousins. For my parents this was a good excuse to renew family relationships when contact had run dry. Me too, but also to catalog whatever remnants of my great grandparents' households were still in existence. A nice trial run for some of the Copp material located for this section.

HANDICRAFTS: A visit to the Copp home is described in the *Gorham Mountaineer* of 3/5/1886: *"I well remember visiting them several year ago, and looking over the curiously arranged parlor, and many works of art which Dolly made in her own hands."*



FURNITURE DOCUMENTED: Stating that he obtained his information from “some of Dolly’s long-ago guests still living,” George Cross in 1927 recorded that “over the fireplace on wooden pins hung two long-barreled guns, one of them with a flint lock. Around the room stood several splint-bottomed chairs.”

1816 BIBLE: Fortunately, well preserved is Dolly’s 1816 Bible (photo above). Back in 1927, genealogist Samuel Copp Worthen accessed its birth dates for the four Copp children. The old Bible is today in a private Gorham Area collection, the owner wishing to remain anonymous, yet allowing me to assure readers that “Dolly’s precious bible is well cared for.”

1821 GRANDFATHER CLOCK: At right is a 2021 photo by Dave Evans of his wife Carol (Matthes) Evans beside Dolly’s clock. There was a note pasted in the clock by Dolly in 1883 as her household was breaking up before she retired to Maine:

“Dear Mr. Burbank: In the year 1821 there were twelve of these clocks brought into the Town of Jackson, State of New Hampshire, and sold for twenty dollars. I bought this one of Esquire Anthony Vincent who then lived on what was afterward called the Carlton Place in Randolph.

It was 48 years ago {thus 1835} last September that I bought it and paid five- and one-half dollars for it. It was for many years an excellent timekeeper – Dolly Copp.” (Her signature below).

According to the *History of Jackson* Anthony Vincent purchased 100 acres in Jackson in 1806. He was Jackson Town Clerk most years between 1813 to 1825. Vincent lived in Randolph after 1826. He witnessed the signatures of Daniel Pinkham and others on an 1836 Pinkham Turnpike Share.



The addressee is John C. Burbank of Gorham who lived from 1851 to 1914. An early family there, his father had been a Gorham selectman at the Town’s founding in 1836, serving alongside Dolly’s Uncle Samuel Emery. According to Wikitree “John C. Burbank was a millwright and machinist and was called **Gorham’s historian**.”

So Dolly’s choice for the 1883 transfer of ownership was thoughtful, likely the key to this antique’s successful preservation. Writing in 1927, George Cross had access to the clock and included the text of Dolly’s handwritten note in his classic booklet that year.

The John C. Burbank’s had one child, Amy M. Burbank, who lived from 1876 to 1961. In the 1920’s, Amy was a milliner with a store in Gorham named the Handicraft Shoppe. In Dolly’s clock under the first note to her father is another note, from daughter Amy, dated 1953:

“My father John C. Burbank bought this clock from Dolly Copp about seventy years ago. He died in 1914 and as his only child I inherited it from him. Now I have sold it to Leo Ray {lived 1891-1973, a great grandson of Elihu Libby and a Gorham selectman in the late fifties} of Gorham, NH as the clock shall stay here where it has been so many years.”

Ownership of the clock then passed through the Libby related Ray Family to Libby descendant Edward J. Reichert who lived 1918 to 2017 and is in the ownership of his estate today.

SPINNING WHEEL: As for Dolly’s skillful handiwork she wrote to her granddaughter in 1880 that “my web is in and I wove eleven yards.” An additional comment by George Cross: “In the corner of the living room at the right stood a rude wooden loom and beside it a large spinning wheel.”

Dolly’s spinning wheel (photo) is housed today at the Gorham Historical Society in the old Gorham Railroad Station - nice displays, worth a visit.



BED WARMING PAN: Dolly's bed warming pan is preserved in a private home in Shelburne.

1880 LETTER: An important view into Dolly's mind is found within a letter she wrote to her eighteen-year-old granddaughter Susan Copp, reproduced ahead.

INHERITANCE: Additional artifacts from the home are cited in an undated letter in the USFS file written by a Copp descendant. The source was one of the grandchildren of Dolly's son Jeremiah:

*"I have Dodiver's **snow shoes**. They are home made of steamed ash and threads of raw deer hide. I have used them but they are ancient." Perspective from madehow.com: "Native American snowshoes were made of a hard wood such as ash. The wood was soaked or steamed to make it pliable then bent into shape.*

*I have a **rattle** that was Jerry's, and some **dishes** that were Sylvia's. I may send them. I wonder why he was called Dodiver – when his name in this town report is Hayes. Some of Dolly's ideas probably – she was the boss.*

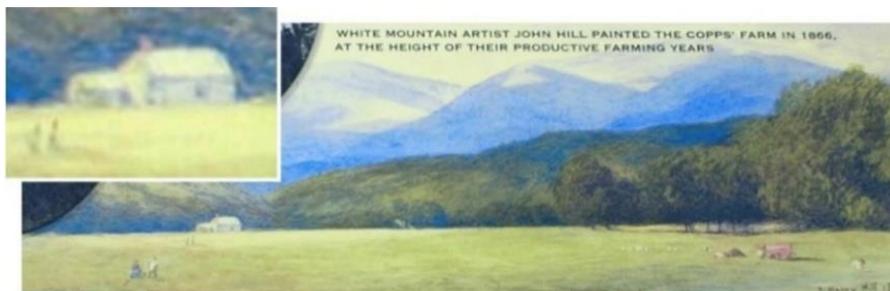
*My mother says when I get the rest of the things together she will hunt up Dodiver's **glasses**. They are funny square with bones with holes to run string in to tie on. There is a small **basket weave bottle** too that was Dolly's.*

*I could leave the **shoes and bulky things** at Weeks and Smith Store, Meredith {NH} any Tuesday, as they come with a truck that day to my door."*

A clue here is that late in his life eldest son Jeremiah Copp lived with his daughter Marcella in Meredith, NH and died there in 1910. The clue in the *History of Meredith*: "During the early 1900s this building housed the Weeks and Smith Store."

1866 PAINTING OF COPP FARM: The tourist appeal of the White Mountains was stimulated by commercial artists and writers. Many first-rate paintings were produced, often converted into lithographs for popular publications. That the Copp's farm rated its own painting by a first-class artist is more evidence that their iconic reputation had by 1866 been established.

By 1866 the lost in winter woods adventure of son Nathaniel had been newspaper syndicated, a book by Edward Everett Hale had praised Hayes Copp, and Louisa May Alcott had written of Dolly's marital problems in a Boston newspaper. Mount Washington itself was rising rapidly as an iconic American symbol replacing Niagara Falls, drawing interest to the adjacent Peabody Valley.



From USFS homesite info panel (photo by John Compton), Copp Farm in 1866 by John Henry Hill (1839 – 1922) with blowup of house inserted



Original John Henry Hill painting in 2023 with DC campers from left Jeff Myshrall, painting owner Rebecca Myshrall, Laura Myshrall and Lacey Boutin



In 1874 John Henry Hill reworked his 1866 painting as a black and white etching

IN THAT ERA'S RESEARCH: Earliest found is an **1874** scientific report entitled *Distribution of Insects in New Hampshire*, mentioning Dolly's experience with the red spotted and purple butterfly known as *Basilarchia Arthemis* (photo at left):



"In the White Mountain region, and in northern New England generally, it is exceedingly abundant. Indeed, the matrons of farmhouses, in the valley of Peabody River, complain of the insects entering the kitchens in such numbers as to be a very nuisance.

One of them, Mrs. Dolly Copp, of 'Imp Cottage', well known to many frequenters of 'the Glen', relates how she has taken more than fifty on the inside of her windows in a single morning."

There is also a reference in the **1877** *Geology of New Hampshire* by Charles Henry Hitchcock, the location of the Copp property useful to surveyors as a landmark: *"In descending from this ridge to **H. D. Copp's** house, in Martins Grant, the most noticeable feature is the introduction of large crystals of staurolite into the rock.... About three fourths of a mile above **Copp's** the same staurolite rock dips 50" S. 53" W. The granitic gneiss makes its appearance a little below **Copp's**.*

*At Gorham the rock is a coarse, massive granitic gneiss. It continues up the Peabody valley for two miles or more, passing into the Concord variety. This occurs, interstratified with the mica schist, nearly as far as **Copp's** house in Martins Grant... Mica schists and granitic gneisses occur between **Copp's** and the Glen House."*

Laura and Guy Waterman commenting on this 1877 source in their 1989 book *Forest and Crag*: *"Hikers keeping to the well groomed trails today but gazing out over the huge slopes of tangled forest can appreciate the kind of travel that Hitchcock and his assistants undertook throughout the range day after day."*

REENACTOR CAROL FOORD: The late Carol Foord lived from 1944 to 2015. As a teacher and naturalist, she educated school children in Maine and New Hampshire for over twenty years. A specialty of interest to us was her captivating representation of hard-working Dolly Copp. Accordingly, Mrs. Foord was the entertaining presenter on many occasions at the Dolly Copp Visitor Center's Saturday night program.

Saturday August 17

Androscoggin District of the White Mountain National Forest. Movie Night, Androscoggin District of the White Mountain National Forest, Movie Night Dolly Copp of Pinkham Notch. A mesmerizing historical reenactment of a North Country icon, presented by Carol Foord. 7 pm at the Dolly Copp Campground. FMI, call the Androscoggin Ranger Station at (603) 466-2713.



Carol in period clothes presented Dolly's story at other locations as well: *"June 10, 2015 - Please join the Friends of the Jackson Public Library as they host Dolly Copp of Pinkham Notch, the Belle of Bartlett as portrayed by Carol Foord of Freedom, NH. Discover how this energetic and tough woman managed to survive difficult economic times to become a beloved local legend."*

4-4D. EDUCATION, VOTING, TAXATION

Public support for grammar schooling in New England was strong early on and well reflected in early New Hampshire law. According to the *History of Jackson* *"in 1818 the state legislature passed a law increasing the school tax and mandating that each town establish a school to teach English grammar, reading, writing, arithmetic and geography. It should be noted that schools were in session for only three or four months in winter."*

Writing in relation to the first schoolhouse in Jackson in 1806, the *History of Jackson* states that *"some years thereafter the town voted to spend only as much as the state required."* Paul Doherty reports that in Gorham *"in 1823 a log school was built, and Miss Mason was hired to teach at a salary of \$1.00 per week."*

Schools, Scholars and Population in 1840 recorded by the 1843 Gazetteer for the USA by Haskel and Smith

1840 NH	Berlin	Ran- dolph	Gorham	Shel- burne	Pinkhams Grant	Jackson	Bartlett	Conway
Schools	2	3	2	3	1	7	4	18
Scholars	42	35	44	111	12	195	258	737
Population	116	115	156	350	39	584	706	1807

Perhaps 1840 Pinkhams Grant resident and sawmill builder Edmund Merrill was the schoolteacher in the sparsely settled Peabody Valley. From the *History of Bethel, Maine*: *"Before his marriage, Edmund Merrill was a schoolteacher and also a teacher of vocal music. He had a fine voice and for many winters taught the old-fashioned evening singing schools."*

With so few students a private residence must have been utilized for schooling in Pinkhams Grant, avoiding the expense of separate construction. From D. B. Wight's Gorham history: *"The rudiments of learning were taught in the log schoolhouse or **in some private room** until after the incorporation of the town in 1836."*

A similar perspective on early Shelburne from the 1888 *History of Coos County*: *"Back of the Philbrook House stood a schoolhouse where Hannah Mason taught. Sometimes schools were **kept at Samuel Emery's** {Dolly's uncle's home before his move to Gorham Hill} or Captain Evans."* More on public schooling for Peabody Valley youth:

1. The **1850** Census for the Site #1 Spaulding Family in Greens Grant lists three children ages 8, 9 and 13 who *"attended school within the year."*

2. Referring to Dolly and Hayes' migrant son Daniel, the 1883 *History of Ohio's Union County* states *"our subject was reared on a farm and received an ordinary **public school** education."* Born in Martins Location in 1849, we can infer Daniel's school years were about **1855** to 1867.

3. A 1908 biography on Site #5 Patrick Culhane's son James is specific on the interjurisdictional relationship: "*James pursued the regular branches of study taught in the public schools of Gorham.*"

As James was born in Martins Location in 1859 his ensuing school years were likely 1865 to 1877. Perhaps the arrangement for non-residents was similar to what we see in the 1888 *History of Shelburne*: "*Gorham affords school privileges to those who wish to avail themselves to them.*"

4. In 1874 James Culhane and his parents left Martins Location and moved to Gorham. A modern school had been built in Gorham in 1876 – could the move be related to access to high school for a superior student.

James appears exceptional for the time as he continues on to college. In his career he taught school in nearby Dummer and Milan, was a Master Mason, and in time superintendent of Gorham schools and a member of the Gorham School Board.

In 1853 32-year-old Patrick Culhane of Martins Location was added to the list of Gorham taxpayers. In 1856, 21-year-old Nathaniel Copp of Martins Location was added to the list of Gorham voters. This evidence points to some form of civic cooperation. Perhaps the voting link was paralleled by schooling for out-of-town residents.

The 1908 biography of James Culhane states that James was "*born in that part of Gorham known as Martins Grant,*" seemingly tying the adjacent civil divisions together. This boundary blurring could be an easy mistake by someone writing from a distance. But adding credibility, some statewide maps of the 1850s show total administrative union for Gorham and Martins Location, their common border erased.



The 1854 Dodge and 1856 Colter Maps show the usually rectangular Gorham corporate boundary extending a panhandle south into the Peabody Valley

In a similar vein is a requested change of election district boundary in the 1864 *Journal of the New Hampshire Senate*: "*To the Committee on elections, by {State Representative} Mr. Tubbs of Gorham, petition of **Patrick Culhane** and three others, for the classing of Martins Grant with the Town of Gorham for the purpose of voting.*"

Soon, in 1866, full annexation was proposed by Gorham State Representative Tubbs, he traded in dry goods and groceries on Exchange Street from 1851 to 1882, and 105 others; "*Severally praying for the annexation of Greens Grant and Martins Location to the Town of Gorham.*" But **Hayes Copp** and others defeated the annexation effort. From the legislative record:

"*By Mr. Conner, of Exeter {Exeter is Glen House ally John Bellows' home town, could he be using his influence?}, remonstrance {a forcefully reproachful protest} of **H. D. Copp** and others against the annexation... By Mr. Hamlin of Milan, remonstrance of John T. Peabody and 35 others, of Gorham, against the annexation of Greens and Martins Grant... Remonstrance of **J. M. Thompson** {Glen House owner} and 2 others, inhabitants of Greens Grant, against the annexation thereof to the Town of Gorham.*"

Civic Unit	Valuation
Berlin	\$143,540
Shelburne	\$127,041
Gorham	\$277,355
Martin's Loc.	\$3,000
Green's Gr.	\$60,000
Pinkham's Gr.	\$20,000
Jackson	\$155,489
Bartlett	\$176,733
Conway	\$524,374

Shown in the table at left are total property valuations in 1871 from the *NH Register and Political Manual* of that year. The prized **tax base enhancing** property in the Peabody Valley was the large and luxurious Glen House in Greens Grant.

If the Gorham boundary was extended south to include that valuable property, Gorham's tax base would increase by over twenty percent in one swoop. Looking south to add \$60,000 to the current \$277,000 could have been political motivation.

Hayes Copp, Colonel Thompson of the Glen House and other opponents won. The record states "*the petitioners for annexation have leave to withdraw.*" Annexation was never achieved thereafter. Martins Location and Greens Grant remain on the map of New Hampshire today as legitimate, if unincorporated, very small civic units.

4-4E. EARLY CAMPING NEARBY

While the first *gasoline powered vehicles* camping near the Copp Farm were not seen until after 1900, camping by *horse drawn vehicles* dates from Dolly's day. Such a camper for whom we have access to his 1867 journal is Dr. Morrill Wyman of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who lived from 1812 to 1903. A social reformer and Harvard overseer, Wyman was also one of the top physicians in the country, his specialty, treatment of hay fever.

Wyman himself suffered greatly from seasonal hay fever. His recommended relief to patients was to visit the "*northern side of the White Mountains.*" (Bethlehem, the "the highest town in New Hampshire," was another refuge for sufferers). Taking his own advice, Wyman set up camp in Martins Location and recorded his activities there in August and September of 1867, his "Camp Anstace."

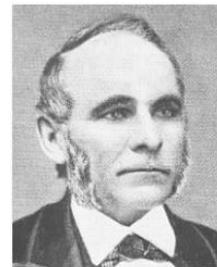


Dr. Wyman's camp was on a knoll on the west riverbank "eight or ten feet above the river"; at right viewed north from the 1950 bridge the furthest point is almost to that location

His journal describes a temporary mailbox placed on the west side of the Glen Road, specifically 1,100 feet south of the Gorham - Martins Location Town Line, serving their camp across the Peabody nearby. "*We found some boards and slabs and carried to our knoll, and soon nailed down a rather rough but serviceable floor. Glen House three and one half miles.*" Wives of the travel party lodged at the nearby Site #2 Glen Cottage, then serving as a small annex to the Glen House.

It is worth noting that during his Martins Location vacation, Wyman paid a professional courtesy call to the leading physician in the area, Dr. Nathaniel Tuckerman True of Bethel, Maine (photo). Fortunately for us True had a side interest in recording local history, his history of Gorham of value to this research.

There is other evidence of camping in the broader area prior to the auto era. The Appalachian Mountain Club was leading the way into camping by its founding in 1876. In 1882 tourist author Samuel Adams Drake provided a practical guide on how to camp out.



From the 1882 *History of Shelburne*: "Several picturesque spots may be found on the Leadmine Brook, and the little flat called The Garden is used as a camping ground by tourists." But it took the automobile to make the demand for camp sites really explode.

4-4F. MT. WASHINGTON RELATED

1854 - 1861 LABORERS ON CARRIAGE ROAD: After the 1851 arrival of railroad access to nearby Gorham, a further boost for Peabody Valley tourism came in 1861 with the completion of the Mount Washington Carriage Road, today known as the Auto Road. The access was in Greens Grant across from the new Glen House. Horse drawn carriage transport has now replaced the much less comfortable 1851 Bellows – Thompson Pony Road.

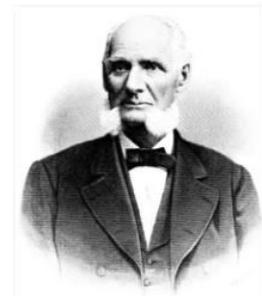


Summit historian Jeffrey Leich cites eighty road laborers. Dolly Copp biographer George Cross on those men: "*The construction of those eight difficult miles of good road would employ many men for years. Every detail of the undertaking was doubtless discussed at the family and neighborhood gatherings at the **Copp fireside**. While there is no record of it, there is little doubt that some of the **Copp menfolk** had their share in the big job.*"

That is, in the construction period before the 1861 completion, with a bankruptcy hiatus 1857 – 1859. And oldest Copp sons Jeremiah and Nathaniel had moved out of the Peabody Valley by 1860. Challenging the Cross assertion of Copp involvement are records that road construction drew on the influx of cheap immigrant labor that had come to the area for railroad work - could Copps be drawn in for such low wages?

1852 – 1867 JEREMIAH COPP ON MOUNTAIN: Eldest Copp son Jeremiah had some early off the farm employment in the Peabody Valley. According to Worthen's genealogy of the Copps "*Jeremiah was a skilled woodsman and was often employed by tourists as a guide.*" Confirmation from a June 21, 1908 *New York Tribune* article reporting that Jeremiah "*was formerly a guide, and one summer made the ascent of Mount Washington no less than ninety-nine times.*"

The same *New York Tribune* article states that Jeremiah "*helped build the original Summit House {1852}, which was demolished, and was fond of relating how the lumber was carried up the mountain on horseback.*" That report was repeated by Worthen, who adds "*he worked as a carpenter in the Tip Top House*" a competing summit hotel built in 1853.



Tribune 1908: "*One of the most interesting characters of the mountains is Jeremiah Copp of Littleton, who helped lay out the first section of the Mount Washington Cog Wheel Railway, {under construction from 1866 to 1869}. He was a **life-long friend of its inventor, Sylvester Marsh**, (photo) both men living in Littleton.*

He was one of the mountaineers to assist in carrying down the body of Lizzie Bourne after her death on the summit {1855}." This 1908 *Tribune* article is the only source linking Jeremiah Copp with Lizzie. Her tragic story is documented involving Martins Location Site #5 Culhane Brothers, but nowhere else in White Mountains history are any Copps involved.

1851 - 1959 RESCUE AND GUIDE SERVICES: Thomas Culhane testified in an 1893 court hearing that he worked early on for the Glen House. "*I was a guide there from the time the Thompson Path {pony road} was built {1851} until the carriage road was built {1861}.*

Both Patrick and Thomas Culhane were part of 1855 search and rescue attempts on Mount Washington for Lizzie Bourne and then for Dr. Benjamin Ball. Also, guiding the party naming east slope Raymond Cataract in 1859. Details in the Culhane section ahead.

1871 HAYES COPP CLIMBS WITH HUNTINGTON: Huntington Ravine on Mount Washington was named after Joshua H. Huntington (photo below), that honor dating from 1871. A founder of the AMC and an avid hiker, Huntington spent the winter of 1870-71 on the summit making weather observations, very daring for the time. Between November 12, 1870 and May 14, 1871 he made the climb up and down thirteen times.



Huntington provided descriptions of White Mountain peaks for *Sweetser's Guidebook* of 1876. He also contributed to the 1879 *History of New England*. Proceeding county by county thru the 1879 *History's* 791 pages, the mere eight pages reserved for New Hampshire's Coos County were authored by him. Hayes Copp was included in the limited space allotted, revealing in the mind of Huntington the *iconic status* of Hayes.

According to Huntington writing in 1879 "*Hayes D. Copp settled in Martin's Grant in 1826 {valuable confirmation for that date}. He is still living, hale and hearty, and in November, 1871, he walked with the writer from the Glen House to the summit of Mount Washington in three hours. The year Copp came Mr. Hanson built a farmhouse at the Glen, and he was the first man in this region to keep travelers.*"

Hayes was 65 when he made that climb. From hikeformentalhealth.org on Mount Washington: "*Usual for those who hike regularly is a pace of about 1 1/2 to 2 miles an hour, leading to ascent times of two to three hours. For those who have not hiked regularly we commonly see times of **five or six hours**, or even longer.*"

1955 CAMPERS VISIT: In 1956 an extensive Mount Washington related survey was completed by the NH Forestry and Recreation Department. Opinions and experiences of vacationers were solicited as the base for recommending summit improvements. The section entitled "Dolly Copp Campers" is of interest:

1984 campers visit: Chew crew from left Dolores, Becca, Joe, Betsy and Jon

"Although campers may not be important to hotels and motels as a source of business, the camper is a desirable customer of New Hampshire food markets, gas stations and many commercial attractions. The average Dolly Copp camp party spent forty to fifty dollars on their last visit to New Hampshire.



*Insofar as Mount Washington is concerned **68 out of 100 Dolly Coppers** have been to the summit. Of these 68, 37 have been to the top two or more times. Their most popular method of ascending is by hiking.*

The average Dolly Copp party stays three nights at Dolly Copp Camp, 55% stay one or two nights. Forty-four percent of Dolly Copp campers in 1956 were on a return visit."

1960 MOUNTAIN HISTORY AUTHOR INCLUDES COPPS: The horizontal plane distance from the Mount Washington Summit to the Copp home is just 5.8 miles. That proximity, with other ties, was sufficient for the Cops to be included by Frank Allen Burt in his classic 1960 *Story of Mount Washington*. This is a great read for all White Mountain enthusiasts. Burt dedicated much of one of his twenty chapters to the Cops, largely summarizing the 1927 George Cross account.



4-5. AUTHORS AND PERSONALITIES

From the Portland "State of Maine," February 18.
ETRAORDINARY ENDURANCE.
 On January 31. Nathaniel Copp, son of Hayes D. Copp, of Pinkham's Grant, near the Glen House, White Mountains, commenced hunting deer, and was out four successive days. On the fifth day, he left again,



At right 1855 Auburn, New York newspaper describing how Nathaniel, at right near 1854, famously hunted a deer

4-5A. 1855 AUTHOR BENJAMIN WILLEY

Benjamin Willey's 1856 classic *Incidents in White Mountain History* illuminates "anecdotes illustrating life in the back woods." True to that purpose, the work included an 1855 hunting adventure by young Nathaniel Copp, three days short of his 21st birthday. (Photo of Willey, his brother Samuel perished in the famous 1826 landslide near Crawford Notch).



According to Willey "a late number of the 'State of Maine' contains the following narrative, which it almost curdles one's blood to read. We went to Shelburne, at the time it transpired, collecting materials for our work, and saw ourselves young Goulding, who was at the hotel under the care of a physician. Who besides these men would not have yielded to death in such an extremity?"

Willey is referring to a story first presented by the *Portland State of Maine Magazine* on 2/13/1855. It soon reappears in the more distant *Brooklyn New York Daily Eagle* on 2/17/1855, and then the Auburn, NY *Weekly American* on 2/28/1855, obviously syndicated.

Excerpt from the Brooklyn paper: "Extraordinary Endurance – A correspondent of the *Portland State of Maine*, writing from Gorham, NH, communicates the following narrative, and adds that 'the truth of the story can be vouched for by many persons of respectability in this vicinity.'"

Willey's full story: "On January 31st Nathaniel Copp, son of Hayes D. Copp, of Pinkham's Grant, near the Glen House, White Mountains, commenced hunting deer, and was out four successive days. On the fifth day, he left again for a deer killed the day previously, about eight miles from home.

He dragged the deer (weighing two hundred and thirty pounds) home through the snow, and at one o'clock, P. M., started for another one discovered near the place where the former was killed, which he followed until he lost the track, after dark.

He then found he had lost his own way, and should, in all probability, be obliged to spend the night in the woods, the thermometer at the time ranging from thirty-two to thirty-four below zero. Despair being not part of his composition, with perfect self-possession and presence of mind, he commenced walking, having no provisions, matches, or even a hatchet; knowing that to remain quiet was certain death.

He soon after heard a deer, and pursuing him by moonlight, overtook him, leaped upon his back, and cut his throat. He then dressed him, and taking out the heart, placed it in his pocket for a trophy.

He continued walking twenty-one hours, and the next day, at about ten o'clock, A. M., he came out at or near Wild River in Gilead, Maine; having walked on snow-shoes the unparalleled distance of forty miles without rest, a part of the time through an intricate growth of underbrush.

His friends at home becoming alarmed at his prolonged absence, and the intensity of the cold, three of them started in pursuit of him, viz., John Goulding, Mr. Hayes D. Copp, his father, and Thomas Culhane. They followed his track, until it was lost in darkness, and by the aid of dogs, found the deer which young Copp had killed and dressed.

They then built a fire, and waited for five or six hours for the moon to rise, to enable them to continue their search. They again started, with but the faintest hopes of ever finding the lost one alive; pursued his track, and being out twenty-six hours in the intense cold, found the young man of whom they were in search.

Goulding froze both his feet so badly that it is feared he will have to suffer amputation. Mr. Copp and Mr. Culhane froze their ears badly. No words can reward the heroic self-denial and fortitude with which these men continued an almost hopeless search, when every moment expecting to find the stiffened corpse of their friend.

Young Copp seems not to have realized the great danger he has passed through, and, although his medical advisers say he cannot entirely recover the use of his limbs for from three to six months, talks with perfect coolness of taking part in hunts which he planned for the next week.”

Quite the adventure, spreading knowledge of the Copps far and wide via newspaper media in 1855. We also have this related confirmation, Nathaniel recorded in the June 1863 *Civil War Draft Registration Record* as living in Martins Location with this notation: *“Most of toes gone by being frozen.”*

Travel author Drake interviewing Nathaniel in 1882 confirms the 1863 medical observation: *“One of his feet was so badly frozen from the effect of too tightly lacing his snow shoe that the toes had to be amputated.”* We also have author Eleanor Early describing Gilead, Maine in her 1935 book *Behold the White Mountains*: *“Gilead is the little Maine town where Dolly Copp’s boy stumbled out of the woods the time he got lost.”*

4-5B. 1861 AUTHOR EDWARD EVERETT HALE

A renowned author familiar with the Copps was Boston’s great orator Edward Everett Hale. Hale lived from 1822 to 1909 and became a national leader in the fields of literature, religion, politics and social betterment, also Chaplain of the U.S. Senate. Hale’s biography tells us he spent much time in New Hampshire, enough so that Mount Hale in Bethlehem, NH is named after him, one of the AMC’s forty-eight “four thousand footers.”

One biography states that *“when young he had been a mountaineer, fond of the really difficult peaks of climbing open to the New Englander of his day.”* Another: *“I would go up on foot by a route I knew from Randolph over the real Mt. Adams. Nobody had been up that particular branch of Israel’s run since Channing and I did it in 1841.”*



Hale on Boston Common

Historian F. Allen Burt places young Hale on the summit of Mount Washington in 1841. Reaching his goal *“after a tramp {old term for hiking} of seventeen hours over the northern peaks, he arrives at the shack at ten o’clock at night, and forced his way in with a crowbar to spend the night.”* Many such trips over the northern peaks started at the foot of Mount Madison at the Copp Farm – perhaps that is where Hale met pioneer Hayes.

Hale praises Hayes Copp in his 1861 book *Ninety Days’ Worth of Europe*: *“Nothing had quite prepared me for what I may call the independence of a large English estate. There is, I think, a certain pride, even though one swears by Adam Smith, in making the place a little*

Robinson Cursoedom, sufficient for its own wants. On this English estate, the owner himself employed fifty men and twenty women, besides the house servants.

*Here, at the top of civilization, was the same luxury in which a year before, I found **Hayes Copp living under the shade of Mount Madison**. He had made his own farm with his own hands, and was dependent annually upon civilization only for nails (always nails, you observe), needles, salt and fish-hooks. For pins, it was observed that **his wife** always had two, and always knew where they were."*



Post Card Madison View West 1



Post Card Madison View West 2



Post Card Madison View West 3

*Early DC post card views northwest:
Hale's "under the shade of Mount Madison"*

The striking independence of Hayes and Dolly seen by Hale soon becomes an example of a bygone era. Elihu Root speaking in 1912: *"Instead of the completeness of individual effort working out its own results in obtaining food and clothing and shelter, we have specialization and division of labor which leaves each individual unable to apply his industry and intelligence except in cooperation with a great number of others."*

WMNF enthusiasts are indebted to Hale, supportive of the formation of the AMC in 1876, then promoting public purchase of White Mountain forests, successful in 1914



4-5C. 1861 AUTHOR LOUISA MAY ALCOTT

I searched for years for remarks about or by Dolly, grateful for the few nuggets found. Then I was stunned to locate thousands of her words in an 1861 newspaper account by soon to be nationally renowned author Louisa May Alcott. (Dolly at left in 1854, at right Louisa as a young adult).



Alcott was born on 11/29/1832, just after Dolly's first child Jeremiah on 9/7/1832. Perhaps that age proximity facilitated Dolly's well-worn story being received by Alcott as motherly advice. Two distinct New England subcultures meet – rural, outlying Coos County with prosperous and educated Greater Boston. The difference is deliberately highlighted by Alcott, using unpolished local dialect to record Dolly's words.

Louisa's account of her 1861 vacation trip to Gorham was but a minute segment of what would become her top tier international literary career. The visit to the Copp Farm receives but brief mention in a thick 1950 biography of Alcott's life by Madeleine Stern:

*"The note taking author proceeded to record observations in her mind's eye as she sat on the piazza of Gorham's Alpine House. Louisa decided to incorporate an account of the **old woman** in the meadow who mistakenly thought her the wife of Cousin Hamilton and described her own **marital troubles** to the fascinated listener."*

More enthusiasm for this early Alcott writing is in a commentary on the Gorham vacation writing by Joel Myerson of the University of South Carolina and Daniel Shealy of Clemson University:



*"In July, 1861, Louisa May Alcott visited the White Mountains with her cousins Louisa and Hamilton Willis, staying for about a month. Her account of this trip, published for the first and only time in 1863, shows us Alcott's **remarkable narrative and descriptive powers** at work five years before **Little Women** was published."*

Jonathan Chew's Grandson Jonathan Bodien

The 1861 account was not published until 1863, as four "*Letters from the Mountains*" in Boston's **The Commonwealth** newspaper that year, all starting on page one. Publication dates were July 24 and 31, then August 7, last in the series her trip to see the Imp and visit Dolly on the 21st.



Alcott's ride up the Mount Washington Carriage Road was published third on August 7. F. Allen Burt in his classic 1960 *The Story of Mount Washington* takes note: "*Of the few records of ascents of Mount*

Washington by the carriage road in its opening year, perhaps the most vivid and realistic was that of Louisa May Alcott."

Each of Alcott's day trips start out from Gorham's Alpine House. Excerpt from the trip to Dolly's: "*A fine day for the mountain, Mr. Hitchcock? The best of the season, ma'am.' These two remarks are as much a part of the programme as the mountain itself. Jolly John Hitchcock is not the man to damp the soaring propensities and blithe prophesies of any guest under his capacious roof."*

Louisa's ride on the Glen Road to Martins Location is then colorfully described: "*Off we drove, and in five minutes hotel, railroad and civilization had entirely disappeared... Nothing disturbed eye or ear, and the world seemed to welcome us with its morning face.*

The road wound between forests full of the green gloom no artist has fully caught; pines whispered, birches quivered, maples dropped hospitable shade across the way, and a little river {the Peabody} foamed and sparkled by, carrying its melodious message from the mountains to the sea."

Her exchange with Dolly will reveal a difference in cultural backgrounds between the two. This is in their interpretations of Ephesians 5:22 – "*Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands as you do to the Lord."* Dolly agrees: "*It's our place for to bear all things in meekness of spirit, as we was ordered when that Saint Paul said 'Wives submit yourselves to your husbands.'"*

Younger and more progressive, Louisa rebuts her: "*I don't agree to that, ma'am, though a dozen Saint Pauls said it, and never intend to submit to anyone but the Lord."* Perhaps those of Dolly's generation could not bring themselves to contradict a Bible verse directly.

But complaining about her husband Hayes to visiting stranger Alcott is hardly bearing all things in meekness of spirit. Louisa's slightly summarized narrative, with quotation marks removed to improve flow, as transcribed from the original Boston newspapers by Joel Myerson and Daniel Shealy:

*Come, Tot, put on your habit and ride up to **see the Imp** before tea"... When I came down, the horses not being ready, I sat on the doorstep, endeavoring to recall all the equestrian rules and regulations I had ever heard, that I might not disgrace my cavalier...*

Now with the eyes of Gorham upon me I wished to present a correct deportment, and while waiting with apparent serenity, was secretly murmuring - Elbows down, shoulders back, head up, reins in left hand, whip at the side, don't touch the pommel, one, two, spring!

*It is a perfect day for seeing the **Imp's profile** to advantage, clear, and cool, and dry. There's a **chatty old woman** in one of the **houses that stand in the meadow where we go for the view**, and you must make her talk. Does she – chatter - live there – bump - all alone? - chatter, bump—chatter, bump— No, she has neighbors.*

How we reached the meadow is more than I can tell; that we did reach it at all, I regard as one of the most felicitous events of my life, for when we paused, my arms were stiff, my eyes literally danced in my head, and the dews of exhaustion bathed my brow as they did Consuelo's, some half dozen times during her subterranean search for her lunatic lover.

*Turning at a certain spot {the 1860 bridge location in Martins Location}, Will bade me look up; I did so, and there, clear against the deep blue behind it, stood out the profile of the **Great Stone Face**. Starr King, in his *White Hills*, has said all that can be said, in the way of rapture, quotation, and description, of this as of all the other wonders of this region, therefore **his picture of the profile** shall stand instead of mine."*

Peabody Valley's **Imp Profile** and Franconia's **Old Man** compared, Old Man the NH state emblem since 1945.

The 1859 *History and Description of New Hampshire* by Coolidge and Mansfield: "They pass the **Imp Mountain**, from which the **projections in the rock** somewhat resemble the '**Old Man**' at Franconia."



Alcott's 1863 newspaper account includes a vivid description of the Imp, borrowed from or provided to her by Starr King. But fact checking, it is precisely Starr King's description of the Old Man at Franconia, *not a unique description* for the Carter Range Imp seen from Dolly's. Was there some mix-up here, or did one or both authors feel that use of identical texts did not matter? In reaction I deleted Starr King's description of the Imp from this transcription of Louisa's visit. From the newspaper:

"My meditations {on the Imp} were brought to a close by Squab who, after fidgeting and fussing like an evil disposed beast as he was, turned round and stared me in the face with an intelligent look—I hate him, but I'm bound to say he had an intelligent eye, fiendishly intelligent, if I may use so forcible an expression—a look that said as plainly as words, if you don't want to be pitched into the brook, ma'am, you'd better get off and let me drink.

*Will appeared to understand him and proposed that I should pay a visit to **the old lady** while he watered the horses and **talked politics with some body at the barn** {the Civil War had started a few months earlier}.*

As every bone in my body ached and I regarded even a temporary divorce from Squab a foretaste of heaven, I agreed, and in ten minutes found myself seated by a breezy window, a fan in one hand, a saucer of raspberries and cream in the other, and my hostess knitting away in front of me. I suspect the worthy woman was kept rather short of the food so essential to her feminine constitution, namely gossip, for hardly was I seated before she began."

Note that most personal information below is deliberately obscured, either by Alcott or by Dolly in her telling. Dolly never lived in Vermont, her husband's name was not Silas, etc. But some of her children's nicknames are represented accurately.

Whether this was Dolly's requirement for the written interview, you will note Alcott never uses her real name, or a standard tactic by Louisa for ensuring privacy with "tell all" accounts, we do not know. And Louisa understood she was being told a story: *The old lady had told her tale so often that she had learned to embellish it with dramatic effects which gave it a peculiar charm to me.*

Be you stayin' to the Glen? No, ma'am, at the Alpine. He's a harnsome likely lookin' man, with a nod in the direction of the invisible Will. Very much so. I mistrusted who you was the minute I see you, and a significant smile accompanied the words. Dear me, can she know anything about my little 'works of Shakespeare' thought I, feeling quite Fanny Burnyish [sic] on a small scale.

Not knowing what else to do, I also put up my fan and simpered, to rouge high as she describes her modest blushes, was out of the question, my complexion being quite as rubicund as that of the holly - hocks outside the window.

Still nodding and smiling like an amiable Chinese mandarin the old lady continued - Yes, I've heard of you. There was another couple here this mornin', and they said they guessed you'd be along, its [sic] such pretty ridin in these parts for such as you and him.

What a peculiar old person, thought I, adding aloud - Yes, ma'am, I enjoy it very much for I've spent here some of the happiest days of my life. That's just what they all say, and ef young folks would only start right away they might keep on sayin of it a consid'able spell longer than they gen'rally do.

Now I've had experience, and I can see as plain as anything that you're one of the up and down sort, and I shouldn't wonder a mite ef there comes a hitch by'm'by for all you are so fond a one another now. "Bless the woman! what is she driving at?" muttered I with a mouthful suspended half way to my lips. Her next words enlightened me, and my literary vanities received a blow.

I don't wish for to take no liberties, but havin' seen a sight more o' life than young folks, I always say my say when new married couples come philanderin' out here; and whether they like it or not, I feel as ef I'd done my duty by em, for a word in season is worth a whole sermon too late.

As she paused to pick up a stitch I came to the conclusion that owing to Will's injunctions to rest and cool yourself, my dear, the old lady had taken it into her head that we belonged to the bridal swarm that infested the neighborhood.

The idea amused me mightily, and for the joke's sake, I did not inform her that my valuable affections were still unwon, except by the ghost of a youthful sweetheart, who wooed me on a haycock with a jews harp serenade full fifteen years ago. So I quenched a dawning smile, and answered soberly.

Very true, ma'am, pray speak freely; I shall be glad to receive any advice you may like to offer, for I suspect I shall be very likely to err in the manner you suggest, being as fond of having my own way as most women. I ain't a doubt of it, so let me tell you to begin with, don't never try to drive your husband into nothin', for the best of 'em turns con'try and pig headed ef drove. It's our place for to bear all things in meekness of spirit, as we was ordered when that Saint Paul said wives submit yourselves to your husbands.

I don't agree to that, ma'am, though a dozen Saint Pauls said it, and never intend to submit to anyone but the Lord. It is my opinion that the bearing and forbearing should be mutual, and as men are eternally calling women angels they should be more willing to be guided by them. They certainly could not be managed worse than they usually manage themselves.

Lord a massy, child, ef that's your belief, there never was any body more off the track than you be, and its [sic] my 'pinion before the year's out you'll be in a wuss scrape than I was once." She appeared so shocked at my doctrine, and so eager for a convert to her own, that I did not hesitate to say, with an appearance of deep interest: Suppose you tell me your scrape and perhaps it will help me to avoid a similar one.

I ain't no objection in the world, for though it ain't much of a story, it's a warnin' which you'd do well to take in case o' need. I've told it a sight o' times, and folks laugh as ef it was ruther

humorsome; it warn't to live through you'd better believe." And leaning back in her creaky chair, her tongue rattled as briskly as her needles, while she reeled off the following warnin' to young married folks.

I was raised in York State {identifying information again obscured}, and when I merried, we settled in Vermont {same?}. I declare I ain't seen a prettier place sense I left; and the old sayin's come true, 'a cow don't know the wuth of her tail till she's lost it.' Silas was a master hand to his trade, a careful and a savin' man, so for three, four years we was comfortable as a pair o' old shoes.

My nighest neighbor was a Widder; she berried a couple o' husbands and was lookin' round for another as chipper as you please. You see, havin' few pies of her own to make, Mis Millet was amazin' fond o' puttin' her fingers in her neighborses; but she done it so neat, folks ruther liked it, till they found she was takin' all the sass and leavin' 'em all the crust, as you may say.

I never mistrusted her for a long spell, not knowin' widder's ways. I thought luck was in my dish surely, but it warn't, and I had to eat my mess o' trouble which was needful and nourishin' ef I'd only had the grace to see it so.

Silas got into a law-suit about his wages {the Census and all other sources agree Hayes was a self-employed farmer}, and it seemed as if everything was at sixes and sevens all to once. He was a high sperrited man and had the right of it, but them lawyers made a snarl out o' nothin' and sent the bill to him.

It was a long job and made him terrible fractious while it lasted; I thought he'd better give up than muddle along that way, and it fretted me past bearin', to have him dingin' away about that three hundred dullars continual, so I got as fractious as him.

Train Silas well, ses Mis' Millet, don't give up nothin, but show him you've a will o' your own, though he don't take your advice. A woman has a sight o' power if she only knows how to use it, and can fetch a man to most anything from blacking her shoes to marryin' of her; jest keep vittles low, buttons on certain, and kisses scarce, and he'll soon give up beat, for peace and quietness sake; that's how I keep my blessed **Jabez and Nathan** under' correct {nicknames for Dolly's two oldest children **Jeremiah** and **Nathaniel**}.

In them days I thought considerable as you do and so when Mis' Millet put it into my head that I was picked upon, I thought it was about time for me to set up my Ebenezer and make things stan' round my way. I went and done jest what she told me, for I didn't see through her a mite, then, or guess that settin' folks by the ears was as relishin' to her as bitters is to some.

Merciful sus! what a piece o' work we did make on't; I scolded, Silas swore, the children carried on like all possessed and the house was gettin' too hot to hold us when we was brought up with a round turn and set straight in time to see the sense of our redicklous doin's."

When I spoke of not submitting, I didn't mean to have any fighting or scolding about it, ma'am, but each yield a little, and though two strong wills may not work quite smoothly at first, a constant and gentle friction will probably polish off the angles and make a match at last.

The old lady was somewhat in the dark as to my meaning; but after a moment's meditation illuminated herself with an explanation to suit her own views - You're about right there, though I didn't see it at fust. It is like rubbin' a friction match, and many a house has been sot afire from such small beginnins, both reelly, and what you call a figger o' speech way.

I most done the job for myself, as I was tellin' of you, and though we was common sort o' folks, I reckon it's pretty much the same with the grand folks, for I've seen fine ladies snap at their husbands, and get a right good settin' down for their pains, only it was all done what

you call elegunt. Wal, one day Silas come home madder'n a hornet's nest, for the suit seemed goin' against him, he'd had a lecter from his boss, and one o' the neighbor's cows had spiled every one o' the mellions he sot so much by.

*I was dishin' up dinner, feelin' anything but comfortable, for a whole batch o' bread was burnt to cinder, **my Nathaniel** had sca't me most to death swallerin' a cent, and the steak had been on the floor more'n oncet, owin' to my havin' three babies, {Dolly's first three babies were Jeremiah 1832, Nathaniel 1834 and Sylvia 1838} a dog, two cats, and no end o' hens under my feet.*

Silas looked as black as thunder, hove his hat away, and come along to the sink where I was skinnin' pertaters, and as he washed his hands I asked him what the matter was. Bad news is hard enough to tell at the best o' times, but when a man's cross, it's wuss'n rubbin' their nose the wrong way, a gret sight. He muttered and slopped, and I could't git a word o' sense out on him, no how. Being riled myself didn't better it, and so we fell to hectorin' one another right smart, till we both felt ekle to most anything.

*Presently he said something that dreened the last drop o' patience in my biler; I give an aggravatin' answer and fust I knew he was **up with his hand and struck me**. It warn't a hard blow, only a kind of set spat side o' the head; but I thought I should a flew, for I see a million sparks a minnit; all the blood in my body went tearin' up to my head, and I felt as ef I'd been knocked down.*

You never see a man look so shamed as Silas did, but he didn't say a word. I just pitched fork, dish, pertaters, and all into the pot, put on my bunnet, and said as ferse and high as you please—'When you're ready to treat me as a man oughter treat his wife, you can come and fetch me back, but you won't see me before, and so I tell you.'

*Then I made a bee line for Mis' Millet's, told her all, asked her to let me stay till he come round, had a good cry, a mouthful o' dinner, and was ready to go home in half an hour, though nothing would have fetched me to ownin' of it. "Wal, that night passed—sakes! what a long one it was, and me without a wink o' sleep thinking o' **Nat** {born 1834} and the cent, my emptins, and **the baby** {third child Sylvia born 1838}.*

Next day come, but no Silas, no message, no nothin', and I'd begun to think I'd got my match, though I had a sight o' grit in them days. I sewed, and Mis' Millet she clacked, but I never heard what she said only worked like sixty to pay for my keep, cause I warn't goin' to be beholden to her for nothin'. At last I begged her to go and git me a clean gown, for I'd come off jest as I was, and folks kep' droppin' in as soon as they heard of the job, as Mis' Millet took care they should.

She went, but ef you'll believe it Silas wouldn't let her in! He jest handed the things out o' winder, and told her to tell me they was gettin' on first rate with Florindy Walsh to do the work, and hoped I wouldn't expect him for a spell, as he liked a quiet house and had got one now.

When I heard that I knew he must be terrible pervoked, and could a streaked straight-home and crawled into the winder ef he hadn't opened the door; but Mis' Millet wouldn't let me go and kep' stirrin' on me up till I was ashamed to eat umble pie fust, and waited to see what would come on't.

But you see he had the best on't, for he'd got the children and lost a cross wife, while I'd lost all and got nothin' but Mis' Millet who grew hatefuller and hatefuller, for I begun to mistrust that she was a mis chief-maker, seein' how she pampered up my temper, and seemed to like the querrel. I thought I should o' died more'n once, fer as true as I'm settin' here, it went on pretty nigh a week, and of all the miserable creeters, I was the miserablest.

When Saturday come a tremendus storm set in, and it rained guns all day. I was hankerin' after the baby and dreadful werried about the others, all bein' croupy, and Florindy, with no

more idee of sickness than a baa-lamb. The rain come down like a regier Deluge, and I didn't seem to have the leastest mite of a Ark to run to.

Everything got into a fluster as night come on, for the wind blew off the roof o' Miss Millet's barn, and smashed the buttery winder, the brook riz and went streamin' every which way, and such a mess you never did see. I was as nervous as a witch, but kep' on sewin' and listenin' to the tinkle tankle of the drops in the pans we'd sot round, for the house leaked like a sieve. Miss Millet was down sullen, putterin' about, for every kag and sass jar was afloat; her brother was lookin' after his stock and tryin' to stop the damage.

All of a sudden, he bust in, lookin' kinder wild, and settin' down his larntem he ses, ses he: You're ruther an unfortunate woman tonight, ma'am; the spillins have give way up in the rayvine, the brook's come down like a river and stove in your back kitchen, washed your gardin slap into the road, and while your husband was tryin' to get the pig out o' the pen the water just swep' him clean away as ef he warn't no more'n a cabbage leaf. Oh, my Lord! is he drowned? ses I, with only breath enough for that.

Guess he is, ses he, a chuck over them falls gen'lly makes things ruther cur'ous sights next time you see 'em ef you ever do see 'em. It come over me like a streak o' lightenin, everything kinder slewed round, and I dropped in the fust faint I ever had in my life. I'd no idee what was to pay for a long spell, but the next thing I knew was Silas huggin' of me and cryin' fit to kill himself.

I thought I warn't woke yet, and only had wits enough to give a sort of promiscuous grab at him and say: Oh, Silas, ain't you drownded? He fetched a great start when I spoke, swallowed down his sobbin' and said, as lovin' as ever a man did in this world: Bless your dear heart, Sophy, it warn't me, it was the pig! and then fell to huggin' on me agin, till betwixt laughin' and cryin' I was most choked.

The old lady had told her tale so often that she had learned to embellish it with dramatic effects which gave it a peculiar charm to me; at the slapping episode she flung an invisible fork, pertaters and dish into an imaginary pot and glared; when the catastrophe arrived she sallied back into her chair to express fainting, gave my arm the permiscuous sort of a grab at the proper moment, and hicoughed out the repentant Silas's benediction, with an incoherent pathos that forbid a laugh at the sudden introduction of the porcine martyr.

Well ma'am, did you exult over him and make him promise to let you have your own way forever after? It was a fine opportunity, I hope you improved it. Oh law, no, of course I went right home and kissed them children for a couple o' hours stiddy, answered this weak minded Sophy as if but one conclusion was possible. A great mistake ma'am. But did all your pride and spirit go down with the pig? I asked much disappointed.

Wall, no, it didn't, but I learned a sight by that week's work and so did Silas; for though we sometimes edged back to the raspin' state, **we never come to blows agin**, and was so mortified we kep' our merryments to ourselves and give Mis' Millet a wide berth, for there wern't no end to the lies she made out o' that scrape of ourn. For a long spell we was as sweet as honey pots; I never tried to be boss agin, but cooked the best o' vittles, let them children walk over my naked nose, and petted the hull on 'em most to death.

Silas was so lovin', I declare for't, I used to say the old courtin' days was come back, for he was as meek as a whole flock o' lambs and only got as red as fire when twitted about that job of ourn, which was doing well for a hot sperrited man by nater. When I felt fractious or like drivin' on him anyhow, I jest thought o' that time and shet up; and often after a cross fit Silas would bust out larfin' and say Lord bless you, Sophy! it warn't me it was the pig.

As the old lady paused to chuckle in character, I obeyed Will's summons, saying, as I rose, thank you ma'am, I will remember your experience and tell my husband (when I find him) how to manage me if I should happen to forget; though I'm afraid a box on the ear would

settle the matter so effectually that I should prefer the salvation of the bacon to that of the boxer.

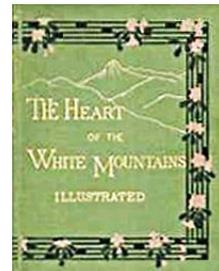
Laying her brown hand on my arm, my hostess administered a parting bit of advice, with a warning wag that made her cap frill tremble. Don't expect too much of human critters, child, and bein' as you're one o' the outspoken sort you'd better hang onto them two sayins' - Every path has its puddle' and 'it's better the feet slip than the tongue. Good bye, ma'am, and allow me to offer one in return Women must have their will while they live, because they make none when they die.

I ought not to close this letter from, but not about the mountains, without mentioning that, owing to a late repentance, or some striking suggestions of Will's, Squab took me home like a bird, and I had the satisfaction of trotting up to the Hotel door in a style which I fervently trust effaced all recollection of my inglorious departure."

4-5D. 1881 AUTHOR SAMUEL ADAMS DRAKE

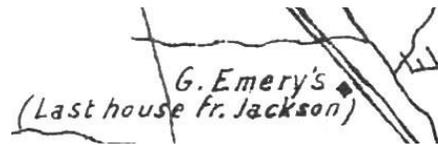
An eager market developed for story telling on the lives of rustic White Mountains native people. The urban public wanted to read about their relationship to the dramatic landscape and the country freedoms they enjoyed. Samuel Adams Drake's (photo) remarks on the Copsps were written for this audience. Drake also wrote other ornately bound books for tourists, such as a tour of the Maine Coast).

As Louisa May Alcott had found twenty years earlier, a great source for material was a visit to the Copsps. For Drake this took place in 1876, taking notes for an 1881 magazine article that will then be printed more formally in his 1882 ***The Heart of the White Mountains***: "*The Glen House is one of the last strongholds of the old ways of travel. The nearest farm houses are **Copp's**, three miles on the road to Randolph, and **Emery's**, six on the road to Jackson."*



Drake's Emery to the south along the Ellis River in Jackson, at what is today the Dana Place long term residential leasing resort, was Dolly Emery's second cousin Gilbert Emery.

A Mr. Dana was for a time a co-resident with Emery. As Dolly was rural kin to Gilbert, both on the Old Pinkham Road, they were likely at least aware of each other.



G. Emery's on 1888 Pickering Map

*"Two and a half miles farther on a road diverges to the left, crosses the Peabody by a bridge, and stretches on over a depression of the range to Randolph, where it intersects the great route from Lancaster and Jefferson to Gorham. Over the river, snugly ensconced at the foot of Mount Madison, is the **old Copp place**. Commanding, as it does, a noble prospect up and down the valley, and of all the great peaks except Washington, its situation is most inviting.*

*More than this, the picture of the weather stained farm house nestling among these sleeping giants revives in fullest vigor our pre-conceived idea of life in the mountains, already shaken by the balls, routs and grand toilets of the hotels. The house, as we see by **mistress Dolly Copp's register**, has been known to many generations of tourists. The Copsps have lived here about half a century.*

*Travelers going up or down, between the Glen House and Gorham, usually make a detour as far as **Copsps**, in order to **view the Imp** to better advantage than can be done from the road. Among these travelers some have now and then knocked at the door and demanded to see the Imp. The hired girl invariably requests to wait until she can call the mistress.*

Directly opposite the farm house the inclined ridge of Imp Mountain is broken down perpendicularly some two hundred feet, leaving a jagged cliff, resembling an immense step, facing up the valley.

*This is a mountain of the Carter chain, sloping gradually toward the Glen House. Upon this cliff, or this step, is the **distorted human profile** which gives the mountain its name. A strong, clear light behind it is necessary to bring out all the features, the mouth especially, in bold relief against the sky, when the expression is certainly diabolical.*

One imagines that some goblin, imprisoned for ages within the mountain, and suddenly liberated by an earthquake, exhibits its hideous countenance, still wearing the same look it wore at the moment it was entombed in its mask of granite. The forenoon is the best time, and the road, a few rods back from the house, the best point from which to see it. The coal black face is then in shadow.

*The **Copp farm house** has a tale of its own, illustrating in a remarkable manner the amount of physical hardship that long training, and familiarity with rough out-of-door life, will occasionally enable men to endure. Seeing two men in the door yard, I sat down on the chopping block, and entered into conversation with them.*

By the time I had taken out my notebook I had all the members of the household and all the inmates of the barn yard around me. I might add that all were talking at once. The matron stood in the door way, which her ample figure quite filled, trifling with the beads of a gold necklace.

*A younger face stared out over her shoulder; while an old man, whose countenance had hardened into a vacant smile, and one of forty or thereabouts, alternately passed my glass one to the other, with an astonishment similar to that displayed by Friday when he first looked through Crusoe's telescope. 'Which of you is named **Nathaniel Copp**?' I asked after they had satisfied their curiosity.*

'That is my name,' the younger very deliberately responded. 'Really', thought I, there is little enough of the conventional hero in that face;' therefore I again asked, 'Are you the same Nathaniel Copp who was lost while hunting in the mountains, let me see, about twenty-five years ago?' 'Yes, but I wasn't lost after I got down to Wild River,' he hastily rejoined, like a man who has a reputation to defend.

Tell me about it will you? I take from my note book the following relation of the exploit of this mountain Nimrod {classical hunter}, as I received it on the spot. But I had literally to draw it out of him, a syllable at a time." That 1855 winter woods adventure of Nathaniel, published by Benjamin Willey in 1856, was then repeated by Drake in his 1881 magazine article and 1882 book.

Drake provides a valuable snapshot of the Copps. His 1882 book text had also appeared in an 1881 edition of *Harpers New Monthly Magazine*. In that earlier version he takes a swipe at the Glen House.

Perhaps his 1882 book publisher thought the 1881 slap would be bad for upcoming sales of his color covered "elegant coffee table" edition. So for the 1882 printing, the Glen House dig was removed, this text cut: "We all agree, I think, there is something strangely inconsistent in the appearance of a huge white barrack of a hotel in the midst of our mountains. We would not have it there."

4-5E. PERSONALITIES OF DOLLY AND HAYES

PERSONALITY OF DOLLY: We can start with insight into Dolly's young married life captured in a *Gorham Mountaineer* newspaper dated March 5, 1886: "Their means were very limited and they both were obliged to go into the clearing and pile logs, clear the land and put in the crops.

Daniel Evans, now of Gorham, says he has seen **Dolly piling logs** in the clearing, and she would do as much work as any man. Dolly says she had to put the baby in the clothes basket and carry it out in the field and tend it there, as she could find time.”



Perhaps not that unusual. The 1888 *History of Coos County on Gorham area farm life circa 1830*: “Hard work developed the physical nature, and the women, as well as the men, could do their share in **rolling up log heaps** {as shown on the excerpt at left from the 2008 USFS Copp homesite display} and other heavy labor. They did not have neuralgia or headache, and not withstanding their toil, many attained a vigorous old age.”

Another glimpse of Dolly comes from a 9/27/1880 letter she wrote to her eighteen-year-old granddaughter Susan Copp. Susan was the middle child of eldest son Jeremiah, that family living to the west in Littleton, NH. Dolly was 73 as she wrote, providing us with a rare view into her feelings and relations with family (slightly edited to improve flow):

“My dear granddaughter I will try and answer your very welcome letter which arrived with the picture and many thanks for it. I should have answered your letter before now but have been sick part of the time and could get up only long enough to do the cooking. I have the neueralgia in my head and the pain is so bad it makes me scream.

My web is in and I wove eleven yards and that is the way I got cold. But I am some better now but feel poorly now as it rains... It has rained here this morning but it is warm. I can't work but I must try to see if I can weave again. I have not been in the loom since Friday and then I only wove two yards I had to lay down so often.”

Susan's brother Charles was ten at this time and Dolly refers to him: *“I think it is a good picture. Charley looks as his father {Jeremiah} used to when he was about ten years old. My sister Martha {14 years younger} went to Stow {Maine} to see the folks there {their brother Jonathan Emery and their nephew James Clifford Emery}. They were all well and she came back here and went back the same way she came.*

She went to brother Ira's and stayed one night. Ira is very slim. He has fits and the doctor says he is liable to drop dead at any moment and his wife has a cancer in her nose. So they are in a poor fix. I should like to see them but never expect to.” Long a resident of Rochester, NH, brother Ira will pass away there in 1882.

This next reference is to Dolly's Daughter Sylvia who had married eight years older Benjamin Potter in 1858 and was by 1880 living in Maine: *“Your Aunt Sylvia has been here and your Uncle Benjamin and the little boy. They came Thursday and left Monday. They said they would like to go to your house but cannot this time. They looked poor both of them.”* A good observation, as Benjamin Potter passed away in 1882. Yet daughter Sylvia lives on to 1929.

“Your grandpa is xxxx' {poor photocopy – could be the word slim}. Nathaniel has been carrying potatoes and apples to Gorham.” The 1880 Census documents that the Copp orchard consisted of thirty fruit bearing trees on one acre of land.

“Nathaniel caught another fox and he has got it alive now.... They have got a new engine put in the mill over the river and will have it running next week.” The nearby Martins Location sawmill was being upgraded by the Libbys at this time. *“I will send you some of my raged salor {spelling unclear} seeds and if they grow you will think of me.*

It was so lonesome here after you and your father and sister Martha went away it seems as though I could not stay in the house. You must give my love to your father and mother and Marcella and darling Charley {other two grandchildren there} and a big share to yourself.

*Tell your affectionate
Dolly Copp*
Signature of Dolly in 1880

Tell Marcella I shall look for her this fall and I want her picture. Now I must close hoping this will find you and all the rest in good health. I hope you will write often. From your affectionate Grandmother, Dolly Copp." What a fine piece of family history.

Author Anne Miller Downes in her 1952 historic novel: "Dolly became a great letter writer. In her cramped but legible hand she wrote weekly to Jerry who lived in Littleton, to Daniel and Lizzie in their happy Oberlin home, to Nat when, as did not occur often enough to please her, she was reasonably sure of his address. Angrily she would throw a "returned" letter into the fire, muttering 'a rover – gone somewhere else.'"



Handwriting analysis provides insight into personality. With the availability of Dolly's 1880 letter above we are given that opportunity. To my delight in 1996 leading graphoanalyst Irene Lambert agreed to assist with this research (photo to right of Dolly). She was not told anything about Dolly in advance.

Mrs. Lambert earned her master's certification from the International Graphoanalyst Society and has published three books on the subject. Her genealogical evaluations were endorsed in a National Genealogical Society Quarterly. In 2005 she was designated Graphoanalyst of the Year by the Graphoanalyst Society of Canada. Her report:

--- **Thinking:** *The handwriting specimen indicates a highly intelligent woman. Whether or not educated, she had the capacity to make good use of data and apply it to her work in a productive way.*

--- **Emotions:** *This is the writing of a woman whose feelings influenced all that she did. She reacted quickly to people and happenings around her. Sometimes she would respond too quickly and regret her actions later.*

Whatever she believed in, she believed intensely. When she disliked something, she disliked it fervently. She felt her emotions with great intensity.

--- **Fears:** *She had an uncomfortable concern about the impression she was making upon others. Especially active was this trait in new or unusual situations and with unfamiliar people. Embarrassments or humiliations, of any kind, caused her great pain and discomfort.*

--- **Defenses:** *Under pressure, Dolly could become exasperated and impatient with herself and others. She could be easily annoyed and respond with irritability and sarcasm. There was no temper, but these quick barbed comments helped to release her tension.*

--- **Traits for Success:** *Steadfast in her pursuit of a task, she could work for a very long time in order to complete a project. She could press on even in difficult circumstances in order to complete her responsibility.*

High goals pushed her to attempt challenges that others would not have taken. While not possessing a strong self-confidence, she had many wonderful traits to help overcome its affects. She liked to be right and could defend her views with ease.

--- **Summary:** *While not knowing the history about Dolly Copp, I can tell from her writing that she was a very talented woman. She had an abundance of positive traits which enabled her to pursue and attain her goals.*

As noted, it was only after the handwriting analysis was complete that Mrs. Lambert was told the details as to Dolly's life. She was pleased: *"Dolly's description was very much as I thought of her as seen by her writing. I would love to see her husband's writing – it could answer some questions about the reason for the separation."* Unfortunately, a writing sample from Hayes was and remains elusive.

We do have this revealing comment about Dolly by a Meredith, NH grandchild of her son Jeremiah:

*"I wonder why he was called Dodiver
– when his name in this town report is Hayes.
Some of Dolly's ideas probably – she was the boss."*

PERSONALITY OF HAYES: We know for sure that Hayes was a hard worker and somewhat daring for his **1826** migration into a nearby wilderness. Enterprising also, for by **1835** he had a second job as assistant postmaster to neighbor Daniel Pinkham.

While Louisa May Alcott's account of her **1861** vacation trip to Gorham included a description of Dolly's marital troubles, for all we know the problem could have been attributed to *both* Hayes and Dolly - although Hayes did strike Dolly.

Historian David McCullough tells us that the decades before the Civil War were *"a time characterized by extraordinary industrious men, when hard work took up most of everyone's life and was regarded as a matter of course."* In **1861** Edward Everett Hale confirms just that, that Hayes *"made his own farm with his own hands and was dependent annually upon civilization only for nails."*

From the 1879 *History of New England* we hear that *"Hayes D. Copp... is still living, hale and hearty, and in November, 1871 he walked with the writer from the Glen House to the summit of Mount Washington in three hours."* Hayes was 65 that year.

Much less flattering, Author Samuel Adams Drake upon meeting Hayes in **1876** describes him as *"an old man whose countenance had hardened into a vacant smile."*

We also have a colorful tale about Hayes. As a Gorham resident, the late **Paul T. Doherty** collected local lore from the old timers at the barber shop. His 1992 book includes this choice item: *"Mr. Heath loved to tell about Hayes Copp when he came to town. Said the old pioneer liked to have a few drinks when in town.*



He would hitch his horse outside and while bending his elbow, the local kids would unhitch the horse from the wagon. Later Hayes would climb up on the wagon seat, the old horse, still standing between the shafts, would get a slap with the reins and take off with a gallop leaving farmer Copp sitting in the wagon."

George Cross in 1927 stated that on or near her fiftieth wedding anniversary of 11/3/1881 Dolly made her most famous remark: *"The annals of New England family life record not another so strange a Golden Jubilee. Then it was that Dolly said: '**Hayes is well enough but fifty years is long enough for a woman to live with any man.**'"*



While often quoted in later references to the Copps, Cross is the only original source for the 1881 remark, viewed by many writers since as characterizing Dolly as liberated for her time. But was she just polishing up a bad situation, being polite for Victorian Era public consumption, or did long enough for a woman to live with *any man* really mean long enough to live with *this man*?

The 1861 Walling Map labels the Copp property as that of Hayes Copp. Then the **1882** Pickering Map labels it as that of Dolly Copp. Thereafter other maps follow suit – the property identifies with Dolly thereafter. What is responsible for this change - Dolly's ascendancy as tourist hostess and Imp promoter, a decline in Hayes mental health, or a combination of factors?

Back in 1850 the Wakefield Census had categorized Hayes' younger brother Daniel age 37 as a farmer living alone with property worth \$1,000. But also, as insane. In 1860 the Wakefield Census repeats the insanity observation. Daniel dies on 10/10/**1883** while an inmate at Concord's state asylum for the insane: "*Age 71, occupation farmer, cause of death chronic mania {bipolar disorder}.*" There may be a problematic genetic inheritance on display.

A lawsuit against Hayes Copp's contracted lumberman by the Peabody Valley's largest landowner John Bellows had concluded in 1880, ruling that Hayes did not own both of his original 1827 one hundred acre lots, only one. Yet by the **1884** sale of the farm Dolly is the owner of the second, questionable lot, which I can only guess Bellows may have sold her in the interim. Could it be that Hayes was not mentally capable of the transaction?

A quote from Hayes Copp in this period has been preserved. According to the *Gorham Mountaineer* of 3/5/**1886**: "*Hayes was an odd chap but considered very honest. One time a clergyman from Massachusetts was visiting him and found him very sociable. Among other questions asked by the minister was this: 'Do you have good neighbors?'*

'Ah yes,' he said, 'and I always get along without any trouble, that neighbor,' pointing to a house near, 'I have not spoken to for over thirty years, I never have any trouble with him.'" The "house near" would be Culhanes, thirty years back 1856, five years after the Culhane brothers moved in, each married to one of Dolly's Shelburne first cousins.

Possibly reinforcing enmity was the proposed 1866 annexation of little Martins Location to much larger Gorham. This issue, property tax payments at stake, finds neighbors Patrick Culhane and Hayes Copp on opposite sides. Perhaps this was in part responsible for the social freeze between neighbors continuing to 1886.

Again, from the *Gorham Mountaineer* in **1886**: "*Mrs. Copp was very intelligent and smart for her age, but Mr. Copp was more broken down.*" The inference may relate to Hayes' mental state, not just physical capability.

Eva Spear's 1932 *New Hampshire Folk Tales* cites Hayes' 1880s choice of retirement location: "*Hayes Copp was a pioneer woodsman; his mode of life did not find the bustle of the city streets appealing, he preferred country ways.*" Might we read into this more of the social reticence we infer for Hayes elsewhere.

In 1861 Edward Everett Hale spoke of Hayes Copp and his "wife." But by **1900** Hale characterizes their property as that of "Dolly Copp," by then a familiar evolution for naming the landmark. From his book that year *How to Do It*:

"Staying in the White Mountains' does not mean climbing on top of a stage-coach at Center Harbor, and riding by day and by night for forth-eight hours till you fling yourself into a railroad-car at Littleton...

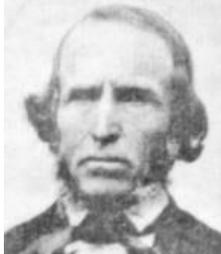
*No. It means just living with the prospect before your eyes of a hundred-mile radius... or, perhaps, a valley and a set of hills, which never by accident look twice the same, as you may have at the Glen House or **Dolly Copp's** or at Waterville."*

A **1910** news clip in the *Lewiston, Maine Evening Journal* documents son Nathaniel's old age eccentricity and apparent insanity. As with Hayes' younger brother, mental difficulties may be running in the family. In the **1919** *Turnpikes of New England* the later years of Dolly



and Hayes are recorded as very problematic: *“Local tradition has it that the husband and wife, although occupying the same house, did not speak to each other for twenty years.”*

In his **1960** classic *The Story of Mount Washington*, Frank Allen Burt summarizes the 1927 Cross account of the Copps. But the description he provides of Hayes was different, not derived from Cross:



“Hayes was a dour character who, in all his life, had never had time for fun. His gimlet eyes were always boring into some problem that was to mean hard, laborious work. His forehead was puckered up above his hawk nose, while his straight bitter lips slanted downward at each end towards the unrelieved hardness of jaw.

There is no story told of Hayes being unkind to his family, but it was not in such a nature to be sympathetic or kindly or to have the least fun in life.” (At left above Hayes in circa 1854 tourist photo and at right circa 1881 from Cross's 1927 booklet).

Perhaps that statement is Burt's interpretation of the most common photo of Hayes assumed taken near 1881. But he concludes with this grim comment, not from Cross: *“And it is no mere coincidence that an old timer in Gorham recalled that ‘Haze Copp was the meanest man I ever knew in all my life.’”*



4-6. RETIREMENT AND ADULT CHILDREN



*The passings of Hayes and Dolly are milestones in the history of the White Mountains - early in the twentieth century their legacy is memorialized as the **Dolly Copp Campground***

After their fiftieth wedding anniversary Dolly and Hayes made plans for retirement – separately – into adjacent Maine. Comment by Sarah Jordan of the USFS (photo below) on economic pressures: *“The socio-economic climate had shifted since Hayes established the farm, and farmers throughout the rocky hills of New England were unable to compete with the production of more fertile farms of the mid-western plains...”*



Between 1880 and 1900 New Hampshire lost three fifths of its farms.” How times had changed from the competitive scramble for northern New Hampshire farm land earlier in this century.

More insight from Jordan, telling us the **1880 Census** “indicated that the products of the Copp farm were bringing in less than half the amount of money they had ten years earlier. An 1880 letter written by Dolly to her granddaughter indicates her failing health.”

There was “no other woman in the household to fill her work role in the gender division of farm labor. Hayes {1806} and Dolly {1807} were approaching 80 years of age... and although son Nathaniel had returned to live with them... they were probably unable to perform the necessary physical labor.”

Son Nathaniel on 7/9/**1884** buys the farm from them. Then on 12/21/**1885** Nathaniel sells the farm to E. Libby and Sons logging company. Sarah Jordan comments:



“Nathaniel Copp evidently had little interest in trying to maintain the farm once his parents had left.” A 2/3/**1886** eldercare agreement (photo at left) has been preserved, between son Nathaniel and his 78-year-old mother:

“Know all Men by these Presents that I Nathaniel E. Copp of Martins Grant in the County of Coos and State of New Hampshire am beholden and stand firmly bound and obliged unto Dolly Copp also of said Grant in the sum of five hundred dollars...

Shall at all times during the material life of the said Dolly Copp suitably support and maintain her.... And provide her with suitable food, clothes, nursing, medicine and all other things suitable and necessary in sickness and in health in the house of the said Nathaniel E. Copp wherever said Nathaniel may live and have his home.”

As Nathaniel was described on the early 1886 agreement as from Martins Location, even though the Copp house there had been sold late in 1885, it looks like he had some arrangement with the logging company to remain as a tenant. It also looks like Dolly and Hayes did not immediately vacate either; the 1881 “fifty years is long enough for a woman to live with any man” evidently did not include their immediate separation.

DOLLY RETIRES TO AUBURN, MAINE: Just one month after the signing of her eldercare agreement, the *Gorham Mountaineer* newspaper of 3/5/**1886** included this on Dolly: “She is now spending a few weeks among her many friends here in Gorham, and on Sunday attended the Methodist Church, which is a privilege she has very seldom enjoyed.

To a friend she made this comment upon the sermon: “When the minister read ‘I go away to prepare a place for you but will come back again and receive you unto myself,’ {John 14:3} it made me think of how Nathaniel had gone to Dummer to prepare a place for me, and is coming back after me.”

Given our advantage of hindsight, perhaps introduce a little intuition here. Perhaps the newspaper account was *not really intended* to present a literal quote from Dolly, that it was more tongue in cheek than that. Instead, it may be a veiled Victorian style *editorial admonition*, noddingly understood by readers as such, urging Nathaniel to honor the agreement he had signed one month earlier for his mother’s care. From this viewpoint, the “friend” receiving Dolly’s message was the *Gorham Mountaineer* editor in his role as moral conscience for the community.

This interpretation is suggested as there was soon a change of plan from Dolly living with Nathaniel in Dummer - that primary responsibility in the recent care agreement was not

honored. Perhaps Nathaniel's mental difficulties were becoming more severe, and he fled the northern New Hampshire home scene on another of his trips to the Midwest.

The alternative view is that Dolly did retire to Dummer – briefly. In the 1995 book *Mountain Summers* is reproduced a letter from tourists Marian Pychowska and Isabella Stone about events on July 1, **1886**. Leaving the Ravine House in Randolph, Marian writes:

“Mr. Watson, Sr. drove us over to the Glen. As we passed Dolly Copp’s, now Dolly Copp’s no more, for the old lady has sold out and gone to live in Dummer.” Perhaps they picked that detail up from the March newspaper, or from Watson who took it at face value, or it is actually what happened.

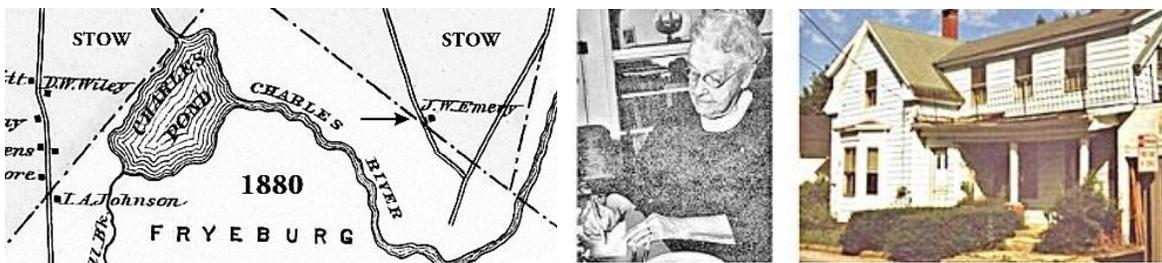
But instead of living with her son Nathaniel, Dolly retires to her daughter Sylvia's on Parker Street just north of downtown **Auburn, Maine**, off today's Route 4. We can wonder if the \$500 from the 2/3/1886 agreement with Nathaniel was transferred to Sylvia. Dolly is documented living there in the Auburn City Directory for 1887 and 1889.

HAYES RETIRES TO STOW, MAINE: Hayes went to live on an in-law Emery farm in **Stow, Maine** with Dolly's nephew James Clifford Emery. Dolly's mother had been residing with that family after 1870 until her death in 1877, so they had some experience taking care of an elderly family boarder, perhaps reviving meager income from their empty “elderly bedroom.”

According to historian Samuel Copp Worthen, (grandson of Hayes' Uncle the Reverend Roger Copp) as part of his retirement to Stow, Hayes *“contributed his savings toward the purchase price of a farm in that town, which was bought by Mr. Emery; and in return he had a home there for the remainder of his life.”*

Historian Floyd Ramsey in his 1994 *Shrouded Memories*: *“Hayes had moved to Stow, Maine, to live with Dolly's nephew James C. Emery. On January 18, 1886, {just before Dolly's agreement with Nathaniel} he gave Emery \$400 towards the purchase price of the Elwood N. Bemis Farm. He is buried in the Austin Bemis Cemetery a short distance from where the Emery Farm once stood.”*

Speculating as to Hayes' eldercare choices, we can wonder why eldest son Jeremiah, not far away near downtown Littleton, with his apparently stable family and successful business, did not step in to serve as his father's late in life caretaker. Second son Nathaniel attempted to care for his mother but was increasingly unstable. Daughter Sylvia will do her part. Youngest son Daniel was at a distance in Ohio.



*The 1858 Walling Map of Stow and Fryeburg
Places the J. W. Emery home at the Stow-Fryeburg Town Line,
Butters Road today - the above left 1880 **Map of Oxford County, Maine**
also places the J. W. Emery home in that location - at center author **Eva Speare**
who lived 1875-1972; right Sylvia and Dolly's **Auburn, Maine home** photo by Nancy Birch*

Part of the retirement dynamic was recorded in Eva Spear's 1932 *New Hampshire Folk Tales*. Therein the 1927 Cross account is retold and dressed up a little further. What is newly revealing is that Copp daughter Sylvia had offered a city home to *both* of her parents, but that Hayes did not want an urban setting such as at Sylvia's or that of Jeremiah. Author

Spear notes that a Gorham woman, Eva M. Libby, contributed to her editing of the Copp story. That well-known family name adds credibility to this 1932 detailing:

“As the years brought their burden of age, Dolly grew restless and weary of the narrow environments; her thoughts turned to the comforts and amusements of the cities that she had visited as a girl.

*So, when her daughter **offered a home to her parents** in Auburn, Dolly could not restrain her eagerness to accept the invitation. But Hayes Copp was a pioneer woodsman; his mode of life did not find the bustle of the city streets appealing, **he preferred country ways.**”*

From the financial viewpoint, despite a possible double stipend, it was less work for relatives to maintain one elderly family member than two. Was that the practical factor in their separation, aside from Dolly’s declared weariness of Hayes?

Comment by USFS Archaeologist Sarah Jordan: *“Given their advanced age and failing health, selling the farm was an economically prudent decision, and their separation may have been due, at least in part, to a desire to spread the burden of care among family members.”*

In 1932 author Eva Spear referred to post-separation visits between Dolly and Hayes. And there was an article about the Copp’s in the 9/12/1953 *Lewiston Journal* mentioning post-separation visits, without acrimony:

“Afterward in their declining years, Dolly and Hayes still saw each other. They visited the other’s home on several occasions. Quite evidently everything was amicable between them” (assumed late **1880s**). Was this from the newspaper’s own research - or perhaps the paper in 1953 was polishing up the 1932 Eva Spear – Libby account.



Mark and Elizabeth Lewonis

Life ended for Hayes on 11/6/**1889**. Dolly Copp campers Mark and Elizabeth Lewonis writing in 2009: *“The grave of Hayes is off of Harbor Road in Fryeburg, Maine, down a little lane between the Bradley Methodist Church and the Old Saco River in Fryeburg Harbor, Bemis Cemetery, Row 2.”* This is southwest across the Saco River from his residence at the Jonathan Emery home.

“The wording on the stone is “Father, Hayes Copp, Died November 6, 1889, Aged 83 years 1 month. As for the artificial red flower in the photo, we do not know who left that there and a few others are dotted here and there. There are several Emerys next to Hayes’ gravestone.”

Bemis Cemetery Gravestones

- Hayes D. Copp 1807-1889
- Dolly’s mother Deborah Kelley 1784-1877
- Dolly’s brother Jonathan Emery 1814-1901
- Jonathan Emery’s wife Elizabeth 1803-1891
- Dolly’s nephew J. Clifford Emery 1852-1928

My wife Dolores and I visited the Bemis Cemetery in 2017. We found it well maintained amidst postcard quality country views over well-tended fields. From the 1826 Northern Traveler: *“Fryeburg, where will be seen the beautiful tract of level country through which meanders the Saco River.”* Do leave the mountains for a side trip and see this scenery for yourself.

Dolly then leaves this life on 10/4/**1891**. In 2002, camper Nancy Birch visited Mount Auburn Cemetery where Dolly is buried, describing the Sylvia Potter Family plot as *“not far from the entrance to the older part of the cemetery.”* Nancy recorded Dolly’s headstone as reading *“Dolly E.”* and on the other side *“Dolly Emery – Wife of Hayes D. Copp - Died Oct 4, 1891 - Aged 84 yrs. 5 mos.”*

PARENTS

1766 Dodavah Copp
 1780 Deborah Copp
 1784 Deborah Emery
 1789 Nathaniel Emery



*Dolly and Hayes in
 1952 fictional account*

CHILDREN

1832 Jeremiah Copp
 1834 Nathaniel Copp
 1838 Sylvia Copp
 1849 Daniel Copp

FIRST CHILD JEREMIAH B. COPP: Jeremiah, first child born to Dolly and Hayes, arrived on 9/7/1832. When elderly Dolly reminisced in 1886 about her early years, she *“had to put the baby in the clothes basket and carry it out in the field and tend it there, as she could find time.”* That infant was likely her first born Jeremiah. When telling her life story to writer Louisa May Alcott Dolly mentions sons Jeremiah and Nathaniel: *“That’s how I keep my blessed **Jabez** and Nathan under.”*

Growing up in Martins Location, the **1850** Census classifies Jeremiah as a laborer. While that Census included hundreds of job titles for occupations, a high 15% in New Hampshire are termed “laborer”, evidently a catch all term until specialization is achieved.

George Cross referring to the Census of 1850 in his 1927 booklet: *“Both Jerry and Nat gave their employment not as farmers but as laborers, making it evident it was their intention, as they did a few years later, to leave the farm.”*

In the eighteen fifties Jeremiah worked on Mount Washington, helping to build the 1852 Summit House and then serving as a carpenter in the 1853 Tip Top House. On 1/10/**1858** “Jerry” as he was nicknamed, married Susan Gray Rogers, daughter of farmer John Rogers and Susan Jane Gray Rogers of Jackson. Wife Susan was born in 1826.

Historic novelist Downes adds color: *“Throughout the summer months Dolly had said ‘he goes often to see this girl; we shall lose him.’ Always Hayes only smiled and nodded assent as Jerry asked for the horse on Saturday nights. One cold January day Jerry drove away with his trunk in the back of the sleigh. Two days later, while a neighbor cared for the animals, Hayes, Dolly, Sylvia, Nat and Daniel drove to the wedding.”*

The couple lived in Gorham briefly, then in **1860** moved west to Littleton, NH, Jeremiah listed as a day laborer there in the Census that year. He then spends most of his Littleton years as a skilled carpenter. He helped to build the Cog Railway.



Littleton was a growing central town somewhat more than thirty miles west of Gorham. In Littleton, Jeremiah and Susan lived near the Ammonoosuc River just across from downtown.

*Photo of Jeremiah Copp circa 1854 aside
 1876 Fisherman at Emerald Pool by Henry Fenn*

George Cross on Jeremiah Copp in Littleton: *“Famed as the most skillful trout fisherman in all the region.”* Skills learned as a youth along the Peabody River no doubt.

Jeremiah and Susan Copp had three children:

--- **1859** to 1910 Marcella May Copp, first marriage in 1884 to John Wesley Fuller, child Warren Ray Fuller born 12/28/1890; second marriage in 1904 to Orin M. Carr who lived 1849-1915.

--- **1862** to 1915 Susan J. Copp, recipient of Dolly's 1880 letter, worked in a glove shop at that time, married first Albert J. Hoyt in 1882, son Archibald Hoyt, second husband Joseph L. Gray in 1899.

--- **1869** to 1900 Charles B. Copp, in the 1900 Census living with his parents, had lived in New York, was married, a stenographer unemployed for ten months, sick for three years with tuberculosis, returned to Littleton in 1899, died there 10/3/1900.

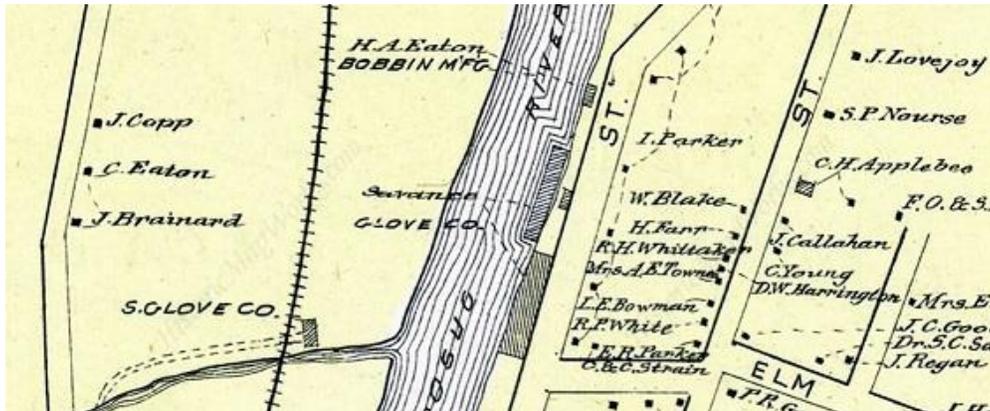
Examining the June **1863 Civil War Draft Registration Record** for Littleton we find "*Jeremiah B. Copp, age 30, occupation mechanic.*" There is no record of his having served in the military thereafter.

The **1870 Littleton Census** records Jeremiah as a house carpenter, then in **1880** as a house "joiner." The revised job title indicates a focus on more refined carpentry work such as doors, windows, stairs and cabinets.

The *Gazetteer of Grafton County* lists wife Susan as a carpet weaver. They did not work out of their home. The *Littleton City Directory* gives both their work locations as the historic Bugbee Block in the heart of downtown Littleton, that historic structure still standing.

From the 1905 History of Littleton: "*Jeremiah Copp was a carpenter and a Democrat and attended the Congregational Church... Regarded as one of the best workmen the town has had as a carpenter, using the word in the sense of distinguishing the trade of framer from that of joiner or finisher of a building.*"

He came here in 1860, and since that time has been employed on nearly all the important structures erected in the town. He framed the high school building.... The plans for the new building were drawn by Edward Dow, a Concord architect. The foundation was begun in the spring of 1866. A contract for the erection of the frame and covering it was made with Jeremiah B. Copp."



Jeremiah Copp's Littleton home on left
from the D. H. Hurd & Co. 1892 Atlas of NH with
north at right, river is the Ammonoosuc aside downtown

Jeremiah is still working at age 69. According to the Bethlehem New Hampshire *White Mountain Echo* newspaper of July 6, **1901** "*Mr. Jeremiah B. Copp of Littleton has been engaged the past week repairing the bridge over the Ammonoosuc at Wing Road {in Bethlehem}. It was a much needed attention and it will be perfectly safe now for the heaviest teams.*"

Littleton Courier: "*The basement of the present Courier printing plant, where the presses now operate, was once the living quarters of Jeremiah B. Copp, well known Littleton*

octogenarian, who in his later years was night watchman at the Littleton Savings Bank until he retired in **1907**... Mr. Copp has been known for many years in Littleton, where he always lived, as *Diogenes*, because of his habit of carrying a lantern about the streets."

Jeremiah then leaves the Littleton area to live with his daughter Marcella Carr and her family to the south in Meredith, NH. He passes away in Meredith on 9/5/**1910**, which was two days short of his 78th birthday, and according to his death certificate, ten days after receiving internal injuries from a fall. Jeremiah's death certificate also indicates his immediate previous residence to Meredith was Lisbon, NH, near Littleton.

Jeremiah was interred back in Littleton aside his late wife. Interesting that Jeremiah's death certificate records his birth as in "*Gorham Martins Location*," blurring the distinction between what are not always clearly separated jurisdictions.

Littleton Courier. "His body was brought to the home of his daughter Mrs. Joseph Gray, where funeral services were held, Reverend William A. Bacon {Congregational}, officiating. Mr. Copp was a man of rugged personality and his quaintness of language made him a picturesque figure in the community."

SECOND CHILD NATHANIEL E. COPP: Nathaniel was born on 1/4/**1834**, assumed to be named after Dolly's father Nathaniel Emery. Part of the story Dolly told to Louisa May Alcott in 1861 was that when little, "*Nathaniel had scared me most to death swallowing a cent*" – pennies were much larger back then. In the **1850** Martins Location Census sixteen-year-old Nathaniel is listed as a laborer.



Timeline About

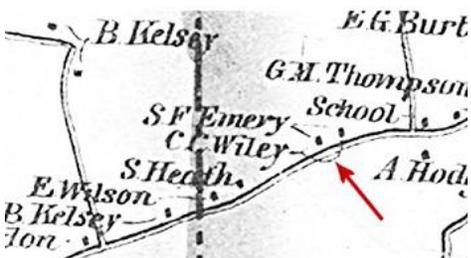
Shelly Mathias – descendant of Dolly and Nathaniel
2019 photo used by permission from her Facebook page

Photo of Nathaniel Copp's wife Esther Willey contributed by her descendent Shelly Mathias of Maine

Nathaniel's marriage links to another Bartlett Emery emigrating to the Gorham Area. Nearby Dolly was her Uncle Samuel Emery Senior, who lived from 1783 to 1845, his farm on Gorham Hill, Route 2 today, just east of the Randolph Town Line. Samuel Senior was an early Gorham selectman.

Comment by historian Wight: "*a farming community was carved out of the forest by Samuel F. Emery*" and a few others he cites. "*He came to Gorham in 1833 from Shelburne with his two surviving children and lived on Gorham Hill near the Randolph Line.*" Samuel, born in 1783 is not to be confused with Dolly's other Shelburne Uncle, Enoch Emery Junior, born in 1794 and father of the Site #5 Culhane brothers' wives (those two women first cousins of Dolly).

After the 1845 death of Dolly's Uncle Samuel, remaining in the Gorham Hill Emery home was Dolly's first cousin Samuel Emery Junior. Small world back then, this cousin marries Almira McCartee, a daughter of 1840 Pinkham's Grant pioneer Robert McCartee.



At left the 1861 Walling Map identifies adjacent Gorham residences of Emery and Willey Families near the Randolph Line

Also at the Gorham Hill Emery home was Dolly's first cousin Abigail Emery. Abigail marries Curtis C. Willey, the young man next door (see map at left). Abigail and Curtis give birth to a daughter, **Esther Emery Willey**, who became the wife of Dolly's son Nathaniel. The first cousin relationship between the

mothers, Abigail and Dolly, makes the newly marrieds **second cousins**. Their wedding was on May 28, **1860**, Nathaniel 26 and Esther 24.

Searching for the residence of newly married Nathaniel and Esther, a Nathaniel Copp is recorded in the 1860 Census in Danville, Maine, another in 1860 working as a laborer in a Littleton lumber yard. The Littleton location, and working with wood, fit well with Nathaniel being under the wing of his older brother Jeremiah, a carpenter recently established there.

Then it is definitely our Nathaniel recorded by the June **1863 Civil War Draft Registration Record** living back in Martins Location that year. The Draft Registrar makes the illuminating comment "*most of toes gone by being frozen.*" That handicap validates Nathaniel's nationally publicized 1855 winter woods deer hunting near-tragedy. Nathaniel gives no Civil War service, the toe injuries the likely reason.

Also recorded in the 1863 *Civil War Draft Registration* records for Nathaniel: "*He {unreadable} in Maine and works for J. M. Thompson {then Glen House owner} by the month.*" Here we see that like his older brother Jeremiah and the neighboring Culhane brothers, Nathaniel Copp had Peabody Valley tourism work.

Nathaniel had two daughters from his 1860 marriage to second cousin Esther Emery Willey. The first, Jennie Copp (1864-1941), married a Polland and the second, Mary Emma Copp (1865-1942) married William L. Jones. But Nathaniel and Esther would soon divorce, an ancestry.com source saying in **1865**.

Divorce today is accepted by many as a reasonable solution to incompatibility. Times have changed dramatically on this, as the national rate of divorce in 1867 was a tiny one third of one percent of marriages. Nathaniel and Esther will both remarry.

Historian George Cross recaps: "*In 1860 he married Esther Willey of Gorham and apparently soon after {must be after the 1863 Civil War Draft Registration Report and his children's 1864 and 1865 births} disappeared and Martins Location knew nothing of him for years. We get glimpses of him seeing the great world as an employee of a circus, living some years in Toledo, Ohio.*"

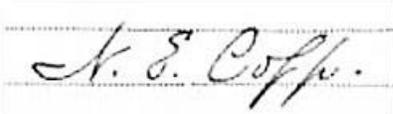
The *Toledo City Directory* documents Nathaniel as a resident there **1876 - 1878**. In addition, according to *Worthen's Copp Genealogy*, Nathaniel "*traveled extensively and is said to have spent some time with the circus.*"

In **1880**, divorced Nathaniel at age 46 is back living with his parents in Martins Location. His Census occupation that year was farmer. Dolly in her September **1880** letter to her granddaughter thru eldest son Jeremiah Copp in Littleton says "*Nathaniel has been carrying potatoes and apples to Gorham. Nathaniel caught another fox and he has got it alive now.*"

At 49 a second marriage for Nathaniel takes place, to Elizabeth Pray, a widow, on July 1, **1883** in Dummer, NH. That small town is on the Androscoggin River north of Berlin.

According to Gorham historian Denman Wight Nathaniel Copp "*was a queer character but by no means a fool, he was as full of eccentricities as a dog is of fleas. After selling the farm in the Grant {Martins Location} to E. Libby & Sons in **1884** he took his household goods, livestock, and his wife, all in a box car, {not unusual transport for a long distance move back then} and headed west.*"

An unattributed source in the Androscoggin District USFS file tells us that on a trip west Nathaniel visited his younger brother Daniel in Ohio. Wight's 1884 departure date must be a second visit to the Midwest, as we have placed Nathaniel in Toledo, Ohio in the later 1870s then back in Martins Location for the Census of 1880.



On 2/3/**1886** he enters into a written agreement to provide Dolly's old age care. (Nathaniel's signature on Dolly's 1886 care agreement). For some reason Nathaniel changed course, as it was his younger sister Sylvia Potter in Auburn, Maine that provided eldercare for Dolly.

From the Gorham paper of 3/5/1886: *“Nathaniel Copp has bought a farm in Dummer and moved there.”* Sarah Jordan of the USFS in her 2004 report *The Copp Farm* notes the D. H. Hurd 1892 Atlas of New Hampshire Map for Dummer labels a home there the “N. J. Copp” residence, I assume a map misprint for “N. E. Copp.” The location was on the east side of today’s Route 110A.

Not having any discernable job history, perhaps the new Pray Family in laws helped Nathaniel pay for that property or its rent. Or he used the \$500 payment due from his mother in the eldercare agreement signed just one month back.

George Cross records Nathaniel’s ensuing deterioration: *“After the sale of the homestead Nathaniel became again a homeless wanderer and lived his last aimless years in Brunswick, Maine.”* A focus on this phase of Nathaniel’s life is found in the *Lewiston, Maine Evening Journal* of October 22, **1910**:

“Nathaniel E. Copp of Brunswick {Maine} arrived in Auburn Friday forenoon. While he didn’t pretend that his advent would create a ripple in the placidity of that city, it did nevertheless.

After one lady had reported to the police that he had nearly scared her to death, the police sent out an expedition to learn more of Mr. Copp. Deputy Marshal Stenson brought into the station about the most picturesque little figure that had been seen hereabouts for many a day.

Not since Jean Marie Lederc, the French wild man, was captured a few years ago, has the station held a more interesting personality: or perhaps it is unfair to compare Mr. Copp to a wild man. The old gentleman was quite placid in disposition and had quite a bit more commonsense than did Jeanmarie.



His detention interrupted an honest and painstaking search for his sister whom he couldn’t find, but he was the gainer thereby, for the police finally found her for him {sister Sylvia lived in Auburn adjacent to Lewiston}.

Mr. Copp’s predominating article of rainment was a tall hat of the same bigness at base and pinnacle; one of the huge old-fashioned fuzzy kind that one associates with fifty years ago. His figure was quite short and the upper portion of it was garbed in the voluminous folds of an old, heavy ulster.

He was girded about the middle with a broad belt, a great buckle gleaming at the front. Around the neck peeked the collar of a red flannel shirt. In his hurry, he had put his trousers on inside out and, since they reached only half-way between knee and ankle, the effect was somewhat odd.

The *White Mountain Shopper* 3/27/1993: *“This sketch of Nathaniel {above} appeared on the front page of the Lewiston Evening Journal on October 21, 1910. Looking for his sister Sylvia, Nathaniel had the city in an uproar as he wandered the streets.”*

Furthermore, they were exceedingly well patched and darned. The gaps between trousers and socks were bridged by nothing except bare legs. The socks were of heavy wool and the shoes good substantial brogans with heavy buckles. In his hand he carried a staff nearly as tall as himself. His face was covered by a weak stubble, and altogether his appearance was not prepossessing.

At the station he sat in solemn state and submitted to interrogation which, at first, didn’t reveal much, but later disclosed the whys and wherefores of his pilgrimage. The old man, as far as the police could learn from his story, was an inmate of the Brunswick Town Farm, from which he ran away Thursday, driving a horse which, he says, is his.

*He slept Thursday night at the pumping station at Brunswick, and Friday morning, leaving his horse, and taking the car, which brought him to Lewiston. He didn't know the name of the city he was in, but did know he was **looking for his sister**, and he knew her name.*

He had struck the right town however, for upon consulting the directory, the police found that she lived in Auburn. 'I didn't run away', he protested, 'I just told them I wasn't going to stay, and left. I didn't even bid them goodbye.'

The police communicated with his sister who was much surprised at the old man's adventure. Later, she came to the station and took him to her home. In the meantime, he sat quietly in a chair, sometimes dozing, sometimes gazing out the window.

His wanderings through Auburn streets attracted great attention and he frightened more than one woman. One young woman, who thought he was about to follow her, took to her heels and ran."

Nathaniel died at age 78 in Brunswick, Maine on 2/27/**1912**. His death certificate gives his occupation as farmer and that of his late father also a farmer. Nathaniel is buried in the Mount Auburn Cemetery as had been his mother Dolly in 1891, and will be the family's last to pass away, sister Sylvia Copp Potter in 1929.

THIRD CHILD SYLVIA HANNAH COPP: Usually called Sylvia, the third child of Dolly and Hayes was born on 11/18/**1838**. As for honoring older family names, Dolly had a sister named Hannah and Hayes had an older half-sister named Hannah. Insight in 2004 by Sarah Jordan of the USFS on youthful Sylvia's contribution on the family farm:

*"The peak of home manufacture and production of butter was in **1850**, and this may be attributed to the fact that daughter Sylvia Copp was living at home. In later years, Dolly appears to have been the sole female household member responsible for such production, and numbers were significantly lower."*

Sylvia marries Benjamin Potter, Jr. of New Gloucester, Maine. Potter was born about 1831 so was a little older than her. Benjamin had been a laborer on his father's New Gloucester farm. Conjecture on their meeting by author Floyd Ramsey:

"He was probably an old friend of Colonel Thompson of the Glen House where Sylvia could have met him while delivering her mother's handicrafts. Before taking over the Glen House, Colonel Thompson had operated a hotel in New Gloucester. Whatever the case, the marriage had Hayes' and Dolly's blessing."

Sylvia left Martins Location after her **1858** marriage, the Potters recorded in Durham, Maine, north of Portland for the **1870** Census, not far from Benjamin's roots in New Gloucester. They are then in Auburn Maine for the **1880** Census.

In Auburn at age 48, Benjamin's occupation was shoe shop hand. Benjamin dies soon after the 1880 Census, on 3/14/**1881**. Partially documented list of children: 1865 Lillian M. Potter, 1870 Sylvia E. Potter, and 1878 Leland B. Potter.

Dolly was still attending church in the Gorham Area as of March **1886**, five years after her famous fiftieth anniversary rebuke to Hayes. After that she moves in with her widowed daughter Sylvia in Auburn. Sylvia remains on Parker Street in Auburn in both the Census of **1900** and Census of **1910** {1890 Census lost}. But by **1920**, Sylvia was sufficiently infirm to have become a resident of the Auburn Home for Aged Women.

George Cross wrote in **1927** that *"at the goodly age of eighty-nine years, she is still living in Auburn, cherishing happy memories of her girlhood in Glen Peabody."* That remark implies that Cross had been interviewing Sylvia for his booklet. It seems likely then that long lived Sylvia within her lifetime learned from Cross, or in some other way, of her family's name being memorialized as the new Copp Spring Campground.

In these same years, Sylvia was assisting Copp Family genealogist Samuel Copp Worthen, separate from assistance given to Cross. Worthen wrote in 1938 that *“the formal records of Hayes D. Copp’s family are given in a Bible formerly owned by his daughter, Mrs. Sylvia (Copp) Potter.”* I was fortunate to be able to examine those same Bible records.

Sylvia passed away at age 90 on 10/29/**1929** at the Auburn Home for Aged Women. But her death certificate invokes a mystery. While the *place* of death was given as the Auburn old age home, her *residence* at death was listed as 41 Pleasant Street back in Gorham.

It looks from this that Sylvia was keeping some sort of tie with her home area. A possible clue is that the Pleasant Street address is adjacent to the Gorham property of Patrick Culhane who died in 1888. The heirs of Patrick Culhane were Emery side second cousins to Sylvia.

FOURTH CHILD DANIEL STICKNEY COPP: For possible reuse of family names Hayes had a younger brother named Daniel. While the name Stickney turns up occasionally in the Emery line, in recent generations it had been used for Dolly’s dad Nathaniel as his middle name on a 5/18/1818 petition to the legislature.

Son Daniel was born on 8/14/**1849** and lived 72 years until 5/13/1922. Daniel’s occupation in the **1870** Census was “works on farm.” As the youngest, Daniel was by 1870 the only Copp child who had not yet left the Martins Location home. Daniel married Lizzie Arianna Drew of Richwood, Ohio on 12/18/**1874**. Lizzie lived from 1851 to 1926 so was a little younger than Daniel.

According to the *Worthen Copp Genealogy* bride Lizzie *“was a refined and cultured young lady who had studied at Oberlin College {1871-1872 school year there}. She met Daniel Copp when a summer visitor in New Hampshire.”*

George Cross says their *“marriage in Gorham was performed by the Reverend J. A. Hawkes {Methodist}. The aged minister used to recall that Dolly came along to witness the happy ceremony and offer earliest congratulations.”*

Consider this typical Cross embellishment: “Daniel was then a ruddy faced, broad shouldered, presentable young fellow of twenty-five. It needed only moonlight rambles along the river bank, fire lit chats in the living room in autumn, for Lizzie Drew to learn that ‘nor frock nor tan can hide the man.’” Then again maybe that is exactly what happened!



George Cross says the romance had its roots when the touring Drew Family boarded at the Copp farm during the summer of **1874**, Daniel’s marriage to the tourists’ daughter was later that same year. While Lizzie’s parents were residents of Ohio, the family origins were to the east in Maine. Lizzie’s mother was from Montville, Maine and her father from Belmont, Maine.

This couple had married in Maine in 1839 and moved to Ohio later that same year, by this time a standard migration route for New England’s young. I assume the Drew family vacation included a visit beyond the White Mountains, further east for a reunion with relatives in Maine.

From the 1883 *History of Union County, Ohio*: **“Daniel S. Copp, a farmer and dairymen, in Richwood, is a son of Hayes D. and Dolly (Emery) Copp, natives of New Hampshire, the former of Irish, and the latter of English descent. The father was a life-long farmer, and a prominent man among the agriculturists.**

*Our subject was reared on a farm and received an ordinary public school education. He was married in 1874 to **Lizzie A. Drew**, a native of Ohio, of English descent, and a daughter of Alvin Drew. Mr. Copp in a Democrat in politics.*

In 1877, he came to Ohio and located at Fremont, where he remained until 1881, when he removed to Claibourne Township, one-mile north of Richwood, where he still resides. He owns fifty-five acres of land, on which he pastures cows, selling the milk and doing a general dairy business in connection with his farm operations."

More on Lizzie from the *Worthen Copp Genealogy*: *"Mrs. Copp was interested in educational and philanthropic work and founded the Lizzie A. Copp Industrial School for Girls in Burma, the School for Orphan Girls at Oneida, Kentucky, and the Alvin Drew School {in operation 1911-1947} at Pine Ridge, Kentucky."*

More of her philanthropy in evidence in the 1910 *Report of the Cincinnati Missionary Society for the Methodist Episcopal Church*, stating that of the \$3,800 in annual annuities received from a total of five donors, Lizzie Copp's at \$1,000 was the largest.



The *Michigan Farmer* magazine of October **1920** included an advertisement for upgrading corn cribs from wood to steel. Four testimonials from prominent farm owners around the Midwest were featured in the ad, one by L. A. Copp of Richwood, Ohio:

"Since 1901 I have built three wooden cribs that were supposed to be rat and mouse proof" etc., then heartily endorsing the superior steel product.

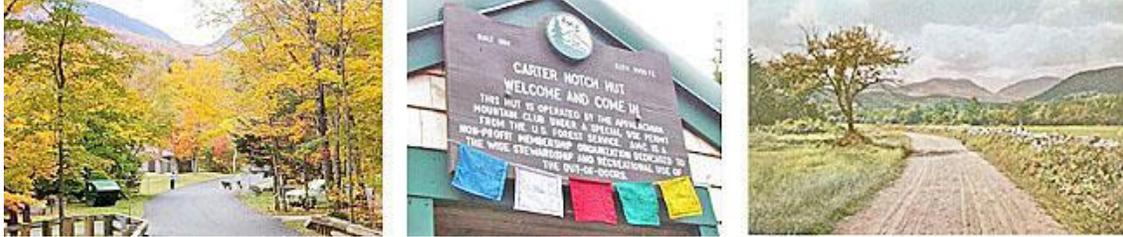
After Daniel's father-in-law died his Drew mother-in-law came to live with them. The mother-in-law's obituary states she had no grandchildren. Daniel Copp then passes away in **1922**, wife Lizzie in **1926**.

From Lizzie's obituary in the *Richwood Gazette*: *"After a long illness of paralysis, Mrs. Elizabeth Copp, widow of Daniel Copp, died Monday morning at five o'clock at her home north of Richwood.*

Mrs. Copp was much interested in the welfare of various missionary schools and had become well known because of her work on their behalf. Mrs. Copp also gave to Richwood the building which now contains the public library."

[Back to Contents](#)

5. BIOGRAPHY OF DANIEL PINKHAM



At left Campground view **south to Carter Notch**, center Carter Notch Hut with Tibetan prayer flags, at right 1898 post card view **north to Carter Notch** from Jackson

From the confluence of the Wildcat and Ellis Rivers in central Jackson north to Carter Notch is about 8 miles; from the Hayes Copp farm south to the Notch is a little over 3 miles – the Notch a comforting landmark for Peabody Valley pioneers moving north from Jackson

5-1. PINKHAMS FIRST TO SETTLE VALLEY

DANIEL AND ESTHER PINKHAM MOVE NORTH

With his new road suitable for wheeled vehicles pushing its way north, Daniel and Esther Pinkham and their kin were able to settle in the remote Peabody Valley. On Daniel's residency from the 1889 *History of Carroll County*: *"In 1829, at the age of fifty, he removed his family to Pinkham's {Grant}, and was again a pioneer. Here he resided six years."*

Perhaps Daniel Pinkham born in 1779 resembled his younger brother Rufus born in 1789 (photo at right courtesy of the Jackson Historical Society). According to the *Pinkham Genealogy* *"Deacon Rufus Pinkham had the reputation of being a man of few words, but one whose every word told."*



He had the same quiet, even disposition possessed by the other members of the Pinkham Family, and his faithful Christian character as a deacon of the church made his words prevail with a double sway." A religious leader like older brother Daniel.

Correlating well with Daniel and Esther Pinkham's move north from Jackson is a statement in *A History of Jackson, NH 1771-1940* that John Chesley *"moved to the center of Town about 1830 when he purchased Daniel Pinkham's farm."* Chesley was Mrs. Pinkham's nephew, her maiden name Chesley. Pinkham Family residency in Pinkhams Grant is also documented in the 1887 biography of Daniel's fourth child Randall:

"In 1829, his father, unable to realize any money from the sales of land was compelled to leave his little farm in Jackson to his creditors and to seek some other home for himself and family. He moved into the wilderness on the road, and building a log house with a wooden

chimney, and destitute of every convenience necessary for a comfortable home, he commenced clearing away the forest and getting ready to live again on his own land.”

The Pinkham Family migration north is described in the 1998 historic novel *Pinkhams Notch* by Carol Hayes: *“Esther deplored the journey. She was awed by Mount Washington’s vast bulk as they traversed its lengthy base. At the Hanson’s, dog and children, mere midges under the mountain’s immensity, romped around a meagre cabin huddled against the heights.*

Alas, that my daughter Ann should live in so forlorn a place, grieved Esther, although impressed that her quiet, slow-moving son-in-law Joe Hanson had cleared so many acres. It was three more grueling miles to Dodiver {Hayes} Copp’s. The Pinkham caravan reached a scraggy clearing surrounded by dense forest. In its midst was a plain log house, attached to a shed and barn. Truly a humble abode, thought Esther.”

VALIDATION BY PINKHAM GENEALOGY: The 1908 *Pinkham Genealogy* states that Daniel moved from southern New Hampshire north to Jackson when eight years old and lived there from 1787 to 1828. Then he next lived in **Pinkhams Grant** from 1828 to 1835, then moving west to Coos County seat Lancaster where he remained until his death in 1855. Presented ahead are references to his children in the *Genealogy* that confirm the Pinkhams Grant residency.

The *Genealogy* is a massive volume that obviously took years to compile, for some period before its 1908 publication author Charles Nelson Sinnett must have been contacting that era’s Pinkham Family for their ancestry. With the possible exception of two of the eight children of Daniel and Esther who lived into the 1890s, it seems unlikely Pinkham’s own children were direct contributors to the 1908 work.

I therefore assume Daniel’s grandchildren provided most of the information. This point is made as there is some slight muddle in the book as to dating and geographic facts on the family’s Pinkhams Grant residency – but not enough to invalidate evidence that they moved from Jackson and resided in Pinkhams Grant for a span of years.

Below is an inventory of the eight children of Daniel Pinkham and Esther Chesley Pinkham as shown in the 1908 *Genealogy*. The inventory is a convenient location to add minor details about the Pinkham children in addition to its main purpose of presenting locational evidence.

In making the additions, the original intent of using bold exclusively to highlight the *Genealogy*’s 1830s residence clues remains unaltered. To better focus on the evidence of Pinkhams Grant residency, not all of Daniel and Esther’s grandchildren are included, only those tied to the early Peabody Valley. Facts presented in 1908 pertaining to Pinkhams Grant residency are placed in **bold type**:

#1 CHILD ANN PINKHAM 1804 – 1847, born in Jackson, married Joseph Hanson who lived 1802-1873, Joseph born in Wakefield, NH, lived in **Greens Grant**, buried in Lancaster. (At right is the obituary for Ann in the 5/24/1848 Morning Star, a Freewill Baptist newspaper). Children:

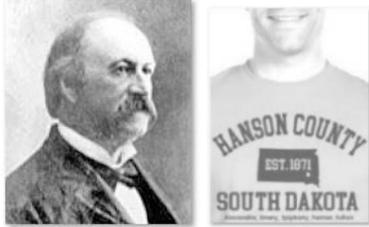
In Lancaster, N. H. Nov. 9th 1847, of consumption, Mrs. ANNA HANSON, aged 43 years—wife of Mr. Joseph Hanson, and daughter of Daniel and Esther Pinkham, formerly of Jackson. Sister H. professed religion when about 20 years of age, and by the help of God was enabled to maintain faith in Christ to the last. And al-

1. 1825 Lucy Hanson, studied in Lancaster.
2. 18?? Wright Pinkham Hanson.
3. 1830 Daniel Pinkham Hanson, born in **Greens Grant**, graduated Lancaster schools. In 1852 he moved with his younger brother Franklin to Chicago.
4. 1832 Franklin Smith Hanson, born on the Gorham Road, **near the Copp’s Place, Lancaster**. But as there is no Gorham Road in Lancaster, reference to that next hometown

is assumed to be muddled memory by 1908. But “near the Copp’s place” remains credible evidence.

Franklin studied in the Academy conducted by his Uncle Daniel C. Pinkham, then owned and operated the New England Mills, a large flour and corn meal processor in Chicago 1860-1898. The 1886 *History of Chicago* by Alfred Andreas:

Franklin was “prominently identified with the commercial interests of Chicago for over a quarter of a century... Mr. Hanson was born on August 5, 1832, near the Glen House, Mount Washington, NH, and is the son of Joseph Hanson who, with his own hands, made the first opening in the forests where the hotel mentioned now stands.”



5. 1837 Joseph R. Hanson (photo), the 1908 *Genealogy* says born in Lancaster, but his biography cites his birthplace as Pinkhams Grant. He moved west in 1858 and became Chief Clerk of the first South Dakota Legislature, Hanson County there named in his honor.

6. 1839 Abbie Hanson, born in Lancaster.

7. 1841 William Henry Hanson, born in Lancaster.

#2 CHILD BETSEY PINKHAM 1809 – 1884, The *Genealogy* says she was born in **Pinkhams Grant** but that location assumed an error this early, married Samuel Copp (1807-1875) of Jackson on 9/29/1829. *Genealogy* says they lived in Jackson 1831-33, in Bartlett 1833-37, and in **Pinkhams Grant** 1837-1847. * Then in Bridgeton, Maine 1850, in Stow, Maine 1860, and finally Fryeburg, Maine in 1873, where this Samuel helps Dolly Copp’s elderly mother Deborah with her widow’s pension application.

* The *Pinkham Genealogy* misses their earlier residence confirmed in the 1830 Census Public Lands category. Perhaps Samuel and Betsey Copp lived at father-in-law Daniel Pinkhams’ Site #5 house in 1830 – or her sister’s Site #1 dwelling - the house we soon associate with them on Site #2 was not ready for occupancy until 1835. Their leaving Pinkham’s Grant in 1847 correlates well with John Bellows’ 1846 seizure.

As another reference in the *Genealogy* specifically references Pinkhams Grant as the locale for the 1830 birth of Samuel and Betsey Copp’s daughter Hannah, the *Pinkham Genealogy* author either missed this contradiction in his listing or perhaps did not have the wherewithal to re-contact relatives to resolve it. Children:

1. 1830 Hannah Jane Copp Wiley born in **Pinkhams Grant**.
2. 1833 Esther P. Copp Richardson.
3. 1835 Daniel Pinkham Copp, born in Bartlett, became a carpenter.
4. 1838 William H. Copp, Civil War enlistee 1861, died in Union Army hospital.
5. 1841 Randall B. Copp, Civil War private for six months in 1864, born in Jackson.
6. 1844 Alexander Pinkham Copp, death certificate says born in **Pinkhams Grant**.
7. 1845 George Washington Copp, born in Jackson, another record says Bridgeton, Maine.
8. 1850 Ann Delestra Copp Webb, born in Jackson.

#3 CHILD SARAH PINKHAM 1808 – 1896, resided Jackson and then Lancaster, married first widower William Gray Wentworth (1807-1862), married second the above Joseph Hanson in 1864. (Her older sister Ann was the first wife of Joseph Hanson, widow Sarah was the second wife, Hanson available after first wife Ann died in 1847).

#4 CHILD (BENJAMIN) RANDALL PINKHAM 1812 – 1887, as an expression of his father Daniel’s religious devotion, this first son was named after the founder of the Free Will Baptist Church Benjamin Randall.

According to author Dan Sczcesay “*Benjamin Randall would literally carry followers from the coast to several towns in the area where they found quick acceptance in the more rural parts of the state. Along the more progressive seacoast they were considered a fringe denomination at best.*”

Born while the family was still living in Jackson, Randall’s bio says that as a teenager he did camp duties for his father’s Pinkham Road construction crew in Pinkhams Grant.

Randall married Sarah Ann Evans, daughter of Daniel Evans of Shelburne. Randall Pinkham’s sister Martha Pinkham marries Otis Evans, brother to Sarah Evans. My experience, as my father’s sister married my mother’s brother - I grew up with “double cousins”.

As his 1887 obituary was written largely in the first person, it is excerpted herein as “bio of” or “according to” Randall Pinkham. That bio provides ample evidence that Randall lived with his parents in Pinkhams Grant, although not so stated in the 1908 *Genealogy*. Randall later lived in Lancaster and was a farmer and stage driver. *

* On stage driving from the bio of Randall: “*After the cars of the Atlantic & St. Lawrence R.R. ran to Mechanic Falls {Maine}, he drove the stage from there to Bethel {Maine} for Dingley & Langley, and when the cars reached Bethel, he drove from there to Gorham.*”

When Gorham was reached by railroad cars {1851}, he drove from Lancaster to Gorham and continued on this route until they reached Groveton {1853}, when he again changed from Gorham and Lancaster to linking Lancaster and Groveton.”

#5 CHILD MARTHA PINKHAM 1815 – 1885, born in Jackson, lived in **Pinkhams Grant**. She married Otis Evans in 1834. Otis lived 1811-1886. As noted above, Otis Evans was the brother of Sarah Evans who married Martha’s older brother Randall Pinkham. The Evans’ couple lived their lives in Shelburne.

The 1888 *History of Coos County* on Martha’s husband Otis Evans: “*For three quarters of a century he led an upright life in Shelburne. He was a hard-working and successful farmer, and well informed on the general topics of the day. He passed all his life on the land where he was born and died.*”

News of Otis Evans in the *Gorham Mountaineer* newspaper of 10/10/1884: “*Mr. Otis Evans, one of the oldest and best known residents of Shelburne, met with an accident yesterday. His escape from instant death was most miraculous. He was driving up to our village {westerly into Gorham} and coming across the railroad crossing.*”



Route 2 west of Town and Country – as in 1884
a wide angle makes it difficult to judge train speed

Just as the regular passenger train was going down, he thought he had plenty of time to cross. But the engine struck the hind wheels of his carriage, smashing it and throwing him out... His injuries were very slight. It was a most remarkable escape for him.” Today this location remains just as difficult for judging oncoming train speed.

A son of Martha and Otis Evans was the distinguished Alfred Randall Evans, who lived from 1849 to 1930. Judge Evans resided in Gorham, was a graduate of Lancaster Academy and Dartmouth College, an attorney, state representative, President of the Berlin National Bank.

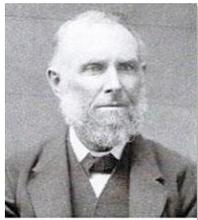


Alfred R. Evans

He was also Judge of the Coos County Probate Court, and a member of the Governor’s staff 1907-08. It is likely that Judge Evans was the source commenting on his grandfather Daniel Pinkham’s turnpike road in the 1919 *Turnpikes of New England*: “*One descendant of Daniel Pinkham is positive that one never existed.*”

#6 CHILD HARRIET PINKHAM 1817 – 1854, did not marry, buried in Lancaster.

#7 CHILD DANIEL CHESLEY PINKHAM 1820 – 1889, as a photo of this son has been preserved, perhaps we see a reflection of his father’s religious zeal. Born in Jackson, Daniel C. was a Dartmouth College graduate, then principal of academies in Conway and Lancaster.



Daniel C. Pinkham

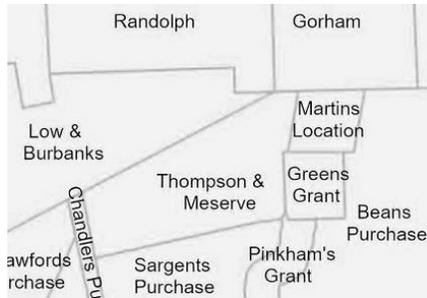
Daniel married Emily Stockwell in 1864, had various professions including lawyer, clerk of the courts in Lancaster for twelve years, editor and businessman. A Bar Association bio states Daniel was for a time the civil engineer for El Dorado County, California, and that “*his father’s last illness brought him back to Lancaster in 1853.*” After his father’s 1855 passing he remained the rest of his life in Lancaster.

#8 CHILD MARY PINKHAM 1826 – 1897, at age ten moved with her parents to Lancaster, recorded in a musical performance there in 1844, returned to Shelburne to marry in 1851 Colonel Martin L. Burbank, resided in Shelburne the remainder of her life. Martin L. Burbank was a justice of the peace and in 1881 a state representative. Martin’s father **Barker Burbank** is much a part of White Mountains history and so receives attention below:

According to the 1908 *Genealogical and Family History of New Hampshire* **Barker Burbank** “*settled in Shelburne, New Hampshire, where he had a large farm, and was for many years the most prominent man in all that region.*” And according to Wikitree “*as a lawyer, his ability and reputation appears to have been very good. His son was a law partner of Daniel Webster, and a grandson was Judge of the Supreme Court of Maine.*”

In 1820 Shelburne citizens filed a petition with the legislature to have Shelburne and adjacent Shelburne Addition (Gorham), combined into one town. Signatures include those of **Barker Burbank**,

Dolly's Shelburne Uncle Enoch Emery, Jr., and Daniel Evans, father of Otis and Sarah Evans who married into the Pinkham family. Their effort did not succeed.



West of Martins Location is a mountainous civic unit named **Low and Burbank's Grant** (as shown on this map from the North Country Council). Today entirely within the White Mountain National Forest, its twenty-six square miles was named for Clovis Lowe of Jefferson and **Barker Burbank** who purchased it from the state in 1832.

John Bellows in an 1845 complaint about tree cutting by Isaac C. Fellows cites **Barker Burbank** as complicit in the intrusion. But at the same time, Bellows is careful not to rub wealthy Burbank the wrong way, adding "I would not wish to detract the least from Mr. Burbank's accounting."

Good thinking, for in 1850 **Barker Burbank** was one of the investors with John in the new carriage road from Gorham south to the new Bellows Hotel (quickly renamed Glen House). Also in 1850, **Barker Burbank** lobbies the state legislature for financial assistance for constructing the new Glen Road to the hotel.

In 1853 **Barker Burbank** is on the board of directors of the Mount Washington {Carriage} Road Company along with Gorham hotelier John Hitchcock. Burbank passes away in Shelburne in 1867.

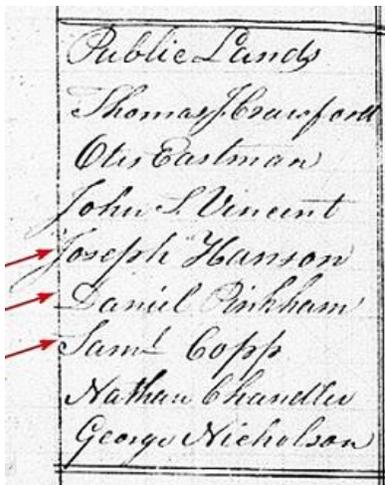
According to USFS Archaeologist Sarah Jordan "in 1884 when Hayes and Dolly sold the farm to their son Nathaniel, Lot 6 is described as deeded to Dolly Copp {not Hayes} by **Barker Burbank** {must have been before Burbank died in 1867} and Lot 7 as occupied by the Copps for over fifty years."

From the *White Mountain Echo* of August 15, 1903, we learn that "B. C. {Brainard Cleveland} Burbank of Shelburne and Mrs. M. E. King of Lancaster went up Mount Washington in carriages last week, grandchildren of Daniel Pinkham {their other grandfather was **Barker Burbank**} who built the state highway through Pinkham Notch."

PINKHAMS IN 1830 CENSUS: A validation of Peabody Valley residency for the Daniel Pinkham Family is also found in the 1830 decennial Census. The Census had placed them in Jackson, NH in 1820, in New Hampshire's "Coos County Public Lands" in 1830, and then in Lancaster, NH in 1840 – the right pattern to conform with the *Pinkham Genealogy* and other evidence.

The 1830 Coos County's Public Lands category was a more encompassing geographic area than the much smaller Pinkhams Grant soon to be carved out within it – the area of Pinkhams Grant remained state owned but unallocated "public lands" until Pinkham's deed was fully validated by the state in 1835.

A limitation for researchers, only 1830 heads of households were specifically named, not remaining residents such as Daniel Pinkham's wife and children or his yet unmarried relative Hayes Copp. Their presence is recognized, but only by a table of anonymous digits denoting age group and gender.



As shown at left, the 1830 Peabody Valley component of Coos County Public Lands included heads of households Daniel Pinkham and his sons-in-law Joseph Hanson (married Pinkham daughter #1 **Ann**) and Samuel Copp (married Pinkham daughter #2 **Betsey**).

There were a few other heads of households in the geographically wide 1830 Coos County Public Lands, but outside of the Peabody Valley. We see at left Thomas J. Crawford who opened the first tourist house in the White Mountains and brother to famed Ethan Allen Crawford.

Otis Eastman was born in Conway in 1806 and farmed in an outlying section of Jackson. Remaining household heads are John L. Vincent, Nathan Chandler and George Nicholson.

In 1830, eldest Pinkham daughter Ann, after 1824 Mrs. Joseph Hanson, and her husband are listed as their own 1830 Public Lands household. We know from other sources

that they were in Greens Grant on Site #1, future Glen House site, in 1826.

Second eldest Pinkham daughter Betsey was the adult female in the Samuel Copp household. But, from an 1846 court case we know Samuel Copp's Martins Location Site #2 home was not built until 1835. So, back in 1830, they must be doubled up in one of the two other dwellings. Excluding Copp's, that leaves Hanson's:

As the 1830 Daniel Pinkham household is listed with eight occupants, J. Hanson's household four and S. Copp's three, those relative family sizes suggest that the two smaller households were living together at Hanson's Site #1 until the Samuel Copp Family could move north into its Site #2 home built in 1835.



As already noted, the first dwelling in the valley, Site #1, may have had capacity as in 1833 it is recorded by Joshua Huntington as the Peabody Valley's first inn. Surveyor Samuel Thompson testifying near 1866 on his three decades earlier 1835 Peabody Valley travels: "*Think Hanson lived at Glen House, and several others.*"

As for the eight children of Daniel and Esther there are four missing from the 1830 Census' anonymous age and sex categories. As noted **#1 Ann** and **#2 Betsey** lived in other Peabody Valley households nearby. Then **#3 Sarah** at this time had already married William G. Wentworth, that couple accounted for in the 1830 Census for Jackson. Moving north by 1840, Sarah will own the Site #3 sawmill property in Martin Location.

#5 Martha was not living at home in 1830, as evidenced by no digit in her age category. She marries Otis Evans of Shelburne in 1834. Perhaps the explanation proposed by Carol Hayes in her historic novel is correct: "*To escape the close quarters of the cabin Martha moved to Shelburne to live with a chum's family.*" Martha settles permanently in Shelburne.

So, the two Pinkham parents and four of their children account for six of the persons of the eight in the Pinkham 1830 Public Lands household. The two others could have been boarding road laborers.

By 1830 the Peabody Valley settlement cluster
is clearly a **family enterprise**, their leader Daniel Pinkham
providing the next generation with farmland growing scarce to the south.

The 1840 Census and 1846 Bellows court records use the names of sons-in-law Joseph Hanson, Samuel Copp and William Wentworth. Those last names in no way reveal that their wives were sisters, and each a **Pinkham daughter**.

I was *lucky*, researching Pinkham daughter marriage details just before reviewing male heads of households from another source. That coincidence revealed that the three men's property deeds, including that of Hayes Copp, were all derived from Daniel Pinkham and thus a **kinship group** otherwise obscured.

Another surprise as I was looking up Martins Location in the 1970 book *New Hampshire Town Names* by Elmer Hunt. Hunt states that "*Hayes Copp, Dolly's husband, settled on land first granted to Daniel Pinkham, one of his relatives.*" There was no footnote for his source. So decades ago someone beat me to uncovering that key kinship relationship!

FLAG ON WASHINGTON SUMMIT 1836: Within the biography of Randall Pinkham, son of Daniel Pinkham, is recorded a patriotic event tying Daniel to Peabody Valley residency:

“On the fourth of July, 1836, he, with his father, Joseph Hanson, a brother-in-law then living where the Glen House now is, Daniel Evans of Shelburne, another brother-in-law, and some others whose names are not known to the writer {maybe Hayes went along?}, all inspired more by patriotic zeal than regard for their comfort, ascended Mt. Washington on the east side and erected on the summit a liberty pole as they called it.

*We should call it a flag pole, which they cut about half way up the mountain and carried on their shoulders to the top. This pole was thirty feet long and has never been heard of since it was left there. It is supposed **evil-minded persons on the west side** carried it away.”* Sounds like rivalry with early west slope Crawford Path users, the earliest tourist access to the summit.



Summit development by 1856

5-2. LOCATION OF THE PINKHAM FARM



At left Daniel Pinkham’s Jackson home courtesy of the Jackson Historical Society, center his next home in Martins Location may have initially been similar to this 1831 view near Conway by Thomas Cole, at right Pinkham home circa 1910 by Guy Shorey

That Daniel Pinkham lived for a time in the Peabody Valley has long been known. The 1908 *Pinkham Genealogy* confirms he lived in Pinkhams Grant – without citing the specific location. The 1998 Pinkham fictional account, with its quality bibliography, tells us Pinkham settled “near” Hayes Copp but offers no specific siting clues.

A key constraint for researchers was the loss in the 1886 Coos County Courthouse fire of early property records. Some were quickly reconstructed through the testimony of their current owners. But much knowledge of the earliest property transfers was lost. However, a few Martins Location related court cases from the 1840s referencing the first deeds were successfully preserved, such that some invaluable property data was saved.

It would save a lot of trouble to simply accept the traditional siting conclusion as presented in the 1888 *History of Coos County*. “Daniel Pinkham is well remembered as the man who built the first carriage road from Jackson to Randolph, through the Pinkham Notch, and **lived where the Glen House now stands.**” But persuasive evidence ahead invalidates this statement.

There were six nineteenth century home sites in the Peabody Valley. The Glen House site was the southernmost, thus labeled for this analysis as Site #1. That location is documented herein as the 1826 residence of Pinkham’s daughter **Ann Pinkham Hanson**, *not* as the dwelling of Daniel and Esther Pinkham themselves. I have taken to heart White Mountains expert Adam Jared Apt’s advice not to be strictly led by conclusions presented in early sources, the 1888 document and others having significant vulnerabilities.

Pinkham and his road construction crew *might* have bunked temporarily at daughter Ann's Site #1 home before he moved his family from Jackson to Martins Location in 1829 - 1830. Ann's 1826 structure had sufficient capacity as early on it doubled as an inn. But evidence ahead eliminates Site #1 as Daniel and Esther Pinkham's primary Peabody Valley residence.

Instead, it points to Site #5 - *inside today's Dolly Copp Campground*. Specifically, at former Campsite 51 in Spruce Woods. Here was a commanding view east over open cropland, today the Campground's Big Meadow section.



Library of Congress 1900 view above, blown up from view at left, south from Mt. Surprise at Pinkham - Culhane Farm

1915 USFS land classification shows more level cropland to east of house, pasture to west more sloped

The opening fact-finding section of an 1846 court case places the Pinkham home firmly in Martins Location, excludes sharing Greens Grant Site #1 with his eldest daughter.

We can also exclude daughters on Sites #2 and #3 on the east bank of the Peabody as they were not yet developed by the date of Pinkham's move on to Lancaster in 1836. These exclusions lead the homesite search to the Peabody's west bank, hosting early Sites #4, Site #5 and Site #6.

Proceeding north in the Peabody Valley, the age order of oldest Pinkham children reflects the geographic order of their site settlement. Site #1 daughter Ann was born in 1804, Site #2 daughter Betsey born 1806, and Site #3 daughter Sarah 1808. The limited supply of precious farmland was assigned to Pinkham daughter's husbands in age order, a custom of the times seen in Copp and Emery family histories.

As background, we have Pinkham son Randall's 1887 bio which refers to the family's circa 1830 arrival: *"And building a log house with a wooden chimney... commenced clearing away the forest and getting ready to live again on his own land."* The *Pinkham Genealogy* adds that Daniel in his Grant *"was a very good farmer."*

EVIDENCE FROM 1835: There is a significant chain of evidence tying the Pinkham residence to the west bank of the Peabody. The earliest is in comments by surveyor Samuel Thompson approaching from the south and requesting a night's lodging, which he receives. Accepting travelers into a private home when they had no alternative shelter is a well-documented early White Mountains custom.

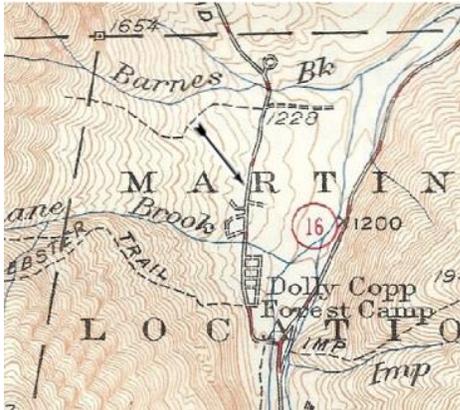
Thompson's 1835 travels are recorded within an 1869 court case involving two other minor civil divisions. Just west of Greens Grant and Martins Location, they are Thompson and Meserve's Purchase on the north and Sargent's Purchase on the south. Those units were sold by the state to owners who undertook to then accurately survey their new properties, the reverse order of standard practice today.

These early, after-sale surveys were later found to be faulty; the resulting boundaries for the two civic units not congruent as intended, flawed by overlapping in the vicinity of the

summit of Mount Washington. Several decades later, that error would lead to a legal confrontation over the rightful ownership of the summit, a big issue after it became valued as a tourist mecca.

The 1869 NH Supreme Court case *Henry B. Wells versus Jackson Iron Manufacturing Company* included testimony by the now elderly surveyors who had drawn the inaccurate boundary in the 1830s. Surveyor Thompson is called to the stand to testify as to his activities in Pinkhams Grant back in 1835. In doing so he incidentally reports staying the night at Daniel Pinkham's:

*"Next day went up Pinkham Road to Perkins with horse and wagon – from there went up Pinkham Road – Perkins nine miles from Glen House {the Perkins farm in Jackson was a reference point in early descriptions of Pinkhams Grant}. Stopped at Daniel Pinkham's all night, **at upper part of the opening, on the north side** of the Peabody River {if north side he had crossed the Peabody}."*



Making his way north, the perceived "opening on the north side" can only be the **broadening to relatively open land** after emerging from the steep valley profile north of Imp Brook. This is the small and relatively level agriculturally productive central core of Martins Location. Given the north by northeasterly course of the Peabody here, Thompson's "north side" refers to the Peabody's west bank, the Hayes and Dolly Copp side.

USGS topography documents an "opening" on the north side of Martins Location, arrow to Pinkham home

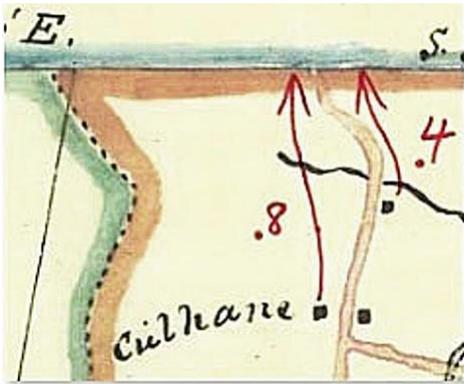
By the time of the 1835 Thompson visit Hayes and Dolly were well settled on two hundred acres in the "lower part of the opening" on the west bank. Thompson's perceived "upper part of the opening" can only be the remaining west bank acreage north of Copps that became the Site #5 Culhane property and the later Site #6 Barnes property.

The 1869 testimony considerably focuses the search for the Pinkham home. The official state measurement of Martins Location today is only 2,403 acres, all but the small central section far too steep for farming.

Surveyor Thompson's further comments then describe travel after a subsequent night of lodging at Pinkham's. Therein is a key reference to the road Pinkham was building. In that description, the distance from Pinkhams' to a known survey line provides further confirmation:

"Went back again in a few days to Perkins' with horse, and then on foot to Pinkham's - stayed at Pinkham's all night. Went out early next morning – carried provisions, a compass, compass staff, chain and hatchet.

*Commenced I think about one half mile or so north of **Pinkham's house this way on the road he was building**. Where we began we found a line across... Willey said it was Low & Burbank's line...can't tell whether one half mile or a mile from Pinkham's."*



Traveling northwest past Copp's on the nearly completed Pinkham Road towards Randolph, the first civic boundary encountered is that established in 1771 as the southern boundary of Shelburne Addition, renamed Gorham after 1836. Thompson's reference must be to this survey line, as it is the sole such corporate boundary within his distance estimates.

The distance along the Pinkham Road alignment north of the Pinkham home (after 1851 known as the Culhane home) is a little more than **0.8 of a mile** to the 1771 survey line. The Barnes home as located on the 1865 Jackson Iron Map (annotated excerpt) is about **0.4 of a mile** north to the survey line.

Thompson's initial testimony states the line was *"one half mile or so north of Pinkham's house this way on the road he was building."* Under further questioning Thompson revises his estimate to *"can't tell whether one half mile or a mile from Pinkham's."*

The key finding is that Thompson's revised range of **0.5 to 1.0-miles** is a near match to the Culhane's actual **0.8-mile distance**. When compared to the **0.4-mile distance** from Barnes Site #6, the 186 testimony favors Culhane Site #5 as the early Pinkham home site. (Barnes arrived decades later but the goal here is to assess Site #5 for early Pinkham occupancy).

EVIDENCE FROM 1918 QUOTING 1853: The evidence from this year is more straightforward than the above. The source is the *Appalachia Journal*, the authoritative publication of the Appalachian Mountain Club. In 1918 the *Journal* presented *A Naturalist's Visit to the White Mountains in 1853*. The bulk of the article reproduces an 1853 letter from Dr. Thaddeus W. Harris (lived 1795 to 1856) of Harvard to Dr. Edward Tuckerman (lived 1817 to 1886,

Tuckerman a professor of botany at Amherst College and the namesake for nearby Tuckerman Ravine. The author of the 1918 commentary on the 1853 letter was Amherst College Treasurer Frederick Tuckerman, Edward Tuckerman's nephew. Nephew Frederick comments:

"Among the papers of Edward Tuckerman relating to the White Mountains, the following by Harris describing a visit to the region more than sixty years ago is interesting for its particularity and insight. Dr. Harris was Librarian of Harvard College from 1831 to 1856, and distinguished as a bibliographer, archaeologist and naturalist... remarkably exact in his observations and careful in his statements."

The Peabody's west bank is described in the 1853 Harris letter: *I forded the Peabody River near the old mill seat {labeled herein Site #3} and walked along that same road two miles or more, for the sake of the view thence of the mountains, and in order to see Pinkham's old residence.* Bold added for emphasis, hot evidence.



Dr. Thaddeus Harris

EVIDENCE FROM 1918 COMMENTS: Then consider this excerpt from the same 1918 article's accompanying commentary: *"John Bellows, mentioned in the letter, had begun some years earlier, certainly before 1845, several clearings in the Pinkham Road, especially in Greens Grant and Martins Location. 'His new house' {reuse of Samuel Copp's Site #2} is yet standing in the cleared tract now occupied by a station of the United States Forest Service, not far from the turn of the old road leading to the farms of Copp and Pinkham."* Bold again added for emphasis.

Note that the Site #4 Copp Farm was not cited by Harris in 1853, but included in the 1918 commentary, and in the geographic order supporting the locational premise herein. Had the

1853 reference locating Pinkham been judged an error in 1918, it likely would have been noted by the expert AMC authors, not reinforced by its placement *after* Copp. As I see it, Pinkham's residential location in Martins Location was known in 1918 but then fell into obscurity for a century.

EVIDENCE FROM 1947: At this time John Olsen served as the AMC's Councilor of Topography and Exploration. He wrote on the Pinkhams in a 1947 *Appalachia Journal*.

Daniel Pinkham's "*clearing was perhaps on the westerly side of the Dolly Copp Road about half a mile south of the Gorham Town Line, where the Culhanes lived after approximately 1850. But, the exact site is yet to be ascertained.*" Pretty strong statement. I assume he had access to the 1918 *Appalachia* article.

The site had been precisely plotted on the 1915 *USFS Sketch Map* but that resource obviously not available to him. The exact location of the Culhane home will be determined by a 2013 archaeological dig.

EVIDENCE FROM 2013: I had hoped that the 2013 site excavation would be the capstone for this building series of "Pinkham lived on Site #5" evidence. Unfortunately it is not. Funded by the USFS, the intent of the 2013 examination of Site #5 was to identify artifacts that could be adversely impacted by upcoming 2017-2021 campground rehabilitation activities. It was prepared for the USFS by a competent consultant, Independent Archaeological Consulting, (IAC) LLC based in Dover, NH.

Excerpts from the IAC report: "*Ceramic ware types and decoration are particularly useful for identifying approximate occupation dates and periods of cultural activity. The majority of ceramic sherds recovered within the Culhane Farmhouse Compound were red ware (a utilitarian ware common on all Euro-American sites until the twentieth century), pearl ware (1780-1830), white ware (post 1820), and white granite (1842 to 1930).*" (Photo of Site #5 excavation in 2013).



"*Historic records indicate that the Culhanes were not present on the site until 1851, so it is possible that the pearl ware shards are from the previous occupation of the site by the John Baker family in the 1840s. One sherd of cream ware (1762-1820) is a unique early ware type that does not fit with the Baker or Culhane occupations. The anomalous nature of this find suggests that it came from an inherited vessel or was brought to the site in some other way, but does not indicate an early occupation.*"



After the archaeological investigation of **Site #5** in 2013, Campground Site number 51 was retired, reverting to a wooded state to respect historic remains

Interesting to note, most of the common ceramic types slightly predate the arrival of the Culhanes to Martin's Location; this could possibly be related to the rural location of the site. Located several miles south of the nearest town, the Culhanes may not have had regular access to the newest or most popular ceramic styles because of a lag in the distribution system."

Author's comment: "*The context in the IAC report is limited, focusing on what was known of the late 1840s Bakers, short term predecessors of the Culhanes. The consultant did not*

have access to recent evidence of the Pinkham kinship group settlement pattern or of the significant siting evidence above from 1835, 1853, 1918 and 1947.

The goal was to protect whatever residential remnants remained from upcoming Campground rehabilitation activities, not document earliest occupation. Additional test pits and a second phase are warranted."

BETTER FIT FOR PINKHAMS ON SITE #5 OR #6: The lack of qualification for other Martins Location sites to have hosted the Pinkhams – a process of eliminating Site #1 thru Site #4 – provides the context that the Pinkhams must have been the first occupants of Site #5, or less likely, Site #6 Barnes to the north. That there were only six sites available is well documented. Below is a commentary on the relative merits of #5 and #6:

Was the preferable farm property, assuming Pinkham as first owner of all acreage and would have selected the best land for his family early on, Site #5, until now known as Baker – Culhane, or to the north Site #6 Barnes? Addressing this question was preliminary to my favoring of Site #5.

The existence of the Barnes house can be clearly traced back only to 1860. The Culhane house can be clearly traced back to 1850 as Baker's in a Bellows deed. As in **1853** Harvard's Dr. Harris visually laid eyes on what he knew to have been the home occupied by Pinkhams from 1830-1836, the timing of his sighting favors Culhanes.

The earliest map with residential details for Martins Location is the **1858** Boardman Map, placing the Copp house in its proper location. But it shows no other dwellings further north along the road to Randolph.

This must be a limitation of the Boardman Map, as the house occupied by the Bakers, assumed herein to have been the early Pinkham – Culhane home, was documented in the 1850 Census and then by a deed from Bellows in 1851 tying it to the Culhanes.

Arriving in more definitive data territory, the **1860** Census places two homes north of Hayes and Dolly. USFS Historical Archaeologist Sarah Jordan interprets: *"By 1857, in addition to the Copps and Culhanes, Yates Barnes occupied the 100 acres of Martins Location between the Peabody River and Pinkham Road, bordering the Gorham Town Line to the north and the Culhane farm to the south. Barnes appears to have died soon after, as his wife Mary Barnes is the sole resident at the farm in the 1860 Census."*

A rehabilitated deed from the Coos County Court House documents that the Barnes property was cut in **1861** from the Culhane holdings. The **1861** Walling Map identifies Copp, Culhane and Barnes homes by name and in their proper geographic order. The **1862-1868** Goodwin Map, the wide date range part of that map's title, presents corresponding lot boundaries including Copp, Culhane and Barnes.

Hikers descending from Mt. Madison easterly in **1865** cite two homes not three: *"After a little further descent there was no longer doubt; for the baying of dogs could be heard from two points directly in front, - plainly Copp's and Culhane's, the **two farmhouses** in the valley."*

On the **1865** Jackson Iron Map the Copp and Culhane properties are specifically identified, but the Barnes house that year has no family name attached, evidently unoccupied. This could imply that it was already of lesser value than the other two farms.

The **1869** Jackson Iron testimony by Surveyor Thompson on his 1835 route north of Pinkham's mentions no other residences after Pinkham's as he proceeded north towards the 1771 survey line, today the Town of Gorham's southern boundary. From an **1877** state road maintenance statute making use of local landmarks: *"Across the Peabody River by Copp's and Culhane's too said Gorham line."* No third farm near the Gorham line is mentioned in 1877.

As the Barnes structure was not shown on the United States Geological Survey (USGS) quadrangle map of **1893**, it must have been dismantled by then. Culhane and Copp structures remained in 1893. The case can be made that the first farmhouse to disappear from the map would have been that on the least desirable farm property, not a selection from decades earlier by Daniel Pinkham.

On the **1915** USFS *Sketch Map* the Copp house had been torn down, but the remnant foundation is specifically identified. The Culhane house was still standing in 1915 and identified on that map. But no remnant of the Site #6 Barnes house is shown or identified, like Copp's, drawn as a ruin. By 1915, to the eye of the *Sketch Map* maker, its remnants if any were indistinguishable from the landscape.

To conclude, the apparent late arrival and early demise of the Barnes farmhouse presents the appearance of a "later and secondary property." As in 1830 Daniel Pinkham was in the commanding ownership position to select for his family the most productive farm lot north of Copps, the odds for his occupancy are drawn towards the more desirable Site #5.



5-3. PREACHER, POLITICIAN, POSTMASTER

PINKHAM A BAPTIST MINISTER: In addition to the rigors of road construction and farm work, throughout his six or seven years in Pinkhams Grant Daniel Pinkham was a respected lay preacher serving a broad area. According to the *Pinkham Genealogy* “*the work in which he took the most pleasure was that of a Free Will Baptist minister. He was licensed to preach about 1815, and labored with great success in Bartlett, Randolph, Jefferson, Jackson, Pinkhams Grant and Lancaster.*”

Background on the Free Will Baptists from historian N. T. True: “*From 1815 to 1820 the Free-will Baptist denomination began to increase and organize churches in the new settlements of Maine and New Hampshire.*

*They professed a simple piety and earnest zeal, and filled a place in the condition of society as it then existed. They did excellent work in controlling the elements of society, and impressing on the people, especially in the **remote settlements**, their religious duties.*”



The 1889 *Free Baptist Cyclopedia* records northern New Hampshire’s Free Baptist churches organized into a religious district in **1833**. The new district included 820 parishioners and thirteen ministers, one for each of its thirteen churches. The church list includes one parish serving the combination of Pinkhams Grant, Randolph and Shelburne (Shelburne still included Gorham at that time).

PINKHAM AS LEGISLATOR: The personal connections developed through Daniel’s ministerial role could have been helpful to his upcoming run for elective office. To qualify for that post Reverend Daniel could point to previous government experience, having been a Jackson NH town selectman for three terms in 1803, 1809 and 1812 (view of NH State House in 1817).



He runs for a NH House of Representatives seat serving parts of the Town of Carroll {then known as Nash and Sawyer’s Location}, all of Jefferson, Kilkenny and Randolph. A petition to the state legislature in October of **1833** by Daniel’s twenty-one-year-old son Randall had requested that newly populated Pinkhams Grant be added to this existing district. The legislature complies in **1834**.

In the state legislative election later in **1834**, Daniel Pinkham becomes the representative for the newly expanded district. He was 55. This regional leadership role, along with his areawide preaching, indicates that his home base in the Peabody Valley 1830 - 1836 did not necessitate social isolation. The new road worked well in that respect.

The Site #3 sawmill residence associated with tenant Robert McCartee was completed in 1838. As owner of the Grant, Daniel Pinkham had the power to be selective as to who his children let in. When we look for Pinkham's connection to 1840 Census resident McCartee we see rather than kinship, state legislative service.



From left "Saw Mill" at Site #3 on 1861 Walling Map, 1862 - 68 Goodwin Map and right on 1865 Jackson Iron Map

First McCartee was from Jackson, no surprise in the Pinkhams Grant pioneer period. Martha Benesh of Jackson indicates that early on, the McCartee name was associated with Wildcat Brook which flows south out of Carter Notch. I joke with Martha that the early Peabody Valley grants could have tracked on an alternative historical path, consolidating as the "Town of North Jackson, NH." (There was one very early attempt to annex them south to Jackson).

Jackson at this time was in a House district with Hart's Location to its west. The elected representative there in 1835 and 1836 had been Esther Pinkham's nephew John Chesley. Chesley is followed as the Jackson district's representative by **Robert McCartee** for 1837 and 1838. In **1839** Pinkhams Grant was removed from the newly expanded Randolph and Jefferson related House district to the north and reoriented southerly, to become part of this Jackson and Hart's Location House district.

Late in **1839**, former legislator McCartee and family move north to become Pinkhams Grant tenants on the Site #3 Pinkham daughter Sarah Wentworth property, duly recorded there for the **1840** Census. In **1841** land speculator John Bellows sues Site #3 tenant McCartee, not as we might expect today the deed holding Wentworth's. He seeks to overturn the 1824 legislative act creating Pinkhams Grant and seize their land.

He wins. After Bellows' successful purge of pioneers in **1846**, McCartee in **1848** is working as a teamster south in Manchester, NH. He and his family are then recorded in Manchester for the **1850** Census.

It is not clear what happened to the Site #3 McCartees after that, but we may suspect their former neighbor Dolly Copp knew. For in 1846 McCartee's daughter Almira marries Dolly's first cousin Samuel F. Emery Junior who lived on Gorham Hill. As the ceremony was recorded as held in Pinkhams Grant, Dolly and Hayes may well have attended.

PINKHAM AS POSTMASTER: During the family's Pinkhams Grant residency there was some part-time work available from the postal service to carry mail along Pinkham's newly designated post road thru the Peabody Valley. The seventh Pinkham child Daniel Chesley Pinkham took the lead.

According to the 1890 *Proceedings of Grafton and Coos County Bar Association* on Daniel Chesley Pinkham "when but ten years old {**1830**} he began to take his part by carrying the mails once per week from Bartlett to Randolph {the new road thru Pinkhams Grant}, on horseback through the long woods in summer, and in an old pung slay in winter. This service brought to his father sixty dollars per year."

The **1831** *Plan of Rogers, Wentworth and Treadwell Location*, one of several early colonial grants now incorporated into Jackson, includes the notation "Post Road from Jackson to Randolph" along the then developing Pinkham Road. A January **1833** national register of postal officials lists Daniel Pinkham as the postmaster for both Jackson and Pinkhams Grant that year. Assistants to Daniel were Asa Stephens and from Randolph Robert Leighton.

For **1835** Daniel is off the postmaster list while his son Randall by **mid-1834** is on it for Pinkhams Grant. We can speculate that Randall inherited the position from his influential father. Back then nepotism, the practice of favoring relatives, was not the big sin it is today.

Randall's assistants were Randolph's Joseph H. Vincent and our own **Hayes D. Copp**. The inclusion of Hayes suggests good relations between Peabody Valley kin - and a little moonlighting by Hayes.

The postmasters list for **1837** shows transition in Pinkhams Grant. Son Randall left the job, having moved to Lancaster with his parents. The appointment is taken up by the next Site #1 occupant after Joseph Hanson, Daniel Elkins Jr. Still keeping the postal work in the family, Daniel Jr. was the husband of Daniel Pinkham's niece. That arrangement continued for a time as evidenced by the **1842 – 1844** *New Hampshire Annual Register* recording for Pinkhams Grant "Postmaster Daniel Elkins, Jr."

PINKHAM AS BUSINESSMAN: Like so many others in New Hampshire's late developing north Daniel Pinkham was born well to the south, in 1779 in the Town of Madbury, part of the coastal Portsmouth, NH area. The family moved north to earliest Jackson in 1789 when Daniel was ten years old. A colorful episode in Jackson town history, he arrived in winter on a sled pulled by a big pig.

During his Jackson residency Daniel gained business experience. According to the *History of Jackson* he "had a blacksmith shop in the early 1800s. Daniel Pinkham also had the first 'hotel' in town, where men sat around the kitchen fireplace and drank cider. The town books record a license to Daniel Pinkham in 1811 to sell rum, gin, and brandy by retail in quantities less than one gallon."

I find no evidence that Pinkham's later business affairs were prosperous. While he well deserves his reputation as an early pioneer, turnpike visionary, good farmer, dedicated preacher and public servant, in overview success in business affairs eluded him:

--- Weather related, not his fault, but in **1826** the loss of bridges and roadbed by a record storm set Pinkham's grand alternative trade route to Portland back financially, fatally so.

--- Financial difficulties were remembered by descendants in the 1908 *Pinkham Genealogy*: "Daniel Pinkham lost much money in the building of this road."

--- In **1829** Daniel was compelled to leave his farm in Jackson to his creditors.

--- From the 1834 court case *Robert Cochran versus Hunking Wheeler*, referencing a Daniel Pinkham: "Said Pinkham neglected to collect the contents until sometime in the year **1829**, when the said William Bishop failed in business and became insolvent. About the same time the said **Pinkham failed, and became insolvent.**"

--- The *New Hampshire House Journal* of 6/13/1832 states that Pinkham "has succeeded so far as to render said road passable for carriages, and that he **has expended double the amount** for which said land could be sold at auction."

--- The **1833** register of postal officials lists Daniel Pinkham as the postmaster for both Jackson and Pinkhams Grant. Perhaps the pay accompanying this plum patronage job was recognition for the public service nature of his road work that had been recorded in the recent legislative record as not profitable.

--- In **1834** the tolling authorization for Pinkham's new road received legislative approval. Again, not his fault, but that was just as tolls were going out of favor with the New Hampshire public, details ahead.

--- Another financial blow arrived in **1846**, when many Peabody Valley property rights derived from Pinkham's 1835 state deed were ruled invalid. The *Pinkham Genealogy* on Site #2 Samuel Copp (married Pinkham's second daughter Betsey): "He purchased 500 acres of

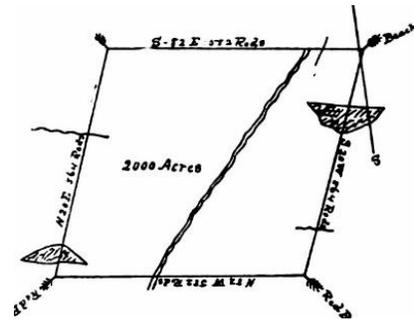
land of Daniel Pinkham from the Pinkham quit claim from the State, the title to which was not good.”

--- An **1853 Portland Transcript** deems the supposedly more commercially efficient Pinkham Road northwest by Hayes and Dolly as an “*old disused turnpike.*” That is partial evidence that Pinkham’s supposed short-cut to Portland had been poorly measured or conceived, invalidated in any case in 1851 as fast rail transport to Portland arrives in Gorham.

PRIMARY OWNERSHIP OF MARTINS LOCATION, NH

1. BEFORE 1773 COLONIAL NEW HAMPSHIRE, yet unallocated, still government owned land.
2. 1773–1779 THOMAS MARTIN, deed created by state as payment for his military service, Martin soon sells to wealthy Rhode Island merchant John Brown.
3. 1779–1841 JOHN BROWN AND HEIRS, very small asset in very large Rhode Island estate, next sold to John Bellows, but that sale conflicts with property rights granted in 1824 to **Daniel Pinkham** below.
4. 1834–1846 **DANIEL PINKHAM**, in 1834 obtains formal deed to overlying “Pinkhams Grant”, had already sold farm lots to Hayes Copp and other family pioneers. His lot sales clash with underlying colonial deed to Martins Location owned by Brown heirs above.

1772 survey of Martins Location with watercourses as boundary landmarks



5. 1841–1880 JOHN BELLOWES, acquires colonial deeds from Brown estate, forces a court clash with newer **Daniel Pinkham** deeds, reestablishes primacy of original 1773 Martins Location in 1846.

Bellowes evicts most **Pinkham Family** pioneers, allows Hayes and Dolly Copp to remain, completes plan in 1849 to draw tourists from new railroad, builds forerunner of Glen House, in 1880s sells his Martins Location holdings to:

6. 1880–1914 ELIHU LIBBY AND SONS, major Gorham logging company, buys Peabody Valley forest land for timber harvesting and its farms for work animal feed, sells in 1914 to:
7. 1914 – U.S. FOREST SERVICE, early federal planners find Martins Location ideal for recreational use, circa mid-teens create small east riverbank Copp Spring Campground, soon expand it west across the Peabody River where it evolves into today’s Dolly Copp Campground.



PINKHAMS MOVE TO LANCASTER: From the 1846 court case *Bellowes versus Copp* we read that “*the evidence further tended to show that Pinkham never had any knowledge of Martin’s Grant till June, 1834, when he saw the plan in the Secretary’s Office {Secretary of State}.*” Could Pinkham’s realization in 1834 that his hard-won land rights were shaky have influenced his **1836** decision leave Pinkhams Grant for Lancaster?

According to White Mountains historian George McAvoy in **1834** there was a speculative land boom throughout the region that soon collapsed. And that “*in 1835 land speculation boomed again in the White Mountains.*” From the 1888 *History of Coos County*:

“*After ten years of toil, disappointment, and poverty, he {Pinkham} secured the grant from the state, and in the speculations of 1835 and 1836 he sold enough land to pay his debts and purchase a farm in Lancaster.*” Fitting into this pattern in **1837** Pinkham also sold 500 acres in northwestern Jackson to Thomas Carlisle.

Son Randall Pinkham’s bio on his youth: “*In 1835 the boy, having become a man, was married to Sarah Ann Evans of Shelburne. With his wife they lived in his father’s family in*

the log house, the wooden chimney having been superseded by stone, till he came to Lancaster.”

He moved to Lancaster and lived in the same house where he {much later} died for several years, then owning and occupying half of the farm known as the ‘Old Parson Willard Place.’” Parson Joseph Willard of the Lancaster Congregational Church passed away in 1826.

“His father and mother, Daniel and Esther Pinkham, two sisters and an only brother, came here the same year and occupied a part of the same house and carried on the farm together.” The “only brother” cited was the seventh of the eight children, Daniel Chesley Pinkham, 16 years old at the time of the move out of Pinkhams Grant to Lancaster.

A bio on fourth Pinkham son Franklin Smith Hanson born 1835 citing his father and grandfather refers to Lancaster: *“After several years’ residence in this picturesque district (Glen House area), these pioneers of New Hampshire, for a mere nominal sum, sold out their interest in that famous spot, and bought farms at Lancaster. There Franklin with his brothers, worked on the father’s farm in the summer and attended the village school in the winter.”*

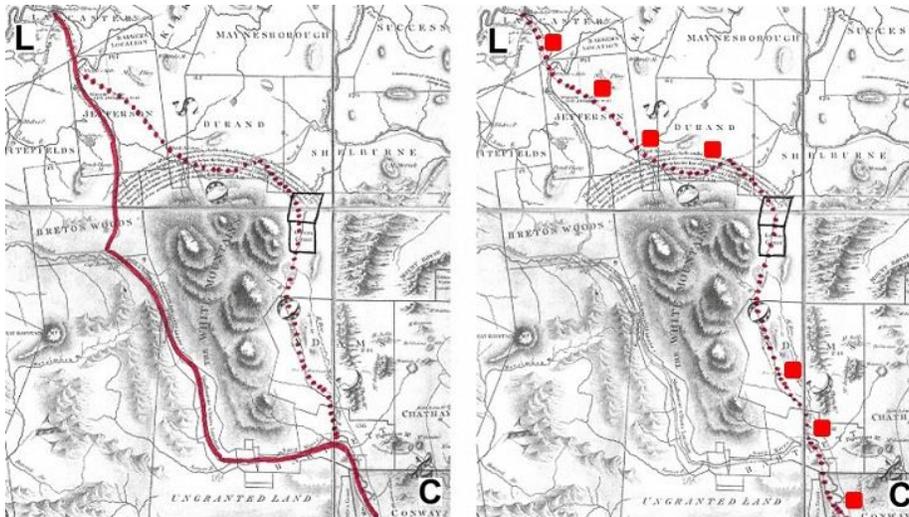
It was from Lancaster that the Pinkhams dealt with John Bellows’ 1840 – 1846 dismantling of the 1824 legislation creating Pinkhams Grant. Daniel’s **1855** will to his son Daniel Chesley Pinkham, by now a prominent attorney, is defiant: *“All my right, title, and interest in and to Martins Grant and Greens Grant, the same being located partly within the limits or bounds of the above named Pinkhams Grant.”*

Ever true to his faith, in Lancaster Daniel kept his close ties to the Freewill Baptist Church. A summary of Freewill Baptist publications lists him as a minister there in his last years.

By **1852** the Eastern Pass had been renamed Pinkham Notch. Daniel passes away in Lancaster at age 76 on 6/25/1855. Wife Esther Pinkham passed at age 88 on 6/5/1871. Both great credits to New Hampshire history.



5-4. PINKHAM'S SHORTCUT TO PORTLAND



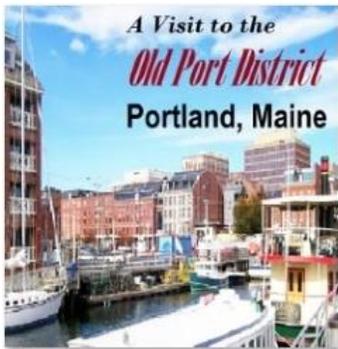
PINKHAM'S SHORTCUT TO PORTLAND, MAINE

Carrigan Map of 1816 annotated to identify at left main route from Lancaster (L) to Conway (C) – at right dotted lines show Pinkham's alternative

*At right, squares show locations of Pinkham Road investors
In Lancaster, Jefferson, Kilkenny, Durand, Adams, Bartlett and then Conway –
seemingly placed for marketing the plan to legislators - bold added to highlight Martins Location
and Greens Grant boundaries, and we might envision a square in Martins Location as Pinkham's base*

PORTLAND ATTRACTS INTERIOR COMMERCE: Crossing into the nineteenth century, coastal Portland Maine had developed as the primary market for interior northern New Hampshire and adjacent northern Vermont. Viewing its contributory economic hinterland, Portland's business interest is reflected in Timothy Dwight's 1821 *Travels in New England and New York*:

*"No American town is more entirely commercial. Several roads from the interior of New Hampshire, and Vermont, partly made, and partly **in contemplation** {bold added}, are opening an extensive correspondence between Portland and these countries."*



That road improvements in northern New Hampshire were of value to Maine is again evidenced as the 1843 *Statistical Gazetteer of the United States* references the east – west turnpike thru Bartlett:

"Through this road the northern part of New Hampshire, and the northeast part of Vermont, finds a market at Portland; and so important is this communication considered by Maine that its legislature has sometimes made grants for its improvement."

Documented in the 1905 *History of Littleton*, another motive by Maine was to counteract northern trade possibly being diverted south to Dover, NH and Portsmouth, NH by other anticipated road improvements. Such strategic road planning for economic advantage continues today.

EAST TO PORTLAND BY ROUTE NORTH OF THE PRESIDENTIAL RANGE: The east – west road through Randolph, NH served Portland bound traffic. According to the 1975 *Evolution of A Valley* by Page Jones in 1770 "a Captain Whipple had come up from Massachusetts and settled in Jefferson, just fourteen miles west of Shelburne. There was no communication for some years between the two settlements across Gorham Hill."



Then according to the 1994 *Historical New Hampshire Volume 49* "Like other interior roads in New England, Randolph's lifeline was its first road, built in 1803. Running east and west, the road placed Randolph along the main trading route." The route continuing east through Shelburne, NH also dates from 1803.

An 1820 map of Randolph by Jonas Baker identifies "Portland Road" there. To the east, entering Maine at the Shelburne – Gilead Town Line, this long-established arterial is today generally the combined Route 2 and Route 26 corridors proceeding southeasterly to Portland.

Some elaboration is found in R. P. Peabody's 1882 *History of Shelburne* on Green's Tavern built in 1817: "People from Lancaster on their way to Portland, frequently fifteen or twenty double teams at once, stopped here to bait their horses and take something to comfort themselves. The nearest market was Portland, eighty – six miles away."

The Peabody Valley's Culhane brothers married Emery sisters of Shelburne, nieces of Dolly Emery Copp's Uncle Samuel Emery, Samuel living there before his move west to Gorham Hill.

In Hebron, (Me.) 14th ult. of cholera morbus, Mr. Joel Emery, of Shelburn, N. H. aged 19, oldest son of Mr. Sam'l Emery. He was on his return from Portland with a market team, and had been able to pursue his journey until the evening previous to his decease.

A first cousin to Dolly, Samuel Emery's eldest son Joel died on a market trip back from Portland (Joel's 1827 obituary in *The Morning Star*).

Historian R. P. Peabody on lead shipped from the new Shelburne lead mine (employer of the Culhane brothers): "*Potter Smith hauled the leaden bars down to Barker Burbank's with an ox team, and from there they were transported to Portland. Probably the enterprise did not pay.*"

From the *History of Bethel, Maine* by William Lapham: "*Nathan Grover was a thrifty farmer and operated a large farm on the road from West Bethel to Albany. For many years his house was a tavern, and the favorite resort of travelers from the upper Coos {northernmost county in New Hampshire} when on their way to and from Portland market.*"

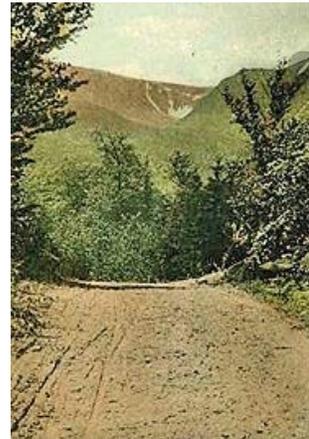
EAST TO PORTLAND BY ROUTE SOUTH OF THE PRESIDENTIAL RANGE: Passing east-west thru New Hampshire's Crawford Notch was a substantial vein of commercial traffic paying tolls. East from Lancaster, arriving in Jefferson, interstate traffic proceeded south on the Jefferson Turnpike by Cherry Mountain, descending into the Saco River Valley, then following that river valley into Maine.

The inn of Dolly Copp's grandfather Enoch Emery, operating near the Saco in Bartlett in 1804, was likely a beneficiary of Portland traffic. Young Dolly Emery herself, living with her stepfather along the Saco in Fryeburg, Maine, could have relied on Portland trade. Dolly Copp's 1927 biographer George Cross: "*She always sent to Portland for her shoes.*" Today this route is generally the Route 302 corridor passing north of Sebago Lake and then southeasterly to Portland.

BUSINESS PLAN FOR ROAD: Pinkham proposed to build a route north from Jackson, NH to intercept the northern route. His idea was for a new bypass for the northern route to reach the preferred southern route. His goal was to avoid the inefficiency in the northern route.

Once Portland bound traffic reached Randolph it could choose the new bypass to the southern route and pay a toll to Pinkham for the privilege. (Early post card southbound on Pinkham Road, Tuckerman Ravine in background).

Assuming Pinkham's "younger days" could refer to age 27 in **1806**, this view from the historic novel *Pinkhams Notch* by Carol Hayes: "*In his younger days, Daniel had traced the original old Shelburne Road {earlier 1774 route north thru the Peabody Valley}, finding its course by ancient notched markings on tree trunks. We'll bush out the trail, so we go through on foot, surveying, said George Meserve. Then we'll make it passable for horsemen, wide enough for wagons.*"



It must have taken some years to build support for his idea - government help was needed. Three supportive entries appear in the legislative record of 1824, on 5/18, 6/1 and 6/16/1824. The petition to the New Hampshire Legislature dated 5/18/**1824** requests that Daniel Pinkham of Jackson be granted three thousand acres to build the road thru Jackson north to the boundary that will define Pinkhams Grant:

*"It would be of great public utility to have a road on the easterly side of the White Mountains... It will shorten the distance of about ten miles' haul. And would save the traveler one pass of the height of land which he is now completed to travel over in passing the Cherry Mountain." * Pinkham will "encourage the settlement of that section by the building of the proposed road."*

* At this high point today is the Cherry Mountain Trailhead, elevation about 2,180 feet. Pinkham's alternative to the east had its own height of land to surmount, the Eastern Pass (Pinkham Notch), at 2,032 feet. Wither pass

in a challenge Lancaster transport must navigate to cross south into the Saco River Valley as a prelude to following that river valley easterly into Maine.

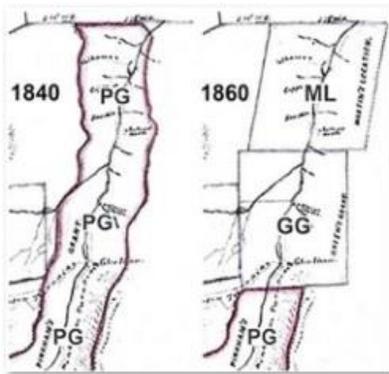
Supportive comment from the *Journal of the NH Senate and House* two weeks later on 6/1/1824: *“That the standing committee on public lands, to whom was referred the petition of Richard Eastman and others, praying for a grant of land for the purpose of making a road, reported, that from the evidence before them, it appears that the road now travelled from Stephen Meserve’s in Bartlett, to Whipple’s mill in Jefferson, is forty-six miles, passing thru the notch of the White Mountains, and over the Jefferson Turnpike.*

That it appears that the Jefferson Turnpike is very much out of repair, and also impassable, and about to be abandoned by the proprietors, which will cause an addition of about twenty miles in distance in going to Lancaster. That the contemplated route is but thirty-six miles from said Meserve’s to Whipple’s mill and has fewer hills than the old road over the Jefferson Turnpike.

That the particular road prayed for is eleven miles, six of which pass through the state’s land lying on each side of Greens Location {Greens Grant}. That the whole of the State land in Adams {Jackson} is about 3000 acres, the principal part of which is very poor.

From the foregoing statements, the committee are of the opinion that it would very much promote the interests and encourage the settlement of that section of the State, by building the proposed road; they therefore recommend the passage of the resolution exhibited with said report.”

Two weeks later we see formal action as road authorization arrives on 6/16/1824: *Whereas the inhabitants of Lancaster, Jefferson, Kilkenny, Durand, Adams, Bartlett and Conway have subscribed about the sum of one thousand dollars, payable in labor, for the purpose of defraying in part the expenses of making said road and building the necessary bridges thereon, and have given their obligations therefor to Daniel Pinkham of said Adams {Jackson} who has undertaken and obliged himself to make said road, and build said bridges.”*



The 1824 legislation makes the state’s payment to Pinkham a ribbon of land centered along his new road, one half mile in width on either side, 1840 view left in graphic. This payment was termed Pinkham’s Grant by which the older Martins Location and Greens Grant units are invalidated.

At right in the graphic representing 1860, Pinkham’s Grant itself had been clipped by John Bellows’ revival of Greens Grant and Martins Location. Just the “southern rump” of 1824 Pinkham’s Grant survived to remain on the official state map today.

A valuable overview of the Pinkham project in progress from the *Northern Traveler* in 1826: *“It is probable that a road will soon be made around the north end of the White Mountains, through the town of Adams {renamed Jackson after 1829}, to avoid the {Crawford} Notch. The land is level in that direction, along the course of the Androscoggin, and the distance to Lancaster nearly the same.”*

The Peabody Valley already had a rudimentary 1774 road when Pinkham started reconstruction in 1824. There could not have been much remaining, perhaps some grading, Pinkham repairs the meager remnants, if any. Choosing for himself a fine farm lot along his new road, labeled herein Site #5 in Martins Location, by 1830 he and his wife Esther are raising a family there. That is, before the new bride Dolly Emery Copp arrives in 1831 on Hayes Copp’s adjacent Site #4.

Where Pinkham Road passed northwesterly thru what is today southwest Gorham to reach Randolph, the adjacent 1.9 miles of frontage land was not part of the legislative payment to

Pinkham. This is because Gorham, then known as Shelburne Addition, had been previously state granted. Nor was any land in Randolph part of the payment to him.

In **1831** Mount Washington was already being ascended from the southwest by Crawford's foot path, soon to be reformatted as a bridle path. That summer, with her new husband, tourist Mary Jane Thomas, Dolly's age but much wealthier, ascends the path.



Author Pavel Cenki comments: *"Upper-class tourists were interested in greater luxury than could be provided by Ethan Crawford, whose inn, {drawing at right} wrote Mary Jane Thomas, offered fare and accommodations of the most primitive character."*

But Mary Jane becomes part of Peabody Valley history as she describes the view easterly from the summit: *"The City of Portland, the Pinkham road, then a mere bridle path, and the Glen, a wilderness where wild beasts roamed."*



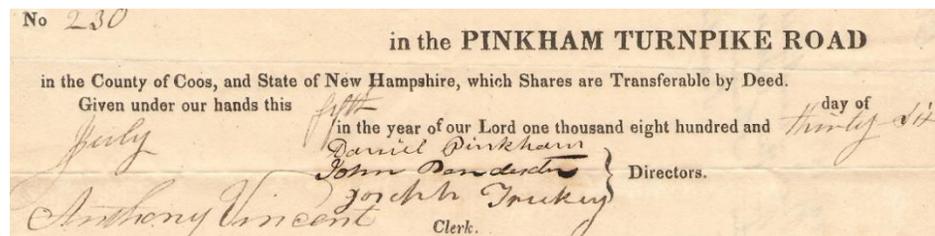
So, in the summer of **1831** Mary Jane views a completed section of Pinkham's road from above. Then in the fall of **1831**, less privileged Dolly on her bridal trip north experiences the route at eye level. (Photo east to Route 16 from summit courtesy of Dolores Chew).

UPGRADE TO TURNPIKE: There was no authorization for tolls in Pinkham's 1824 legislation – sales of lots along the mile-wide swath of newly granted land were to be the sole compensation to him. His state authorization for tolling was conveyed later, on the very day in **1834** that the mile-wide deed was conveyed. Was proceeding to a tolling phase part of the road development plan all along? That seems highly likely.

From the 7/4/**1834** Act to Incorporate the Proprietors of the Pinkham Turnpike: *"Said corporation may erect gates across said road to collect the tolls."* There were five proprietors listed: Daniel himself, Lancaster town official Richard Eastman, Lancaster Bank incorporator Benjamin Stephenson, wife Esther Pinkham's nephew Jackson town official John Chesley, and Jackson town official John Pendexter.

Insight from John Olsen writing in the 1947 *Appalachia Journal*: *"On July 4, 1834, Daniel Pinkham obtained his land grant from the State unconditionally, and on the same day were incorporated the proprietors of the Pinkham Turnpike Road. But no tolls were to be taken for any mile of the road until five hundred dollars had been expended thereon, or a proportional sum upon the whole number of miles."* That's another big investment for cash-strapped Pinkham.

A fund-raising effort to meet the minimum expenditure requirement is evidenced by a surviving business share, provided courtesy of White Mountains hiking and cartography expert Adam Jared Apt: *"Be it known that Oliver Gerrish of Portland is the owner of Share Number 230 in the Pinkham Turnpike Road - July 5, 1836."* Assuming shares are in sequential order, upon issuing number 230, Pinkham had already attracted a goodly number of investors.



Signatures of Daniel Pinkham and others on an 1836 Turnpike Share sold to Oliver Gerrish; in etching from a later period

OLIVER GERRISH,

No. 74 Exchange Street, Dealer in


**Gold & Silver Watches,
JEWELRY AND
SPECTACLES,**

 Pencil and Guard Chains,
 Gold and Stone Pins & Rings,
 Gold Beads, Silver Spoons,
 Butter knives, and Thimbles, Plated Cake Baskets,
 Candlesticks, Spoons, Snuffers, Trays, & Castors,
 Glazier's Diamonds, Ever pointed Gold Pens, Bot-
 anic Microscopes, Razors, Penknives and Scissors,
 Razor-strops, and Steel Pens, Britannia Communion
 Ware, Coffee and Tea Pots, Castors, &c.

 O. G. offers his stock on as good terms as can be
 purchased elsewhere.

Maine investor Gerrish lived 1796 to 1888 and was early on a watchmaker, prominent merchant in Portland, and in later life president of the Portland Savings Bank. We can characterize Gerrish as representative of business leaders in Portland promoting access improvements from the interior to their bustling Atlantic port.

More on the turnpike from phase from John Olsen: *"The turnpike was to be completed in four years. In 1838, an act was passed extending the time of completion until December 1, 1839. In December 1840, another act was passed increasing the tolls.*

But the turnpike appears to have been a financial failure and to have been abandoned soon afterwards as a toll road." According to the History of Jackson, NH 1771-1940, Pinkham "rebuilt the route as a toll road, but there was not enough traffic to repay him for his efforts."

Turnpike researcher Frederic Wood writing in 1919 could find no evidence for the tolling phase ever reaching an operational state: *"Persistent inquiry in Gorham and Berlin has failed to discover anyone who ever heard of a toll road through the Pinkham Notch. "One descendant of Daniel Pinkham is positive that one never existed."* (That was likely his prominent grandson Judge Alfred Randall Evans of Gorham).

Even if not upgraded to turnpike standards we know the basic road itself was completed. It is referenced in the **1844 Report on the Geology and Mineralogy of New Hampshire**: *"We... continued our research northward, through the Pinkham woods, by a rough, rocky and muddy road made along the eastern flank of the White Mountains."*

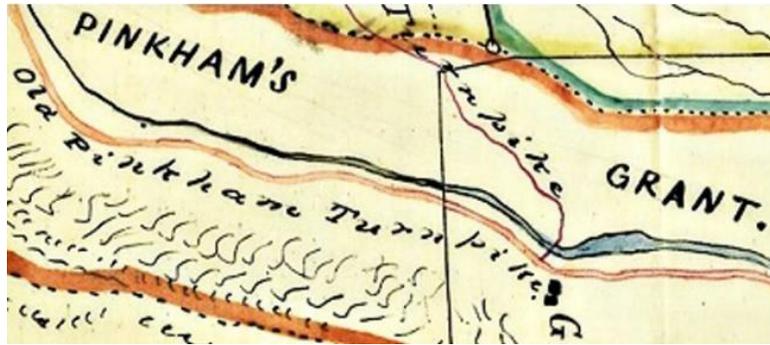
As for critically needed ongoing maintenance, in 1848 Peabody Valley investor John Bellows cites the Coos county government as having picked up that task.

Broad perspective is provided by New Hampshire historians Donna and James Garvin, documenting the turnpike era in their state was closing down just as Pinkham's was being proposed: *"Economic changes began to effect New Hampshire's turnpike network well before the railroad altered the entire transportation system of the state.*

The roads had never produced a great profit.... Given this discouraging climate, it was inevitable that turnpike directors began to seek ways to unburden themselves of properties that threatened to ruin them." National economic trends also played a part. As the expansionist mood of the eighteen twenties and early thirties dissipated, this must have further weakened the investment appeal of Pinkham's toll road.

From Wikipedia: *"The Panic of 1837 was a financial crisis in the United States that touched off a major recession that lasted until the mid-1840s. Pessimism abounded during the time."* The impact in Northern New Hampshire is cited by Gorham's historian D. B. Wight: *"In 1837 the land boom collapsed and unemployment prevailed."*

And by 1840 Lancaster investor John Bellows knew that a railroad was being planned from Portland through Coos County. He initiated land speculation in the Peabody Valley that year. The railroad revolution was throughout the state. To the detriment of Daniel Pinkham, the big money would no longer be invested in toll roads to Portland.



*"Old Pinkham Turnpike" on
1865 Jackson Iron Map, north at right*

Jackson Iron Map above reproduced with permission of the Peabody Essex Museum: *"Mount Washington Summit Road Company Records, MSS 911, box 20, folder 1, Phillips Library, PEM, Salem, Mass."*

This map was a legal document recording historic features for reference during court proceedings as to the ownership of the Mount Washington Summit. Mapped were numerous property descriptions citing landmarks from various years. Map features are not to be taken literally as existing simultaneously in 1865.

[Back to Contents](#)

6. CULHANES, BELLOWS AND HOTELS

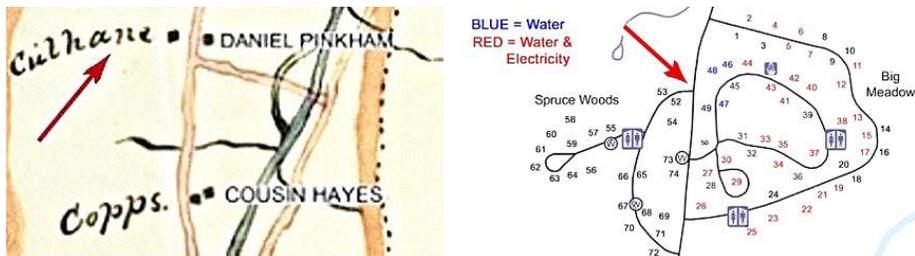


*Guy Shorey photo of Pinkham House circa 1910;
the Culhanes represent the third generation in Martins Location*

*Birth year 1779 for Daniel Pinkham, 1806 for Hayes Copp,
1824 Patrick Culhane and 1827 for his brother Thomas Culhane*

6-1. CULHANES IN FARMING AND TOURISM

EARLY YEARS: The 1851 arrival of the Culhane brothers in Martins Location places them at the tail end of the early Peabody Valley pioneers. The Copps closest neighbors, their wives were first cousins to Dolly. The Culhane's leading roles as workers in the new tourism industry are of significance to the broader history of the White Mountains.



*At left arrow to Culhanes on 1865 Jackson Iron Map, to
right of road by barn an added label "Daniel Pinkham" identifies
first ownership there - at right Spruce Woods Site 51 retired during the
2017-2021 Campground rehabilitation to respect newly documented historic site*

The last paragraph of the 1927 George Cross booklet characterizes camper camaraderie at the then new Dolly Copp Campground: "At evening they will gather about the great fireplace to recount the simple, unconsciously heroic story of the Pioneers of the Glen, of Daniel Pinkham, of **Thomas Culhane**, of John Bellows."

The father of Thomas and Patrick, John Culhane Senior, had been born in 1805 in County Limerick, Ireland. John Senior and his wife Jane with one-year-old eldest son Patrick arrived in the United States in 1825, settling in the Town of Rossie in upstate New York.

Historian Paul Johnson on Irish immigration in this period: *“Hitherto, America had taken in plenty of Ulster protestants, but few from the Catholic south. But in 1821, when the Irish potato crop failed, {not to be confused with the greater 1840s potato famine} the British government tried to organize a sea lift to Canada.*

The idea of going to America, at virtually no cost, caught on in the poorest parts of Ireland. When the first letters reached home in 1822, explaining how easy it was to slip from Canada into America, the transatlantic rush was on.” The Culhane home in Rossie, NY was only a few miles south of the Canadian Border bisecting the Saint Lawrence River.

Lead and iron mining were important industries in Rossie, and John Senior was a miner there. John and his wife raised five children, four sons and a daughter. The two eldest, Patrick and Thomas, as young men are drawn from Rossie 230 miles, almost due east, to Shelburne, NH, where they took lead mining jobs in the later 1840s. Younger Culhane brother John migrates east later, settling in Gorham in 1863. Three brothers in overview:

--- **PATRICK CULHANE**, 9/29/1824 - 4/1/1888, married **Judith Ann Emery** of Shelburne on 3/29/1849. **Dolly Emery Copp’s** first cousin Judith lived 1833-9/24/1897 and was the younger sister to Rachel Emery below. On Patrick from the 1908 Genealogical and Family History of NH: *“Politically he was a democrat, and in his religious beliefs he favored the Catholics, but his children were brought up Protestant.”*

1852 - 1886 Carrie J. Culhane, dressmaker, married carpenter Thomas Kendall in 1883

1854 - 1891 Louisa J. Culhane

1856 - 1875 Florilla S. Culhane

1857 - 1861 John P. Culhane

1859 - 1928 James Thomas Culhane, married Adaline H. Ellingwood of Milan, NH

--- **THOMAS CULHANE**, 9/8/1827 - 7/23/1903, born in Rossie, NY, married **Rachel Emery** of Shelburne. **Dolly Emery Copp’s** first cousin Rachel lived 8/1825 - 4/17/1909 and was the older sister to Judith Ann Emery above.

1848 - 5/11/1850 Thomas Dexter Culhane, interred in Saint Patrick’s Cemetery in Rossie, NY, another source says Evans Cemetery in Gorham

--- **JOHN BRADLEY CULHANE**, 9/1843 - 7/15/1891, *Civil War Draft Registration* records have John living in Martins Location in June of 1863. For the remainder of his life he lived in Gorham.

Historian True on John in 1882: *“He attended public schools and worked in Rossie lead mines till 1863 when he came to Gorham.”* John married 1) in 1866 Maggie McCormick of Gorham who died in 1871; married 2) in 1879 Katherine M. Devany born about 1854 in Island Pond, VT.

1868 – 19?? John B. Culhane by first wife Maggie

1880 – 1961 Mary Agnes Culhane with second wife Katherine

1881 – 1920 Flora Culhane by wife second Katherine

Note 1: *Civil War Draft Registration* records also **fourth Culhane brother** James also living in Martins Location in June of 1863, but not in evidence locally thereafter.

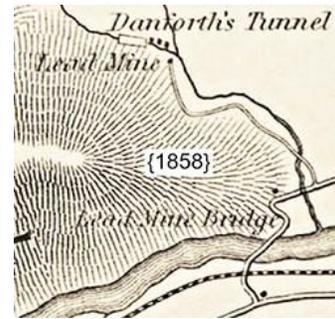
Note 2: Concerning circa 1860 to 1870, an Andrew **Morse** age 8 was in the Culhane household in 1860. He is still a part of the Culhane household at age 18 in 1870 and by then a farm laborer there. Looking between the lines of dry Census facts, perhaps as Thomas and Rachel had only one child that died early, taking in Andrew Morse helped fulfill their lives. Perhaps of consequence, in 1870 a Mary E. **Morse** age 12 was living in the George Bellows household in Martins Location.

The Census documents a population spike in Rossie from 1830 to 1840, then the population total drifting down between 1840 and 1850. It may have been that declining business cycle at the Rossie mines that prompted the young Culhane brothers east. Historian D. B. Wight on Shelburne’s lead mining: *“It was about 1820 that Amos Peabody discovered lead ore near Great Brook, now called Lead Mine Brook, in Shelburne. But it was 25 years before capitalists from New York became interested enough to invest in opening a mine.”*

The 1882 *History of Shelburne* confirms a lead mine opening there in 1846. The draw of Shelburne mining is then well reflected in the 1849 *Gazetteer of New Hampshire*: *“In this town is an extensive and highly valuable mine of lead. This mine was discovered a few*

years since, and is now worked with great success, by a large party of enterprising and intelligent miners."

From an 1849 Report by the Shelburne Lead Mining Company: "The road turns off from the valley of the Androscoggin, and for a mile and a little over, follows up the course of a little branch called Lead River, to the mine (Excerpt from 1858 Boardman Map). Here sufficient space has been cleared for the erection of a few houses."



Then from the 1882 History of Shelburne: "A dining and cooking house, and several dwelling houses made quite a village. Thomas Culhane, who married the **oldest daughter of Enoch Emery** {Jr.}, began housekeeping in one of these log-houses, and here their little son was born."

On Dolly's Uncle Enoch Emery Junior from the 1882 History of Shelburne: "A man who came over from Fryeburg once stumped any Shelburne fellow to lay him on his back. But the night of **Enoch Emery's** husking {fall harvest festival}, when the good liquor made them smart and brave without being top heavy, a small, lean, wily fellow stepped up."

As Thomas and Rachel are living in mining company housing and their son was born in 1848, their marriage year is estimated as no later than that birth year. Area historian Nathaniel Tuckerman True on brother Patrick Culhane: He "worked in Rossie lead mines in New York and in iron mines, and in 1846 came to Shelburne, NH, and worked in the lead mines there."

The next Culhane life-event in Shelburne is the marriage in 1849 of older brother Patrick Culhane to younger Emery sister Judith. As Thomas had married Enoch Emery Jr.'s first daughter Rachel, and Patrick now marries Enoch's Emery Jr.'s second daughter Judith, two brothers married two sisters.

But then in 1849 the Shelburne Lead Mining Company failed financially. Wight cites the problem as the lead ore having to be "hailed to Portland by ox team and because of this fact the mine was not profitable." The Shelburne mine closing, set in the already meager pre-railroad Gorham Area economy, drove the two young Culhane couples out of the area.

The 1850 Census places Thomas and Rachel back in Rossie, NY with Thomas' parents. A sad period for then, their only child Thomas dies in 1850 during their stay there.

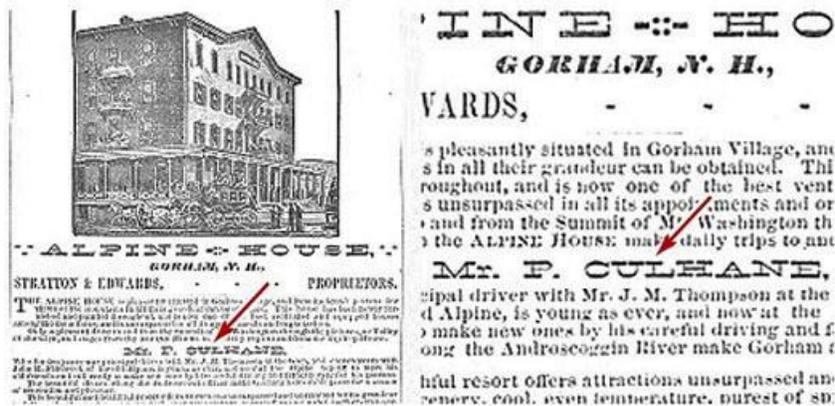
As for Patrick, Nathaniel Tuckerman True tells us he "went to Virginia and worked seven months in the gold mines." A review of Virginia gold mining records documents 1849 having a sudden spike in gold yields. State totals were 2800 ounces in 1848, a big increase to 6259 in 1849, then back to 3193 for 1850.

Then the 1851 Gorham Area economy suddenly booms due to the new railroad and its related tourism industry. Both Culhane couples were drawn back. Historian True on Patrick Culhane after mining in Virginia: "He came back and went to farming below the Glen House, on Martins Location." Thomas Culhane on his early work for the Glen House: "I was a guide there from the time the Thompson Path {pony road} was built {1851} until the carriage road was built {1861}.

While Martins Location Census records for 1860, 1870 and 1880 categorize the Culhanes only as farmers, we know that the most well-remembered part of their livelihood was derived from their services in the new tourism industry.

By late 1846 tourism entrepreneur John Bellows had seized many property rights in Greens Grant and Martins Location. His tourism plan for the Peabody Valley was put into writing in

1849. By early 1851, Patrick and Thomas had made arrangements with Bellows to rent them the Site #5 "Pinkham - Merrill - Baker Farm" in Martins Location.



Circa 1882 advertisement in Gorham paper cites business draw of Patrick Culhane – Courtesy of Gorham Historical Society

Text of above: "Mr. P. Culhane, who for ten years was principal driver with Mr. J. M. Thompson at the Glen, and eleven years with John R. Hitchcock of the old Alpine {burnt 1872, rebuilt 1876, Stratton leases rebuilt hotel in 1882}, is young as ever {58 in 1882}, and now at the Alpine hoping to meet his old friends and still ready to make new ones by his careful driving and fatherly care for his patrons."

Bellows describes the Site #5 property as *"the same farm formerly occupied by John R. Baker as included in my bond to said Patrick and Thomas Culhane dated March 11, 1851, now occupied by said Thomas and Patrick."* The brothers purchase the 200-acre tract from Bellows in 1858. As with hotel painter Baker before them, Bellows again placed tenants in Martins Location useful to the valley's nearby new hotel business.

--- At first glance Baker's 1850 residence here in a rural backwater seems odd: How could a painter possibly support himself with only a little hamlet of few buildings to paint? But then, 1850 is a year to dramatically revise past frames of reference for early Martins Location.

Suddenly a major construction project is just 2.3 miles down the road from the Copp farm – the big and luxurious Bellows Hotel - many plush guest rooms to be painted and expensive wallpaper to be hung. By late 1849 Bellows was having timber sawed to build this hotel.

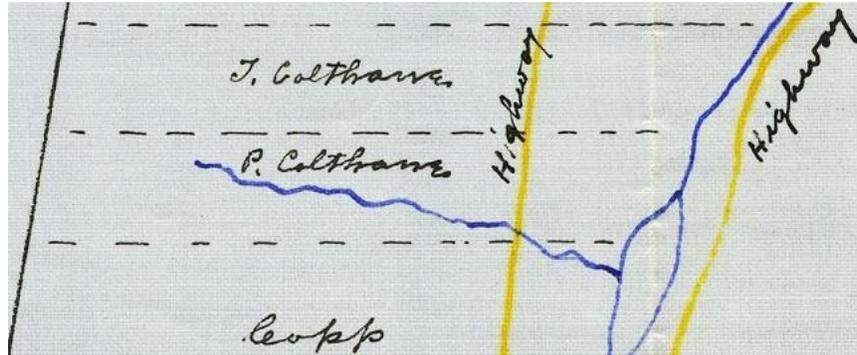
--- The Bakers are on a Bellows controlled property. We can theorize that Baker was contracted by Bellows, the use of the Site #5 Pinkham - Merrill farmhouse as part of the terms for his labor.



--- The Bakers left Site #5 right after the Bellows Hotel (soon to be renamed Glen House) painting work was complete, making way for the Culhanes in 1851. The Baker Family moves west for opportunity. As it was for many other New England residents at this time the Midwest was the big draw.

--- The Bakers are in Iowa by 1854, then in the capital city Des Moines in 1860. In the Des Moines City Directory in the later 1870s, John Baker was providing his paper hanging and painting skills. No doubt honed by his earlier work at the Bellows Hotel.

Farm lots in the Peabody Valley were few compared to geographically larger Shelburne and Gorham. It must be by more than coincidence that the Culhane brothers and their Emery wives selected this outlying hamlet - kinship ties between the female first cousins could have been, hard to resist stating must have been, a factor. Maybe Dolly knew Bellows was looking for help, informed her Shelburne Emery uncle, and he informed his displaced daughters that work was again available in the Gorham Area.



One hundred acre lots of Patrick and Thomas Culhane north of Copp on the circa 1865 Goodwin Map; central highway is 1834 Pinkham Road to Randolph, highway at right the 1851 Glen Road to Gorham

In Martins Location Thomas and Rachel received a separate Census unit designation from Patrick and Judith, although all records agree that there was but one residential structure here. The reported property value was split evenly. The location of the Culhane farmhouse on Site #5 in Martins Location has been excavated. A 2013 examination was prepared for the USFS by Independent Archaeological Consulting, LLC (IAC). Excerpts:



“Typical of other New England farmsteads from this period, the Culhane farmhouse was constructed as a series of connected buildings. These were the Big House, Little House, Back House and Barn.

Each of these buildings served a specific purpose for the farmer. The Big House was the focus of the connected farm: it fronted the road and offered the public presentation of the farmer. Within the Big House, visitors would enter the public space of the Hall and Parlor.

The Little House was almost always the kitchen ell, where most of the domestic activities took place. Next was the Back House, an area for wood and tool storage, workshops, butchering, or any number of other activities.

We surmise Locus 26/58 was a trench for a buried water line. We find that the approximate alignment of the trench heads towards the area marked as a **spring on a 1915 map** of the Dolly Copp Campground area. {Above is that Spring on an annotated excerpt from the USFS 1915 Sketch Map}.

Although the Culhane farmhouse and barn disappeared from the landscape from abandonment shortly after 1915, a slight concavity where the farmhouse originally stood and a deep cellar from the original main barn structure are still visible today.

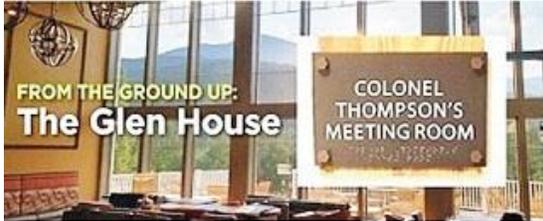
In general, we can state the use of Campsite 51 has not greatly affected the surface and subsurface elements of the Culhane Farm. We find that the Culhane Farmstead is potentially eligible for National Register of Historic Places under Criterion D. {National Register Criterion D applies to resources that have yielded or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory}. This criterion typically applies to archeological sites.”

EMPLOYMENT OF BROTHERS: As so well stated in Thomas Culhane’s 1903 obituary, the Culhane brothers’ employment was “closely identified with the leading men of this section during the middle of the last century.” What “leading men” meant back then was primarily **Colonel Joseph Mariner Thompson** of the Glen House in Greens Grant and **John Raymond Hitchcock** of the Alpine House in Gorham.

Patrick Culhane: Historian True on Patrick Culhane after his move to Martins Location: “He remained there in the employ of **J. M. Thompson and Hitchcock**, summers driving for them.” On Patrick from the 1908 *Genealogical and Family History of NH*: “He drove the stage from the Glen to the Alpine House {Hitchcock’s} in Gorham.”

Thomas Culhane: Again from the obituary of Thomas: *“He took up farming in Martins Location, and during the season of summer travel worked for **Mr. Thompson** at the Glen, **Mr. Hitchcock** of the Alpine and Tip-Top House and guided parties over, around and through the mountains.”*

John Culhane: Dr. True on third brother John Culhane: He *“drove the stage to the Glen House one year, then worked for **J.R. Hitchcock**. In 1867 he entered the repair shops of the Grand Trunk Railroad where he remains {written 1882}.”*



Living from 1803 to 1869, **Thompson** purchased the partially completed but operational Bellows Hotel, finalized construction, and renamed it the Glen House. (At left memory of Colonel Thompson honored in 2018 Glen House).

Thompson's Census of **1860** real estate was valued at \$44,000. Business partner John Bellows' real estate in **1870** was valued at \$50,000. Comparative **1860** figures for Patrick Culhane are real estate valued at \$300 and real estate for Hayes Copp \$600.



Living 1821-1870, **Hitchcock** was the proprietor of Gorham's Alpine House located at the new railroad station. He operated that facility in conjunction with Mount Washington's Tip-Top House. (At left Alpine's J. R. Hitchcock from a Granite Monthly Magazine, his Alpine House in Gorham photo source Curtis Mercier).

Hitchcock's Census of **1870** real estate was valued at \$7,000 with a larger personal estate of \$22,000. Comparative figures for **1870** for Patrick Culhane are real estate value \$1,000 and for neighbor Hayes Copp real estate value \$2,000.

--- From the 1902 *American Series of Popular Biographies* we learn that Hitchcock was the last of a line of descent all bearing the same name John Hitchcock. And that **in his early years** he had gained experience managing hotels in Boston and then Fall River, Mass.

--- In **July of 1853** John Hitchcock of the Alpine House complained to railroad president Little: *“I thought I would write and let you know the state of things with me – as you are aware I am and have been since the first of July prepared to accommodate two hundred people.*

*We have been very light since the first of July, last night having but one man in **this house** and the **Glen House** had some seventy people. I have always feared the Glen would do the business unless enough for both.*

I am willing to give this thing a fair trial but if business is no better when the railroad is run through to Montreal I shall be under the necessity of settling with my help and giving up this House.”

--- Hitchcock's July 1853 complaint is challenged by an observation in an **August 1853** *Portland Transcript*: *“The public houses are overflowing with visitors, with the exception of the ‘Station House’ {Alpine House} at Gorham. The regular system of overcharging there has made their visitors travelling advertisements against the house.”*

--- Historian D. B Wight speaking of **1861**: *“Mr. Hitchcock was a very colorful person and at that time a dashing well-dressed bachelor. He rode around in his private carriage, drawn by two silky black horses, with a black coachman wearing a green coat with brass buttons shining in the sun. He was a large, rather fat man.”*

--- In **1867** Dr. Morrill Wyman was camping in Martins Location. According to his journal he *“road down to Gorham in an open wagon with Mr. Charles D. Robinson, the agent of*

Thompson at the Glen House, who is a bright man and whose business is to see to the transportation of goods to the Glen House, almost all of which comes over the Grand Trunk Railway from Portland.

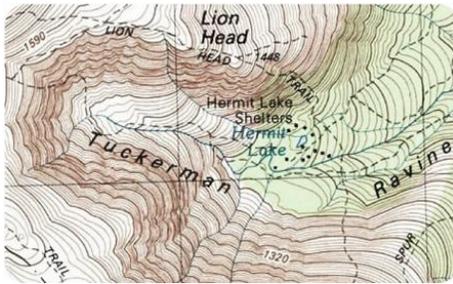
*He says great numbers of people come to the mountains quite ignorant of the hotels and of the best way to Mount Washington, and he makes it his duty to see them, inform them upon these points, at any rate see that they do not make the mistake, in his estimation, of remaining at the **Alpine House** in Gorham.”*

In 1893 **Thomas** Culhane was called to testify about his employment in a court case involving land rights on Mount Washington, *Ebenezer S. Coe and David Pingree Trustees versus Walter Aiken*. Thomas responded to many questions regarding his work for property owners, his perceptions of who was in charge, etc. Selected for inclusion here are details regarding his daily duties:

*“Have you been employed as a guide on Mt. Washington? I was a **guide** there from the time the Thompson Path {from the Glen House} was built {1851} until the carriage road was built {1861}. “When did you begin to work for Mr. Hitchcock at the Alpine House? Before the road was built up the mountain, acting as a guide.*

I worked for him through nine summers, and he was running them a couple of years perhaps three, before I commenced with him on the top of the mountain.

What was your business those two or three years, prior to the time you went on the mountain? I was driving onto the mountain and anywhere he ordered me – driving a passenger team or any other team – sometimes a freight team.



Before I went to stay there on the top I drove the housekeeper Mrs. Atwood up there twice per week... She was to go up and see to things up there and bring the money down.”

*After those two or three years “I did anything. I worked in the house and out of doors. I tended bar, I went to **Tuckerman Ravine as a guide**, and I did anything that was to be done.”*

Context on walking summit tourists over to the edge of Tuckerman Ravine is found in this advertisement in the 1855 *Historical Relics of the White Mountains* by John H. Spaulding: *“Spaulding & Company have purchased and connected the Tip-Top and Summit Houses. Parties wishing to visit Tuckerman Ravine will be furnished with an **experienced guide**.”*

*“When was the Summit House completed? It was occupied in **1873**. It was occupied the summer I worked in it... Where were you the next year, the summer of **1874**? I was to home.*

You did not work on the mountain that year? No sir. I was at work for James Callahan in Gorham.” Callahan owned the Gorham House Hotel after 1871. Thomas could not go back to the Alpine House as it had burned in 1872 and did not reopen until 1876.

ESCUES AND MOUNTAIN GUIDES: The Culhanes participated in two well-known Mount Washington rescues. In September of **1855 Thomas** Culhane at age 28 was a member of the rescue party that bore the body of **Miss Lizzie Bourne**, twenty – two years old at her death in 1855, off Mount Washington after her fatal climb.

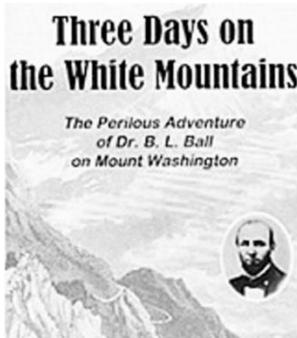
In 1989 Laura and Guy Waterman wrote that *“in 1916 Kilbourne called her death ‘more widely known than that of any other person who has perished on the Presidential Range,’ a judgment that remains true today.”*



The oil painting of Lizzie on the summit (2023 photo) was donated to the Mount Washington State Park by the family of my mentor Casey Hodgson of Gorham.

The painting was completed in 1856 by Charles O. Cole of Portland, Maine. Life long history fan Casey purchased it right after his Korean War service, using his savings from military pay.

In October of **1855** both **Patrick** and **Thomas** were part of another highly publicized rescue, that of **Dr. Benjamin Ball** who lived 1820-1860, lost on Mount Washington for three cold days. It was considered miraculous for him to be rescued alive. According to historian Randall Bennett *“the oft retold story of Dr. Ball’s ordeal of sixty hours without food, shelter or fire, with snow or ice only for drink, still has the ability to leave its listeners spellbound.”*



Dr. Ball cites the Culhanes when writing up his experience for his 1856 book *Three Days on the White Mountains*: *“The others, Francis Smith, J. J. Davis, **Thomas** Culhane, **Patrick** Culhane, and an Irishman called Thomas, gathered around, and all, with expressions of doubtfulness, looked at me... then informed me that they were a party which had come in search of me, all being experienced guides.”*

From a parallel account by Joseph S. Hall: *“After following about a half mile we crossed our path in a direction nearly east. Here we met **Patrick** and **Thomas Culhane**, who joined our party, making six.”*

I assume these rescues were ordered by Glen House managers as seasonal employers of the Culhanes. Note also that their Martins Location neighbor, eldest Copp son Jeremiah Copp, was a mountain guide in his early years. This leads to the theory that Jeremiah could have taught his 1851 arriving Culhane kin the fundamentals of valley climbing.

A reference to Thomas Culhane appears in the **1856** *Incidents in White Mountain History* by Benjamin Willey. He was involved with second Copp son 21-year-old Nathaniel Copp’s life threatening adventure in the winter woods:

*“His friends at home becoming alarmed at his prolonged absence, and the intensity of the cold, three of them started in pursuit of home, viz., John Goulding, Mr. Hayes D. Copp, his father, and **Thomas** Culhane.... Goulding froze both his feet so badly that it is feared he will have to suffer amputation. Mr. Copp and **Mr. Culhane** froze their ears badly.”*

From the **1858** *Eastman’s Guide Book*: *“**Mr. Culhane**, who owns a farm in the Peabody Valley, near where the view of the Imp is to be had, will be found a worthy wearer of Mr. Gordon’s mantle. {Author – hiker Thomas Starr King endorsed Gordon as an expert guide}. Travelers can easily learn at the Alpine House how to engage him for any service.”*



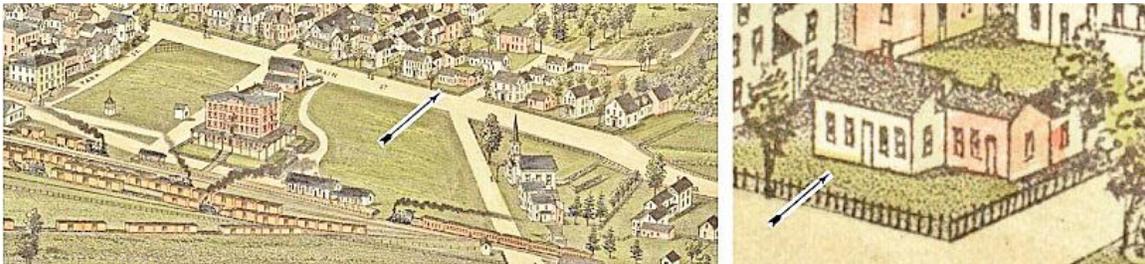
It is well documented that **Patrick** Culhane guided the **1859** exploration party that named **Raymond Cataract**, a topographic feature on the east side of Mount Washington. From the World Waterfall Database: *“Raymond Cataract is a tall multi-stepped waterfall which drains from the basin between Tuckerman and Huntington Ravines on the east flank of Mount Washington. The falls drop in at least three major steps for approximately 275 feet.”*

RETURN TO MINING AND LAST YEARS: More from N. T. True on **Patrick** Culhane: “He came to Gorham in **1874**, {having lived in Martins Location since 1851} and has worked in the employ of the Grand Trunk Railway till last May {of **1881**} then was employed at the Mascot Mine, which he discovered in the summer of **1880**, where he has since remained.”

Wight on **1880**: “**Patrick** Culhane, who had mining experience before coming to Gorham in 1874 {from Martins Location} along with a Mr. Johnson, went prospecting on Mount Hayes as reports had been received of lead being found in that vicinity. They soon found an outcropping of a lead vein and decided that mining could be a permanent industry.”



In **1880** we see Patrick returning to the mining vocation he left thirty years earlier. Investors and others actually ran the business. Alas, not a successful venture in period accounts, that judgment included in the 1889 *Glen House Book*.



Bird's-eye View of Gorham in 1888

*Pointers identify home of **Patrick Culhane**, now the intersection of Routes 2 and 16 – the hotel on what is today Gorham Common is the second **Alpine House** built in 1876 – north of the railroad crossing is the **Methodist Church** Dolly Copp attended and where her son Daniel was married in 1874*

In 1880 third brother **John** Culhane joins the Gorham Cadets, a voluntary company with weekly drills. Dr. True: The Cadets “have reached a high degree of military proficiency, and add much to the interest of public occasions.” The Federal Agricultural Census of 1880 has **Thomas** still farming in Martins Location that year. True on **Patrick** Culhane in 1882: “They have five children of whom three are living. He resides on Main Street.”

A reference from the Gorham newspaper in 1886: “**Thomas** Culhane is hauling wood from over the river.” (His home on Alpine Street was close to the Androscoggin River, which at that time had a pedestrian bridge across). Selected *Gorham Town Reports*, 1894 and 1902, document payments to **Thomas** Culhane for road work, for use of his horses, and for managing a forest fire.



The Gorham of the aging Culhanes was prosperous, growth having been continuous since the railroad arrived. From a *Gorham Mountaineer* editorial in 1883: “If the census of Gorham was undertaken this year, it would prove that the town has largely increased in population.

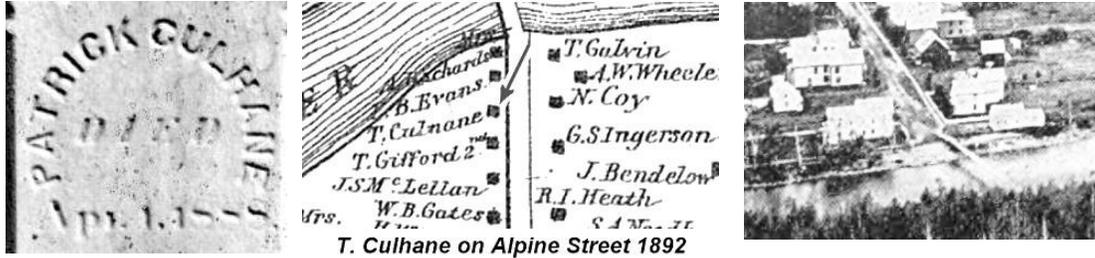
The scarcity of rents, the erection of stores, opera house, a large number of private residences, increasing railroad traffic and the general boom in business, is wonderful” (graphic from nicholetnomad.com).

The first of the Culhane brothers to pass was Patrick in 1888. From his obituary: “It is with feelings of sadness that we thus chronicle the death of one of our most widely known citizens, **Patrick** Culhane. In the early part of last week, it was announced that Mr. Culhane was sick, though but few realized his dangerous illness until it was pronounced that brain fever was the cause: and so rapidly did the disease develop that when the news spread that he could not live we could hardly realize it to be true.

His suffering though intense was of short duration, and on Sunday at about 7:00 a.m. he passed away, surrounded by the loving friends whom he had so fondly guarded through life. Mr. Culhane was a vigorous man and widely known for his strength and endurance and this, it is said, was his first sickness that obliged him to employ medical assistance.

In the years gone by he was known as a careful mountain driver, and travelers to and from the summit of Mount Washington felt safe under his guiding hands. The funeral took place at the Methodist Episcopal Church Tuesday afternoon, and was largely attended.

And thus another good man has gone to meet the reward of a life spent in goodness and usefulness, and mourned by all who knew him: and we can truly say he had not an enemy on earth."



At left Patrick Culhane's 1888 gravestone in Evans Cemetery; Thomas Culhane's home on D. H. Hurd & Co. 1892 Map; view south over Androscoggin includes Thomas Culhane's home from 1895 "Scenery Revealed by the Grand Trunk Railway"

Brother **John** went next, in 1891. Then from the obituary of brother **Thomas** who died in 1903: "Another link, and there are but very few left of the long chain, connecting the present generation with the early days of summer travel on this side of the White Mountains ... has been destroyed by the death of Thomas Culhane... At one time all three brothers, Patrick, Thomas and John, were in the employ of the late John R. Hitchcock at the Alpine.

In 1885 he sold his farm to E. Libby & Sons and removed to this place. The following year he commenced work for the Alpine Aqueduct Company, remaining with them as long as his health permitted, which was about two years ago.... Soon after his removal here he bought the Joseph Tucker place on Alpine Street, where he resided with wife Rachel and nephew John B. Culhane." The 1903 obituary of Thomas Culhane concludes:

"The funeral was attended by a large number of friends who gathered to pay homage to the last of the **three brothers** who were so closely identified with the leading men of this section during the middle of the last century."

6-2. DOING BUSINESS WITH JOHN BELLOWS



1854 Leavitt Map on left, **1878 Leavitt Map** on right, annotations added

"I think you would have been forced to admit that Greens Grant, or as we call it, for want of a better name, is one of the wildest, romantic spots, as well as splendid locations, presenting at one glance incomparable mountain scenery."

- Above excerpted from John Bellows' 1849 Tourism Plan, presented to the soon to arrive railroad's President Josiah Little

John's Obituary 1888: *"Mr. Bellows was dignified and affable, a gentleman of the old school. He was an entertaining converser and possessed business intuition of the highest order."*

Pinkham Genealogy 1908: On Site #2 pioneers Samuel and Betsey (Pinkham) Copp: *"He and his wife studied in the Jackson town schools; his occupation, lumbering and farming. On leaving Bartlett, NH he purchased 500 acres of land of Daniel Pinkham from the Pinkham quit claim from the State, the title to which was not good. He lost all this land in a lawsuit {1846} with John Bellows of Lancaster."*

Historic Novelist Carol Hayes 1998: *"A crafty blackguard, slippery as an eel. God will punish Mr. Bellows, said Esther {Pinkham}. Chesley {her son} stomped from the room. Never, he vowed, no, never, would he pardon John Bellows."*

Author's Viewpoint 2024: Community development in the Peabody Valley would have proceeded differently had John Bellows not evicted its early settlers. As their property values grew due to arriving tourism, Copp and Pinkham kin would have benefitted financially, perhaps selling willingly to Bellows, but without full loss due to seizure.

Due to the loss of their mining jobs, by 1849 the Patrick Culhane and Thomas Culhane families had left the Gorham Area. It was the implementation of John Bellows' 1849 Tourism Plan that gave them the chance to come back. John Bellows was a key catalyst in their lives, providing a Martins Location home base very convenient to their work for hoteliers.

Bellows is a pivotal yet understudied figure in White Mountains history. He greatly impacted the properties of the Peabody Valley pioneers by invalidating deeds originally sold by Daniel Pinkham. For decades thereafter, he was the largest landowner in both Martins Location and Greens Grant.

Bellows organized construction funding for the Glen Road and built the first Glen House under its original name Bellows Hotel. John and his nephew then became entangled in protracted litigation for control of lucrative rents on the summit of Mount Washington.

A generational contemporary of Dolly and Hayes, Bellows lived from 1807 to 1888. He was born in Walpole, NH, in the southwestern part of the state. From the 1898 *Bellows*

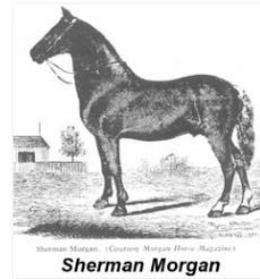
Genealogy we learn that his father Josiah had “*the most substantial and imposing private residence*” there.

Yet his father’s fortunes fluctuated: “*In 1824 having become financially embarrassed, he moved the family to Lancaster.*” John was 17 the year of the move, yet another example of northward migration. His father bounced back economically, for once in Lancaster “*he became an extensive landowner.*”

John’s older brother Charles also did well in Lancaster. He was the founder of a bank there and at one time ran a machine shop and then a hotel. The *History of Lancaster* tells us that brother Charles “*bought and sold real estate including many forest areas and undeveloped tracts,*” skills picked up by younger John. Another older brother, George, traveled the Pacific and was a colonel in the militia. In the 1870 Census George is residing in one of John’s properties in Martins Location.

John Bellows and elite horse breeding from the *Bellows Genealogy*: “*Like others in the family he was fond of a good horse in his younger days and in 1832 owned the well-known stallion Sherman Morgan.*” Racehorse expert Brenda Tippin comments:

“*Sherman Morgan was purchased by John Bellows of Lancaster in 1829. Sherman Morgan died at Mr. Bellows stable in 1835. His skin was preserved and then stuffed and exhibited at the stable of Mr. George Bellows {John’s brother} in Lancaster.*”



In the *Farm Journal*, a newsy exchange between elite horse breeders, John writes on 3/24/1848: “*Old Sherman Morgan was truly a prodigy among horses... But for this animal, Morgan horses would never have had the celebrity they enjoy.*” Then he writes from Lancaster on 8/14/1850: “*Sherman Morgan is the father of the famous Black Hawk. I received \$15 for service rendered in 1832.*”

John also had a younger sister, Rebecca. She married high up in the New Hampshire political hierarchy to **John Sullivan Wells** (his portrait at right in the NH State House), who lived 1803-1860. The *Bellows Genealogy* states that Wells “*was a prominent lawyer and took a conspicuous part in public affairs.*”



His service included the heights of Speaker of the NH House and President of the NH Senate. There was then his unsuccessful run for the New Hampshire governorship.

Important for our story, the son of Rebecca and John Wells was **Henry Bellows Wells**, an important figure in the dispute over control of Mount Washington summit rental income. Wells becomes a business partner with his Uncle John in that struggle.

The *Bellows Genealogy* continuing: “*John was credited with having accumulated a large fortune, an unusual circumstance in the Bellows Family.*” Perhaps that remark was in comparison to the thousands of other Bellows included in the *Genealogy*, for his Lancaster family line seems to be doing well enough. Especially in comparison to our hardscrabble Peabody Valley settlers, toiling on the farms twenty-one miles to the east behind the Presidential Range.

The 1927 George Cross booklet on Dolly Copp cites Bellows as one of the Peabody Valley’s early influential persons: “*Came in 1852 {we now know his interest was much earlier, by 1840} John Bellows, a man of vision, to see future harvests in the sublimity of the mountain tops, the grandeur of the ravines. Mr. Bellows began the erection of a small hotel on the splendid site that for seventy-five years has been the home of successive Glen Houses.*”

That sounds pleasant enough. But you may have noticed this research does not treat him so kindly. We now know that Bellows was the dominant property owner in the Peabody Valley well before his tourist hotel and Washington summit investments, and the scourge of Peabody Valley pioneers.

PLAN FOR RAIL SERVICE: The early business life of John Bellows had much to do with his era's rapidly expanding railroads. In the 1830s, steam locomotion became practical and drew large capital investment. Decisions as to rail routings by railroad presidents made them powerful arbiters of which communities would rise or wither. New Hampshire towns jockeyed for favorable positions.

John was part of a Lancaster business group trying to attract a rail line to their major town, the county seat. According to the 1899 *History of Lancaster* both John and his brothers George and Charles were among sixty-five organizers of an 1845 coalition promoting the inclusion of Lancaster on a proposed route "*connecting the City of Montreal with the seaboard east of the City of Boston.*" That is, through Gorham. The enterprise was aptly named the Saint Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad Company.

They did not succeed. According to the *History of Lancaster* in 1858 the Lancaster Hotel "*was built by monies paid to the town by the Saint Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad because of their failure to build their road thru Lancaster in accordance with an arrangement to that effect.*"



Randolph residents were also disappointed not to have the railroad proceed west to Lancaster through their town. Randolph author George Cross: "*Great were the disappointment and disaster to Randolph, when a line thru Berlin to Groveton was finally adopted.*" Randolph was not served by a railroad until 1891.

In 1844 Portland, Maine had been connected by rail to Boston, New England's largest city. The route northwest from Portland into New Hampshire had been contemplated by 1835, but specific routing thereafter remained vague.

The ascent was along the gentle grade of the Androscoggin River Valley thru Maine and to Gorham, New Hampshire. Railroad management's final decision was to turn north at Gorham, thru neighboring Berlin, and then proceed northwesterly into Canada to connect to Montreal, Quebec.

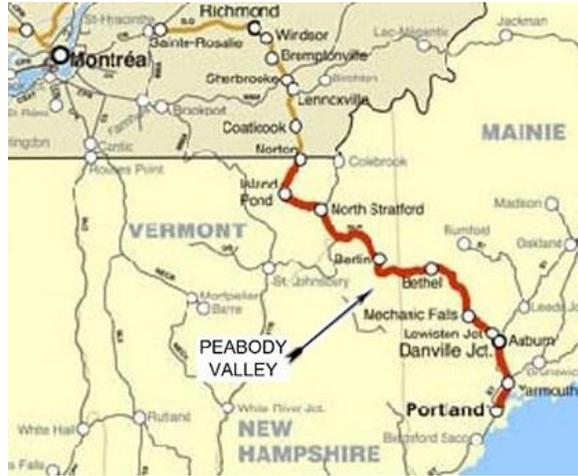
While the three Bellows brothers and their coalition partners failed to have hometown Lancaster included on the new route, John had already developed a business interest focused where the action **surely would be** – Gorham. By 1840 he is seeking control of key properties for tourism development in the adjacent and until then backwater Peabody Valley.

John's strategy was ingenious. Just as his obituary noted "business intuition of the highest order", John buys lost colonial era deeds to Greens Grant and Martins Location, then brings legal action to assert their primacy over the more recently state authorized deed to Daniel Pinkham (and his derivative sales) for the same lands. Bellows gambles that the Peabody Valley can attract well-paying tourists. It does:

--- Noted historian Bryant F. Tolles in his monumental 1998 *Grand Resort Hotels of the White Mountains*: "*The opening of the Atlantic and Saint Lawrence Railroad to Gorham and increased trade, particularly in the hotel industry, stimulated the economy **for miles around.***"

--- The first day of passenger rail service from Portland, Maine to Gorham, New Hampshire was July 23, **1851**. Area historian D. B. Wight captures the mood: "*The people of Gorham were overjoyed with the coming of the railroad. One man that helped build it said later 'we were so crazy with joy at the prospect of having a railroad we would have worked for nothing to help put it through.'*"

An "interstate expressway" of the nineteenth century is about to impact Dolly Copp in her rural backwater - annotated map courtesy of Poor's Journey and Beyond: *The St. Lawrence & Atlantic Railroad*



--- A major construction project, Gorham's Alpine House at the new railroad station was built by master carpenter Edmund Merrill of Bethel, an 1840 Martins Location resident and sawmill builder. It opens about 7/1/1851.

--- After 1851 area agricultural production had to increase to feed the large influx of summer tourists. Randolph historian George Cross cited increased planting in Randolph to feed guests at Gorham's Alpine House. Cross also states that the Copps sold farm produce to the nearby Glen House.

--- Tourist flow was urged on by the *Portland Transcript* in 1853: "Since the fourth the travel to the mountains has largely increased. Everybody is going up to the right places of the earth. This is a healthful indication, and we are glad to see it."

--- Not all 1850s business impacts were positive. From the 1882 *History of Shelburne*: "Upon the advent of the railroad Shelburne's prosperity began to wane. In thirty years her population has decreased one half. When the Grand Trunk railroad {later name for the Atlantic and Saint Lawrence Railroad} was built, the glory of Greens Tavern departed."

--- Assessment for Gorham in an 1857 *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*: "The present town of Gorham, which until within a few years formed a part of Shelburne, is but a rude village at this time, though it was incorporated some twenty years since. The establishment of the railroad, running through this town directly to Montreal, has had the effect of building it up."



--- Wight on Gorham's 1860 population increase over 1850: "Many people from Ireland were arriving at this time and were employed in the construction of railroads. They were used to hard work, and were skilled in many trades that were needed. When the railroad decided to build their shops in Gorham, many of them stayed on and some became very prominent citizens and built some of the finest homes in Gorham."

--- Overview of White Mountains tourism by historians Laura and Guy Waterman: "From its beginning in the 1830s, the wave of mountain tourism rose sharply in the 1840s and reached flood tide in the 1850s. During the Civil War the wave subsided, continuing to ebb for another ten years. Not until the late 1870s did mountain tourism again reach the heights of the 1850s."

--- Before the arrival of today's highways and long-distance trucking, railroads were the nation's economic engines. The rail link between Gorham and Portland is seen as strategic by the *Nashua Daily Telegraph* on 12/18/1900: "A serious freight wreck on the Grand Trunk Railroad in Gorham, NH yesterday still further delays traffic on that road, and will interfere somewhat with the sailing of trans-Atlantic steamers now at this port awaiting a cargo."

BELLOWS' PLAN IMPLEMENTED: We are fortunate that the George J. Mitchell Department of Special Collections at the Bowdoin College Library in Brunswick, Maine preserves the records of the Saint Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad, for within that archive is found John's handwritten tourism plan dated 11/15/1849.

That key proposal was presented to railroad President Josiah Little, who lived 1801 to 1862. A powerful figure, Little was based in Portland and a former Speaker of the Maine House of Representatives.

The 1849 communication from Bellows is the earliest known “sales pitch” for drawing tourists into the Peabody Valley. Bellows describes each of the attractions tourists will want to see, including the Imp Profile. evidently convinced, railroad president Little commits funds to improve whatever was left of the decayed riverside road of 1774, running south from the Gorham Town Line thru Martins Location to Bellows' proposed hotel site in Greens Grant, labeled as Site #1 herein.

Perspective from Gorham historian D. B. Wight: *“The scenic charms of the mountains surrounding the valley were little appreciated for many years.”* From the 1853 *Beckett Guide Book* on attractions in the Peabody Valley: *“Prior to the opening of the Saint Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad, these beautiful objects, in common with many other of their wildest features, were almost unknown.”*

One of the attractions cited by Bellows needed to be man-made, a pony road to carry tourists up Mount Washington. By the structure of the 1849 letter, and the length of text given to this topic, we see that summit access from Site #1 in Greens Grant was at the core of Bellows' Peabody Valley tourism plan:

*“You ask if a bridle road ‘can be made to the top of Mount Washington: shorter, and less difficult than on the other side.’ I answer from the best information that I am able to obtain, from those who I have procured to answer and examine for this purpose who I consider competent and who have traveled each of the other bridle roads running from **Crawfords’** and **Fabyans’ Houses** on the southwest side.”*

Bellows knew his competition. Historian Randall Bennett: *“Horace Fabyan’s Mount Washington House set the tone for fashionable hotel-keeping in the heart of the White Mountains until its destruction by fire in 1853.”*



Historian George McAvoy says that in the early 1850s *“the great trip was the ascent of Mount Washington by the bridle path and for this purpose Landlord Fabyan kept in readiness 150 horses and a dozen or more guides.”* And Bellows in an 1853 conversation said he knew “Old Man Crawford.” (Photo of rival Hotelier Horace Fabyan).

More from Bellows' 1849 plan: *“I am persuaded and convinced beyond doubt that a bridle road can be made, from this point on the Greens Grant where I intend to erect a house next season, not only much cheaper and less expensive, but at a savings in distance from the summit of Mount Washington of three or four miles.*

Shorter than any road now traveled, from any house on the southwest side, and altogether less dangerous of ascent or decent.” Bellows also claims that his route to the summit can be used by women.

Bellows makes a proposal to Little for funding the Mount Washington pony road: *“I regret that time had not permitted you when here to have gone over to the mountains, as I think you would have been forced to admit that Greens Grant, or as we call it, for want of a better name, is one of the wildest, romantic spots, as well as splendid locations, presenting at one glance incomparable mountain scenery, the grandest view of the loftiest peaks of Mt. Washington, Adams, Jefferson and Madison.*

I think this {pony} road will not exceed four and a half miles from my proposed house to the summit... It can be made a lovely retreat to the visitant, unparalleled in beauty of scenery, as well as furnishing the amplest trout fishing to those who delight to angling the tributaries of the Peabody River, of any, the where to be found in the vicinity of the White Mountains... When such suitable commodious roads and houses shall be made for such as may choose to make their amusement their pleasure.”

Historical perspective from the *Conway Daily Sun* in 2019 indicates that ascent by pony routes soon faded: *“By the 1860s and 1870s, riding on horseback up Washington over a rough path was no longer in vogue. The Mount Washington Carriage Road opened in 1861 and the Mount Washington Cog Railway in 1869, both making for an easier, quicker and more comfortable rise to the top.”*

BELLOWS IN LATER LIFE: While John Bellows is a key figure in both Peabody Valley and Mount Washington histories, there is no biography of him, just scattered references here and there. Bellows’ formative years, 1846 property dominance, and hotel development are presented above. To complete his biography, what can be found about the remainder of his life is presented below.

After his 1846 takeover of valley properties, 1849 tourism plan and 1852 sale of his Greens Grant Bellows Hotel, John Bellows moves onto the next business venture he is widely remembered for, ownership of the summit of Mount Washington. John as a businessperson saw that people enjoyed the transcendent feeling of being on a high mountain, especially the highest peak in a given area, and would pay to access it.

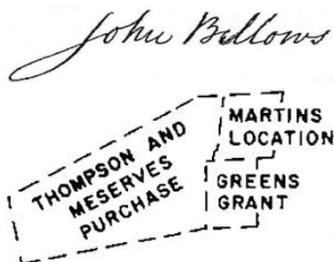
According to the 1871 *Mount Washington in Winter* *“the number of visitors increased, so that in 1858 it was estimated that five thousand persons ascend the various bridal paths. In 1870 the number was estimated at seven thousand.”* Today the summit hosts one third of a million visitors annually. Leave it to White Mountains poetic promoter Thomas Starr King to challenge rival attractions:

“For, though there are several mountains in North Carolina that are higher from the sea than Mount Washington, there are none of them that rise so high over the immediate table-land from which they spring, while their forms are far less picturesque.”



At left after sunset from Portland, Maine westerly 70 miles to Mount Washington – John Bellows claimed the valuable summit – at right reverse view east to Maine Coast a Bellows asset – photo credits Dolores Chew

After his 1846 Greens Grant and Martins Location property seizures, in 1848 John bought partial control of the adjacent and mountainous **Thompson and Meserves Purchase**. This unit was created by land commissioner James Willey in 1835 and sold to Samuel W. Thompson of Conway and George P. Meserve of Jackson. We see the priorities of the times here, civic units created for the farmable valleys fifty years before boundaries were made for the much larger, but less desirable, higher elevation units such as this.



The boundary for Thompson and Meserve Purchase included the valuable Mount Washington summit, or so Bellows *appears to believe*. Atlantic and Saint Lawrence Railroad President Josiah Little had some forewarning that rival claims to the summit could derail Bellows’ summit access and hotel development plans. The wording of Little’s inquiry to Bellows is lost but Little’s concern is reflected in Bellows’ 11/15/1849 response:

"I am unable to answer further than I understand that Thomas Crawford and the Proprietor of the Faybian House claim to own the summit of Mount Washington. In whom the title rests is questionable and I presume the grants under which they claim have never been surveyed.

I do not apprehend that there would be any great difficulty in securing the right of way and whatever I can do in means to reflect this objective will be done and all others who may be interested in having this improvement made, proportionately to their interests, must do likewise in order to participate in the benefit."

That assurance must have been sufficient, for Little went ahead and made the access investments. Interesting that even after the railroad to Gorham was completed, Little remained involved with Peabody Valley tourism, serving as one of the speakers at the opening of the Mount Washington Carriage Road in 1861.

Yet John was either overly optimistic or glossing over problems when informing Little on the ownership issue in 1849. It was not those west side interests that challenged John, but rather those owning adjacent Sargents Purchase to the south of the summit.

The big problem was a boundary overlap in civic units drawn in the 1830s - conflicting at the summit of Mount Washington – improperly surveyed from the start it turned out. Recall that Surveyor Thompson, deeply involved in that work, appears in this history lodging overnight at Daniel Pinkham's home in Martins Location in 1835.

We can see things heating up in the 1871 *Mount Washington in Winter*: "There has been a controversy concerning the ownership of the land upon the summit of Mt. Washington. Mr. Bellows, of Exeter, owns the land upon the east {north} side, and was the party in possession until about fifteen years ago {circa 1856} when his tenants were evicted by the sheriff acting for Coe and Pingree" {south side}.

Probably \$25,000 have been spent already in contesting the matter of ownership before the courts." These early summit disputes were resolved in 1872, when the interests of the southern claim (Coe and Pingree) bought out nephew Henry Bellows Wells' northern claim.

Unlike his Glen House investment pattern, Bellows did not attempt to construct a tourist related building on the summit. Rather, he collected rents from others who built on his property there. Bellows appears to be in full control of his summit claim in 1858, then yielding his interest to his nephew Henry Bellows Wells in 1859.

Mount Washington Historian F. Allen Burt sums up: *After a long and costly litigation, the heirs of David Pingree {south} ended the suit by paying \$30,000 for the interest of Bellows and Wells {north}, thus obtaining clear title to the summit."* While by that year not officially a party to the sale, John Bellows may have retained a financial interest, as he later holds the mortgage on nephew Henry Wells' home in Brookline, Massachusetts, an expensive residential section adjacent to Boston.

Internationally renowned naturalist Henry David Thoreau enjoyed the White Mountains, first visiting in 1839. On a trip in 1858 he stopped at the Glen House and then climbed thru Tuckerman Ravine to the summit of Washington. Thoreau's 1861 reaction to the ownership dispute there:

"New Hampshire courts have lately been deciding – as if it were for them to decide – whether the top of Mount Washington belonged to A or B; And, it being decided in favor of B, as I hear, he went up one winter with the proper officer and took formal possession of it.

**I took a walk
in the woods
and came out
taller than trees.**

—HENRY DAVID THOREAU

But I think that the top of Mt. Washington should not be private property; it should be left unappropriated for modesty and reverence's sake, or if only to suggest that earth has higher uses than we put her to." Complex disputes amongst summit interests continue today – in part a legacy of early poor-quality surveys.

FIRST AND SECOND MARRIAGES: John's first marriage was late in 1849, just as he was advocating for his Peabody Valley tourism plan. At age 42 John marries widow Mary Shaw, age 51. Mary was from Exeter, NH, earlier the NH state capital, still a prominent and cultured town.

Mary's late husband Tristram Shaw had his roots in Exeter. He served as a U.S. Congressman from 1839 thru 1843. But shortly after leaving that office he passed away. John's sister Rebecca and her husband John S. Wells had moved from Lancaster south to Exeter in 1846. Could sister Rebecca's society connections have led to John being introduced to widow Mary Shaw? Further the husbands of Mary and Rebecca were of the same political party.

Upon marriage, John relocates from Lancaster, NH south to bride Mary's opulent Exeter, NH home. They are recorded in residence there for Census years 1850, 1860 and 1870. John listed himself as a yeoman, defined as a man holding and cultivating a small landed estate, in the 1860 Census, and as a retired farmer in the 1870 Census. The 1872 *Exeter Directory* lists John as retired with a house at Exeter's Court Square.

From an early New England family, John was a member of the Congregational Church in Exeter. According to the *History of the First Congregational Church in Exeter, NH* both he and his sister's husband John S. Wells were remembered as prominent male parishioners. A sign of those times, leading churchwomen receive lesser billing: *"Of noble women there were not a few, but their almost stealthy way of doing good prevents one from even a general mention of their names."*

John had property interests outside of the Peabody Valley. In 1870 he bought one hundred acres in Berlin. His brother Charles was involved in a Berlin property transaction that year as well, a purchase from the same family owners. (Charles was residing in Martins Location that year as well).

After twenty-five years of marriage, in 1875 wife Mary passes away of cancer. In 1877 John remarries, to Helen Elizabeth Stiles. The second wife Helen is of particular interest to us as she was from Gorham. We can speculate that John must have been more than an absentee landowner managing his northern New Hampshire business affairs from Exeter, evidently circulating in the Gorham social orbit to meet and court this well-connected woman.

Helen's father **Valentine Stiles** was a prominent Gorham businessman, owning a grocery business, a significant philanthropist, selectman, and in 1856 Gorham's state representative. He educated his daughter Helen at Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in Massachusetts.

As the railroad arrives to stimulate growth in Gorham, N. T. True reports *"the lands in the village were nearly all in the possession of Hazen Evans and Valentine Stiles... Mr. Stiles was a stirring businessman, and did much as a private citizen towards developing the town."* A prominent real estate speculator in the same period as John Bellows.

Stiles was also appointed Gorham Postmaster in 1870, a plum political position. Upon his death in 1875, daughter Helen received that same appointment. Postal records indicate that Valentine was paid \$475 annually - Helen takes on the job at \$211.

Valentine Stiles built Gorham's Exchange Street (view north), gifting it to the Town as the then heart of the business district

Helen Stiles then marries John Bellows on 8/30/1877, the ceremony at her widowed mother's Main Street Gorham home. Helen



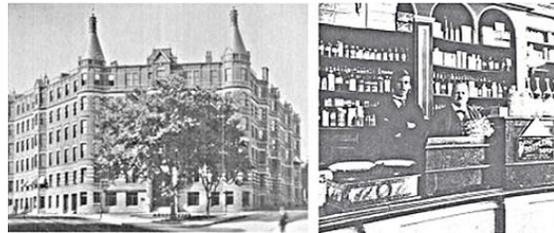
was 35 and John 69. She resigns from her postmaster position and moves south to John's mansion in Exeter.

Then about 1879, John and Helen leave New Hampshire for retirement south in Boston, Massachusetts. The 1880 Boston Census has them living at the plush Hotel Comfort on Washington Street. A prestige address, residents there are well represented in high society's "Blue Book." John gave his 1880 Census occupation as "retired merchant."

My own family history now brushes by John's. After their stay in the Hotel Comfort, John and Helen move a short distance to the Hotel Warren, described in the 2007 book *Roxbury Then and Now* by A. M. Sammarco as "a fashionable six-story apartment building." Antique revolutionary war cannon ornament the main entrance.

Four doors down we find the next Sammarco landmark, Roxbury's Highland Hall. According to Sammarco Highland Hall had "Italianate arches along the first floor and shops such as the Peter A. Riley Plumbing Shop and the **Warren Apothecary Shop** on the corner."

At left the Warren Hotel in Roxbury - at right John Cushing and his younger assistant in the nearby Warren Apothecary Shop



The owner of that apothecary at that time was my great grandfather, John Eliot Cushing, his last name my middle name. When a teenager, John Cushing lied about his age to enlist early for Civil War service.

That act was encouraged by his father, an abolitionist Cambridge, Massachusetts Unitarian minister and Assistant Harvard Librarian.

FINAL YEARS: John Bellows completed his will in 1880, the priority therein payment of his debts. Then several people, mostly nieces and nephews, are to receive \$500 each. These amounts are to be withdrawn from the proceeds of the mortgage John holds on the home of his nephew and Mount Washington real estate partner Henry Bellows Wells, living nearby since 1860 or earlier.

Out of John's remaining assets there is a token \$1 directed to each to his brothers Charles and George, sister Rebecca having died in 1860. Then the sum of \$1,000 is to be donated to the American Missionary Society, the purposes of which were education of African Americans, promotion of racial equality and Christian values. The remainder of his estate John leaves "to my beloved wife Helen Bellows, and to her heirs and assigns forever."

Bethel, Maine Historian Nathaniel Tuckerman True writing on Bellows in 1882 comments that he is "now a resident of Boston, Mass." This reference shows that John was remembered back in the Gorham area. From the *Bellows Genealogy*: "He maintained a lively interest in his native town and revisited it only a few months before his death, although in very feeble health." John then passes away in Roxbury on 12/14/1888, at the age of 81, the cause "pneumonia and general debility."

From John's obituary in the *Boston Traveler*: "Mr. Bellows was dignified and affable, a gentleman of the old school. He was an entertaining converser, and possessed business intuition of the highest order. He was a member of the Congregational Church. In politics he was a Republican. Until within a few years Mr. Bellows had been an active businessman. Burial at Exeter." John's Exeter burial was aside his first wife Mary. He had no children by either wife.

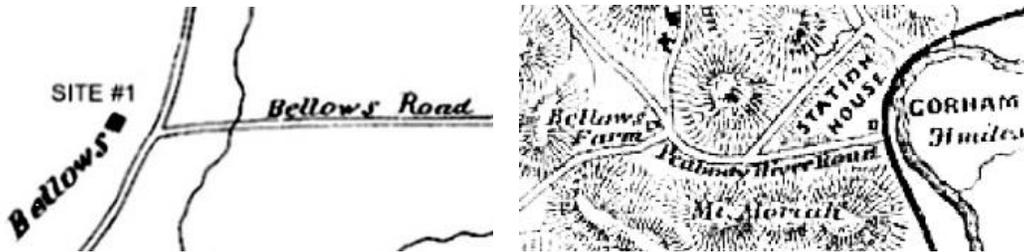
Commenting on his 1888 death, then Glen House owner Charles Milliken wrote in 1889 that "John Bellows has recently died at an advanced age. His 'Farm' reached to the Jackson line on one side, and Gorham on the other, - also including Mt. Washington, summit and all." Sounds nice, as an obituary should. But when we reach 1908 the *Pinkham Genealogy* well records the memory of John ruining Peabody Valley Pinkham kin.

John's widowed wife, Helen Stiles Bellows, thirty-four years younger, remarries a year later and relocated to Indiana as Mrs. Charles Wesley Fisk, Charles a native of New Hampshire. Helen's New Hampshire roots mattered, for upon her death in 1928 she was interred in the Evans Cemetery in Gorham, her monument simply "Helen 1842-1928."



View west along Route 16 in Gorham passing **Evans Cemetery** on the right

6-3. BELLOWS HOTEL BECOMES GLEN HOUSE



At left 1852 Leavitt Map annotated, with south at top, of Site #1 **Bellows Hotel** also showing Bellows {Pony} Road *; at right 1854 railroad guide map for tourists, south at left

* Between Mount Washington Carriage Road mileposts five and six from the AMC 1917 *Guide to Paths in the White Mountains*: "The trench like structures occasionally seen near the road are the remains of the old Glen House bridle path built in 1851."

Same source on the Six Husband Trail: "Rising to the top of the ridge, the trail begins to descend and soon enters the old Thompson Bridle Path constructed in 1851, the course of which is plain although it has been abandoned for more than half a century."

PIONEERS ON SITE #1: In White Mountains literature there are numerous references to the coming of the 1851 Glen House, but little on that location's use before that year. I find a lot to report in the twenty-five years between 1826 and 1851; occupancy by Hanson, Elkins, then Spaulding families. After all this was a choice location to homestead, travelling north from the Jackson Town Line the first fertile, relatively level productive agricultural acreage.

The search for earliest occupancy begins with Huntington Ravine namesake Joshua H. Huntington, stating in 1871 that Joseph Hanson settled here in 1826, information he obtained from Hayes Copp as they climbed Mount Washington together. Next is a human-interest clip in *The Olive Branch*, the Weekly newspaper of the New York Universalist Book Society, dated June 30, 1827, bannered Concord, NH:

"A friend relates to us the following instance of canine sagacity. Mr. Joseph Hanson resides on the Pinkham Road in the county of Coos, near Mt. Washington, eight miles from any

inhabitant. His child was lately taken dangerously sick – so that neither he nor his wife could safely leave it for assistance.



Enclosing a letter in a packet, he dispatched his dog ten miles to the house of Mr. Pinkham; and the dog delivered the message in an hour and a half, so that in the course of a few hours the necessary assistance arrived.

When the dog arrived at Adams {early name for Jackson} among the inhabitants, he passed several persons, and evaded them, as if fearful that he should be prevented from doing his errand. – N.Y.D. Adv.” (Photo shows the hearty Chinook, New Hampshire’s State Dog).

While the anecdote appeared in a religious periodical as an uplifting story, for historians the details provide an invaluable base for early Peabody Valley settlement. The 6/1827 publication date is even before the 11/1827 land purchase by Hayes Copp from Daniel Pinkham just north. Significant additional evidence supports the early residency by the Hanson Family on Glen House Site #1:

1. The earliest is in an account of a lost Mount Washington hiker. In **1833** he crosses the Peabody River bridge in Martins Location and then walks south along the new Pinkham Road. As related in 1846 by early White Mountain historian Lucy Crawford, the hiker “*arrived in an hour at **Mr. Hanson’s**, when a bowl of milk and a good bed left me nothing to regret.*”
2. Huntington Ravine namesake Joshua Huntington related in 1876 that the early **Hanson** home had doubled as the first inn in the valley. That information was conveyed to him by Hayes Copp as they climbed Mount Washington together.
3. Surveyor Samuel Thompson testifying near 1866 on his three decades earlier **1835** Peabody Valley travels: “*Perkins nine miles from Glen House – think **Hanson** lived at Glen House, and several others.*”
4. Next Site #1 occupant Elkins is also referenced in 1866, as Thompson comments on an **1839** deed: “*Beginning at the southwest corner of Daniel Elkins’ land formerly owned by **Joseph Hanson.***”
5. The **1886** *History of Chicago* by Alfred Andreas cites the Hanson’s child Franklin as “*prominently identified with the commercial interests of Chicago for over a quarter of a century... Mr. Hanson was born on August 5, 1832, near the **Glen House**, Mount Washington, NH, and is the son of **Joseph Hanson** who, with his own hands, made the first opening in the forests where the hotel mentioned now stands.*”
6. From the **1887** obituary of Ann Pinkham Hanson’s brother Randall Pinkham on an event while living with his parents in Pinkhams Grant: “*On the fourth of July 1836, he, with his father, **Joseph Hanson**, a brother-in-law living where the Glen House now is.*”
7. A **1915** biography of the Hanson’s fifth child, Joseph Jr. born in 1837, includes this gem of family history: “*The father, **Joseph Hanson**, was united in marriage to Ann Pinkham, a daughter of Daniel Pinkham, builder of the Mount Washington turnpike, for which he received a grant of land, and a part of that grant became **the homestead property** upon which Major Hanson was born.*”

By the 1840 Census the Hansons had moved west to Lancaster, following the 1836 move there of wife Ann Pinkham Hanson’s aging parents Daniel and Esther. John Olsen writing in the AMC’s *Appalachia Journal* in 1947: “*The Hanson Family moved from Pinkham Woods to Lancaster, as did also the Daniel Pinkham Family; the two families may well have moved at the same time, around 1836.*”

Yet occupancy of the Site #1 property then remained within the *extended* Pinkham kinship group. While Joseph Hanson’s wife Ann was Daniel Pinkham’s *daughter*, new arrival Daniel Elkins Junior’s wife Sally (Meserve) was Daniel Pinkham’s *niece*. Some background on players Elkins Senior and Elkins Junior:

1. Elkins, Jr.'s parents had moved north, father Daniel Sr. visiting Jackson from 1803 on to establish a Freewill Baptist Church there. Church Elder Elkins, Sr. baptized **Daniel Pinkham** in 1804 when Daniel was 25. Elkins Sr. became a permanent Jackson resident starting in 1808.

2. Elkins Sr. conducted the marriage ceremonies of several early migrants to the Peabody Valley: **Site #1** resident Daniel Elkins Jr. to Sally Meserve in 1816, **Site #2** resident Samuel Copp to Betsey Pinkham in 1829 and **Site #4** resident Hayes Copp to Dolly Emery in 1831.



3. A mention of the Freewill Baptist Church in the *History of Carroll County*: "In 1825 an organization took place with sixty-six members, under **Elder Daniel Elkins, Elder Daniel Pinkham, Deacon James Trickey, and Deacon Benjamin Copp as leaders.**" (Photo of Elder Daniel Elkins' farm, inherited by his son Granville, courtesy of the Jackson Historical Society).

4. Prior to the 1839 move of Elkins, Jr. from the east side of Jackson's Black Mountain north into Pinkhams Grant, he had a business tie with Daniel Pinkham. In 1821 they were two of five men cooperatively purchasing 500 acres of state land in Jackson. This facilitates Pinkham's upcoming road revival plan.



At left **Thomas Starr King** – at right brother of Daniel Elkins Jr. **Granville Elkins**, photo courtesy of the Jackson Historical Society - perhaps the Elkins brothers had a resemblance – Granville was a Jackson selectman and stern promotor of temperance



5. As Daniel Pinkham's son Randall leaves the Pinkhams Grant postal job in 1837, new Site #1 arrival Daniel Elkins Jr. fills that position until 1842. Mutual support within the kinship group.

6. Some of Elkins' Greens Grant tenure in documented in the 1880 *Osgood's White Mountains Guidebook*: "The Jackson people used to ascend Mount Washington by climbing over the New River cliff... About the year 1840 there was another route, consisting of a foot-path through the woods and dwarf shrubbery from **Elkins Farm**, three miles north of New River. Both these routes have long been forgotten."

7. Writing in 1859 the dean of early White Mountain authors the Reverend **Thomas Starr King** provides additional confirmation of Elkins residency: "The knowledge of these journeys has now disappeared from the neighborhood, with the early inhabitants. But in 1840, all was still remembered from Cutler's time {Cutler's visit of 1804}, down at the solitary house of **D. Elkins** in the Pinkham woods {early name for Pinkham Notch Area}."

SPAULDINGS NEXT ON PROPERTY: Site #1 and its surroundings reemerge as the Greens Grant civic unit after Bellows 1846 court victory. We can assume that the Elkins Family that had lived here was pushed out by 1847, just as the Site #2 Samuel Copps were documented in the *Pinkham Genealogy* leaving that year for the same reason.

The 1850 Census records one residence in revived Greens Grant, occupied by farmer Frederick Balch Spaulding and his family from Lancaster. Owning no real estate, on the post - 1846 Bellows owned Site #1 property, Frederick Spaulding likely paid rent to, and or provided services to, entrepreneur John Bellows.

--- Frederick Balch Spaulding is a lesser White Mountains historical figure compared to the more well-known Samuel Fitch Spaulding associated with Mt. Washington. Historian F. Allen Burt on Samuel Fitch Spaulding: "In the summer of 1853 Samuel Fitch Spaulding of Lancaster, with Abraham Bedell and Anson Stillings of Jefferson, built the Tip-Top House. The necessary land was leased from John Bellows of Exeter."

--- *Concord Monitor* 2018: "Mount Washington was already a popular tourist destination with one hotel at its summit {Summit House built in 1852} when Lancaster farmer Samuel Fitch Spaulding decided to open a competing hotel in 1853. Tip-Top House was built in six weeks

with stone blasted from the mountain and lumber that had to be hauled by horses over nine rugged miles from the nearest sawmill.”

--- The plot thickens as valley bottomland’s Frederick Balch Spaulding and mountain summit’s Samuel Fitch Spaulding were **first cousins**. Both Spauldings are beholden to owner John Bellows, all three men natives of nearby Lancaster, NH.

--- The timing of Frederick Spaulding’s 1850 Greens Grant occupancy fits the pattern of Bellows’ other nearby support worker placements. That is, 1850 hotel painter Baker and the 1851 tourism working Culhane brothers. Perhaps Spaulding kept the old inn function going and provided a field office to assist at a soon to be construction site.

Bellows may have had a temporary residence or office with the Spauldings when doing business in the Peabody Valley. Recall the new Glen House described in the 1852 *Boston Literary Journal* as having *“at hand a farm house where Mr. Bellows himself lived.”* This would have been temporary quarters, while managing adjacent hotel construction.

As noted the Site #1 property may have been operated by tenant Spaulding with lodgers. We know from Joshua Huntington that first occupant Hanson had made the dwelling double as an inn.

Perhaps this was a natural rural area business role *for the location*, whoever owned the housing at the first farm north of Pinkham Notch could expect lodgers. “Hanson’s inn” documents hospitality at the Glen House site in 1833 and likely back to 1826, well before 1850 hotel construction. This function may be the source of references to Bellows “converting an inn” here.

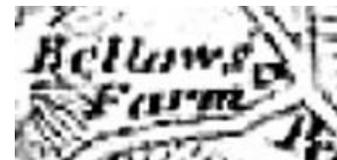


Bellows’ official 1850 Census residence was nothing so mundane as the Site #1 Hanson – Elkins farmhouse; rather, his new wife’s mansion 100 miles south in cultured Exeter, NH, shown here in 1870 - at right stereoscope for viewing image

BELLOWS HOTEL CONSTRUCTED: John Bellows invests in building a tourist hotel at the Peabody Valley’s most scenic spot, Site #1 in Greens Grant, the former Hanson, then Elkins, then owner Bellows with tenant Spaulding property. According to his letter to railroad president Little, during 1849 Bellows was *“getting timber sawed for the proposed house.”* It looks like the year 1850 was dedicated to construction activity.

Railroad agent Ezra Beal reports to Little on 6/7/1850 that he had updated John Bellows on scheduling and progress with the new Glen Road to the hotel site. An insightful businessman, John was looking for a reliable date to start advertising the coming Bellows Hotel. Beal advises him that “a handbill can be issued the first day of July” regarding opening of the new hotel.

Beal writing in June of 1850 must be referring to the next season, July of 1851, with 1850 was reserved for construction activity and Glen Road completion not until 7/20/1851. The first rail passenger tourists arrive in Gorham on 7/23/1851. The summer of 1851 tourist season opens with a partially completed, but functional, Bellows Hotel.



The 8/9/1851 *Portland Transcript* on the trip south from Gorham that opening year: *“Breakfast over, we turned our thoughts towards the mountains. The point of ascent, at the **Bellows Farm**, is seven miles distant. After two hours riding we are at the **Bellows Farm**, at the foot of a descending spur of Mount Washington.”*

Perhaps John’s 1849 marriage and relocation of official address from nearby Lancaster NH to much more distant Exeter NH affected his Peabody Valley business plan, for he sells his Greens Grant tourist hotel before it is fully completed. Railroad officials helped broker the deal.

John may have been planning a quick sale of the hotel all along, as we would say today, “flipping” the property, buying low and soon selling higher in a rising market. Rather than offer a commercially untested empty hotel, he had guests for the 1851 season to demonstrate the viability of the investment.

--- Construction details from historian N. T. True: *“Mr. Bellows erected what is now the kitchen and about one-half of the ell. He had some company in 1851, but in the Spring of 1852 sold to Colonel Joseph Mariner Thompson of Shelburne. Thompson purchased of Mr. Bellows seven hundred acres of land, including the spot where the Glen House now stands.*

For this he paid eleven thousand dollars. That same spring, he built the remaining half of the present ell and opened the house at once for public travel. His house was patronized by the best society in the country, and became one of the most popular places of resort in the United States.”

--- More from *mountwashingtonautoroad.com*: *“In 1850, the railroad had paid for rebuilding the road from Gorham into Pinkham Notch. Further, the railroad financed the construction of the Glen Bridle Path to the summit of Mount Washington and started its own Alpine House Hotel in Gorham.”*

--- From the 1853 *Guide Book of the Atlantic and Saint Lawrence Railroad*: *“At its table one can obtain the luxuries of the best city hotels. Nearby, the waters of the Peabody go rollicking down the pass, as if rejoiced to escape from the gloom of the mountains, affording fine sport for the trout fisher.”*

REUSE OLD FRAME OR BUILD ANEW: The proximity of the 1826 Site #1 Hanson home to the site of the new hotel remains in question. Was the Bellows Hotel (soon to be called the Glen House) built *exactly* on the site of a torn down Hanson house, aside it, or its primitive timber frame *incorporated into* the splendid new building? There is some confusion in the primary sources on this point.

The “blend of old and new buildings” view in one such description: *“The first Glen House originated with Bellows’ Farm House, a small inn opened in 1850 by Exeter land speculator John Bellows who made **additions to an old dwelling** previously on the property.”* But significant evidence favors separate, adjacent construction sites:

--- Consider again a remark in the 1852 *Boston Literary Journal*: *“Six or seven miles to the Bellows Farm... Last year it was just begun; but there was **at hand a farm house** where Mr. Bellows himself lived.”* That’s two buildings.

--- Harvard’s Dr. Harris stated in 1853 *“I saw Mr. Bellows, rode with him to his new house {Site #2}, about two miles north of the **old house and the Glen House** {Site #1}.”* That’s plural – two structures in 1853.

--- Comment on the movements in 1833 of Navy Commander J. S. Paine in a 1919 *Appalachia*: *“He finally reached the Pinkham Road where it crossed the stream near the Dolly Copp Farm, whence he continued to Hanson’s Farm, **near the site** of the old Glen House in Greens Grant.”*

The combination of Bellows biographical data, the comments above and an 1857 Richardt painting of the Glen House counter the “combined construction” view.



Is the 1850 Glen House painted in 1857 above adjacent to the old Hanson home at its right? Ferdinand Richardt painting courtesy of whitemountainart.com



Below, a less detailed sketch of the Glen House in an 1853 Guide Book – no small early home seen north of 1850 Glen House construction

Within the 1857 Richardt painting is a small, older looking home that could be the earlier, briefly coexisting, Site #1 dwelling implied by the sources above. Richardt’s precision painting supports coexistence for a few years of an older style house near the large new hotel.

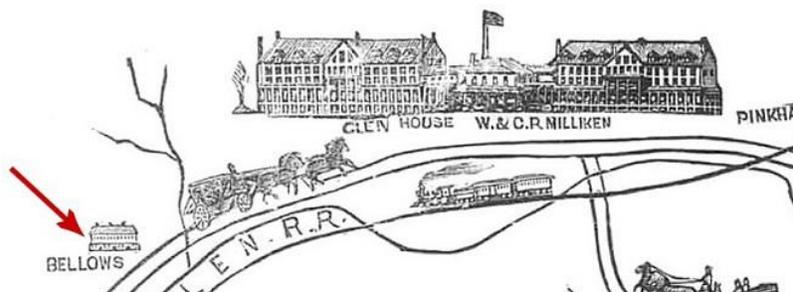
Less supportive is the more generalized sketch from the 1853 *Guide Book of the Atlantic and Saint Lawrence Railroad*, far less detail in comparison to Richardt’s near photographic quality. The *Guide Book* drawing does not include the small building in question.

But perhaps the small older house was edited out to facilitate the *Guide Book*’s primary intent of showing the new Glen House. Slightly later Glen House photos confirm removal of the adjacent house after 1857.

In 1994 management of the Great Glen Trails Outdoor Center reflected Bellows’ early ownership in the naming of the Bellows Loop section (photo) of its then new cross country ski course. That is laudable sensitivity to the preservation of Peabody Valley history.



6-4. SAMUEL COPP HOUSE AS GLEN HOUSE ANNEX



*The Leavitt Map of 1882, north at left, shows **Bellows House** at arrow; a dated reference by then as its 1835 Site #2 building had been renamed **Glen Cottage** - there was never a railroad*



Site #2 "The Birches at **Glen Cottage**" view north on 1911 post card - today the historic nature of this location is recognized by the USFS by the designation "**Bellows Farm Wildlife Opening Area**"

1846 court case *Bellows versus Copp* cites **S. Copp** house here
 1853 letter "Mr. Bellows rode to his **new house** north of Glen House"
 1854 Leavitt Map has **Bellows** designation at old Copp House
 1858 Boardman Map shows S. Copp House with no designation
 1859 Leavitt Map has no S. Copp House nor designation here
 1861 Walling Map has **J. Bellows** designation at old Copp House
 1865 Jackson Iron Map notes **Bellows** at old S. Copp House
 1862-68 Goodwin Map has **Glen Cottage** at old S. Copp House
 1871-76 Leavitt Maps have no building nor designation here
 1877-87 Road maintenance law refers to **Glen Cottage**

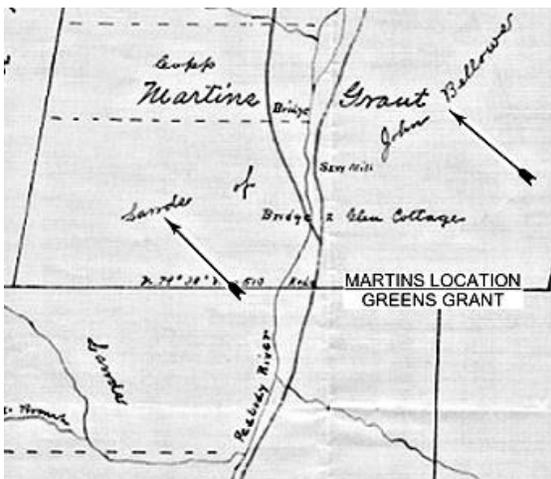
1878-82 Leavitt Maps have building designated **Bellows**
 1883 Gorham newspaper reports a death at **Glen Cottage**
 1884 Wight records upper sawmill as near **Glen Cottage**
 1888 Leavitt Map has building designated **Bellows**
 1892 Hurd Atlas of NH designates building as **E. Libby & Sons**
 1908 post card designates building as **Glen Cottage**
 1915 USFS *Sketch Map* designates building as **Ranger Station**
 1931 USFS WMNF Map designates building as **Guard Cabin**
 1937 USFS WMNF Map has no designation here
 2018 USFS designation **Bellows Farm Wildlife Opening Area**

The Bellows Hotel on Site #1 was John Bellows' major accomplishment. After a quick sale the hotel name was changed. At another property in the valley, Site #2 to the north, the Samuel Copp house, his name lingered longer. While the Site #1 Glen House was built *aside* an early pioneer residence, on Site #2 hotel developers *converted* the old Samuel Copp residence to meet the overflow demand for tourist rooms.

Proceeding north from the Glen House in Greens Grant, a Route 16 landmark on the right is the sign for AMC Camp Dodge. Four tenths of a mile further a small NH DOT sign marks the southern boundary of Martins Location.

Continuing past the sign to Route 16 milepost 4.0, on your right is the site of the 1834 **Site #2** Samuel Copp house. The continuing openness is due to the USFS maintaining this tract as a wildlife conservation area. The next landmark north, the southern of the two Imp Trail entrances, is located on the northern edge of the historic **Site #2** farm.

Early history here is found in the 1846 NH Superior court case *Bellows versus Copp*. That record states that in 1834, Daniel Pinkham "*verbally agreed with Thomas Rogers, Jr. to sell him that part of lots number 1 and 2 which lie east of the road. Rogers cleared several acres, and in the fall of the same year erected a house and barn, and moved into the house in the spring of 1835.... And that he and Samuel and William Copp have successively occupied the place ever since.*"



--- That court record also indicates that the property was transferred in 1839 from Thomas Rogers Jr. to Samuel Copp, then in 1843 from Samuel to his younger brother William Jr.

--- The *Pinkham Genealogy* states that Samuel and Betsey Copp "*lived in Jackson 1831-33, in Bartlett 1833-37, and in Pinkham Grant 1837-1847.*"

--- The 1840 Census documents the Samuel and William Copp families living together here, pushed out by Bellows' 1846 property seizures.

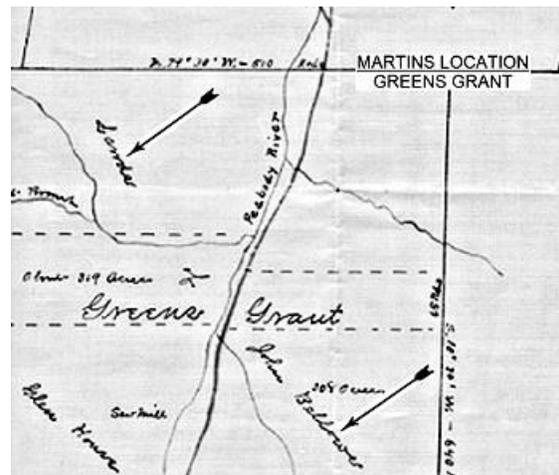
Extensive "Lands of John Bellows" recorded on the 1862-1868 Goodwin Map, courtesy of the New Hampshire Historical Society

CONVERSION TO BELLOWS HOUSE: John Bellows' gains control of the of Samuel Copp house in 1846. It then appears on 1850s maps as "Bellows House." To again clarify terms that Site #2 Bellows House designation is not to be taken for the brief 1851-52 "Bellows Hotel" designation at Site #1 to the south.

A quote from the 1853 letter by Harvard's Dr. Harris: "*I saw Mr. Bellows, rode with him to **his new house**, about **two miles north** {bolds added} of the old house and the Glen House.*" Bellows' "new house", the term house in common use to denote a hotel, is a reuse of the 1834 Samuel Copp Site #2 dwelling.

Significant evidence suggests that Site #2 became an *overflow annex* for the Glen House, a supplemental commercial role fitting the few facts available. The hard proof may have gone up in smoke with the Glen House fire of 1884 (I am not the first to recognize that fire as a great loss of historic documents).

As tourism was new in the early 1850s there was overcrowding in Gorham tourist facilities. This condition is supportive of the economic viability of a Glen House *annex*. From *The Allure of the White Mountains 2004* by Plymouth State University on Gorham tourist crowds due to the new rail access to Portland and Boston:



"The railways instant popularity proved to be both a blessing and a curse. Immediately, more than a hundred people a day could arrive in Gorham, overwhelming the town with people seeking rooms." Historians Donna and James Garvin: *"On one such occasion, 140 additional passengers arrived the two following days, making the situation even more intolerable."*

Allure of the White Mountains: *"For some tourists it was a minor disaster. With no way to match the numbers of train travelers with **the number of available rooms**, hotel proprietors were unable to accommodate everyone."* *"With such a heavy demand in nearby Gorham, the Glen House expanded steadily."* (Train passengers at Alpine House in 1859; source NYC Public Library).

Given the initial pressures on Glen House guest capacity, we can envision the usefulness of an overflow annex nearby. For some of those of the arrivals unable to obtain Glen House accommodation, stop-gap relief could have been to lodge them up the Glen Road a bit in a small but quaint 1835 annex.

BELLOWS HOUSE RENAMED GLEN COTTAGE: If the Site #2 Bellows House was absorbing Site #1 Glen House overflow, no separate promotional advertising for it would have been warranted. That relationship conveniently fits the fact that *none has been found*. As early as the 1862-1868 Goodwin Map, Bellows House has been relabeled as *Glen Cottage*, more in tune with the primary destination *Glen House*.

Bellows may not have retained ownership of this property. The title may not have been assumed by Glen House owner Thompson either. Rather, in the 1860 Census for what is estimated to be Site #2 we have Stephen Hanscom age 40, born in Maine and a farmer, real estate valued at \$5,000. He may have had a business arrangement with Thompson to

coordinate summer tourist placement. This was not an era of idle farmland – someone fed the guests.

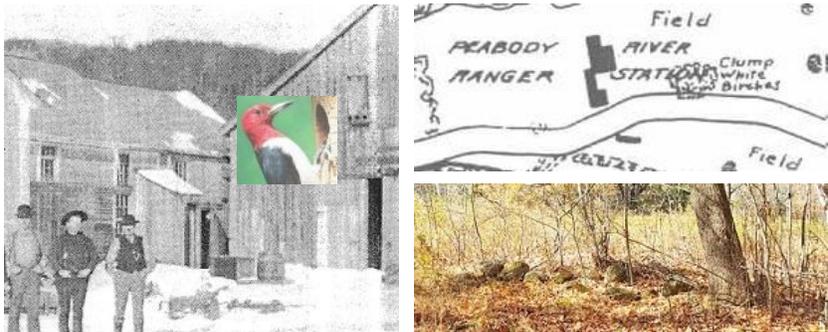
With that name change good public relations were retained by enhancing the mood of tired, shuffled, newly arriving tourists with a blurring of the distinction with their preferred destination. We know that Bellows and new Glen House owner Thompson signed their major business agreement in 1852 – the clause for an overflow annex could have been part of it.

Confirmation of tourists lodging here is found within biographical remarks about Dr. Morrill Wyman of Cambridge, who camped in Martin's Location in 1867, the doctor's son later writing: *"At another time the whole family came.*

*My uncle Edward drove with a pair of horses from home to the mountains. The ladies **slept in a place called Glen Cottage.** They didn't like it very much. When they saw a sheep brought in, they knew they were going to live on mutton for several days. One day it was decided to invite the ladies down to the camp for a formal supper. Placing a tin bowl on his head, and arming himself with a tin horn, Uncle Jeffries proceeded to the **Glen Cottage**, before which he blew his horn vigorously till all the ladies came out."*

The ladies rode north on the Glen Road to the gentlemen's riverside camp site was about 1.6 miles. As Dr. Wyman was known to frequent the more distant Glen House, perhaps it was full, or the party preferred the lesser distance to visit the ladies, or they were shuffled to the Glen House annex due to Glen House overcrowding.

USE BY LOGGERS THEN USFS STAFF: At some point between 1870 and 1880, Glen Cottage begins its use as a dorm - rooming house for loggers. The 1880 Census documented five dwellings in Martins Location that year, grouped into three buildings. A few years later the 1893 USGS topographic map displays three free standing buildings in Martins Location, complementing the 1880 statistics. (Unfortunately, Census date throughout the United States for 1890 was destroyed in a fire).



Left logging workers near Site #2 barn in logging era – right above 1915 USFS Sketch Map and right below barn foundation remnant in 2020

*Portland Transcript 7/29/1854: "At **Bellows' House**, two miles below the Glen House, we saw the head of a magnificent **red-headed woodpecker**, nailed to the barn door. This sight caused B. greatly to lament that we had not been able to secure the specimen, which that day had been shot, for collection of the Society of Natural History" {in Boston 1830 to 1948}.*

In 1883 the Gorham newspaper reports that the Mrs. Edwin Hanson recorded in the 1880 Census for Site #2 in Martins Location had taken ill and died. In that account the description of her home at "Glen Cottage" stood unmodified, without an additional reference such as "in Martins Location." It thus appears that Glen Cottage was familiar to Gorham residents without further explanation.

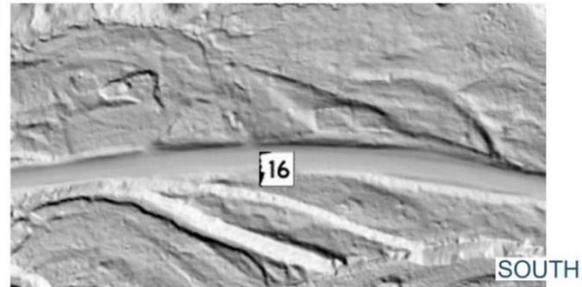
The obituary section of the same paper includes Mrs. Hanson's death, but her residence is given as Gorham, which it technically was not. It appears that Martins Location, a tiny

geographic unit, did not “ring a bell” with most people, still the case today. That is until they read this book!



At left Site #2 1835 Samuel Copp House in next use as **USFS Peabody Guard Station**; at right site today as USFS designated **Bellows Farm Wildlife Opening Area** *

* Other USFS Wildlife Opening Areas nearby are the Spring Brook Wildlife Opening Area on the snowmobile trail running north off of Dolly Copp Road and the Hayes Copp Wildlife Opening Area on the Hayes Copp Ski Trail.



At left Site #2 vicinity aerial photo, right same view with penetrating to ground radar (LIDAR)

Thanks to White Mountains researcher John Compton for this 2023 field report: *“I searched a large area in the vicinity of where old maps show the Ranger Station was located. Nothing conclusive was found. There was one area where I spotted a few boulders that seemed to have been purposely placed, photo attached.*

Coming off at a right angle from the boulders shown in the photo were some other boulders. However, no photo was taken of those boulders since they were barely visible due to a thick covering of debris (fallen limbs, etc) and somewhat dense vegetation.”



The venerable 1834 Site #2 Copp House was demolished by the USFS in 1939 or 1940. A 1939 Forest Service memo documents its demise: *“Last fall all material and supplies on hand were taken from Peabody Guard Station to Dolly Copp Administration Building {constructed across the nearby bridge in 1934} for winter storage inasmuch as it was planned to destroy Peabody Guard Station.”*

SITE #2 NAME GLEN COTTAGE MOVES TO SITE #1: The Site #2 identification as Glen Cottage is shifted south to the Site #1 Glen House property, sometime after the main Site #1 Glen House structure was lost in a fire in 1893. A news clip: *“The famous Glen House, burned in the summer of 1893, has never been replaced, the present establishment using what was the **cottage** of the old regime.”* From the 2018 Glen House web site: *“The Libby’s converted the **servants’ quarters** into a 40-room hotel.”*



Excerpt of 1911 map entitled Little Journeys from the Profile House - Additional documentation is a map circa 1900 reproduced in George McAvoy's 1988 *And Then There Was One*

Also, the 1911 *Automobile Blue Book*, and a *White Mountains* map circa 1915 prepared for the Tarleton Lake Club in Haverhill, NH

By today's standards a snobbish description by historian Kilbourne in 1916: "Of recent years the building which was used as the servants' quarters and which escaped the fire accommodated a few guests, usually those of the pedestrian class of persons of simple tastes, under the name of the Glen House." Well.

SECOND STABLE FOR ALPINE HOUSE: The Alpine House in Gorham kept a stable just to the north of the hotel. A second, stable was maintained to the south in the Peabody Valley. The designation "Alpine Stable" on the circa 1865 Jackson Iron Map is in Greens Grant, south of the Site #2 Samuel Copp – later Glen Cottage building and north of the Site #1 Glen House. The location is at the confluence of the Peabody River and its major east side tributary the Nineteen Mile Brook.



Not a spacious location for a stable today – the 1958 widening of Route 16 relocated the **original roadbed** (see red arrow below) easterly from the Peabody to avoid flooding, blacktop now covering part of the Stable site



At left radar penetrating to ground reveals previous Route 16 alignment; right old culvert associated with old road

Documentation from the 1858 *Eastman's Guide Book*: "The landlord of the Alpine House also keeps a **stable of excellent ponies** near the foot of Mount Washington." Eastman again in 1865 on Garnet Pools: "This series of basins in the Peabody River is situated near the Gorham road, a few steps from **the stable of Mr. Hitchcock**, about half a mile from the hotel" {rival of Glen House}.

Thanks to White Mountains researcher John Compton for his 2023 field report on this location: "Beginning at the Nineteen Mile Brook Trailhead, I walked over a tenth of a mile northward along the corridor for old Route 16 which is located on the west side of the current

day Route 16. I found no remnants (foundation, etc.) of the Alpine Stable, or any other structure for that matter.

If the Alpine Stable was located on the east side of the old Route 16 corridor, then I highly suspect all traces of it were erased during the construction of the current-day corridor. A number of old culverts associated with the old road were seen. A photo of one of those culverts is attached" (shown above).

Early arrival by tourists who were lodging in Shelburne is noted in the Philadelphia *Friends' Intelligencer* newspaper for August 17, 1861: "A party of thirty-nine left this beautiful village at five o'clock on the morning of the eighth to attend the celebration opening of the Mount Washington road to the Tip-Top House, eighty rods of which has been completed since the 31st day of July last. We arrived at the **Alpine stables** at about eight o'clock, and thence proceeded up the mountain on horseback and in carriages."

Further confirmation from always resourceful Gorham historian Denman Wight: "Mr. Hitchcock who had built a **large stable** in conjunction with the Alpine House, kept a number of hardy Canadian ponies that he rented out for the trip to the new house on the mountain, and many tourists took advantage of this opportunity."

Could it be that the animals kept in the Peabody Valley's Alpine Stable required early morning attention by caretakers, favoring for employment there those with a residence nearby? The tourism worker Culhanes.

[Back to Contents](#)

7. PEABODY VALLEY SAWMILLS



At left sawmills had proliferated by 1858 near the confluence of Gorham's Moose River and the Androscoggin; at right Peabody Valley sawmills may have appeared similar to the intensely studied 1825 Nichols-Colby Sawmill in Bow, NH

7-1. SAWMILL OVERVIEW

Sawmills in 1840 New Hampshire were far from a new technology, very much part of the existing landscape. According to the 1907 *History of the Lumber Industry in America* by J. E. Defebaugh "after about 1650 the sawmill almost immediately followed settlement in any

part of New England.” His view on conditions circa 1750: “New England abounds in sawmills of cheap and slight work, generally carrying only one saw, one man and a boy attending.”

Area Mills and Stores in 1840 recorded by the 1843 Gazetteer for the USA by Haskel and Smith

1840 NH	Berlin	Ran- dolph	Gorham	Shel- burne	Pinkhams Grant	Jackson	Bartlett	Conway
Sawmills	1	1	1	2	2	2	5	4
Grist Mills	1	0	1	1	0	2	3	2
Fulling Mills	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Tanneries	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Capital \$	1,300	400	3,550	2,625	1,700	2,325	6,500	7,755
Stores	0	0	0	3	0	1	1	6

Sawmills produce lumber, Grist Mills grind flour and corn, Fulling Mills phase of cloth making, Tanneries for processing animal hides, Capital invested in manufacturing, Stores retail

The early Peabody Valley settlement period was the scene for construction of two sawmills, recorded operating there in the table above by 1840. These were part of a wider population of mills in the area. Casey Hodgson of Gorham on the sawmills of that era:

“There were little sawmills everywhere as there was no way to deliver lumber any great distance, so sawmills were built on the location. I have spent a lifetime reading the old town histories and they are saturated with sawmills. They were located on every brook or stream that would provide water power.”

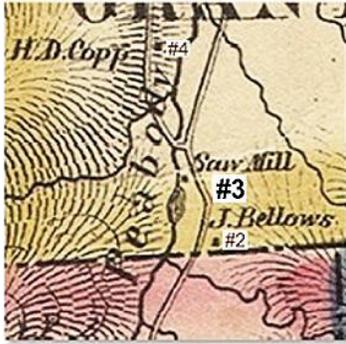
Historian D. B. Wight notes the first sawmill in Gorham was built in 1836 on Moose Brook and sold by Barker Burbank in 1842: *“The mill was run by an old over-shot water wheel. This was taken out and an under-shot wheel was installed. Also a dam was built at the mill to form a pond. There was very little iron work in a mill like this... One of these ‘up and down’ sawmills would cut about two thousand feet of lumber a day.”*

George Cross writing in 1924 on nearby Randolph’s early mills: *“The water power afforded by our swift streams was early utilized. Several mills were erected for converting the forests into building lumber. The earlier mills were operated by water power alone. Later, supplementary power was obtained from steam boilers. A number of mills were destroyed by fire.”* Water power, steam power, then loss in a fire was the sequence for the Site #3 sawmill in Martins Location.

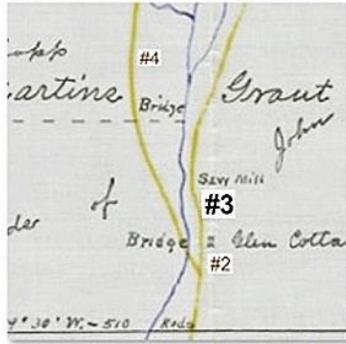
Historian Page Jones’ overview of the early sawmills: *“Most of these little operations were powered by overshot water wheels and up-and-down saws which worked on the seesaw principle and were very slow in operation but were certainly better than hand sawing.”*



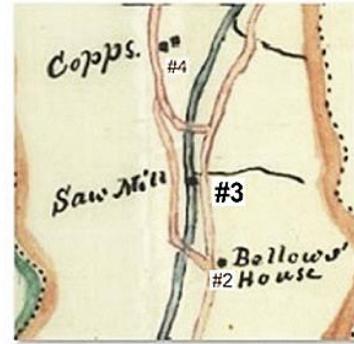
7-2. MARTINS LOCATION SAWMILL



Saw Mill on 1861 Walling Map



Saw Mill on 1862-8 Goodwin Map



Saw Mill on 1865 Jackson Iron Map

The Martins Location sawmill (Site #3) was on the east bank of the Peabody River, between the 1835 Samuel Copp house (Site #2) on its south and the 1860 bridge location to its north. Perhaps Daniel Pinkham promoted mill development on his daughter Sarah's land there. There was some family experience as his father, Revolutionary War Captain Joseph D. Pinkham, operated a mill in Jackson and passed it on to Daniel and his brothers in 1801.

Casey Hodgson's site reconstruction views the hydraulics of the Martins Location sawmill relating to the unnamed brook emptying into the Peabody at the site. The 1861 Walling Map includes a **mill pond** on the Peabody just upstream from the mill. The most precise locational reference, the circa 1865 Jackson Iron Map, places the mill on the east bank at the unnamed brook adjacent to the more extensive Imp Brook Watershed.

A good case can be made that the Martins Location's Site #3 sawmill builder was a man with experience named Edmund Merrill. Most revealing on Edmund from his wife's 1934 genealogy *The Descendants of Joseph Bartlett*: "He lived at one time near the Glen House in New Hampshire, and **built mills in that region**." Part of the small group of earliest Valley residents, Merrill and his family were living in Pinkhams Grant for the 1840 Census. Supportive context:

--- In **1833** Edmund Sr. built the substantial Bethel House on the Bethel, Maine town common, so he must have been a major tradesman. Continuing from his wife's genealogy "Edmund Merrill built a mill on the Elder Mason, now the Tapley Kimball Farm" there. So, Edmund was already a master of the gears and mechanics of a water power mill.

--- The 1891 *History of Bethel, Maine* records land sales involving Merrill prior to **1835**. Also, that "the indispensable trade of house carpenter has always been well filled in this town", the list of carpenters including both Edmund Sr. and his son Edmund Jr.

From the 1846 Site #3 Bellows versus McCartee litigation over the mill site: "The mud-sills of the dam of the sawmill were laid quite late in the fall of **1835**... In **1836** some timber had been bedded across the stream for the dam, but not at the place where the dam now is, and that the mill was erected in the year **1838**. There was evidence that since the year 1836 improvements had been gradually made in the premises, by the erection of buildings, etc."

--- Merrill's building of the mill is not to be confused with his living at the mill: Pinkham's friend Robert McCartee had moved up from Jackson by 1840 to live there. The only available Valley farm on which to place the Merrills for the **1840** Census is Daniel Pinkham's Site #5 home after he moved out in 1836 – all other sites are accounted for.

--- After his years in Pinkhams Grant, Merrill is back living in Bethel, Maine for the **1850** Census. He then reenters White Mountain history for a large construction project in Gorham. Historian Nathaniel Tuckerman True writing in 1882:

--- "In the winter of **1850-51** Edmund Merrill of Bethel contracted to put the frame of a large hotel in the spot where the present Alpine House stands. He built a shanty, hired his men and had it ready for raising in the spring of that year." Historian D. B. Wight adds: "He had it ready to open in July and the cost was about \$20,000."

Virgin forests of the Peabody Valley offered ample stands of timber to be harvested for these sawmills. According to the *Pinkham Genealogy* on the adjacent Site #2 Samuel Copp property there were five hundred acres used for both **lumbering** and farming. An 1846 legal record tells us that in the winter of 1839-1840 an agent of John Bellows challenged timber cutting on Site #2: "*Found Samuel Copp and Levi Copp **cutting timber** on the demanded premises.*"

Across the Peabody on Hayes Copp's two one hundred acre lots there was also lumbering. Not until 1870 and 1880 were Hayes' "forest products" tracked by the Census as a source of his income. Those benchmarks are late in the Copp residential tenancy; his sale of timber could have been a side income much earlier.

While the court's fact finding in Bellows versus McCartee concerning buildings added since 1836 does not specify a dwelling or house, 1840 **tenant** Robert McCartee was the defendant in Bellows' 1841 claim for **mill property** ownership. That makes it plausible the new buildings since 1836 included the by 1840 **McCartee residence**.

We can wonder if the natural spring on the east bank in the Picnic Ground north of the 1860-1950 bridge location, later known as **Dolly Copp Spring**, served as a locational anchor for the habitation accompanying the sawmill.



But would the walk to this water supply, about one quarter mile to the north, be realistic? A tantalizing tidbit, New Hampshire state tourism literature in 1938 stated that this spring "*carries a long historical background.*"

In the **1850** Census there is no evidence that the dwelling associated with the sawmill is occupied. A clue as to a location for the mill related house is in the *Boston Literary Journal's* **1852** description of travel south from Gorham to Greens Grant:

*About half way in the course of the road there is a clearing, in the midst of which stands a **deserted and ruined house**... There is also a **venerable sawmill nearby**: but the dam has been swept away and the saw hangs idly in its frame.*" As two structures are observed, I am assuming the house was not built into the mill frame.

There is an **1853** reference to the Martins Location mill by Dr. Thaddeus Harris of Harvard University: "*I was sorry not to find laid down on Mr. Bond's map the old road from **Bellows' sawmill** around the north side of Mt. Madison to Randolph.... I forded the Peabody River near the old mill seat and walked along that same road two miles or more.*"

--- As for Pinkham daughter Sarah tied into ownership here, she had by 1830 married William G. Wentworth of Jackson. A court record shows that Daniel Pinkham conveyed the premises, defined as lots numbered 1 and 2, assumed two one hundred acre lots, to Sarah Pinkham Wentworth on February 28, 1839. They did not move in. Instead, their 1840 residence was to the west in Lancaster to which her by now aging Pinkham parents had moved.

--- Robert McCartee becomes the Wentworth's Site #3 tenant on November 25, 1839. The 1841 commencement of John Bellows' eviction proceedings is directed at him. Yet ownership of the property reverts from Sarah to her father briefly in 1845, perhaps as a legal maneuver to deflect the court's upcoming ruling on ownership in favor of John Bellows.

--- In the **1860** Census within the dwelling unit assumed associated with the sawmill we find Edward Parsons, occupation **sawmill laborer** (and owner no real estate), indicating that Bellows' Site #3 Martins Location sawmill, seen as inactive in 1852, was reactivated by 1860.

--- As the family roots of both Parsons and his wife are anchored in Lancaster, we can suspect their placement in the Peabody Valley by Lancaster's own John Bellows. The Parsons had been married in Lancaster in 1854.

In 1845 Bellows had been part of a business coalition trying to draw the new railroad west to Lancaster. Group members included Mrs. Parsons father. Further ties to Lancaster are evidenced by both Edward and his wife buried there.

A later benchmark is found in Osgood's **1876 Handbook for Travelers**: *"The road from the Glen House to Jefferson Hill diverges to the left from the Gorham road near the **old sawmill**."* "Old" may imply that the Site #3 mill was inactive by 1876.

Dolly Copp herself provides valuable insight on the mill in an **1880** letter to her granddaughter Susan: *"They have got a new engine put in the mill over the river and will have it running next week."* For that era Dolly's reference meant a wood fueled steam engine – the Libbys certainly had plenty of fuel. The insurance company record after its 1883 burning confirms a *steam* powered sawmill was lost.



Area perspective on steam power is provided by a **Gorham Mountaineer** article of 4/21/1882 bannered *"The Evans Mill has again started operation,"* reporting that on Gorham's Moose Brook, the upgraded Evans Mill was now to be powered with a **steam** engine. On years after

1870 from the 1924 *Report of the NH Forestry Commission*: *"The lumber industry had then developed on a large scale in the White Mountain region as a result of the introduction of the **steam sawmill**."*

As Site #3 had the label "Bellows Sawmill" in 1853 and on 5/4/**1880** Bellows sold his Martins Location properties to Edward Clement for timber cutting, Clement then selling to the Libby Family, mill revival noted by Dolly in her **1880** letter looks to be part of the business plan of the newer Libby owners. D. B. Wight on logging and sawmills in **1881**: *"Edward Clement & Company, composed of Mr. Clement and Deacon Elihu Libby, cut and sawed approximately 8,640,000 feet of lumber this year, in their **two mills** on the Peabody River.... The mills were about five miles apart."*

As the main Libby receiving mill was near the mouth of the Peabody River in Gorham, five miles apart places the second mill to its south, in Martins Location, our Site #3 or its vicinity. There is no verification that the revived mill of the logging era was on the exact site of the first, 1838 mill. However, D. B. Wight describing the upper mill as "near Glen Cottage" (Site #2) keeps them proximate.



At left 1888 view south at main Libby Mill, mill pond and Glen Road – right same mill pond today as the Libby Memorial Recreation Area

The fire insurance claim cited above indicates that the Martins Location sawmill was lost on 5/25/**1883**. The 1888 *History of Coos County* comments that Libby's Peabody Valley forest lands *"supplied the one mill now operated, but one, which **has been burned**, located five miles above."* The USGS topographic map of **1893** documents mill Site #3 and vicinity without a structure. It remains obscure today, absorbed into the riverbank landscape.

7-3. GREENS GRANT SAWMILL



At left **Sawmill** on 1862-1868 Goodwin Map of Greens Grant; at right widening of Peabody on 1865 Jackson Iron Map may reflect **Sawmill's** impoundment

An estimate of the 1862 – 1869 Goodwin Map's Greens Grant mill location on the Peabody is from the north end of today's relatively level Great Glen Trails recreational area north to the approaches to Garnet Pool. That pool is located just south of the confluence of the Peabody with its westerly flowing tributary Nineteen Mile Brook.



Views west at **Thompson's Sawmill** and related Mill Pond – caption reads "Mounts Jefferson and Adams from Thompson's Mill"

The source is the **1853** Guide Book of the Atlantic and Saint Lawrence Railroad, stating: "The **old mill** and the glassy river basin in the fore ground were objects which the quick eyes of our artist were ready to seize upon and to complete a sketch at this point."



Same view westerly as above in this detail from Jasper Cropsey's **1857** "Mount Jefferson, Pinkham Notch, White Mountains" housed at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts

Virginia Museum of Fine Arts staff comment on the above 1857 painting: "By the time painters flocked to the region, it was already being altered by tourism and technology. Cropsey hints at this transition. As the small figure in the foreground sets off with his axe, he passes tidy stacks of new lumber. The nearby sawmill denotes a central American paradox: with the advance of civilization comes destruction of primeval wilderness."



As for the Greens Grant Site #1 sawmill's origin date, the 1843 *Gazetteer for the United States* records two Peabody Valley sawmills in place by 1840. For both, evidence points to construction by **Edmund Merrill** (photo), in the Census living in Pinkhams Grant that year. As stated in his wife's 1934 genealogy "Edmund lived at one time near the Glen House in New Hampshire, and built mills {plural} in that region." Also consider:

--- Within the 1872 court record for *Wells versus Jackson Iron Manufacturing Company* surveyor Samuel W. Thompson speaks of his earlier **1830s** surveying activities: “Went on once with the intention of **building a mill** on the north branch {?} of Peabody River, paid taxes till the conveyance to Eastman.” If a mill structure resulted, I have not found it. If nothing else, this quote confirms interest in local sawmill development before **1840**.

--- After **1846** Bellows is the owner of most of Martins Location and all of Greens Grant. Bellows writes to the railroad president in **1849** that he is “getting timber sawed for the proposed house.” As the new house was in Greens Grant, and proximity to lumber production was important. The needed lumber was likely produced at what soon became known as Thompson’s Sawmill. Constructed well before the hotel, it was in place by 1840.



The continuing demand for lumber to enlarge the original 1850 hotel is evident from these comparative photos

--- According to Historian Nathaniel Tuckerman True after the initial 1850 Bellows Hotel (soon renamed Glen House) construction season, some guests arriving in 1851, the on-site need for lumber would have continued: “In the winter of **1852-3** he built what is now known as the old front, 120 feet in length. In 1865-66 he built an addition as to make an imposing front of 414 feet.”

--- Favoring Site #1 as a lumber source, Thompson’s Sawmill was documented by a tourist guide as active in **1853**. Again, active in the Cropsey painting of **1857**. It was still valuable enough in **1869** for Thompson to risk, and lose, his life there saving mill machinery.

That Thompson died at his mill during a storm is often mentioned in White Mountain histories. Visiting artist Bierstadt found his body. The most detailed storm account is in *The Echo* newspaper of 8/17/1878:

Colonel Thompson “was drowned during a freshet on the Peabody River in 1869, while trying to save some machinery from one of his mills, a plank on which he was standing tipping up and hurling him onto the foaming torrent beneath.” Death certificates indicates that his assistant met his end at the same time.



The *Concord Monitor* newspaper reported in 1869 that the great storm that year was the worst since that of 1826. Jumping ahead to 1903, a *Gorham Mountaineer* headline compares the big 1903 flood back to that of 1869: “The fall freshet of 1869 nearly equaled. Then every bridge on the Peabody went out and an immense amount of damage was done.”

Historic novel author Floyd Ramsey imagines Dolly’s grief over her friend Colonel Thompson’s demise: “After hearing he had drowned, Dolly was devastated.” Perhaps Hayes also had some feelings – three years earlier he and Thompson had been political allies in opposing annexation of Valley civic units to Gorham.

Competition between rival mill owners for use of Pinkham Notch water from the *Portland Transcript* of 7/30/**1853**: “Thompson of the Glen House has a sawmill on the Peabody, and there is also a mill owned by the other parties upon the Ellis stream. When the waters are low it becomes an object with these rival mill owners to monopolize the stream which, divided, forms the two rivers.

Accordingly, parties go up from the Ellis side, and throwing a few stones and brush divert all the water from the Peabody to the Ellis. Then Thompson's men, finding their water running low, send up parties and reverse the position of the stones, and thus obtain command of all the water. And so the game goes on!"



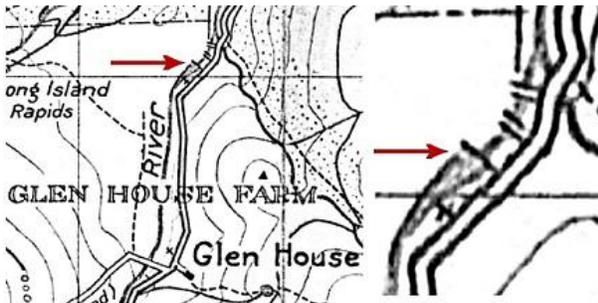
Flowing east off of Mount Washington, the 1937 USGS Map documents sources of both rivers in proximity

Evidence that such manmade diversion on the valley floor is feasible from the 1920 *Appalachia Volume 15*: "During low water the whole stream {Ellis} flows through the southern channel and passes over Glen Ellis Falls. But during the high water the stream divides, a small part of it flowing through the northern channel and joining the Peabody River."

Thompson's Site #1 related sawmill was not destroyed by the 1869 flood. To settle Thompson's estate, the Glen House is sold in **1871**. The property offering reads "the Glen House will be offered for sale, together with the land, containing about one thousand well-timbered acres, all the out buildings, stables, and **mill** on the same." Later glimpses of the mill and its pond:

--- Herbert Sylvester's **1887 Prose Pastorals** describing the Peabody River near the Glen House: "Below the toll bridge the stream grows wider, shallower, and less impulsive, indulging in many a tender dalliance with the brown pebbles strown so thickly over the river bottom, its droning music dying away in soft murmurs as it reaches the deep, dark waters of the **mill-pond**."

--- North from the Glen House in the **1889 Glen House Book**: "On the stroll down the Gorham Road, or by the river-meadow path, which begins just opposite the hotel, brings one in about the same distance to the **old mill**" – still visible in 1889.



The 1916 AMC Map shows a **pond and dam** on the Peabody just south of its entrance into Garnet Pool and near its confluence with Nineteen Mile Brook

--- It looks like the mill is removed between 1889 and 1903, as Historian Denman Wight relates that in **1903** "the International Paper Company constructed a dam a short distance below the Glen where the **old Thompson Mill stood**, "in preparation for logging their lands in the Peabody River Valley."

Perhaps the old mill remnant was swept away in the great flood of 1903. We know that the Carriage Road Toll Bridge just upstream and the Copp Bridge downstream were destroyed by that flood.

--- Perspective by former Glen House General Manager Howie Wemyss: "I've always wondered where the mill was that Thompson operated along with the Glen House in the 1860s. I'd thought that it was north of the Glen along the Peabody because of the remains of an **old impoundment** visible down there just up river from Garnet Pool.

Today, you can still see the bases of the dam that held back the little pond associated with it and bits and pieces of the foundation. A lot of the big inns had their own sawmills because they were so far away, you couldn't just send out to the lumber store."



associated with the old mill.”

--- Late 2023 site investigation by John Compton: *“I bushwhacked to the west bank of the Peabody River and took the attached photo of the remnants of the old wooden dam. It is located about 0.2 mile south of Garnet Pool.*

I also walked about 0.2 mile all along the west bank of the Peabody in the vicinity of this old wooden dam. I found no evidence of any buildings that might have been

[Back to Contents](#)

8. PEABODY VALLEY LOGGING

“So vast were formerly the forests in the valleys and on the lower slopes of the mountains themselves that the supply of timber seemed inexhaustible, and therefore no thought of a future scarcity ever entered the minds of the early lumbermen, no care naturally was taken by them in cutting of the trees.”

- Historian Frederick Kilbourne writing in 1916



View south from **Mount Hayes** over Gorham into the gently ascending and thickly forested **Peabody River Valley**

8-1. LOGGING OVERVIEW

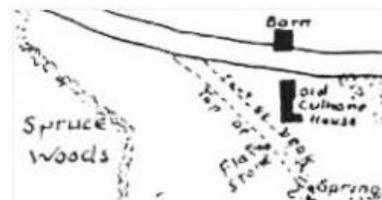
The harvesting of timber had early roots in the White Mountains. While for the Peabody Valley we focus on the most intensive phase, the 1870 thru 1914 “logging era”, forest resources were valued early on. Gorham historian Denman Wight comments: *“From the time Gorham was incorporated in 1836 the lumber which stood so thick in the forest began to be logged in earnest.”*

The Peabody Valley had been industrialized by 1840 with two sawmills. These were near Site #1 in Greens Grant and Site #3 in Martins Location. Conditions nearby from the *History of Jackson*: *“In 1846 outside lumbering interests started buying land in Jackson. In spite of the fact that companies interested in lumber were buying large tracts not much cutting was done until late in the nineteenth century.”*

By the late 1860s the state government was selling White Mountain forests to loggers. On post-1870 logging from the 1924 *NH Forestry Commission Report*:

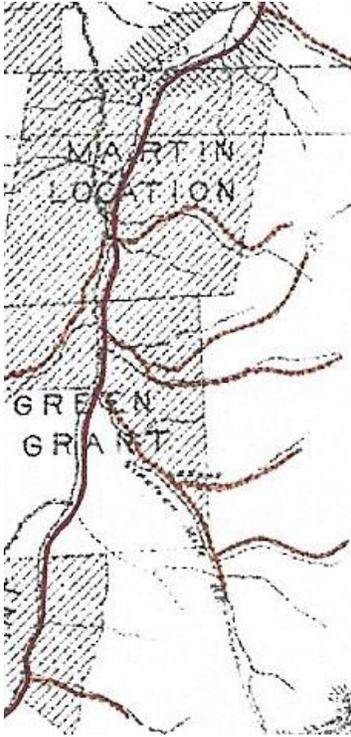
“Clear cutting methods came into use in place of the earlier method of culling the larger trees.” Historian Frederick Kilbourne writing in 1916: *“Until about 1870 nearly all paper was made from rags. Since that time, in the making of many cheaper grades of paper, and especially that used for newspapers, wood fibers have been almost entirely substituted for rags.”*

According to scientist Christine Goodale *“the innovation of using wood pulp for paper rather than rags or straw greatly increased demand for softwoods.”* This increased demand for softwood such as spruce. The Peabody Valley had ample spruce to cut. (“Spruce Woods” north of Old Culhane House on 1915 *USFS Sketch Map*).



There has been much historical documentation on the logging railroads of the White Mountains. The Wild River Valley east of the Carter-Moriah Ridge is the nearest example. Accessing Peabody Valley timber stands did not necessitate such specialized transport.

The sufficiently maintained thru road had a gentle grade, described in *The Echo* newspaper of 8/17/1878: “*The Glen is reached from Gorham, NH following the Peabody River the whole distance with hardly a perceivable rise.*” That advantage, combined with forceful spring river currents, were adequate for moving raw timber north to waiting sawmills.



--- A vivid description of Peabody Valley logging is found within the **1896 Annual Report of the Forest Commissioner of the State of Maine**. Although the report was for Maine where the vast bulk of the Androscoggin Watershed lies, fortunately, the Androscoggin's contributing sub-watersheds in New Hampshire were included in the assessment:

“Arriving at night before what was left of the old Glen House {had burned in 1893}, next day I took up my work and my abode in the concern of the Libby's of Gorham. The valley of the Peabody River in which the Glen House was located is a deep gorge between the Presidential Range and the lesser range to the east. At the outlet of the valley, at Gorham, are the mills of E. Libby & Sons, and their supply of logs comes from this locality.

Beginning at the lower end of the valley and on the lower slopes of its sides they have gradually worked back and up until they had nearly cleared the valley of spruce back as far as the Glen House and up to a height of 2,000 feet above the stream, which was about as far up the mountains as lumbering by present methods could go.

1914 USFS Map with logging roads following Peabody River tributaries

It was a hard country to lumber. A fall of 2,000 feet in two miles makes a pretty steep road. The spruce had naturally been thick, and the land was consequently left in pretty ragged condition... But few places had been cleaned of trees entirely”.



Mike Dickerman

1m · 🌲

I just love this colorized image of an old growth stand of spruce on the lower slopes of Mount Jackson near Crawford Notch.



Also illuminating valley conditions is the *Report of the New Hampshire Forestry Commission* for **1902**: Travelling north “*there is no havoc visible on the western side of the road until emerging upon the Glen House site. From there to Gorham the ragged appearance of the hillside and along the stream {Peabody River} is depressing.*

The great mills at Gorham have been largely supplied from lands on the mountain slopes draining into the Peabody River, from along its tributaries, and from land not too far distant for hauling the logs to these mills.”

--- In **1907** New Hampshire had its peak year of timber cutting at 755 million feet. Sifting the local evidence, this may have been at or near the peak for logging in the Peabody Valley as well.

From a **1909** USFS report entitled *The Timber Supply of the United States*: “*A portion of the water in this river {Androscoggin} comes thru the Peabody River directly from*

the highest of the White Mountains, including the Presidential and Carter Moriah Ranges. In this vicinity the commercial spruce forest has been largely removed by the clean cutting method.”

Many logging roads became useful to trail development in the subsequent recreational era. This relationship is well stated in in the **1912** *White Mountain Trails* by Winthrop Packard, approaching Carter Notch from the south: *“The chance traveler may thank the lumberman, whose road it follows, and the Appalachian Mountain Club. The lumberman opened it and the Appalachians have kept it up since the tote road was abandoned.”*

Logging has remained a major industry in northern New Hampshire outside of federally controlled White Mountain National Forest lands. Early context from northern woodlands.org: *“By 1917, the Berlin Mills Company, with three paper mills and 4,250,000 acres of timberland, was the largest pulp and paper manufacturer in the world.”*



View east from Pine Mountain at USFS authorized limited private logging today – orientation arrow added to north side of Imp Profile, Carter Notch seen at right



View south at Berlin, NH pulp and paper making complex with Presidential Range in background - Source: Beyond Brown Paper Archive

8-2. LIBBY FAMILY LOGGERS



The above D. H. Hurd & Co. **1892** Atlas of NH Map includes label “E. Libby & Sons” with pointers south To Site #2 Glen Cottage, west to Site #4 Copp House, and north to Site #5 Culhane House; Site #3 Sawmill removed here and as confirmed by the **1893** USGS Map

In the Census of 1910 one of the three dwellings in Martins Location was occupied by Roger J. Trombly, 43, occupation clerk of a lumber camp; the two other dwellings listed but unoccupied and the name E. Libby & Sons crossed out at each

Members of the Libby Family were leading citizens in the Gorham region. D. B. Wight and other historians agree that the Libbys were generous to the community with their time and wealth. The developing stigma of negative environmental impact from intense logging took time to reach the broader public interest and regulatory worlds.

Several smaller logging companies operated in the Peabody Valley. It would require a standalone research paper to determine how they related to the primary Peabody Valley operator and land owning Libbys.



According to Gorham historian Wight in 1884 *"Elihu Libby assumed the entire ownership of the firm of E. Clement & Company, including mills and lands. Along with what land he had bought in his own right, he now controlled thousands of acres of woodland."*



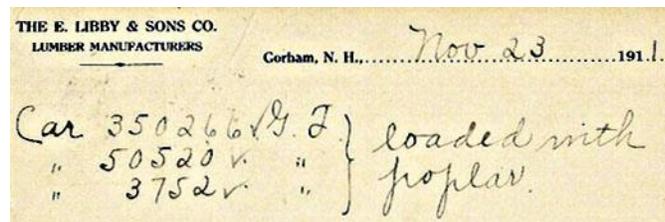
"During the winter they had extensive lumber operations on their timber lands in the Peabody and Moose River {Route 2 Corridor} Valleys and were now employing 110 men and 48 horses in the woods. Most of the men came from farms in Maine for the winter. The upper mill {near or on Site #3}, located near the Glen Cottage {on Site #2} was burned soon after he bought out the company."



Gorham historian Denman Wight informs us that in **1890** the owners of the Beans Purchase civic unit to the east sold to E. Libby & Sons *"all that part of Beans Purchase that pitches toward the Peabody River {westerly from the Carter – Moriah ridgeline} on the Gorham side of said tract... All hard wood or timber suitable to be manufactured into boards or lumber."*

More perspective from the *Granite Monthly Magazine* of June of 1896: *"The forests which surround Gorham have been made a source of great profit, and the only industry the town now sustains, aside from the shops of the railroad, is sounds in the sawmills which have now all passed into the possession of a single firm. E. Libby & Sons, made up of a single family, whose mills are at the extreme ends {Moose River oriented and Peabody River oriented} of the town and whose forests encircle the village and stretch up on the slopes of the Presidential Range."*

Appreciation for the Libbys is seen in the 6/8/1893 *Gorham Mountaineer*. *"Deacon Libby {1909 photo below} is not content with fixing up around his own home and making things look attractive but is now building sidewalks in front of his neighbors' houses. A few more men like the Deacon would make Gorham blossom like a rose."*



Consider also an event in 1903 recorded by Denman Wight: *"A big improvement in working conditions was made when the employees of the E. Libby & Sons Co. were agreeably surprised by the posting of a notice to the effect that on Monday, June 23, the mills of the company would start at 7 A. M. instead of 6 A. M. And that ten hours would constitute a day's work instead of eleven. No petition to this effect had been presented by the men – the new order of things was a voluntary act of the employers."*

Mildred Libby Kilgore who lived from 1897 to 1999, shown at right in a 1914 high school photo, was an elderly granddaughter of Elihu Libby when quoted in the *Berlin Reporter* in 1995:

"Their success was in no small measure due to the scrupulous honesty which characterized their every action. I am particularly proud of my family's reputation for integrity, which has survived over the years."



A memory of Mrs. Kilgore, assumed to reflect about 1905, from the Berlin Reporter article: *"We went up to see the logging camps which E. Libby & Sons owned and operated off the Glen Road. Sometimes we'd have supper with the loggers at Glen Cottage {Site #2}. We'd go to supper quite often. Mostly they served baked beans."*

Historian D. B. Wight also reflects on logger's fare: *"Beans (always beans) and pork, hot bread, sugar and molasses cookies, doughnuts, tea and pie."*

On Elihu Libby from Howie Wemyss of the Glen House: In 1906 *"he purchased the Mount Washington carriage Road combining, for the first time, the ownership of the Glen House with the Carriage Road. The Libby family ownership of both continues to this day."*



Photo at right with comment from Mildred Libby Kilgore: "This is one of several logging camps which E. Libby & Sons owned and operated off the Glen Road"; photo at right timber transport in Jackson courtesy of the Jackson Historical Society

A description by Erik Eisele in *New Hampshire Magazine* applies: In *"winter camps they would spend the frozen season cutting and limbing trees. The rock-hard ground and a canvas of snow facilitated easy transport. Horses were part of the team, paired with drivers who used them to drag the logs to the nearest riverbank. There they would be piled up until spring arrived."*

From the *Gorham Mountaineer* newspaper February 5, **1886**: *"The Glen Road is in better condition for sleighing than any other of the roads in the vicinity, owing to the number of teams engaged in logging on that road... Elkins has moved into the woods to begin logging operations."* Historian Denman Wight writing on **1901**: *"E. Libby & Sons lumber business was growing each year. In February Arthur Hill set a record for big loads by hauling 5,900 feet down the Glen to the mill."*

An account of the great Peabody River flood of **1903** vividly documents logs rushing down to Libby's mill in Gorham. From the *Gorham Mountaineer* of June 6 that year: *"After 5 o'clock Peabody rose rapidly and the big jam of pulpwood at the **Copp bridge** {then located at the south end of today's Campground} started and pieces, few at first then the whole mass, began to come down the stream toward the Androscoggin."*



The loss... will fall upon the town unless the town can recover from the International Paper Company.... whose pulpwood caused all the trouble.... Shortly after 7 o'clock Friday evening E.



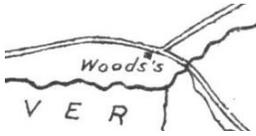
*Libby & Sons received word from the Glen that **the toll bridge had gone***



and that **Copp bridge** probably had. This was later confirmed.

Top left historic Carriage Road Toll Bridge over the Peabody; lower left Auto Road Toll Bridge today from foursquare.com; right Peabody River flooding south of Toll Bridge 12/2023 from Great Glen Trails Facebook page

Nathan Larrabee and James Hickey started for the Glen by way of the Pinkham Road {that is, coming in southeasterly from Randolph}. The bridges at the **Culhane Farm** having been carried away they started to return and found that since their passage **Wood's bridge** {crossing of the Moose River in Randolph, excerpt from the 1888 Pickering Map} had been carried away, cutting off their return.



They had to put up their team at the Howker farm {south side of the Old Pinkham Road in Randolph and source name for Howker Ridge} and go home on the Boston & Maine Railroad track {along south bank of the Moose River}. Then the Peabody River began to roar and the white caps began to run. To the uninitiated this may mean nothing, but to one who knows anything about the Peabody River it means the Old Nick to pay.

Peabody is an erratic stream. It often rises to bank full and goes back to low water mark in a few hours. Beside the **Copp bridge**, the bridge on the Pinkham Road between the **Copp farm** and the **Culhane farm** was carried away.”

A perspective on the **1903** flood from a March 1904 *New England Magazine* feature on the Androscoggin River: “On the night of June 12, however, without the slightest warning, the river rose eight feet. It had been raining for a few days previously, but no rise in the Androscoggin was perceptible.

The cause of this tremendous flood was doubtless due to a cloud burst in the valley of the **Peabody River**. No rise was noted above the mouth of the Peabody River, but much damage was done to the bridges over that river.”



Logging remnants * left at Peabody's Rangers Pool and center at Peabody's Flat Rock Pool - right logged area on Mount Madison as viewed southwest from Pine Mountain

* On the west bank of Rangers Pool at its north end, near the water line is an iron hook anchored in bedrock. The stub of another anchor is on the east bank at Flat Rock Pool. The opinion of historian Casey Hodgson is that these artifacts are remnants of logging operations.

His view is supported by relics found on the Sawyer River in Livermore, NH, very similar iron artifacts anchored in rock, professionally identified as relating to the logging era.

Wight on **1907**: “Thomas Malloy and Hinchey had a contract to cut pulpwood on the Glen Road and A. W. Fernal of Berlin had a contract to drive the pulp down the Peabody River to the Androscoggin. At one time they had over 7000 cords in the Peabody River. The river was full of logs for about a mile.”

Wight again on **1907**: “A tragic incident occurred on the Peabody River when Napoleon Simoneau, a river driver, lost his life caught under one of the jams. His body was recovered near Copp's Bridge.” Looking up Simoneau's death certificate he was 28 and married, living in Gorham, previous residence Canada, cause of death “accidental drowning in Greens Grant.”

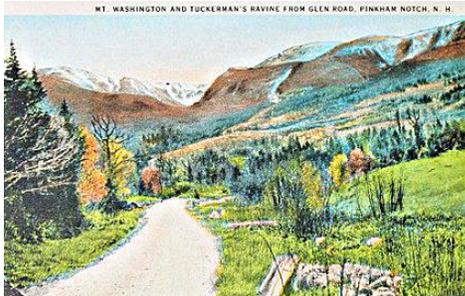
Wight on **1911**: *“The Fernald Lumber Company cut 14,000 cords of pulpwood for the American Realty Company in the Peabody River Valley. In May it was floated down the river in great quantities.”*



AIRPLANE PHOTO PINKHAM NOTCH AND MT. WASHINGTON, N. H.
Photo by Winston Pote

At left above Winston Pote view west at Mount Washington as snow cover reveals prior **logging**; at left below view south after **lower elevations logged**

While the Peabody Valley’s forests were bought up and their timber cut, its farms were also of value to logging companies as is. The Copp, Culhane and Barnes farms were saved for us by the fact that traditional crops were needed to feed the logging industry’s considerable number of work animals.



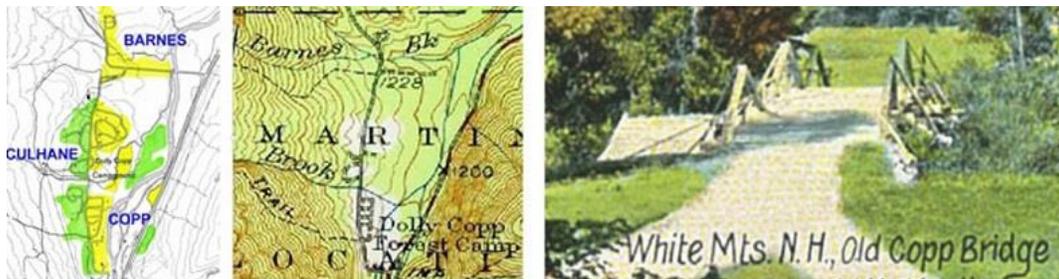
MT. WASHINGTON AND TUCKERMAN'S RAVINE FROM GLEN ROAD, PINKHAM NOTCH, N. H.

For crop land to remain in use was an *exception* during these times. After 1860, farming faded in much of New Hampshire and New England – fields and pastures reverted in stages to second growth forest.

Loss of New Hampshire agricultural land from the 1924 *Report of the NH Forestry Commission*: *“Agricultural decline caused a reduction of the farmland area from 2,367,000 acres in 1860, the maximum, to a little over 1,000,000 acres in 1890 and 700,000 acres in 1920.”*

Gorham historian D. B. Wight on use of farmland in 1893: *“E. Libby & Sons were building up their farming interests considerably, by clearing a great deal of land during their slack times. They needed to raise a lot of hay to feed the number of horses they kept.”* A 1904 USFS Bulletin citing conversion from agriculture in Gorham and Shelburne: *“There are many abandoned fields, which are coming up now to a second growth of softwoods.”*

The availability of open, *auto accessible fields* enabled the first auto camping at the Copp Bridge in Martins Location.



At left 1915 farmlands at scale of center 1937 USGS Topo Map; at right 1908 post card view west to **still active field** on Libby owned Copp Farm

More on this theme from a 1902 biography of Elihu Libby: *“Several farms have been bought in this section of the county, and from these about three hundred tons of hay were cut in the summer of 1901.”* An excerpt from the *NH Forestry Commission Report of 1915-16* on locations for planned summer homes in the Peabody Valley cites *“open fields west of the Glen Road about five miles south of Gorham”* – a public paradise today.



Robert S. Monahan writing in 1933 on the origins of Dolly Copp Campground: “Hay was cut until 1921 and during the following year the fields beyond the bridge were used only by horse grazing permittees.” Such permits were granted for continuing agricultural uses on newly acquired WMNF lands at least until 1925.

From the USFS 2006 Vegetative Management Project: “A mix of hardwoods and softwoods offers a variety of colors and texture that many visitors find aesthetically pleasing. Paper birch is an early successional species that is created through disturbance such as fire, logging and agricultural practices. Dolly Copp currently has a high amount of paper birch due to the **conversion of farm fields to forest**.”

Over time stands within Dolly Copp will move toward a softwood community type consisting of spruce, fir and hemlock and a component of northern hardwoods. A reason for vegetation management in the Dolly Copp Campground is to maintain paper birch within stands.” (View east from End Loop).



8-3. LOGGING ROADS AND CAMPS

WEST BANK PEABODY AND CAMPGROUND

--- The **1910** Cutter Map shows a logging road followed the West Branch of the Peabody River westerly almost to Boulder Falls, located west of the Osgood Trail and east of The Bluff. While the West Branch empties into the Peabody Valley in Greens Grant, all of its upper watercourse is in adjacent Thompson and Meserves Purchase. An undated map by Frank Lord shows the New Hampshire Lumber Company as owner of this civic unit, that Company incorporated in 1894.

--- Historian David Govatski tells us that when evaluated for federal purchase in **1914**, it was found that “the lower part of the Great Gulf had already been logged for large spruce, but most of the area remained as old growth forest because of limited accessibility for horse logging. Much of the **Great Gulf** contains examples of what the pre-settlement red spruce forest looked like. The Conway Lumber Company owner the land in the Great Gulf.”



View northwest in 1895 from site of Glen House to clear cutting in **Great Gulf** – central peak is Mt. Adams, Mt. Madison at right from Grand Trunk Railway Guidebook



In this view north over the **Great Gulf** the most prominent background feature is Mount Adams – closer to the viewer is the plunge into Jefferson Ravine, in the foreground the face of Jefferson's Knee showing circa 1900 strip logging

--- From the AMC's **1917 Guide to Paths in the White Mountains** on the original Osgood Trail that extended from the Glen House north to the West Branch of the Peabody River: "Continuing northwest by an old logging road, in five eighths of a mile it reaches the West Branch of the Peabody."

--- Easterly from the Campground Gatehouse, on the right before the curve out to the intersection with Dolly Copp Road, the remnant of an old logging road leads southeast into the woods. Casey Hodgdon remembers: "I know the road by the Gatehouse. There are all sorts of old logging roads in that area. They run down in back of the {former} Nature Trail."

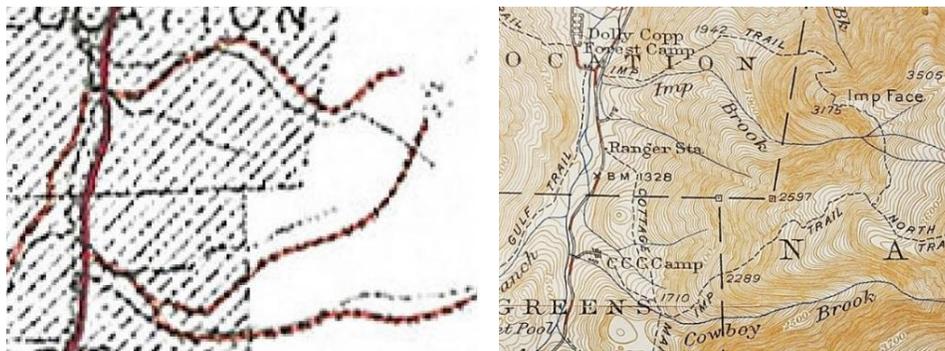


--- The northernmost section of the 1981 Hayes Copp Ski Trail was developed on a dirt road included on the 1937 USGS topographic map (shown at right) paralleling Barnes Brook, assumed to be a logging road remnant. Today its grade is visible west as the Ski Trail veers off south.

EAST BANK PEABODY AND IMP BROOK

--- In **1880**, living at Site #2 Glen Cottage are Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Hanson and their son and a daughter, all with roots in Maine. Edwin "works in the woods." With them at this address are eight boarders. Also in Glen Cottage in 1880 are Mr. and Mrs. Frank Brook from Maine. Mr. Brook also works in the woods. There are four boarders housed in their unit.

The third unit in the building houses Mr. and Mrs. Antoine Fanger from Canada with two daughters and three sons, all but the youngest child born in Canada. Antoine works in the woods, as do his four boarders.



At left 1914 USFS Map with logging roads highlighted in red; at right same view showing contours and trails on 1937 USGS Map

As the Census represented June 1 of 1880, to have loggers boarding at Glen Cottage seems odd, as most accounts report logging as seasonal employment for farmers as a primarily winter activity. Their ages reveal decidedly young men, one from New Brunswick, the remaining all from Quebec:

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 17 Narcis King, works in woods | 21 George Pray, works in woods | 24 Louis Champagne, works in woods |
| 20 Agnus Marrier, works in woods | 22 Henri Chucat, works in woods | 25 Philip Gagneau, works in woods |
| 21 Joseph Glessi, works in woods | 22 Pelican Cote, works in woods | 28 Joseph Gosselen, works in woods |
| 21 Tedchi Movan, wood chopper | 23 Philip Doherty, works in woods | 33 Philip McFange, wood chopper |
| 21 Louis Napoleon, works in woods | 23 Daniel A. Foley, teamster | 35 Louis Baker, works in woods |
| | 23 Joseph Polkie, works in woods | |

From an **1883 Appalachia Journal** article entitled *A Visit to the Imp Face*: "We drove to Mrs. Copp's, near the bridge over the Peabody River, on the old Pinkham Road, where we left our team, and,

walking to the Glen road, entered the woods by a logging way, a few feet to the south of the meeting of the roads {1860 bridge}.”

--- The *Gorham Mountaineer* of December 12, **1884** documents a lumber yard in Martins Location: “Accident – Monday morning a whirlwind struck near the lumber yard of E. Libby & Sons, near Glen Cottage, and scattered the lumber promiscuously, toppling over high piles of boards and plank.”



--- From the **1940 AMC White Mountain Guide**: “The trail leaves Pinkham Notch Road at the Civilian Conservation Corps Camp. It follows a cleared and blazed logging road, reaching the north bank of Cowboy Brook.”

--- A logging camp and road were cited by Chad Dryden in the *Berlin Daily Sun* on August 3, 2001 high on the Imp Trail Loop: “Twenty-five minutes from the cliff ledge, the trail reaches a junction with the North Carter Trail, then passes a defunct logging camp and follows an old logging road pretty much the rest of the way back to NH 16.”

This feature had also appeared in the 1992 AMC *White Mountain Guide*: “It continues generally south to the junction with the North Carter Trail, then passes the site of an old logging camp. Here the Imp Trail turns right and descends an **old logging road** {photo above from wildernessweb.com}.”

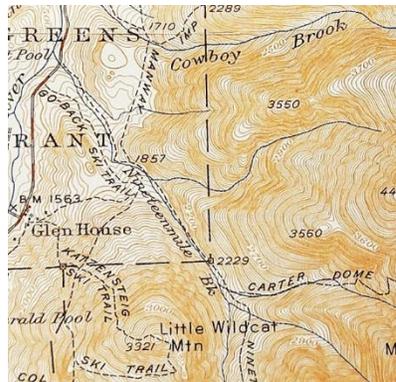
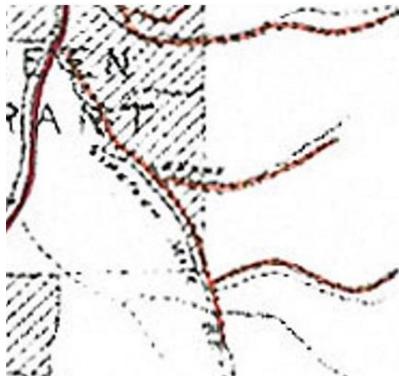
EAST BANK PEABODY AND NINETEEN MILE BROOK

--- Perspective from author Herbert Sylvester on his **1887** climb up a logging road near Nineteen Mile Brook: “Immense quantities of timber have found their way in years past over this rude logging-trail to the mills below. Acres and acres of the mountain side have been denuded of their stately spruce and pine, now overgrown with the broad-leaved moosewood, with birch, cherry, and sparsely scattered maples.”

--- From *Among the Clouds* newspaper on July 22, **1893**: “The fire in the forests of Carter Dome Mountain, only a short distance to the rear of the Glen House site, loomed up with renewed brilliancy last night and was a grand sight when viewed from the summit.”

--- Richard Grover writing in the AMC’s *Appalachia Journal* in **1894**: “The Glen House side of the Carter Notch Path has been relocated, the entrance being indicated by a guide-board upon a telegraph pole on the Gorham Road near the bridge over the Nineteen Mile Brook. It is perhaps two hundred feet south of the lumber camp known as ‘Cowboy’s Home’.”

Perhaps Cowboy’s Home had some connection with the old Alpine Stable building, documented here thirty years earlier just north of the bridge. Continuing: “The path follows the right bank of the brook to a second lumber camp, and just above crosses to the left bank.”



At left, 1914 USFS Map with logging roads highlighted in red;
at right same view showing contours and trails on 1937 USGS Map

--- Description of the Nineteen Mile Brook Path to Carter Notch from the AMC **1917 Guide to Paths in the White Mountains**: “The main path leaves the Gorham – Glen House highway seven miles south from Gorham on the north bank of Nineteen Mile Brook. The path follows an old wood road southeast and east, keeping close to the brook. The wood road is plain and is still used at times by horses.”

About two miles from the highway the point is reached where the old path to Carter Notch led off to the right. The present path continues straight ahead on the logging road, almost immediately passing the ruins of a logging camp.

Continuing on this road, which for a time leads directly toward Carter Dome, in about two and five eighths miles from the highway the site of another old logging camp is passed. Not far beyond this point the path leaves the logging road on the right and in a few rods crosses a branch of Nineteen Mile Brook.”

[Back to Contents](#)

