

# DOLLY COPP

## AND THE PEABODY VALLEY PIONEERS

WHITE MOUNTAINS, NH



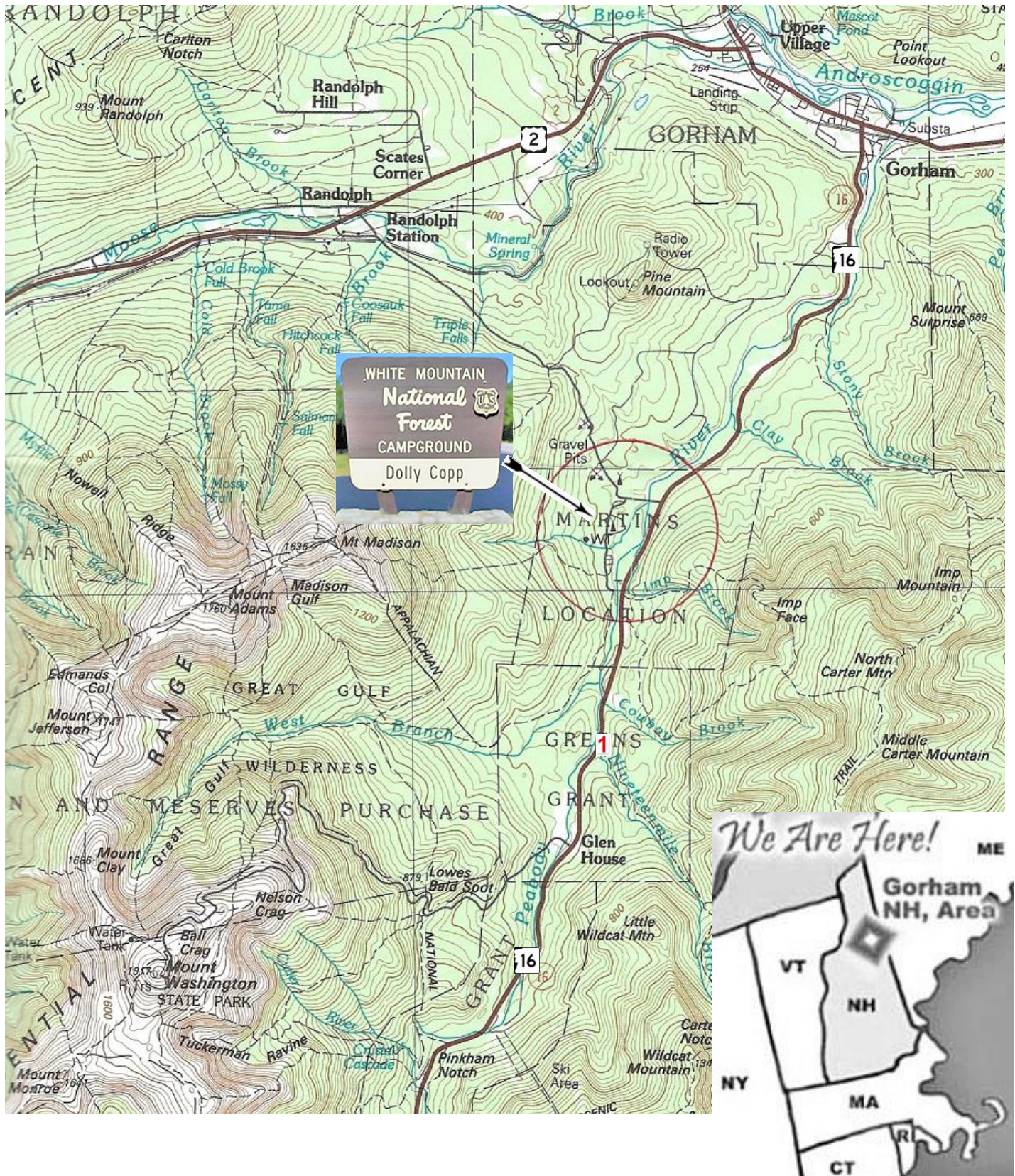
View from Dolly Copp Campground to Imp in 1927

**BY JONATHAN CHEW**

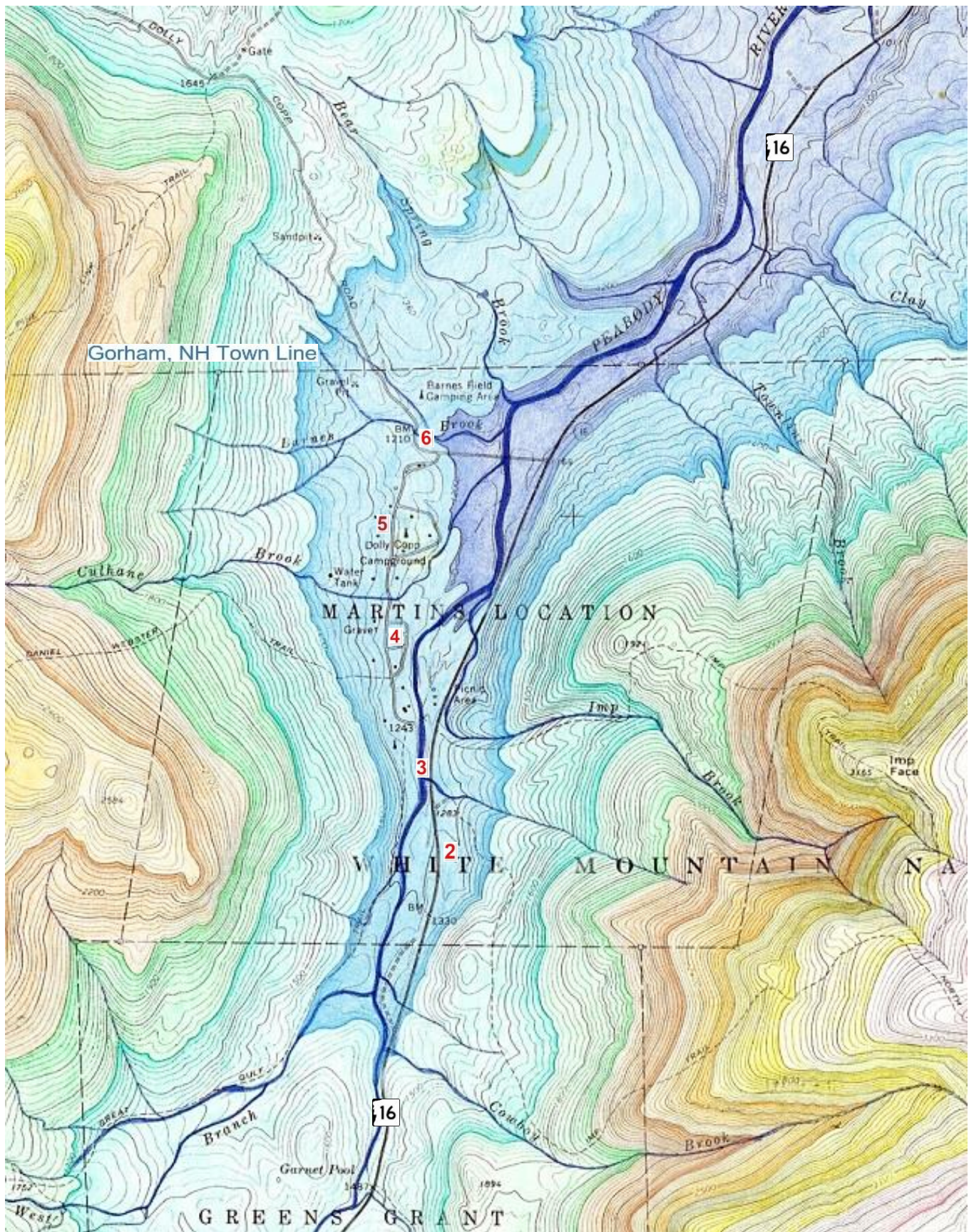
DRAFT OF 2/5/2021



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**Pioneer Home Sites:** #1 Hanson's on preceding map in Greens Grant;  
 #2 Samuel Copp; #3 Sawmill; #4 Hayes and Dolly Copp; #5 Culhane Brothers; #6 Mrs. Barnes



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*Hosts raise entrance sign on opening day 2019 - Dave Evans in light vest and Tom MacKay with cap*



*At left Joshua with **Academy of Kempo Martial Arts** 2012 World Tour; at right **Ferreira Family** 2019, Tony, Dominic, Giovanni and Crissy - "Dolly truly is our peace"*





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## PREFACE

*"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 advises visiting author Louisa May Alcott in 1861*



*Site #4 **Copp House** in its prime near 1860 and as abandoned near 1915*

Some years ago I prepared a booklet much smaller than this on the history of Dolly Copp Campground. This work is the update. As Campground visitors ask who was Dolly Copp, a biography of her has been added. The expanded effort then continues with Pinkham and Culhane neighbors and early history of the surrounding Peabody Valley.

A 1927 booklet by George Cross entitled *Dolly Copp and the Pioneers of the Glen* long defined Dolly and Hayes Copp in the public mind. In 2004 U.S. Forest Service Historical Archaeologist Sarah Jordan authored *The Copp Farm*, upgrading the Cross work in many respects. Building on those invaluable resources, this work expands the focus into a detailed history of the Campground, the early pioneers and the central Peabody Valley.

I was inspired to start the project at the Campground's 1996 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration. The displays in the Visitor Center that year included hundreds of old photos and maps contributed by the public for the event. Here were valuable resources that could be organizing into an historical narrative. I spent my work years at a planning council writing fact finding reports with a geographic and land use focus, useful for this retirement hobby.



USFS Androscoggin District staff allowed me to scan all of the 75th anniversary photos. They also provided me with copies of their own extensive multi-decade Campground history file. Crucial resources for the project, those courtesies are not forgotten. A digital copy of this work is available for free download at **dollycopp.com**, providing color and sharpness not possible in the black and white photocopy edition.

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## 1. CAMPGROUND ORIGINS

*"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's 1927 "Dolly Copp and the Pioneers of the Glen"



**USFS 1925 promotional photo**

*"Of all the campgrounds, the Dolly Copp on 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. LOGGING THE PEABODY VALLEY



**View from Mount Hayes over Gorham south into the Peabody Valley**

*"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 1916

### 1-1A. LOGGING OVERVIEW

I start here for without the disrupted landscape caused by commercial logging, the reaction to it of public purchase would not have come about. There would be no Dolly Copp Campground, and certainly less interest in her name.

The later lives of Dolly and Hayes and the late nineteenth century logging era overlapped. In 1875 Hayes the farmer had a contractor cut commercial timber on his property. In her 1880 letter to her granddaughter Dolly writes of the Martins Location sawmill site being revived for use. By 1883 near the Copp Farm there was a logging road easterly towards the Imp.



In the 1880s the Copsps and others in Martins Location sell their lands to loggers. The era of mass cutting goes into full swing. The Peabody Valley was used for commercial purposes – restoration of its natural environment only possible after its federal purchase in 1914.

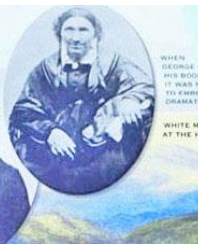
Logging in the area was not entirely new. Gorham historian Denman Wight states the Gorham area had long been logging country: “From the time Gorham was incorporated in 1836 the lumber which stood so thick in the forest began to be logged in earnest.”

According to *New Hampshire PBS* “in 1867, Governor Harriman and the legislature sold the state's White Mountain holdings to logging companies, and by 1890 the state no longer owned any forests.” 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.”

Much has been written about logging railroads in the White Mountains in this era. The adjacent Wild River Valley on the east is a nearby example. But the Peabody Valley did not need one. The relatively gentle grade and peak volume flow of the Peabody were sufficient for moving logs to Gorham, and the parallel Glen Road was not steep and sufficiently maintained for the tourist trade.



Hayes Copp is described as “who single-handedly home out gin forest... low... with pluck and sound heart in it”. The tale is that “He three to five it from the farm and he was ultimate.” down to et Dolly came his he was n stature,

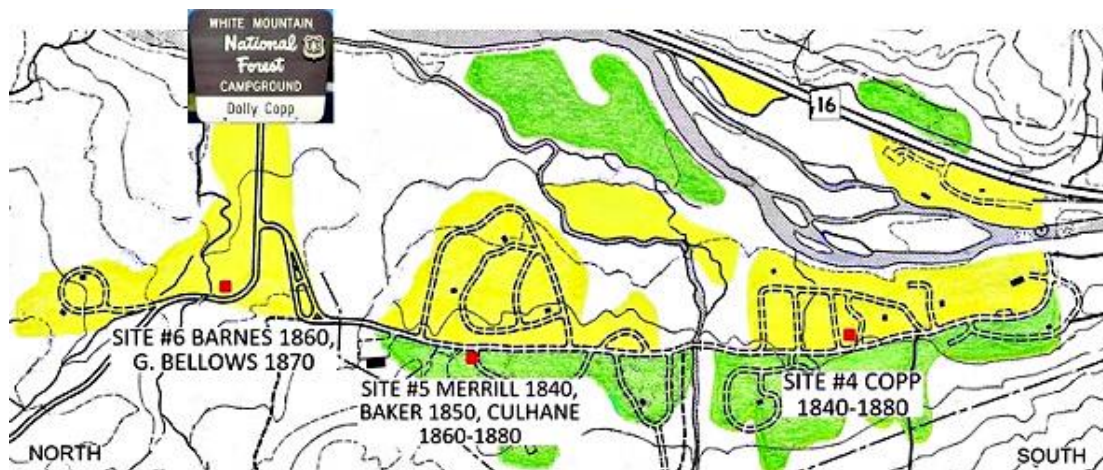


**Young marrieds** Dolly and Hayes Copp and **as elders** in logging era

Historian Frederick Kilbourne 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.” From Christine Goodale: “The innovation of using wood pulp for paper rather than rags or straw greatly increased demand for softwoods.” Spruce is a softwood and the Peabody Valley had ample spruce to be cut.

Yet while Martins Location’s forests were bought up and their timber cut, the farms also purchased did not revert to woodland to then be cut. Saved by the fact that traditional farm crops were needed to feed the large numbers of logging industry work animals. From the campers point of view, we are thankful that the retention of *auto accessible farm fields* facilitated early post-1900 auto camping.

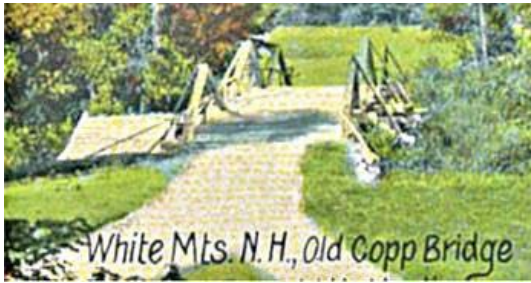


**Open Farm Land** on 1915 USFS Sketch Map – fields yellow or lighter, pastures green or darker – Sites #4, #5 and #6 residents by decennial census year

For these farms to remain open was the *exception* during these times. For after 1860, farming faded in much of New Hampshire and New England – open land reverted to forest. Perspective on the loss of New Hampshire agriculture from the 1924 Report of the NH



Forestry Commission: *“Agricultural decline caused a reduction of the farm land 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.”*



Post card view of 1908 west into active field on Copp Farm

Gorham's historian D. B. Wight on 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.”* 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 cottages cites *“open fields west of the Glen Road about five miles south of Gorham.”* Robert S. Monahan writing in 1933 on the origins of the Campground: *“Hay was cut until 1921 and during the following year the fields beyond the bridge were used only by horse grazing permittees.”*

#### 1-1B. STATE FORESTRY REPORTS

A vivid description of Peabody Valley logging was included within the 1896 *Annual Report of the Forest Commissioner of the State of Maine*. (Although this report was for Maine, where the vast bulk of the Androscoggin Watershed lies, all of the Androscoggin's sub-watersheds in New Hampshire were included in its logging assessment).

On the Peabody Valley: *“Arriving at night before what was left of the old Glen House {burned 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.*

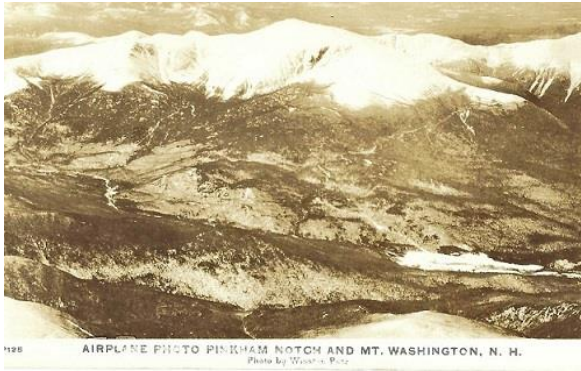


View west in 1895 from site of Glen House burnt in 1893 shows **clear cutting** – central peak is Adams, Madison to right - from Grand Trunk Railway Guidebook

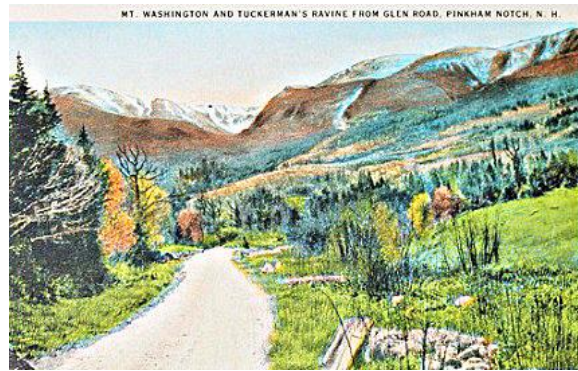
*Beginning at the lower end of the valley and on the lower slopes of its sides they have gradually worked back and up until they had nearly cleared the valley of spruce back as far as the Glen House and up to a height of 2,000 feet above the stream, which was about as far up the mountains as lumbering by present methods could go.*

*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. Further up the valley, however, the timber had not been touched. It was a magnificent stand.”*





1188 AIRPLANE PHOTO PINKHAM NOTCH AND MT. WASHINGTON, N. H.  
Photo by Weston Pote



MT. WASHINGTON AND TUCKERMAN'S RAVINE FROM GLEN ROAD, PINKHAM NOTCH, N. H.

At left Winston Pote post card aerial view west with snow accentuating **revegetating forest**; at right view south at **lower slopes logged** near Pinkham Notch

Then we have this choice passage from the *Report of the New Hampshire Forestry Commission for 1901-1902*: 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.”*

#### 1-1C. PEABODY LOG JAM

A newspaper account of the Peabody flood of 1903 provides a vivid description of the watercourse full of logs destined for the Libby Sawmill in Gorham. *Gorham Mountaineer* June 6, 1903: “After 5 o'clock Peabody rose rapidly and the big jam of pulpwood at the **Copp bridge** {was at 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.*



Left **toll bridge** over Peabody at Carriage Road from the Scott McClory Collection; right **Copp Bridge** replacement after 1903



192 - The Imp from Copp Bridge, White Mts. N. H.

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 to reach main east-west road} had been carried away, cutting off their return.

They had to put up their team at the Howker farm {on the Old Pinkham Road in Randolph, just west of Gorham Line} and walk home on the Boston & Maine Railroad track {which are along the south bank of the Moose River and avoid a crossing}.

*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... In the grants the damage is also heavy. Beside the **Copp bridge**, the bridge on the Pinkham Road between the **Copp farm** and the **Culhane farm** was carried away."*

A broader perspective on the 1903 flood from a March 1904 *New England Magazine* article 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."*

#### 1-1D. HONORS FOR LIBBYS

Yet Gorham's Libby logging family was, and remains, respected in the region. References agree that the Libby's were generous to the community with their time and wealth. The developing negative stigma of mass logging took time to spread into the business and regulatory worlds.

According to 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 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 {our Site #3}, located near the Glen Cottage {Site #2} was burned soon after he bought out the company."*

More perspective on the Libby's 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 of the town and whose forests encircle the village and stretch up on the slopes of the Presidential Range."*



A reflection of the positive community attitude is found in the 6/8/1893 *Gorham Mountaineer*: *"Deacon Libby 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."*

Then consider the community reaction to a major event in 1903 recorded by historian 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 in 1914*

Mildred Libby Kilgore, born in 1897 and a granddaughter of Elihu, quoted in a 1995 *Berlin Reporter* article: *"Their success as 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."*



From Howie Wemyss on Elihu Libby: 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.”* As of 2020 Sam Appleton, a great-great-grandson of Elihu Libby, is the president of the board of the Mount Washington Summit Road Company. After General Manager Howie Wemyss retired in 2020 his position was filled by Tobey Reichert, also a descendant of Elihu Libby.

### 1-1E. LOGGING TIMELINE

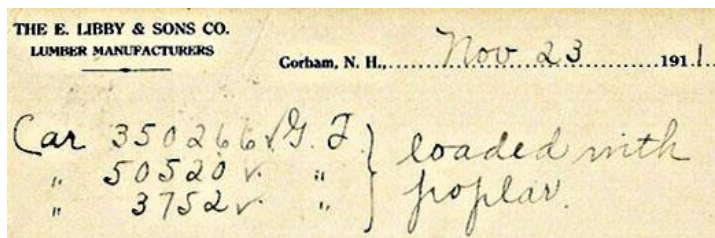
**Horse drawn on Glen Road:** From the *Gorham Mountaineer* newspaper of February 5, **1886:** *“The Glen Road is in better condition for sleighing than any other of the roads in the vicinity, owing to the number of teams engaged in logging on that road... Elkins has moved into the woods to begin logging operations.”* Historian Denman Wight 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.”*

**Logs in Peabody:** A summary of river transport for logging in *New Hampshire Magazine* by Erik Eisele: *“Back then loggers would set up rough, hard-hewn winter camps where 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. Freed of the winter’s topcoat and amplified by meltwater spring rains, the rivers offered easy transport for millions of logs. They rode to the mills, which sat positioned on the river’s edge.”*

Wight on **1907:** *“Thomas Malloy and Hinchey had a contract to cut pulpwood on the Glen Road and A. W. Fernald 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.*

*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 age 28 and married, living in Gorham, his 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.”*

After the **1914** federal purchase logs floating down the Peabody to the Gorham mill faded from memory. Scattered and small early sawmills were closed and replaced by more modern centralized facilities. Yet Berlin historian Poof Tardiff tells us that as late as **1947**, six million logs were floated down the Androscoggin River annually to the mills in Berlin and Gorham - there were still ample non-federal private paper company lands to the north.

**Logging Camps:** In Samuel Drake’s ornate **1882** tourist book *The Heart of the White Mountains*, proceeding north from Copps towards Gorham he documents a logging camp: *“Until reaching the bridge, within two miles of Gorham, I saw no one, heard nothing except the strokes of an axe, borne on the still air from some logging camp.”*

On a camp to the north of Copps from the 1917 AMC *Guide to Paths in the White Mountains:* *“Imp Camp may be reached direct by lumber roads from the Gorham – Glen House highway. Leave the road at the Two-Mile Bridge about two miles south of Gorham where the road crosses the Peabody River. An ill-defined cart-track leads up thru the fields about one quarter of a mile and enters the woods by a well- defined logging road... In about two miles an abandoned lumber camp is reached.”*

D. B. Wight on **1905**: “E. Libby & Sons Company did their usual amount of logging this year. They started both mills and had four camps. One was near the 2-mile bridge {two miles south of the mouth of the Peabody} on the Glen Road.... Another crew was located at the {Site #2} cottage, two miles this side of the Glen, and one near the Four Mile Field.



Site #2 Glen Cottage  
on 1911 post card

A logging camp location was cited by Chad Dryden in the *Berlin Daily Sun* on August, 3

2001 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.”

For a news feature on her family on 1995 Mildred Libby Kilgore remembers: “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**. We’d go to supper quite often. Mostly they served baked beans.” Speaking of logging camp breakfasts served in 1903, historian D. B. Wight backs her up: “Beans (always beans) and pork, hot bread, sugar and molasses cookies, doughnuts, tea and pie.”



Photo from the album of Mildred Libby Kilgore: “This is one of several **logging camps** which E. Libby & Sons owned and operated off the Glen Road”

**Logging Roads:** The logging road from Dolly’s to the Imp was noted above. Today’s Great Gulf Link Trail was also

such a road. Proceeding easterly from the Dolly Copp 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. Historian Casey Hodgdon: “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 Nature Trail.”

Further south, perspective from author Herbert Sylvester on his **1887** climb up a logging road near Nineteen Mile Brook in Greens Grant: “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.”

The northernmost section of the 1981 Hayes Copp Ski Trail Ski Trail was developed on an unimproved dirt road included on the 1937 USGS topographic map, paralleling Barnes Brook, assumed to be an old logging road. Today its grading remains visible and continues east as the ski trail leaves it to turn south.

**Other Milestones:** In the **1880** Census for Martins Location there are sixteen loggers boarding at Site #2 Glen Cottage. Seems odd, as most historians report logging as a winter activity. Their ages show decidedly young men, one from New Brunswick, the remainder from Quebec:

17 Narcis King, works in woods  
20 Agnus Marrier, works in woods  
21 Joseph Glessi, works in woods  
21 Tedchi Movan, wood chopper  
21 Louis Napoleon, works in woods

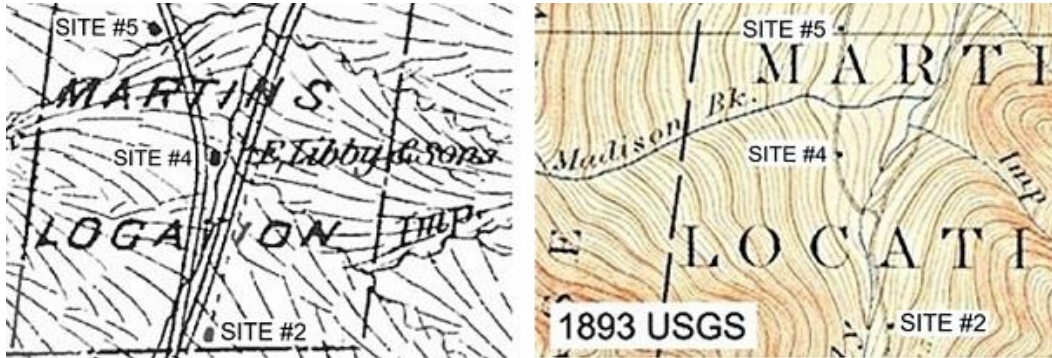
21 George Pray, works in woods  
22 Henri Chucat, works in woods  
22 Pelican Cote, works in woods  
23 Philip Doherty, works in woods  
23 Daniel A. Foley, teamster  
23 Joseph Polkie, works in woods

24 Louis Champagne, works in woods  
25 Philip Gagneau, works in woods  
28 Joseph Gosselen, works in woods  
33 Philip McFange, wood chopper  
35 Louis Baker, works in woods



Note: The straight line distance from Martins Location to the nearest point in Quebec is only 53 miles. With a direct rail link starting in the 1850s, French Canadian heritage in the Gorham area grew. According to Wikipedia as of 2017 65% of nearby Berlin, NH residents can speak French (not necessarily as their first language).

In **1880** John Bellows, back in the 1840s the scourge of the Pinkham kinship group early pioneers, sells his considerable Martin Location holdings to Edward Clement of Portland. The Clement holdings are absorbed by Gorham's Libby Family. From the Gorham Mountaineer of December 12, **1884** we know there was 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.



At left the **1892 Atlas of NH Map** includes label "E. Libby & Sons" at **Site #4 Dolly Copp House**, also a pointer from that label south to **Site #2 Glen Cottage**; at left **1893 USGS Map** with Sites #3 and #6 without buildings by this date

Denman Bartlett Wight tells us that in **1890** the owners of Beans Purchase, NH to the east sold to E. Libby & Sons "all that part of Beans Purchase that pitches toward the Peabody River on the Gorham side of said tract... All hard wood or timber suitable to be manufactured into boards or lumber." Turning to the western slopes of the Presidentials, according to the Randolph, NH Mountain Club their "trail system, which began in the 1850s and expanded in the 1880s and 1890s, was largely destroyed by intensive logging in the early **1900s**."

Wight on Census population totals in **1900**: "Some of the grants reported gains. The increase in population in those places was the result of lumbering operations, and after the timber had been cut the people left." Wight again on 1900: "E. Libby & Sons purchased the Glen House and land extending twelve miles along the Glen Road; also 5,000 acres in Jackson, totaling over 18,000 acres."

Wight commenting on **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." Thus there may be two sets of relics to differentiate there.

**1903 Pine Mountain**: 1,890 acres burned just to the north of our study area, a close call, almost entering Martins Location. From the *Gorham Mountaineer* on 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 in its rugged rock summit."



Above left **logging remnant** at Peabody's Rangers Pool, center at Flat Rock Pool, right **timber cut** on Mount Madison

-Mts. Washington and Madison from Pine Mt., Gorham, N. H.

On the west bank of Rangers Pool at its north end near the water line is an **iron hook anchored into bedrock**. The stub of another anchor is on the east bank of Flat Rock Pool. The opinion of historian Casey Hodgson is that these artifacts are remnants of logging operations. His view is supported by a relic found on the Sawyer River in Livermore, NH, very similar iron artifacts anchored in rock, professionally identified as relating to historic logging operations.

Criticism in **1906** from *Among the Clouds* editor Frank H. Burt: *“Extensive cutting has been in progress on the northerly sides of Mt. Adams, Jefferson and Madison since 1902 and speedy action by the national government is the only means of averting permanent injury to the scenery.”*

In **1907** New Hampshire had its peak year of timber cutting at 755 million feet. This may have been at or near the peak for the Peabody Valley as well. Broader 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.”*

From the **1908** USFS Circular 160 regarding the drainage area of the Androscoggin, we hear that *“A portion of the water in this river comes thru the Peabody River directly from the highest of the White Mountains, including the Presidential and Carter. The edge of its watershed in this part has an elevation averaging 4,000 feet. In this vicinity the commercial spruce forest has been largely removed by the clear cutting method.”*

We can next look at how the auto oriented Dolly Copp Campground grew out of the logging era onto the still open fields of the old Copp, Culhane and Barnes farms.



## 1-2. AUTO ERA DRAWS CAMPERS



### 1-2A. TRAVEL TO MOUNTAINS MOTORIZED

When someone mentioned “Dolly Copp” in the nineteenth century they were referring to the pioneering resident of the Peabody Valley. Early during the twentieth century the meaning expands to include her namesake campground.

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

The population of New Hampshire’s North Country had welcomed the economic stimulation brought about by the 1850s railroad, the first transport revolution. But reaction to the sudden flood of autos was more mixed. It took a little time for the economic advantages to win the



argument - or perhaps in some sections the argument never was won - there being no way to exclude thousands of prowling automobiles.

Soon after the turn of the century 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 meteoric increase in motor vehicle registrations. This surge soon arrives in the Peabody Valley, where the new automobile became the foundation stone of the new Dolly Copp Campground.



**Copp's and nearby farms ready for auto campers** - Culhane House (marked) is prominent - 1900 photo from Library of Congress view southwest from Mount Surprise

Most of northern New Hampshire's roadways in 1900 were slow, unpaved and bumpy. This was not necessarily due to indifference, as light maintenance and rutty conditions were acceptable for the pace of horse drawn vehicles. But such road conditions were suddenly inadequate for the much greater speed of motorized transport.

The State of New Hampshire adopts policies to better organize its roadways. A 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.”* That is, along what is today the central camp road thru Dolly Copp Campground.

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”* {became Route 16 in the Peabody Valley}.

Transportation policy declarations such as the above are easy to write compared to finding the money for the improvements thereafter recommended. From an AMC record of its 1906 August Camp at the old 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.”* Sounds like 1906 was on the cusp – the embryonic transportation revolution had not arrived in the remote Peabody Valley quite yet.



At left 1905 post card of Presidential Range to the south from rough **Glen Road** in Gorham; at right further south approaching Tuckerman Ravine

Gorham's 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 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."

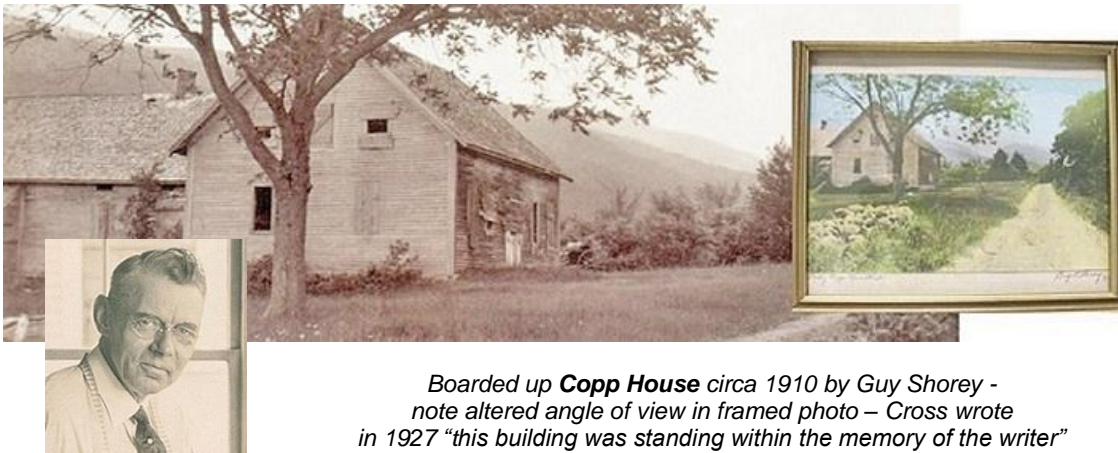
A history posted on the Glen House web site cites Mount Washington ascents via the Carriage Road 1899 to 1901 by steam powered vehicles. Then in 1902 the first gasoline powered cars reached the summit. In 1912, the first motorized stage ascends. The Valley situation was much evolved by 1917 when the book *White Mountain Trails* reports "a good motor road leads from Jackson to Gorham."



Advertisement from 1917 Automobile Blue Book: "Special Attention to Auto Parties" and "In the Heart of U.S. Forest Reserve" (not yet a National Forest)

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 1920s {1929-1930}, but by the mid-thirties hundreds, then thousands could be found there on sunny spring weekends."

In the thirties Route 16 thru the Peabody Valley was still an unpaved road, even northerly past Cascade to the Berlin line. Only within the Berlin city limits does a 1936 map show paving. Further, Gorham's Route 2 was without blacktop easterly to the Maine State Line.

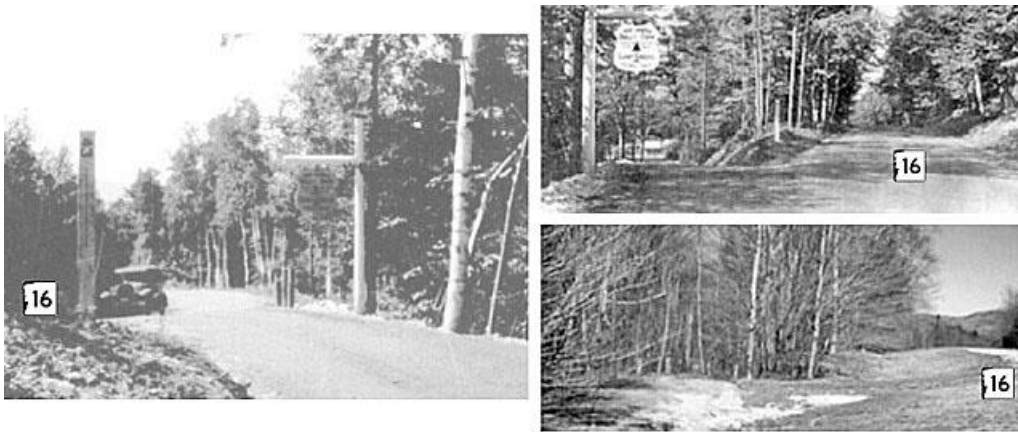


Boarded up **Copp House** circa 1910 by Guy Shorey - note altered angle of view in framed photo - Cross wrote in 1927 "this building was standing within the memory of the writer"

Historians and White Mountains enthusiasts owe a debt to **Guy Shorey** of Gorham, a famous 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 the main view of the Copp House. Shorey was recorded by the Forest Service as camping in Dolly Copp in 1936. Original Shorey post cards were still available in 1962 at Welsh's Restaurant in Gorham for ten cents each now collectible items.

Lack of traffic volumes can give a lonely feeling to a road, as seen in William Lowell Putnam's quote of AMC worker for Joe Dodge named 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."





*At left view **south** at Route 16 entrance in late 1930s; at right same location with two views **north** then and now, lower with Route 16 relocated east after 1958*

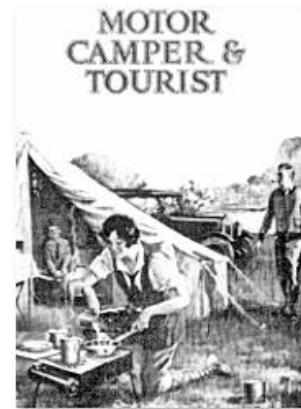
### 1-2B. CAMPING WITH AUTOS

While camping itself was not new, the auto camping variant, dependence upon and accompanied by a motor vehicle, was. In 1905 a newly formed auto club toured the White Mountains and passed thru Martins Location. As the lodging for these early motorists was “superior hotel and garage accommodations” this was **new auto travel** but not **auto camping**.

Camping was documented in the Peabody Valley in the 1906 AMC Appalachia: “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 transport** to reach Bartlett, so theirs was not the revolutionary **new auto camping**.

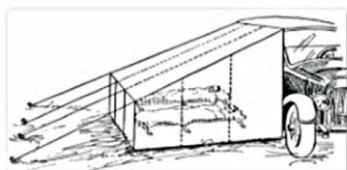
Historians tell us that early auto campers after 1900 spontaneously squatted on remote private property. While a fee to the landowner was paid by some, others located out of view of farm owners, without permission or supervision. There were no *campgrounds* into which to herd the sudden motorized invasion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

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



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 squat spot” to “auto camp ground” was rapid and successful. The specific time table for the founding of Dolly Copp Campground conforms nicely to this national generality.

Auto camping 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 “fresh air for your health” themes. In the twenties literature on how to camp out became widely 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*

**Informal Start:** The east bank of the Peabody River by the Copp Bridge had great potential as an early, informal, auto camper squatter 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 desirable tourist haven. Perhaps early squatting aided this crossroads to become one of the earliest approved auto camping locations.

The 8/3/1933 Gorham newspaper looks back: *Early in the twentieth century a straggling 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.”*

The clues available suggest that informal squatter-auto camping in Martins Location in the years 1914 to 1919 was *organized incrementally* into a public camping area. Campground users today are indebted to the far reaching foresight of Forest Service officials at 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*

**Copp Spring Campground:** An archival USFS memo indicates USFS employee E. D. Fletcher *“made the first survey of this area and established the Camp Grounds.”* Knowledgeable authority David Govatski says E. D. Fletcher was a USFS Forest Examiner appraising properties by 1912. And that Fletcher was an experienced appraiser determining fair market value for land including surveying and mapping.

Fletcher’s initials appear on the 1915 USFS Sketch Map of central Martins Location that has been of such great value to this research - thanks to its long preservation by USFS Androscoggin District staff. An undated and unattributed document in the USFS file states that in 1915 campers had already been using the Peabody wayside *“for years.”* But there is no source given for that potentially valuable evidence.

While after 1910 we can assume there were squatter auto campers here, no “campground” designation was placed by Fletcher on his USFS 1915 Sketch Map. From the viewpoint of 1915 mapmaking, it seems that his observation of overnight recreational auto camping did not as yet *confer a designation about the land* parked upon. The “auto campground” concept was just now emerging.



616—The Spring at U. S. F. S. Public Camp Ground, Gorham, N. H.



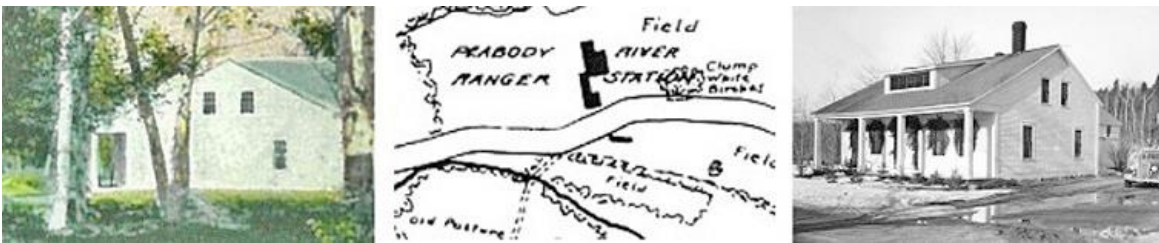
*At left Shorey post card from the Scott McClory Collection; right 1925 USFS promotional photo – I met Scott after we competed on Ebay for the same Dolly Copp items - he favored cooperation and made available his collection of rare photos*



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.” From 1938 State of New Hampshire tourism literature: “The spring carries a long historical background.”

It may be that informal auto camping at the Peabody wayside could not be upgraded by the USFS until some supervisory staff was lodging overnight nearby. To fill that need, the venerable Site #2 1834 Copp House - Bellows House - Glen Cottage building transforms yet again, this time into the **Peabody River Ranger Station** and staff residence. That building was demolished 1939-1940.

As newly purchased federal property, on the 1915 USFS Sketch Map the old Site #2 structure is in use as the ranger station, that designation differing from a 1914 USFS map that had no notation here. 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. Good dates for the origin of *the east bank* Copp Spring Camp Ground are 1915, 1917 and 1918.



At left old Site #2 **Glen Cottage** building about 1908 before 1914 federal purchase, on **1915 USFS Map**, as USFS **Peabody River Ranger Station** in thirties

Important to qualify, both banks of the Peabody were united by a bridge and operated as one united campground into the early thirties. After that the east, Route 16 side, was converted into a Picnic Ground, and the much greater acreage on the west side grew to become the Dolly Copp Campground of today. West side camping was endorsed by the USFS in 1921 and formally opened in 1924.

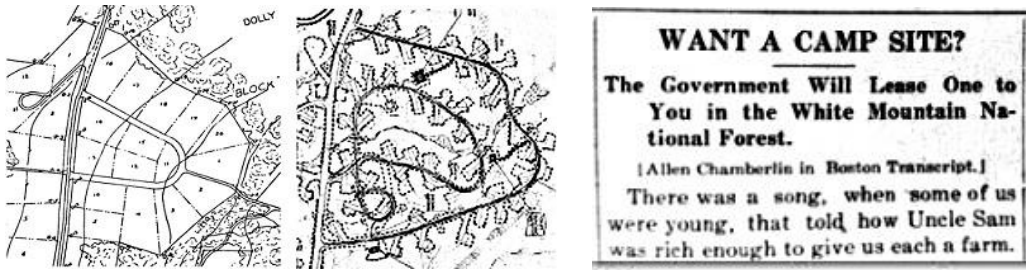
In 1998 the USFS prepared a Draft Environmental Impact Statement for AMC use of forest lands and its Pinkham Notch Visitor Center. Some area history is presented as background including on nearby Dolly Copp: “The automobile also spawned a new phenomenon known as ‘car camping.’ Travelers quickly took advantage of such recreational opportunities as those provided by the US Forest Service when it developed Dolly Copp Campground in Pinkham Notch **in 1924**,” a facility which still sees robust use.”

#### 1-2C. **SUMMER HOME PLAN**

The 1997 *History of the USFS* stated that Martins Location was suitable for “buildings” as well as recreation. Odd as it sounds now, the USFS initially encouraging summer home development on some of its newly acquired White Mountains land. This included the west side of the Peabody River in Martins Location. An excerpt from the *NH Forestry Commission Report of 1915-16* describing locations for planned summer cottages: “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.”

The entirety of what is today the west bank Dolly Copp Campground was initially proposed as a summer colony of 89 cottage lots. An excerpt from the 1916 USFS sales brochure: *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 **Subdivision Plan**: center same **Big Meadow Area** after circulation improved in 2019: 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."*

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."

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

In the 1918 manual is reproduced the 1916 subdivision map of "Dolly Copp Farm Summer Home Sites." Comparing the 1915 USFS Sketch Map to the subdivision lot plan reveals the proposed open space areas in the subdivision plan were primarily the swampy or wetter areas that had not been suitable for farm use in earlier days. Logical enough, wetlands preservation is still the practice within subdivision layout today. But no wonder the 1916 Dolly Copp subdivision plan does not look amateurish – it was ahead of its time and became the national model.

But that course 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 need for organized auto camper sites. For six or seven years the west bank summer home lot leasing proposal blocked east bank camping from formally expanding west over the Peabody River bridge. But the subdivision idea was overcome by the needs of auto campers.

The difference between 1915 USFS lands purchased map and a 1916 USFS lands purchased map is that the major 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 access features were soon incorporated into campground design, a good



example being Riverside Drive. This comes is no surprise, for the little lanes of the proposed subdivision were the logical circulation pattern for this particular acreage.

The west bank subdivision roads remain in place on the 1920 USFS lands map. Then the subdivision roads are removed on the 1924 USFS map {no intervening yearly maps available}. This 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.”

#### 1-2D. CAMPGROUND STARTS ON WEST BANK

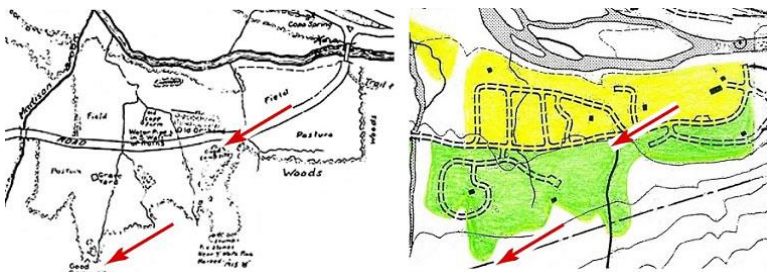
By the mid-twenties demand for Dolly Copp camp sites was high. Perspective from the 1924 *Biennial Report of the N.H. Forestry Commission*: “The Forest Service has improved six delightful public camp sites along the main highways, the most popular at present being the Dolly Copp camp six miles south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



**“Copp Spring Camp Grounds”**  
written on the back of this east bank view south

As noted earlier Robert Monahan had reported in 1922 that “the fields beyond the bridge {referring to the Peabody’s west bank} were used only by horse grazing permittees.” It sounds like the west bank’s fields were not formally available to auto campers yet. There could have been some informal use, but then again, USFS staff issued fire permits, effective authority to control camp site placement.

A question arises concerning the inclusion on the circa 1915 USFS Sketch Map of two west bank notations of “**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 “**Good Camp Site**” notations in 1915 and at right their locations today - southern site at ridge separating fields had a view up and down the road – view from elevated north site east to Carter Range was attractive

The only point of reference is the map itself, containing no other notations interpreted as anything but actual conditions in 1915 - no proposed future conditions shown. So, perhaps there was some early west bank camping in the attractive locations shown, even 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 also available evidenced by tent across river

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 a 1924 bridge improvement as a key facilitator of camping expansion to the west, the stimulus enabling today’s Dolly Copp Campground.



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 for expansion* 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 percentage using vehicles for auto camping rising at least in tandem.

On the 1924 update of the USFS WMNF map a symbol first appears in the legend for “Public Camping Ground.” In Martins Location, that symbol placed north of the bridge and directly over the Peabody River, seemingly to identify *combined* east and west bank camping areas.

Robert Monahan said that *“with the river adequately bridged in 1924 the camp ground extended to the opposite bank.”* Then on the 1931 and later WMNF map updates the campground symbol is placed over the *west bank* only, indicating the new and final west side predominance.

Looking at this another way the 1924 USFS WMNF map the name of 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 mixed with camping on the east bank. The area was enjoyed by northern New Hampshire residents, not just visitors from a distance.

In September of 1927 the Brown Company’s Burgess Band also held its picnic here: *“Sunday, August 14<sup>th</sup>, 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 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 expansion 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.”



By 1927 Randolph, NH author George Cross could entitle a chapter in his Dolly Copp booklet *The Motor Car Comes to the Glen*, stating therein that “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.”

Utility infrastructure was expanded for the twenties surge in usage. Water supply needs are featured in a 1926 Forest Service staff letter on the spread of camping from the east bank westerly 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.

Example of **rocky camp sites** in early days

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....”

The letter comments on the west bank: “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.



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.” The last sentence documents that the closing of east bank auto camping was contemplated as early as 1926. That plan was soon followed.

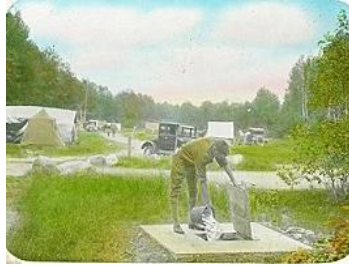
Early camper Mildred Richardson confirms the long walk for water supply: “This particular morning while we were having breakfast we needed some water. We had to get the water from the Peabody River that was on the other side of the road. Al said he would get it but I wanted the exercise so went with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

We see the east bank closing imminent in a response to a 1931 survey when one 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 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.



Left **joy ride** under the Imp; center USFS view of east bank “Guard Weeks emptying garbage into pit”; right view east at 1924 **bridge** swept away in 1927

The removal of east bank camping had been completed by the time of printing 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 to no one’s regret, such it has remained since.

#### 1-2E. BECOMES WELL KNOWN

Robert Monahan’s September 1928 news article entitled *Dolly Copp Camp Ground Now Famous for Tourists* describes the camping scene that year: “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.*



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 the Berlin Reporter 1928; **Permit for 1928 Season** signed by Monahan courtesy of the Scott McClory Collection

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 four other camp grounds {in the WMNF} 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 predicted change in appearance was indeed coming. The early Dolly Copp of the nineteen twenties reflected a rough and tumble landscape, photos document stonier and rougher ground than now. Today's more manicured look had its roots in the early thirties. The campers of 1928, though, did enjoy **Dolly Copp Ginger Ale**.

Educational programs for Dolly Copp campers are a regular 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.

The *New Hampshire Forestry Commission Report* of 1928 indicates a slow pace for WMNF campground development that decade. 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."



From the section written by Forest Supervisor James E. Scott we learn that "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."



Note of interest in the 1928 report as to another new federal campground to the south: "Glen Ellis Camp Ground is 12 miles from Gorham on the same highway. Parking space is provided at the entrance of the beautiful Glen Ellis Falls." The Ellis River campground was dismantled soon thereafter.

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## 1-3. 1930S ENHANCEMENTS

### 1-3A. CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

Once the Great Depression struck 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 also to automobiles being the last family amenity to be surrendered in hard times. Dolly Copp camping actually increased during the turbulent thirties.

It must have helped that during the same period campground amenities were greatly enhanced with federal funds. Outside of early funding for simple sanitary facilities and fire pits, in 1925 the national USFS received its first specific allotment for campground development. The *USFS History of Recreational Development 1871 – 1942* tells us that in the early thirties, funding was increased by the Franklin D. 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... 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.*

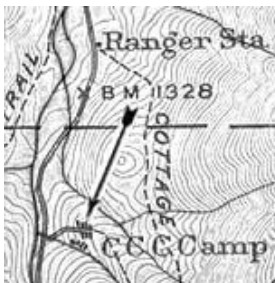
*The Service now saw its role as providing all structures convenient and necessary to National Forest visitors, including bathhouses, picnic shelters and the like... the Forest Service would also strive to design and locate those facilities in aesthetically pleasing ways.”*

Entering the thirties, Dolly Copp camping facilities were about to be further enhanced. In the 1932 Report of the NH Forestry Commission the WMNF Supervisor reports: *“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 have been installed, refuse collection and incinerating systems have been established, and efficient camp police are continually in service throughout the busy summer months.”*

Using newly available and low cost Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) labor, 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 of interest is the *“Appalachian Mountain Club’s store adjoining its lodge {1920} at Pinkham Notch Camp.”*

The 1942 text also states *“At the Dolly Copp Campground, the Service erected a log-framed picnic shelter {1936} with a massive stone fireplace 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.”*

In total 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 1834 Site #2 building being used since the mid-teens as the Peabody River Ranger Station, and located across the Martins Location township line, in Greens Grant.



*At left CCC Camp Peabody on 1937 US Geological Survey Map;  
Camp Peabody in operation; volunteers at Joe Dodge Center here today*

As CCC Camp Peabody was established on land with a significant slope, it had no previous use as a pioneer farm site. The location remains active today as the Appalachian Mountain Club’s Camp Dodge Volunteer Center, so named to honor Joe Dodge of AMC Pinkham Notch fame.

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 Kilkenny in Berlin that opened in 1933. Kilkenny labor built the Administration Building in 1934. Labor from the newer 1935 and directly proximate CCC Camp Peabody completed the remaining work at Dolly Copp.

According to the *First CCC District 1937 Annual Report* “the work projects of **Peabody Camp {known as the 1126<sup>th</sup> Company}** are practically all recreational developments within the White Mountain National Forest. 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.



**1126<sup>th</sup> Company** at 1936 Gorham Centennial – courtesy of Gorham Historical Society

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.”

And this nearby emergency: “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 snow-slide 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.”

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.”



Early **Big Meadow** from the Bob Rich Collection;  
right **Cummings Family** tunes up auto under the Imp

In 1934 University of New Hampshire forestry experts 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.”*

Both CCC Camp Kilkenny and CCC Camp Peabody had brief tenures, closing in 1937. The Moose Brook CCC Camp in Gorham stayed open until 1939. Then during World War Two Camp Peabody briefly reopened as a conscientious objectors’ work camp, providing additional low cost labor of use to the USFS.



*View north at **CCC workers aside new barriers** for Copp South Field, entrance to End Loop on left, George Brackett’s landmark “Old Tree” still there in 2021 – at right Play Field just created – barrier signals no more driving on to this field to camp!*

An undated Forest Service memo near 1939 on the decade 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...”*

*Picnic Ground: 1 large picnic shelter with stone fireplace and tables, 2 parking areas, spring development, 1 stone fireplace, 22 picnic units with tables and fireplaces. Corners at the junction of one of the camp roads with the Pinkham B Road {aka main campground road} were highlighted and graded for safety.... Seventy feet of new wooden guard rails were installed.”*

Betterments noted as still needed: *“Highlighting or otherwise safeguarding other corners at junctions of camp roads with the Pinkham B Road; plantations and creation of additional barriers to protect areas; filling in gullies to prevent mud holes; restoring fire grates and building additional horse shoe courts which were in heavy demand this year.”*

### **1-3B. COMMENTS ON THE TIMES**

Former Campground host John Hamlin of Maryland had grown up in Gorham, graduating with the Gorham 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.’”*

Early camper George Brackett relates that the typical method for early camp site refrigeration was to buy ice in Gorham and place it in a wooden crate placed in a hole dug at the camp site. Covered with canvas, food would then be preserved in a primitive but effective cooler.

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



Remembered from the thirties, Ranger Benedict as supervisor 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. His replacement Ranger Smith “Smitty” was also long remembered. Such as by a woman well into her nineties visiting the obscure Site #4 water supply source Bob Cook and I ran into there in October of 2015.



*In-ground refrigeration in 1929; vehicle in tall grass in 1931*

Also according to George Brackett 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.”*

How did campers place their tents in proximity without friction when space was short, as they did not have the definitive site boundaries of today as a guide? George recalls: “*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.*”

Back in the thirties E. Libby & Son still ran a general store in Gorham near Route 16. 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** (photo) recalls that some campers were allowed to leave their heavier camping gear in storage at this store at no charge for the winter.

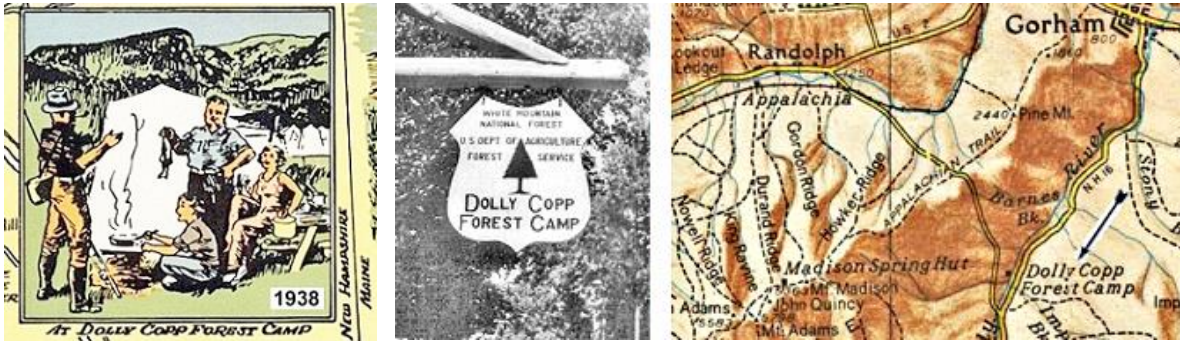


D. B. Wight on year 1936: “*Gorham merchants were now greatly benefited by the Dolly Copp Camp Ground during the summer months. Over 7,000 campers stayed there during the year and most all of them came to Gorham to do their shopping.*” Significant contributions by campers to the area economy continue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

John 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.

In 1938 the New Hampshire State Planning and Development Commission released a booklet extolling the State’s major public recreation areas. 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...*”

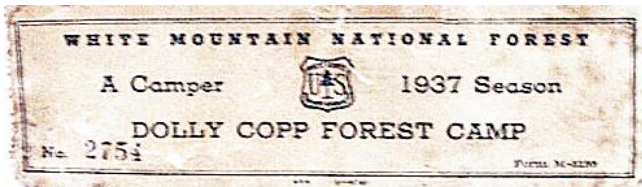
*Forty thousand people registered here during the summer of 1937. An excellent system of gravel roads makes the camping spots readily accessible. Dolly Copp Spring, on the picnic side of the river, not only supplies good, cold drinking water but also carries a long, historical background.”*



The U. S. Forest Service had its own tourist literature in **1938**, including a fold out map of the entire Forest - of the eight photos included, two were scenes at **"Dolly Copp Forest Camp"** - for a period in the 1930s. names of all Forest campgrounds were revised to **"Forest Camp"**; note early **Appalachian Trail** was still routed across Pine Mountain \*

\* The relocation to today's trail routing was envisioned by travel author William Tegg writing 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 Tuckerman's}, 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."* Hat policy has changed since then, a reservation system introduced for most of the Campground in 1988. The 1940 USFS report *Forest Outings* provides end of decade perspective on Forest Service sponsored camping. As 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."*



*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."*

From the 1940 *Instructions for the Operation of Dolly Copp Forest Camp*: *"Parking Areas-Replace barriers and install new ones where necessary, such barriers to consist of boulders buried to make difficult to remove, or plantations, rather than logs."*

We see from this that the wooden guard rails so abundant in thirties photos were to be replaced with large boulders, many of which remain. The result of so much upgrading in the thirties was that by 1940, Dolly Copp Campground had attained the basic layout we see today.

### 1-3C. CAMPERS ASSOCIATION

A 1980 unsigned memo preserved in the Androscoggin USFS file paces the origin of the Dolly Copp Campers 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."



At left standing front center **Cheri Stephanian** as teen with CCCs, still a camper at DC in 2010 – Campers Association member's **car window sticker** courtesy of Bob Craig

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 group that emerged a few years later and continued until 1958."

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."

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."

A reference in Forest Service correspondence of 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 Two 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." After the demise of the Association in 1958 the USFS maintained the Saturday night dances until 1968, open to the general public.

Yours truly was at the last dance of that 1968 season. A few years earlier, high school seniors, we rode up from Reading, Massachusetts on Route 125 and then Route 16 just to attend the Dolly Copp Saturday evening dance, returning by midnight, my unsuspecting parents none the wiser; teen brain at work.

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 a 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."

With interstate and other highway improvements reducing travel time to the White Mountains, and with the 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 introduced in 1958 was the USFS response, continuing to this day.



That action broke the back of an association built around the interests of entire summer season occupancy of a site. Perhaps it is no coincidence that 1958 also marked the return of management to USFS from the AMC, the crowding problem having developed during the fifties but the scope of AMC maintenance not including consideration of such a policy change.

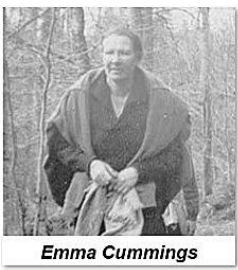
From the USFS press release statement on the new time limit: *“The free Dolly Copp Campground in the Pinkham Notch section of the White Mountain National Forest should be available to all who wish to make use of it for camping purposes, and its choice sites not monopolized for extended periods by the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

Continuing, *“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, saw the early days and spent most summers at Dolly Copp. She was a tireless worker, volunteering to manage many group activities.



Emma Cummings



*The Cummings camping tradition continues - as of 2020  
left to right June Deblois, Diana Chamberlin, Emma's daughter  
Margery Cummings Towne, Marge Kennard and Carolyn Cummings Kennard*



When Emma was forced to interrupt her summers by the two-week limit in 1958 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 an interim before returning for another two weeks in Dolly Copp.

### 1-3D. HOME SITE MEMORIAL

The emotional heart of the Campground today, the Copp homestead was never so overgrown or forgotten as to obscure its status as a landmark. It was included on the 1915 USFS Sketch Map; a 1919 reference to old turnpikes in New England records the Copp's abandoned cellar hole that year.

Expert Sarah Jordan of the USFS: *"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."*



*View south at Copp home near 1910 and same perspective today*

Then a Forest Service memo of 1927 makes reference to *"the old Dolly Copp place."* 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 a 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."*

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."*

*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 excerpts from 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**

An archive in the Smithsonian Museum states that "Funds for the memorial were raised by campers at the Dolly Copp Campground, assisted by members of the Gorham Women's Club." Reported in the Gorham newspaper of 8/8/1933, the names of participants will be of interest to their descendants:

Arlen Richardson President of the Gorham Woman's Club, President of the Gorham Rotary Club John Audley, Mary Stevens, C. A. Walker, Mable Wight, Augusta Ryan, Mabel Hamlin, Lilla Barnett, Isabelle Edwards, Helen Philbrook, Geraldine Audley and Hazel Laffin.

From a news account of 8/8/1933: "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."



The **bronze plaque** has been registered with the Smithsonian Institution \* as a significant example of American outdoor art.

\* "The information provided about this artwork was compiled as part of the Smithsonian American Art Museum's Inventories of American Painting and Sculpture database. Bronze plaque bearing a bas-relief medallion depicting the homestead of Hayes and Dolly Copp. The plaque is mounted to the front of a natural-form boulder, possibly granite. Date installed 1932-1933, dedicated Aug. 30, 1933, sculptor Albert Oertel, foundry T. F. McGann & Sons Company, control number IAS NH000446."

From the 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, Mass. Church of Our Saviour Episcopal, then in Manchester, NH; a Harvard graduate}, 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."

## HONOR MEMORY OF DOLLY COPP

Plan Monument to Pioneer  
Wife at Campgrounds  
Named for Her 1933

GORHAM, Aug. 8.—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 Hamlin, 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 was largely an “over-reaction” to the then unrecognized embellishment of the Copp legend by George Cross in 1927 is well dampened by the testimonial presence of well-regarded old timers such as Laban Watson. *“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.”*

Into the nineteen nineties, at the head of these 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:



*“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, Facebook serves the need for some Dolly Copp camper communication.

**Casey Hodgson** (photo) recalls that in the early sixties some remnants of the home site ruins were smoothed over. *“The ruins had more color and romance before they were spruced up in the sixties”*, he said.

A 1927 USFS photo shows **Dolly's Butternut Tree** here. Historian George Cross also wrote of it standing on the north side of the homesite in 1927. From a Dolly Copp Campers Association newsletter in 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.”*



Updated, durable informational displays were added to the Memorial site in May of 2008, replacing aging wooded displays. USFS staff member and longtime Campground advocate and history contributor **Marianne Leberman** symbolically tightened the first installation bolt, a well-deserved honor (Marianne had previously served as a USFS Snow Ranger in Tuckerman and Huntington Ravines).

The USFS staff was aware of some the post-George Cross reality by 2008 when it included the following on the new Copp home site information panels: *“An imaginative 1927 story romanticized the tale of eccentric characters struggling to settle ‘the forest primeval’ about one hundred years earlier. When George Cross wrote his book in 1927 it was not unusual to embellish and dramatize sparse facts. The tale entertained us for years.*



At left **Memorial Info Panels**, photos courtesy of John Compton of Bethlehem, NH; at right **Marianne Leberman** at Centennial Spiral Dedication

**The facts tell another story.** Records reveal that rather than settling in the legend's ‘isolated forest primeval’, the Copsps were one of at least six families settled in Martins Location along the Pinkham Road” (that Hayes was part of the Pinkham Family settlement pattern was not yet known).

From my point of view and that of others I have talked to, the 2008 assessment is overly deflating, concluding as it does “the facts tell another story.” When the informational displays are next updated a more positive tone could reinvigorate the validity of Copp folklore. Some positive facts have surfaced that amply validate the more traditional, admiring views. For example:

--- Hayes and Dolly are the poster children for New England’s history of multiple generations migrating to a moving northern frontier. Their migration routes are documented in their newly available biographies herein.

--- The kinship ties between the six early Peabody Valley settlers are now known, not so in 2008. These were Daniel Pinkham next door **1830-1836**, and his pioneering daughters and relative Hayes Copp. The surrounding, closely linked Pinkhams become a critical adjunct to the Dolly Copp story.

--- Until recently we knew generally that Dolly showed the Imp to tourists, but there were no detailed descriptions. These have surfaced:

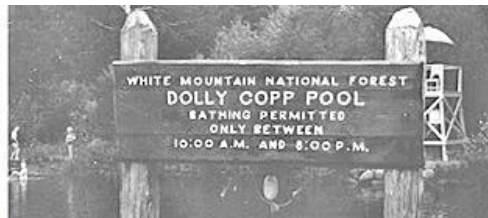
From *A Day in the Pinkham Notch* in the **1852 Boston Literary Journal**, describing the Imp: “You will find this Old Man, however, not half so great a curiosity as the old woman who shows him. She has lived in the house which stands at the best point of view to see him for a quarter of a century.... 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 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.*” A further remark from this 1853 reference I find the most colorful: “**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.”

--- Praise for industrious Hayes in **1861** by great orator and Senate Chaplain Edward Everett Hale: While visiting upper class England, Hale proclaims “*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.*”

--- Dolly’s 3500-word **1861** story told to great nineteenth century author **Louisa May Alcott** has some colorful words of advice: “*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.*”



### 1-3E. SWIMMING POOL

A swimming pool, recharged by flow diverted from nearby Culhane Brook, 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 raised lifeguard observation post was on the north side.



The Pool was primarily used by children. Camper Stuart Smith remembers campers at the edge of the watercourse leading down to the Pool placed food in containers and submerged them in the water.

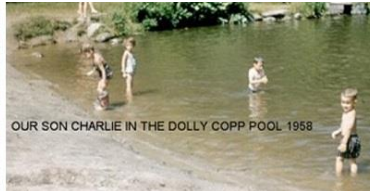
The siting of the pool created an unanticipated parking problem, revealed in the rules of 1936: *“Parking of automobiles along the Pinkham B Road or along the camp drives by users of the swimming pool is prohibited.”* The low roadside log barriers near the Pool and along adjacent Swimming Pool Drive 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.



*View west near log-fenced swimming pool*

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.”* But its 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.”*

Casey Hodgdon recalls that in the early fifties there were no lifeguards at the pool. Long time camper Elsie Ashworth comments: *“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 family in 2015, at **totem pole** with sisters; at **swimming pool** in 1958

Facility manager Belvin Barnes cites lack of life

guard staff as a key reason for closure a few years later. After 1958 it was not filled 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.

### 1-3F. ADMINISTRATION BUILDING

We treasure today’s rustic 1934 Visitor Center, originally known as the Administration Building, as a hallowed Campground feature. But some campers in the early thirties did not want a building of any kind plucked down amidst the bucolic old farm field setting.

Just attend the meetings of your municipal zoning commission: neighbors often express fierce opposition to anything new. 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 the 1931 opinion survey described earlier – for many in the thirties Dolly Copp was for “roughing it”, early Forest Service style.

**Administration Building** almost complete - from a period post card

In spite of the grumbling, this now venerated meeting hall was built in 1934 by CCC workers on what had been popular camp site area. Up until that time staff administration was located in the now one-hundred-year-old {built 1834} “Samuel Copp - Bellows House – Glen Cottage - Libby Logging - Ranger Station” building out on Route 16 south of the bridge.

The Administration Building was placed at the entrance to the Campground as its entrance was configured in 1934, finding itself at the extreme back end after the Campground entry was relocated about a mile north in 1950. This is not a bad thing for campers – the building's environs today are more pedestrian friendly.



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

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 old road along the west side of the building was relocated westerly by 1939, adding lawn and greenery to the setting, the 1940 campground map reflecting the just-completed relocation.

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 visible in the woods today. The structure was lit with gas lanterns before electricity arrived in the mid-sixties.

A USFS informational display accompanied 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 are **Danielle Rugg** and to her right sister **Michelle**; preserved **totem pole** at center

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.”*

Also in this section of the Campground, just to the north at the edge of the Play Field is an unused capped well. According to Brad Ray it never produced much water and so was abandoned as a supply source.

### 1-3G. PICNIC SHELTER

Today’s rustic Picnic Shelter was completed in 1936. A petition that year 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 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 Administration Building as heretofore.”*



Praise from a 1989 USFS archaeological assessment of the Visitor Center and the 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.”* But by the early nineties, the Shelter had fallen into disrepair, and in 1993 was officially closed and to be razed.

Belvin Barnes was then a leader of a grassroots movement calling for its restoration rather than demolition. He found in his attic the original architectural plans dated 7/22/1935. Those documents, his and other’s advocacy, including strong support from the Town of Gorham, induced the Forest Service to restorative action in 1996.

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 during the restoration, the USFS providing a temporary 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 1936 CCC crew was added. The group took pride in its thirties era construction techniques.



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. Note also that the Pavilion is available for rent for family gatherings, wedding receptions or other group events.

### 1-3H. COMMUNAL FIRE AND WOOD

Eleanor Eells in her history of camping documents group campfire facilities at many early camping areas. The east side Copp Spring Campground had its “Great Fireplace” by 1919. Today’s west side campground has such a communal fire place inside the 1934 Visitor Center. A second open air pit version was built by the CCC outside and north of the building, since relocated southeast.

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: *"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."*



Life long camper and now knowledgeable campground host Bob Cook says there was then no communal campfire for many years, that in the early seventies a new communal campfire was built southeast of the Visitor Center, still in use today. Obtaining wood for their camp fire is a ritual for the camper. To assist, by 1940 the USFS had placed seven fuelwood yards around Dolly Copp. From the 1940 administrative guidelines:

*"Provide four-foot split wood in central yards designated by the District Ranger with saw horses and chopping blocks. Each year they shall be stocked to capacity at the beginning of the season."* Bob Brown recalls that for decades after, the resulting enriched soil at these locations was a good source of worms as bait for Peabody fishing.

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 yards were at the south end of End Loop, between Imp View Lane and Midway Lane, at the center of High Woods, at the top of Brook Loop, in the Gravel Pit, and two fuel wood yards 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.



*Caption reads "July 1939 around campfire at Dolly Copp campsite on a very, very cold night"*

The 1951 brochure states: *"Wood at random lengths is provided at a central wood yard. Campers must cut their wood in the wood yard, using their own tools for the purpose. It is not to be worked up at the camp site. 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.

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

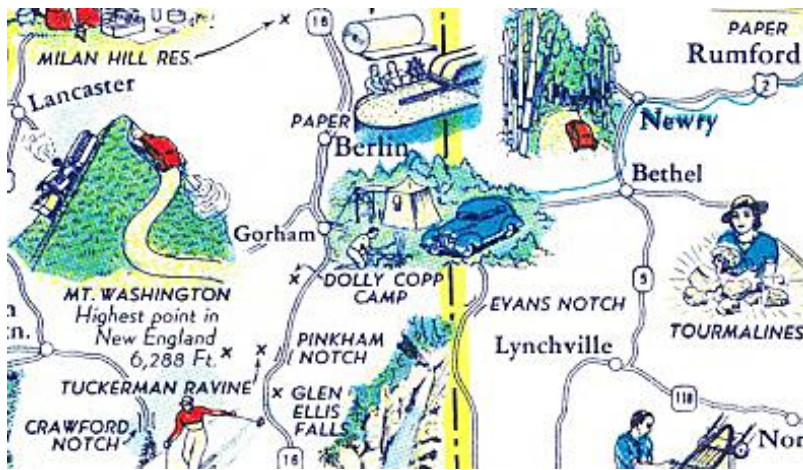
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## 2. CAMPGROUND FROM 1940

*"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 author Eleanor Eells 1986





Excerpt from 1941 Esso Gas Map (early name for Exxon)

## 2-1. WORLD WAR II AND 1940S

### 2-1A. WARTIME ADJUSTMENTS

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

According to the USFS file 1980 unsigned memo "World War Two 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."



### Dolly Copp Spring

Evidence of closing is 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 {12/1/1942} 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.

Yet this 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.



The **Fitzgerald Family** remain camping today, **Barbara Reynolds** (photo) in 2020: "that is my family, 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!"



.....

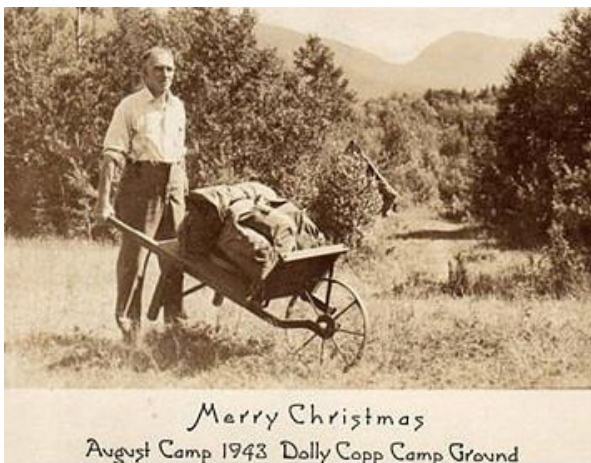
*This is of especial significance to parties expecting telegrams or telephone calls. Only emergency calls or telegrams should be addressed to Dolly Copp campers.... Camp areas must be policed by the users. Wood is not available this year on the area, but those wishing to cut their own wood may do so 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."*

## 2-1B. ACTIVITY TIMELINE

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.*



*Please do not dress up, as old sport clothes are the proper attire for Danbury. Please remember that Danbury is only a three-hour drive from Boston... Here's hoping you will be among those present to make it an overflowing Dolly Copp reunion! Your fellow camper, Bob Gaffney."*

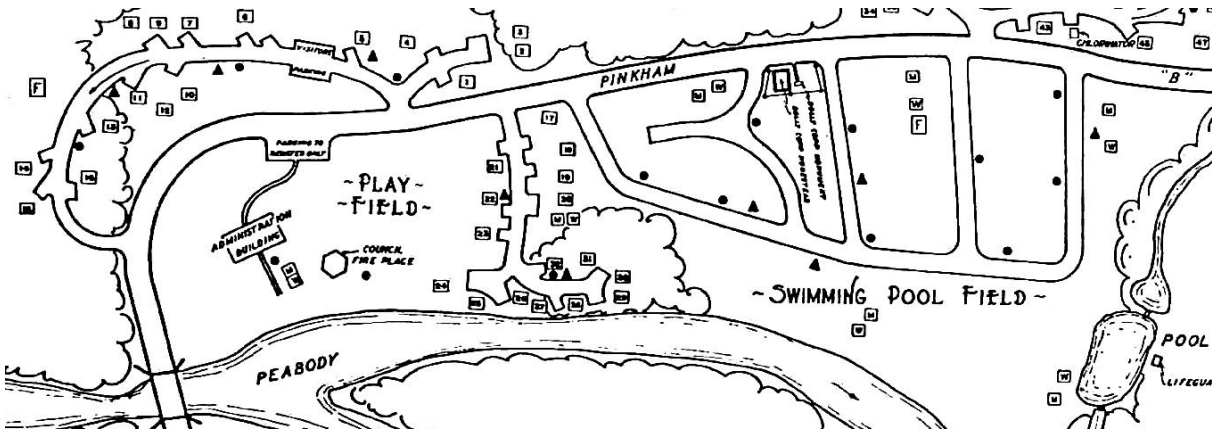
Then written on the bottom, writer unidentified: "We intended to go but were afraid we would not have gas enough, so gave it up as it was so far. Wish it had been near here." Sounds like World War Two gas rationing.

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 year or so."

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."



look at national camping trends finds a period of growth in the number of campers after World War Two. Reasons included pent up demand for recreation, the advent of the baby boom generation, and camping's increase in popularity as a summer vacation.



Excerpt from **1940 Campground Map**

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.”

A **1947** USFS memo sees 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 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 this **1949** list of suggestions from the 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 sites.... The rule should be enforced 100%.”

*Enforcement of the unattended tent situation: It is a known fact that many campers believe that once they set their tent up early in the season on a very desirable camp site, that they can usurp that site for the remainder of the season and leave their tent for a week at a time and return only on weekends. Oftentimes they do not return for a month or more. This situation is getting to be quite a problem and will continue to worsen if it isn't remedied as it is evident that our population will be greater from now on.”*



At left **praise for Campground**; center **Red Sox carving** by long time camper Jay Milliken, at right die hard Campground fans

Speaking of the period **1947-49**, Betsy Kent of Jackson recalls that on occasion the Campground could be overcrowded and loud: *“Some nights there were as many as 1800-2000 campers, many coming down from Berlin.”* The employee newsletter for the Brown Company in Berlin continued during this period, the edition of September 6, **1949** included news of employees visiting Dolly Copp:

*“Many Brown Company people have been spending their nice evenings going to Dolly Copp camp grounds for their supper. Adam Lavernoich’s ‘Bachelor’s Quarters’ at Dolly Copp were taken over by some of the girls from the Tabulating Department {names given}. A really good time was had. They were real outdoor campers. Other girls who have been spending weekends at Dolly Copp are Rita Richards, Adeline Arsenault, Lorraine Maroise and Doris Vaillancourt. Some of the girls were pledged to the Bachelor’s Club and others to the Chicken Club at Dolly Copp.”*

AMC history reports a great increase in White Mountain recreation immediately following World War Two. Nationally, there was a postwar spike in mountain climbing, affecting camp site demand here adjacent to the challenging Carter – Moriah and Presidential Ranges. From the July **1952** American Legion Magazine: *“Now at times there are as many as 300 tents and trailers in place on the Dolly Copp Farm. In 1949 the use of this camp reached an all-time high: an estimated 70,000 ‘camper days.’”*

*Dolly Copp Mayor is quite a guy*



**MAYOR OF DOLLY COPP**—Fred Hanson, 82, at left, is seen with the honorary title at camp of Dolly Copp. The title and the right were the gift of fellow campers. In the photo at right, Fred Hanson is seen with his wife, Mrs. Hanson.

#### Honorary title

**DOLLY COPP** CAMPERS—Fred Hanson, 82, at left, is seen with the honorary title at camp of Dolly Copp. The title and the right were the gift of fellow campers. In the photo at right, Fred Hanson is seen with his wife, Mrs. Hanson.

Also from the 1952 Legion Magazine: *“William H. Robinson {on 1949 Troubadour Magazine cover} of South Weymouth, Mass. is serving his sixth consecutive term as head of the Association and ‘Mayor’ of Dolly Copp camp.”* The mayoral tradition is again reflected in a bronze badge stating *“Mayor of Dolly Copp - Henry F. Meyer - 1951.”* In 1982 there was a Berlin Reporter feature on the then honorary mayor of Dolly Copp, 82 year old Fred Hanson of Billerica Mass. (photo). He camped near the north end of Riverside Drive.

## 2-2. 1950S AND LATER

### 2-2A. ENTRANCE RELOCATED

Since its settlement in the 1820s there has been a crossing of the Peabody River in Martins Location. It created the only intersection of thru roads in the Peabody Valley, providing an exit northwesterly. In 1950 the bridge is relocated, providing a new entrance into Dolly Copp Campground.

That year there was a complete reorientation of vehicular access entering the Campground from Route 16. The river crossing since about 1860 had been at the south end, and circa 1830 even further south. A 1946 Forest Service memo refers to the bridge relocation plan:

*“I explained to Mr. Robinson my desire to relocate the Pinkham B Road so as to eliminate the State highway running through Dolly Copp, and I believe he was in hearty accord.”* The state highway was the Old Pinkham Road, today the main campground road.

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 the plan eliminates thru traffic.

*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.”

A 1949 USFS summary of the presentation of the proposal to the State Highway Commission and Governor Sherman Adams {honored nearby in 1980 thru the naming of Mount Washington’s 1980 Sherman Adams Summit Building}: *“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.*

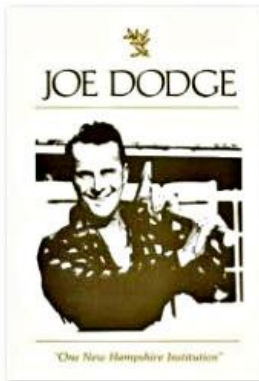
*The next alternative is to cut across a spur road, which in itself is not particularly difficult but would involve a pretty expensive bridge.”* It was the new bridge that got the Governor’s nod, crossing the Peabody to the north and then west thru the old Barnes Farm. From the June 1950 edition of *Appalachia Magazine*: *“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.*

*Entering westerly off of Route 16, the 1950 bridge over the Peabody is crossed*



*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.**”*

Thanks to Governor Adams, not after 1950. Progress is seen in a 1950 memo from the Forest Supervisor to the 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 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 camp worker Chris Van Curan that for a period during 1950 and 1951 both old and new bridges were in service at the same time.

According to Casey Hodgson, with the bridge gone the habits of drivers on 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.”*

## 2-2B. AMC MANAGEMENT

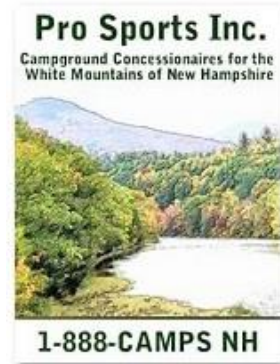
A tight postwar budget was noted in Forest Service memos from 1946 and 1947, that it might be inevitable that Dolly Copp be run on a concession basis. Long time camper Nancy Birch recalls the worry by her family at this time, that the public nature of the Campground might be compromised thereby. Casey Hodgson says 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 campground 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.”

*Dolly Copp today is operated for the USFS by popular Pro Sports Inc.*

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.”

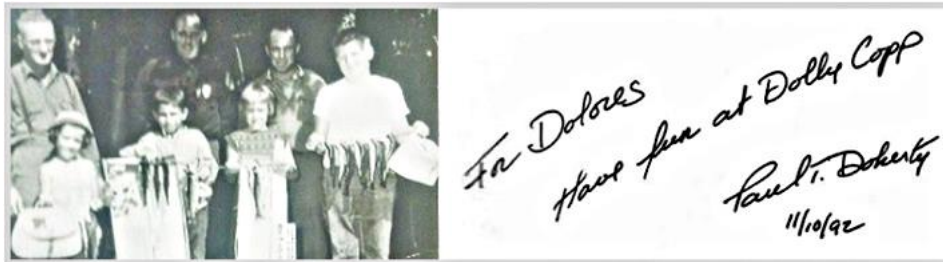


The AMC operated Dolly Copp under a five-year contract. A letter of 7/21/1954 from the Campers Association to the Forest Supervisor expresses approval: “The AMC is doing a splendid job. The young men in charge are very well liked. We are so happy that they now have nice living quarters.”

From *Joe Dodge, One New Hampshire Institution* 1986 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} 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**.’”*



At left **Children’s Fishing Derby** at Swimming Pool in 1954, top row from left Almon Farrar, **Paul Doherty** and one other; winners bottom row from left George and Bernie Brackett’s daughter Barbara, boy, Kathy Heath, another boy - At right **Paul Doherty** autographs his book *Smoke from a Thousand Camp Fires* for camper Dolores Chew, wishing her “Have fun at Dolly Copp,” advice she has followed!

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.*”



Brown Company of Berlin **Golden Age Club** in 1957  
at Picnic Pavilion – Photos courtesy of Plymouth State University



The organizational 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." Excerpts:

*"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}. 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.*

*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 off Route 16 having just moved north}.*

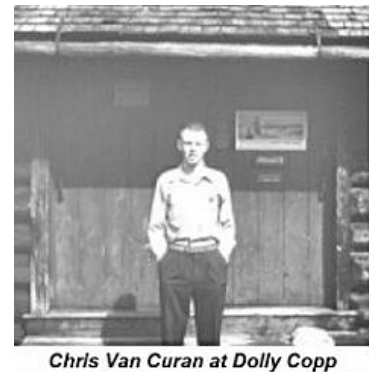
*As we approached the gate, I noticed a huge bear strung out on a pole high up in a tree. Boy! What an introduction!" After Hiram gutted out the bear, he proceeded to display it at the entry way to the Dolly Copp Campground. The bear did not last long there. Joe ordered it out of there — it would scare 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 to 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 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.*

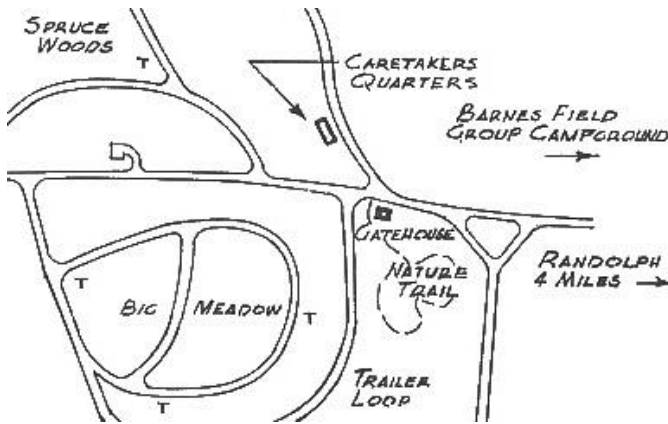
*Some campers lived locally in Gorham or Berlin and commuted to work to one of the pulp and paper mills in Cascade or Berlin and spent the entire summer at Dolly Copp. We had to keep out the "non-resident" campers — the crowd from Berlin and Gorham who were looking for trouble, some nights a difficult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



Chris Van Curan at Dolly Copp

*Continuing, "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** provided to arriving campers included 1962 Trailer Loop, Caretakers Quarters, and pre-1966 small Gatehouse area and 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.”*

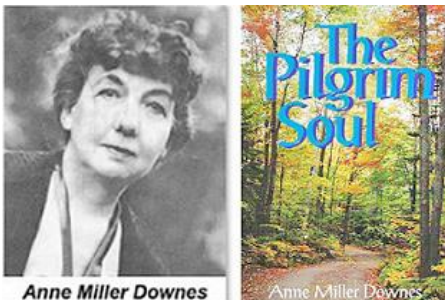
## 2-2C. AUTHOR VISITS, FIRST REHABILITATION

In 1952 author Anne Miller Downes completed her historic fiction account 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 some creative insights on Dolly, Downes mostly reconstructed Dolly’s world based on the 1927 George Cross account, all that was available in 1952. Casey Hodgdon remembers Mrs. Downes research visits to the Campground, noting she was not herself a camper so lodged nearby. Downes’ book was reprinted in 1997 by Durand Press and is an enjoyable read.

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 Copps retire, together, into their home.”*



By 1951 part of the now historic Pinkham Road through the Campground was 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.

Paving of the smaller camp roads proceeded in the fifties. According to the campground manager at that time Belvin Barnes the side spurs and loops were all paved by 1960. A *Manchester Union Leader* article on 8/13/1958 sheds light on the inventory of camp sites at that time: “*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.*”



Belvin Barnes confirms 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 camp siting arrangement documented on the 1940 map was largely unchanged thru 1958. The sequential numbering system we have today, beginning nearest the entrance at the north end, was put in place after the 1951 opening of the new, north end, entrance.



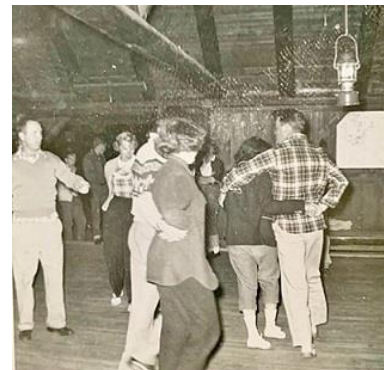
Left **Brian, Melissa, Caleb and Emily Craig**, part of a family at Dolly Copp since 1924 – right **Betsy Bodien** checks in, commenting in 2020: “I recall that moment very well - it had been a long drive from North Carolina and the cool mountain air felt wonderful!”

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.”*

Evidence of site reorganization at Dolly Copp is seen 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 – making Dolly Copp mirror a well treed low density suburb.

My friend Bob’s mother Dorothy Brown remembered that by the late fifties sites had fallen into disrepair and that there was concern for overuse. Long time camper George Brackett also recalls these conditions and the site reorganization that followed. 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.”*



Left Dolly Copp late fifties **tightly packed tents**; right **fifties dance in**

*Recreation Hall - Dance photo contributed 2020 by Ruthie Arvanian Bowler*

*Ruthie 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. I think there were two brothers with the last name Auger that would entertain in the early fifties" - Casey Hodgson recalled battery powered record players for dances in the fifties*

Belvin 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."* The problems at Dolly Copp were again confirmed 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."*

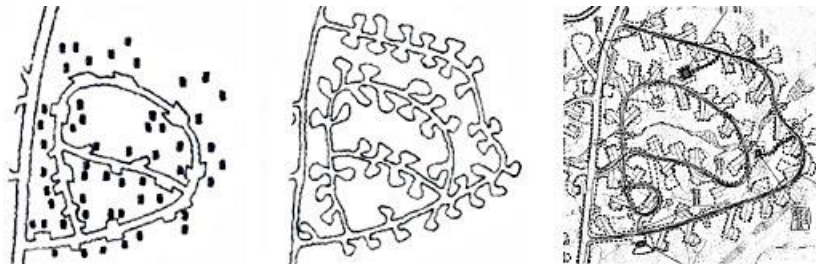
Confirming that popularity, in 1960 and 1961 brochures were produced by the New Hampshire State Planning and Development Commission listing all public and private camping facilities in the state. Both featured Dolly Copp Campground on their covers.

Memories of this period were recorded by camper Dorothy Shouldis for the 1996 75<sup>th</sup> 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."*

As part of the rehabilitation, Big Meadow had the distinction of being the section with the largest single post World War Two addition in the Campground. This was the construction near 1962 of what was referred to in its first years as the "Trailer Loop," a new, outer circumferential road, encompassing the older late thirties Big Meadow roadway circulation.

A USFS Campground map from the early sixties included the notation "**Trailer Loop**" so it was something more than an informal term, and 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 Configuration** in 1940, with **Trailer Loop** added by 1965, and as circulation **further improved** by 2020 rehabilitation



Brad Ray of the USFS 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."* He places the construction in the early to mid-sixties. In time the separate identity of the Trailer Loop faded and was merged into that of the Big Meadow. Bob Brown says the loop addition was popular with all campers, those with tents as well as trailers. The reason was that trailers were squeezing into small sites where they could not easily fit, causing annoyance in tent sections.

Casey Hodgdon recalled that electric service reached Dolly Copp in 1965. The main electric power line in this part of the Peabody Valley runs through the forest parallel to Route 16 on its eastern side. Restrooms in Dolly Copp receive their electricity without overhead wires, distribution in underground conduits.

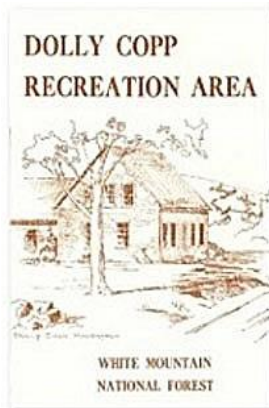


For decades drinking water was drawn from a surface water impoundment on Culhane Brook, near the back end of Brook Loop. Dam remnants are still visible. The dam was featured on a **thirties post card** (photo). Belvin Barnes recalls that plans in 1958 were for that surface water supply to be abandoned and replaced by higher quality groundwater wells, a goal accomplished by the early sixties rehabilitation.



George Brackett said that a spring in a rock face on the east side of Route 16 on the drive to Gorham was also 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."*

Then from a USFS report in 1963: *"The water system at Dolly Copp Campground was completely rebuilt {as it was again 2018-2019}. Drilling of two wells and installation of distribution lines will supply the new flush toilets planned for construction next spring."* Bob Cook remembers: *"Many campers were against the installation of flush toilets, as they thought they would bring in the riffraff, kept out until then by the hardship."*



**Brochures** distributed upon arrival

Twelve modern restroom buildings were installed, distributed to maximize pedestrian 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 {replaced in turn during the latest rehabilitation}, 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 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."*

## 2-2D. SECOND REHABILITATION

Getting back to our timeline, the plan for the 2017-2020 Campground rehabilitation was contained in a **2009** USFS report entitled *Dolly Copp Campground Rehabilitation Project*, released by former USFS Androscoggin District Ranger **Katie Stuart** (photo below).

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.*



*The eastern side of the main road {the pioneers more level farm land} naturally provides for more highly developed sites and facilities while the western side {the pioneers 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.*

*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.”*

## 2-2E. THANKS AND MORE

The late **Russell Hodgson**, who lived from 1937 to 2002, had his nickname Casey bestowed by the legendary Joe Dodge. An avid student of local histories, Casey worked in Dolly Copp during the AMC years and knew its historic remnants well. My introduction to him was a series of fortunate coincidences, I felt afterwards fated to happen. Casey loved the idea of a Campground history, participated generously, resulting in over forty valuable observations attributed to him herein.



Guest Casey delivers **WMTW TV** weather in 1961

Casey’s contributions reflect Gorham historian Nathaniel Tuckerman True’s words: *“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.”* For more on Casey, his biography was included in the 2012 book *Mountain Voices* by Doug Mayer and Rebecca Oreskes.

.....

Lifelong Dolly Copp camper **George Brackett** lived from 1925 to 2012. I met him at the Campground’s 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration. Right away he was a willing mentor to my then embryonic campground history hobby. George and his wife Bernice graciously inviting Dolores and I to their Randolph, NH home. Besides the friendship developed, the result is his thirty observations quoted herein.

A broadly active man, George was the Past President of the Gorham Rotary Club, a Town of Randolph selectman, and a member of the White Mountain Post 2520 VFW.

As a small child in the late nineteen twenties, George remembered tents pitched all along the east bank, not just the west bank of the Peabody. He was a youthful eyewitness to the expansion of camping across the bridge from the limited field on the Route 16 side. George in 1996:





*"We can all agree that there is something special about Dolly Copp Campground. And the friendships formed there have lasted me a lifetime!"*

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Descending from an early camping family, **Robert Cook Jr.** has a long association with Dolly Copp Campground. A friend of many years, he has made significant contributions to this history. At critical junctures, Bob used his connections with USFS staff, resulting in enrichment of the data base.



Bob also provides a morale boost for my writing when spirits flagged. As Albert Schweitzer says, *"at times our own light goes out and is rekindled by a spark from another person. Each of us has cause to think with deep gratitude of those who have lighted the flame within us."*



Comment by fellow 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!*

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I was most fortunate to be introduced to **Randall Bennett**, Executive Director of the Museums of the Bethel, Maine Historical Society. A professional in historical research and White Mountains art, a published author, Randy immediately contributed resources on the Peabody Valley I would never have known about. He has helped other researchers in this way as well.



Notable works: 1987 *Oxford County Maine: A Guide to Its Historic Architecture*; 1991 *Bethel, Maine: An Illustrated History*; 1994 *Images of America Series: The White Mountains*; 2003 *The White Mountains: Alps of New England*.

In 1882 Nathaniel Tuckerman True wrote a history of Gorham as a series of newspaper articles. Of great value to this research, that information was essentially unusable until organized, edited and reissued in book form by Randy in 1998; *The History of Gorham New Hampshire*.

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I owe much, the origins of the project really, to my friend since 1959 **Robert Brown**. His parents Oliver and Dorothy Brown descended from 1920s Dolly Copp campers, Bob introducing me to Dolly Copp in 1962. He has been a valued mentor on 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!*

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Dave and Carol Evans

For the Dolly Copp Campground the USFS seeks a high quality of visitor experience. That task is assigned to the personable caretakers running the Campground.

These fine folks are well represented by Hosts David and Carol (Matthes) Evans, Carol's family camping at Dolly Copp since 1954.

### Related Reading

What has become an instant White Mountains classic was published in 2019: *Where the Wild River Flows* by Mildred J. Richardson, edited and annotated by her granddaughter **Caroleen "Mac" Dudley** (photo). As we in the Peabody Valley gaze east the massive Carter Range seems like an impenetrable barrier. You will enjoy discovering the Wild River Valley that lies beyond it.



Ordering information at [www.wherethewildriverflows.com](http://www.wherethewildriverflows.com) - all profits are donated to the Charitable Foundation for Trails in the Wild River Valley. The focus of Mac Dudley'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.*" And as noted elsewhere, Mildred Richardson painted the first totem pole in Dolly Copp.

As described by the Bethel, Maine Historical Society, the new Wild River book is a "*captivating true story of one family's multi-generational connection to the beautiful and unique place called the Wild River Valley. This first-person account reveals the sacrifices and special moments of early conservation pioneers in public land management in New England. Profusely illustrated with photographs and maps. 157+ pages, softcover.*"

The late **Carol Foord** lived 1944 to 2015. She educated school children throughout Maine and New Hampshire over twenty years as a teacher and naturalist. A specialty of interest to us was her captivating representation of hard working Dolly Copp. Mrs. Foord was the entertaining presenter on many occasions at the **Dolly Copp Visitor Center's** Saturday night programs.



Mrs. Foord presented Dolly's story at other locations as well: "*June 10, 2015 - Please*

**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.

*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.”*

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.”*



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

### 3. GUIDED TOUR



**Campers Paul and Karen Shiebler at left and at right – 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 the guy in 1978. We have camped there 44 out 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!”*

### 3-1. ENTRANCE AREA

#### 3-1A. BARNES BROOK, BARNES FIELD

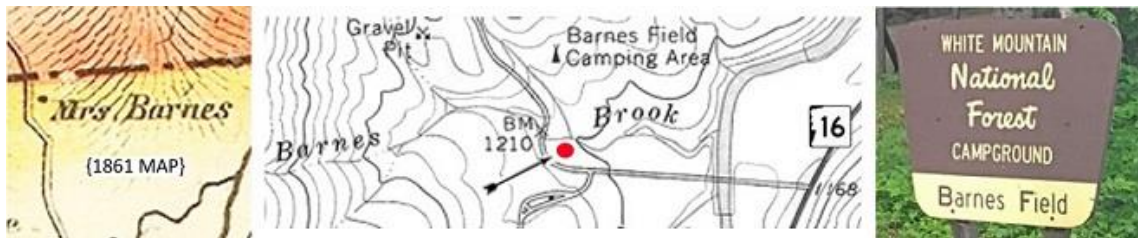
Turning off Route 16 on to the Dolly Copp Road, the landscape is relatively level. As flat land in the Peabody Valley was rare and precious to the first farmers, you can be sure that this area was in agricultural use early on, in this case part of the Site #6 Barnes Farm.



Camper at Route 16 **entrance**, view south at **bridge over Peabody**, view west to **check-in** under Mount Madison

An early mention of today's Barnes Field is in USFS correspondence of 1938, citing a "side camping area at Barnes Brook." Tourist literature that year notes that Dolly Copp had a separate group section, presumably here. There is also a reference 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 here: "The CCC Camp at Barnes Field provided carpenters, stone masons and the maintenance crews."

Perhaps with no other notable landmark nearby, the Barnes family name was utilized from its first appearance on the 1861 Walling Map. While until recently the only known map showing the location of the Barnes house was that 1861 map, the later 1865 Jackson Map, prepared with a higher degree of cartographic accuracy, and addressing several locational questions, corrects the siting to **that of the dot** on the map below.

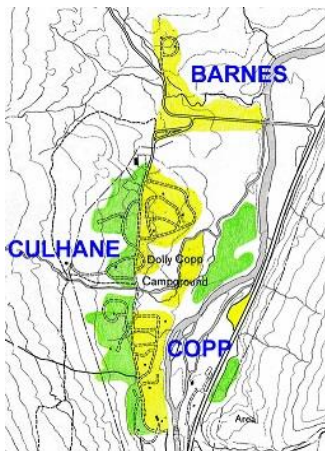


*The Barnes residency is reflected in the landscape through the naming of Barnes Brook and the later Barnes Field Campground*

There are oddities about the Barnes House location on the 1861 Walling Map. First, as other homes in the area were immediately adjacent to the Pinkham Road, why would the Barnes House be built so far back? Second, other homes were at the edge of their major agricultural tracts, the Barnes site by Walling in 1861 is in the middle of its agricultural tract, an odd location.

And third, a major tributary to Barnes Brook parallels the Pinkham Road and must be crossed to access the Walling Map's Barnes site. With other siting options available, why build where a significant water feature necessitates maintenance of a bridge? And by later standards the topography on the 1861 Walling Map is overly generalized - even Barnes Brook as the dominant landmark in the vicinity is not shown.

These concerns are all resolved on the 1865 Jackson Iron Map. Here the Barnes farm house is placed about 800 feet south of the 1861 Walling Map location. The later map also has much great validity as it was drawn as an exhibit in a court case.



As the notation "Miss Barnes Brook" appears on the 1908 AMC Cutter Map, use of that family name was not a post-1914 USFS federal decision. Then the "Miss" was deleted by a federal decision in 1935. On the advice of Casey Hodgson, Bradford Washburn added it to his non-federally funded 1988 Presidential Range Map.

The characteristic circular road loop in Barnes Field today was recorded on the 1937 USGS quadrangle map, although with a smaller radius back then. A major increase in radius was put in place circa the seventies, significantly expanding the number of large, group sized camping sites. For those seeking rustic remnants, the old outhouse sanitation system and hand drawn drinking water pump are still in use here.

### 3-1B. WORKSHOP, CREW CABIN, CHECK-IN



After passing the gate house dating from sixties, turn south on to the main campground road. Soon to be seen are the maintenance building and parking lot Casey Hodgson said date from 1966. And that *“this construction was part of a group of Forest Service projects that year, including the new gate house and the relocation of the Androscoggin Ranger Station from Downtown Gorham to a Route 16 location just south of the edge of downtown.”*



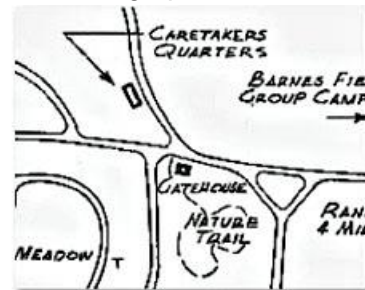
In 1996 the **Androscoggin Ranger Station** relocated further south on Route 16. The Station was dedicated on 9/28/1996 to *“the growing partnerships with the communities of the North Country.”* With its exhibition hall and educational programs, visitors are welcome and a stop by campers is worthwhile.

Continuing south into the Campground, on the west side not far up the little service road, on the left above the abandoned gravel pit, is a small nearly level area perched on a slope. A **“caretaker’s quarters”** cabin 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 notes there were bunks for the crew and parking for a few vehicles.

There was a porch on the east side with a fine view of Carter Notch, Casey Hodgson and the staff cutting a few trees to make it all the nicer. According to Casey today’s **crew cabin** (photo) further up the service road was constructed near 1990.



There is mention in 1939 USFS correspondence of an adjacent “Gravel Pit Loop,” the gravel pit still in evidence. Casey said that in the fifties, areas adjacent to the crew quarters were used for overflow and group camping, Bob Cook confirming. There was once a dirt road on the south side of the Gravel Pit running along the bottom of the slope here. It was shown on the 1915 map and then incorporated into the 1916 summer cottage plan.



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

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

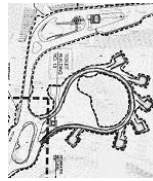


So they took a truck down to the Dolly Copp Memorial and pried out of the ground the side doorstep at what had been the back ell and **reused it as a step here** (photo). For the next 45 years that Copp doorstep was a piece of dislocated history. Then in 1998 at Casey’s urging it was returned to the Copp home foundation.

Until the cell phone era a two-unit public pay telephone, with 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 feature in so remote a winter location.

At left 2019 rehabilitation adds **Volunteer Loop** and **Dump Station**, thereby removing part of 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 River: *“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.”* Such ancient benches are also visible on the Great Gulf Link Trail south of Rangers Pool on the way to the Peabody River Pedestrian Bridge accessing the Great Gulf Wilderness trailhead parking area.



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 *“perhaps when the Forest Service took over there were complaints from campers that they could not get out in an emergency.”* A brief reinstatement of nightly locking in the eighties generated the same panic.

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

### 3-1C. NATURE AND SKI TRAILS

Casey Hodgson tells us that the long popular Dolly Copp Nature Trail, decommissioned in 2015, was constructed as a forest education 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. If you seek them out functional remnants of the Nature Trail can still be enjoyed.

USFS Snow Ranger Brad Ray places the construction of the Hayes Copp Ski Trail in 1981. The northernmost section of the Ski Trail was developed on an unimproved dirt road included on the 1937 USGS topographic map. That was likely an old logging road, its grading remaining evident today branching off the ski trail to ascend with Miss Barnes Brook.

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## 3-2. CULHANES AND NORTH FIELD





Circa 1910 view north at **Old Culhane House** courtesy of Dr. Peter Crane of the Mount Washington Observatory; Culhane house on **1915 USFS Map**

### 3-2A. PINKHAM - CULHANE HOME SITE

Proceeding south, on the right at the entrance to Spruce Woods is the site of the Culhane House. Significant evidence points to the first occupants of the property being Daniel and Esther Pinkham and their family, perhaps bachelor Hayes Copp as an 1830 boarder also. That is an excerpt from an 1853 letter from Dr. Thaddeus W. Harris (1795-1856) to Dr. Edward Tuckerman (1817-1886): *"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* on the adjacent lot to the south. After the Pinkhams left the property in 1836, it had two other occupants before the arrival of the Culhane brothers in 1851. The Culhane wives were *sisters from Shelburne and Emery side first cousins of Dolly.*

It is interesting that both the Pinkham – Culhane Site #5 and Copp site #4 homes were elevated somewhat relative to their adjacent cropland – perhaps deliberate to enhance visibility for better defense against 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, and woodchucks would ruin many crops if allowed to."*

Community tribute to the family within the 1903 obituary of Thomas Culhane: *"A large number of friends 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."* The Culhanes are worthy of their own chapter which lies ahead.



**Culhane Brook Avalanche Area** in cross hatch on old AMC Map – **Culhane Brook Sign** in Campground today

In memory of the **Madison Brook** crossing the road just south of their Martins Location home site was renamed in their honor. The U. S. Geographic Board's Sixth 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 revision is reported in a 1931 Appalachia Bulletin:

*"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 became effective 1/1/1932.



**Madison Brook** on 1881 Map

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 documents the Culhane barn across from their home on the east side of the Pinkham Road, as does the 1865 Jackson Iron Map.

Casey Hodgson, referring to his time working at Dolly Copp Campground 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 there today was confirmed by a 2013 USFS archaeological study as having been the center of the barn.

### 3-2B. BIG MEADOW

Hosting fifty attractive camp sites, Big Meadow is the largest subunit in Dolly Copp and the favorite for many. Comparing old and new maps, this large section developed nicely on land likely first cleared for pasture. The 1915 Sketch Map reveals that today's Big Meadow was cropland of similar dimension, the Pinkham - Culhane homestead commanding the high ground looking easterly over that farm's main field.



George Brackett remembers the central circular road configuration here from early on. As he does not recall the short bisector of the circle from his childhood in the early thirties, it must be a later, thirties, CCC addition.

The single entrance to the field of 1935 would become in 1962 the southern of two main entrance roads, now three due to the 2019 renovation. North and east of Site 24 is an open lawn area, creating a small public space outside the boundary of privacy for nearby Sites 24, 45 and 46. Casey Hodgson said that here until the mid-sixties was a large outhouse of the pit toilet type. He identified a remnant of this structure, a row of foundation stones visible today, their flat tops level with the lawn.

An 1846 court record stated that in Martins Location in **1830** Daniel Pinkham **cleared land** and fenced and cultivated a farm. Such preparation requires removal of field stones. Too heavy to carry far, where did they go? Casey Hodgson comments 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. 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.”*



On the left along the path east to Flat Rock are **cleared field stones**

At the southeastern corner of Big Meadow is a path leading past the cleared field stones to the Peabody River's Flat Rock swimming area. The origin of this access was a road from the Culhane House to a bridge crossing the Peabody. The accessway doubled as a farm road to a large field and pasture near the River, now reverted to woodland.

The acreage of former farm land east of Big Meadow was never developed into tent sites. The 1916 cottage subdivision plan would have made use of the non-wetland portions of this property for summer homes, the access plan from the south via Copp's South Field.

Dorothy Brown remembers these “lost fields” as still unwooded in the forties. George Brackett remembers them as well, agreeing that they were never developed for camping due to their remoteness from the main campground road. Bob Cook recalls a small wooden bridge over Culhane Brook here in the fifties, campers themselves building it. **Beaver activity** here has been continuous over decades.



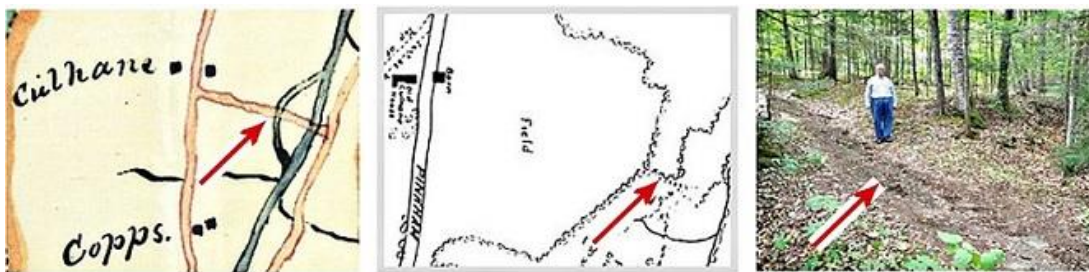
Long time camper Bill Flynn describes the area in a 2020 look back: *“There was a trail at the east end of the Big Meadow that would take one to the Flat Rock swimming area. About halfway, there was a little foot bridge crossing the muddy area and the Culhane. If one took a southerly turn at that spot 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.”

The 1865 Jackson Iron map records a road and bridge - or is it just a lesser ford - from Culhanes easterly across the Peabody River to intersect with the main road north to Gorham. The alignment was slightly southwest upon leaving the Culhane home. This route was likely on or parallel to today’s bisecting lane in the center of Big Meadow that serves Sites 47 thru 50. The route exits Big Meadow easterly as the path past the field stones to Flat Rock Pool.



Left Culhane’s route east to main road in **1865**, center route remnant on **1915** map (at east edge of Big Meadow today), right camp host and advocate **Bob Cook** marking route in 2018

A road remnant east of the Culhane Farm on the 1915 USFS Sketch Map fits in nicely with this alignment. There is also surviving physical evidence, alteration of the steep escarpment along the path to Flat Rock to reduce the severity of grade for horse drawn vehicles.

There is logic to this routing. As the Culhane house was located to the north of Copp’s, to first proceed south to cross the Peabody at the circa 1860 crossing just south of them, and then turn north to Gorham, requires one and one quarter mile of travel per trip. This compares to just four tenths of a mile for the more direct 1865 route – “Culhane’s Crossing.”

The little road segment shown on the 1915 map also connected the main Culhane field to a minor field to the east, a possible alternate origin or dual function. Also hovering in history here is Belknap’s circuit of the Presidential Range in 1784 as he cut northwest, thru this vicinity – “Belknap’s Byway.”

### 3-2C. CULHANE BROOK

Viewing from the bridge the downstream side of Culhane Brook, a cement barrier implanted aside the channel is visible. Senior 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).



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

The Appalachia Magazine issue 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.”

*Culhane Brook flows over bedrock aside upper Brook Loop – Crissy Ferreira photos*

The view up the Brook from the main campground road shows typical boulders as far as can be seen. But just out of site, the streambed characteristic changes to the rear of Brook Loop Site 85.

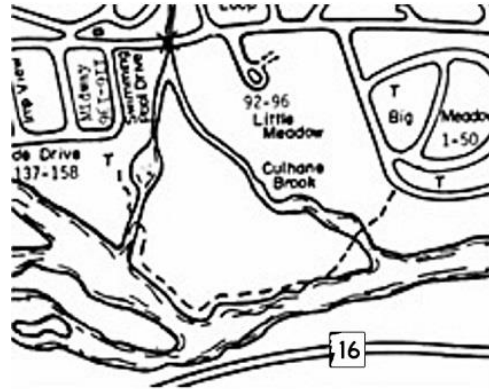


Here the boulders are cleared away and attractive bedrock is seen. Natural pools and little water falls provide an amenity for the campers nearby, and for others who happen to know about them, nicely scaled for the younger set. Apparently as a compensating enhancement for a recent utility crossing here, at the east end of this feature a large pool was deliberately created using construction equipment – very nice.

### 3-2D. FLAT ROCK POOL

A path to the Peabody River linking both Big Meadow and Hayes Field Drive to Flat Rock Pool there was included as a mapped feature in the 1965-75 Campground Map.

*Paths to Flat Rock easterly from Campground included on 1965-1975 USFS Map, one north from Hayes Field and the other south from Big Meadow*



The path is today unmarked but remains in use. Easy, including bicycles, except for the crossing of Culhane Brook. Flat Rock is at a point on the Peabody River near Route 16 where a large expanse of bedrock clear of boulders has a depth suitable for wading and minimal swimming. First cousins Bob Brown and Bob Cook, each with seventy plus years of Dolly Copp camping memories, say that the Route 16 highway expansion near 1958 pushed rocks into the pools. It then took decades for periodic high water to partially move them out.

There is photo evidence of more extensive “flat rocks” here before that road work. Veins in bedrock under the pool are strikingly attractive. Early camper George Brackett said the place name goes back “as far as I can remember,” which ties it to the late twenties. Recent labels “Square Ledge” and “Peabody Pool” lack awareness of that historic usage.



### **Flat Rock Pool July 2019**

On Google Maps the location is labeled “Peabody River Swimming Hole.” But a note attached to the Google reference by Russ Clough provides 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.”*

### 3-2E. TOTEM POLES



The carving of totem poles for display in the Campground extends back to at least 1928, ending in 2008. The earliest information was provided to me by Caroleen Mckenzie-Dudley, nickname "Mac" Dudley. Mac is following in the service tradition of her grandparents Alva and Mildred Richardson, Alva a 1926 thru 1937 USFS Forest Guard in the WMNF. Their first child, Mac's mother Betty, was also the first recorded birth in the then new 1918 White Mountain National Forest.



*At right Alva and Mildred Richardson with child Betty at the Site #2 Peabody River Ranger Station in 1928; Dolly Copp Totem Poles - center 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"*

According to Mac Dudley in 1928 her grandfather was to do some work in Dolly Copp. He met District Ranger Truman Hale on site to discuss what work was needed. Mac's grandmother Mildred assisted with such work details.

*"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 an early fifties USFS Dolly Copp Campground brochure.

Long time camper Jay Milliken also recalls that there were two poles, 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.

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 today it is 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" noted on the 1915 Sketch Map.



*Jay Milliken's sons in 1976, Jay aside pole*

With the blessings 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 little too short, as children could climb on it. And with its corner location some vehicles nicked it.

Jay then carved a larger and more ambitious replacement pole, raised on 9/3/1993, the site moved over to the east edge of Hayes Field. While much enjoyed in time the base of this pole also decayed and it was taken down in 2006, last seen lying aside the rear steps of the Visitor Center in 2008.



In sum the totem pole tradition at Dolly Copp enhanced the camping experience from 1928 to 2008, eighty years. Looking ahead to the next one hundred years, a group of campers may reestablish this popular feature.

### 3-2F. GRAVEYARD

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 USFS file item dated 1936: "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."*

A 1940 letter in the USFS file states *"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 the locations of their out-of-area internments are confirmed. The graves for the nearby Culhanes are easily viewed at the front of the Evans Cemetery on Route 2 in Gorham.

**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



From contributor **Ruthie Arvanian Bowler**: *"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."*

Given the gap in birth years from 1838 to 1849 of the two later Copp children, one or more infants **could have been born** in that interval that did not thrive. If so, they could be buried here. From a 1989 USFS archaeological assessment of the graveyard: *"The people must have been related to the Copps because they reserved the cemetery when they sold the property, also the right to visit it."* Those emotional ties may reflect the burial of their lost infants.

In time the 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 only 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.

Eyewitness Mildred Richardson quoted in the 2019 *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. Also while there we saw the oddest box type thing on wheels. It may have been the first wooden trailed to be made.”*

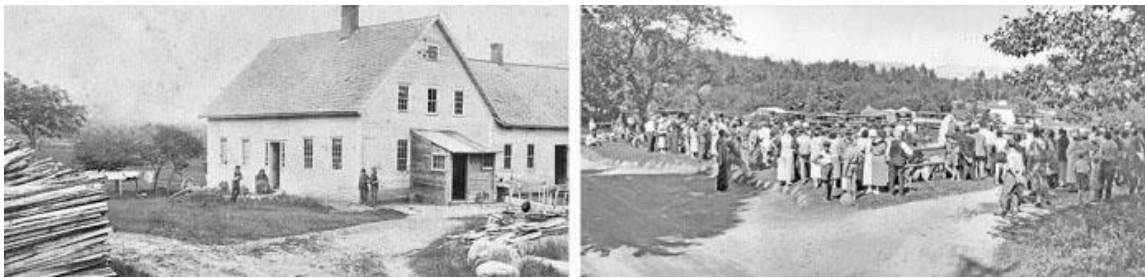
Nineteen fifties campground manager Belvin Barnes, who had earlier been a Civilian Conservation Corps worker at Dolly Copp, recalls two grave stones in the cemetery. A large one as now, but another only six inches high, set back and to the north of the one remaining today.

An unattributed, undated, USFS file item states that the graveyard held a rough granite slab carved with “HGE, AD 16 YRS”. Raise an eyebrow over the last initial E, perhaps a Dolly Emery side youth. Sarah Jordan: “A Forest Service document dated 1971 says the cemetery is thought to contain the body of a child who died while visiting the Cops in 1841, but no source for this information is given.”

Casey Hodgdon said that over the years some campers thought they saw remnants of chiseled words in the rough surfaces and crevices of the stone marker. He sees this as just the product of vivid imagination.

### 3-2G. COPP HOME SITE

The Site #4 home site memorial is the emotional heart of the Campground. It is in a well-kept park-like setting and informational display boards are provided.



*Same perspective northeast at **Copp Home** circa 1854, then at 1933 **Dedication of Memorial***

Just to the south, by 1940 a small spur for tent sites was in place off of 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, since obscured by vegetation.

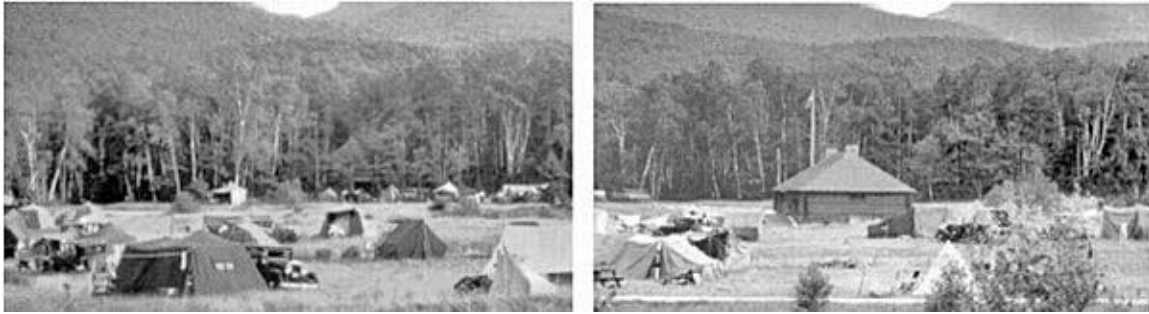
In the sixties camp sites would be removed from this section as it was needed as a walkway to a new restroom location. Casey believes the name was dropped at the time its tent sites were removed to avoid confusion with the spurs that did offer camp sites.

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## 3-3. SOUTH FIELD AND BEYOND

### 3-3A. VIEWS

Just north of Riverside Drive’s origin at the main campground road is a rise of land, part of the 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 feature as “the Knoll.”



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

The Bracketts say 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 activity, capturing the good view over the heavily camped south field to Carter Notch beyond. The view was still “farm landscape related” not blocked by tree growth as it is now.



*Noted by arrows is the **low ridge** dividing the Copp Farm into north and south fields, south field in foreground, view over North Field to Pine Mountain*

From George Cross's 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.” Some of those green meadows of 1924 were the open fields above. 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.”

*Early Riverside Drive view north to Pine Mountain, area served with water and electricity today so is high use – post card courtesy of David Veit*



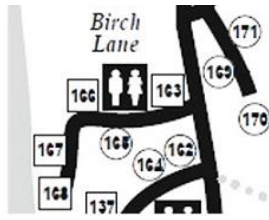
### 3-3B. BIRCH LANE, PLAY FIELD, END LOOP

By 1940 **Birch Lane** had very dense campsite development at its east end along its Peabody River frontage, eight sites, only two today. Perhaps this 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 cleared camp sites off of the river's edge – pushing the demand for river access sites over to Birch Lane.





*Daily Camp, looking North. Sept. 7, 1937.*

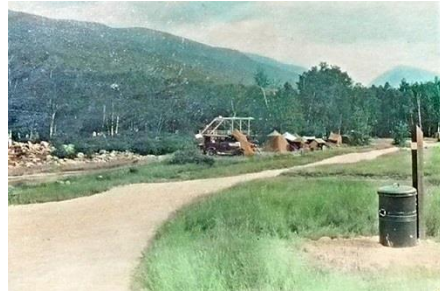


### View across early **Birch Lane**

And this area occasionally floods, risky for high site density. According to Belvin Barnes a major storm in 1958 flooded Birch Lane. He dates the thinning of the dense patch

of 1940s riverside Birch Lane sites to that event.

After Site 165 the nearby stream makes a sharp turn to skirt Sites 167 and 168. Old maps show this was not always the case, that the streambed continued directly east to the Peabody. Belvin Barnes says it was a USFS installed berm along the bank of the River here, quite visible today, which in 1958 diverted the original {Birch Brook?} outlet to the north.



**Riverside camping** – a continuation of Birch Lane once turned right and south to the bridge

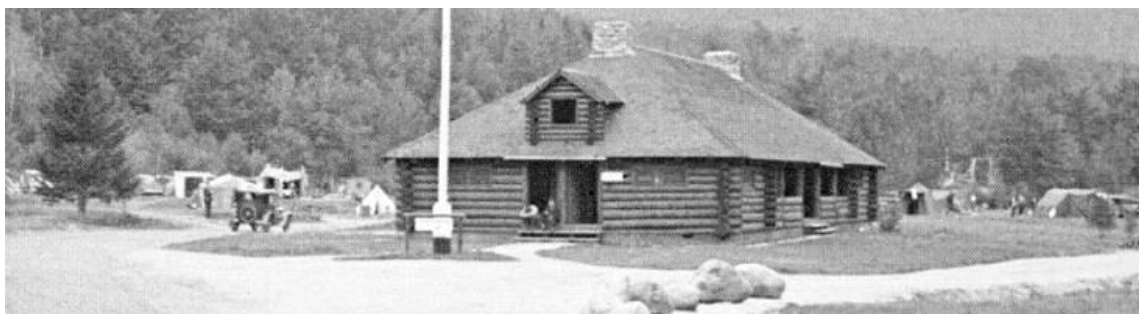
Photos from the twenties and thirties show the openness of today's Play Field extending easterly right up to the riverbank, without the buffer of trees seen there now. The trees today host a charming riverside walkway. George Brackett and Dorothy Brown remember early camping right on the river's edge, ending with the Play Field designation of 1939. These very desirable former riverside sites had their own adjacent accessway.

George Brackett also remembers 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 as being functional after the late fifties.



At left before 1940 the road crossed what is today the Play Field until **the curve to the right was added** – at right in 1934 the Administration Building fronted on the old "Pinkham" alignment

At left viewing south, just beyond the entrance to Birch Lane, campers Rachel and Joanne are standing with their dogs. Until 1940 the old road alignment in the foreground continued beyond them and across what is now the Play Field. The Administration Building of 1934 {now the Visitor Center} shown at right was built adjacent to that road. Just beyond where they are standing in 1940 the road was bowed out westerly.



*New Administration Building – Courtesy of the Bob Rich Collection*

George Brackett confirms that the area now occupied by End Loop was available for unrestricted, unsited camping in 1935. He says there was no drive thru configuration until the southern exit was constructed by the CCC's in the late thirties. The word "End" in the End Loop title would not have made sense in the thirties, not until after 1951 when the entrance on Route 16 was relocated north and "End Loop" truly became the end.

In early years the front section of End Loop held 22 supplemental parking spaces, 11 on each 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 graded unnamed path leaves End Loop south to intersect with the Great Gulf Link Trail on that Trail's way to Rangers Pool - a remnant of the original Pinkham Road.

**3-3C. 2018 WMNF CENTENNIAL**

In 2018 WMNF 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: *"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 Morrisette 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, Morrisette noted that *"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."*

Continuing, *"Androscoggin District Ranger **Jenn Barnhart** 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."*



*At left artist Quinn Morrisette with Androscoggin District Ranger Jennifer Barnhart at May 2018 **Dedication of Centennial Spiral**, right photo from [quinnmorrisette.com](http://quinnmorrisette.com)*

**3-3D. PEABODY RIVER**

With a length of thirteen miles and hosting outstanding scenery, the Peabody River flows north to Gorham where it joins the 178-mile-long Androscoggin River. This treasured river's source is near Pinkham Notch in Pinkhams Grant. The Peabody is augmented by tributaries off of the Carter Range to the east and the Presidential Range to the west.

While average annual precipitation at the summit of Mount Washington is 97 inches, the statewide average for New Hampshire is about 41 inches. The comparison makes the Peabody River Watershed a high runoff area. That volume of precipitation, on steep grades, coupled with diminishing soil depth increasing with elevation, has produced a considerable



history of sudden floods - a fierce environment challenging the stability of bridge foundations in Martins Location.

The largest tributary to the Peabody is its West Branch, draining the Great Gulf, a large and steep glacial cirque 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 Peabody’s **boulder - cobble river channel** classification is well displayed, photo courtesy of Eric Middleton: “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.”*

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 it 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.*”

Early bridge builders on the Peabody either did not realize the need for, or could not afford the wider spans and secure abutments necessary to avoid flood induced washouts. Major floods are much a part of Peabody Valley history.



***Erosive power of the Peabody** recorded in views northerly on east bank, before and after 1927 flood - left Bob Rich Collection, right post card courtesy of David Moore*

### PRAISE FOR THE PEABODY

--- 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!*” 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 variety of foliage.*”



At left Jefferson, Adams, and Madison from the **Peabody River** by Alexander Helwig Wyant (1836-1892); at right **Peabody** by Birch Lane

Continuing, "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."

--- 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."

--- Description 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."

--- From 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 the old tourist guides – scenic and good for swimming, but small with minimal depth and waterfalls.

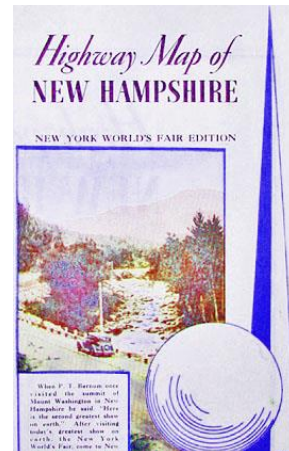
--- Nathaniel Tuckerman True in **1882** --- The **Peabody River** is a wild tumultuous stream, which in time of high freshets, bears all before it with its muddy waters." This characteristic expresses itself mightily in 1903 and 1927.

--- 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."

--- 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 had an exhibit 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 all of New England highlighted the **Peabody River** and bridge into Dolly Copp, Pine Mountain looming to north.

### 3-3E. RANGERS POOL

The popular Rangers Pool swimming and fishing amenity in the Peabody River is adjacent to the Great Gulf Link Trail, about a 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 themselves and the campers.

*Brckett Family at **Rangers Pool** in 1930 – George seated*



This explanation may fit with the fact that the Pool was the nearest swimming area for the rangers themselves in early decades, with their headquarters at the Peabody River Ranger Station less than 1000 feet to the east out on Route 16, this Station a final use of the old



pioneer Site #2 Samuel Copp House. Reflecting on this the pool may have been an amenity for Site #2 tourists and then loggers who next lived there. An iron pin from the logging era is anchored in rock on the west side.



In 1915 there was an east side pasture with an accessway from the Ranger Station to the riverbank - part of the earliest Pinkham Road.

On the west bank the best case for the early road 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 provided entry to the **incinerator** here (photo), built in 1931 and for many years used by the Forest Service. According to Casey Hodgson it was abandoned by 1954. The ruin still stands.



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 the Pool is about four tenths of a mile.

The pool is unnamed in the news article, but as there was no closer deep pool upstream from the bridge this must be an early reference to Rangers Pool. The Brackett Family photo of 1930 labeled "Rangers Pool" offers early confirmation of the name.

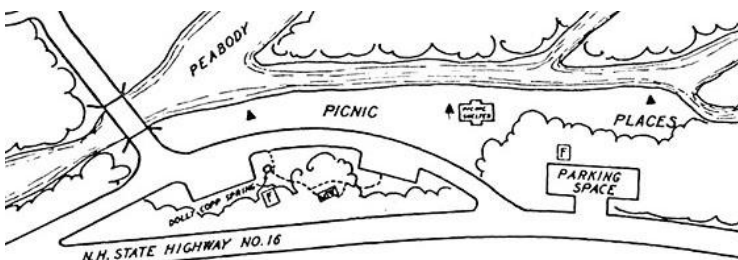


A 1938 federal publication then uses the specific name Rangers Pool. Campers Stuart and Emily Smith recall that in the forties, the elevation of Rangers Pool was kept high by campers cooperatively maintaining the dam. I was told of this tradition upon my first visit to the Pool in 1962 and pitched in. Lesson learned at age fifteen: If adding to the dam do not strain your back or drop a rock on your toe. And don't go bump-a-dee-bump down the rapids and bruise your tailbone :-).

### 3-3F. PICNIC GROUND

The original east bank "Copp Spring Campground" once here was removed early, replaced by picnicking only. That activity is now concentrated south of the 1936 Picnic Shelter, that structure marking the northern edge of landscaped area.

Concerning the more wooded area north of the Shelter, the original thirties plan anticipated that this now overgrown section would be more intensively utilized than it is now. As 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.



*Picnic Places in 1940 – north at right*

It looks like the flow in the Peabody shifted to leave the northern half of the Picnic Ground fronting on an almost dry river bed, making that section a much less desirable amenity.

Belvin Barnes confirms just such a water diversion in 1958. That year, high waters from a storm had threatened the stability of the river bank 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, the westerly course favored remaining dominant today. The easily accessible and level “island” thus created is fun for children and nature study.

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.



The papermaking Brown Company in nearby Berlin heralds the company's **kindergarten picnic** by the great fireplace in July of 1927

A 1932 newspaper article on Dolly Copp describes an improvement to bridge access: “*This year the U. S. Government saw the need of a new*

*approach to the campground as well as an exit. The old road going to the grounds **branched off perpendicularly** from the main highway and was like the descent of an airplane in a nose dive when out of control, and **as abruptly came to the finish** as the camper stepped on the brakes to avoid plunging headlong into the stream.*

*The new approach is gradual and branches from the Pinkham Notch highway at an angle. It leads to the Ranger's Station {1834 Samuel Copp House} where the new camper may learn of the rules of the grounds and secure a fire permit. A typical government sign points to the grounds and hangs at the entrance. The exit from the grounds leading at an angle to the main highway is similar to all side roads and is no longer the **steep entrance** of a year ago.”*

The graded but now vegetated base of the pre-1932 “**steep entrance**” is clearly visible in the Picnic Ground today, proceeding upgrade towards Route 16 across from the pre-1950 bridge abutment.



View east at steep entrance

The limitation to “picnicking only” here on the east bank was put into effect near 1932. The design plans for the Picnic Shelter were completed by 1935. While traditionally the policy for national forests was too Spartan to consider such an amenity, the national USFS policy had just broadened on this specific point.

Born in 1919, as a small child Marian Chase of Rowley, Massachusetts camped at this early Dolly Copp {Marian also the author of *Rowley, Massachusetts: An Historical Perspective*}. For the 1996 75<sup>th</sup> 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.*”

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.*”





Picnic Ground "**Great Fireplace**" – at left circa 1919, at right 2014 - the left scene was frequently reproduced on post cards during early decades with one early example identifying this camping scene as at "Copp Spring"

Casey related that that Bradford Washburn sought to locate historic Spring remnants for inclusion on his authoritative 1988 topographic map entitled *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 so credited on the Presidential Range map.

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. An overlay using 1940 and modern maps yields the same location. Other recollections agree, George Brackett placing the spring just south of the restroom, Belvin Barnes stating that it was in the opened area between the manmade earth mounds, again near today's Picnic Ground restroom.



Golden Agers at **Copp Spring** 1957

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. Former USFS employee Belvin Barnes 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.

### 3-3G. FIRE TOWERS

The first tower visible from Dolly Copp Campground was the fire lookout on Pine Mountain (2,405 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.*"

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.*"



View from **Pine Mountain** south to Presidentials - [familieshealthytogether.org](http://familieshealthytogether.org)

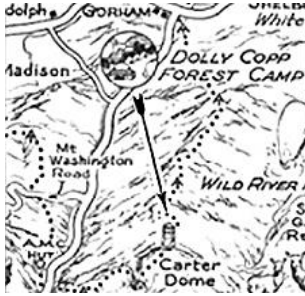
According to New Hampshire Fire Lookout Historian Iris Baird, in her book *Looking Out for Our Forests*, in the early 1940s Barbara Mortensen (1908-2000) of Berlin, NH became part of Pine Mountain's history. Baird notes that there were a few women during World War Two who took on fire tower and airplane lookout tasks, which until then had been "men's work." A pioneer like our Dolly a century earlier, Barbara was one of the select few new female USFS employees.

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 to her living quarters at least for the first few times. She was very close to the Town of Gorham and was able to enjoy the band concerts from her lookout.*" Remnants of the tower's base remain on the summit.

At left campers visit **Carter Dome Tower** in 1938; center Cummings Family at **Pine Mountain Tower**; right Barbara with **Great Dane Brenda**: "without my dog I could not hold down this job"



Poplar author Tom Ryan of hiking dog Atticus fame, says the vista from Pine Mountain is one of the ten best views in the White Mountains. No wonder, there are vistas into the four cardinal directions.



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." According to whitemountainhistory.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."

A memory of forest fire prevention education from 1942 by life-long Dolly Copp camper Scott McClory: "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 fires, and is therefore recognized as a member of the Ancient and Honorable Order of Squirrels.'"

Perspective from the AMC: "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 ad campaign."



**USFS Order of Squirrels** card in 1942,  
view north to **Pine Mountain Fire Tower** from Barnes  
Field, research contributors **Jennifer and Scott McClory** in 2008

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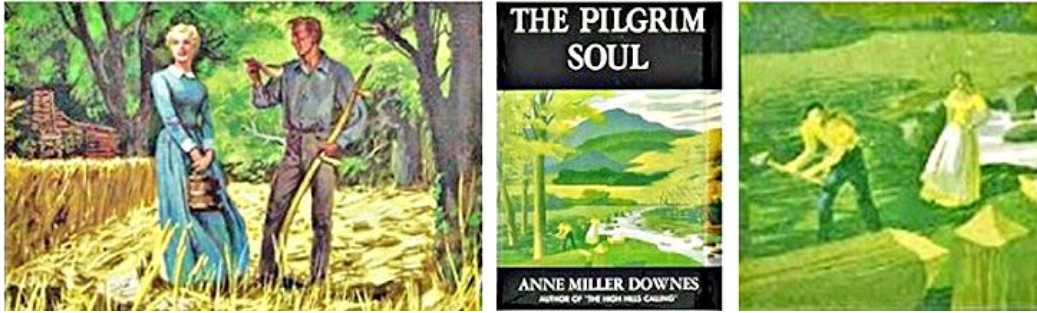
## 4. LIVES OF DOLLY AND HAYES

"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."*

- From Ann Miller Downes "The Pilgrim Soul" 1952



Young marrieds **Hayes and Dolly** from the 1952 book jacket of **The Pilgrim Soul**, historic fiction on Dolly and Hayes

## 4-1. FAMILIES MOVE NORTH

### 4-1A. EARLY COPPS

As the family backgrounds of Hayes Copp and Dolly Emery were the foundations of their adult lives, a look back to their preceding generations is the place to start. Right away we find a strong shared trait: both are from southern New England families whose recent generations had migrated north.

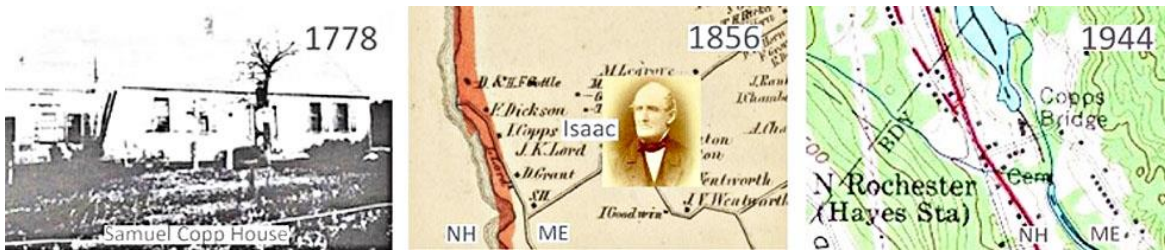
The Copp lineage extends back to the early Boston, Massachusetts of 1640, where Hayes' ancestor Jonathan Copp was born. In 1908 the New England Genealogical Society recognized this Jonathan as the founder of the Copp Family line *"that later spread through Eastern New Hampshire."* Just as with the Emerys, the Copps were part of a movement from 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 his son continued north to Rochester in southern New Hampshire. There in 1742 his son, Hayes' Grandfather Samuel Copp, was born. As Samuel lives until 1826 and Hayes was born in 1806, Hayes likely knew his grandfather.

In 1764 Samuel Copp married Hannah Hayes, also from Rochester, she living from 1743 to 1797. Take note, Hannah's side of the Samuel Copp family is not just a "duly mention and move on" footnote. *It was Hannah's nephew **Daniel Pinkham** that drew young Hayes Copp to the Peabody Valley, part of the Pinkham family kinship group pioneering there.* To help visualize the primary role for Pinkhams in Peabody Valley history, note that there are 897 instances herein of the last name Copp, no surprise, but in second place the Pinkham name at 564.

As a young adult, Grandfather Samuel moved out of Rochester, New Hampshire 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,"* 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,"* that watercourse part of 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 Uncle Reuben); right nearby **Copps Bridge** on 1944 USGS Map

Samuel was active on 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 serving as a church deacon and elder from 1781.

Municipal leadership in Lebanon was also provided by Samuel's older brother Tristram Copp serving as a town selectman. From the 1880 History of York County, Maine: *"The Farnhams, Goodwins, Copps, Husseys and Cowells seem to have been the leading men in Lebanon for a number of years after its incorporation."*

#### 4-1B. DODAVAH AND SON HAYES

Hayes Copps' father Dodavah Copp was born to Samuel and Hannah on September 20, 1766. The second child of ten, he and his older brother Reuben had been born in Rochester, New Hampshire, just before the family moved to carve out a farm across the state line in Lebanon, 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 younger brother Roger, 1781-1860, a prominent 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."* Roger Copp was a Freewill Baptist.

According to Frank 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 the Lebanon land purchase that Dodavah planned to settle locally. Instead, he moved north to Wakefield, NH.

As for the York County records, that county extends considerably north to include Shapleigh, ME adjacent to Wakefield NH (before Shapleigh was divided into two towns and the new one, Acton, inserted between Wakefield and the remainder of original Shapleigh). Dodavah was in Wakefield for the 1810 Census, Shapleigh for the 1820 Census, then back to Wakefield for 1830 and 1840.

In an 1820 petition to the NH legislature, Dodavah Copp defended the interests of Wakefield in a boundary dispute with another town. I take that to mean he was still an owner of property in Wakefield, even though his primary Census residence had moved for a time to Shapleigh.

We may assume the move up to Wakefield was after the 1787 land purchase in Lebanon, but the exact year of this move is not known. The first federal Census of 1790 only provided full names of heads of families, and as Dodavah was not included as such in either Lebanon or Wakefield, this may indicate he married his first wife 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. Overall, it looks like his move north to Wakefield was between 1787 and 1795. Limited perspective from the Ferrin genealogy: *“Before March 5, 1798 he removed to Wakefield, NH,”* no explanation given as to the significance of that date.

What was the motivation for Dodavah Copp to move north to Wakefield? One key may be the inheritance practices of the times favoring the eldest son. His older brother Reuben inherited the family’s Lebanon farm. Reuben’s son Isaac is then living there in 1856 - an “eldest son - primogeniture” inheritance pattern common in that period. As author Ann Miller Downes said: *“Each son faced a choice of staying on his father’s land as a meagerly paid hireling or striking out for himself.”*

The northerly 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 Samuel and Hannah Copp.

Wakefield must have been one of several locations drawing ambitious youth north. Influencing Dodavah’s choice could have been the kinship ties readily available in Wakefield; three well established uncles, David, Jonathan and Moses Copp, all there since at least 1775. As for 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 can see that watercourse was Copp Brook, a popular last name in early Wakefield. A source on ancestry.com indicates Dodavah Copp owned 75 acres. More from Ferrin: *“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.”*

After the death of his first wife in 1802, Dodavah soon remarries, that event well documented, in Wakefield, to Deborah Ann Ricker on July 21, 1803. Second wife Deborah was born near 1780 so was about fourteen years younger than Dodavah. Her first child was our Hayes, born in Wakefield on October 12, 1806.

According to their marriage certificate Deborah and Dodavah were both Wakefield residents. The probability of Deborah having family in Wakefield is high, for decades later as an elderly widow, she lived in a Wakefield household headed by Rickers; or relatives by that name had moved into her home.

Entry on Hayes in the Copp Genealogy by Samuel Copp Worthen: *“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."*

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. Only one other offspring from the marriage of Dodavah and Deborah followed the birth of Hayes, Daniel born in 1812. Small gravestones in Wakefield near those of Dodavah and Deborah could indicate there were additional infants born that did not survive, common for the period.

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 Daniel Pinkham. No advantage to staying home: Hayes' older brothers Moses and William were ahead of him in line for farm inheritance from father Dodavah.

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 further north. The old Evans Road there had decayed and was not suitable for wheeled vehicles. There were no vehicular travelers climbing the Ellis River Valley to Pinkham Notch and then descending into the Peabody River Valley as was possible after Daniel Pinkham revived the Evans Road.



*Daniel Pinkham home in Jackson  
Courtesy of Jackson Historical Society*

Like his father, Hayes must have had some choices as to where to settle in the less developed north. Like his father, he may have been influenced by welcoming kinship ties. There were two such sets of relatives in Jackson. The first was the Benjamin Copp Family, Benjamin a first cousin to Hayes's Lebanon *grandfather*. The second was the Joseph and Elizabeth (Hayes) Pinkham Family, Elizabeth the sister of Hayes' Lebanon *grandmother*. In the upcoming migration north from Jackson to settle the still wild Peabody Valley, *both branches of his relations participated*.

Perhaps Hayes Copp's first bed in Jackson was at the William Copp Senior farm, William the father of two Copp third cousins that settled in the Peabody Valley with Hayes. But then again, perhaps Hayes' primary Jackson connection was with his father Dodavah's first cousin Daniel Pinkham, a closer relation still and in 1827 the source of his farm lot. Daniel Pinkham was urgently in need of road construction laborers, his plea for workers having *gone out to family* in August 1826 or soon thereafter. Evidence suggests that Hayes left Wakefield to respond to that family call.

C O P P

HAYES COPP BRANCH AS  
RELATED TO JACKSON, NH BRANCH

HAYES 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 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 - **HAYES COPP, married DOLLY EMERY**, and with his  
and her kinship group 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, died in the state asylum

#### COPP FAMILY BRANCH IN JACKSON, NEW HAMPSHIRE:

**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 needs research, could be key to how Hayes met Dolly)

- 1804 Betsey Copp who married Dolly Emery's first cousin Samuel Emery
- 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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#### 4-1C. EARLY EMERYS

The Emery Family migration parallels that of the Cops, southern to northern New England, arriving in the Bartlett-Jackson area about the same time as the Jackson branch of Cops. Like that of Hayes, Dolly Emery's line had its American roots in Massachusetts with generations moving northward from there.

Americans are aware that the national frontier of nineteenth century settlement moved westward across the continent. But the same frontier dynamic in its New England expression *also* moved northward thru New Hampshire, Vermont and Maine. Both the Hayes Copp and Dolly Emery lines were part of that internal New England migration.

Dolly's American line starts with John Emery born in England in 1598. John sailed for Boston and settled up the Massachusetts coast in Newbury. His son lived his life in Newbury, his grandson then moved to the Plaistow, New Hampshire area along the Merrimack River. That grandson then moved about 72 miles north to Dunbarton, NH. In 1752 the next in the male line, his son, 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 arrivals: "*Several families from the vicinity of Ipswich, Mass. {near 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, NH founder Thomas Martin, Stark had been a soldier in the French and Indian War. Like Martin, as payment for his military service, he receives a grant of land in New Hampshire's unsettled north.

The state grant to Colonel 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.*" Considering that Enoch Emery reached the majority age of 21 to purchase land in 1773 his arrival must have been after that date.

The wife of Enoch Emery, Dolly's grandmother Rachel Tirrell Emery, was born in Bedford, NH not far from Dunbarton. She was also descended from an ancestral line extending back into eastern Massachusetts. In *New Hampshire Taverns and Turnpikes 1700 – 1900* the story is told of Enoch and Rachel in 1773 at William Stark's racy Dunbarton tavern.

A 7/1/1774 entry in the journal of Bedford, NH Justice of the Peace Matthew Patten resolves Rachel's formal complaint {she was pregnant after Enoch's "*wheedlings and promises of marriage offered to lie with her*"}: "*Enoch Emery brought me a certificate of his marriage and paid me a dollar for all the trouble I had about the affair.*" So the move by the now married pair out of Dunbarton on to frontier Bartlett looks to be after mid-1774.

As part of the 1776 "Association Test" to pressure for loyalty to the Revolutionary cause, brothers Enoch and Humphrey Emery pledged from Conway, NH, the nearby commercial hub for Bartlett. Participation at that location is evidence that they were in Bartlett by then.

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#### **Lucy Crawford Remembers**



Lucy Crawford

Memories of Emerys from early White Mountain historian **Lucy Crawford** (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."*

Pavel Cenkl in his 2006 *Landscape of New Hampshire's White Mountains* links **Lucy Crawford** with Dolly Copp. in his discussion of women in the White Mountains, their making decisions outside of the direction of men, citing as examples "*Lucy Crawford and Dolly Copp earlier in the century.*"

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Building bridges over streams and rivers was a fundamental cooperative issue in the early days. The greatest challenge, bridging the East Branch of the Saco River in Bartlett, was vital to the development of that town as well as to connections for neighboring Jackson to the north. Enoch Emery was among the earliest settlers of Bartlett, Hayes' grandfather's first cousin Benjamin Copp was the single earliest settler in adjacent Jackson, and the issue was important to them both.

Their signatures were among thirteen on a 1781 petition to the New Hampshire legislature to assist with bridging the East Branch. So I assume they knew each other. And in time Enoch Emery's son, Dolly's father Nathaniel, would work for Benjamin Copp's son, William Copp Senior. Enoch Emery's Bartlett house served as an inn for Jeremy Belknap's exploratory 1784 return trip from Mount Washington. We know that Enoch became prominent in the civic life of Bartlett, for after town incorporation in 1790 he was one of its first selectmen, serving 1790 to 1795.





Emery farms on **1805 Map** compared to **1945 Map** (before Route 302 added)  
 - NH Route 16A signs added to both for orientation – note at right the bridge over  
 the East Branch of the Saco, construction of which had been a regional issue in 1781

In daily life Enoch was a blacksmith and a 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.

Viewing an 1805 Bartlett map while referencing today's landmarks, there were three adjacent Emery farms along the west side of what is today NH Route 16A. Their swath of prime agricultural land starts at the northern intersection of combined Routes 16 and 302 with 16A and includes the Swiss Chalet property. These farms then extend southwesterly past Town Hall Road and the East Brach of the Saco River.

An interpretation of the 1805 map by an Emery related Van Essen genealogist places the home of eldest son William Emery on the south end of the tract, second son Stephen Emery on the north end, and their father Enoch Emery in the middle. This implies that the two eldest Emery sons received the choicest family properties, the custom in these times, not favoring Dolly's father, *fifth son* Nathaniel. Below is an overview of the descendants of Bartlett pioneers Enoch and Rachel Emery.

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EMERY

**DOLLY EMERY'S DESCENT  
 FROM 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 detailed*

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
  - 1799 Samuel Emery, married Hayes Copp's third cousin Betsey Copp
  - 1803 Joshua Emery, lived in Shelburne with Emery uncles Samuel and Enoch Jr., could be the Emery Daniel Pinkham negotiates with for farmland in 1833
3. 1775 Jacob Emery, married his second cousin Rosannah Emery
4. 1783 Samuel Emery, married his first cousin Esther Emery, some years in Randolph, four children born in Shelburne, then a selectman and prominent in early Gorham, passing away there in 1845
  - Joel Emery, 1807-1828
  - Freeman Emery, 1809 died young
  - Abigail Emery, 1814-1856, married Curtis Willey, their daughter Esther married her second cousin, Abigail's first cousin Dolly's son **Nathaniel Emery Copp**
  - Samuel F. Emery Jr., 1826, inherited his father's Gorham Hill farm {on NH Route 2}
5. **1789 Nathaniel 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, 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 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

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#### 4-1D. NATHANIEL AND DAUGHTER DOLLY

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 north – Dolly and some other Emerys kept that family migration going. Deborah's 1873 pension application indicated their union was without a marriage certificate. The Bartlett Town Clerk commenting in 1873 on the paperwork required for her pension application:

*"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 application required "testimony as to cohabitation and general reputation of marriage" and an Isaac Emery responded.*

An Isaac in the Emery family was Dolly's older first cousin born in 1798. As of 1870, this cousin Isaac lived in Stow, Maine and was thus near Deborah's Maine home at that time, this cousin assumed to be speaking about Nathaniel here: *"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."*

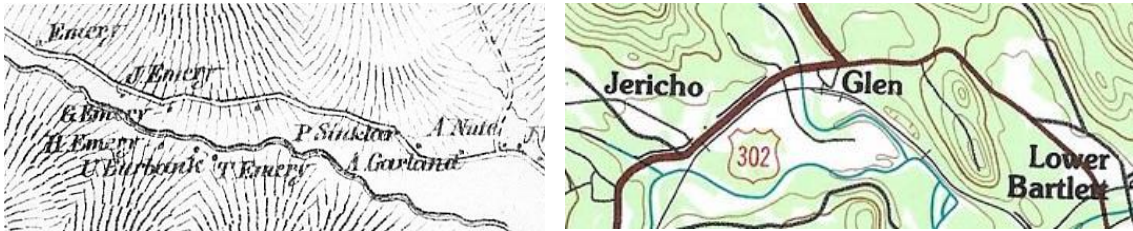
Another statement in the 1873 pension file: *"I Samuel Copp of Fryeburg, Maine... formerly a resident of Jackson on oath say I was well acquainted with Nathaniel Emery.... and well know that said Nathaniel and Deborah lived together as husband and wife and reared a family of several children."*

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 but never having proceeding through a formal ceremony. The letters of support in the application indicate the Bartlett community did indeed see them this way. New Hampshire remains one of eight states that still permit forms of such common-law marriage.



Nathaniel had just turned 18 and Deborah was 22 when their first child, our Dolly, was born, on 5/25/1807. Possibly Dolly was named after her nearby aunt, her Uncle Stephen Emery's wife Dolly Rogers Emery, both the husband and the wife in that marriage blood relatives to Dolly, as this Emery-side uncle had married her Rogers-side aunt.

The location of Dolly's birthplace in Bartlett is not known, but it could have been in the original, Lower Bartlett cluster of Emery farms shown on an 1805 map. There is evidence that the multiplying Emerys would soon develop farms to the west, in the mid-section of Bartlett, the Rocky Branch River Valley's "Jericho" area.



At left **Emery cluster in Jericho** on 1861 Walling Map; at right **Jericho** section off of Route 302 today

As the 1805 map shows the Jericho section as not yet settled that year, the four Emery farms there on the 1861 Walling Map must have originated after Dolly's birth. This could infer that Dolly's birthplace was in one of the family residences in the older, well developed by 1805, 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 children Dolly and Hannah. If proximity on the 1810 Census listing correlates with physical proximity, Nathaniel's older brother Stephen Emery and family were not far away.

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 farms. So Dolly's youth may have been spent in the Jericho section.

As for what Nathaniel did for a living, sifting thru the 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 to receive family land. Nathaniel's employment at one point is cited in the 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 is up against the lower edge of the White Mountain's Presidential Range, another jump north in the family history became more problematic. His future son in law Hayes was able to do it only because a relative owned some of the extremely limited land suitable for farming there.

Lodging with his father or a brother and still taking on a wife was not necessarily seen as a burden. According to Gorham historian D. B. Wight commenting on these times "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."

Americans fighting the British in the War of 1812 impacted the young Emery Family. A threat to New Hampshire was the likely advance of British warships to raid coastal Portsmouth, NH. 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. Nathaniel's group was ordered south to participate in the defense of Portsmouth. His service was from 9/12/1814 until 11/25/1814. The British determined that they could not win at Portsmouth so hostilities did not break out there.

To verify Nathaniel's 1814 service for Deborah Emery's 1873 War of 1812 widow's pension application, two former soldiers, one from Conway, NH and the other from Gloucester, Maine, swore that they had served with Nathaniel. But Nathaniel would live only a few more years. His untimely death came at age 31 on 12/30/1820, in Eaton, NH, not far from Bartlett. In the pension application Samuel Copp relates the sad event:

*Totem Pole carved by Jay Milliken in honor of Dolly*

*"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."* He was correct, Deborah was still a widow in 1873. But there is no mention in the application of the twenty-five years she had spent with her *second* husband, by this date also deceased.



Dolly's 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, NH 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 had lost Nathaniel less than three months later. D. B. Wight on a remarriage custom of 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 to live with her mother and new step-father to the east in Fryeburg. If at **19** Dolly was in, or keeping in touch with, Bartlett's **Jericho** section Emerys, she would have been jolted by impacts from the 1826 flood that hurt Daniel Pinkham's road work to the north. From the 1860 *History and Description of New England* by Coolidge and Mansfield in reference to Bartlett:

*"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. That stream swelled enormously, and, by the rocks, trees, and logs which it brought down in its vehement course, made a complete dam just below the spot where the house stood.*

*By this accumulation of water, the house was raised from its foundation, being buoyed up on its surface like a boat. In this perilous situation the inhabitants remained all night, and it was only by the wonderful workings of Providence that they were saved from a watery grave."* Skipping ahead to age **24**, just before her marriage to Hayes, Dolly was living just **west** of Bartlett.

Hayes reached Martins Location in 1826. As a full time resident there, he 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 head of a household. Bachelor Hayes was likely noted by an anonymous digit within the age and sex categories of some other household, likely Pinkham's.



Daniel Pinkham was a head of 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 the Pinkham Family for a total of ten. As of the taking of the 1830 Census, the three eldest Pinkham daughters were married and residing elsewhere. Then 15-year-old daughter Martha's whereabouts is not clear.

That leaves six members in the 1830 Census Pinkham Family record for Pinkhams Grant. Yet the 1830 entry for this household includes 8 occupants, the additional two categorized as males, one age 20 to 30 and the other 30 to 40. We will not be able to prove who these two men were, but Hayes Copp needed shelter if he was laboring on the Pinkham Road and getting a start on improving his adjacent farm lot.

*Maybe* the male age 20-30 is **young cousin Hayes**, who was 23 on the 1830 Census date of June 1, 1830. Facilitating this perspective is the practice of 1830 Census takers to *not distinguish* between those inside the dwelling as to their status as resident family, visitors, boarders or employees.

Could Hayes labor on the road and build his home at the same time? Perhaps his initial shelter was very modest. Dolly may be implying that in an 1886 Gorham newspaper with the choice of words as to their earliest dwelling: "*small log camp.*" Support for construction staging comes from Bartlett historian Aileen Carroll: 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.*"

#### 4-1E. MARRIAGE AND NORTH TO VALLEY

Hayes in Wakefield did not grow up within courting distance of Dolly in Bartlett to the north. The needed proximity was in place only after 1826 when Hayes moved north to Pinkhams Grant as a much needed laborer on Daniel Pinkham's flood-ravaged road project. We know that in 1827 just after turning 21 Hayes "took a deed" from Pinkham for farm acreage. He did not pay Pinkham in cash; payment was recorded as "*in good faith and for valuable consideration*" – a young man's labor.

There must have been only a limited pool of young marriageable persons in the area. The ages of Hayes and Dolly were only six months apart. Both Emerys and Copps had "town founding" names that may have facilitated the match. Bartlett historian

Aileen Carroll, in large part reflecting 1927 remarks by George Cross, says of Dolly that "*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.*"

In 1825 Dolly's first cousin Samuel Emery born 1799 of Bartlett {not her younger first cousin Samuel Emery Jr., born 1826 of Gorham} had married Hayes' third cousin Betsey Copp of Jackson. This looks like a "small town" coincidence. But then again, this Betsey was a sister of Samuel Copp, who was with Hayes part of the small first band of settlers north to Martins Location.

The view of historian Aileen Carroll in her *Bartlett, New Hampshire 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.*"

-- 1790 CENSUS FOR BARTLETT, NH, EMERYS:  
 Enoch Emery Household: 2 males 16 and over, 5 males under 16  
 (includes Nathaniel age 1), 5 females Humphrey Emery Household:  
 2 males 16 and over, 1 male under 16, 6 females

-- 1790 CENSUS FOR BARTLETT, NH, ROGERS:  
 James Rogers Household: 1 male 16 and over, 3 males under 16, 4 females  
 Samuel Rogers Household: 1 male 16 and over, 1 male under 16, 5 females  
 Thomas Rogers Household: 1 male 16 and over

-- 1811 BARTLETT, NH, TAX LIST:  
 Includes various Emery and Rogers heads of household. Presumably this  
 includes those paying poll tax and not just those owning property: Lower  
 District: Enoch, Stephen, Humphrey, Sylvarius and Sally Emery, no Rogers  
 Middle District: Humphrey, Jacob and Nathaniel Emery, no Rogers  
 Upper District: James, Daniel, Jonathan and Joshua Rogers, no Emerys

The maiden name of Dolly's mother was **Rogers** and the maiden name of early Pinkhams Grant settler Samuel Copp's mother was also **Rogers**. Samuel Copp and Hayes Copp were part of the handful of settlers in Martins Location by 1830. Dolly's father worked for Samuel's father, and Samuel was at the 1820 funeral of Dolly's father.

Forty-three years later Samuel Copp assists Dolly's elderly Rogers mother

with her pension application. Could Samuel be a **Rogers-side** cousin to Dolly? Samuel was the key early person in proximity to both bachelor Hayes and unmarried Dolly. Perhaps he was the **go-between** that introduced them.

Their late 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 along the narrow valley of the Saco River. A guess is that Dolly as a young woman was working there as opposed to staying with her mother and stepfather in Maine.

The residence of Hayes on the marriage license was already Pinkhams Grant, NH, confirming that he was "up there getting a farm ready" before marriage. The wedding was in Jackson on November 3, 1831, a Free-Will Baptist ceremony, the prominent Reverend Daniel Elkins Sr. officiating.

In 1831 Mount Washington was already being ascended from the southwest over Crawford's rudimentary foot path, soon to be bridle path. That summer with her new husband, Mary Jane Thomas, Dolly's age but much wealthier, ascends. Pavel Cenki cites her: "*Upper-class tourists were interested in greater luxury than could be provided by Ethan Crawford, whose inn, wrote Mary Jane Thomas, {Mount Crawford House} offered fare and accommodations of the most primitive character.*"

It is then Thomas herself describing the view easterly from the summit that is a highlight of Peabody Valley history: "*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 sees the new road in overview. Then in November of 1831 bride Dolly sees it at eye level.



**Dolly and Hayes leave Jackson** – from the 1952 book jacket of  
*"The Pilgrim Soul"* - paperback edition available today at [durandpress.com](http://durandpress.com) - with  
 north at right the newlyweds pass the Hansons before reaching Hayes' 200-acre farm

Mary Jane's comment lends credence to the legend that Dolly pioneered in a wilderness. As seen in an analysis of her handwriting, "*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.*"

Howard Russell in his 1975 *Three Centuries of Farming in New England* comments on high spirits such as seen in Dolly and Hayes: "*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.”* Logical enough.

#### 4-1F. FIRST SETTLERS

Young marrieds Hayes and Dolly cross over the Eastern Pass, soon to be known as Pinkham Notch, into the Peabody Valley. They descend to the Glen, where in twenty years a great hotel, the Glen House, will be built. Here they no doubt stop at the home of Ann and Joseph Hanson, Joseph like Hayes having arrived in 1826, his house doubling as an inn.

*Daniel Pinkham to wife Esther: “Beyond East Pass 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.”*

- From Carol Hayes 1998 novel **Pinkham’s Notch**

A further 2.8 miles north from the Hansons, and after crossing the Peabody River on Daniel Pinkham’s new log bridge, the newlyweds arrive at the farm Hayes has been preparing. Dolly was no doubt soon greeted by Esther Pinkham, by that time a mother of eight children, on the farm lot just to the north (Site #5 occupied first by Pinkham, then Merrill, then Baker then Culhane Families, now Dolly Copp Campground’s Spruce Woods section). Perhaps there was a motherly touch as Esther was just two years younger than Dolly’s own mother.

The first settlers in Pinkhams Grant were the Joseph Hanson Family in 1826 and bachelor Hayes Copp also that year. Both Joseph and Hayes had been born in Wakefield to the south. Daniel Pinkham may have been working in the Peabody Valley summers from 1824, based in a road camp (his son cites use of road camps) or after 1826 bunking with the Hansons. Then Daniel Pinkham brings his family up in 1828, 1829 or 1830.

*Occupants in 1830s shown by annotations, occupants in 1865 on original Jackson Iron Map*

The question of who was the specific very first settler in the Peabody Valley appears unsolvable – a band of cooperating relatives pioneered **at or about the same time**. Overview comment in 2020 by USFS Archaeologist Sarah Jordan: *The settlement pattern you outline aligns with research we have done in other areas of the WMNF, where settlements of this period were based around kinship ties and operated cooperatively.”*

Due to a major construction setback with the Pinkham Road, young Hayes Copp gets involved, a critical juncture in his life. An abrupt halt to road construction due to a violent storm in 1826 brought him in. This is recorded 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.” That was the same storm that threatened Dolly’s relatives in the Jericho section of Bartlett to the south and wiped out the famous Willey Family.



View north from entrance bridge at **1954 flood** - 1954 Hurricane Carol flood photo courtesy of Paul Shiebler - at right **normal river elevation**

Continuing from the *History of Carroll County*: “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 {from the Ellis River section} were found fifteen miles away in Conway.”

The great 1826 storm was devastating in the Gorham of the time as well. *History of Carroll County*: “It was totally dark, but they waded across the interval and crossed a small bridge, and came to another which had just been swept away... Trees floated down from the **Peabody River** near us and swept us down with them. We caught into the tops and were borne down with the current a third of a mile.”

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 competing trade route to the south, thru the Crawford Notch and along the Saco River, was also heavily impacted by this storm.

A significant contributing factor to the 1826 flood in the Peabody Valley was a recent forest fire. 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 in 1882: 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.”

Bridge work had to be redone and the right of way cleaned, all at additional expense to Pinkham. Due to that storm damage as well as limited labor supply, the expected date of completion was continually delayed. Fortunately, the state legislature cooperated by extending the completion deadline several times. Providing insight into Hayes Copp’s involvement 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 provide workers, Hayes’ father was **Daniel’s first cousin**, had reached Hayes at home in Wakefield, NH. Otherwise, why was Hayes among the handful of Pinkham relatives pioneering in the remote Peabody Valley in 1826? And “forced into service” is strong wording. A perspective from the Carol Hayes fictional account, written without specific text references but with an appropriate bibliography at its end, on building Daniel Pinkham’s road: “His brothers and **cousins** {bold added}, along with Dave Bassitt and Will Copp, supported his venture.”

A surviving 1880 court record shows that by 11/5/1827 Hayes Copp had been deeded Site #4, a relatively level, farmable, virgin lot from Daniel Pinkham. The purchase date appears related to Pinkham’s desperate search for road laborers after the severe **8/28/1826** flood set back the work. The land sale could have been planned a few months earlier, but it appears Hayes had to wait past his 21<sup>st</sup> birthday on **10/12/1827** for the sale on **11/5/1827** to be finalized.



William Copp's son Samuel Copp was documented in the 1830 Census as by then living in Pinkhams Grant, perhaps contracted by Pinkham as a road laborer-new farmer. Samuel was Daniel Pinkham's Site #2 son in law, married to his daughter Betsey. As supporting context, the road enabling legislation records the original \$1,000 raised for road construction as "payable in **labor**" not in cash.

There is ample precedent. Colonial laws required adult males with few exceptions to labor a certain number of days on roads. By 1790 paying down municipal tax debt thru labor was a common practice in Bartlett and Jackson. In 1828 pioneer Able Crawford bought 150 acres in Hart's Location from the state for \$75. When he did not pay in 1832 the state converted the obligation to labor on a highway.

Boosting the theory that Hayes bartered labor for a Pinkham farm lot, an 1846 court record indicates that in 1833 Pinkham made an agreement with a man named Emery by which he was to own Lot Number 1 upon paying Pinkham \$100 for it "by his **labor** upon the road thru the lots." As a standard Pinkham lot was 100 acres, that is one dollar per acre. (Paul Doherty reports that in Gorham of the early 1830s "land was for sale at one and two dollars an acre.")

A further 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 cites this also: "It was a work of several years, with **few available laborers** and few tools" (although Cross writing in 1927 could be reflecting the recent 1919 *Turnpikes in New England* text).

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." Pinkham's financial difficulties are also documented in the 1908 Pinkham Genealogy: "Daniel Pinkham lost much money in the building of this road." There is no evidence to indicate that Pinkham was ever particularly prosperous. The opposite is reflected in this summary of his business problems:

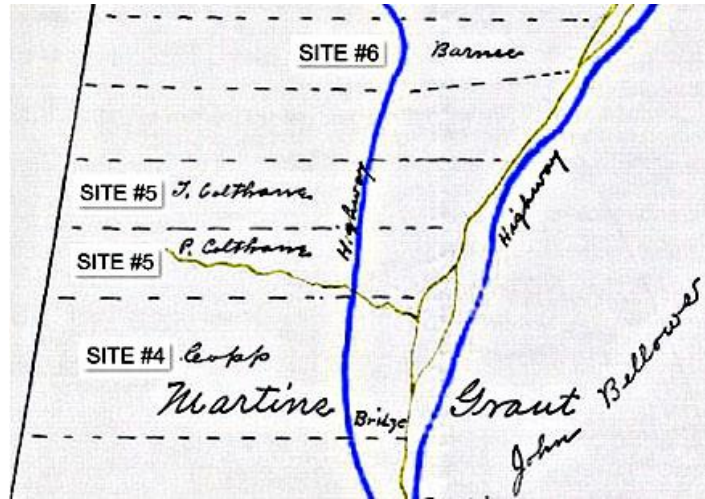
- **1826** loss of bridges by a storm set Pinkham's road work back financially and delayed completion.
- **1829** Daniel was "compelled to leave his little farm in Jackson to his creditors."
- **1832** Pinkham had "expended double the amount for which said land could be sold at auction."
- **1834** toll road authorization for his route passes just as tolls are going out of favor with the public.
- **1846** Most Peabody Valley property rights derived from his 1835 state grant were ruled invalid.
- **1853** the Portland Transcript called his route northwest by Copps an "old disused turnpike," evidence that his concept of a short-cut to Portland was poorly measured or geographically invalid.

We are greatly indebted for the preservation of the 1880 NH Supreme Court Case *Bellows versus Jewell*, as therein is found the history of Hayes Copp's property ownership. This includes information about his 1827 purchase at age 21 from Daniel Pinkham. Excerpts from the case, (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." These lots were each 50 rods wide, and extended back 160 rods from the road on each side. 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. The land in dispute was never divided into lots by any person who owned it. The only division was the one by Pinkham."

Property Lines on the 1862-68 **Goodwin Map**, home site identifiers added, **Copp's #4 lot** double sized and composed of two Pinkham 100 acre lots - about 1838 Hayes had a survey made of his two lots

"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 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."

The 1840 Census for Pinkhams Grant, not until the 1850 Census do we get separate data for subsections Martins Location and Greens Grant, provides details on how the pioneer kinship group had settled in. What is clear is that the Peabody Valley of 1840 had families with children, of the 39 residents that year, twenty-four were age 20 or less:

1840 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 Sr.	4	-	-	2	-	-	2	8
Site #2b: William Copp	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: Daniel Elkins Family had replaced Joseph Hanson Family:** Note that this dwelling is in Greens Grant, with dwellings #2 thru #5 that follow further north and within Martins Location. The Elkins family in 1840 by birth year consisted of 1795 Daniel Elkins Jr., 1795 Sarah Meserve Elkins, 1817 Isaac M. Elkins, 1823 Eunice T. Elkins and 1825 Joseph Warren Elkins. As Site # 1 in Greens Grant becomes the site of the Glen House, the history of these early families is primarily within the section on Hotels and Sawmills.

**SITE #2: Brothers Samuel and William Copp and Families:** The Copp brothers were grandsons of Jackson founder Benjamin Copp. They were third cousins to Hayes. Samuel's wife Betsey was a second cousin to Hayes thru Daniel Pinkham – part of the core evidence that the Peabody Valley was settled from the south 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 in 1840 are 1807 Samuel and wife 1806 Betsey, then their children 1830 Hannah Jane Copp, 1833 Elizabeth Chesley Copp, 1835 Daniel Pinkham Copp and 1838 William Copp Jr.

**Site 2a:** With the Samuel Copp family are a male and a female both 60 or over, presumably elderly relatives. They could not be wife Betsey Pinkham'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 and his mother Hannah **Rogers** Copp, again too young and the 1840 Census has them living in Jackson. But our **Rogers** couple could be Samuel's uncle and aunt.

There is a Thomas Rogers, Jr. and wife referenced in the 1846 legal fight for Site #2 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." Reinforcing Rogers primacy, 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 3/17/1836, and in turn Samuel sells it to brother Thomas on 11/25/1843.

The maiden name of Dolly Emery's mother was **Rogers**. Samuel Copp, mother a **Rogers**, was at the 1820 funeral of Dolly's father. Decades later Samuel Copp assists Dolly's elderly Rogers mother with her pension application. Samuel Copp may be a Rogers-side cousin to Dolly?

**Site 2b: William Copp Jr:** 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 female child between ages 10 and 15.

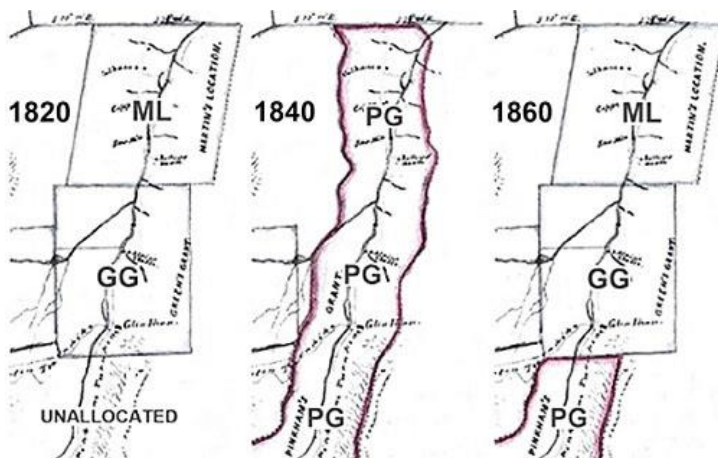
**Site #3: Robert McCartee Family:** The McCartee household in 1840 included 1795 Robert McCartee, 1802 Sophie Meserve McCartee, 1824 Almira McCartee, 1826 Henry McCartee, 1828 George W. McCartee, 1831 Florinda McCartee, 1834 John McCartee, 1836 Mary McCartee, 1838 Sarah McCartee and 1840 Maria McCartee; these birth years are approximate.

**SITE #4: Dolly and 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, coming in 1849.



**Site #5 Edmund Merrill Family:** *Assumed* at this location in 1840 by birth year are 1803 **Edmund Merrill** (photo from ancestry.com), 1809 Relief (Frost) Merrill, 1833 Rosetta Merrill, 1834 Edmund Merrill Jr., 1835 Mary Ann Merrill, 1837 Ruby Merrill and 1839 Cullen Merrill. Edmund's wife's 1934 genealogy states that Edmund "lived at one time near the Glen House in New Hampshire, and built mills in that region."

## 4-2. PINKHAMS GRANT FALLS APART



**Evolution of civic units in the Peabody Valley comparing 1820, 1840 and 1860, 1860 remaining 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 newly overlaid **Pinkhams Grant (PG)**

At right John Bellows revives Martins Location and Greens Grant, leaving new **Pinkhams Grant** trimmed back to just the southern section valid today

When Hayes married Dolly in 1831 he gave Pinkham Grant, NH as the address for his home site. Living there is 1880 as Dolly writes to her granddaughter she gives Martins Location as her address. Both answers are correct. In the interim, Pinkhams Grant fell apart.



### **Memories of John Bellows Not All Favorable**

**Obituary of John Bellows 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 of 1908:** Concerning Site #2’s Samuel 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 with John Bellows of Lancaster.”

**Novel on Daniel Pinkham by 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.”

It must have been clear from its creation that population totals for Martins Location would always be small – not enough farm acreage and population to support a store or church. The population was 34 in 1840, dropping to 12 in 1850 after Bellows’ forced evictions, 19 for 1860, 17 for 1870, then rising to 33 in 1880 as itinerant loggers crowded into Site #2 for lodging.

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
2010	10,051	2,848	372	0	1	9	816	2,788	10,115

\* As the 1840 Census total for Shelburne had been 350, Wight explains the big increase to 1850: “The large number in Shelburne when the 1850 Census was taken were all foreigners at work building the railroad.”

#### **4-2A. LOCAL GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTED**

Realizing the threat to his own and to his children’s properties from businessman Bellows, from his home in Lancaster former legislator Daniel Pinkham may now have attempted to buttress the legitimacy of Pinkhams Grant thru influence in state capital Concord. The 1897 NH Register and Manual states that “*Pinkhams Grant was incorporated in 1840.*”

I wonder if the incorporation designation was 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 small 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.*”

There is other evidence of the 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.*” Another record documents that the first state taxes on Pinkhams Grant were assessed in 1840.

On the one hand, these actions may be routine civic evolution. It is the timing with Bellows takeover attempt that supports the theory that they are a reaction. Enabling of a local government could be interpreted as enhancing the legality of Pinkhams Grant, a preemptive administrative challenge, to make it more difficult for John Bellows to undermine its 1824 state legislative legitimacy. Pinkhams Grant went ahead with choosing town officers, the 1842 – 1844 *New Hampshire Annual Register* recording them:

--- Site #2 **Selectman** Samuel Copp

--- Site #3 **Selectman** Robert McCartee, also **Town Clerk**

--- Site #3 **Selectman** Sarah Pinkham Wentworth -as Sarah was a Lancaster resident in 1840, perhaps her property ownership here was the qualification for office.

We can sense a correlation here. Bellows was after sites one thru three, not four and five across the Peabody, and the east bank residents are up front in the new little civic unit's government.

#### 4-2B. LAWSUITS SEIZE HOMES

Bellows' takeover focused first on the east bank Site #1 early Hanson, at takeover time Elkins, and soon to be Glen House property in Greens Grant. He installs Spaulding, a tenant from Lancaster there. He next sues for the Site #2 Samuel Copp homestead and then the Site #3 Robert McCartee (uses name of tenant) sawmill property, both north of Site #1 and closer to Dolly and Hayes:

--- **Seizure of Site #1** Bellows versus Elkins lawsuit opening words lost. \*

--- **Seizure of Site #2** Bellows versus {Samuel} Copp lawsuit opening words: "*Writ of Entry, {defined as an indictment to obtain land from one who has unlawfully possession} to recover 2000 acres of land in this county called Martins Grant 9/28/1841*" - 2000 acres the size of Martins Location.

--- **Seizure of Site #3** Bellows versus McCartee lawsuit opening words: "*Writ of Entry, to recover 2000 acres of land in this county 10/21/1841*" - 2000 acres the size of Martins Location.

\* The Bellows' lawsuits regarding Peabody Valley properties and invaluable resources for this history. However, the text of the suit to invalidate the later Pinkhams Grant designation overlying colonial Greens Grant designation was not saved. Yet there is one reference within the Site #2 1846 Bellows versus Copp case to an earlier Site #1 suit entitled Bellows versus Elkins.

The reference is used to clarify a minor point of law: "*The point arose in Bellows v. Elkins. And it must be held here, in conformity with the decision in that case, that the omission to include the granted territory in any of the apportionment acts.... was wholly without any such effect in law, to disturb the rights of parties acquired under the charter.*"

The topic of the reference is so narrow and directly relevant that this single citation is enough to be certain the title parties are "our" Bellows and Elkins. My daughter Betsy Chew Bodien undertook legal research for the details within *Bellows Versus Elkins* but concluded they have not been preserved, this note included to save future researchers that effort.

We would have found in that record the original Greens Grant deed traced, as was a fact finding feature of the parallel *Bellows versus Copp* and *Bellows versus McCartee* lawsuits. We may have seen how this tract was confiscated from British loyalist Francis Green and property transfers to reach Bellows.

There is a reference from George Cross that may have been part of the underlying "non-Pinkham" property history: "*In 1834 a pioneer by the name of Hadley bought Greens Grant for five hundred dollars. There is no evidence however that the new purchaser ever made any use of his possession.*"

We know from the fact finding section in the *Bellows versus Copp* case that in the winter of 1839-1840 an agent of Bellows sought a pretext to advance the takeover. Bellows challenged timber cutting on Site #2 by Samuel Copp and his brother Levi: "*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.*"

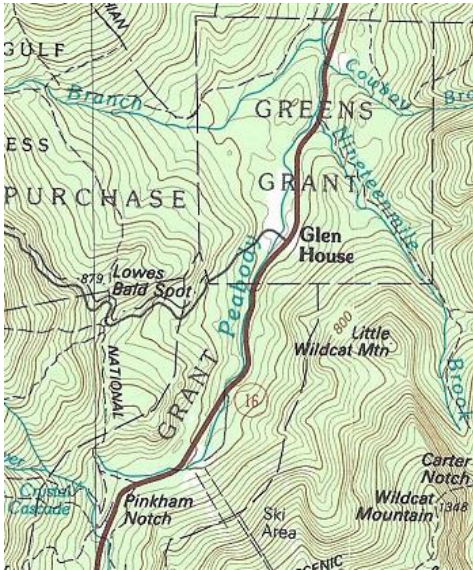
At the trial over claims to the Samuel Copp Site #2 property, the Samuel Copp side defended what they saw as their property rights. They introduced as evidence a copy of the 1824 legislative act promising land to Daniel Pinkham, then their own deed from Daniel Pinkham.

They defended Pinkham's integrity in initiating the project: "*Pinkham never had any knowledge of Martins Grant {older and underlying} till June of 1834.*" The Samuel Copp side also claimed there was no record of any Thomas Martin ever existing. But those lines of defense did not win the jury over.

Switching tactics, and 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 (almost) empty of settlers for more than fifty years, 1773 to 1826. But by 1846 the state court did not accept that line of argument. Evidently it was not for a much later court to enforce archaic deed conditions that had not been taken seriously in their own time.

To the dismay of our pioneers the Superior Court of Judicature of New Hampshire – the NH Supreme Court - found 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.”* Because of this ruling Peabody Valley history takes a substantially different path.



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, including the high point labeled in the *Boston Literary Journal* by 1852 as Pinkham Notch. This section was *“such land as the State owned”* at the time of the 1824 designation to Pinkham - no underlying early colonial grant to overturn its legitimacy.

The post-1846 **“Lesser Pinkhams Grant”** remains on the map of New Hampshire today, part of the White Mountain National Forest. It’s 1824 linear shape, east and west boundaries equal distances from the original Pinkham Road, forever contrast with the rectangular civic units of Greens Grant and Martins Location to the north.

Ownership of some or all of today’s 2432-acre Pinkhams Grant also appears to have fallen to Bellows in some way. 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.”* This remark is tempered by the 1901 *Thompson versus Currier* litigation which states Bellows had only held title to 1,000 acres at the north end of the post-1846, truncated, Pinkhams Grant.

Moving on down the road, Pinkham daughter Sarah Pinkham Wentworth and her husband William G. Wentworth also lost their **Site #3** mill property due to Bellows’ suit against their tenant McCartee, concluded in 1846. The Wentworth’s are in Lancaster Village in 1850, living at their substantial tavern named the American House, its dining room Wentworth Hall. In 1860 the Wentworths are still in Lancaster, living with Sarah’s widowed mother Esther Pinkham (Daniel died in 1855) at the “Old Parson Willard Place.”

It is not clear if Hayes Copp’s 1827 Pinkham derived deeded rights to **Site #4** were impacted by Bellows 1846 property victories. Obviously, Hayes and Dolly were not evicted like the others, their son 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. Or, Bellows only wanted the soon to be “main road” properties, and storytelling Dolly could be useful in the tourism business.

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 aspect of Bellow’s Peabody Valley business came to a head late, commencing in 1875 and concluding in 1880. This was a lawsuit aimed at Hayes Copp about the boundary of the Copp property holding. Bellows claimed that a Copp’s contractor was cutting timber on his land. Recall that we heard this before, when Bellows first went after Samuel Copp’s farm in the winter of 1839-1840. Here in



*Bellows versus Jewell*, John claims that the Copp contractor logging activity had strayed easterly on to property he seized back in 1846. The Copps lost and paid damages.

The court proceedings exposed some weaknesses with Hayes' 1827 ownership of a combination of two original 100 acre sized Pinkham lots. The Bellows complaint demonstrates that even at this late date, property minded Bellows, or his on-site agent, was actively policing his extensive land holding in the Peabody Valley.

The "Jewell" in the 1880 case file must have been the logging agent for the Copps, the man or company doing the actual work. There are no references within the case as to his background or first name. A good guess is that this is William Jewell (1838-1914) of Gorham 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.*"

**Site #5**, the original Pinkham Farm just north of Copps, must have been one of the prizes for Bellows – for he is renting it out to the Bakers by 1850 and then to the Culhanes in 1851. There is no evidence that **Site #6** to the north, broken off from the Culhane property in 1861, had an active residency this early.



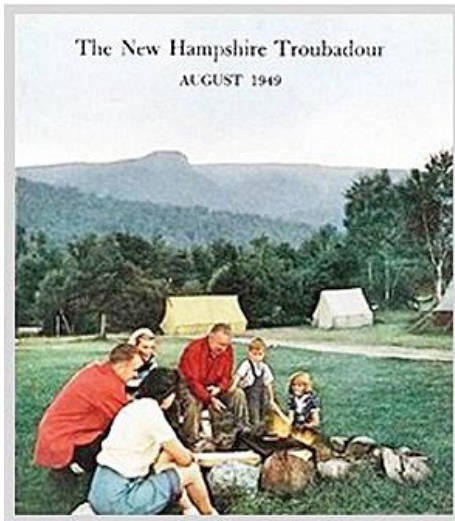
## 4-3. IMP VIEW AND TOURIST LODGING

### 4-3A. IMP VIEW BEST FROM COPPS

Universal to human cultures, our species is hard wired to recognize features in the landscape that imitate parts of the body – potential threats - especially faces. In the case of the Peabody Valley, the sidewall of the Carter Range hosts a natural rock face in profile, requiring "just the right angle" to be recognizable.

The very limited range of viewpoints centers on the Copp Farm. In walking the short distance north from the Campground's Imp View Lane to its Big Meadow section, the Imp's facial features are obscured. Dare we think settling at the viewpoint could have been for good luck - Hayes' 1826 choice of available Pinkham lots – to bask in the influence radiated by a natural feature. Or seen as a more practical site asset, which in twenty-five years *it indeed becomes*.

The profile is positioned on the west slope of the Carter Range, facing Dolly Copp Campground. The Imp is not easily viewable from Route 16 itself due to intervening tree canopy, some set back by crossing the Peabody River is needed. According to Wikipedia "*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, and as lesser beings rather than more important supernatural beings.*"



**Imp View** on August 1949 NH Troubadour Magazine, location today is Imp View Lane

Comment in 2011 by **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.”

As nineteenth century White Mountains tourist guides proclaimed, the open land on the Dolly Copp Farm was cited as the best location for viewing – no other spot ever mentioned. Aside the Copp home site memorial today is a camping section nicely labeled by the USFS as “Imp View Lane.”

The first we hear of the Imp is in 1849, when Peabody Valley tourism investor John Bellows writes to railroad president Little as to what natural marvels he will see on a visit to 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 original}.”

Looking into the name, I consulted *Place Names of the White Mountains* by Robert and Mary Julyan: “It is said that Dolly Copp herself gave the mountain its name”. But no attribution for that statement is provided. Yet there is circumstantial evidence for this claim.

Dolly's relationship to the Imp was established early, as documented in the early eighteen fifties references below. Perhaps her naming of the Imp, an upgrade from the earlier Cat Head Mountain, can be inferred from her early close association. The other source that may infer a naming link is an **1885** Appalachia Journal article: “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.”

‘Imp’ does not appear in the earliest mentions of the face, such as 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.” Same as in *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**.”

Peabody Valley **Imp** and Franconia **Old Man** compared, Old Man the NH emblem since 1945

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.”



(Dolly was only 45. The rigors of pioneer farm life may have aged her rapidly. In 1832 English commentator Frances Trollope observed that the immense tasks performed by American pioneer women led them to “lose their beauty” by age 30).

*“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.”*

Then in **1853** the *Portland Transcript* cites the name as a proper noun: *“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.”*

A mention in 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 {wrong mountain cited, the Imp is part of North Carter Mountain}. 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.”* The 1853 newspaper’s description reflects Bellows’ 1849 promotional plan stating *“no less a perfect representation of the human face than the far famed Old Man of the Mountains seen at Franconia.”*

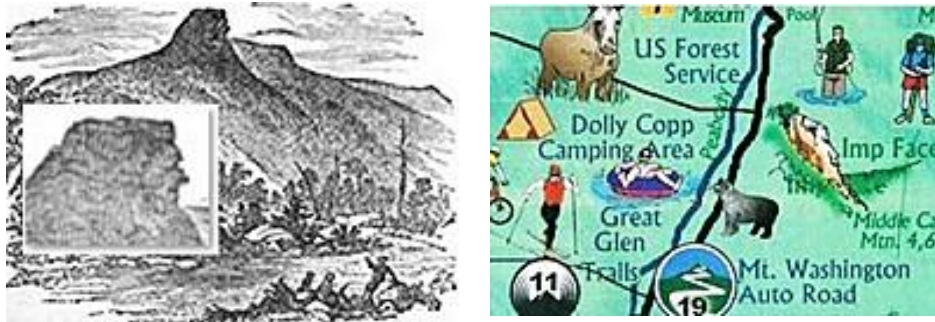


*Portland Transcript* reporter 7/29/**1854** southbound on foot: *“Arrived at the half-way watering place... Some distance from this point we turned off on the Randolph road, we get a view of the Imp. B. Took an excellent likeness of the grave gentle man with the stone face, and **after obtaining at the farm house, a drink of the sweetest milk** we ever tasted, we returned again to the Glen Road.”* The 1854 *Portland Transcript*’s classic summation: *“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 **1858** and the *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 {Glen House rival in Gorham}, and which leads towards Randolph. It would be, also, a pleasant afternoon walk {measures out as 2.8 miles each way}.”*



From the **1874 Handbook of the Boston and Maine Railroad** referencing the Garnet Pools: “About one and one half miles beyond, by crossing the bridge to the left, the point is reached near a farmhouse where the singular appearance of a distorted human face is seen on a peak of Imp Mountain {another reference to wrong mountain}.”



At left Imp in **Eastman's 1853** tourist guide with blow up of face added, at right Imp in **2009 Gorham brochure**

In this same Handbook, the section listing place names, we find this telling remark: “Imp, a name bestowed upon a peak of Mount Moriah {again wrong mountain}, from the singular resemblance it bears to a remarkable or rather unremarkable human countenance.” This may be a rare admission that it was not one of the Peabody Valley's top tourist attractions. A fuller endorsement comes next year in *Harper's Handbook* for **1875**: “The particular points of attractions in the vicinity of the Glen House are the Imp, Garnet Pool, Thompson's Falls, the Emerald Pool, Glen Ellis Falls, the Crystal Cascade, and Tuckerman's Ravine.”

On to *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** includes similar language.

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, {an upslope pasture} the best point from which to see it. 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.”*

N. T. True writing in **1882** on scenery accessible from the Glen House: “The principal features of interest to visitors are the Summit of Mt. Washington (eight miles), the Crystal Cascades (three miles), and Glen Ellis Falls (four miles), besides many other places of **minor interest.**”

*Glen House Book 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.” On to 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** {owned by a logging company by now} on the way, from which the best view of the ‘Imp’ is obtained...”

*Two miles more brought them to the road crossing the Peabody River. They turned off here, went over the bridge, and having reached the farm, inquired of a native the best spot from*

which to view the 'Imp', and then walked to the place and gazed at his **Satanic Majesty's** rocky counterpart until their hearts' content.



**Post cards** left 1953 and right 1907 – center **Mike and Julie Hart** in 2019 with morning coffee while viewing the Imp from the Play Field, their 23 year tradition, Mike camping at Dolly Copp since 1967

With the end of the full size Glen House (and the Copp's much lesser Imp Cottage), coupled with the spectacular rise of scenery-spoiling logging, by 1900 drawing tourists was no longer a business priority. But post card views continued.

When the Peabody River bridge moved north in 1950, access to the viewing point became a slower, dead end drive through Dolly Copp Campground. the Imp could no longer be easily viewed from the state highway running by the old Copp home site. This much more time consuming access may account for the Imp's more subdued popularity as a Peabody Valley natural attraction today. Yet it remains beloved by campers and hikers.

#### 4-3B. TOURIST LODGERS WELCOME

A significant theme in New England history, remote and scenic farm areas became attractive to summer visitors. Shrewd local residents seized the economic opportunity. Howard Russell in his 1975 *Three Centuries of Farming in New England* offers the big picture: *"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."*

In 1927 George Cross linked Dolly to that rural tourist trade: *"No other housewife wove so many bolts of woolen homespun, so many yards of linen, could match her dyes of delicate blue, could rival her golden butter, rich cheese and maple syrup. And they all found a market at the Glen House."*

In addition to hosting the Imp viewpoint, Dolly and Hayes rented rooms to tourists, confirmation 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, traversing the whole ridge in three days. 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's Ravine."*

**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**

*Osgood's 1876 Handbook on "easy marches" between **Copp's** and other "inexpensive inns"*

According to Plymouth State University *"by the 1830s many small-town taverns and rural farmers began lodging the new travelers as a way to make ends meet. Gradually, profit-minded entrepreneurs opened larger hotels with better facilities. The less well-to-do were able to join the elite after midcentury, thanks to the arrival of the railroad and an increase in the number of more **affordable accommodations.**"*

Drake writing in **1882**: “*The house, as we see by Mistress Dolly Copp’s register, has been known to many generations of tourists.*” While Cross in 1927 also mentions a guest register, he was known to embellish. No such reputation has followed Drake. Perhaps in gathering his material Cross had read Drake’s account, and no heard of or seen the guest register himself. Wouldn’t that be fun if it turned up.

From Sarah Jordan's 2004 historical review of the Copp home doubling as an inn: “*Like many farm families in the White Mountains, the Copps probably took in the occasional traveler, as in Cross’s account of Eugene B. Cook {lived 1830 - 1915}, an early president of the Appalachian Mountain Club, as a storm bound guest of the Copps.*”

*Stages on route south towards Pinkham Notch – courtesy of NH Historical Society*



The question of dual incomes arises with both the Copps and the Culhanes. The Culhanes were known to have supplemental income from Peabody Valley tourism work, yet their Census profiles present them only as farmers. The answer may be that Census records in those times were not good sources for determining *multiple* sources of income – the limit was a one or two-word entry.

As the view of the Imp from the Copp Farm became a tourist attraction, the Copp home itself acquired the nickname “**Imp Cottage**.” As we might phrase it today, good marketing to attract lodgers. Use of “cottage” was common at this time for similar, small tourist lodgings. An example from 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.*”

As for documentation of the term Imp Cottage for the Copp home, the first found is from an **1874** scientific report on 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 {Jefferson, NH} and dined, and at a little before five 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... 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.*”

In overview of the tourists lodging at Copps, most of the *recorded* visitors had an interest in recreational hiking. Perhaps the accommodation was primarily a lower cost hostel, defined as “*an establishment which provides inexpensive food and lodging for a specific group of people, such as students, workers, or travelers.*” The exception, or representative of family visitors, was the touring Drew Family boarding at the Copp farm during the summer of 1874. Youngest son Daniel Copp marries the tourists’ daughter later that same year.



A visiting hiker of interest was **Nathaniel Southgate Shaler** (photo) who lives from 1841 to 1906. Shaler was a brilliant (summa cum laude) student at Harvard University outside of Boston at the outbreak of the Civil War. According to his autobiography, for stress relief after a severe oral exam he makes a quick trip to the White Mountains to do 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." An intriguing choice of words! "Three days having given me my breath and sense of balance I returned to Cambridge."*

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## 4-4. COPP FARM AND SETTING



*At left older photo of **barn ramp remnant** hidden by vegetation today; right **Sarah Jordan** of the USFS whose research greatly aided this work*

### 4-4A. HOME AND GARDEN

Here we take a look at the Copp farm during its period of greatest vigor. That would be when the children were old enough to contribute their labor, Dolly was showing the Imp to tourists, and the Copp's elder years were not yet at hand. In 2004 USFS Historical Archeologist Sarah Jordan prepared an insightful commentary on the characteristics of the Copp house:

*"It was of the most popular type of connected farm house 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...."*

*There is no historical description of the Copp barn, but surviving remnants include the **entrance ramp on the north side** (shown), 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 or a New England barn."*



*Dolly and Hayes Copp Site #4 Home circa 1854  
Source: Randall Bennett of the Bethel, Maine Historical Society*

*Sarah Jordan of the USFS: "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."*

In the 1919 book *Turnpikes of New England* the cellar hole was noted: The Cops "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 commenting on this feature: "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."

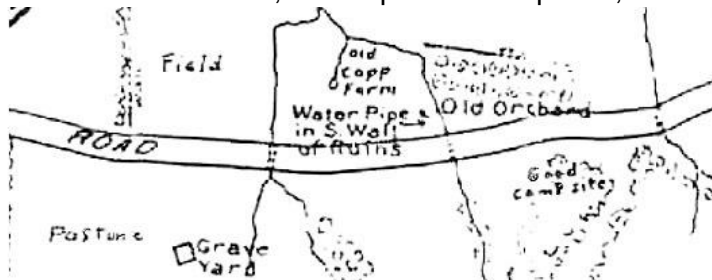
In 1927 George Cross observed flowers still growing in what had been the garden of the Copp home site. Cross records apple trees still living here that year. The 1938 *Guide to New Hampshire* prepared by the Federal Writers' Project: "The remnants of their apple orchard are visible behind the foundations."

Author Frank A. Burt writing in 1960 documented Dolly's old apple trees still alive then. I remember one withered and gnarled, surviving into the mid-nineties. Writing for the 75th Anniversary Celebration in 1996, Dorothy Shouldis remembers: "We used to pick apples in the Riverside Drive area at Dolly Copp and near the ball field, and then make great apple sauce for us and some of our camper friends."

#### 4-4B. WATER SUPPLY AND SANITATION

To the rear of Camp Sites 112 and 113 flows a small brook. Drinking water from this vicinity was directed to the homestead through 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 Sketch Map at the Copp homestead "water pipe in south wall of ruins", the correct orientation for eastbound flow. As the circa 1854 homestead photo shows the flow ending at a metal basin located across from the house, the implication is that the pipe was extended under the road to reach the house after 1854. Or both existed and the outdoor basin was for animals, other speculative options, etc.



At left circa 1854 **water trough** southwest of Copp Home; at right 1915 USFS Sketch Map with notation "**water pipe** in south wall of ruins"

As for tourist sanitation, carriage travel was slow, near five miles per hour, and after a stop to view the Imp, tourists could not necessarily speed on to Gorham to meet restroom needs. Consider also that there were guests at the Glen House that might walk the 2.8 miles down to Dolly's for her view of the Imp. From Eastman's 1858 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.

#### 4-4C. FARM PRODUCTION

The first Agricultural Census was taken in 1850. There are two active farms in Martins Grant, that of Hayes Copp and adjacent on the north that of John Baker. We can compare these. But Baker's 1850 Census trade was painter; he was only a part-time farmer.

At first glance that occupation here in a rural enclave seems odd; how could a painter possibly support himself with so few buildings to paint? But 1850 is exactly the year for us to substantially revise the frame of reference for Martins Location. Quite suddenly, a major construction project is just 2.3 miles down the road – the Bellows Hotel - many guest rooms to be painted and expensive wallpaper to hang.

By late 1849 Bellows was having timber sawed to build his 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 then Merrill house part of the agreement, for the hotel painting work needed. As Baker's primary work was not farming, 1850 farm production for him was much less than for adjacent Hayes Copp. While farm acres improved and cash value of Copp and Baker farms were roughly equal, Hayes was well ahead in production.

A photo of a **potato field** from the 1925 NH Agricultural Bulletin reflects the look of Copp fields

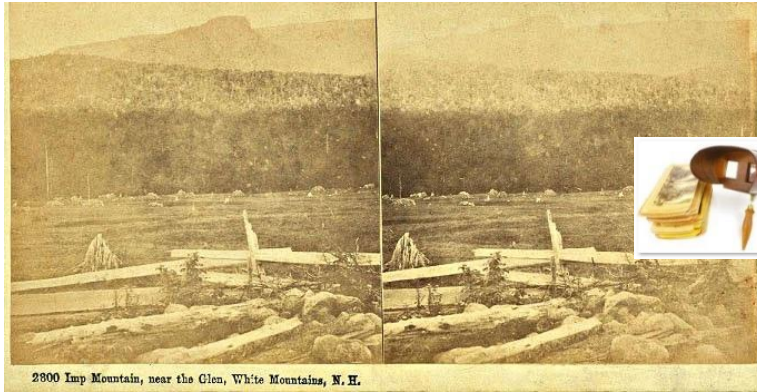
Copp's value of livestock was \$245 versus Baker's \$70, **Irish Potatoes** \$300 to \$40, butter \$300 to \$100, value of homemade manufactures \$40 for Copp to Baker's \$0. So potatoes were a big investment for the Cops.



A comment by Cross in 1924 on the soil of the Moose River Valley, its characteristics no doubt similar to soil in the adjacent Peabody River Valley: *"The humus of centuries of fallen leaves, rich in potash, was well adapted for bumper crops of potatoes."* The 1882 *History of Shelburne* also comments on early agriculture: *"Corn, potatoes, wheat and rye grew abundantly on the new soil, enriched by the fallen leaves of many centuries. Plenty of sugar could be had for the making, and moose, deer and delicious brook trout were free to all."*

A fine overview of Copp farm yields prepared in 2004 by 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 Cops 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."*





**View East to Imp** with Copp's south field in foreground dated 9/10/1864, **stereograph** from NYC Public Library - "Stereography was an early form of three-dimensional photography. Two nearly identical images were placed side-by-side on cardboard. When viewed through a special viewer, the two images would merge into one with the illusion of three-dimensionality. Stereographs became wildly popular during the second half of the nineteenth century, affordable to everyone." - Middlebury College Museum of Art.

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. The primary products produced by the Copsps throughout the period covered by the census, as with most farms in the surrounding area, were Irish potatoes and butter.

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 Copsps.

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 Copsps 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."

#### 4-4D. HOUSEHOLD, ARTIFACTS, PAINTING, RESEARCH

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." Stating that he obtained his information from "some of Dolly's long-ago guests still living," George Cross offers another description: "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."

From the 1927 *Dolly Copp and the Pioneers of the Glen* by George Cross: "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... If sold to at the Glen House, perhaps Dolly's handicrafts were also hawked to tourists viewing the Imp in her yard.

**Artifacts:** As for surviving artifacts from the Copp home, fortunately there is Dolly's **1816 Bible**. Back in the 1930's, genealogist Samuel Copp Worthen examined it for documenting birth dates of the four Copp children. It is now respectfully preserved in a private collection, the owner stating for the record "Dolly's precious bible is well cared for."



Dolly's prized **grandfather clock** is housed in the Randolph Town Library. Cross reports on a note written near 1880 that Dolly pasted into that clock: "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 Captain Anthony Vincent who then lived on what was afterward called the Carlton Place, in Randolph. It was 48 years ago last September that I bought it and paid five and one half dollars for it. It was for many years an excellent timekeeper.”



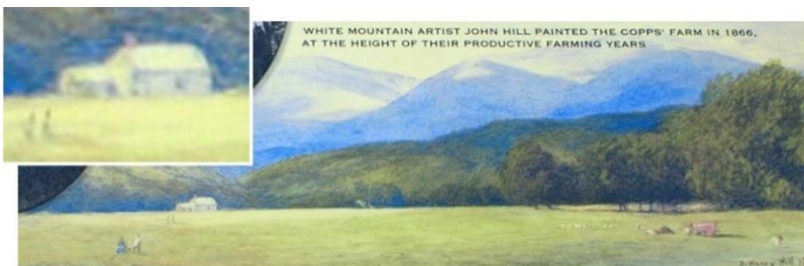
As for Dolly's skillful hands she wrote in 1880 “my web is in and I wove eleven yards.” Cross: “In the corner of the living room at the right stood a rude wooden loom and beside it a large spinning wheel.” Dolly's **spinning wheel** is today housed today at the Gorham Historical Society.

Additional artifacts are cited in an undated letter in the USFS file by a Copp descendant. It looks to have been written by one of their grandchildren: “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. 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.” The clue here is that late in life eldest son Jeremiah Copp lived with his daughter Marcella in Meredith, NH and died there in 1910. A reference to this store is found in the History of Meredith: “During the early 1900s this building housed the Weeks and Smith Store.”

**Oil Painting:** The tourist appeal of the White Mountains was stimulated by commercial artists and writers. There was also considerable advertising by railroads promoting tourism. First rate paintings were produced, many converted to lithographs appearing in popular publications.

The New Hampshire Historical Society on landscape painting in the mid nineteenth century: “Previously, the most popular and commonly found representation of the American landscape had been Niagara Falls. But around 1850 Mount Washington became an equal if not more important symbol.” The Copp home was the subject of a painting in 1866.



From home site display **Copp Farm in 1866** by John Henry Hill {with blowup of Copp House inserted}

“John Henry Hill (1839-1922) was a distinguished landscape painter and engraver of the American Pre-Raphaelite tradition. He studied as a watercolorist. Using a brushwork technique that called for small and drier brushstrokes, he created the differing textures of trees, water and rocks in nature. John Henry painted primarily in the geography and timeframe defined by the White Mountain and Hudson River Schools.” - Source is whitemountainart.com.

Leave it to White Mountains enthusiast 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.”

**Research:** First 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*: “In the White Mountain region, and in northern New England generally, it is exceedingly abundant.

*Indeed, the matrons of farm houses, 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."*

Then a few years later we find a reference in the **1877** *Geology of New Hampshire* by Charles Henry Hitchcock. In his detailing Hitchcock found the location of the Copp property useful 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 work in their 1989 *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."*

#### 4-4E. **SCHOOLS, VOTING AND TAXATION**

While the youth of Martins Location needed public schooling, their Peabody Valley hamlet was too small to have its own facility. Early-on a school in Randolph was within reach. 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."* From the 1888 History of Shelburne: *"Gorham affords school privileges to those who wish to avail themselves to them."*

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. For these years a good road north to Gorham was in place.

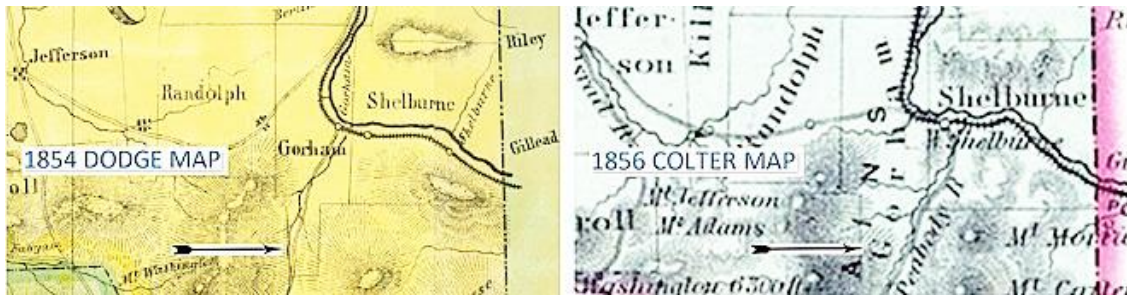
The 1908 biography on Patrick Culhane's son James is specific on an interjurisdictional relationship: *"James pursued the regular branches of study taught in the public schools of Gorham."* As James was born in Martins Location in 1859 his schooling in Gorham was likely 1865 to 1877.

James' and his parents left Martins Location and moved to Gorham in 1874, perhaps something to do with James' education. A modern school was built in Gorham in 1876. In 1879 N. T. True opened a select high school there. James continued on to college, taught school in Dummer and Milan, was a Master Mason and a member of the Gorham School Board. The 1860 Census for the Spaulding Family in Greens Grant lists three children ages 8, 9 and 13 who *"attended school within the year,"* same for youngest Copp child Daniel that year.

As for other municipal links, in 1853 32-year-old Patrick Culhane of Martins Location was added to the list of Gorham taxpayers. Then in 1856 21-year-old Nathaniel Copp of Martins Location was added to the list of Gorham voters. These links point to some form of civic cooperation.



In a 1908 biography of James Culhane there is the statement that James was “born in that part of Gorham known as Martins Grant,” seemingly tying the adjacent civil divisions together. This could be a mistake by someone writing from a distance. But, adding credibility are some statewide maps of the 1850s showing **administrative union** for Gorham and Martins Location, their common border erased.



Gorham and Martins Location with their **common border** erased

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 and 105 others; “Severally praying for the annexation of Greens Grant and Martins Location to the Town of Gorham.” But Hayes Copp and others opposed the 1866 annexation effort:

“By Mr. Conner, of Exeter {John Bellows home town, using his influence?}, remonstrance 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 {a forcefully reproachful protest} of **J. M. Thompson** {Glen House owner} and 2 others, inhabitants of Greens Grant, against the annexation thereof to the Town of Gorham.”

The prize tax enhancing property in the Peabody Valley was the luxurious Glen House. If the Gorham boundary could be extended south to include that valuable complex, Gorham’s total property tax base would increase by 22% in one stroke! We know that Hayes Copp, Colonel Thompson and the other opponents won as the record states “the petitioners for annexation have leave to withdraw.”

Annexation was never achieved thereafter as Martins Location and Greens Grant remain on the map of New Hampshire as distinct if unincorporated civic units. Although tiny, their boundaries on the state map have the same “line weight” as New Hampshire’s other 234 minor civil divisions. Today local administration needed in the Peabody Valley, if outside of federal jurisdiction, such as in Greens Grant where the new 2018 Glen House is on non-federal land, is provided by Coos County boards based in West Stewartstown, NH.

#### 4-4F. RELATING TO MOUNT WASHINGTON

**Copp Family:** A question is the extent to which activities of the Copp Family relate to the history of Mount Washington. The “horizontal plane of map” distance from the summit to the Copp home is only 5.8 miles. The relationship was seen as sufficiently prominent to be included within the 1960 *Story of Mount Washington* by Frank Allen Burt. He makes a connection down the valley by dedicating much of one of his twenty chapters to the Cops, summarizing the 1927 Cross account therein and going further than anyone in describing Hayes’ melancholy, details ahead.

After the railroad arrived in 1851, 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, accessed in Greens Grant adjacent to the new Glen House. On the road construction work force by summit historian Jeffrey Leich: “Hall had to sell his watch to make the last payroll for his crew of approximately eighty laborers.”

George Cross on the laborers: *“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.”*



**Joshua Huntington:** Huntington Ravine on Mount Washington, very much a part of Peabody Valley history, is named after Joshua H. Huntington (photo). A founder of the AMC and avid hiker, Huntington spent the winter of 1870-71 living on the summit making weather observations (lowest temperature 59 degrees below). Obviously very fit, between November 12, 1870 and May 14, 1871 he took trips down and back up thirteen times.

Huntington provided descriptions of White Mountain peaks for Sweetser's 1876 Guidebook. He also contributed to the 1879 *History of New England*. Proceeding county by county thru its 791 pages, the mere eight pages reserved for New Hampshire's Coos County were authored by him. Hayes Copp made the Coos County cut, confirming his iconic status, Huntington:

*“Hayes D. Copp settled in Martin's Grant in 1826. 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 farm house 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](http://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.”*

**John Bellows:** After the 1852 sale of his Greens Grant hotel, John Bellows moves into the next business venture he is remembered for, ownership of the Mount Washington summit. John as a businessman thought that people enjoy the transcendent feeling of being on a high mountain, especially the highest peak in a given area. He was right.

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 has in excess of a quarter of a million visitors annually.

To position himself after the 1846 Greens Grant and Martins Location seizures, in 1848 John secures partial control of the mountainous Thompson and Meserves Purchase to their west. The boundary for this unit includes the valuable Mount Washington summit, *or so he believes.*

Atlantic and Saint Lawrence Railroad President Josiah Little must have had some forewarning that rival claims to the summit of Washington could derail John Bellows' summit access plan. The wording of Little's inquiry to Bellows on this point is lost but Little's worry 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.”*

*Dolly Copp campers **Dominic and Giovanni Ferreira** visit summit*

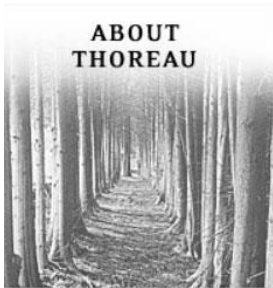
That response must have been sufficient, for Little went ahead and made the pony road investment. Little remained involved with Peabody Valley tourism, serving as one of the speakers at the grand opening of the Mount Washington Carriage Road in 1861.



Yet John was either overly optimistic or glossing over problems to sell Little on the ownership issue in 1849. It was not those famed 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 the relatively new 1830s civic units conflicting at the summit of Mount Washington – improperly surveyed from the start it turned out. Recall that Surveyor Thompson, deeply involved in that work, stayed overnight at Daniel Pinkham's in 1835. This enhances the evidence for Site #5 as the Pinkham homesite location, details presented in a Supplement.

From 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."*



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 up Tuckerman Ravine to the summit of Washington. Thoreau's 1861 reaction to the sheriff's evictions 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. 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 suggest that earth has higher uses than we put her to."*

In contrast to the new valley hotel, Bellows did not construct anything on the summit. Rather, he collected rents from others who built there. Bellows appears to be in full control of the summit claim in 1858, then yielding his interest to his nephew Henry Bellows Wells in 1859.

This initial summit dispute, its legacy continuing today, was resolved in 1872. The interests of the southern claim bought out Henry Bellows Wells' northern claim. Mount Washington Historian F. Allen Burt: *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, thus obtaining clear title to the summit."*

While not now officially a party to the sale, John Bellows may have retained a financial interest, as he later holds the mortgage on nephew Wells' Brookline, Massachusetts home, then and now an expensive residential section adjacent to Boston.



## AND PERSONALITIES

### 4-5A. BENJAMIN WILLEY 1855

Benjamin Willey's 1856 *Incidents in White Mountain History* was designed to illuminate historical milestones and "anecdotes illustrating life in the back woods", including an 1855 adventure by young Nathaniel Copp. Nathaniel was three days short of his 21st birthday at the start of the incident.

Willey's introduction to the piece states "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?"



**Author Benjamin Willey**, whose brother Samuel perished in the famous 1826 landslide in Crawford Notch

But his story also appeared in the more distant Brooklyn New York Daily Eagle, on 2/17/1855, thus apparently syndicated widely. 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."

On January 31<sup>st</sup> 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.



Young **Nathaniel Copp** and his deer

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.”*

Nathaniel is then recorded by the June 1863 *Civil War Draft Registration Record* as living in Martins Location that year, with a Registrar’s comment: *“Most of toes gone by being frozen.”* This was from the winter woods adventure, 1882 travel author Drake confirming that *“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.”*

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#### 4-5B. EDWARD EVERETT HALE 1861

A nationally prominent commentator on the Copsps was Boston’s great orator Edward Everett Hale. Hale lived 1822 – 1909 and was a leader in the fields of literature, religion, politics and social betterment. Hale was Chaplain of the United States Senate. Hale’s biographies tell 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.”



**Hale on Boston Common**

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 is also on the summit of Mount Washington in 1841.

Of great value to this Dolly Copp history, Hale refers to Hayes Copp in his 1861 book *Ninety Days’ Worth of Europe*. I am assuming their acquaintance was struck up well before 1861:

*“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 had always had two, and always knew where they were.”*

Part of the significance of this quote is in the transformation of the national economy during the fifty years after it was made – the striking independence of Hayes Copp became 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.”*

All White Mountain National Forest enthusiasts owe something to Hale. Supportive of the formation of the AMC in 1876, he then vigorously promoted use of public funding to purchase White Mountain forests, successful in 1914.

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**Dolly  
and  
Louisa**



*Photo of Dolly courtesy of Randall Bennett;  
drawing of Louisa from streetsofsalem.com*

*Louisa on Dolly: "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"*

#### 4-5C. LOUISA MAY ALCOTT 1861

I searched for years for remarks about or by Dolly, grateful for the few nuggets found. Then I came across thousands of words in her 1861 conversation with nationally renowned author Louisa May Alcott.

Alcott was born on 11/29/1832, just after Dolly's eldest child Jeremiah on 9/7/1832. While Dolly's was a well worn story, perhaps their ages were just right for Dolly to present it as motherly advice. Two distinct subcultures meeting – rural New England farm and urbane, educated Greater Boston. The difference is deliberately highlighted by Alcott in her unpolished, vernacular spelling of Dolly's words.

Their exchange is reproduced below and is a treasure trove for Peabody Valley history fans. That is not necessarily the case for Alcott fans. Louisa's account of her 1861 vacation trip to Gorham was but a minute segment of what would become a vast literary career. The exchange receives but brief mention in a thick 1950 biography of Alcott's life and writings 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 is shown in a commentary 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. To the author of fairy tales and lurid thrillers, this vacation offered a welcome respite from her writing for the periodicals and war news in Concord {Massachusetts}.*

*Her account of this trip, published for the first and only time in 1863, is worth reprinting: for it shows us Alcott's remarkable narrative and descriptive powers at work five years before Little Women was published."* The description of her 1861 visit was publicized as four "Letters from the Mountains" in the Boston Commonwealth newspaper, all starting on page one, July 24 and 31, 1863 and then August 7 and 21, 1863, the visit with Dolly August 7.





Louisa's day trips started out from **Gorham's Alpine House**, (drawing) – she opens with “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.”

We see contention and generational difference between the women 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.' ”

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.” Maybe those in Dolly's generation could not bring themselves to challenge a Bible verse. But complaining about her husband to strangers is certainly not bearing all things in **meekness of spirit!**

Louisa leaves the Alpine House in Gorham for her day trip: “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!”

Squab, my interesting steed, merely put back his ears, whisked his tail, and began to describe a circle with his hind legs, while his fore legs remained stationary, or nearly so. “Give him a cut behind, Miss, he always acts ugly at first, but I guess he won't throw you, remarked the hostler, with his hands in his pockets. There was a cheering speech for you!

Fine exercise, isn't it?” “Ve-ry fi-ne in-deed,” chattered I, bound not to give in while I could hold on. In this graceful and dignified style, we trotted out of sight, and I was just collecting my scattered wits when the landscape abruptly reversed itself and I found myself seated in the dirt with the saddle on Squab's belly instead of on his back... “It is a perfect day for seeing the Imp's profile to advantage, clear, and cool, and dry.” “Yes”—bump—“we couldn't”—chatter—“have had”—bump—“a bet ter”—chatter, bump—

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. You find Squab easier now, don't you?” “Oh very”—bump, bump—“much easier.”—chatter, chatter—bump —chatter—bump. At this point the brute's patience gave out as the woman's had long ago, and I don't blame him, for a more miserable pair than rider and ridden it would be hard to find.

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 thru 1950 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.**”

Alcott inserts a verbatim description from Starr King alright, but precisely Starr King's text for the Old Man at Franconia, *not a unique write up* on the Peabody Valley Imp. Unfortunate, it would have been a treasure. Some kind of mix-up here, or did one or both famous authors think that it did not matter. So I deleted Starr King's Imp description from Alcott's narration. According to the 1859 *Handbook and Description of New England* by Coolidge and Mansfield, following a traveler in the Peabody Valley, “he passes the Imp Mountain, from which the projections in the rock somewhat resemble the ‘Old Man’ at Franconia.”

Continuing, "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.

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 is deliberately obscured – Dolly never lived in Vermont, her husband's name was not Silas, etc. Some of her children's nicknames are allowed to come thru clearly. Whether this was Dolly's requirement for the written interview or a standard tactic by Louisa for ensuring privacy we do not know. 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." On with Louisa's record of Dolly's story:

"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."

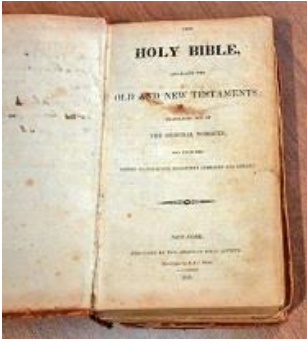
"What a peculiar old person," thought I, adding aloud—"Yes, ma'am, I enjoy it very much for I've spent here some of the happiest days of my life." "That's just what they all say, and ef young folks would only start right away they might keep on sayin of it a consid'able spell longer than they gen'rally 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.' "



Dolly Copp's 1816 **Bible**

"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 {Dolly's personal information deliberately obscured}, and when I merried, we settled in Vermont {inaccurate}. 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 year 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 {not so, 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.

The children seemed to ketch the fit for they acted like time in the primmer, with croup, and pins, and hoopin' cough, and temper; I declare I used to think the very pots biled over jest to spite one another, to say nothin' o' me. Of course I told Miss Millet my merryments and she seemed to sympathize real hearty, telling me to keep a taut rein or I should never get the upper hand all my days. 'Train Silas well,' ses she, '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** {correct nicknames for Dolly's sons Jeremiah and Nathaniel} under.'

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 lecturer 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, 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 and the cent, my emptins, and the baby. 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 tremendous storm set in, and it rained guns all day. I was hankerin' after the baby and dreadful worried 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, {perhaps a reference to the major Peabody River flood of 1850 or local brooks thereto} 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 drowned?" 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.*



**Alcott stamp 1940**

*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 promiscuous 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 werryments 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.*

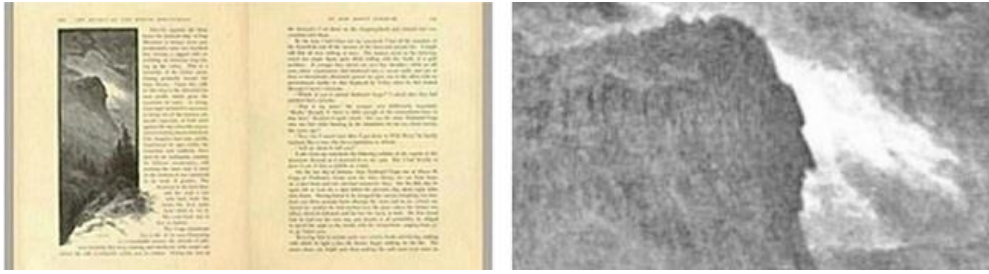
*For a long spell we was as sweet as honey pots; I never tried to be boss agin, but cooked the best o' vittles, let them children walk over my naked nose, and petted the hull on 'em most to death. Silas was so lovin', I declare for't, I used to say the old courtin' days was come back, for he was as meek 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.' " {an old Irish saying not unique to Dolly} "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.”



Samuel Adams Drake's 1882 book illustrates a **brooding Imp Profile** as viewed from Copp Farm

#### 4-5D. SAMUEL ADAMS DRAKE 1881

At this time there was a market for stories on the lives of White Mountains local residents, emphasizing their relationships to the spectacular landscape and the country freedoms they enjoyed. One such popular author was Samuel Adams Drake, who visited the Copps about 1876 to take notes for his ornate 1882 *The Heart of the White Mountains*. The book includes a vivid description on the Copps:

*“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 Copps 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 **Copps**, 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 mighty hunter}, as I received it on the spot. But I had literally to draw it out of him, a syllable at a time.'*

The earlier 1855 winter woods adventures of Nathaniel, already reported by the Brooklyn New York Daily Eagle in February of 1855, and then by White Mountains Benjamin Willey in 1856, was then reproduced by Drake in his 1882 book.

Drake provides a precious view of the Cops, with one small caveat. Drake's 1882 comments on the Copp's had *just appeared* in an 1881 edition of Harpers New Monthly Magazine. In that version he takes *swipes at the Glen House*, very rare. Perhaps some editor thought the offending paragraphs would be bad for upcoming book sales so for 1882 they were removed.

Both versions include *"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."* But he had elaborated further on the hotel theme in the 1881 text, deleted from the published 1882 book and reproduced below:

*"One is dropped here into the easy going, methodical, and uneventful ways of the primitive inhabitants, and is astonished to witness how little the bustle and excitements borne past its door on the current of pleasure-travel from have affected the absolute tranquility of the old farm house, or disturbed the fixed habits of its occupants. 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.*



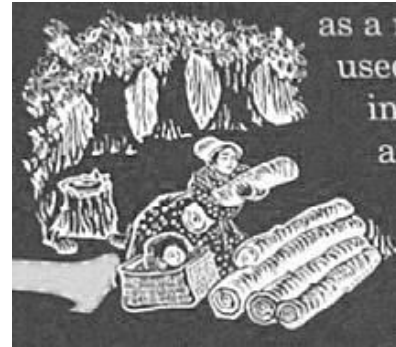
*We would not have it there. But when we see one of these dingy red cottages, and hear the bleating of sheep up the mountain side, instead of feeling the experience of discordance, we at once brighten up and say: 'This is right; this belongs here. It has not bought or pushed its way among these old grandees, but lies in humble dependence and trustfulness at their feet. It might always have been there.'"*

#### 4-5E. PERSONALITIES

**Dolly Copp:** Insight into Dolly's early pioneer life is captured in the 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.”

The 1888 *History of Coos County* comments on Gorham area farm life around 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 excerpt from home site display} and other heavy labor. They did not have neuralgia or headache, and not withstanding their toil, many attained a vigorous old age.”



Of great value to historians, on 9/27/1880 Dolly wrote a newsy family letter to her eighteen-year-old granddaughter Susan Copp. Susan was the middle child of son Jeremiah, that family living to the west in Littleton, NH. Dolly was 73 as she wrote, providing us with insight into Copp family life (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 references 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 his son 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, 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 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.”* (Son-in-law Benjamin Potter will pass away in 1882, but daughter Sylvia lives on to 1929).

*“Your grandpa is xxxx' {spelling unclear}. Nathaniel has been carrying potatoes and apples to Gorham.”* (The 1880 Census shows the Copp orchard consisted of thirty 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 Marsilla and darling Charley {they are her other two grandchildren there} and a big share to yourself. Tell Marcella I shall look for her this fall and I want her picture.*

Signature of Dolly in 1880

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." Priceless.

As for Dolly's other communications, author Anne Miller Downes may be close to the truth in her 1952 historic fiction account: "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 can provide insight into personality and with Dolly's 1880 letter we given that opportunity. Leading graphoanalyst **Irene Lambert** agreed to assist this study. 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.



Analyst Irene Lambert

**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.



Dolly Copp

**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.

**Hayes Copp:** We know for sure that Hayes was a hard worker and somewhat daring for his early migration into a near wilderness. Enterprising also, for by **1835** he had a second job as assistant postmaster to the Pinkhams.



--- Louisa May Alcott's account of her **1861** vacation trip to Gorham was a minute segment of what would become a vast literary career. A visit to Dolly to view the Imp was promoted as a tourist attraction. It receives but one sentence in a thick 1950 biography of Alcott's life and writings by Madeleine Stern:



*Hayes and Dolly circa 1854*

*"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."* That problem can of course be attributed to *both* Hayes and 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 said Hayes "made his own farm with his own hands and was dependent annually upon civilization only for nails." Extraordinary industrious men reflects our Hayes.

--- Hayes was not so taciturn as to be unable to speak up on a community issue important to him. A hot button issue was a proposed election district boundary change described in the 1864 *Journal of the New Hampshire Senate*: "To the Committee on elections, by 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."

In **1866** full annexation was proposed by Gorham State Representative Tubbs and 105 others. But Hayes Copp and another group opposed that effort. Maybe this 1864-1866 issue, possibly bitter as neighbors Patrick Culhane and Hayes Copp are on opposite sides, was in part responsible for the *social freeze* reporting in 1886 between Hayes Copp and the Culhanes.

Civic Unit	Valuation
Berlin	\$143,540
Shelburne	\$127,041
Gorham	\$277,355
<b>Martin's Loc.</b>	<b>\$3,000</b>
Green's Gr.	\$60,000
Pinkham's Gr.	\$20,000
Jackson	\$155,489
Bartlett	\$176,733
Conway	\$524,374

--- In **1876** author Samuel Adams Drake upon viewing Hayes describes "an old man whose countenance had hardened into a vacant smile."

In its 791 pages, the **1879** *History of New England* proceeds county by county, a mere eight pages reserved for New Hampshire's Coos County. Hayes Copp made the cut, confirming his iconic status. "Hayes D. Copp settled in Martin's Grant in 1826. 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." Hayes was 65 when he made that climb.

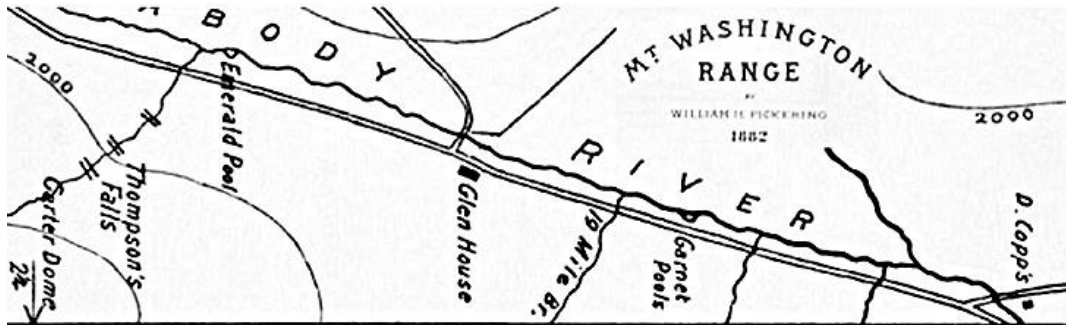
--- A lawsuit by the Peabody Valley's largest landowner John Bellows ending in **1880** concluded that Hayes did not own both of his original 1827 100 acre Pinkham lots, only one. Yet by the 1880s farm sale, Dolly is the owner of the second, questionable lot, which Bellows must have sold her in the interim (?). Maybe Hayes was not considered capable of the transaction at this time. I hope I am being fair in this section as Hayes is not here to defend himself – all too easy to cite the faults of the departed and blur their earlier accomplishments.

--- George Cross in his 1927 account states that on or near their fiftieth wedding anniversary, that would be November 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, Cross is the only original source for that remark, viewed by many as characterizing Dolly as liberated for her time. But was she just polishing up a bad situation, being polite for Victorian Era public consumption? Did "*long enough for a woman to live with any man*" really mean long enough to live with *this man*? A heavy question.

--- 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. Other maps follow suit thereafter. What is responsible for this change - was it Dolly's ascendancy as tourist hostess and Imp promoter, the decline of Hayes mental state, or a combination of these factors?



Landmarks on **1882 Pickering Map** include at right (north) **D. Copp**

--- The 1850 Wakefield Census categorized Hayes' younger brother Daniel as insane, then the 1860 Wakefield Census as well. 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 family genetic heritage on display here.

--- 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:

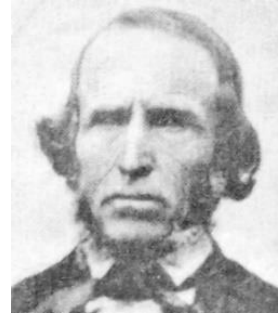
*'Do you have good neighbors?' 'Ah yes,' he said, 'and I always get along without any trouble, that neighbor,' pointing to a house near, 'I have not spoken to for over thirty years, I never have any trouble with him.'*" The "house near" would be the **Culhanes**, thirty years back 1856, five years after the Culhanes moved in.

--- Again from the *Gorham Mountaineer* of 3/5/**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 his declined physical capability.

--- 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. This is noticed in his 1900 book *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."*

--- Eva Spear's 1932 *New Hampshire Folk Tales* cites Hayes' 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 see elsewhere.

**Hayes Copp**

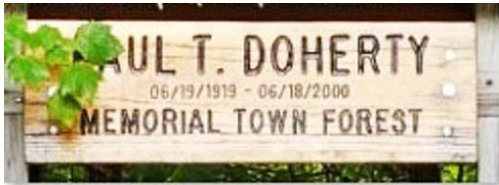
--- "Dolly Copp Farm" is shown on the **1910** Cutter Map. A **1910** news clip in the Lewiston, Maine Evening Journal, text reproduced ahead, documents son Nathaniel's old age eccentricity and apparent insanity. As with Hayes' brother mental difficulties may to be running in the family.

--- In the **1919** *Turnpikes of New England* the later years of Dolly and **Hayes** are recorded as 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 classic **1960** *The Story of Mount Washington* Frank Allen Burt reflects the 1927 Cross account of the Copps. But the description he provides of Hayes was his own, not derived from Cross, no source given:

*"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."*

Perhaps that statement is Burt's interpretation of the primary photo of Hayes. But he then concludes with this grim comment not found in 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.'"*



--- We also have what is an interesting tale about Hayes. As a Gorham resident, the late **Paul T. Doherty** collected local lore from the old timers at the barber shop. His later 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."*

Paul Doherty also conveys what old-timer Heath had heard of Dolly's first arrival: *"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 warming pan. She said they were wedding presents."* And that thereafter *"Dolly would come to town dressed in a long dress and apron."*

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## 4-6. RETIREMENT FROM PEABODY VALLEY





Comments by Sarah Jordan of the USFS on factors in the Copps' retirement: *"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's 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 and Dolly 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."*



Of the four Copp children only Nathaniel remained with their elderly parents. On 7/9/1884 he buys their 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."* Perhaps Nathaniel was not mentally competent to do so. Then on 2/3/1886 an eldercare agreement (photo) was signed between Nathaniel and 78-year-old Dolly:

***"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 listed on the agreement as from Martins Location, even though the Copp house there had been sold, it looks like he had some arrangement to remain in it as an occupant. It looks like Dolly and Hayes did not immediately vacate either; Dolly's 1881 *"fifty years is long enough for a woman to live with any man"* evidently did not lead to immediate separation.

One month after the signing of the 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."*

Perhaps the newspaper's account was *not really* intended to be taken as a literal quote from Dolly. Instead, maybe it is a subtle, Victorian style admonition, understood by readers as such, urging son Nathaniel to honor the agreement he just signed for his mother's care. I think the "friend" receiving Dolly's message is really the conscientious Gorham Mountaineer newspaper editor, writing in his role as the moral conscience of the community.

This interpretation is suggested from the fact that there was soon a change of plan from Dolly living with Nathaniel in Dummer - that key clause of the 1886 care agreement was not honored. Perhaps Nathaniel's mental difficulties were becoming more severe and he escaped the home scene by one of his trips to the Midwest.



Dolly's **church** in Gorham today; author **Eva Speare** 1875-1972; Dolly's **Auburn home** photo by Nancy Birch

Instead of living with Nathaniel, Dolly retires to daughter Sylvia's house, on Parker Street just north of downtown in **Auburn, Maine**, off of today's Route 4. We can wonder if the \$500 from the 2/3/1886 agreement with Nathaniel was transferred to Sylvia. As Dolly had \$500 to finance her retirement, perhaps Hayes had that same amount.

Hayes went to live on a farm in **Stow, Maine** with an Emery in-law, Dolly's nephew James Clifford Emery. Dolly's mother had been residing with that family after 1870 until her death in 1877 – they had some practice taking care of an elderly family member, perhaps meager income from an "eldercare" bedroom.

According to historian Samuel Copp Worthen, (grandson of Dodavah Copp's brother the Reverend Roger Copp) as part of his retirement to Stow, Hayes "*contributed his savings \$500+} 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.*" This may be better stated as expanded acreage of an existing farm.

Looking at their eldercare choices, son Daniel was at a distance in Ohio. We can wonder why eldest son Jeremiah, not far away near the downtown of Littleton, with his apparently stable family and business, did not step in to serve as his dad's caretaker. An intriguing answer is found 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 added was Spear's ending, that Copp daughter Sylvia offered a city home to **both** of her parents:

*"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."*

That fits with Drake's 1882 assessment that Hayes illustrated "*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.*" Also with his apparently reticent psychological profile.

This preference explains nearby son Jeremiah not hosting his retiring dad as he did not live on a farm, his home part of the built up Littleton, NH environment. Spear notes that a Gorham woman, Eva M. Libby, contributed to her editing of the Copp story. That adds

credibility for the 1932 addition of an important detail on retiring Hayes, not included by Cross writing in 1927.

From the financial viewpoint, it was less work and expense for relatives to maintain one elderly family member rather than two. Was that the practical factor in their separation, aside from Dolly's weariness of Hayes? Sarah Jordan of the USFS sees it this way: *"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."*

Eva Spear refers to post-separation visits between Dolly and Hayes, while George Cross does not. An article about the Copp's in the 9/12/1953 Lewiston Journal cites 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**}. From the newspaper's own research? Or perhaps the 1953 paper was polishing up the 1932 Eva Spear comment.



Mark and Elizabeth Lewonis

The end came 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. 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' grave stone."*

The 1858 Walling Map of Fryeburg and Stow places the J. W. Emery farm at the Stow-Fryeburg Town Line, Butters Road today. The 1880 **Map of Oxford County, Maine** also shows the J. W. Emery home in this location.



My wife Dolores and I visited the Bemis Cemetery in 2017. We found it well maintained amidst post card quality views over rich agricultural land. From the 1826 Northern Traveler: *"Fryeburg, where will be seen the beautiful tract of level country through which meanders the Saco River."* The order of grave stones there from left to right: Dolly's nephew J. Clifford Emery 1852-1928, Dolly's mother Deborah Kelley 1784-1877, Hayes Copp 1807-1889, Dolly's brother Jonathan W. Emery 1814-1901, wife of Jonathan Elizabeth Emery 1803-1891.

Then Dolly passes away in Auburn on 10/4/**1891**. In 2002 camper Nancy Birch visited Mount Auburn Cemetery where Dolly is buried, describing the Potter Family plot as *"not far from the entrance to the older part of the cemetery. The headstone reads "Dolly E. and on the other side is Dolly Emery / Wife of / Hayes D. Copp / Died Oct 4, 1891 / Aged 84 yrs. 5 mos."*



The passing of Hayes and Dolly is a milestone in the history of the Peabody Valley. Moving into the twentieth century, their legacy is memorialized as the *USFS Dolly Copp Campground*.



## 5. CULHANES AND HOTELS



The Culhane brothers represent a third generation in Martins Location after Pinkhams and Copps: birth years 1779 for Daniel **Pinkham**, 1806 Hayes **Copp**, 1824 Patrick **Culhane** and 1827 brother Thomas **Culhane**



### 5-1. ORIGIN AND EMERY MARRIAGES

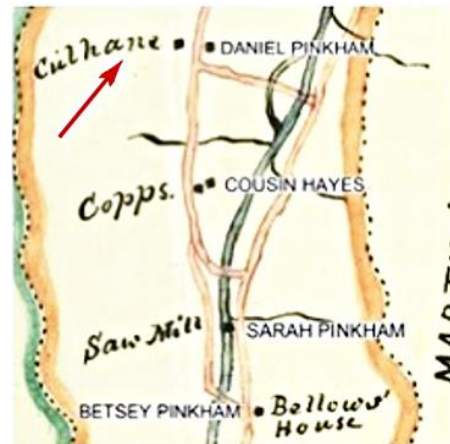
The early presence of the Culhanes in Martins Location well qualifies them for this Peabody Valley research effort. They were the Copps closest neighbors, and the wives were first cousins to Dolly. So here we have them. Of greater significance, their leading roles in early Peabody Valley tourism are relevant to the broader history of the White Mountains.

Let us refer to the last paragraph of the 1927 George Cross booklet characterizing conversation at the 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.”

Arrow to Culhanes on **1865 Jackson Iron Map**, \* added labels identify original ownership

\* The NH Supreme Court case “Henry B. Wells Versus Jackson Iron Manufacturing Company” dates to 1866. It concerned a boundary dispute affecting ownership of the summit of Mount Washington, by then a valuable tourist property.

Accompanying the Jackson Iron files at the Peabody Essex Museum is this untitled map, estimated to show conditions to 1865. The map is reproduced here with the permission of the Peabody Essex Museum.



In contrast to the early Peabody Valley kinship group arriving from the south, the Culhanes were drawn from northernmost New York State 230 miles east to Gorham. The first two of three brothers, Patrick and Thomas, as young men found lead mining jobs in Shelburne, the town adjacent to Gorham to the east, in the 1840s. Younger brother John then arrives in 1863.

Their father, John Culhane Senior, was born in 1805 in County Limerick, Ireland. John Sr. and wife Jane with one-year-old Patrick arrived in the United States in 1825, settling in the Town of Rossie in upstate New York. Lead and iron mining were important industries in Rossie and John Senior was a miner there. In that town he and his wife raised five children, four sons and a daughter, the three sons settling in the Gorham area profiled below:

**PATRICK CULHANE**, 9/29/1824 - 4/1/1888, married **Judith Ann Emery** of Shelburne on 3/29/1849. Dolly Emery'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'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

**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. 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 with wife Maggie

1880 - 1961 Mary Agnes Culhane with wife Kate

1881 - 1920 Flora Culhane with wife Kate

Note 1: *Civil War Draft Registration Records* have fourth Culhane brother James living in Martins Location in June of 1863, but not in evidence residing 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 fill their lives. Perhaps of consequence, in 1870 a Mary E. **Morse** age 12 was living in the George Bellows household adjacent to the north (1860 Barnes).

It may have been a declining business cycle at the Rossie mines that sent the Culhanes east. The Census documents a population spike in Rossie 1830-1840, then population drifting down between 1840 and 1850. The loss that decade included Patrick and Thomas, moving to Shelburne, New Hampshire for mining jobs.

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 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 the 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. 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."***

As Thomas and Rachel lived in company housing there, their marriage year is estimated as no later than 1848. According to area historian Nathaniel Tuckerman True, Patrick Culhane *"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."* On Thomas Culhane from his 1903

obituary: “He worked in the lead mines in Rossie and later came to Shelburne to work in the lead mines in that town. Later he took up farming in Martins Location.”

The next family development in Shelburne was Patrick Culhane marrying the younger Emery sister there in 1849. But also 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.”

As Thomas married Enoch Emery Jr.’s first daughter Rachel, and Patrick married Enoch’s Emery Jr.’s second daughter Judith, two brothers married two sisters. The plot thickens as the Emery sisters are *first cousins* of Dolly Emery Copp nearby. The two Emery wives’ father Enoch Emery Jr. in 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 {farm festival}, when the good liquor made them smart and brave without being top heavy, a small, lean, wily fellow stepped up...”

The 1849 Shelburne mine closing, set in the already weak Gorham Area economy, drove the two young couples out of the area. The 1850 Census places Thomas and Rachel back in Rossie, NY with Thomas’ parents. A tough time for Thomas and Rachel, their only child Thomas dies in 1850 during their stay in Rossie.

As for Patrick, Nathaniel Tuckerman True says he “went to Virginia and worked seven months in the gold mines.” A review of Virginia gold mining history shows 1849 as a sudden spike for yields there. State totals were 2800 ounces in 1848, a jump to 6259 in 1849, then 3193 for 1850. While still in New York Patrick knew of the Shelburne opportunity, and from there the timely opportunity for miners in Virginia.

## 5-2. OPPORTUNITIES IN TOURISM

**ALPINE HOUSE,**  
GORHAM, N. H.,  
STRATTON & EDWARDS, PROPRIETORS.

THE ALPINE HOUSE is pleasantly situated in Gorham Village, and from its local position the views of the mountains in all their grandeur can be obtained. This house has been built on a high and healthy site, and is a fine one of the best, well-fitted and equipped houses among the mountains, and is unequalled in all its appointments and organization. Only a pleasant drive is not from the Summit of Mt. Washington through the picturesque Valley of the White Mountains from the Alpine House to the city of Portland by the New York & Maine R.R.

**MR. P. CULHANE,**  
Principal driver with Mr. J. M. Thompson at the Glen, and eleven years with John R. Hitchcock of the old Alpine, is young as ever, 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.

The beautiful views along the Androscoggin River make Gorham a desirable place for a summer of recreation and pleasure.

This beautiful and healthy resort offers attractions unsurpassed and unrivaled for its grandeur and diversity of landscape scenery, and, since the completion of a fine water, polo, croquet, and other games, and the opening of the Play grounds.

The elevation of Gorham is 1000 feet above the sea level, and the air is pure and invigorating, and is free from the miasma, Catarrh and Hay Fever, and other diseases which are common in the lowlands.

Trunks, baggage and baggage checked without leaving the House.

Prices of board graduated to suit.

**STRATTON & EDWARDS, PROPRIETORS, GORHAM, N. H.**

**FINE HOUSE**  
GORHAM, N. H.,  
VARDS,

is pleasantly situated in Gorham Village, and in all their grandeur can be obtained. Throughout, and is now one of the best ventures unsurpassed in all its appointments and organization, and from the Summit of Mt. Washington through the ALPINE HOUSE make daily trips to and from the city of Portland by the New York & Maine R.R.

**MR. P. CULHANE,**  
Principal driver with Mr. J. M. Thompson at the Glen, and eleven years with John R. Hitchcock of the old Alpine, is young as ever, 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.

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Trunks, baggage and baggage checked without leaving the House.

Prices of board graduated to suit.

**STRATTON & EDWARDS, PROPRIETORS, GORHAM, N. H.**

Post-1874 ad in Gorham paper features  
**Patrick Culhane** - courtesy of Gorham Historical Society

**“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, is young as ever, 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”

As the Gorham Area economy in 1851 suddenly blossomed with the new tourism industry, both Culhane couples were drawn back here. The Emery wives had welcoming family to help them resettle. Historian True on Patrick Culhane after mining in Virginia: “He came back and went to farming below the Glen House, on Martins Location.” While Martins Location Census records from 1860, 1870 and 1880 categorize the Culhanes as farmers,



their livelihood was also documented in other sources as derived from the new tourist economy.

By late 1846 tourism entrepreneur John Bellows had seized many property rights in Greens Grant and Martins Location. By early 1851 Patrick and Thomas had made arrangements with Bellows to rent to them the Site #5 Pinkham – Merrill – Baker Farm in Martins Location. Bellows describes this 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 then purchase the 200-acre tract from Bellows in 1858. As with hotel painter Baker, Bellows may have again placed tenants in Martins Location useful to the new hotel business down the road.

Farm lots in the Peabody Valley were few compared to the numbers in geographically larger Shelburne and Gorham. It must be more than by chance that the Culhane brothers and their Emery wives selected this outlying hamlet - kinship ties between the women could have been, hard to resist assuming must have been, a factor. Maybe Dolly knew Bellows was looking for help, informed her Shelburne uncle, and that work opportunity is what drew the Culhane couples back to New Hampshire.

A 2013 examination of the Culhane home site 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.*

*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.”*

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### 5-3. WORKING YEARS TIMELINE

As noted 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.



Alpine's J. R. Hitchcock

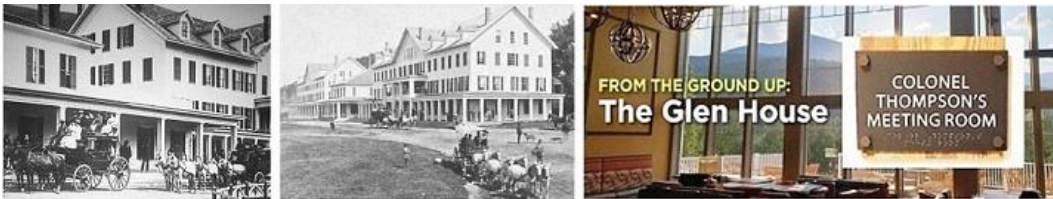
Historian True on Patrick Culhane after his move to Martins Location: *“He remained there in the employ of **J. M. Thompson** and **Hitchcock**, summers driving for them.”* On Patrick from the background on prominent families in the 1908 *Genealogical and Family History of NH*: *“He drove the stage from the Glen to the Alpine House in Gorham.”*

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.”* True writing in 1882 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.”*

-- **Wealth of Thompson**, living 1803-1869, purchased the partially completed but operational Bellows Hotel, completed construction and renamed it the 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 figures for **1860** for Patrick Culhane are real estate valued at \$300 and for neighbor Hayes Copp \$600.

-- **Wealth of Hitchcock**, living 1821-1870, was the proprietor of Gorham's Alpine House located at the new railroad station. Hitchcock operated that Gorham facility in conjunction with Mount Washington's Tip Top House, making use of the Alpine Stable for transport animals.

His 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 valued at \$1,000 and for neighbor Hayes Copp real estate \$2,000. Hitchcock was also a director of the Mount Washington Carriage Road Company.



At left **stages** serving Glen House; at right **Colonel Thompson** honored in 2018 Glen House

-- **Competition between Thompson and Hitchcock**, in July of 1853 John Hitchcock complains 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 illuminated by a quip 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.”*

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.”*

1. In September of **1855 Thomas** Culhane at age 28 was part of the rescue party that bore the body of **Miss Lizzie Bourne**, 1833-1855, down off Mount Washington after her widely publicized 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.”*

2. In October of **1855** both **Patrick** and **Thomas** Culhane were part of the highly publicized rescue of **Dr. Benjamin Ball**, 1820-1860, lost on Mount Washington for three cold days and considered almost miraculous 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.”*

Left book on **Doctor Ball**, right portrait of **Lizzie Bourne**, center **Mount Washington** from the *Ellis River* by Benjamin Champney 1859



Dr. Ball credits the Culhane brothers when writing up his experience in 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.”*

Note that Culhane neighbor Jeremiah Copp was also a mountain guide in his early years. A reasonable theory: could Jeremiah at age 19 in 1851 have taught the Culhanes arriving next door that year the fundamentals of valley geography and informally defined climbing routes.

3. Not about their tourism work but an historic reference to the Thomas Culhane is found in the **1856** *Incidents in White Mountain History* by Benjamin Willey. This concerns 21-year-old neighbor Nathaniel Copp’s 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.”*

4. 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 between Tuckerman Ravine and Huntington Ravine.

5. 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. {Thomas Starr King had endorsed Gordon as an expert guide}. travelers can easily learn at the **Alpine House** how to engage him for any service.”*

6. Concerning **circa 1860 to 1870**, in 1893 **Thomas** Culhane was called to testify about those years in a court case involving land rights on Mount Washington (Ebenezer S. Coe and David Pingree Trustees versus Walter Aiken and others). 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 work, mostly between 1860-1870:



“Have you been employed as a guide on Mt. Washington? I was a guide there from the time the Thompson {Thompson of the Glen House} Path was built 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 {the two seasonal summit lodging houses} 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’s Ravine as a guide, and I did anything that was to be done.”

For context in the 1855 *Historical Relics of the White Mountains* by John H. Spaulding there is an advertisement stating that “Spaulding & Company have “purchased and connected the Tip-Top and Summit Houses, that parties wishing to visit Tuckerman’s Ravine will be furnished with an experienced guide.”



Continuing from the testimony, “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 was not rebuilt until 1875}.

**7.** More from N. T. True on **Patrick Culhane**: “He came to Gorham in **1874**, {having dwelled in Martins Location since 1851} and has worked in the employ of the Grand Trunk Railway till last May {May of **1881**} then was employed at the **Mascot Mine**, which he discovered in the summer of **1880**, where he has since remained.”

**8.** 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.”

So in **1880** we see Patrick returning to the mining vocation he left thirty years earlier in 1850. Alas, not a successful venture in period accounts, \* including the 1889 *Glen House Book*.

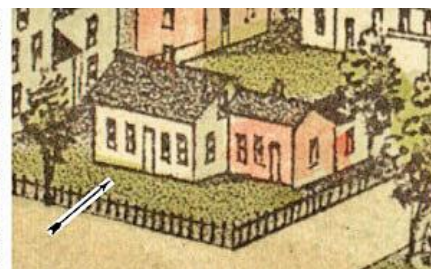


\* Patrick’s failed venture is best detailed in the 1888 *History of Coos County*: “The **Mascot Mining Company** was organized in 1881 to work the silver-bearing galena in the vein discovered on Mt. Hayes. Costly machinery was introduced, valuable buildings constructed, a large amount of ore taken out of the extensive drifts and shafts, and a great mining ‘boom’ created.

All is now over. The works are abandoned. The machinery has been taken away, and the long line of stairways on the mountain side are fast hastening

to decay.”

## 5-4. LATER IN LIFE

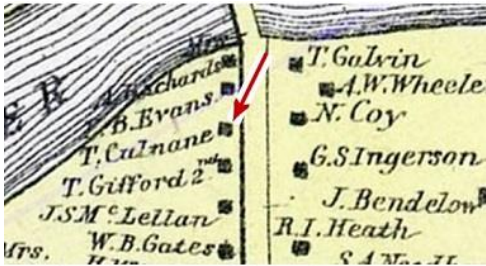


### **Birds-eye View of Gorham in 1888**

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 1875 – north of the railroad crossing is the Methodist Church Dolly Copp attended and where 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.*” Then True on Patrick Culhane in 1882: “*They have five children of whom three are living. He resides on Main Street.*”

The Gorham of the aging Culhanes was prosperous, growth having been continuous since the railroad arrived, *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.*”



**T. Culhane on Alpine Street 1892**

A Culhane reference from the Gorham newspaper in 1886: “**Thomas** Culhane is hauling wood from over the river.” His home on the west side of Alpine Street was close to the Androscoggin River, which at that time had a pedestrian bridge across.

From Patrick’s obituary in 1888: “*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.”*



From **Thomas’** obituary 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 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 then 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.”*



## 5-5. 1849 TOURISM PLAN



1854 Leavitt Map on left, 1878 Leavitt Map on right, annotations added - maps courtesy of whitemountainhistory.org

*"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."*

- John Bellows in his 1849 letter to Josiah Little

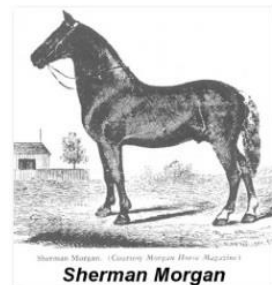
John Bellows is an important, yet understudied, figure in Mount Washington's history. Even more so from the perspective of Peabody Valley bottom lands. Bellows greatly impacted properties of the early pioneers by invalidating their deeds from Daniel Pinkham, was for decades the largest landowner in both Martins Location and Greens Grant, organized construction funding for the Glen Road, and built the first Glen House.

A close contemporary of Dolly and Hayes, Bellows lived a life span of 1807 to 1888. He was born in Walpole, NH, in the southwestern part of that 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, another example of northward migration within New Hampshire. His father bounced back economically, for in Lancaster *"he became an extensive landowner."*

John's older brother Charles 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 he shared with John. John's other older brother George traveled the Pacific and was a colonel in the militia. In the 1870 Census he is residing in Martins Location.

On John in 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."* Race horse expert Brenda Tippin: *"**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*, used for exchanges between elite horse breeders, John wrote on 3/24/1848 that *"Old Sherman Morgan was truly a prodigy among horses... But for this animal, Morgan horses would never have had"*



*the celebrity they enjoy.*" Then writing from Lancaster on 8/14/1850: "*Sherman Morgan is the father of the famous Black Hawk. I received \$15 for service rendered in 1832.*"

The Bellows Genealogy continuing, John "*was credited with having accumulated a large fortune, an unusual circumstance in the Bellows Family.*" Perhaps that wealth was in comparison to the thousands of other Bellows included in the Genealogy, for his Lancaster line seems to be doing well enough. Especially in comparison to our hardscrabble Peabody Valley kinship settlers to the mountainous east.

John had a younger sister Rebecca. She married high up in the New Hampshire political hierarchy, to John Sullivan Wells, who lived 1803-1860. The Bellows Genealogy says Wells "*was a prominent lawyer and took a conspicuous part in public affairs*" - including the heights of Speaker of the NH House and President of the NH Senate, then an unsuccessful run for the New Hampshire governorship.

The son of Sister Rebecca Bellows and John Wells, **Henry Bellows Wells**, lived from 1833 to 1902. Another important figure in the history of Mount Washington, nephew Wells become a business partner with his uncle John in the lengthy struggle to control lucrative rents on the summit.

The 1927 George Cross booklet on Dolly Copp cites John Bellows as one of the Peabody Valley's early influential persons: "*Came in 1852 {incorrect, 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.*" Sounds pleasant enough.

But we must now amend that legacy. Bellows was the dominant property owner in the Peabody Valley before his hotel and summit activity, unfortunately the 1840s scourge of the pioneering Pinkham family. In 1849 John Bellows was the first to promote Peabody Valley tourist attractions, including Dolly Copp's view to the Imp.

The 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 line routings by railroad presidents made them powerful arbiters of which communities would rise or wither. Northern New Hampshire towns jockeyed for position.

John was part of a Lancaster business group trying to attract a rail route to Lancaster. 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.*"

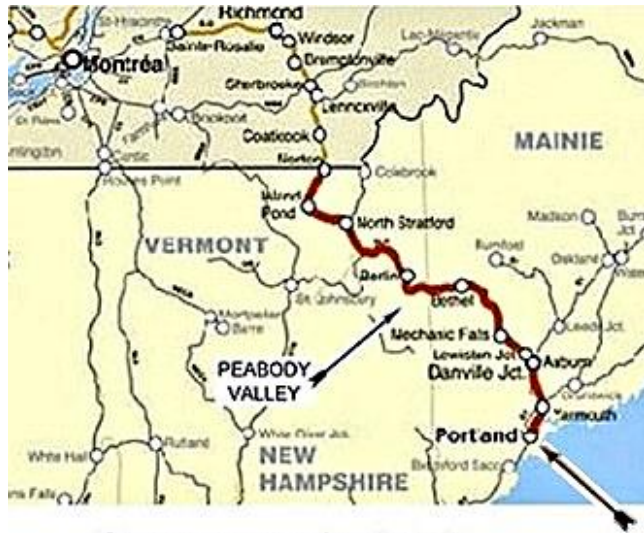
That is, thru Gorham, then westerly via the aptly named Saint Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad. According to the *History of Lancaster* in 1858 the Lancaster Hotel "*was built by monies paid to the town by the Saint Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad because of their failure to build their road thru Lancaster in accordance with an arrangement to that effect...*

*Had the effort of 1846 resulted in the building of the proposed railroad, there is no room to doubt that Lancaster would today have been one of the most prosperous cities in the state. Railroads make, and sometimes unmake, communities.*"

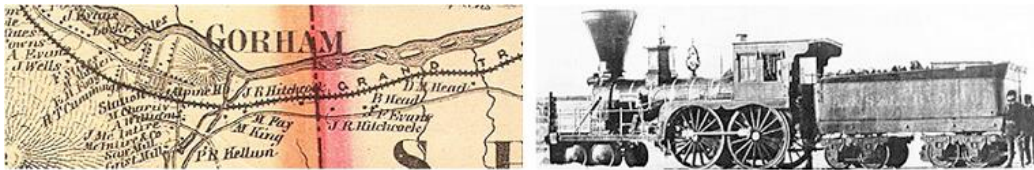
In 1844 Portland, Maine had been reached by rail service from Boston. The route northwest from there into New Hampshire was contemplated by 1835, but routing after ascending thru the easy grade of the Androscoggin River Valley to Gorham remained vague. Finally, railroad management decided to turn north at Gorham thru Berlin, and only then proceed northwesterly into Canada to reach Montreal.

While the three Bellows brothers and their coalition partners failed to have Lancaster included, John had already developed a business interest focused where the action surely *would* be – Greater Gorham. By 1840 he is seeking control of key properties for tourism development in the, until then, backwater Peabody Valley.

His strategy was ingenious. Just as his obituary noted, “business intuition of the highest order”, buying discredited colonial era deeds to the Peabody Valley’s bottom lands, then legal action to assert their primacy over more recently state authorized deeds to the same lands. Bellows’ target was Daniel Pinkham’s lands and derivate deeds for farm lots sold by Pinkham in the 1820s and 1830s to his family.



We are fortunate that the Bowdoin College Library in Brunswick, Maine preserves the records of the Saint Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad. That archive includes a tourism plan dated 11/15/1849 by John Bellows. It was presented to railroad President Josiah Little, in this era a very influential person. Little was based in Portland and a former Speaker of the Maine House of Representatives.



1861 Walling Map of growing **Gorham Village**; engine named **Coos** in 1856

The 1849 communication from Bellows makes the first known “sales pitch” for attracting sightseers into the Peabody Valley. He describes for Little each of the attractions he thinks tourists will want to see. History shows his insight was correct. Bellows was convincing, for President Little commits railroad funds to improve whatever was left of the decayed riverside road of 1774 running south from the Gorham Town Line thru Martins Location to Greens Grant – to the scenic early Site #1 Pinkham daughter Ann – Joseph Hanson home site.

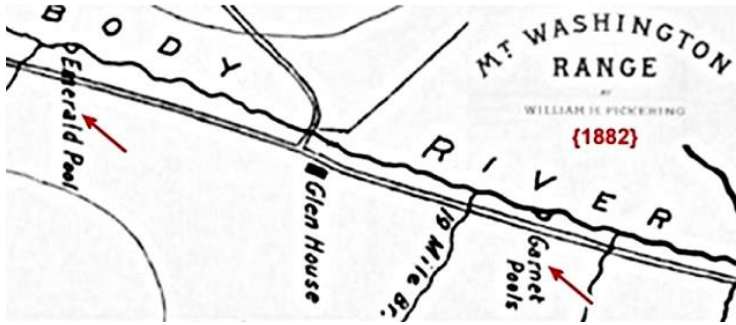
Perspective from Gorham historian D. B. Wight: *“The scenic charms of the mountains surrounding the valley were little appreciated for many years.”* From the 1853 Beckett guide book on attractions in the Peabody Valley: *“Prior to the opening of the Saint Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad, these beautiful objects, in common with many other of their wildest features, were almost unknown.”*

According to the 1859 *Handbook and Description of New England* by Coolidge and Mansfield, in Pinkham Notch *“crystal stream comes foaming down most romantically and noisily, having its rise in a spring three or four hundred yards southerly from the top of Mount Washington. This stream was explored in the year 1852, before which its existence and beauties seem to have been unrevealed to travelers.”*

Yet Bellows knew of the scenic features by the time of his 1849 promotional letter to Little. Perhaps before 1849 Bellows engaged local valley residents, woodsmen and hunters, to search for, or reveal to him, scenic off-road features. More from Bellows: *“The attraction at Spruce Hill Falls {Thompson Falls}, by admiring throngs at no very distant day, will be visited and gazed at as one of the sublimest and picturesque scenes”*

Bellows praises the Imp, then the New River, a two-mile tributary to the Ellis River: *“A grand gushing of the waters of New River almost perpendicularly through a chasm of the rocks,*

at the height I should judge more than one hundred feet. In effect when standing on the brink of the river below, one feels like entering the spray of Niagara.”



**Pickering Map** of 1882 showing pools near Glen House -  
Camper Dolores Chew at Bierstadt's 1870 painting of **Emerald Pool**

While not cited by Bellows in 1849, scenic pools filled by waterfalls on the Peabody near the new hotel site would become popular attractions. 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.” Today Emerald Pool and Garnet Pool are accessible to the public but remain without Route 16 signage as the draw would overwhelm the limited parking available.

One of the attractions cited by Bellows to Little 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 know summit access from Site #1 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 south west side.”*



Rival Hotelier **Horace Fabyan**

According to White Mountains 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 reports that on the early 1850s south west side of the Presidential Range “*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.*”

Continuing 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 south west side, and altogether less dangerous of ascent or decent. I think this road must not exceed four and a half miles from my proposed house to the summit.*”

Bellows also documents that his route to the summit will be possible for women. And he reviews the geographic advantages of his route compared to other access points, “*distance being less than from any point where a carriage road passes the mountains and from which it is thought a road might be made.*”



Having set the stage, Bellows then makes a proposal for Mount Washington pony road funding to Little: "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..."

*you make the excursion this season, or early next. I am getting in readiness timber sawed for the proposed house. Please keep me informed of the progress of your enterprise and I will reciprocate with every sentiment of respect Your Obedt Servt -*  
*John Bellows*  
*To Josiah S Little Esqr*

Bellows' closing to 1849 Plan

*I think this 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 of 9/13/2019 indicates ascent by horse 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."

Within this same 1849 correspondence Bellows informs Little "I am getting timber sawed for the proposed house." In 1853, Harvard's Dr. Harris documents "Bellows Sawmill" in Martins Location, formerly a Pinkham daughter property occupied by a tenant named McCartee, built in 1838 and seized by Bellows in 1846. Lumber for the new Site #1 Bellows Hotel may have been prepared at the 1838 Site #3 sawmill. Or, in Greens Grant, at the Site #1 adjacent Thompson's Mill which was documented as operating in the 1853 Guide Book of the Atlantic and Saint Lawrence Railroad. CHECK FOR DUPLICATION

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## 5-6. SITE #1 BELLOWS HOTEL BECOMES GLEN HOUSE

**Site #1 Pioneer Home and Inn:** The last thing White Mountains history needs is another rehash on the Glen House. The focus herein is primarily on facts that have come to light and not reported elsewhere, the priority the pre-1850 period for the Glen House site. Within the context of Peabody Valley settlement, the early Glen House site is categorized as Site #1, that of Daniel Pinkham's eldest daughter Ann Pinkham Hanson. Tourism investor John Bellows wrests it out of Pinkham Family hands by 1846.

Travelling north from Jackson into early Pinkhams Grant, the Greens Grant subsection hosts the first fertile, relatively level area suitable for homesteading, our Site #1. The search for the site's earliest settlement begins with Huntington's {Huntington Ravine} statement that Joseph Hanson arrived in 1826. There is also 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.”*



Chinook – Today's NH State Dog

The reference to the sick child aligns well with the Pinkham Genealogy, which states that the first Hanson child was a daughter born in 1825, their next child's birth year not given but between 1825 and the birth of the third in 1830. The Genealogy says the third child of 1830 was born in Greens Grant. One of the first two Hanson children must be the sick child in the 1827 account.

Published no doubt in this religious periodical as a light and uplifting story. Also true for us, but the details provide an invaluable snapshot of the first Peabody Valley pioneer settlement, for the 6/1827 publication date is even before the 11/1827 land purchase by Hayes Copp.

Based on the 1826 and 1827 dates the **Hanson home** is judged to be the first dwelling constructed in the Peabody Valley. We might logically expect such early Peabody Valley occupancy on this, the first agriculturally productive tract northerly from home-base Jackson. In addition, four other references support the early Hanson Site #1 residency:

--- The first is in an account by 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 lost hiker *“arrived in an hour at **Mr. Hanson's**, when a bowl of milk and a good bed left me nothing to regret.”*

--- Surveyor Samuel Thompson testifying near **1866** on his decades earlier 1835 Peabody Valley travels: *“Perkins nine miles from Glen House – think **Hanson** lived at Glen House, and several others.”*

--- *The **1886** History of Chicago by Alfred Andreas* says fourth child 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.”*

--- From the **1887** obituary of Ann Pinkham's brother Randall 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”, etc.* The indication is that Daniel Pinkham and son Randall were not themselves living on Site #1.

--- From a **1915** biography of fifth Hanson child Joseph Jr., born in 1837, that his father's farm lot was received from his grandfather: *“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 on to Lancaster, following Ann's aging parents there. The sale from Hanson to next occupant Elkins is referenced in 1866 court testimony by surveyor Samuel Thompson commenting on an 1839 deed: *“Beginning at the southwest corner of Daniel Elkins' land formerly owned by Joseph Hanson.”*

But note that ownership of the Site #1 property was remaining within the *extended* Pinkham kinship group. While Hanson's wife Ann was Daniel Pinkham's daughter, new arrival Elkins' Jr.'s wife Sarah was Daniel Pinkham's *niece*. Another connection, as Daniel's son Randall leaves the Pinkhams Grant postal job in 1837, new arrival Daniel Elkins Jr. fills it from that year until 1842.

--- Elkins, Jr.'s parents had moved north, father Daniel Sr. visiting Jackson from 1803 on to establish a Freewill Baptist Church there. A permanent resident starting in 1808, Church Elder Elkins, Sr. baptized **Daniel Pinkham** in 1804 when Daniel was 25.

--- Elkins Sr. also conducted the marriage ceremonies of several early Peabody Valley couples, including his son Daniel Jr. to Sally Meserve in 1816, **Site #2 residents** Samuel Copp to Betsey Pinkham in 1829, and **Site #4 residents** Hayes Copp to Dolly Emery in 1831.

--- 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."

Prior to the 1839 move of Elkins, Jr. north from the east side of Black Mountain in Jackson into rugged Pinkhams Grant, he had a business tie with Daniel Pinkham. In 1821 Pinkham and Elkins were two of five men that cooperatively purchased 500 acres of state land in Jackson.

Looking back at Elkins in Osgood's 1880 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.*"

The dean of early White Mountain authors writing in 1859, the Reverend Thomas Starr King, provides evidence on the residence of Elkins: "*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 second visit of 1804}, down at the solitary house of **D. Elkins** in the Pinkham woods.*"

There is a disturbance in the chronology of pre-Glen House Site #1 history. Nathaniel Tuckerman True: "*On the spot where the Glen House now stands there had been a clearing and an old house on the same spot for many years previous.*" This research supports that conclusion – a structure on Site #1 since occupancy by Pinkham's daughter Ann Pinkham Hanson in 1826.



But then we have this reference to Site #1 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... and his little farm house here has been standing fourteen years.*" Fourteen years back is 1838, not 1826.

We know from the 1827 rescue dog story that the original Hanson residence was in place by that year. It may be that when the Hansons moved on, and were replaced in turn by two other occupants thru 1850, Elkins and then Spaulding Families, the memory of the circa 1826 construction was lost. Perhaps the 1826 structure was minimal and upgraded by Elkins near his 1838 purchase from Hanson. Such staged expansion was the common practice, as with Hayes Copp's down the road.

Like the Hansons before them, second Site #1 occupant Elkins Jr. and family soon move on - I assume pushed out by the circa 1846 property seizure authorized by *Bellows versus Elkins*. By the time of the 1850 Census, the Elkins family is well west of the Peabody Valley, farming over in Guildhall, Vermont, across the Connecticut River from the Coos County seat of Lancaster. Let me vent a little: *community development in the Peabody Valley would have proceeded quite differently had John Bellows not evicted most of its early settlers.*



George Cross writing in 1927 was silent as to the Hanson, Elkins and other Pinkham kinship relations present in the early Peabody Valley – he missed their story. No wonder, Bellows' eighteen forties purge had moved them out of view, the story of his evictions obscured by the *loss of early property records* in the 1886 Coos County Court House fire. These are partially recovered thru 1840's court cases *citing details of those records*.

That Census and surviving 1840s legal records use the names of son-in-laws Joseph Hanson, Samuel Copp and William Wentworth obscures the involvement of their wives, each a Daniel Pinkham **daughter**. *I was lucky*, scanning Pinkham daughter marriage details just before examining male head of household names in early Census and court records, revealing *kinship otherwise obscured*.

Site #1 and its surrounding Pinkhams Grant reemerge as the Greens Grant civic unit after mid-forties *Bellows versus Elkins*. The 1850 Census lists one family in residence in Greens Grant, farmer Frederick Balch Spaulding from Lancaster, who lived 1806 to 1850, and his family. Owning no real estate, on the post - 1846 Bellows controlled Site #1 property, Frederick Spaulding likely paid rent to, and or provided services to, Bellows.



Stereoscopic view of **Bellows Mansion** Front Street Exeter, NH

Bellows may have had a temporary residence or office in the structure housing the Spauldings when doing business in the Peabody Valley. Recall the new Glen House as described by the 1852 *Boston Literary Journal* had noted “*at hand a farm house where Mr. Bellows himself lived.*” This would be prior to, and then to oversee, his adjacent Bellows Hotel construction. Bellows' official Census residence in 1850 was no place so mundane, rather his prominent new wife's **mansion** (photo) 100 miles south in Exeter.

The Site #1 property may have been continued by tenant Spaulding as a small inn. That idea accommodates Bellows residence and closes the gap between occasional undocumented references to Bellows “converting an inn.” We know the Hanson's had made their dwelling an informal inn during their ownership – perhaps that role for their structure continued. Therefore, hospitality at Site #1 dates from the 1830s, not the early 1850s.

--- **Frederick Balch** Spaulding and family were the only residents of Greens Grant in the 1850 Census. Frederick is historically of less significance compared to the more well-known **Samuel Fitch** Spaulding associated with Mt. Washington.

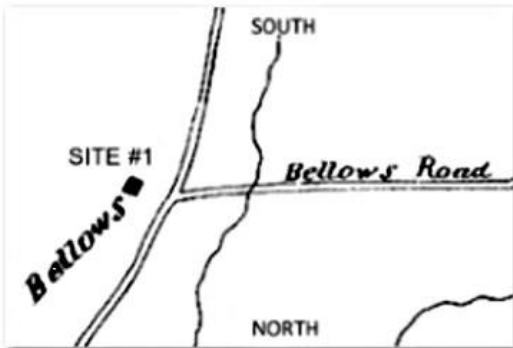
--- Historian F. Allen Burt on **Samuel Fitch**: “*In the summer of 1853 Samuel Fitch Spaulding of Lancaster, with Abraham Bedell and Anson Stillings of Jefferson, built the Tip Top House. The necessary land was leased from John Bellows of Exeter,*” two Spauldings leasing from Bellows.

--- The relationship thickens when we discover that Frederick Spaulding of Greens Grant and Samuel Spaulding of Lancaster were **first cousins**. Both Spauldings are beholden to owner – entrepreneur John Bellows. All three men were natives of County Seat Lancaster, NH.

**Bellows Builds Hotel on Site #1:** 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 tenant Spaulding and lodger Bellows property. The 1851 summer tourist season opens with a partially completed but functional Bellows Hotel. The 8/9/1851 Portland Transcript on the trip south from Gorham: “*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 first marriage and relocation of main residence from Lancaster NH to Exeter NH \* affected his Peabody Valley business plan, for he suddenly sells his Greens Grant tourist hotel before it is fully completed.

\* John's first marriage was late in 1849, just as he was advocating for his Peabody Valley Tourism Plan: lobbying the soon to arrive railroad to invest in road improvements to his Greens Grant hotel site, citing competitive factors with Horace Fabyan's swank Mount Washington House, etc. At age 42, he marries widow Mary Shaw, age 51. Mary was from Exeter, NH, earlier the NH state capital, still with a prominent and cultured population.



**1852 Leavitt Map of Site #1 Bellows Hotel**  
 {annotated} – forerunner of the Glen House,  
 with “Bellows {Pony} Road” to summit

Mary's late husband Tristram Shaw had his roots there. He serves 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 Wells had moved from Lancaster south to Exeter in 1846. Could his sister Rebecca's social connections have led to John being introduced to widow Mary Shaw there? Mary's and Rebecca's husbands were of the same political party.

John relocates from Lancaster south to Mary's opulent Exeter home. They are then recorded in residence there for Census years 1850, 1860 and 1870. John listed himself as a yeoman (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 Court Square. After twenty-five years of marriage, wife Mary passes away there of cancer in 1875.

Alternatively to a change of plans, John may have been planning a quick sale of the hotel all along, as we would say today “flipping” the property - buy low and soon sell in a rising market. And new owner Thompson was an experienced hotelier which Bellows was not.

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.”*

Broad perspective 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.”*

Of interest from the 1853 *Guide Book of the Atlantic and Saint Lawrence Railroad*: *“Seven miles from the Station House, and the gentlemanly landlord stands ready to help you to alight – Whoa! This is a new, large and commodious house, having all the appliances of a fashionable hotel: and 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.*

*The main building is 130 feet in length, 42 feet in width, and four stories high. A grand portico gives beauty and finish to the principal entrance, and a neat piazza extends on either hand along the entire front. The romantic attractions of this locality – glens and gorges, streams, torrents, slides, lakelets and waterfalls -are unequalled by any other in the mountain region.”*

The precise proximity of the 1826 – 1838 remodeled Site #1 Hanson home to the site for the new hotel remains in question. Was the Bellows Hotel - Glen House built exactly on the site of a torn down Hanson house, aside it, or, much less likely, its primitive timber frame incorporated into the new building?

An 1857 Richarddt painting of the Glen House is revealing as its style is highly detailed. On the right of the 1857 Richarddt painting below, north end, is a small older looking home that *could* be the earlier, briefly coexisting, Site #1 dwelling:



Is the **Glen House** in 1857 at left adjacent to the **Hanson home** of 1826 at right? - Ferdinand Richarddt painting courtesy of whitemountainart.com



Less detailed sketch of **Glen House** in 1853 Guide Book – no early home included

The Richarddt painting suggests that the two buildings on Site #1 may have coexisted for a few years. There is limited evidence, but consider the indications found to date. Again from 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.”

Then Harvard’s Dr. Harris states 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 at Site #1 referenced in 1853. Consider also that in 1918 Edmund Tuckerman commented that Dr. Harris was “*remarkably exact in his observations and careful in his statements.*”

Less supportive is a sketch from the **1853** *Guide Book of the Atlantic and Saint Lawrence Railroad*, much less detailed than Richarddt’s photographic quality art, which does *not* include the small building in question. Perhaps the little house was edited out to target the Guide Book’s focus on the much more prominent new Glen House. Later photos confirm removal of the small building in the 1857 painting.

**Association with Bellows Lingers:** Even after the Glen House became the most significant Peabody Valley landmark, some identification of Site #1 with previous owner Bellows lingered. The map in 1853 *Tripp’s Guide Book* shows “Bellows Farm” at the Glen House site. The 1858 *Geer’s Directory and Railway Guide* still used the name Bellows Farm that year. The 1859 *History and Description of New England* notes the traveler “*proceeds by stage eight miles up the Peabody River Valley to the Glen House, in a location formerly known by the name of Bellows Farm.*”

The 1860 Appleton’s *Illustrated Handbook of American Travel* referencing the Glen House: “*The house is situated in Bellow’s clearing, which contains about 100 acres. For a base view of the mountains, no spot could be selected so well.*” We see the name as late as the 1872 *Eastman’s White Mountain Guidebook*: “*On leaving the Glen House the road lies directly down the little descent towards the south... The forests, now close in on each side; the open space of Bellows clearing, which we left, is no longer visible.*”





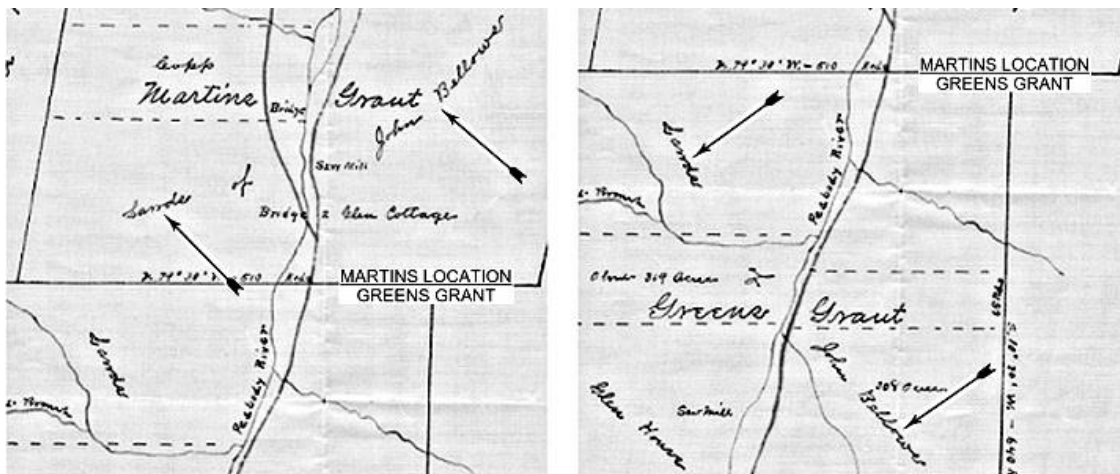
In 1994 the management of Great Glen Trails Outdoor Center reflected Bellows' early ownership in the naming of the "**Bellows Loop**" section of its then new cross country ski course – laudable sensitivity to Site #1 history.

## 5-7. SITE #2 BELLOWS HOUSE BECOMES GLEN COTTAGE

Moving up the road to the north, after John Bellows' 1846 seizure of the Samuel Copp Site #2 house there it appears on maps as the "Bellows House." Pause for a moment to keep potential confusion at bay: That Site #2 designation is not to be confused with the brief 1851-52 "Bellows Hotel" designation at Site #1 to the south. To again use a quote from the 1853 letter by Harvard's Dr. Harris: "*I saw Mr. Bellows, rode with him to **his new house**, {bold added} about two miles north of the old house and the Glen House.*"

The "new house" is a reuse of the 1834 Samuel Copp Site #2 house. My theory is that it became an *overflow annex* for the Site #1 Glen House. This idea fits the few facts available. But the hard proof may have gone up in smoke with the all consuming Glen House fire of 1884 – we are left with bits and pieces to reconstruct.

Site #2 is referenced in the 7/29/1854 Portland Transcript as a landmark by pedestrian travelers: "*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, as a contribution to the collection of the Society of Natural History.*"



John Bellows **substantial holdings** recorded on the 1862-1868 Goodwin Map

The name of the 1834 Site #2 building soon evolves to "**Glen Cottage**." To boost the theory a specific confirmation of tourist lodging at Glen Cottage would help. This is within biographical remarks on 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 ride north on the Glen Road to the gentlemen's riverside camp site was about 1.6 miles. Wyman was known to frequent the Glen House. Perhaps it was full or they wanted the lesser distance for the ladies to their camp site.

As tourism was new in the area 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 tourist crowds due to the new rail access to Gorham:

*“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. 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.”*

Part of the expansion was to make use of a closeby annex? Even though the Glen House was expanding, we can envision the usefulness of an overflow annex, nearby, and with the promised mountain views. For those unable to obtain Glen House accommodations, a stop-gap relief option *could have been* to lodge them up the Glen Road a bit to a ready-made annex. Perhaps it was owned by Colonel Thompson, or, remained Bellows' property, under a business agreement with, and managed by, Thompson.

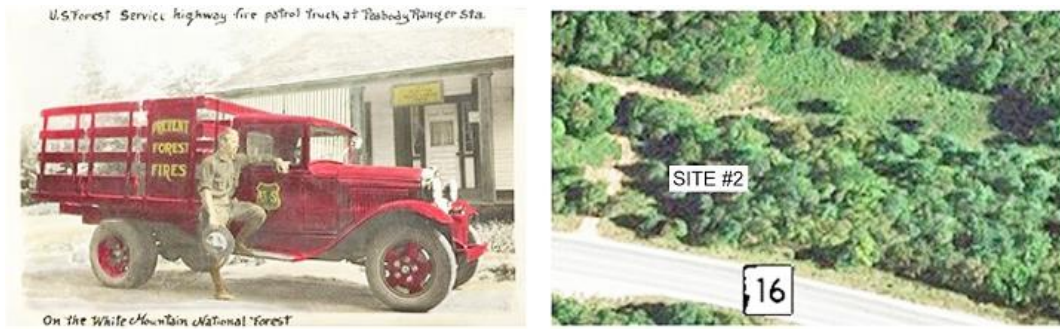
Historians Donna and James Garvin add to this description: *“Shortly after the first railroad reached the mountain area, one hundred passengers could arrive in a single day by train only to discover that every room at Gorham's White Mountain Station House had already been taken. On one such occasion, 140 additional passengers arrived the two following days, making the situation even more intolerable.”*

If the Site #2 Bellows House was by business agreement absorbing Site #1 Glen House overflow during peak periods no separate promotional advertising for it would have been warranted – conveniently fitting the fact that none has been found. More support for the theory is the further renaming of Bellows House to “Glen Cottage” by the mid-1860s, as documented by the 1862-1868 Goodwin Map and wives lodging there during the 1867 Dr. Wyman camping trip to Martins Location.

With “Glen” in the name, good public relations were retained by enhancing the mood of tired, shuffled, arriving tourists with a blurring of the distinction with their preferred destination of Glen House. We know that Bellows and Thompson signed a major business agreement in 1852 – the clause for an accompanying overflow annex could have been part of it. And Bellows did not immediately vacate the scene – documented talking to Harvard's Dr. Harris here in 1853, the year after his Site #1 Bellows Hotel had been sold to Thompson.

Site #2 identification as “Glen Cottage” is eventually shifted to the Site #1 Glen House, documented by a map circa 1900 in George McAvoy's 1988 *And Then There Was One*. Touring route descriptions in the 1910 *Automobile Blue Book* place Glen Cottage at the Gen House site. A White Mountains map circa 1915 for the Tarleton Lake Club includes the notation Glen Cottage here.

Also this news clip: *“Summer hotels are frequent prey to the flames. The famous Glen House, burned in the summer of 1893, has never been replaced {until 2018}, 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.”* From *Among the Clouds*: *“On July 24, 1906 on a highway leading from Gorham through Pinkham Notch an accident happened on a short hill just south of Glen Cottage”* {meaning Site #1, not Site #2}.



The longest surviving building in the Peabody Valley was the Site #2  
1834 – 1939 **Samuel Copp House** – At left Site #2 final use as Ranger Station,  
at right today as the USFS **Bellows Farm Wildlife Opening Area**, north at left

## 5-8. ALPINE HOUSE STABLE

The designation “Alpine Stable” on the circa 1865 Jackson Iron Map is in Greens Grant, south of the Site #2 Samuel Copp – Glen Cottage building in Martins Location and north of the Site #1 Glen House. The location is at the confluence of the Peabody River and Nineteen Mile Brook.

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 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.”



Not a spacious **location for a stable** today – perhaps the 1958 Route 16 widening moved the roadbed easterly from the Peabody to avoid flooding, cutting in to the historic Alpine Stable site

It could be that the horses kept in the Alpine Stable required early morning attention by caretakers, favoring for employment those with a residence nearby – the Culhane men. 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 31<sup>st</sup> 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.”

Then from the ever useful 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.”

It is possible that soon to be famous author Louisa May Alcott, near the time of her summer 1861 chat with Dolly Copp, as a guest at the Alpine House was one of those tourists making use of the Alpine Stable for her ascent of Mount Washington via the new carriage road that opened August 8, 1861.



# 6. MORE TO THE STORY

## 6-1. FIRST CIVIC BOUNDARIES

### 6-1A. FIRST SURVEY LINES

Martins Location can be traced back to soldier Thomas Martin's delayed pay for service in the French and Indian War that ended in 1763. Northern New Hampshire was newly secure, ready to be surveyed and settled. The Colonial policy was to promote settlement in such remote parts of the state. Recent soldiers like William Stark of Dunbarton, Thomas Martin of Portsmouth and Francis Green of Boston were the beneficiaries of payments in the form of northern New Hampshire land grants.

But few settlers from the south were willing to go this far north this early. Not only was the Peabody Valley beyond the frontier in comparison to other options, access from farms by carts to transport farm produce was restrained until the 1830s. 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 northwesterly to Bethel, Maine and then further west into Shelburne, New Hampshire.

In between these migration patterns were Gorham and the Peabody Valley, remoter, and with much less extensive viable farm land, thus a secondary, later, draw for settlers. But early land grants were made in the Peabody Valley in any case, the governor needing something of value with which to resolve the issue of overdue military pay. There were standard conditions included with these grants: the recipient must settle families, build roads, raise flax, etc. Yet if no one settled, the grants were not always revoked for non-compliance, the government encouraged eventual settlement by not enforcing those penalties.

Writing on early Gorham Area history, Denman B. Wight (1908-1972) in his classic 1967 *Androscoggin River Valley* found only limited acreage suitable to attract pioneer farmers. However, he included on his short list "a small section in the Peabody River Valley." This was the two small broadenings of the valley floor adjacent to the river that became the farmable cores of Martins Location and Greens Grant. The central lowland of Martins Location is today the Dolly Copp Campground. The farmable core of Greens Grant is today the **Great Glen Trails Outdoor Center**.



### 6-1B. MARTIN RECEIVES GRANT

On behalf of the Province, 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 north boundary was preexisting, laid out by him for Shelburne Addition in 1770, the other three now newly added to the New Hampshire provincial map. While the northern and southern boundary lines of Martins Location are horizontal, the east and west boundaries are parallel but offset northeasterly. Surveyor Neal may have inserted the offset so that east and west boundaries would generally follow the northeasterly course of the Peabody River through the grant.

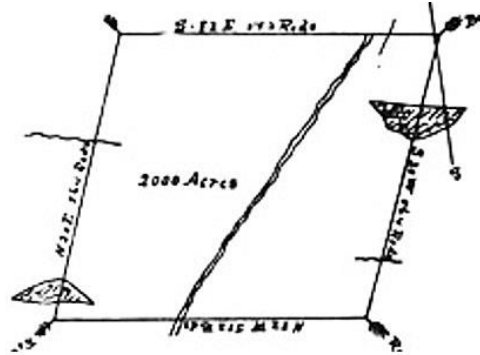
On **1/25/1773** Governor John Wentworth grants Thomas Martin 2000 acres in the Peabody Valley: "Whereas Thomas Martin of Portsmouth was appointed a conductor of artillery

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."

In hindsight the 1773 grant condition requiring immediate settlement was not realistic; there were no residents in the Peabody Valley ( except possibly briefly in the mid-1790s) until Daniel Pinkham's daughter Ann and her husband came up from Jackson to pioneer adjacent Greens Grant in 1826.

Original **Martins Location** survey map

The first road along the Peabody was cut thru in 1774, Francis Green owner of Greens Grant contributing funds to its construction. Taking a few liberties with an old reports' cryptic description, the template for this road is assumed to be the 1772 road feasibility report by Surveyor Neal to the state.



"Thomas Martin Esquire" as his Portsmouth grave stone reads was born in 1732 and lived until 1805. Martin had investments in other lands in New Hampshire. Thanks to Martha Benesh of Jackson, NH for the following time line on 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 marque or writ from the government for a right to attack British vessels, that is, protect American interests, receiving one half of the spoils; --- **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.

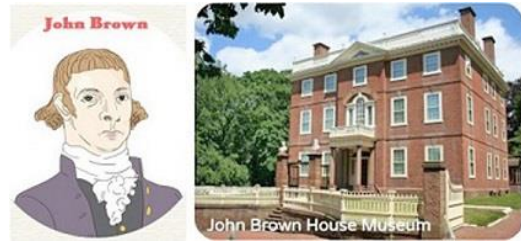
--- **1777** Sheriff of Rockingham went after Thomas Martin, Mark Wentworth and Jacob Treadwell for not turning over rum needed for the American Army; --- **1778** Ship McClary, bonders Jacob Treadwell and Thomas Martin, 2 of 3 for 5,000 pounds; --- **1780** Ship Diana bonder Thomas Martin, 1 of 3 for 20,000 pounds, owner Thomas Martin half with George Wentworth.

Martin soon sold his 2000-acre uninhabited tract for 1,200 pounds on 4/27/**1779**, to John Brown of Providence, Rhode Island. The sale of a gift was not considered ungrateful to the grantor – the land was merely military pay, a substitute for hard cash then in short supply. For the 62 years between 1779 and 1841 the deed to Martins Location was held by the Browns *outside* of New Hampshire. Perhaps that contributed to its ownership later getting mixed up – is it Martins Location or Pinkhams Grant? There was no in-state advocate to assert Martins Location property rights.

We are fortunate that for second property owner 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 a "terrific study and a splendid work of history." John 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, and at one time the richest man in Rhode Island. His wealth was based on real estate but especially maritime ventures and slave trading.

Like Martin from seacoast Portsmouth, Brown bankrolled naval harassment of British shipping from the port of 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."

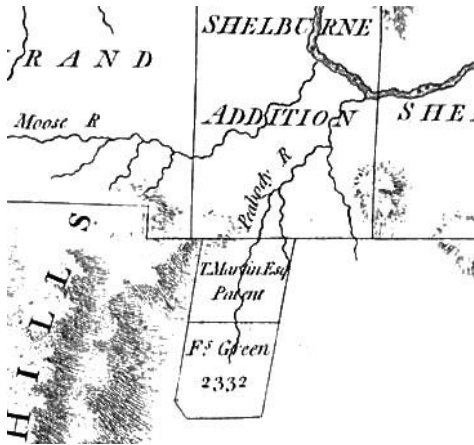
There is no mention of the specific purchase of Martins Location in the Brown biography – a 2000-acre tract was probably too small. (I may find it when I get to examine his detailed papers). But the biography does state *“beginning in 1780, John went on a real estate buying spree... most of the properties John obtained were bargains.”*



Author Rappleye tells us Brown *“plunged deeply into a real estate venture in the Adirondack region of northern New York,”* the 1795 purchase of a massive 210,000 acres. This acquisition was in what Brown thought would be the path of pioneer settlement. Perhaps we should assume that same motive for his remote Ellis River Valley and Peabody River Valley investments. There is mention of real estate investments near 1800: *“He bought thousands of acres in the Ohio territory, lands that he promptly transferred to his children.”* Another source confirms that Brown’s Ohio and other outlying real estate purchases focused on the then hinterlands that settlers would soon be seeking – buy low and sell high.

On the same 4/27/1779 date as his purchase of Martin’s Location, Brown buys the Rogers, Wentworth and Treadwell Location in 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 Ellis River and Wildcat River Valleys. We can thus infer a logical investment synergy amongst Brown’s two White Mountains purchases in 1779.

Historian Alice Pepper’s remark on Jackson’s early grant turnover: *“The grants were sold and resold by speculators, usually in Portsmouth, before anyone came to live in the area.”* After the Revolution Martin remained a man of influence and wealth. Leading citizens in Portsmouth made him town meeting moderator. In 1790 he was one of the town officials selling lands in Lyndeborough and Meredith, NH. Then in 1793 he was the agent for building the Piscataqua Bridge – alas tolls did not meet its costs – it lost money.



Samuel Holland **Map of 1784** – T. Martin Esquire Patent and F. Green extend south from Shelburne Addition (Gorham)

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.

#### 6-1C. GREEN RECEIVES GRANT

A year after Martins Grant Governor Wentworth created “Greens Location,” that title revised thereafter to “Greens Grant.” Born in 1742, Green was ten years younger than Martin. He was part of a wealthy Boston family, high society there. Like Thomas Martin, Lieutenant Francis Green of Boston had provided military service during the French and Indian war.

He took title to his new unit in 1774. At 2,032 acres, Greens Grant was just 32 acres larger than adjacent Martins Location to the north. Its original survey states *“beginning at a Beech tree standing on the south boundary line of Thomas Martins Location.”* The standard land grant conditions were applied, build roads, induce settlers, etc.

Entering Revolutionary political times, Green was sympathetic to the American view as to the evil 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, a solemn oath could not be set-aside temporarily. Much of his Boston upper social strata remained loyalist as well.



Caught with the British in Boston, surrounded there by George Washington's troops, in 1776 Green and a large flotilla fled by sea. In 1777 Green is found in the loyalist bastion of New York City. It is ironic that while there he used his wealth to bankroll loyalist naval defense, just as Thomas Martin north in Portsmouth was bankrolling patriot naval raiders.

After the war, loyalists such as Green applied to the British government for compensation for their American property losses. 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 size of 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.*"

Blakeley also indicates that Green was disappointed in the settlement. "*One reason for the small amount paid to Green was that he owned so much uncultivated land and also that he could not obtain sufficient proofs for the confiscation of his property.*"

The record above is the evidence that Green was a sponsor of the first road through the Peabody Valley. 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 {later renamed Pinkham Notch}.*" The "Western Pass" at this time was soon known as Crawford Notch.

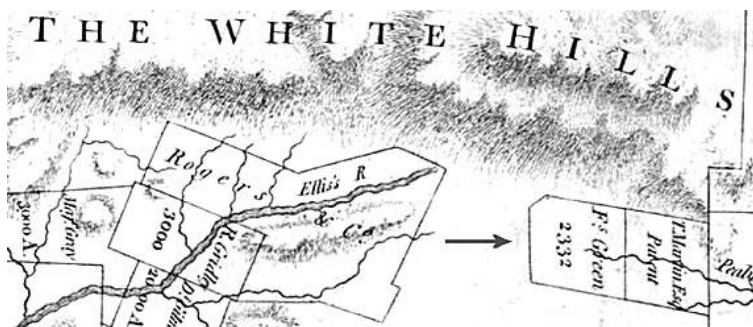
John Evans, who lived 1731-1807, was qualified in this respect as Fryeburg, Maine's municipal surveyor of highways by 1767. Historians Donna and James Garvin in referencing Belknap's 1784 travels thru Pinkham Notch state that the road there had been authorized twelve years earlier, 1772. This must be a reference to the feasibility report for the road completed for the province by Surveyor Neal on 12/4/1772.

The record of post-war British compensation to Green shows he financed at least some segment of the Evans Road work. Perhaps Green funded his 2.1-mile segment thru his Grant, and the Province of New Hampshire or other private parties the remainder – we may never know.

#### 6-1D. ATTEMPTS AT ANNEXATION

**First:** According to Alice Pepper's 2015 *History of Jackson, NH* "*during the 1790's more families arrived. By 1796 the settlers felt the need of town government to collect taxes, build and maintain roads, and establish schools. In June of that year Jonathan and Clement Meserve petitioned the state legislature to incorporate the town.*"

Revealing geographic detail from their 1796 petition to the state: "*Bringing a number of good settlers on other Locations adjoining viz {namely} Wentworths, Rogers, Gilmans and **Martins Locations**... Your petitioners pray a Township may be laid out joining southerly on Bartlett, easterly on Chatham, **northerly on Shelburne Addition** and westerly on the White Hills, including the Locations before mentioned.*" In 1800 the NH legislature approved the incorporation, but, for some reason the Peabody Valley civic units were not included.



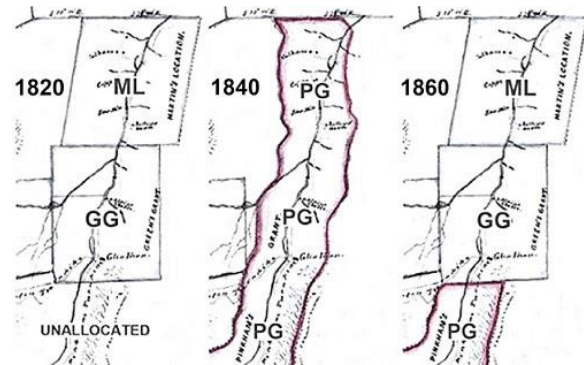
Samuel Holland **Map of 1784** - north at right – in 1796 Jackson is being assembled from small colonial grants and considers extending north over Pinkham Notch to Greens Grant and Martins Location

**Second:** The next attempt comes in 1824 when the legislature creates the Pinkham's Grant civic unit (final approval in 1835) extending

from Jackson north to Shelburne Addition, soon to be called Gorham. In 1846 John Bellows overturns that action in court and restores the original boundaries for Martins Location and Greens Grant.

The 1773 state allocation to Thomas Martin was ignored by the 1824 state allocation to Pinkham. A procedural error? The viewpoint behind legislation in 1824 could have been so what, whoever Martin was he is long gone. And he never fulfilled his grant condition of inducing settlers. The thought may have been that an archaic Colonial era action should not thwart the public benefit of road development in northern New Hampshire “here in modern times.”

Evidence that Martins Location was already allocated was mixed. From Adam Jared Apt: The **1816 “Carrigain Map... was authorized by the New Hampshire legislature in 1803.”** Both Martins Location and Greens Grant are properly shown on this early, “official” state map.



Another perspective is provided by the **1823 Gazetteer of New Hampshire**, describing itself as “a comprehensive geographic and statistical view of the whole state:” The description for Shelburne, NH, which then included Gorham read “bounded on the south by unallocated lands,” which was not the case had the 1773 Martins Location still counted.

Moving on to the **1833 J. R. Goodno Map of New Hampshire**, Martins Location is drawn as a small southern extension of still combined Shelburne and Gorham. While there is no boundary line on that map separating Gorham from Martins Location, by its inclusion with Gorham, Martins Location is clearly “already allocated.” On this map Greens Grant is shown as its original civic unit with its colonial boundary intact. Again, already allocated, legally not to be “regifted” by the state government.

So, it seems the creation of Pinkham's Grant was based in part on inadequate record keeping. But in fairness, apparently there was no one in New Hampshire after 1779 who was aware of the whereabouts of the underlying Martins Location deed, lying dormant as small part of a wealthy estate in Rhode Island.

**Third:** As Gorham developed after 1836 ties to Jackson and the more distant south faded. Commerce, institutions and the railroad were all to the north. In 1866 annexation was proposed (my two cents worth – not a bad idea) by Gorham's state representative and 105 others; “severally praying for the annexation of Greens Grant and Martins Location to the Town of Gorham.” But Hayes Copp, the Glen House owner and others opposed the effort and it did not succeed. Civic boundaries in the Peabody Valley have remained unchanged since 1846.

## 6-2. DANIEL PINKHAM HOMESITE



*Left Campground view south to **Carter Notch, Carter Notch Hut** with Tibetan prayer flags, right 1898 post card "**View from Jackson to Carter Notch**"*

*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 just over three miles - a familiar landmark comforting pioneers leaving homes from the south*

## 6-2A. FROM JACKSON NORTH TO VALLEY

That Daniel Pinkham lived for a time in the Peabody Valley has long been known. The 1908 Pinkham Genealogy confirms he lived in his Grant - somewhere. The 1998 Pinkham fictional - but based on quality references - account implies he settled "near" Hayes Copp, but offers no specific siting clues.

The main constraint to finding the Daniel Pinkham home site has been that early Coos County property records burned in 1886. Many were quickly reconstructed thru testimony by owners. But knowledge of early property transfers was largely lost. However, New Hampshire court cases involving the Peabody Valley before 1886 that referenced the earliest deeds were recently made web accessible - some of the records thought lost in the 1886 fire can now be reconstructed.

With farm land to the south in short supply and the choicest Jackson lands taken, with a rebuilt road suitable for wheeled vehicles making its way north, Daniel Pinkham and his relatives moved into the Peabody Valley. On his residency from the *1889 History of Carroll County*: "*In 1829, at the age of fifty, he removed his family to Pinkham's, and was again a pioneer. Here he resided six years.*"

Correlating well with Pinkham's move out of 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 documented in the 1887 biography of fourth Pinkham 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."*

But *where* along the road? It would save a lot of research effort to just accept the conclusion 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.*"

That location is well documented as the Site #1 residence of Daniel Pinkham's daughter **Ann Pinkham Hanson**, but is not supported by newly available sources as the home site for Daniel and wife Esther. The way forward is individual review of the Peabody Valley's six early home sites to assess the probability of Daniel and Esther Pinkham having lived on each.



Daniel Pinkham and his road building crew *might* have bunked temporarily at Ann's Greens Grant home in 1828 and 1829. And the 1826 Site #1 structure had sufficient capacity to double as an inn early on. But significant evidence eliminates Site #1 as Daniel and Esther Pinkham's primary residence and ultimately favors Site #5 Culhanes - *inside today's Dolly Copp Campground*, fronting on the Pinkham Road, just to the west of the Campground's Big Meadow section.

6-2B. **GENEALOGY:** The Pinkham Genealogy states that Daniel resided in Jackson from 1787 to 1828, in **Pinkhams Grant** from 1828 to 1835, then moved west to Coos County



seat Lancaster where he remained until his death in 1855. There are also other references to Pinkhams Grant in that Genealogy, evidence for Pinkham's family having resided therein.

A large volume that obviously took years to compile, for some years before its 1908 publication Pinkham Genealogy author Sinnett must have been contacting that era's Pinkham generation for their family histories. With the possible exception of two of the eight children of Daniel and Esther who lived into the 1890s, it seems unlikely Daniel's own children were direct contributors to this work.

I assume Daniel and Esther Pinkham's grandchildren provided most of the information. This point is made as there is a little bit of muddle in the book as to dating and geographic facts on the family's Pinkhams Grant residency – but not enough to invalidate the overall conclusion that they moved up from Jackson and resided there.

Below are the eight children of Daniel (1779-1855) Pinkham and Esther (1782-1871) Pinkham as shown in the 1908 Genealogy, all second cousins to Hayes Copp thru his father Dodavah. To best focus on the evidence for Pinkhams Grant residency, not all of Daniel and Esther's grandchildren are shown below, only those within families relating to the early Peabody Valley. Genealogically based facts about residency are in **bold type**:



**1. 1804 – 1847 ANN PINKHAM**, born in Jackson, married Joseph Hanson who lived 1802-1873, Joseph born in Wakefield, NH, lived in **Greens Grant**, buried in Lancaster. After Ann died Joseph and the remaining family were for a time living near Salem. Mass.

1. 1825 Lucy Hanson, studied in Lancaster schools.

2. 18?? Wright Pinkham Hanson.

**3. 1830 Daniel Pinkham Hanson**, born in **Greens Grant**, graduated Lancaster. In 1852 he moved with his 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 family residence is assumed to be muddled memory). He 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 says 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**, born in Lancaster, (but his *biography* cites his birth in **Pinkhams Grant**), went 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. 1809 – 1884 BETSEY PINKHAM**, 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 lived in Jackson 1831-33, in Bartlett 1833-37, and in **Pinkhams Grant** 1837-1847, then in Bridgeton, Maine 1850, in Stow, Maine 1860, in Fryeburg, Maine 1873

**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 carpenter.

4. 1838 William H. Copp, Civil War enlistee 1861, died in Union Army hospital.

5. 1841 Randall B. Copp, Civil War private 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, other record says Bridgeton, Maine.

8. 1850 Ann Delestra Copp Webb, born in Jackson.

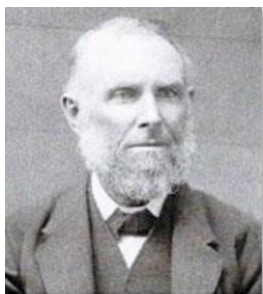
3. 1808 – 1896 **SARAH PINKHAM**, resided Jackson and Lancaster, married widower after July 5, 1835 1) William Gray Wentworth (1807-1862), Sarah married 2) Joseph Hanson in 1864. (Her older sister Ann was the first wife of this Joseph Hanson, widow Sarah was the second wife, Hanson an available widower after first wife Ann died in 1847).

4. 1812 – 1887 (**BENJAMIN**) **RANDALL PINKHAM**, 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 {such as Eaton, NH} 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, an early settler of Shelburne who was born in 1776. Randall lived in Lancaster and was a stage driver and farmer. 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 he lived with his parents in **Pinkhams Grant**, although not so stated in the 1908 Genealogy.

5. 1815 – 1885 **MARTHA PINKHAM**, born in Jackson, lived in **Pinkhams Grant**. She married in 1834 Otis Evans who lived 1811-1886 and was a grandson of Shelburne pioneer Jonathan Evans. They lived their lives in Shelburne.

6. 1817 – 1854 **HARRIET PINKHAM**, did not marry, buried in Lancaster.



Daniel C. Pinkham

7. 1820 – 1889 **DANIEL CHESLEY PINKHAM**, as a photo of son Daniel has been preserved, perhaps we see a reflection of his father. Born in Jackson, Daniel C. was a Dartmouth College graduate, then principal of academies in Conway and Lancaster. He 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 death he remained the rest of his life in Lancaster.

8. 1826 – 1897 **MARY PINKHAM**, moved with parents to Lancaster, recorded in a musical performance there in 1844, returned to Shelburne to marry in 1851 Colonel Martin L. Burbank, remained in Shelburne and died there.

Note: The list above is a convenient location to add minor details about the Pinkham children in addition to items referencing Pinkham's Grant from the 1908 Pinkham Genealogy. In doing so the original intent, to document in bold type the 1908 Genealogy's 1830s Pinkhams Grant residence clues, remains unaltered.

## 6-2C. 1830 CENSUS

Another validation of residency is in the 1830 decennial Census records for the Daniel Pinkham Family. That source locates them in Jackson, NH in 1820, in New Hampshire's "Coos County Public Lands" in 1830, and then in Lancaster, NH in 1840 – just right to fit with the other evidence.

The 1830 federal Census had not caught up with the 1824 action to create Pinkhams Grant, likely due to its being fully validated by the state only in 1835. In the 1830 Census, Daniel and family are residents of the Coos County's Public Lands category, a more encompassing geographic area than the much smaller Pinkhams Grant within it but not recognized by the Census until 1840.

The omission of Greens Grant and Martins Location from the 1830 federal Census reflects their confused status in state records, and therefore their assumption to be lumped in with Peabody Valley "public lands." By the 1840 Census, Pinkhams Grant is specifically designated as a geographic reporting unit, reflecting Daniel Pinkhams 1835 receipt from the state of the deed to Pinkhams Grant.

The small 1830 Census Peabody Valley population component of Public Lands included heads of household Joseph Hanson, Daniel Pinkham and Samuel Copp. Below for the

record are listed the few other heads of households in 1830 Coos County Public Lands outside of the Peabody Valley: Thomas J. Crawford {opened first tourist house in the White Mountains, brother of Ethan Allen Crawford}, Otis Eastman, John Vincent, Nathan Chandler and George Nicholson.

A limitation for researchers, in 1830 only the heads of households were specifically named. The individuality of others is categorized solely by age group and gender. Even so the 1830 Census generalized data correlates well with the specific Pinkham Family birth dates available in the 1908 Pinkham Genealogy.

Eldest Pinkham daughter **Ann**, after 1824 Mrs. Joseph Hanson, and her husband are listed as a Public Lands household (Site #1). Second eldest Pinkham daughter **Betsey** was, after 1829, the adult female in the Samuel Copp household (Site #2). The earliest Peabody Valley settlement cluster emerges as *a family enterprise, a kinship settlement*, a father providing his eldest daughters, their husbands, and relative Hayes Copp with scarce farm lots.

As for the remaining six children of Daniel and Esther, there are two missing from the 1830 Census age and sex categories. These are **Sarah** age 22 and **Martha** age 15. **Sarah** at this time had already married William G. Wentworth, that couple accounted for in the 1830 Census for Jackson. Moving north, Sarah will soon own the sawmill property (Site #3) in the Martins Location subsection of Pinkhams Grant.

While daughter **Martha** would marry Otis Evans of Shelburne in 1834, she was not living at home in Pinkhams Grant in 1830, her residence that year not documented. Perhaps the explanation given by Carol Hayes in her fictional account of the Pinkhams is correct: *“To escape the close quarters of the cabin... Martha moved to Shelburne to live with a chum’s family.”* Looking ahead we know that Martha settles permanently in Shelburne.

#### 6-2D. SURVEYOR VISITS

A combination of four findings then locate the 1830 Pinkham residence on the **west** bank of the Peabody in Martins Location, this point and those that follow. The first finding is a comment in 1835 by surveyor Samuel Thompson approaching the area north of Copps from the south. This record is within a court case involving two of New Hampshire’s other minor civil divisions, located just west of Greens Grant and Martins Location, Thompson and Meserve’s Purchase on the north and Sargent’s Purchase on the south.

The initial surveys laying out those units in the 1830s were later found to be faulty; the resulting boundaries for the two units not congruent but rather overlapping. Several decades later that error would produce conflict as to the rightful ownership of the summit of Mount Washington, suddenly valuable due to tourist interest, part of the John Bellows story herein.

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 back in the 1830s. When Surveyor Thompson is called to the stand to testify as to his activities in Pinkhams Grant in 1835, he reports staying the night at Daniel Pinkham’s home there:

*“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 is a reference 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.”*

Traveling north the “opening” can only be the broadening of relatively level land after the steep valley profile, that is, the central agriculturally area of Martins Location. Given the north by northeasterly course of the Peabody here, “north side” refers to the Peabody’s west bank, the Hayes and Dolly Copp side. This interpretation is supported by the original 1773 Martins Location survey and the Martins Location topographic pattern.



By the year of the stayover, 1835, Hayes and Dolly were settled on Site #4 in the “lower part of the opening” on that west bank. Thompson’s “upper part of the opening” can only be the remaining west bank land, north of Copps, that became the Site #5 Culhane property and the later Site #6 Barnes property as recorded on the 1862-68 Goodwin Map.

Surveyor Samuel Thompson’s further testimony described his 1835 travels after a second night of lodging at Pinkham’s. Herein is a key reference to the road Pinkham was building. The distance from Pinkham’s to a known survey line provides a significant clue:

*“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** {bold added}. 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 north on the early Pinkham Road past the Copps new farm, the first existing survey line to be encountered is that established in 1771 as the southern boundary of what was then Shelburne Addition, to be the Town of Gorham after 1836. Thompson’s reference must be to this survey line, as it is the *sole such corporate boundary* within his distance estimates.



Measuring along the Pinkham Road the 1915 map of the Culhane home (the best reference) is a little more than **0.8 of a mile** south of that survey line. In contrast, the Barnes home, as located on the 1865 Jackson Iron Map (most accurate reference) is about **0.4 of a mile** south of the survey line.

Thompson’s testimony states “one half mile or so north of Pinkham’s house this way on the road he was building.” Under further questioning he revises that distance to “can’t tell whether one half mile or a mile from Pinkham’s.”

The key here 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**. This favors Culhane Site #5 as the early Pinkham home when compared to the **0.4-mile distance** from the survey line to Barnes Site #6.

We can search for additional distinctions between Site #5 and Site #6 in hope of gaining insight. Clouding our quest is that the Pinkham farm could have been occupying all five of the remaining 100 acre lots still “unsold” by Pinkham in 1830.

To begin, entering Dolly Copp Campground, southbound on the left is the first of the two access roads to the Big Meadow. Next on the right is the entrance to Spruce Woods, where the first camp site, number 51, combined with some of the area of the Spruce Woods entrance road itself, is the site of the Culhane home.

There is as yet no established date of first construction at what became known as Culhanes. We can infer from the placement of 1840 Census families that **1838** sawmill builder Edmund Merrill was there by that year; the Pinkhams having moved out in 1836. Sarah Jordan of the USFS presents post-1840 site history:

*“In the **1840’s** the Baker Family established a farm less than a quarter mile north of the Copp Farm: John R. Baker, with his wife and four children... Soon after **1850** the Bakers moved on, and the Culhane family occupied their 200-acre farm.”* A comment on the property by land speculator John Bellows in a remnant from the Coos County Burnt Records: *“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 existence of the Barnes house can be clearly traced back only to 1860. The Culhane house can be clearly traced to 1850. 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, his sighting may favor 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. This must be a limitation of the Boardman Map, as the house occupied by the Bakers, assumed herein to have been the early Pinkham – Merrill 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 distinct home sites north of Hayes and Dolly. USFS Historical Archaeologist Sarah Jordan interprets: *“By 1857, in addition to the Cops 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.*

The Culhanes are then documented by the Census as in residence on Site #5 in **1860, 1870** and **1880**, and the Ste #5 house is identified as Culhanes on the 1915 USFS Sketch Map. The **1861** Walling Map identifies Copp, Culhane and Barnes homes by name and in their proper geographic order. Then the **1862-1868** Goodwin Map, the wide date range part of that map's title, presents corresponding lot boundaries. Was the dominant property, which we assume Pinkham would have selected, that of later Culhane or Barnes? Review the considerations below:

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 farm houses in the valley.”*

While only those two houses were nearest to the hikers for the noise of barking dogs to reach them, the area is described as having “two farm houses in the valley,” not including third house Barnes (a peripheral point).

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.

Again a peripheral point, but the **1865** Jackson Iron testimony by Surveyor Thompson on his 1835 route north of Pinkham's mentions no other home sites 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 to 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. The case can be made that the first farm house to disappear from the map would have been the least viable farm property.

On the USFS **1915** Sketch Map the Copp house had been torn down but the remnant is specifically identified. The Culhane home was still standing in 1915 and is also specifically identified. But no remnant of the Site #6 Barnes house is shown or identified. We may say that by 1915 to the casual viewer its remnants were indistinguishable from the landscape.

Overall, the apparent late arrival and early demise of the Barnes farm house presents the appearance of a “secondary property.” Reinforcing that, the property was cut in 1861 from the Culhane lot.

As in 1830 Daniel Pinkham was in the commanding ownership position to select the “better lot” north of Cops, the odds for his occupancy tilt towards the more desirable Site #5 as opposed to weaker Site #6. The clues available favor the Culhanes home having its origin as the first replacement for, or rebuilding of, Pinkham's original log house.

## 6-2E. LIBRARIAN LAYS EYES ON HOME

This finding, the most dramatic, is found in *Appalachia, the Journal of the Appalachian Mountain Club*. In 1918 that Journal presented *A Naturalist's Visit to the White Mountains in 1853*.



Dr. Thaddeus Harris

The bulk of the article reproduces an 1853 letter from Dr. Thaddeus W. Harris (1795-1856) of Harvard to Dr. Edward Tuckerman (1817-1886), Tuckerman a professor of botany at Amherst College and 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. Frederick Tuckerman comments:

*"Among the papers of Edmund 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."*

Then from the 1853 Harris' letter: *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.*" The bold added for emphasis - a priceless clue!

Then consider this excerpt from the same article's 1918 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' 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 Copp Farm was not noted by Harris in 1853, but inserted in 1918, and in the geographic order supporting the premise here. Had the 1853 reference locating Pinkham been judged an error it likely would have been so noted by the 1918 editors, not reinforced with placement in relation to Copp. It looks to me that where Pinkham lived was known by professional in 1918: time to retrieve that knowledge.

#### 6-2F. HOME SITE EXCAVATION

The intent of a 2013 examination of the Culhane home site was to identify artifacts that could be adversely impacted by upcoming 2017-2020 campground rehabilitation activities. The report enabled those activities to work around historic remnants, and was prepared for the USFS by Independent Archaeological Consulting, LLC (IAC).

Yet from the perspective of 2020, context for earliest settlers in the report narrative is now seen as limited, focusing on 1840s Bakers. The narrative makes no mention of the potential for Pinkham or Merrill Families potentially residing on Site #5 prior to the Bakers and Culhanes.

This was appropriate in 2013, as there was as yet no data on the Pinkham kinship group's coordinated settlement pattern, since then used to interpret 1830 and 1840 Census data and newly available 1846 court cases linking Pinkham related families with specific early Peabody Valley home sites. In fairness, such extensive analysis was not within the contractual scope of the 2013 report, to shield artifacts from inadvertent disturbance by Campground rehabilitation activities.

An 1846 court found that *"in 1830 said Pinkham cleared land and put up buildings upon the road, and within what is now claimed as Martins Grant."* There were multiple Pinkham pioneers: Site #1 first Pinkham daughter was by 1827 settled south of Martins Location at the Glen House site.



The Site #2 Pinkham daughter's home was built in 1834 and the Site #3 Pinkham daughter-owned mill house in 1838, too late to be the 1830 Daniel and Esther Pinkham parents residence. Pinkham first cousin once removed Hayes Copp's Site #4 was purchased in 1827.

Site by site evaluations lead to the theory that Daniel and Esther Pinkham were the first occupant of the Site #5 Culhane residence or, less probably, Site #6 Barnes. Focus is then sharpened by key eye witness accounts of the Pinkham home north of Copps from 1835 and 1853.

It is not a question of correcting the 2013 report, as it did its job of protecting an historic site. But had the more recent research presented in this section been available, it could have broadened discussion of the earliest artifacts found. Excerpts from the report discussion:

*“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).”*

2013 **Site #5 Excavation** in Progress

*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.*

*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.”*

## 6-2G. FAMILY WHILE IN VALLEY

The evidence in this subsection does not contain specific clues to the location of Pinkham's home. Rather, it provides context relevant to envisioning their Martins Location residence. There are a few glimpses of Pinkham family member's while living in Pinkhams Grant. Son Randall Pinkham's 1887 bio refers to the family's circa 1830 arrival there: *“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 tells us Daniel in the Grant *“was a very good farmer.”*

**Ministry:** In spite of the rigors of his farm work, throughout his six or seven years in Pinkhams Grant, Daniel was also a respected lay preacher serving a wide area. From the Pinkham Genealogy: *“The work in which he took the most pleasure was that of a Free 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 who lived 1812-1887: *“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 first organized as a religious district in **1833**. That area included 820 parishioners and thirteen ministers, one for each of its thirteen churches. The accompanying church list includes one serving the combination of **Pinkhams Grant**, Randolph and Shelburne.

**Pinkham as State Legislator:** The social and emotional connections developed thru Daniel's ministerial role could have been helpful to his upcoming run for elective office. The focus was a nearby NH House district consisted of parts of the Town of Carroll {then Nash and Sawyer's Location}, Jefferson, Kilkenny and Randolph.

A petition in October of **1833** by Daniel's twenty-one-year-old son Randall to the state legislature requested that newly populated Pinkhams Grant be added to this existing district. The legislature did so in **1834**. Note that Daniel could point to previous political experience, having been a selectman for three terms back in Jackson.

In the **1834** state legislative elections Daniel Pinkham becomes the state representative for this newly expanded district. He was 55. This success in politics, along with the area wide preaching, indicates that maintaining a home based in the Peabody Valley did not necessitate social isolation - it was not so remote that you could not get in and out at will, Daniel's new road the key.

**Legislative Friend Placed Nearby:** The Site #3 residence associated with Robert McCartee and the sawmill was completed in 1838. As Daniel Pinkham was selective as to who he let live in his grant, when we look for connections to McCartee and we find them. Rather than kinship, it was legislative service and friendship.

First, McCartee was from Jackson, no big surprise in the pioneer period. Martha Benesh of Jackson indicates that early on the McCartee name was associated with Wildcat Brook flowing south out of Carter Notch. I like to joke with Martha that back then the early Peabody Valley grants could have consolidated as a "Town of North Jackson".



The search heats up when we find that both men were representatives to the New Hampshire legislature with tenures interrelated. By **1829** a New Hampshire House district had been created from the combination of Nash and Sawyer's Location, Jefferson, Kilkenny and Randolph. Acting on a late **1833** petition by Daniel's young son Randall, in 1834 that district was expanded to the southwest to include newly settled Pinkhams Grant.

In **1834** Daniel Pinkham himself becomes the state representative for this newly expanded district. He remained in that capacity at least into **1836** when he moved out of the district west to Lancaster.

Then in **1839**, Pinkhams Grant was removed from the Randolph and Jefferson related district and reoriented southerly, to the Jackson and Hart's Location House district. The elected representative there in 1835 and 1836 had been Esther Pinkham's nephew John Chesley. Chesley is followed as district representative by our Robert McCartee for 1837 and 1838.

Then late in **1839**, McCartee and family move north to become Pinkhams Grant residents and are recorded there for the 1840 Census. In **1841** land speculator John Bellows sues mill site tenant McCartee. It took some time but McCartee is evicted. He finds work as a teamster south in Manchester, NH by **1848**, he and his family in Manchester for the **1850** Census as well.

It is not clear what happened to the McCartees after that. But we may suspect their former neighbor **Dolly Copp** knew. For in 1846, McCartee's daughter Almira married, the ceremony right in Pinkhams Grant, **Dolly's** first cousin Samuel F. Emery **Junior** of Gorham.

In the case of Site #3 a Pinkham daughter is a property owner, not a resident settler, with McCartee their 1840 tenant. Perhaps coincidentally, as we proceed north in the Peabody Valley, the age order of the three oldest Pinkham children reflects the order of their geographic settlement. Southernmost east bank Site #1 daughter Ann was born in 1804, Site #2 daughter Betsey in 1806 and Site #3 owner daughter Sarah in 1808.

**Pinkham as Postmaster:** During the family's Pinkhams Grant residency there was some part-time work available from the postal service to carry mail through the Peabody Valley. Early on son Daniel Chesley Pinkham took the lead. According to the 1890 *Proceedings of Grafton and Coos County Bar Association* "*When but ten years old {1830} he began to take his part by carrying the mails once per week from Bartlett to Randolph {thru Pinkhams Grant}, on horseback through the long woods in summer, and in an old pung sley in winter. This service brought to his father sixty dollars per year.*"

The **1831 Plan of Rogers, Wentworth and Treadwell Location** {part of Jackson, NH} provided courtesy of Martha Benesh of Jackson, includes the notation "*Post Road from Jackson to Randolph*" designated along the Pinkham Road in Jackson. A January **1833** national register of early postal officials lists Daniel Pinkham as the postmaster for both Jackson and Pinkhams Grant. A demonstration of his influence in obtaining that appointment, well known at this time to be a plum of political patronage. Assisting him were an Asa Stephens and from Randolph Robert Leighton.

For **1835** Daniel is off the postmaster list, while son Randall by **mid-1834** is on it for Pinkhams Grant. Randall seems to have inherited the position from his father. This record shows Randall's assistants were Randolph's Joseph H. Vincent and our own **Hayes D. Copp**. The inclusion of Hayes suggests good relations between Martins Location's neighboring Site #4 Copp and Site #5 Pinkham families.

More from son Randall's bio: "*Here again the boy's services were called into requisition, but this time in carrying a mail two days in each week over this road through Jackson from Bartlett to Randolph, in the summer on horseback and in winter sometimes by one-horse sleigh and sometimes on foot.* Another reference states this employment paid sixty dollars per year.

The **1837** postmaster role indicates a transition year for Pinkhams Grant, two names shown, Randall on Site #5 leaving the job early in the year, the position taken up by new Site #1 occupant Daniel Elkins Jr. Elkins had just moved onto the vacated Joseph Hanson Site #1 property, the future Glen House site. This arrangement continued for a time as evidenced by the 1842 – 1844 *New Hampshire Annual Register* recording Pinkhams Grant official "Postmaster Daniel Elkins, Jr."

**Flag on Mount Washington:** Also from Randall's bio is this colorful and patriotic event: "*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, {other sources say his sister Martha married Otis Evans, not Daniel}.*

*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.*





Summit development by 1856



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, operating by 1819, west slope **Crawford Path** users, the first regular tourist access to the summit.

**Move to Lancaster, NH:** From the 1846 case *Bellows 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.” Could Pinkham’s sudden knowledge that his land rights were shaky have influenced his **1836** decision to move on to Lancaster?

The state government’s non-cash payment to Pinkham, a formal deed to his roads’ adjacent lands on both sides, was at last granted on 6/23/**1835**. According to White Mountain hotels historian George McAvoy in 1834 there was a speculative land boom that soon collapsed. Then “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.”

Entry in son Randall’s bio: “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.” Son Randall and wife moved out of Pinkhams Grant and followed his parents. Randall’s bio: “He moved to Lancaster and lived in the same house where he died for several years, then owning and occupying half of the farm known as the ‘Old Parson Willard Place’” - Reverend Joseph Willard of the Lancaster Congregational Church had died 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 Pinkham children, Daniel Chesley Pinkham, 16 years old at the time of the move. This son’s bio states he was for a time civil engineer for El Dorado County, California, and that “his father’s last illness brought him back to Lancaster in **1853**.”

A bio on fourth son Franklin refers to his father and grandfather: “After several years residence in this picturesque district (Glen House area), these pioneers of New Hampshire, or 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’ successful attempt to dismantle the legislature’s Pinkham’s Grant designation. Hard feelings are seen in Carol Hayes 1998 historical novel on Daniel Pinkham: “A crafty blackguard, slippery as an eel. God will punish Mr. Bellows, said Esther {Pinkham}. Chesley {Pinkham} stomped from the room. Never, he vowed, no, never, would he pardon John Bellows.”

Daniel’s **1855** will to this son, Daniel Chesley: “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*.” Daniel passes away in Lancaster at age 76 on 6/25/**1855**. Esther Pinkham follows at age 88 on 6/5/**1871**.

**Children Settle:** Where Daniel and Esther Pinkham’s children resided in their adult lives serves as an echo of the 1830s Pinkhams Grant residency. None went back to the family’s

roots in Jackson. While several took root in their parent's new home Lancaster, a few made homes in the Gorham – Shelburne area:

--- None of the eight Pinkham children moved back south towards family origins in Jackson. Betsey Pinkham Copp and her husband Samuel, the pioneer Site #2 residents thrown out by John Bellows, ended up living in Maine. **Martha** Pinkham Evans stayed in Shelburne for life, marrying lifelong resident **Otis Evans** there.

--- The remaining six of the eight siblings moved on to Lancaster, NH like their parents. But one of these six, **Mary**, returned to Shelburne permanently by 1851. Mary married Shelburne's Colonel Martin L. Burbank, a justice of the peace and in 1881 a state representative.

Martin Burbank was a son of the influential Barker Burbank, who in 1850 was one of the developers of John Bellows' carriage road from Gorham thru Martins Location to the Bellows Hotel, and soon on the board of directors of the Mount Washington Carriage Road. Another of the six, **Benjamin Randall**, returned to Shelburne temporarily to work for Barker Burbank.



**Route 2 west of Town and Country** – as in 1884  
a wide angle makes it difficult to judge train speed

The 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, and his escape from instant death was most miraculous.*

*He was driving up to our village {westerly into Gorham}, and coming across the railroad crossing, 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.”* This remains a dangerous “hard to judge train speed” location today.

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, Judge of the Coos County Probate Court, and a member of the Governor's staff 1907-08.

Denman Wight on Judge Evans: *“He was never a strong man physically, but his mental alertness and keenness were undiminished by age. His long span of life can be attributed to his excellent and regular habits, and the consciousness of duties well and faithfully performed.”*



It seems likely that Judge Evans is the source commenting on his grandfather Daniel in the 1919 *Turnpikes of New England*: *“Persistent inquiry in Gorham and Berlin has failed to discover anyone who ever heard of a toll road through Pinkham Notch, and **one descendant** of Daniel Pinkham is positive that none ever existed.”*

## 6-3. ROADS AND BRIDGES



At left **Old Pinkham Road** - now the main campground road - aside Copp's North Field; center Pinkham Road circa 1830, right same view 1910

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

### 6-3A. ROAD REBUILT AFTER FIFTY YEARS

Historian Aileen Carroll on evolution of many major routes in the White Mountains: *"First an animal trail, adopted by the Indians who moved along it single file, later widened enough to accommodate a man on horseback, and finally developed into a road for horse or oxen teams."* After Belknap's 1784 exploratory visit to the Peabody Valley, during which a rudimentary road was documented, except for a blip in the 1790s, the Valley is out of view for several decades. It remained uninhabited and passed over, hard to access, bypassed by northern migrants using routes to the east and west.

Well, maybe an exception. There are two clues that someone may have been recorded there in 1794 and 1796. First, from the 1846 court case *Bellows versus Copp*: *"charter is now a nullity, on account of non-user or abatement, and the legislature had a right to so treat it, and have so treated it by not recognizing it as "Martin's Grant," in any apportionment act, nor by assessing any taxes upon it, or upon the inhabitants living thereon, till 1840, except in 1794."*

Secondly, a petition of **1796** to geographically define the new town to become Jackson attempted to include *"a number of good settlers on other Locations adjoining viz {namely} Wentworths, Rogers, Gilmans and Martins Locations."* Perhaps the 1800 Census could shed some light.

Whoever was there the initial John Evans Road of 1774 was premature from an economic standpoint, travel demand too low for either productive tolling or private interest in upkeep. We may assume loyalist road investor Green of "Greens Grant" did not know he would soon need to flee the country as a Tory. There could not have been much remaining of the 1774 road work when Pinkham started reconstruction fifty years later.

As documented by Frederick Tuckerman in the 1921 *Appalachia Journal* maintenance of the early Evans Road was not undertaken: *"In July 1804 Dr. Cutler visited the mountains a second time... They went and returned by the Eastern Pass {Pinkham Notch}, the usual way of ascent before the Crawfords opened their paths on the western side of the range. They found the road in even worse condition than at Cutler's first visit twenty years earlier."*

There is a reference in Cutler's Journal of 6/26/1804 to Dolly's Emery Family: *"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."* That looks like Dolly's grandfather Enoch Emery, fifty-two years old in 1804, Cutler and Belknap having lodged with him on their return trip from Mount Washington twenty years earlier.

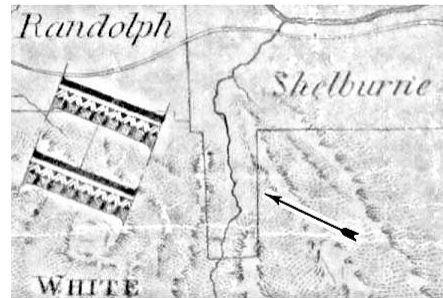


The trade function of a renewed road along the Peabody, then northwesterly by Cops to Randolph, would be to link New Hampshire's Upper Connecticut River Valley towns and beyond, easterly via Jefferson and Randolph, then south thru Martins Location and Greens Grant, on to Jackson and Bartlett. From there, established routes continued to Portland, Maine, the primary city market and Atlantic port for a large segment of northern New England.

Insight on early road interest in Paul Doherty's 1992 *Smoke from a Thousand Campfires*, reporting that in the very small Gorham settlement of 1821 "there was talk of a road being cut south through Pinkham Notch, now that the one north to Maynesboro {that town soon renamed Berlin} was finished." Population and economic pressures on northern New Hampshire were building nevertheless.

Hayes Copp was just one of many young men who needed a farm lot, the Peabody Valley offering some of the limited virgin acreage remaining available – but no road. Access to those parcels would be a byproduct of Daniel Pinkham's new trade route extending north from Jackson, bridging the Peabody, somewhat south of Copp's lot, and on to Randolph. In 1826 Hayes arrives in Martins Location to help with the flood-stalled road project.

**Robinson Map of 1828** correctly shows future Gorham as then still part of Shelburne, with Martins Location and Greens Grant incorrectly added to the south – perhaps the cartographer just "did not know what to do with the pesky little civic units"

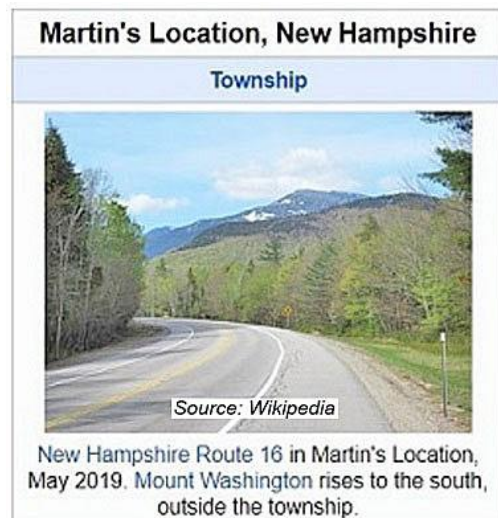


The history of the Peabody Valley now becomes intimately entwined with the lives of the enterprising Daniel Pinkham Family. Daniel of Jackson receives from the state a guarantee of a ribbon of land centered along the Ellis and Peabody Rivers. Thru this linear unit he repairs the forgotten 1774 Evans Road. By 1830 Daniel and Esther Pinkham are raising a family in Martins Location, before bride Dolly Emery arrives in 1831.

Much of the Peabody Valley bottomland had been deeded by the state fifty years earlier as Martins Location and Greens Grant. So does the newer and overlying Pinkhams Grant invalidate the rights of whomever owned the original Martin and Green property deeds? I am afraid so. The state legislative grant to Pinkham is creating a contradiction in property rights that in the 1840s will hurt the valley's newly settled pioneers. The ownership record for Martins Location reflects confusion in the 1840s:

1. **1773 COLONIAL NEW HAMPSHIRE**, as 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 the recently established property rights** of Daniel Pinkham below: "A grant by the state of all its right and title to certain lands included in a prior grant conveys no part of such land"
4. **1835–1846 DANIEL PINKHAM**, obtains state deed to overlying "Pinkhams Grant", sells lots to family pioneers, but **lot sales clash** with underlying deed to Martins Location owned by Brown descendants above

5. **1841–1880 JOHN BELLOWS**, acquires old deed from Brown estate, forces a court clash of old deeds and new Pinkham deeds, establishes viability of original 1773 Martins Location in 1846, **evicts**



**most Pinkham Family pioneers**, allows Hayes and Dolly Copp to remain, completes plan in 1849 to draw tourists, establishes forerunner of Glen House, in 1880 sells Martins Location holdings to

**6. 1880–1914 ELIHU LIBBY AND SONS**, major Gorham logging company, uses Peabody Valley for timbering, sawmill, and growing animal fodder - kept Copp, Culhane and Barnes farms active to grow feed for their work animals, sells to

**7. 1914 U.S. FOREST SERVICE**, early federal planners insightfully declare Martins Location ideal for recreational use, circa mid-teens create small east bank of Peabody River campground, soon expand it west across Peabody to become today's Dolly Copp Campground.

Pinkham's vision was enabled by a state legislative act, no mention of tolling therein, on June 16, 1824: *"Whereas a good carriage road from the town of Adams {Jackson} to the town of Durand {Randolph} in the County of Coos, passing on the easterly side of the White Mountains, would greatly promote the public convenience by facilitating the travel in that section of the State, and very much enhance the value of the public lands through which said road shall pass..."*

*And 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 who has undertaken and obliged himself to make said road, and build said bridges.* The Pinkham Genealogy states that the \$1,000 labor commitment cited above had been arranged by 1822. Note that the source towns were geographically positioned such that businesses within them, often inns, would prosper from enhanced commercial traffic.

The biography of Pinkham son Randall characterizes his father's task: *"Connecting the valley of the Connecticut with the Saco, and thence to Portland by a route claimed to be shorter and easier than that through the Crawford Notch, west of the mountains. This route lay thru dense forests, along steep side-hills and across rapid mountain streams for a distance of twelve miles." And that prior to his father's road project "lands along the road and in Jackson {were} not salable at any price, but since then becoming quite valuable for timber lands" (written during the 1887 logging boom).*

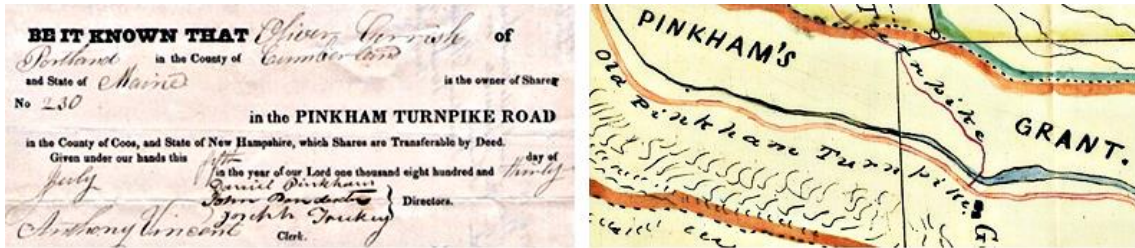
Where the road had to pass northwesterly thru what is today Gorham to reach Randolph, the adjacent 1.9 miles of frontage land was not part of the legislative payment to Pinkham, Gorham then known as Shelburne Addition having been previously granted. The 1865 Jackson Iron Map shows the original boundary of Pinkham's Grant ending at the Gorham Town Line, while the legislative road building requirement on Pinkham continued on to Randolph.

Viewing from Portland into that City's western hinterland, the perspective of business interests there is reflected in the **1821** *Travels in New England and New York* by Timothy Dwight: *"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."*

*The Northern Traveler* of **1826** cites Pinkham's enterprise: *"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. Whenever it shall be completed, it will offer a very agreeable route to the traveler, with fine views, but not so wild as those on the present route."*

**Tolling Feature:** To the south of the Presidential Range passing east-west thru Crawford Notch, since 1806 was a substantial vein of commercial traffic paying tolls. Authorization for tolls on this route was conferred by legislative charter. Daniel Pinkham in Jackson was 27 as he witnessed the surge of commerce thru Bartlett to the south.

Yet there is no evidence that the early thinking behind Pinkham's project was contemplating tolls. Adjacent land sales were to compensate Pinkham. Pinkham's legislative authorization to proceed with tolling dates from the early 1830s, only after construction had been on-going for some years and costs had mounted. Or was that the sequenced plan all along? While it appears that only after road costs skyrocketed tolling was authorized, we may be at an impasse on the question by the lack of surviving evidence.



1836 Turnpike Share; Old Pinkham Turnpike on 1865 Jackson Iron Map

Pinkham's difficulties are reflected in the family genealogy: "Daniel Pinkham lost much money in the building of this road." Then in the *New Hampshire House Journal* of 6/13/1832: 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."

From the limited records available it appears the tolling authorization for his road dates from the early 1830s, only after construction costs had mounted. From the 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: Daniel himself, Lancaster town official Richard Eastman, Lancaster Bank incorporator Benjamin Stephenson, Esther's nephew and Jackson town official John Chesley, and Jackson town official George P. Meserve.

Planning for the toll feature proceeded after its 1834 authorization. Evidence is a surviving share, provided courtesy of White Mountains cartography expert and avid hiker Adam Jared Apt, stating "Be it known that Oliver Gerrish of Portland is the owner of Share Number 230 in the Pinkham Turnpike Road - July 5, 1836." Looking up Gerrish, he lived 1796 to 1888 and was a watchmaker, prominent merchant in Portland, and eventually president of the Portland Savings Bank. We can characterize him as representative of business leaders on the Maine coast favoring access improvements from the New England interior towards their bustling Atlantic port.

According to *A 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." Yet Frederic Wood writing in 1919 could find no evidence for a toll road 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, and one descendant of Daniel Pinkham {likely his grandson Judge Alfred Evans} is positive that one never existed."

The perspective I favor is within the research of historians Donna and James Garvin, documenting that the turnpike era in New Hampshire was winding down just as Pinkham's was being proposed. The decline was due to a combination of poor economics and growing public resistance: "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."

Economic trends may also have played a part. The expansionist mood of the twenties and early thirties dissipated, perhaps taking Pinkham's tolling with it. 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 Northern New Hampshire



experience from Gorham's D. B. Wight: *"In 1837 the land boom collapsed and unemployment prevailed."*

**Construction Completed:** The Pinkham Road project was successfully completed, clearly 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."*

By 1849 Saint Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad President Josiah Little was cooperating with Peabody Valley tourism promotor John Bellows. In assessing road maintenance responsibilities from Gorham south to Bellows' proposed tourist hotel in Greens Grant, Little questioned him on the status of the Pinkham Turnpike.

John responses: *"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 I think so that it will be in good condition for passing with light carriages in the course of next year."*

A request for state support of the road, by a Pinkham family member if not Daniel, is found 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."*

### **6-3B. NEW ROAD SOUTH TO GREENS GRANT**

Since its completion in 1835 the Pinkham Road northerly thru the Peabody Valley northerly had crossed the Peabody River in Martins Location, then veered off northwesterly passing Pine Mountain to Randolph. But as Gorham growth accelerates and the 1820s concept of a better bypass around the Presidentials proves flawed, the main desire line of travel up the Peabody Valley shifts from northwest to north.

The Belknap expedition of 1784 documented a crumbling road along the Peabody from Martins Location north to Gorham. That segment was not assigned by state legislation for Daniel Pinkham to upgrade. To build due north from Martins Location in Pinkham's time would not assist his grand trade route function, commerce from the west following the Peabody on it way southeasterly to Portland.

The late **Vina Gorham** (1922-2007), readily available for historic chat as the owner of an antique shop on Exchange Street in Gorham, said that by 1850 there was at least some travel possible on the direct north – south segment: *"Before the 1851 road improvement there was at least a serviceable horse trail along the Peabody River from Pinkham's Road to Gorham."* I assume Martins Location settlers made some use of it on horseback but not with their wagons or carriages.



Vina Gorham

It must have been obvious in those times the needed north - south link of 5.2 miles, with its gentle riverside grade, would eventually be upgraded to serve wheeled vehicles and not just single rider horses. But who would step up in to pay for it? There was an insufficiently critical mass of taxpayers south of Gorham to do it. There was no "deep pocket" as we would say today. An ambitious investor soon appears.

Perspective from Historian D. B. Wight quoting a mid-century 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 Pinkham 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 then informs us that in 1850 the plan went ahead. That 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 {from Greens Grant north thru Martins Location}. The railroad appropriated \$1,000 for this purpose.”*

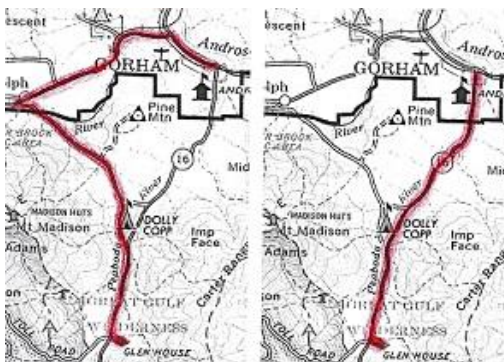
### map insert

Railroad agent E. F. Beal cites that \$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. It looks like Burbank attempted to bring in some state support, the Journal of the New Hampshire House for 7/10/1850 documentsing a “petition of Barker Burbank and others for an appropriation for the Pinkham Road.”*

Railroad agent Beal continuing: *“The road is to be completed by the 20th of July next {of 1851}. 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, from his house, that a hand bill can be issued the first day of July concerning the Jubilee of convenient accommodations.”*

We also have this excerpt from John Bellows’ November 1849 letter to Josiah Little of the railroad, offering to be involved with funding maintenance work thereafter: *“Should a new carriage road be made up Peabody River {south} to intersect the Pinkham Road 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, {further south} to the point from which a bridle road will strike off for the mountain.”*

This is to be a new, north-south route. Evidence of use of the soon to be outdated “indirect route”, west by southwest thru Randolph, turning southeast over Pine Mountain Notch and by Dolly’s house, is found in a New York Times article of 8/8/1861 entitled *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.**”*

Perspective from 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 saw his lot as extending one half mile east of his home site, until an 1880 court fight with John Bellows forced him to trim his boundary back westerly to the Peabody River. But at this time, as the new Glen Road construction was three tenths of a mile east of Copps, Hayes may have been among those with property impacted by the construction.

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## PERSPECTIVES ON GLEN ROAD

--- The newly opened road is praised in Tripp's **1852** *White Mountain Guide Book*: "Over a good and hard road in the valley of the Peabody River."

--- Improvements were from Gorham south to the new Glen House only. From the **1852** Boston Literary Journal on south of the Glen House: "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, the Pinkham Road enters the Town of Jackson, and here a striking improvement in its character begins."*

--- From the July **1853** Putnam's Monthly, A Day in the Carter Notch: "Thirdly, 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 is not quite as grim on travel south: "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 the ride did not receive much praise in **1853** from Harvard Librarian Dr. Harris: "The entire road, from Gorham to Jackson, through the Pinkham Notch, though bad enough for carriages, is extremely interesting."

--- Another positive, the early log bridges from Pinkham's day had been replaced by **1853**, as a guidebook that year describes gridiron bridges on the road near Glen Ellis Falls, replacing the earlier timber, perhaps original Pinkham bridges.

*1853 Atlantic and Saint Lawrence Railroad Map showing **Bellows Farm**, Peabody River Road and **Station House**, north at right*



--- Portland Transcript 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."

--- A rough ride is documented 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."

--- Eastman's **1858** Guide Book cites no problems with the road south from the Glen House: "This trip is made in stages, the route lying at first in a southerly direction through Pinkham Notch, then westerly along the southeastern flank of the mountains."

--- Polite 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."

--- Lincoln historian Aurore Eaton: "It was rumored at the end of July 1863 that President Abraham Lincoln was planning a vacation in the White Mountains, but that he was unable to take the time



*because of his arduous schedule. However, his wife Mary Todd Lincoln found herself very much in need of a respite, so she headed for New England without him."*

A convoy of carriages transporting Mrs. Lincoln and her sons Robert and Thomas arrived at the Glen House on August 5, **1863**. As they used the Pinkham Notch access via Conway and Jackson, that route must have been in good condition. How must mistress Dolly nearby have marveled at this prestigious visit to the Peabody Valley – so recently her quiet backwater!

--- Variable conditions from Gorham south to the Glen House in **1864** are noted by Thomas Starr King: *"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."*

-- Appropriation for repairs of roads and bridges in Greens Grant and Martins Location in an **1876** NH Legislative Act: *"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** {spelling} to the town of Gorham two hundred dollars."* An 1892 *Glen House and Stage Line Brochure* gives importance to the road northwesterly by Cops to reach the passenger railroad line in Randolph.

--- A nice ride is recorded in *The Echo* 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 maintenance 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, so called, across Peabody River by the **Copp and Calhoun Place** {spelling}, to said Gorham Line, being all the main traveled roads in said Martins Location and Greens Grant as now laid and traveled."*

*Shorey post card circa 1910 of **Glen Road** south towards Mount Madison - Scott McClory Collection*



--- From 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."*

--- "Excellent" road conditions are cited for the road in the **1897** Rand McNally Guide for New England. That Guide is an objective endorsement of the good business sense in John Bellows 1849 road improvement plan, here fifty years later.

### 6-3C. BRIDGES 1830, 1860 & 1950: 1830 Peabody Crossing

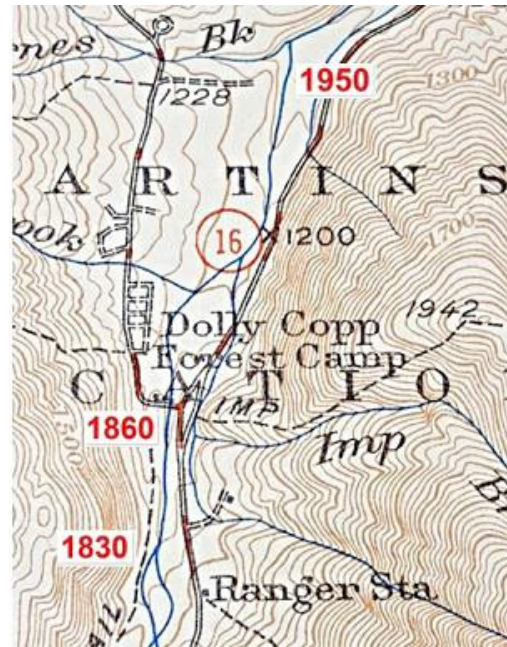
Building his road from south to north, Daniel Pinkham would have crossed the Peabody to link with the west as soon as he could. His objective was not north to Gorham. Pinkham minimized construction mileage around the northern edge of the Presidential Range, hugging as close as feasible the lowest slope of Mount Madison, then on northwesterly thru Pine Mountain Notch.

We have an eyewitness to the first 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.

Tuckerman tells us that in 1833 Navy Commander J. S. Paine from Kennebunkport, Maine was a participant in one of Ethan Allen Crawford's trips to the top of Mount Washington. While intending to leave his party only briefly, he got lost. Captain Paine then wanders down the



mountain on the east side, opposite from where he ascended:

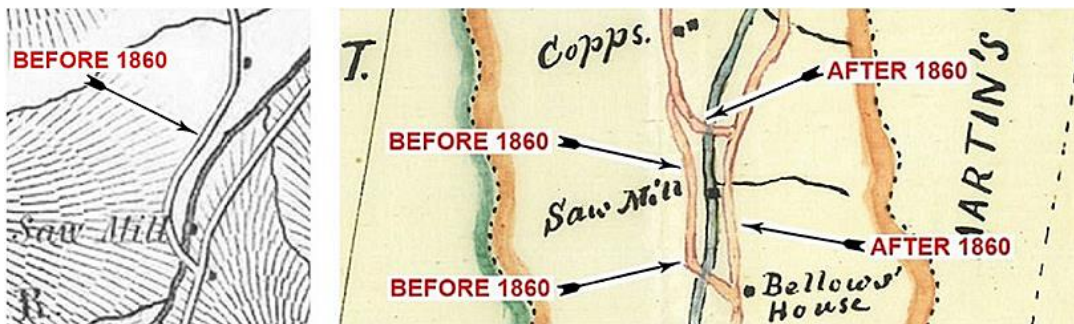


Excerpt from "Mount Washington and the White Hills" 1838 by Davies – **such log construction** over the larger Saco River near Crawford's may have been similar to Pinkham's bridge in Martin's Location with its lesser span

"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.

Tw<sup>a</sup> was a log bridge {underline is 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** {Site #1 Hanson home doubled as an inn in the 1830's}, 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."

Some clarification accompanies the 1919 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 to Hanson's Farm, near the site of the old Glen House in Greens Grant."



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 north

\* Note that even though the 1865 map shows both bridges, that is not proof they were operating at the same time. The 1865 map was a legal document recording historic features for reference during court proceedings, not to be taken literally as showing existing features that year.

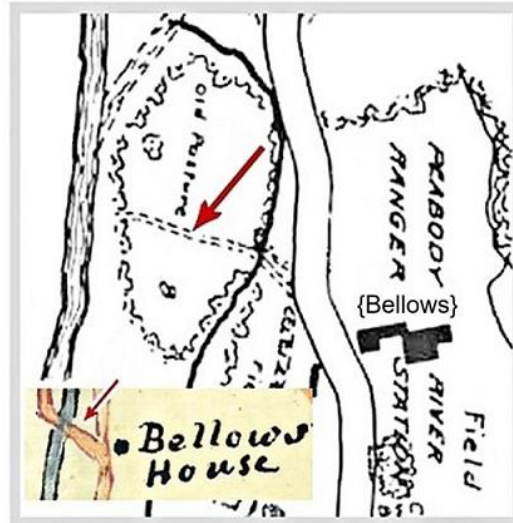
There is a reference to bridge damage within Atlantic and Saint Lawrence Railroad Agent E. F. Beal's report to Company President Josiah Little on Saturday 7/18/1850: "We have had the greatest rain here yesterday commencing Thursday afternoon ever known. As the inhabitants say, even greater than the August storm of 1824. 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 are carried away also."

We have a reference to the degraded quality of the 1830 bridge 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.**"

*Remnant of access road to 1830 bridge on 1915 Map - 1865 Map insert shows same access road*

The origin of today's wide pedestrian path from End Loop south to Rangers Pool was a segment of the circa 1830 Pinkham Road. This early west bank of Peabody route north to Dolly's was lauded for its scenic qualities in the Portland Transcript of 7/25/1853: "On the way to the Glen House, we turned off into an old disused turnpike, leading towards Randolph, to get a view of 'The Imp.'

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." From the perspective of 1853 "deserted" due to the shorter Glen Road north to Gorham having just opened.



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}."

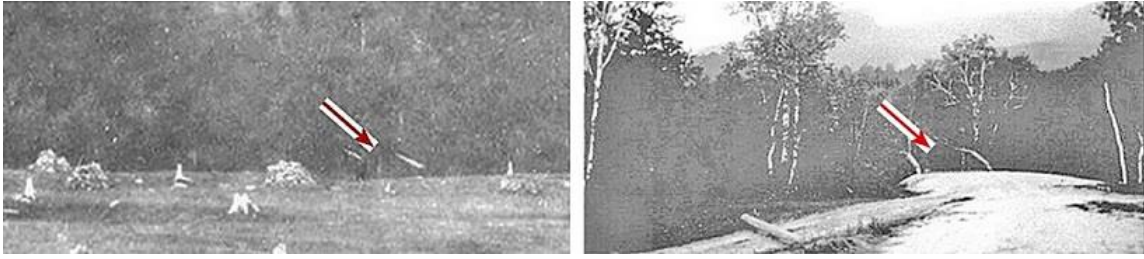
**Circa 1860 Peabody Crossing:** The pre-1860 local population had to travel northwest by Pine Mountain and turn right to reach Gorham, Route 2 today. Once the new north to south road from Gorham to the Glen House opened, they used it instead, eclipsing the northwesterly portion of the now Old Pinkham Road. first travelling south to reach the 1830 bridge to then turn north was a nuisance.

We know that Laban Watson took a young George Cross on a wild carriage ride across the Peabody River in Martins Location at a time when the bridge was out. Cross referring to the 1860 site in his 1927 booklet: "Where now a substantial iron bridge spans the river, Daniel Pinkham built a low bridge of logs {Cross is incorrect, bridge relocated here after Pinkham}. 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 {born 1853} 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 Martins Location bridge of his time was likely swept away in the big flood of 1869. A factor favoring bridge repair may have been the on-going tourist business. The 1889 Glen House Book indicates this bridge enabled summer hotel patrons on the west side of the Presidential Range to visit friends at the Glen House. A wealthy class paying top dollar, those patrons were not likely to tolerate a ford of bumpy river rocks.





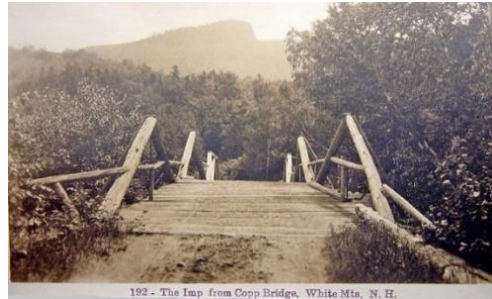
Bridges at 1860 location compared - at left from 1864 Copp Farm view beyond to Imp – at right 1924 federal bridge with earthen ramp up to deck



The year 1903 was calamitous for Peabody River bridges, documented in the Gorham Mountaineer of June 6, 1903: “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.

**Copp Bridge** replacement after 1903 flood

Moving into the Campground years, we hear 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.” Further confirmation from the 1924 Report of the National Forest Reservation Commission:

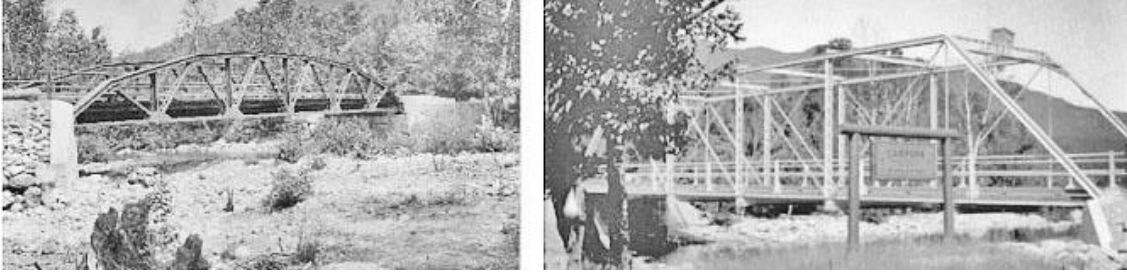


192 - The Imp from Copp Bridge, White Mts. N. H.

“Among the roads which have been constructed or improved are a section of the Pinkham Notch Road in the White Mountains, including a bridge over the Peabody River to the Dolly Copp public camping ground.” Robert Monahan confirms: “With the river adequately bridged in 1924 the camp ground extended to the opposite bank.”

The 1924 bridge stood only until 1927 when it was lost in yet another flood. According to the National Weather Service the great flood of November 3 and 4 1927 “was caused by a tropical storm that produced 4 or more inches of rain in New Hampshire, at one location on Vermont 15 inches. The ground was already thoroughly saturated by heavy rains that fell from October 18-21.”

Another reference indicates that the ground in the Peabody Valley was already frozen by this date, rainfall thus flowing mostly into watercourses. According to *Some Highlights of Gorham History* by Guy Gosselin and Reuben Rajala “in 1927, an autumn flood devastated the town, washing away roads, bridges, railroad tracks and buildings, and leaving the area around Messenger Field under four feet of water. Townspeople marveled that no one had been killed.”



At left new **bridge of 1924** – at right **1928 replacement** after a flood destroyed the 1924 span

A late 1927 Forest Service memo reports 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 river bank on the north end below the fireplace {George Cross: “Great 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.”*

D. B. Wight reports that *“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 elevation gradient of the descending Peabody River eases. We can speculate that the severe damage in 1927 to the original east bank camping area demonstrated the power of flooding to endanger campers there, bolstering support for the permanent removal of camp sites from that side.



Gorham's Route 16 **Middle Bridge** before reuse, view south to Mt. Washington

A replacement bridge was ready made, a September 1928 news article stating: *“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*

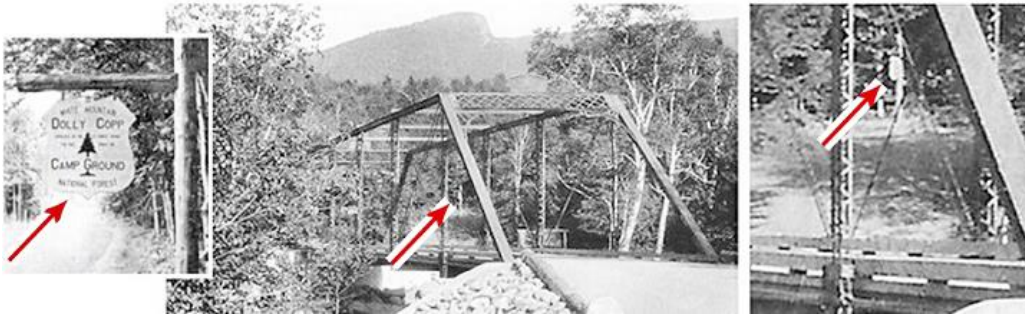
*Copp Bridge that was destroyed last fall. Thus the August campers were able to pitch their tents in the wide fields that extend a mile down the west bank of the river.”*

George Brackett remembers the post-1927 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 Administration Building and its hall had not yet been built.”*

Even with the new administration building available in 1934 old habits die hard. We know people continued to socialize on the bridge for 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.”* Thirties campers booing at that rule still echoes thru the campground ☺.



The 1928 “recycled” replacement bridge then served until 1951, when the Campground entrance off of Route 16 was relocated north and a new bridge built – that in use today. The reused Old Middle Bridge was removed, leaving the east bank concrete abutment we still see.



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

Reporter Robert S. Monahan in his 1928 news article on the Campground notes 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.”



**Views to Bridge Pool** – left 1938, from bridge, right from east bank

One such local person is Evelyn Ross now of Gorham. 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 recalls. That was 1951.

To view the remains of the concrete abutments of the 1928 - 1951 era 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 Peabody River. The east bank remnant is in view **directly ahead**. Only the base of the west bank bridge support remains, at **ground level** near where you are standing.

View today from west bank over Peabody to east bank **bridge remnant**; Ferreira boys build dam nearby in 2020



According to Casey Hodgson, the western abutment from the 1928 bridge was not deliberately demolished. Rather, heavy rains undermined it in the fifties such that it collapsed, the remnants having washed down stream. Long time camper Elsie Ashworth concurs, indicating that the west bank remnant washed downstream in a hurricane in the early fifties.

The natural downstream movement of boulders in the Peabody is more dynamic than may appear during the summer camping season. On the west bank by 2014 a cement remnant of the abutment in use until 1951 had crept downstream to appear aside Site 167 on Birch Lane, a distance of 800 feet. Assuming most migration was during storm surges during the 63 years from 1951 and 2014, the average creep is almost 13 feet per year.



**1950 Peabody Crossing:** This year the bridge location was moved north, up by what had been the Mary Barnes Farm. Thru traffic no longer had an outlet, reducing noise, and greatly enhancing the pedestrian environment.

## 6-4. CAMPING BEFORE CARS

**Reverend Belknap Camps in 1784:** We can document camping in Martins Location even further back - again near today's Campground. This was on an early exploration route in 1784 as recorded in the travels of the Reverend Jeremy Belknap. Starting northward from his home near coastal Portsmouth, NH, explorer Belknap and his party lodged in Rochester, NH. Hayes Copp's father Dodavah was 17 when the next morning, July 21, the group passed the **Copp Bridge** very close to his father's farm in Lebanon, Maine.

The journal of one in the party, Manassah Cutler, confirms that their route was the major travel way north along the Salmon Falls River, NH Route 125 today. They continued north to dine at **David Copp's** tavern in Wakefield, NH. "Small World" back then, David was a first cousin to Hayes grandfather Samuel Copp.



Landmarks today along **Reverend Belknap's** 1784 exploration

David Copp regularly hosted travelers, having a license for an inn and tavern by 1780. His tavern is cited in the History of Carroll County: *"In its civil capacity the town met at the meeting house for fifty years or more, in its early days usually adjourning to Captain David Copp's for a half hour, sometimes only a quarter or twenty minutes, for refreshments, and to 'complete the slate.'"*

Belknap and party then continue north to Jackson, NH: *"About 10 got to Copp's, the last house. Took some refreshment."* Benjamin Copp, first Jackson settler, was also a first cousin to Hayes' grandfather Samuel. Thus the Belknap party *twice* visits with Hayes Copp's relatives.

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 {the Peabody River} have their heads. Consequently, we are at the height of land {Pinkham Notch} between Saco and Androscoggin waters."*

While at this base camp Belknap experiences what many Dolly Copp 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."*



Belknap NH State House

The explorers continued north, now downgradient along the Peabody River, on the decayed Shelburne Road, only ten years old 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 cites a great flood in the Peabody Valley during October of 1775, perhaps the cause cited here.

Belknap's reference to the barrier at about 6 miles north of Pinkham Notch places him on the Peabody River about 1000 feet south of today's entrance bridge into Dolly Copp Campground. "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." That measurement converts to 1650 feet, taking the explorers back near today's **Flat Rock Pool** swimming area aside Route 16.

*Flat Rock Pool and view north towards Pine Mountain*

Thus Belknap's early Peabody River crossing point is east of the Big Meadow section of today's Dolly Copp Campground. To reach Pine Mountain Notch he must have passed thru what is today Dolly Copp.



"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." Geographically close to being the first Dolly Copp campers!

Belknap continues: "This p.m. we crossed another branch of the Androscoggin River called *Moose River*." To do this they traveled over a watershed divide later and occasionally referred to as Pine Mountain Notch (1,645 feet). Fifty years later this route will be used by Daniel Pinkham as he turns his post-1824 Pinkham Road northwesterly towards Randolph.

They then arrived at a newly settled area in what would become in 1796 Jefferson, NH. Dr. Cutler's Journal on Jefferson: "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."

Proceeding around the Presidential Range counter clockwise for their return trip, Belknap and his party cross the Ammonoosuc River and its branches, arriving at what they called the "Western Notch", now known as Crawford Notch. Soon moving easterly, downgrade along the Saco River, they arrive at newly settled Stark's Grant, that unit to become in 1790 part of Bartlett, NH. "At night got to **Enoch Emery's** and lodged there." Enoch's fifth child, Nathaniel Emery, his birth still five years ahead, in 1807 is the father to Dolly Emery.

Belknap later wrote a history of New Hampshire and founded the Massachusetts Historical Society. He is the namesake for New Hampshire's Belknap County. Companion Cutler became nationally prominent thru his role in the 1787 passage of the Northwest Ordinance and the settlement of Ohio thereafter. Many of the migrants to Ohio were from southern New England seeking fresh farm land, just as others were migrating into northern New England.

**Dr. Wyman Camps in 1867:** While the first *auto* camping here was after 1900, campers arriving with *horse drawn* vehicles nearby can be dated from Dolly's heyday. One camper for whom we have access to his personal journal from 1867 is **Dr. Morrill Wyman** of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who lived 1812 to 1903. A social reformer and Harvard



overseer as well as a physician, Wyman was considered one of the top doctors in the country, his specialty, summer hay fever.

Wyman also suffered from hay fever, and recommended for relief visiting the “*northern side of the White Mountains.*” Taking his own advice, Wyman set up camp in **Martins Location** and recorded his adventures in August and September of 1867. His journal describes a temporary mail box placed on the west side of the Glen Road, specifically 1,100 feet south of the Gorham Town Line. “*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....*

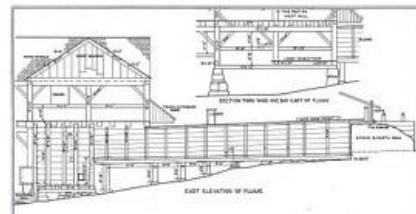


*Wyman's camp was on a knoll on the west bank "eight or ten feet above the river"; viewed from the bridge the **furthest point visible** to the north is almost at that location*

**Shelburne Camping Circa 1882:** Again prior to camping facilitated by cars, there are occasional indications of camping out in the area. A representative 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.*”



## 6-5. SAWMILLS PRODUCE LUMBER



*What did the 1838 **Martins Location Sawmill** look like?  
It likely took after that of the 1825 **Nichols-Colby Sawmill** in Bow, NH,  
heavily studied and enlarged in 1839 with a circular saw; center Old Sturbridge Village's  
Tom Kelleher with **replica of gear** from Nichols – Colby; right **flume** from study of Nichols-Colby*

### **SITE #3 MARTINS LOCATION SAWMILL**

Closely related to the Peabody Valley's history of lumbering is the story of its sawmills. George Cross of Randolph writing in 1924 on area 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.*”



The Site #3 sawmill is reviewed before that on Site #1 as it appears to be older. The Martins Location Site #3 sawmill site is located about half way between the Samuel Copp Site #2 home and the pre-1951 Peabody River bridge. Note that Daniel Pinkham had some background with mills and may have favored development of the mill here. His father owned a mill on Jackson's Wildcat River, passing it on to Daniel and his other sons in 1801.

The most precise locational reference, the 1865 Jackson Iron Map, places the mill on the east bank at an unnamed brook flowing into the Peabody, that brook clearly noted on USGS maps today and draining a small segment of the Carter Range, south of and adjacent to, the Imp Brook Watershed. The tiny residential cluster here had a sawmill probably constructed in the late 1830s by prominent builder **Edmund Merrill** \* of Bethel, Maine.

\* In 1833 Edmund Merrill Sr. built the substantial Bethel House on the town common, so he must have been a major tradesman. Continuing from the genealogy "*Edmund Merrill built a mill on the Elder Mason, now the Tapley Kimball Farm*" in Bethel, so he had sawmill construction experience in the 1830s. He lives in Martins Location in 1840 (*near the Glen House says his wife's genealogy*) and was in 1850 back in Bethel, Maine.

Merrill then reenters White Mountain history for a massive 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.*"

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.*"

Casey's site reconstruction views the hydraulics of the Martins Location sawmill relating to the unnamed stream entering the Peabody here. The 1861 Walling Map shows a **mill pond** (see excerpt) on the Peabody just up water of the mill. Historian Page Jones provides an overview of these 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.*"

Historian D. B. Wight comments on a comparable Gorham sawmill on Moose Brook 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.*"

While a Site #3 residence is associated with the mill, the precise location of the house has not been determined. The best clue 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.*" This indicates two structures, that the house was not a subsection of the mill structure.



Saw Mill on 1861 Walling Map



Saw Mill on 1862-8 Goodwin Map



Saw Mill on 1865 Jackson Iron Map

There is also an 1853 reference to the 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, for the sake of the view thence of the mountains, and in order to see Pinkham's old residence.*"

We can speculate that the natural spring on the east bank north of the bridge, bulldozed out by 1958 Route 16 right of way expansion, could have been a locational anchor for a residence accompanying the sawmill. New Hampshire State tourism literature in 1938 does state intriguingly that this spring *“carries a long historical background.”* The question is, would the walk for water supply of about one quarter mile from the spring, south to the mill-related house, be realistic.

The record of the 1846 Superior Court Case *Bellows versus McCartee* conveys early history for the mill property: *“In the latter part of the year 1833, Daniel Pinkham, who claimed the demanded premises under a deed from the State, made an agreement with one Emery, by which the latter was to have the lot No. 1, upon paying Pinkham \$100 for it, by his labor upon the road thru the lots.”* As a standard lot was 100 acres, the price appears to be one dollar per acre.

*“Pinkham testified that in the summer of 1834 Emery felled the trees on a piece less than an acre, and, being a person of unsteady habits abandoned his contract and went away, having, either in the year 1834 or 1835, cut up the small brush, and burned it on the piece on which he had chopped the trees... There was then no house upon the land, and that the house now there does not stand upon the piece of land on which Emery felled the trees in the year 1834.”*

Speculating as to the identity of this Emery, he may have been Dolly's first cousin 27-year-old Joshua Emery. In the 1830 Census Joshua is living with two of his Emery uncles in nearby Shelburne. Like Hayes born 1806 young Joshua born 1803 could have been seeking his own farm lot.

The other if less likely candidate is Dolly's Shelburne Uncle Samuel Emery himself. The History of Shelburne states that *‘sometimes schools were kept at Captain Evans’ or Samuel Emery’s.’* Historian D. B. White: *“Samuel Emery came to Gorham in 1833 and lived on Gorham Hill near the Randolph Line. A farming community was carved out of the forest by Samuel F. Emery”* and others listed.

More from the 1846 record: *“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.”*

While “buildings” does not necessarily imply “dwelling” or “house,” 1840 Census resident Robert McCartee was the defendant in Bellows' 1841 claim of mill property ownership. That makes it plausible the phrase “erection of buildings since 1836” included what would be the 1840 McCartee residence. And as just noted the 1852 *Boston Literary Journal* has a comment on this location: *“a clearing, in the midst of which stands a deserted and ruined house... There is also a venerable sawmill nearby.”*

As for the Pinkham daughter tied into ownership here, Sarah had by 1830 married William G. Wentworth of Jackson. Daniel Pinkham conveyed the premises, defined as lots No. 1 and 2, assumed 200 acres, to Sarah Wentworth on February 28, 1839. Robert McCartee then becomes the Wentworth's tenant on November 25, 1839. The 1841 commencement of John Bellows' eviction proceedings is then aimed at that tenant.

Sarah and her husband's 1840 residence was in Lancaster with her by now aging parents Daniel and Esther Pinkham. Yet ownership of the property returns to Daniel Pinkham on November 10, 1845, perhaps as a legal maneuver attempting to deflect the court's upcoming late 1846 eviction decision in favor of Bellows.

In the **1850** Census there is no evidence that the 1852 cited Site #3 dwelling associated with the sawmill is occupied. Confirming Bellows mill ownership is Harvard's Dr. Harris, citing “Bellows' sawmill” here in **1853**: *“I was sorry not to find laid down on Mr. Bond's map the old road from Bellows' sawmill.”*

In the **1860** Census dwelling unit assumed associated with the sawmill, we find Edward Parsons, his Census reported occupation sawmill laborer, seeming to document that Bellows' Martins Location sawmill was reactivated by that year, as period maps do reflect. As research on the family roots of Parsons and his wife show they had very strong ties to Lancaster, we can suspect a relationship to Lancaster's John Bellows.

More insight is provided by 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 the mill was inactive in 1876.

Dolly Copp herself provides valuable insight on the Site #3 vicinity sawmill in her **1880** letter to granddaughter Susan: *"They have got a new engine put in the mill over the river and will have it running next week."* So the mill was reactivated by that year. Dolly's reference meant a wood fueled steam engine – the Libbys certainly had plenty of wood for fuel. The insurance claim after the 1883 burning of the mill cited a steam sawmill. The 1888 History of Coos County comments that Libby Peabody Valley forest lands *"supplied the one mill now operated {main mill in Gorham}, but one, which has been burned, located five miles above."*



Perspective 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. Perspective on the period 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 been labeled "Bellows Sawmill" in 1853 and on **5/4/1880** Bellows sold this and his other Martins Location properties to Edward Clement for logging {Clement then sells to Libby Family}, the mill restoration noted by Dolly in her **9/27/1880** letter looks to be part of the business plan of the new owner.

D. B. Wight on logging and the Martins Location sawmill 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 mill was near the river's mouth in Gorham, "five miles apart" places the second mill to the south, in Martins Location, our Site #3 or immediate vicinity.

There is no verification that the precise siting of this "later mill" of the logging era was on the exact site of the original 1838 mill built by Edmund Merrill, although the logging era mill's description of "near Glen Cottage" {Site #2 keeps their vicinities closely proximate. The Martins Location sawmill was destroyed by fire in **1883**. The USGS topographic map of **1893** documents mill Site #3 as without any buildings.

## **SITE #1 GREENS GRANT SAWMILL**



A Greens Grant landmark before the flood of 1869 was Thompson's Sawmill. Assumed made permanently inoperative that year, a remnant was observed as late as 1889.

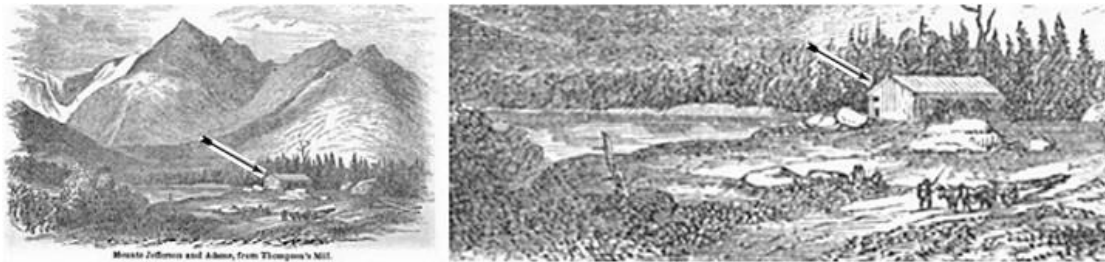


At left **Sawmill** on 1862-1868 Goodwin Map of Greens Grant; at right widening of Peabody on 1865 Jackson Iron Map may be **Sawmill Pond**

Using map comparisons, an estimate of the Goodwin Map's Greens Grant Thompson 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 fits well with comment 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 – I've actually got some artist's drawings of what the building was like. 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."

A complicating artifact, possibly still here, is possible when 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."



Views west at **Thompson's Sawmill** and related Mill Pond – caption reads "Mounts Jefferson and Adams from  
- Source: 1853 Guide Book of the Atlantic and Saint Lawrence Railroad -  
"The **old mill** and the glassy river basin in the fore ground were objects which the quick eye of our artist were ready to seize upon and to complete a sketch at this point."



Same view as above in this detail from Jasper Cropsey's 1857 "**Mount Jefferson, Pinkham Notch, White Mountains**" at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts\*

\* The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts on this work: *“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.”*

Colorful rivalry between sawmills for use of Pinkham Notch empowering waters was reported in 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.*



View north from **2,032-foot-high point** in Pinkham Notch

*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!”*

Searching for the Site #1 associated sawmill’s origins, within the 1866 court case Wells versus Jackson Iron Manufacturing Company surveyor Samuel W. Thompson speaks of his earlier 1830s surveying activities: *“Think the south line ran about a mile to the south of the summit of Mt. Washington, went to the Pinkham Road, the Willey deed was made soon after. After the deed was made I went on the premises to look after trespassers.*

*The tract was mostly rocky and bare but some timber. Went on once with the intention of **building a mill** on the north branch of Peabody River, paid taxes till the conveyance to Eastman.”* A question here is can “north branch” be properly translated as today’s “West Branch.” The confluence of that tributary to the Peabody is about 1.3 miles north of the Glen House sawmill site.

Note that the Site #3 sawmill to the north in Martins Location was built in 1838. That fact, coupled with Thompson’s memory above of 1830s construction intention, indicate the feasibility of sawmill construction in the Peabody Valley *before* the great need for timber that came with Glen House construction, and major logging thereafter. Also consider:

--- After **1846** Bellows is the owner of the Site #3 sawmill in Martins Location. Bellows writes to the railroad president in **1849** that he is *“getting timber sawed for the proposed house.”*

--- One of the Peabody Valley’s great floods occurred in **1850**. That flood is likely what is reflected in the *Boston Literary Journal* in **1852**: *“A venerable sawmill nearby: but the dam has been **swept away** and the saw hangs idly in its frame.”*

--- In **1853** Harvard’s Dr. Harris documents “Bellows Sawmill” in Martins Location, not necessarily active. The Site #1 Thompson’s Sawmill was documented by a tourist guide as in operation by **1853**. Perhaps Bellows would not have had both mills running at the same time.

Possibly Edmund Merrill of Bethel, Maine constructed in the 1840s, for Bellows, the sawmill to be named Thompson’s Mill. One priceless quote holds the Merrill theory together, found in Edmund’s wife’s 1934 genealogy *The Descendants of Joseph Bartlett*: *“He lived at one time near the Glen House in New Hampshire, and built mills {plural} in that region.”* Perhaps we can benchmark the operation of what becomes known as Colonel Thompson’s Sawmill to 1849 if not earlier.

There are several descriptions of the demise of the Site #1 associated Thompson's sawmill. The most detailed is from *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." An examination of death certificates indicates that his assistant in the rescue attempt met his end at the same time.

The *Concord Monitor* newspaper reported in 1869 that the storm was the worst since 1826. Jumping ahead to 1903, a *Gorham Mountaineer* headline compares that later flood 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." Living locally and familiar with the river, how were they overwhelmed? It may not have been just high water but a sudden surge that hit them.

*Great Northeast Flood in Harper's Weekly 10/23/1869, location not specified*



From Kilbourne's 1916 *Chronicles of the White Mountains*: "In the Autumn of 1869, exceptionally heavy rains were experienced in the White Mountain region and in consequence a number of disastrous avalanches occurred. On October 4, there was a landslide on Carter Dome, by which the mountain was stripped to its bed ledges for a distance of nearly a mile on its north and west sides. An indirect result of the storm which caused this slide was the death of Mr. Thompson, proprietor of the Glen House."

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 for Thompson – in 1866 they were allies opposing the annexation of Martins Location and Greens Grant to Gorham.

Evidently Thompson's Sawmill was not entirely removed from the landscape by the flood. A description traveling northbound 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**... Here you look directly into the yawning mouth of the Great Gulf... From here the walk may be extended half a mile farther, {on the road} to the Garnet Pool" {that pool is north of the mill site}.

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## 6-6. PARENTS AND CHILDREN

### 6-6A. PASSING OF PARENTS

**Hayes' Father Dodavah Copp:** Looking at Hayes' parents to the south, in the 1840 Census for Wakefield we find Dodavah and second wife Deborah Copp aging in place. Dodavah Copp lived on to 1847 when he passes away at age 80.

In 2018 long time Dolly Copp camper Carol Matthes Evans and her husband David researched the location of Dodavah's Wakefield grave stone. They found it near Great East Lake, accompanied by three smaller stones, Dodavah's much the larger stone and the only one still legible.



Carol Matthes Evans at **Dodavah Copp's 1847 headstone** near Wakefield's Arbutus Avenue beside Great East Lake – photos by David and Carol Evans

Their examination of Wakefield Town Hall records revealed that one of the other 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 from infant burials.



Hayes was born in 1806 when his mother Deborah was 26. His brother Daniel was born in 1812 when their mother was 32 – no other surviving children by this second wife.

**Hayes' Mother Deborah Copp:** 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 presumably a relative. Jeremiah and his wife Mary have three young children. Deborah is listed as a pauper there, that term defined as a person without any means of support.

Others besides Deborah living within the 1850 Jeremiah Ricker household: 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. Yikes. More work needs to be done here. Perhaps the property was a "poor farm", {city poor house} a form of municipal welfare for the needy in this period.

Jeremiah Ricker appears in Ricker genealogy as the son of Nathaniel Ricker and grandson of Ebenezer Ricker. But how Deborah fits into these likely relations has not been determined. Note that Dodavah Copp's sister Hannah Copp also married into the Ricker Family, on 11/28/1805 to Elijah Ricker, who lived 12/1769 to 3/26/1851 – a possible connection.

Trying to pin down Deborah's 1850 residential 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 her and Dodavah's home. We know Dodavah "lived near a bridge which spans a brook flowing into Great East Lake."

Deborah lived on until 1855. Note also that Deborah's second son Daniel Copp lived elsewhere in Wakefield at that time, a farmer age 37 living alone and categorized by the Census as "insane." Yikes.

**Dolly's Father Nathaniel Emery:** Nathaniel died early, in 1820 after an accident in the woods. We know a funeral was held but his grave site has not been located. As was very much the custom Dolly's mother soon remarries.

**Dolly's Mother Deborah Emery:** Following Dolly's early-widowed mother has been something of a challenge. Remarrying, her Emery last name was not searchable in 1840-1870 Census records. She also moved around a lot, making the tracing of Deborah a little story of its own:

1. White there is the closeness of the dates of passing of their spouses, a marriage record linking **Deborah Emery** to second husband **Edmund Kelley** has not been located. Perhaps this was for Deborah her second "common law" marriage.

2. Only age seven when his father Nathaniel died, Dolly's brother **Jonathan Emery's** roots in Fryeburg and adjacent Stow may be tied to his mother Deborah's **early relocation there** to the home of widower Edmund Kelley.

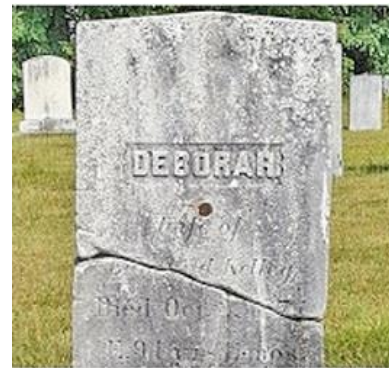
The 1840 Census finds Jonathan in Fryeburg, then in 1850 near his brother Ira Emery in Rochester. Then in Stow very near Fryeburg for 1860, 1870, 1880 (1890 Census lost nationally) and also in 1900. Jonathan dies there in 1901.



3. The 1850 Census for Rochester, NH has three proximate dwelling units housing Emerys. First is Deborah's son Jonathan Emery, a farmer age 37 with his household. Next is Deborah's son Ira Emery, a farmer age 40 and his household, also three Blake family children therein. Then in the third consecutively listed dwelling are widow **Deborah Kelley** age 66 and Lydia J. Emery age 33. No Kelley's are in these housing units or nearby - Deborah is living with blood relations.

4. Ten years later, in the 1860 Census for Rochester, **Deborah Kelley** age 76 is within a household of younger Kelleys; relatives by her second marriage but not by blood. They are Alfred D. Kelley, brick maker age 41, with wife Abigail B. Kelley and their five children. Alfred, born circa 1819, is just a shade too young to be a son of Deborah with second husband Edmund Kelley. Their Rochester residence is "three addresses down" from Dolly's brother Ira Emery and household, Blake family seen in 1850 nearby. So aging Deborah is with her Kelley relatives by marriage yet very near her Emery family by blood.

5. The 1870 Census for Martins Location includes **Deborah "Keely"** {spelled incorrectly} age 87 living with Hayes and Dolly, occupation "past labor." With the 1870 information we are able to see a pattern for Deborah to move around between relatives. A final move, to Maine, is imminent, by 1873, passing away there in 1877. Brother Jonathan Emery's family section of the Bemis Cemetery in Fryeburg, Maine holds a grave marked Deborah Kelley 1785-1877. There are no other Kelleys in this cemetery.



6. Second spouse Edmund Kelley 1763-1843 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 interred in the West Fryeburg Cemetery lived 1827-1901, could he be a junior and a half-brother to Dolly? Our Deborah would have been a late age 42 at his birth.

Edmund Kelley provided Deborah an additional 25 years of marriage, after which she was again a widow. By 1873 Deborah had moved out of Dolly's household and in with her son Jonathan Emery in Maine, her War of 1812 widow's pension application filed from there that year "in care of Jonathan Emery." Listed as a Kelley in the 1870 Census, the 1873 application went back to the use of her earlier last name Emery. Sections of the application vary Deborah's town of residence as North Fryeburg, Maine and adjacent Stow, Maine. Checking the map, she lived in Stow on the town line with Fryeburg.

An 1871 federal act had granted pension benefits to surviving soldiers or widows of soldiers who had served at least 60 days during the War of 1812. Deborah filed hoping to receive \$8 per month. We know she could not write as she signed the application

with **her mark the letter ex** between "Deborah" and "Emery."

Her application was rejected. While first husband Nathaniel Emery's military service was documented as valid, the length was too short, only 42 days of the minimum 60 days required to qualify for the widow's pension. Twelve years later Hayes Copp, receiving late in life care from these Emery in-laws, is interred next to his mother-in-law Deborah.

#### 6-6B. JEREMIAH COPP

Jeremiah, the first child born to Dolly and Hayes, was born on 9/7/1832. When elderly Dolly reminisced in 1886 about her early years, that 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 seems most likely to have been first born Nathaniel.



Growing up in Martins Location, the **1850** Census lists him as a laborer that year. While that Census included hundreds of job titles for occupation, a high 15% in

New Hampshire are termed “laborer”, evidently a catch all designation until specialization is achieved.

Telling her life story to visitor Louisa May Alcott in 1861, Dolly mentions sons Jeremiah and Nathaniel: *“both 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.”*



Jeremiah had some early work 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.”* And also according to Worthen, Jeremiah helped to build Mount Washington’s **Tip Top House** completed in **1853**. He was 21 that year.

We know that on July 28, 1853 under the heading ‘Names of the builders and workmen on the Tip-Top Summit House, Mt. Washington’, fourteen men and six women signed the first page of the first **Tip-Top House** register. A request to the NH Historical Society for a copy will be made for: *“Tip-Top House ‘Guest Register, 1853-54,’ (Handwritten Ms) New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, New Hampshire.”*

On 1/10/1858 “Jerry” as he was called, marries Susan Gray Rogers, daughter of farmer John Rogers and Susan Jane Gray Rogers of Jackson. Susan Rogers was born in 1826. The couple lived in Gorham briefly, then in **1860** moved west to Littleton, NH, Jeremiah listed as a day laborer in the Census there that year. Examining the June **1863 Civil War Draft Registration Record** we find *“Jeremiah B. Copp, age 30, occupation mechanic.”* There is no record of his having served in the military thereafter.



Jerry Copp

Also from the Samuel Copp Worthen Genealogy, we are told that Jeremiah helped to build the first section of the **Mount Washington Cog Railway**, under construction from **1866 to 1869**. From Littleton he had access to the west side of the summit. He then spends most of his Littleton years as a skilled carpenter. Littleton was a growing central town somewhat more than thirty miles from Gorham.

George Cross in 1927 on Jeremiah Copp in Littleton: *“Famed as the most skillful trout fisherman in all the region.”* Fishing skills learned as a youth along the richly endowed Peabody River no doubt. In Littleton Jeremiah and Susan lived very near the Ammonoosuc River. They had three children:

1859–1910 **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.

1862–1915 **Susan J. Copp**, recipient of Dolly’s 1880 letter, worked in a glove shop at that time, married first Albert J. Hoyt in 1882, second Joseph L. Gray in 1899.

1869–1900 **Charles B. Copp**, in the 1900 Census living with his parents, had lived in New York, was married, a stenographer unemployed for ten months, had been sick for three years with tuberculosis, returned to Littleton in 1899, died there 10/3/1900.

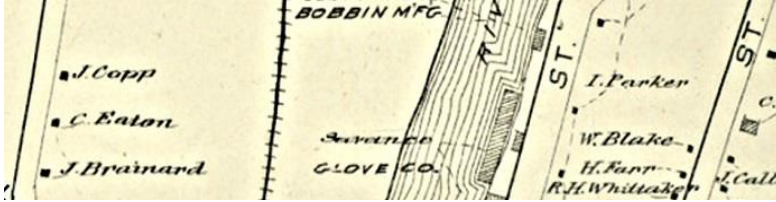
The **1870** Littleton Census lists Jeremiah as a house carpenter, then in **1880** as a house “joiner.” The revised job title indicates a focus on lighter and more ornamental carpentry work such doors, windows, stairs and cabinets. The *Gazetteer of Grafton County* lists wife Susan as a carpet weaver. They did not work out of their home. A Littleton City Directory gives their work locations as the now historically marked Bugbee Block downtown.

According to 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."



At left **Jeremiah Copp's Littleton Home** from the 1892 Atlas of NH with north at right, river is the Ammonoosuc

Jeremiah's wife Susan passes away in Littleton in 1905. Jeremiah then leaves Littleton to live with daughter Marcella 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 78<sup>th</sup> birthday, ten days after receiving internal injuries from a fall. He 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 now more clearly adjacent jurisdictions. Another twist, Jeremiah's death certificate indicates his immediate previous residence was in Lisbon, NH, near to, but outside of Littleton.

#### 6-6C. NATHANIEL E. COPP

Nathaniel was born on 1/4/1834, assumed from his middle initial E to be named after Dolly's father Nathaniel Emery. Part of the story Dolly told to tourists was that when he was little, "*Nathaniel had sca't me most to death swallerin' a cent.*" Pennies were much larger than today's back then. The next we know of from the 1850 Martins Location Census, where sixteen year old NATHANIEL is listed as a laborer there that year.

On May 28, 1860, at age 26, Nathaniel marries Esther Emery Willey, Esther living from 1836 to 1889. She was the daughter of Gorham residents Curtis C. Willey and Abigail Emery Willey, Abigail a daughter of Dolly Copp's Uncle Samuel Emery Sr. The first cousin relationship between the mothers of the bride and groom makes the bride Esther and the groom Nathaniel **second cousins**.

A Nathaniel Copp is then recorded farming in Danville, Maine in June of 1860, no way of knowing if he is ours or not. Same with the Nathaniel Copp working as a laborer in a Littleton lumber yard that year. But it is then definitely our Nathaniel recorded by the June 1863 *Civil War Draft Registration Record* as living in Martins Location at that time. Presumably he and his wife Esther were living at his parent's home there. The Draft Registrar's illuminating comment: "*Most of toes gone by being frozen.*"

That handicap validates Nathaniel's well publicized 1855 lost in winter woods adventure. He had no Civil War service, perhaps that is why. Also: "*Says he {unreadable} in Maine and works for J. M. Thompson by the month.*" So like his older brother Jeremiah and the neighboring Culhanes, Nathaniel in 1863 had some local tourism work.

Nathaniel had two daughters by his 1860 marriage to Esther. The first, Jennie Copp (1864-1941), married a Polland and the second, Mary Emma Copp (1865-1942) married William L. Jones. Nathaniel and Esther would soon divorce, an ancestry.com source saying in 1865.

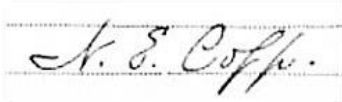
Divorce today is accepted by many as a reasonable solution to incompatibility. Times have changed on this, as the national rate of divorce in 1867 was a tiny one third of one percent of marriages. I therefore assume this couple's difficulties were severe. This is the first of several indications that Nathaniel had a problematic life. Nathaniel and ex Esther both remarry.

George Cross recaps in 1927: *"In 1860 he married Esther Willey of Gorham and apparently soon after {must be after his listing in the 1863 Draft Registration Report and 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."* Looking into Toledo, the city directory documents Nathaniel as a resident there **1876 - 1878**. According to Worthen's *Copp Genealogy*, Nathaniel *"traveled extensively and is said to have spent some time with the circus."*

In **1880** Nathaniel at age 46 is again back living with his parents in Martins Location. His Census occupation there that year was farmer, his marital status still divorced. Dolly in her September **1880** letter says *"Nathaniel has been carrying potatoes and apples to Gorham."* (As in 1850 the potato crop was evident). *"Nathaniel caught another fox and he has got it alive now."*

At age 49 and divorced since 1865, 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 Gorham. From the Gorham paper March 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 an **1892** map of Dummer labels a home there the "N. J. Copp" residence, assumed to be a misprint for "N. E. Copp." That home was on the east side of today's Route 110A, just north of where that highway crosses south from Dummer into Milan.

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 an unusual transport mode then} and headed west."*



Nathaniel's **signature** on 1886 care agreement

An unattributed source in the Androscoggin USFS historical file tells us that on a trip west Nathaniel visited his brother Daniel in Ohio. Wight's 1884 departure date could be a second visit to the Midwest, as we have Nathaniel documented as in Toledo, Ohio in the later 1870s. Nathaniel is then back in New Hampshire, for on 2/3/**1886** he entered into a written agreement to manage Dolly's old age care. For some reason he reneged, as it was daughter Sylvia in Auburn, Maine that ended up providing eldercare and housing for her mother until her death 1891.

*At left is an excerpt from the Lewiston, Maine Evening Journal in 1910 on **oddly behaved and dressed Nathaniel** - At right his second cousin **Esther Emery Willey Copp** his first wife in 1860 - At center their descendant **Shelly Mathias** of Maine who contributed the photo of Esther*



More from George Cross: *"After the sale of the homestead Nathaniel became again a homeless wanderer and lived his last aimless years in Brunswick, Maine."* From 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 Jeanmarie 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 raiment 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.*

*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."*

Nearing the end of his life after this 1910 incident, Nathaniel dies in Brunswick, Maine on 2/27/1912, at age 78. His death certificate gives his occupation as farmer and that of his father also farmer. Nathaniel is buried in the Mount Auburn Cemetery as had been his mother Dolly in 1891, and as will be his sister Sylvia in 1929.

#### 6-6D. SYLVIA HANNAH COPP

As for honoring older family names, Dolly had a sister named Hannah and Hayes had an older half-sister with that name. Usually called Sylvia, this third child of the Copps was born on 11/18/1838. Insight by Sarah Jordan 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."

In 1858 Sylvia marries Benjamin Potter, Jr. of New Gloucester, Maine. Potter was born about 1831 so was a little older, the son of Benjamin and Sally Spear Potter. 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."*



Cap courtesy of Bob Brown

Cross says Sylvia left Martins Location after her marriage, the couple recorded in Durham, Maine, north of Portland for the **1870** Census, Durham 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 as a shoe shop hand.

An incomplete record of their children's lives: 1) 1865-1876 Lillian M. Potter; and 3) 1870-1876 Sylvia E. Potter; 2) 1878-1890 Leland B. Potter. It looks as if none of the children reached child-bearing age. Husband Benjamin Potter dies soon after the 1880 Census, on 3/14/1881.

While mother Dolly was documented still in Gorham as of March **1886**, after that she moves in with daughter Sylvia Potter in Auburn. When Dolly passes in 1891 she was buried in the Potter Family plot in Auburn's Mount Auburn Cemetery. Widow Sylvia is recorded as then remaining on Parker Street in Auburn in both the Census of **1900** and of 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."* The remark implies that Cross likely had been interviewing her. It seems likely then that Sylvia, youngest child and herself long lived, within her lifetime saw the family name memorialized in the Dolly Copp Campground.

Supporting this view is the fact that in these same years, Sylvia was assisting Copp Family genealogist Samuel Copp Worthen, separate from any assistance given Cross. Samuel 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."*

Sylvia passed away at age 90 on 10/29/**1929**, residing at the Auburn Home for Aged Women. But her death certificate invokes a mystery. While the *place* of death was given as that Auburn old age home, her *residence* at death was listed as 41 Pleasant Street back in Gorham, NH. It looks from this that Sylvia Copp Potter was keeping some sort of tie with her home area. The only clue I can see is that the Pleasant Street address is adjacent to the Gorham property of Patrick Culhane who died in 1888. The heirs of the late Patrick were Emery side second cousins to Sylvia.

6-6E. **DANIEL COPP:** For possible use of family names Hayes had a younger brother named Daniel. While the name Stickney turns up occasionally in the Emery line, in recent generations there it had not been used close to Dolly. Going out on a limb, as there were Stickneys in Fryeburg, Maine perhaps the name honors someone helpful to Dolly while living at her step-father's there during her teenage years.

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." He was by 1870 the only Copp child who had not left 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.

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."* 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."*

Interesting that Daniel married into an Ohio family touring in the White Mountains. 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 later that same year. Consider this typical Cross narrative 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.'"* Well. Then again, this may be exactly what happened!

Writer Floyd Ramsey's version: *"In the summer of 1874 a refined, mature young woman named Lizzie Drew arrived at the Copp farm. From Oberlin, Ohio, she was sent there to regain her health. Having suffered from a long siege of typhoid, which was complicated by pneumonia, her doctors felt New Hampshire's mountain air would not only restore her lungs but also her overall well-being. Daniel often took her for wagon rides, joined her on daily walks, and accompanied her to Sunday services and church socials. When the chilly nights of autumn arrived, they had long romantic fireside chats."*

Census records on the origins of the Drews provide insight here. Lizzie and her parents were indeed residents of Ohio. But parental origins were to the east in Maine. Lizzie's mother was from Montville, Maine and her father from Belmont, Maine. They had married in Maine in 1839 and moved to Ohio later that same year, by now a familiar migration for young northern New Englanders seeking scarce farmland.

So, I assume the Drew family vacation likely included a visit beyond the White Mountains, further east to see family 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 decent. 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."*



An entry on wife Lizzie in Worthen's 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 {documented in operation 1911-1947} at Pine Ridge, Kentucky."* The 1910 *Report of the Cincinnati based Missionary Society for the Methodist Episcopal Church* states that of the \$3,800 in annual annuities received from a total of five donors, Lizzie Copp's donation of \$1,000 was the largest.

The *Michigan Farmer* magazine of October 2, **1920** included an advertisement for upgrading corn cribs from wood to steel. Four testimonials from prominent farm owners around the Midwest are featured. One is 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 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. From Lizzie's **1926** 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."* That donation and other philanthropy lead us to view Daniel and Lizzie Copp as prosperous.

## 6-7. BELLOWS IN LATER YEARS

While John Bellows is an important figure in Peabody Valley and Mount Washington histories there is no biography of him, so I have taken a stab at it. His early years are described in the main text as they lead directly to his property dominance in the Peabody Valley. The remainder of his life is here. Perhaps I also have an ulterior motive, for late in life Bellows' family history brushes by my own family history.

After twenty-five years of marriage in 1875 John's first wife Mary passes away of cancer. In 1877 John remarries, to Helen Elizabeth Stiles. 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 land owner remaining in Exeter, evidently still circulating in the Gorham social orbit to meet and court this well connected woman.

Helen's father **Valentine L. Stiles** was a prominent person there, owning a grocery business, a significant philanthropist, selectman, and in 1856 Gorham's state representative. He was able to educate Helen at Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in Massachusetts. Just 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.*" This activity includes his building of Exchange Street to be the heart of the business district and gifting it to the municipality. Next time you are shopping or dining there remember that.

From this background, it appears the Stiles family was well off, an upper economic class match for widower John. Valentine Stiles was also appointed Gorham Postmaster in 1870, a plum position. Upon his death in 1875 daughter Helen received that appointment. Postal records indicate that Valentine was paid \$475 annually - Helen takes on the job at \$211 - 1875 not the era of equal pay for equal work!

Helen then marries John Bellows on 8/30/1877, the ceremony at Helen's widowed mother's Main Street Gorham home. Helen was 35 and John 69. Helen resigns from the postmaster position and moves south to John's mansion in Exeter. About 1879 John and Helen leave New Hampshire for retirement in Boston. Nephew Henry Wells had been in in nearby Brookline since 1860 or earlier. The 1880 Boston Census has them living at the plush Hotel Comfort on Boston's Washington Street. A prestige address, residents there are well represented in the society "Blue Book." John's 1880 Census occupation was listed as "retired merchant."

John wrote his will in 1880. The first priority was payment of his debts. Then several persons, 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 house of his nephew and Mount Washington investment partner Henry B. Wells, living nearby on Longwood Avenue in Brookline.

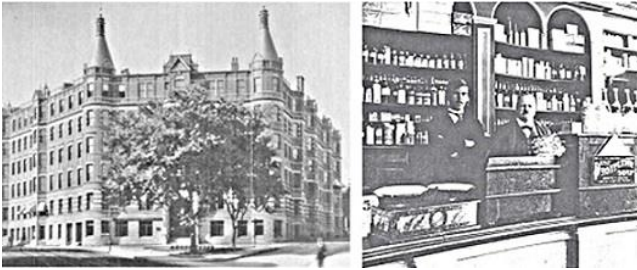
Out of John's remaining assets there is \$1 directed to each to his brothers Charles and George, sister Rebecca having died in 1860. Then the sum of \$1,000 to be donated to the American Missionary Society, (the purposes of which were education of African Americans, promotion of racial equality and Christian values). The remainder of his estate John leaves "*to my beloved wife Helen Bellows, and to her heirs and assigns forever.*"



Nathaniel Tuckerman True writing on Bellows in 1882 comments that he is “*now a resident of Boston, Mass.*” indicating that John was remembered back in the Gorham area. By Boston, he meant the bustling Roxbury section, dear to my own heart as two of my great grandfathers owned retail shops there.

John and Helen lived at the Hotel Warren, described in the 2007 *Roxbury Then and Now* by A. M. Sammarco as “*a fashionable six-story apartment building.*” Antique revolutionary war cannon were ornaments at the main entry. Four doors down was that book’s next landmark, Highland Hall.

According to Sammarco that building 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.*” Operating that apothecary shop at that time was my great grandfather John E. Cushing. By the way a Civil War veteran from a family of Boston abolitionists, Young John lied about his age to sign up early.



At right elegant **Warren Hotel** in Roxbury; druggist John Cushing with assistant in close by **Warren Apothecary Shop**

It seems probable that the Warren Apothecary Shop served customers from the close by Warren Hotel. As John Bellows was ailing in his final years, wife Helen could have obtained his medications from my great

grandfather’s drug store.

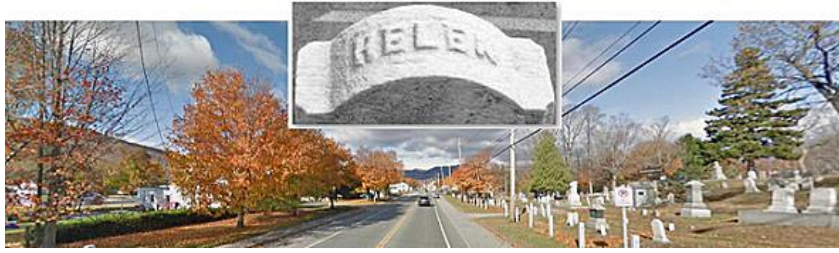
From the Bellows Genealogy: “*He maintained a lively interest in his native town and revisited it only a few months before his death, although in very feeble health.*” John then passes away in Roxbury on 12/14/1888 at the age of 81, the cause “*pneumonia and general debility.*” From John’s obituary in 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.*” In 1902 nephew Henry Bellows Wells will pass away in Boston. His record of death includes an address back in Exeter. John’s Exeter burial was aside his first wife Mary. John had no children by either wife.

That period’s Glen House owner was Charles Milliken, who 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* records that family’s memory of John ruining some Peabody Valley Pinkham kin. I suppose Bellows was within the laws and business ethics of the 1840s. But I can’t seem to let go of this.

Second wife Helen Stiles Bellows, thirty-four years younger, remarries a year later and relocates to Indiana as Mrs. Charles Wesley Fisk, Charles a native of New Hampshire. Yet Helen’s New Hampshire roots mattered, for upon her death in 1928 she was interred in the **Evans Cemetery** back in Gorham, her monument marked simply “*Helen 1842-1928.*”



View west on Route 16 in Gorham, **Evans Cemetery** at right

## 6-8. TRAILS TO COPP FARM



Courtesy of [naturalatlas.com](http://naturalatlas.com), north at left

**Overview:** The sights in today's Dolly Copp Campground include the comings and goings of hikers. Such activity in Martins Location was present well before the Dolly Copp Campground was founded. Below is a short history of these recreational pedestrian links, some associated directly with the Copp Farm. There were hiking *routes* developing near the Copsps, not necessarily formalized as *trails* at first.

Perspective from Gorham's Casey Hodgdon: *"Most of the trails we know today did not exist in those days. The hikers back then 'bushwhacked' up the peaks."* According to [ultimatehistoryproject.com](http://ultimatehistoryproject.com) *"Beginning in the 1870s, hikers began to organize into hiking societies. The earliest was the short-lived Alpine Club of Williamstown (Massachusetts) in 1863. Other clubs followed, with the most successful, in longevity and number of members, being the Appalachian Mountain Club founded in 1876."*

**West to Mount Madison:** Upon entering the Daniel Webster Trail from the main campground road you are within well shaded forest. But that was not the case in the pre-campground farming era. According to the 1915 USFS Sketch Map, a fenced pasture extended westerly up slope here beyond the point where the power line crosses this trail.

The trail today passes thru this old pasture, into original forest about thirty feet beyond the power line. The 1915 map denotes 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 comments upon the early days of 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 **1876** route planning map included the first plans for what eventually became today's Daniel Webster Trail. In an **1885** *Appalachia Journal* are remarks by Eugene B. Cook, a leading trail builder of the 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."

The **1889** *Glen House Book* states that "the **Copps** 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."

Trail historians Laura and Guy Waterman convince me this was not a self-serving remark when they state that "In 1878 Benjamin F. Osgood opened a way up Madison from the Glen House, following the long sweeping ridge that ever since has borne his name."

Formal trail construction west from Copps 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 the Dolly Copp campers in climbing over the northern peaks and by skiers in the winter... The U.S.F.S. has furnished the scouts with tents, blankets, cots and food in return for the volunteer labor."

The level ground just to the south of the Trail entrance served as base camp for the Scouts. This was a lively scene with a mess tent. The children of campers who went over to say hello would be given a donut or snack. One of these was the life-long camper **young George Brackett** (photo). A thirties photo from camper Bob Rich shows what may be a short-lived ornamental wood entranceway near the Old Pinkham Road announcing the trailhead.



**Presidential Traverse from Copps:** 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 he started up Madison by way of the Copp Farm:

"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 mountain-side."



The *Appalachia Journal* reported in 1885 on an earlier **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.

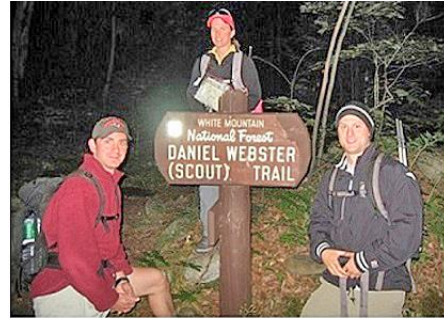
At a little before five we started again for **Imp Cottage**, or **Dolly Copp's**, at the foot of Mt. Madison, by the way of the old Pinkham Notch Road, then in a very rough condition. Night came on while we were in the woods, and we were obliged to lead the horses by the light of a candle held in a hat, so that it was eleven o'clock before we reached our destination."



After describing visits to Mt. Washington and other locations, “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 {renamed Culhane Brook in 1932} 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 farm houses in the valley – and more exhilarating than a fresh flask of brandy was the sound....



Start of Presidential Traverse at 3 am  
Source: [travelswithtavel.com](http://travelswithtavel.com)

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 high point of the pasture seen in 1865 was recorded on the 1915 USFS Sketch Map of central Martins Location. Today the Daniel Webster Trail descends thru just that early pasture’s high point.

A recommended starting point for a 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**.”

As in olden days a traverse from Site #4 Cops is still possible, using the Daniel Webster Trailhead within the Campground. Access from an often crowded parking lot on Route 2 in Randolph is more popular today. Both access points are cited within the current definition of Presidential Traverse found 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.”

**East to Imp Face:** The pedestrian accessible top of the Imp Face is at elevation 3,165, a western spur of North Carter Mountain. The Imp Face is not to be confused with Imp Mountain, about one and one half miles to the north.



Logging road along Imp Brook on 1918 USFS Map

Near the Copp Farm there was a logging road easterly. Documentation is an **1883** Appalachia Journal article entitled “A Visit to the Imp Face”:

“Starting one morning in October from the 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.” (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 trail builder).

As for the view from the Face “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.”

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. Late in life, Watson was one of the speakers at the 1933 dedication of the Dolly Copp Home Site Memorial. Ah, to come across a transcript of his remarks!

No trail yet in 1907 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.*"



Andy Cummings beside dirt Route 16 in 1936

In his *Outline of Trail Development in the White Mountains 1840-1980* Guy Waterman provides trail origin dates, including 1911 for the Imp Trail to North Carter Mountain, 1929 for the northern half of the Imp Trail Circuit, and then 1930 for the southern half of the Imp Trail Circuit.

The 1937 USGS map includes the full Imp Trail Circuit, the northern of its two trailheads across from the bridge in the Picnic Ground, since relocated slightly to the south. Of interest to Dolly Copp based climbers, Laura and Guy Waterman indicate that during the **mid-1880s** the major ridgeline trail of ten miles was completed from Carter Dome north to Mount Moriah.



Top shows 1938 **view west from Imp** to Campground – more of the old farm fields were visible before the tree canopy closed in - bottom 2020 Emily Brown Pearson photo same view

Emily's father Bob Brown recalls that south of Big Meadow in the early fifties the Imp could be seen continuously from the camp roadway. Long time camper William Flynn comments 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."

While Dolly Copp Campground is assumed to be the only viewing point for the Imp Profile, that is not entirely true. A second viewing point is described in an *Appalachia Journal* article of 11/14/1883 by Edith Cook: "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."

**View WEST to Imp Profile**  
Photo Courtesy of John Compton



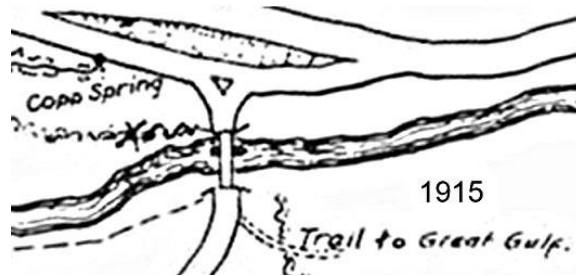
Well to the east of the Face on its far side "was obtained a view of the Imp Face seen in profile, and **presenting exactly the same countenance** as that seen from the Cops Farm on the Pinkham road to Randolph." A volunteer Trail Maintainer for the USFS and avid hiking blogger, John Compton comments on his hard to obtain photo:

"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."



**South into Great Gulf:** At the south end of the Campground for many decades the Great Gulf Trail had its point of origin. It is a feature on the 1915 USFS Sketch Map. This trailhead was adjacent to the pre-1951 Peabody River Bridge. The trail remains. In 1986 it was renamed the **Great Gulf Link Trail**.

The 1925 *AMC Guidebook* on the beginning of the Great Gulf Trail: *A few rods beyond the bridge, near the edge of Dolly Copp farm.... following an old logging road {the northernmost portion 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 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 surface trace.

As noted in 1986 the Great Gulf Trail trailhead was relocated out of the Campground altogether, to a point south on Route 16. This was enabled by building a fifty vehicle parking lot and a 160-foot-long wood and cable pedestrian bridge. Easy access across the Peabody River, just as the 1860 bridge location to the north had provided for the original 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 enabled the riverbank at the pedestrian bridge to become a pleasant picnicking and wading area for the public aware of it.



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



*Between today's suspension bridge and parking area is pre-1958 Route 16*

As the path from the parking lot turns left to the suspension bridge, look straight ahead. You will see a well preserved segment of pre-1958 Route 16 right-of-way, much narrower than its higher speed replacement just east. It recalls slower speeds and longer travel times and is a picturesque walk.

Leaving the Campground southbound on the Link Trail, a camper out for some light exercise crossed the pedestrian bridge, then turned north back to Dolly Copp using the thru-the-woods pre-1958 right of way. Then following Route 16 but tiring aside the Picnic Ground, the nerd attempted to wade the Peabody for a faster return, slipped, and ruined his cellphone ☺.

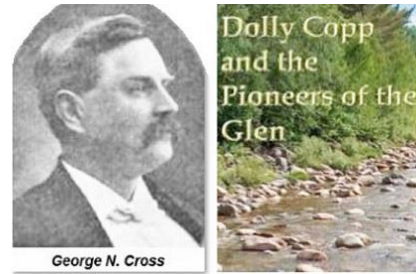
## 6-9. CAMPGROUND OPENING DATE



In 1927 nearby Randolph author **George Cross** offers an origin date for the Peabody east bank campground: *“In 1915 the federal government added to our National Forest the old farms in the Glen and laid out the Dolly Copp Camping Ground.”* USFS Dolly Copp Campground literature of 1936 repeats this: *“from its inception in 1915.”*

The USFS writer in 1936 could have been reflecting the 1915 reference within the **1927 Cross booklet *Dolly Copp and the Pioneers of the Glen***, or perhaps the date was from internal USFS records. While the east bank campground origin year of 1915 sounds definitive, later sources cite 1917 and 1918, then 1921 for opening of the west bank. Perhaps Cross’s 1915 date can be given additional weight as he knew something about camping, writing a history of Randolph, NH in 1924 including this quote in the third person:

*“In 1915, Mr. and Mrs. George N. Cross built on the edge of Burnbrae Glen a guest camp in conformity to a long cherished plan. The camp was a combination of bungalows and canvas tents.”*



For Mr. Cross to state the origin as 1915, some initial federal action supportive of auto camping must have been taken that year. Putting into operation the Peabody River Ranger Station nearby is a candidate. Perhaps the rapidly accumulating auto campers were encouraged by the USFS with basic signage, or a self-registration kiosk was installed. Yet evidence for a slightly later origin date is also compelling.

A relevant reference is the *History of Outdoor Recreational Development in National Forests 1891 – 1942* by the USFS. It states that the **first** USFS campground nationally was constructed in **1916**, thereby eclipsing the slightly earlier Cross **1915** origin date:

*“During the summer of 1916 the Oregon National Forest developed the Eagle Creek Campground... This new camping area could not be merely another undeveloped site set aside for the use of campers as had been most earlier ‘camp grounds’ in the National Forests.*

*At Eagle Creek, apparently for the first time, the Forest Service undertook the construction of a public campground in the modern sense. Facilities included camp tables, toilets, a check-in station and a ranger station, dedicated in July of 1916.”*

USFS map legends for 1914, 1915 and 1916 do not include a symbol for “Campground” in Martins Location or anywhere else in their newly purchased White Mountain properties. My view is that the USFS was welcoming campers at Peabody wayside and elsewhere in 1914, 1915 and 1916, but as yet without advancing to the formality of designating a campground for them as at Eagle Creek above in 1916.

Within the **1915-1916 Biennial Report of the New Hampshire Forestry Commission** is the first confirmation of USFS management of campers: *“Permits to camp and build fires may be secured upon application to any of the rangers or the Forest Supervisor in Gorham... Permanent ranger headquarters are located in Bartlett, North Woodstock and Martins Location.”*

Within his 1967 history of the area D. B. Wight provides a slightly different origin date for the Campground. Referencing features in the WMNF, he states *“among which is the famous Dolly Copp Campground developed in 1917.”*

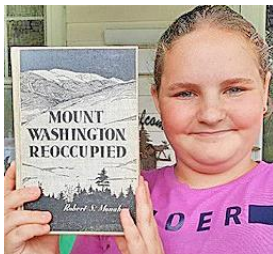


At center is the George Cross "**Great Fireplace**" by 1919, Xeno Fontaine left and at right Horace C. Currier (1879-1943), Currier Mountain in the Dartmouth Range named in his honor - the 1926 NH Forestry Commission cites "central fireplaces" provided for the early federal campgrounds



Like the George Cross 1915 origin date, Wight's is not supported with any citations. Yet as Wight's 1967 book is considered a respectable standard today, his claim of a 1917 origin must be given some weight. In his favor, the next evidence points to a **1917 or 1918** origin date, not the earlier 1915.

This is provided by **Robert S. Monahan**, a Yale trained forester employed by the USFS in his early years and later of much greater fame as a founder of the Mount Washington Observatory. According to Monahan writing in 1933: "*Dolly Copp was first recognized as a campground about 15 years ago when a large fireplace and two toilets were provided by the Forest Service.*" (Photo shows Laura Myshrall holding Robert Monahan's 1933 classic book *Mount Washington Reoccupied*).



"About" fifteen years back from 1933 was **1918**, or close to that year, a possible match with the Wight 1917. A fixed feature, a large communal fireplace, can be interpreted as definitive federal recognition of a campground. George Cross refers to it in 1927 as the "Great Fireplace." The closest we have on dating fireplace construction is the year **1919** written on a photo of **USFS officials standing aside it**. As construction could have preceded the 1919 photo, that benchmark does not entirely contradict the Wight 1917 and Monahan 1918 origin dates.

Within the biennial N.H. Forestry Commission reports we have been awaiting recognition of a "permanent campground facility," some wording more significant than the 1915 - 1916 looser "permits to camp" in the forest. When we reach the Forestry Commission Report ending August **1920** we nail it down: "*The Forest Service has opened to the automobile campers and trappers {early term for hikers}, public camp grounds at **Copp Spring** on the Glen Road, at the crossing of Gale River on the Profile Road, and on Wild River.*"

*The camp ground at the **Copp Spring** was used during the summer of **1920** by people from twenty-two of the United States, and from the District of Columbia, Hawaiian Islands, England, Scotland, South Africa and Canada.*" To collect such geographic statistics a registration system must have been in place.

Could such geographically widespread usage at Copp Spring be cited in a biennial report ending August 1920 unless the location's draw by word of mouth or in periodicals had been developing for some time? This broad patronage points back to an east bank origin date earlier than 1920. Then for the first time on the annual USFS map series, the **1920** version labels east bank Peabody camping as **Dolly Copp Farm Public Camp Grounds**. This mirrors the definitive "public camp grounds at Copp Spring" in the August **1920** New Hampshire Forestry Commission report cited above.

Additional specificity from a **1920** promotional publication by the U.S. Department of Agriculture entitled *Vacation on the White Mountain National Forest*, a photo therein will become a post card circulated for many decades of campers using the Great Fireplace, captioned: "*Camping party near **Copp Spring Camp Ground** near Gorham, NH.*"

More on campground origins from this 1920 vacation 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.”

## 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 craftsmen 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

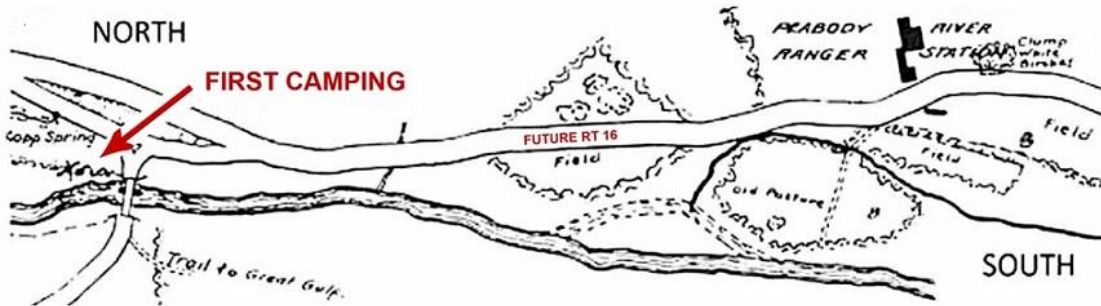
line dance. Sunday — Interpretive program with Floyd Ramsey: Dolly Copp - Beyond the Legend. Monday — Fiddlers’ contest. Tuesday — Interpretive program with Norm Rheume: King Spruce. Wednesday — Interpretive program with Missy Brandt: Dolly Copp Campground Through the



### USFS Androscoggin District’s 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Campground in 1996

Then an origin year of 1921 for today’s west bank campground is cited within the 1997 USFS history: “Although similar plans proved successful in other parts of the country, lots on the “Dolly Copp Farms” {proposed summer cottage subdivision discussed below} were not sought after. In 1921, the summer home idea was abandoned; the area {west side} was opened for tent and trailer camping and has remained in popular use by visitors ever since.”

To conclude, the opening date of 1921 is an acceptable representational midpoint of sorts, summarizing the small range of dates that will not nicely reduce to the single definitive origin year that we may wish.



Site #2 Peabody River Ranger Station on 1915 USFS Sketch Map as Copp Spring at left becomes the camping focus (annotations added)

