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FROM STRAWBERRY BANKE TO PUDDLE DOCK: THE EVOLUTION OF A NEIGHBORHOOD, 1630-1850 (URBAN COMMUNITY, MARITIME; NEW HAMPSHIRE)

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FROM STRAWBERY BANKE TO PUDDLE DOCK:
THE EVOLUTION OF A NEIGHBORHOOD, 1630 - 1850

BY

John W. Durel
B.S., University of Notre Dame, 1967
M. A., University of New Hampshire, 1975

DISSERTATION

Submitted to the University of New Hampshire
in Partial Fullfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
History

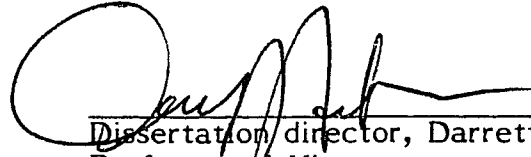
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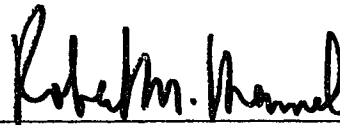
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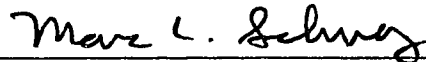
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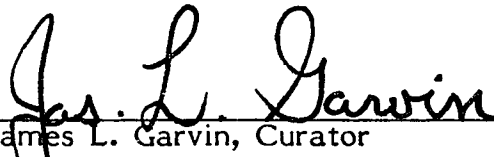
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The origin of this dissertation lies in London in the summer of 1971, when I enrolled in a course taught by a local historian on the history of that city. Gilbert Lawrence's interests were in both the place and the people; his presentation was organized geographically and rich in the details of daily life. He was especially interested in the remnants of historic London that had survived, and his course included plenty of walking tours through alleys and into courtyards to see bits of the past. I was somewhat surprised to find myself, over a decade later, doing similar things in a very different place. Lawry's enthusiasm and encouragement prompted me to seek a career as historian and since then I have been much influenced by his basic approach to studying the past.

Throughout my years in graduate school I received fruitful advice and guidance from many professors. Through courses and individual conferences Darrett B. Rutman, more than any other, helped me to understand the process of doing history. His comments and support have been especially important in bringing this dissertation to completion. I want to also acknowledge the other members of my dissertation committee, whose thoughtful questions and suggestions have made this a better work.

There are many people at Strawberry Banke, Inc. to whom I am deeply indebted. I drew on the deed research of several people, including Cindy Brockway, Marcia Rollison, Dorothy Jones, Peg Irish and Steven Pendery. Jean Bott deserves special mention for her persistence in tracking the complicated titles for riverfront lots. Several of my colleagues provided assistance, both directly and indirectly, including Darlyne Franzen, Jim Coffey, Ellen Merry, Pat Riley, Rindy Hilton and Alison Fleming. Special

thanks go to Elaine Leduc and Sharon Frew for their typing skills and patience with last minute changes.

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ABSTRACT

FROM STRAWBERY BANKE TO PUDDLE DOCK: THE EVOLUTION OF A NEIGHBORHOOD, 1630-1850

by

JOHN W. DUREL

University of New Hampshire, May, 1984

This dissertation examines the evolution of a site from 1630 to 1850. Until 1690 the site was part of a large farmstead; during the eighteenth century it became a thriving commercial area in the seaport town of Portsmouth, New Hampshire; after 1820 it became an old waterfront neighborhood serving primarily as a residential area. The study first places the site within the context of the larger community, and then looks at spatial arrangements and structural forms within the site itself. Finally it follows the changing reputation of the area.

The local economy was the strongest influence on the way people organized and built a neighborhood at the site. The importance of other factors, such as the natural environment, aesthetics and population density, varied from time to time. The way the site evolved was a result of the interplay of such factors.

INTRODUCTION

In 1978 Theodore Hershberg, in an essay in the Journal of Urban History, noted that many historians treat the urban environment as a passive backdrop against which human activity takes place. He complained that all too often one gets little sense of how the particular places in which people live affect their behavior. He argued that the "New Urban History" should involve not merely an analysis of human behavior in an urban setting, but a systematic exploration of the relationships between behavior and the environment. The focus should be on the process by which human action affects the place, and by which the place affects human action.

In so arguing Hershberg drew on notions that originated with Robert Park and other sociologists at the University of Chicago in the 1920s and 30s and since developed by urban historians. In effect they view "the city as a concrete entity whose form and structure are determined by human decisions that affect the use of land." At about the same time that Hershberg wrote, Thomas Schlereth was making the same argument from a different perspective. Drawing on the work of landscape historians like J. B. Jackson, Schlereth encouraged scholars to treat cities as artifacts. Cities, just like houses, furniture, and other objects, are manifestations of human behavior. He suggested that in the form and composition of a city one could discover the social history that lay behind the artifact.

This dissertation is an examination of a particular place as it evolved over an extended period of time. The focus is on the interplay of human activity and the place in which that activity occurred. In short, it is a case study of the process that both Hershberg and Schlereth urged historians to explore.

I have arranged the dissertation in a straight-forward fashion. In the first chapter I define the site, raise questions about its evolution in relation to human activity, and discuss the major sources I have used to develop an interpretation. In subsequent chapters I examine the evolution of the site from various perspectives. Finally, in the conclusion, I present an interpretation that defines three phases in the site's evolution, each characterized by its own set of relationships between behavior and environment.

In presenting the study I have used several conventions. First, I refer to the site under study as a neighborhood. The specific area as defined in Chapter I was part of a larger neighborhood throughout its history, but the bounds of the area do not coincide precisely with the bounds of the neighborhood. Indeed, the neighborhood boundaries are hard to define for any point in time and certainly changed over time. At any rate, I have used evidence taken from a precisely defined study site and applied it to a slightly larger area that I have called a neighborhood.

A prominent feature of the neighborhood was a tidal inlet that was filled in the early part of the twentieth century. The inlet had several names over the course of its history. I have referred to it simply as the cove. The names of streets also changed. When I refer to a street in the text I use the name corresponding to the period under discussion and put the present-day name in parenthesis. This should help readers familiar with Portsmouth to locate the streets.

When discussing specific properties I have tried to locate them with reference to the cove and streets. For readers wanting the precise location of a given property, I have included codes in brackets in the chapter notes. The reader can then find the location on the map presented in Figure 37.

The first step toward understanding the evolution of the site is to know who lived there. Using the property deeds of the Province of New Hampshire and of Rockingham County I have established the sequence of ownership for the many properties at the museum and adjacent park that make up this study. The deeds give evidence not only of who owned the land but also about occupations, property dimensions and the existence of buildings. In the appendix I have listed the sequence of owners, called a title chain, for each property, and given each property a location code.

The title chains provide a basic picture of the way the land was divided and used. Other sources such as public records, genealogies and travelers' accounts add insights into why the site developed as it did. They provide a context in which to interpret the picture of site development presented in the deeds.

CHAPTER I

QUESTIONS OF PLACE AND TIME

A small granite post stands at the corner of Atkinson and Jefferson Streets in Portsmouth, New Hampshire (Figure 1). Easily overlooked, it is only about three feet high, roughly cut, and stands askew, touching the wall of a nearby house. There is nothing striking about the post: it is not a prominent marker indicating some important event; nor is it a piece of fine craftsmanship. If it were removed few would notice, and fewer would lament its loss.

Still it is there, and one might well ask why. It is not a natural feature. Rather it is the result of some human action: someone, at some time, cut it out of a larger stone, and someone, perhaps the same person, placed it in the ground. Thus, it is the physical remains of some past event. That event, in the context of place and time, had some meaning.

In order to explain the object we must understand the event. We can characterize the event as one in which people consciously modify the place in which they live. Such actions involve the transformation of the physical environment in order to meet certain human needs. Individually or collectively people choose locations wherein they can accomplish certain tasks, and they alter the places in order to facilitate those activities.

This building of an environment is part of a larger process wherein people organize themselves to perform certain roles in society. The social organization involves not only the grouping of individuals to perform economic, political, and cultural functions; it also entails defining the places in which those functions are carried out. In other words, the social system

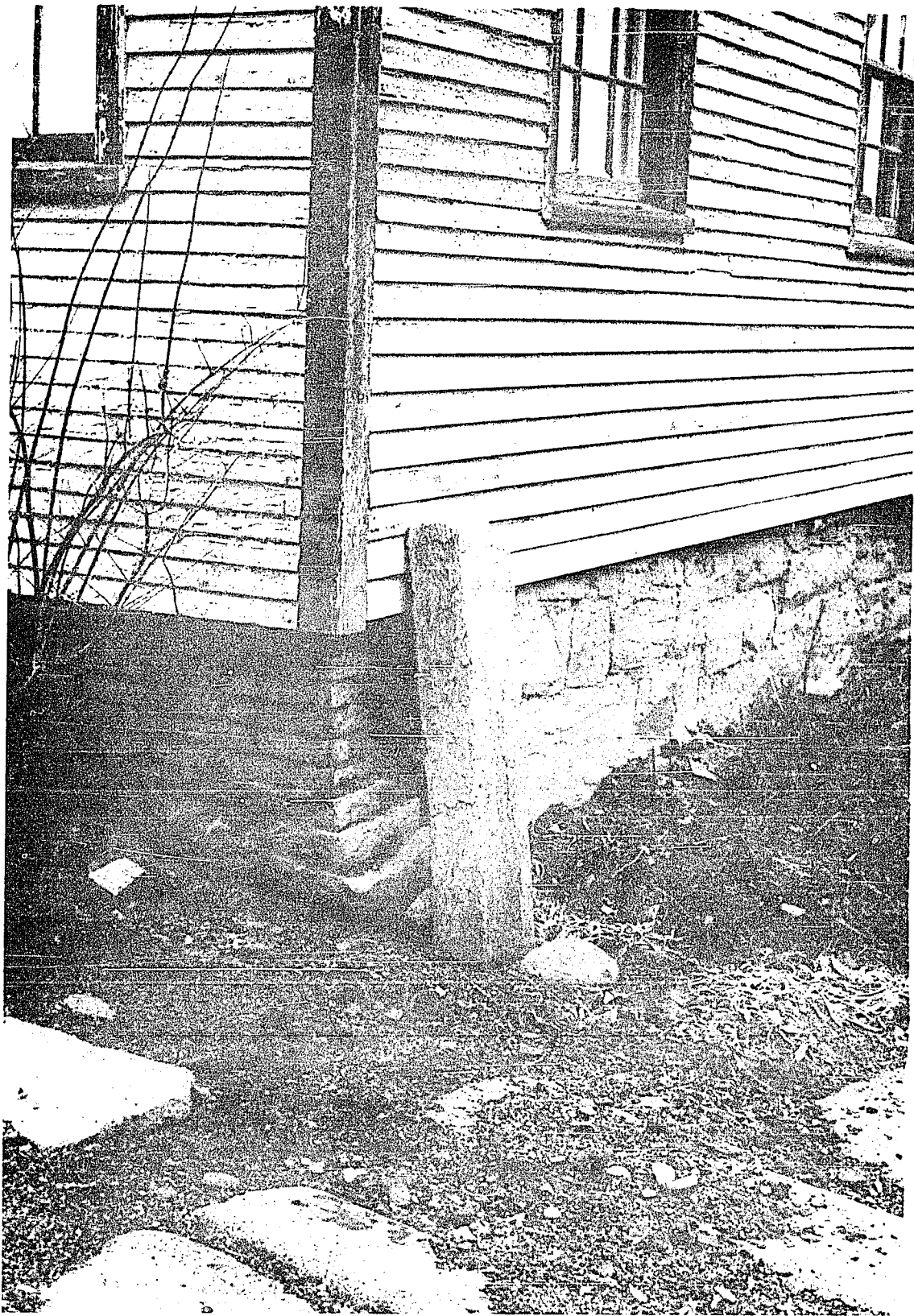


Figure 1. Granite Post, Corner of Jefferson and Atkinson Streets, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

operates within a physical environment that has been created for that purpose.¹

However, the physical environment is more than just a setting for social activity. The environment, as it is and as it is perceived, may affect the activity. A given environment may enhance, or inhibit the execution of certain functions. Thus, the environment is not only a response to people's need to organize themselves, it also influences the way in which they do so.

This is a study of an environment as it developed from 1630 to 1850 in a section of Portsmouth. The granite post stands near the center of the area, and I will use it in a moment to raise questions about the site as a whole. The site is presently a part of an outdoor history museum called Strawberry Banke, and part of a riverside park called Prescott Park (Figure 2). It is bounded by Washington Street, Court Street, the Piscataqua River, and a large field that was once a tidal inlet (filled at the beginning of the twentieth century). I chose this site because it encompasses those houses at the museum that are still on their original foundations. Architectural historians have already examined and reported on several of these structures, and historical archaeologists have excavated a number of parcels within the bounds. Hence, there is some information already available with which to begin tracing physical changes. The bounds of the study site extend beyond the bounds of the museum to include the waterfront, under the assumption that some understanding of detailed changes there is necessary to properly interpret the changes that occurred in the museum properties.

At no time in its history did this site function as a self-contained unit. It was always part of something larger, with a significant number of

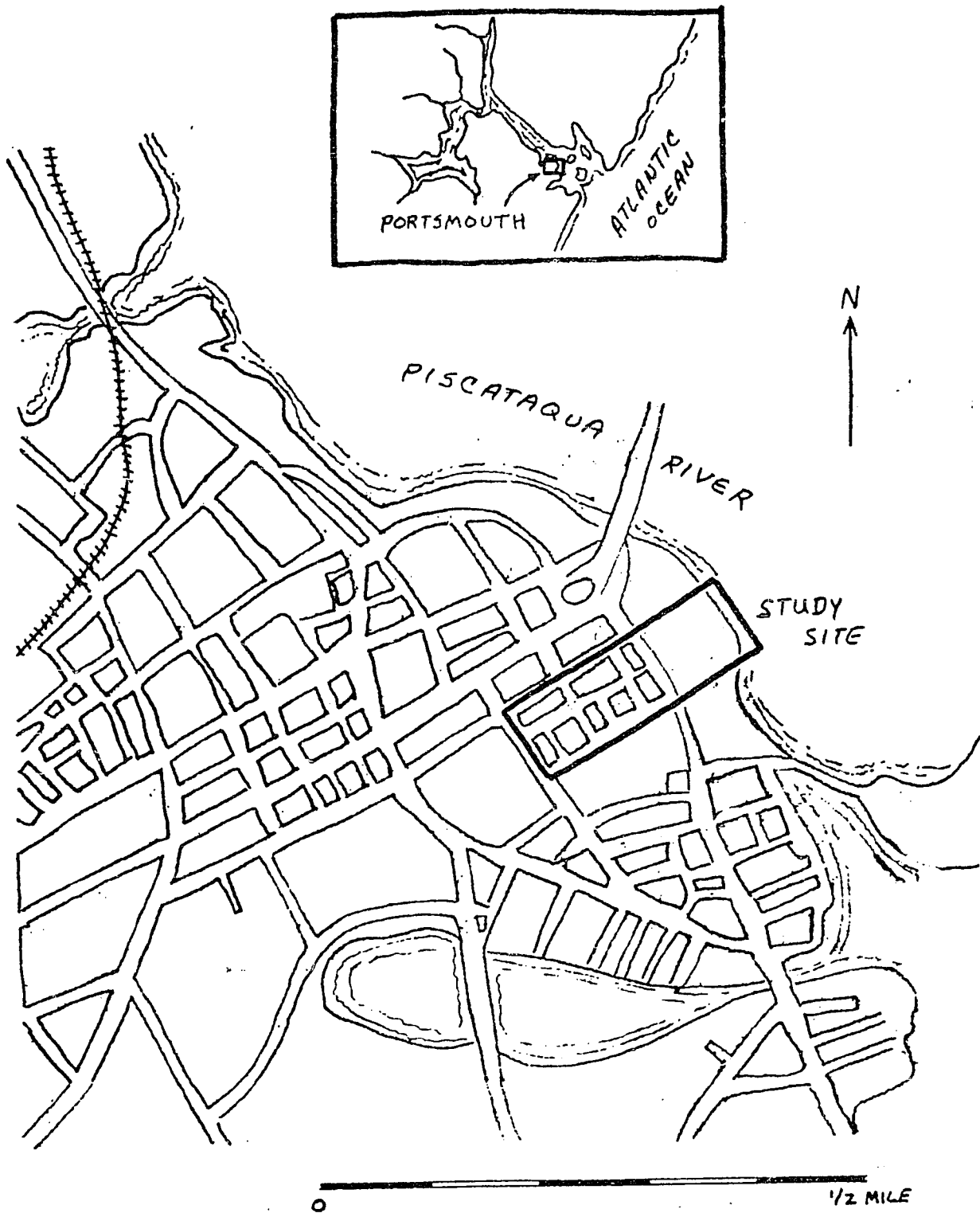


Figure 2. Study Site Location, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

transactions taking place between people at the site and people elsewhere. Hence, it will be important to view the development of the area in the context of its relationship to the growing community of which it was a part.

The building of an environment in what is now Portsmouth began in 1630, when Englishmen first settled there. Over the next two centuries an economy based on water-born commerce developed and matured, and the settlement grew into a port town. At first our study site was part of a large farmstead; by the end of the eighteenth century it had become the core of a waterfront neighborhood. After 1820 the economy of Portsmouth began a marked change, with maritime interests giving way to manufacturing and railroads.² Commercial activity shifted away from the neighborhood. This study, then, will follow developments up to 1820, when maritime commerce had its greatest influence, and then assess subsequent changes in the neighborhood to 1850.

To begin the study, again consider the granite post. We can treat it in much the same way as a historical archaeologist would treat an object found below ground. We can note its shape, size, composition, decoration (if any) and location. We can seek supporting documentary evidence to help explain what it is, why it is there, and when it was deposited. Ultimately we can do the same for other objects found nearby, and build an interpretation of the site.

An examination of the post reveals the number "1795" roughly carved into its side. Property deeds for the house against which it stands indicate that the house, first owned by Thayles G. Yeaton, was built sometime between 1794 and 1804.³ The number on the post suggests that the year of construction was 1795, and this would have been the same year in which the post was put there. Hence, the post is a monument of sorts, marking

the occasion of a minor event, the construction of a house.

The post stands at the corner of the property, perhaps serving as a boundary marker, used to define private property. Made of granite and not easily moved, it provides a fixed and permanent reference point. It may also have served as a boundary in another sense, protecting the private property from intrusion. As we shall see, by 1795 this area was densely populated and filled with commercial activity. Traffic in the streets was heavy, and this granite post would have prevented damage to the house by carts or carriages turning the corner.

Thus, in the context of place and time, the post had meaning. The same is true for every other object that exists, or once existed at our site. If we view the site as a coherent collection of artifacts - streets, buildings, wharves, yards, etc. - each with its own meaning, and if we pose questions concerning the location, form and function of these artifacts, then we should be able to build an interpretation of the evolution of the place. This is the approach we will take.

In the first three chapters of this dissertation I will describe spatial organization, first of the neighborhood in relationship to the larger community, then of the functions that took place within the neighborhood, and finally of functions that took place within individual houselots. In each case I will trace the selection of certain locations for certain activities, and the development of streets, paths, and other arteries to connect the locations.

Following the description of spatial organization I will examine the form of the physical structures that were built at the study site. The granite post suggests that form, as well as location, relates to the activities that took place. Thus, I will investigate the construction of and subsequent modifications to houses and other features of the built environment.

Finally, I will assess the symbolic significance of the environment. Does

the general appearance of the post, roughly hewn but inscribed with a date, reveal anything about the way people perceived and felt about the place in which they lived? I will attempt to get some sense of the reputation of the place as it changed over time.

In tracing the evolution of spatial arrangements, structural forms, and symbolic representations, I will attempt to delineate those forces that affect both the direction and timing of change. An important force, perhaps the most important, is the drive toward greater efficiency, usually measured in financial terms. Individuals, and groups of individuals, organize their environment in order to facilitate the accomplishment of certain tasks. Many of these are economic, involving the production or exchange of goods. Thus, changes in the economy have a direct impact on the nature of the environment.

The difficulties encountered in changing the environment, however, act to impede the drive toward greater efficiency. There is inertia in the system. This is in part due to the natural environment: the quality of the soil and the lay of the land influence, and in some cases determine the arrangement of space and the type of structures built there. The man-made environment adds to the inertia in that it costs money to alter structures or relocate functions. There may also be a psychological inertia, resulting from the association people make between certain buildings or places and certain functions.

Technological developments often make it possible to overcome the inertia of the environment. New building methods and materials, improved means of transportation, and changes in such things as the source of water supply bring about alterations in spatial arrangements and structural forms. In such cases, technology assists in the drive toward efficiency.

Another force acting against efficiency is simply the passage of time. Things get old; buildings, roads and fences need repairs. The changes to the environment brought about by age may affect the reputation of the area as well as the kinds of functions performed there.

Changes in population density also affect the area. During the period under study, from 1630 to 1850, there was an increase in population in Portsmouth and in our neighborhood, yielding an increase in the number of houselots and an increase in traffic on the streets.

Finally, changes in aesthetics also bring about changes in the environment. This may involve more than new architectural styles. Considerations of the way a place should look may affect the location of certain buildings and activities, and may work directly against the drive for greater efficiency.

These forces, then, affect the direction and rate of change in the environment: economy, environmental inertia, technology, aging, population density, and aesthetics. These forces, over the course of time, influence the decisions that people make as they go about organizing the place in which they live. It is to these forces, then, that I shall look for explanation of the physical changes that occurred at our site.

CHAPTER NOTES

¹ In seeking to understand the process of building an environment, I have found the following works especially helpful: Thomas J. Schlereth, Artifacts and the American Past (Nashville, 1981); R. J. Johnston, Spatial Structures (New York, 1973); John Brinckerhoff Jackson, Necessity for Ruins (Amherst, 1980); and Theodore Hershberg, "The New Urban History; Toward an Interdisciplinary History of the City," Journal of Urban History (Nov. 1978), pp. 3 - 40.

² Samuel Justic McKinley, "The Economic History of Portsmouth, New Hampshire from Its First Settlement to 1830" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1931).

³ Rockingham County Deeds, 138:159, 169:83.

CHAPTER II

THE TOWN

Early in the summer of 1630, after having stopped far south at Plymouth, an English ship made its way up the Piscataqua River in search of a suitable place for settlement. The men and women aboard were not the first English to enter these waters. For many years explorers, traders, and fishermen had visited the Piscataqua to observe, record and partake of the abundant resources of the place. Some seven years earlier David Thompson had established a settlement at the mouth of the river, while a London fishmonger, Edward Hilton, had established another eight miles upriver.¹

Those who arrived in 1630 came under the auspices of the Laconia Company, a group of London merchants and gentlemen who hoped to establish a rich fur trade near Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario. They chose the Piscataqua as their base of operations in the belief that the lakes could be reached by sailing up the river. In addition to fur they hoped for profitable returns in fish, timber, cattle, wine and minerals.²

Before profits could be made, the agents of the company had to establish settlements and build shelters. They chose three sites. One was Thompson's plantation, Thompson having moved to Massachusetts Bay. Another was twelve miles upriver at a place called Newitchawanick, now South Berwick. The third was about three miles from the river's mouth at a site they called Strawberry Banke (Figure 3).

The choice of this third site was the first of many decisions that would lead, over the course of a century, to the development of a compact commercial area there. That such an area should develop over time is no

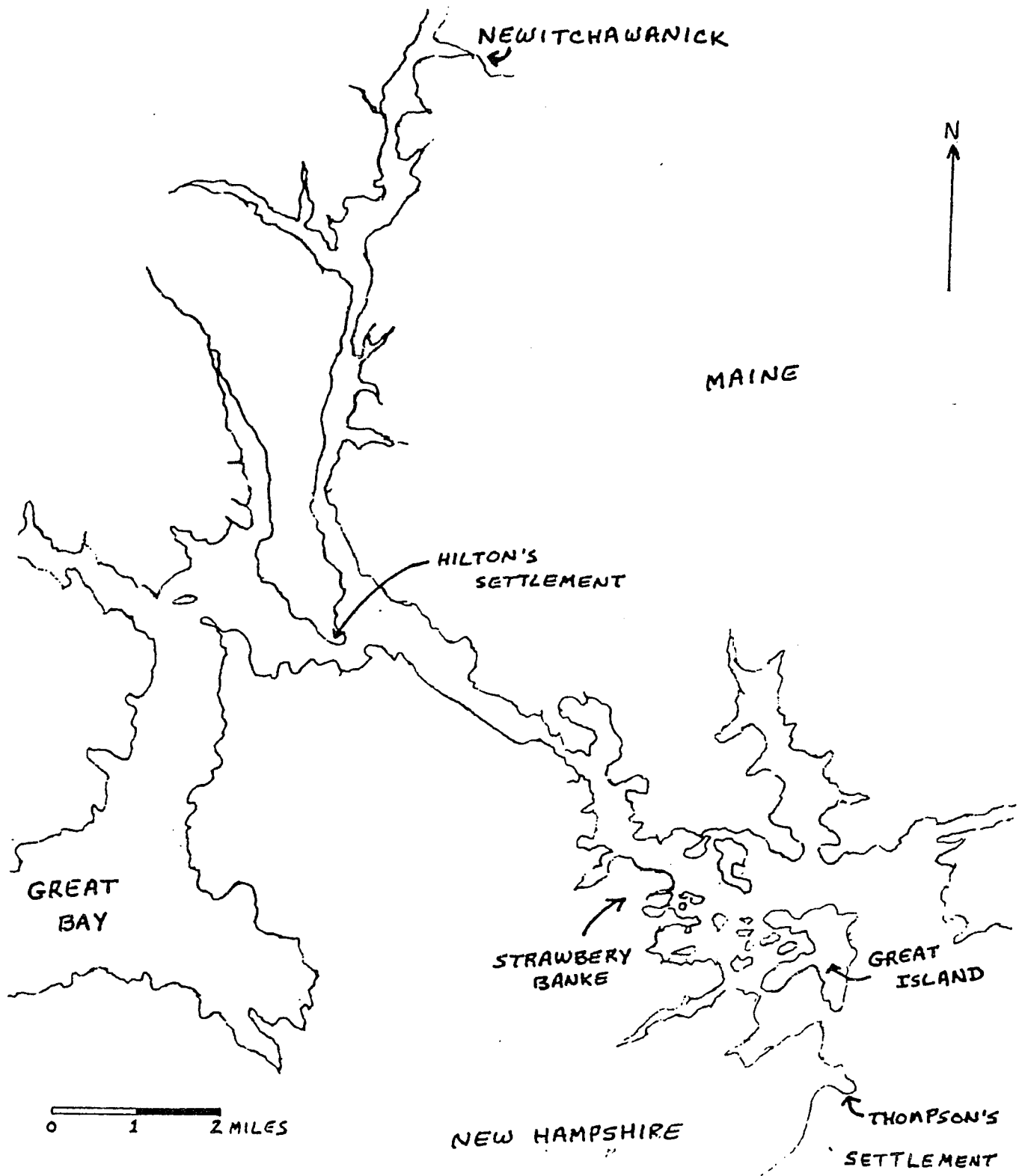


Figure 3. The Piscataqua Region, circa 1630.

surprise. A location near the mouth of a major river in an economy based on waterborn trade must inevitably become a port. Indeed, the inhabitants themselves recognized this when they changed the name of their community in 1653 to Portsmouth, "a name most suitable for this place, it being the River's mouth and as good [harbor] as any in this land."³

But the precise location of a commercial area within the total community and the timing of its development was not inevitable. The process of population growth and land division, and the spatial distribution of certain economic and political functions, meant that the initial site of settlement would not be the commercial center of the community until the eighteenth century.

The name "Strawbery Banke" is one of the few clues we have as to the nature of the site at the time of settlement.⁴ Apparently it was covered with wild berry bushes, indicating that it was not heavily forested and hence did not need much clearing before planting. The berries also suggest that the land was arable, an important consideration for the early settlers. Its location on a rise of ground overlooking the river provided an important vantage for observing other visitors to the region. A small cove just to the south of the chosen site possibly provided a safe anchorage.⁵ Thus, in the absence of written documentation explaining the choice of this site for settlement, we can reasonably argue that the natural environment had a strong influence on the decision.

We do not know how quickly the settlement at Strawberry Banke was established. The earliest reference to a house is in a letter from the Laconia proprietors to Ambrose Gibbons, who was in charge of the settlement at Newitchawanick. On December 5, 1632 they informed Gibbons that "we have committed the choice care of our house at Pascattaway to Mr. Godfrie

and written unto Mr. [Thomas] Wannerton to take care of our house at Strawberry bancke."⁶ The house at "Pascattaway" was apparently the one built by David Thompson. In July of 1633 Gibbons wrote back to the proprietors to report that "Mr. Wannerton hath the charge of the house at Pascatawa, an hath with him William Cooper, Rafe Gee, Roger Knight and his wife, William Dermit, and on[e] boy."⁷ It is not clear whether Gibbons was referring to the Thompson house or the one at the Banke. But this does suggest that by the summer of 1633 there was a house at the site and that at least six people were living there, including a woman and a boy.

The house was called a "Great House", indicating that it had a major hall or room in which most activity took place. There may have been other rooms. The house at Newitchawanick in 1633 had a "Garrett", a "Middle Chamber", a "Great House" (major hall), and a Little Roome." A map produced in the 1660s shows the Great House at Strawberry Banke as it stood thirty years after its construction: a large, two story building, with gables on the facade of the roof and two chimneys.⁸

The Great House became the center of a large farmstead (Figure 4) stretching from the cove to the south to a large inlet or creek to the north (North Mill Pond). In 1634 Gibbons reported to John Mason, one of the proprietors, that "you have at the Greate house 9 coves, 1 bull, 4 calves of the last year, and 9 of this years; they prove very well, farre better than ever was expected."⁹ By the end of 1635 the Laconia Company had dissolved and Mason, who persisted the longest with the venture, was dead. Yet the Great House property continued to be used by Wannerton. Sometime before 1652 he sold the property, for in that year it is described as "formally Thomas Wannerton's together with all the Buildings, Ediffices, out houses, Barns, gardens, orchards, yards, ffences; also six acres of

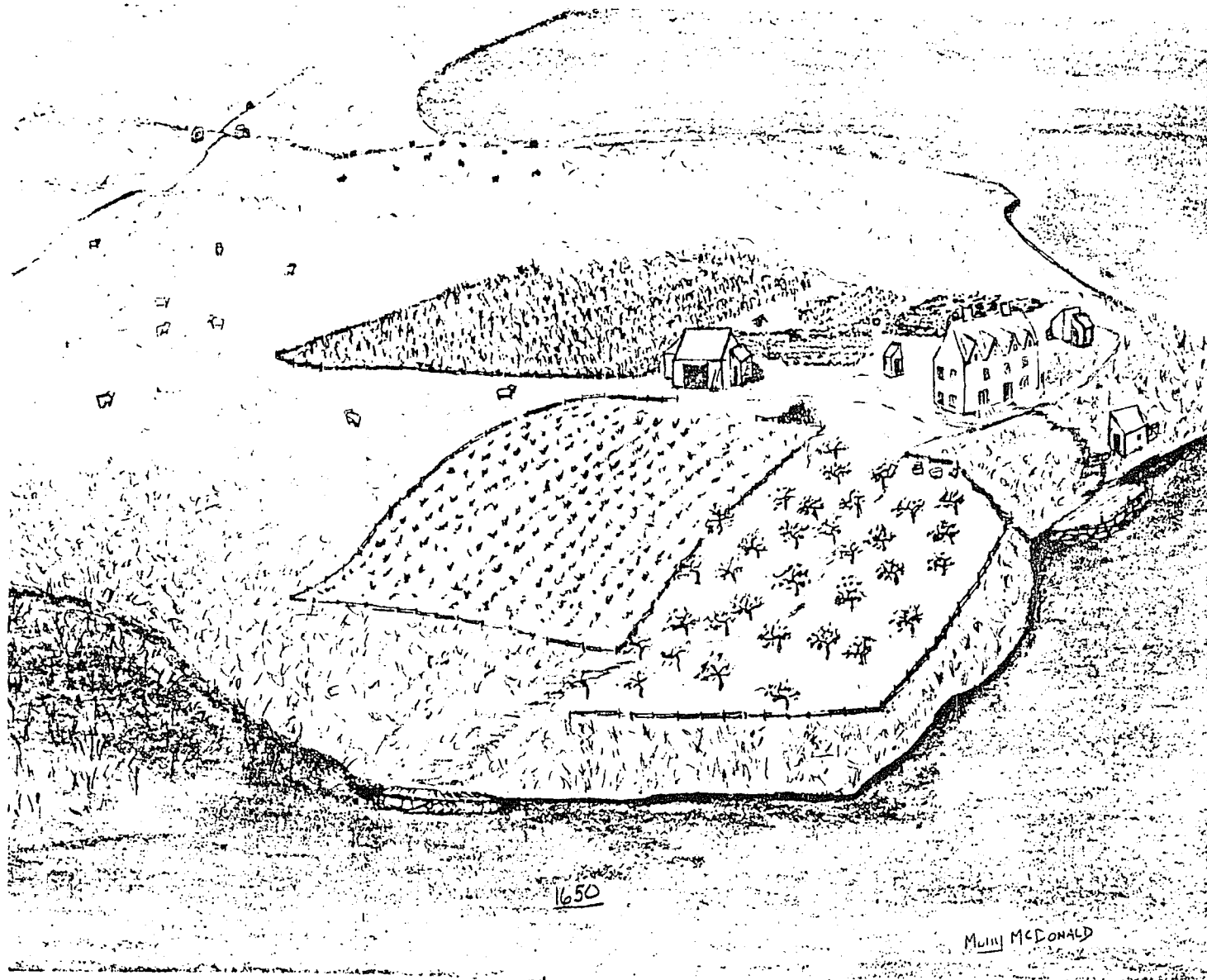


Figure 4. Conjectural view of the Great House farmstead, circa 1650, (drawing by Molly McDonald, courtesy Strawberry Banke, Inc.).

broken up Ground and Ten Acres of Marsh near adjoining."¹⁰ In 1685 George Walton, who was then age 70 and had been in the area about 50 years, recalled that "those lands in Portsmouth called, both now and formerly, Strawberry Bank, were the planting grounds and pasture belonging to the great house at Strawberry Bank, wherein Thomas Wannerton did in habit."¹¹ Thus for at least two decades after settlement, the Great House property functioned as a single agricultural unit. Our site, the area we will be studying in detail, was at this time simply a part of this farming complex, situated between the Great House and the cove.

In the absence of established authority following the death of Mason the inhabitants, who were growing in number and scattered about the area, formed their own government, granted land to themselves, regulated the use of resources, and began to build a community. About 1640 they established a glebe adjacent to the Great House property, and they built a parsonage with a chapel "thereto united."¹² The selection of a location near the Great House suggests that the inhabitants saw the area as central to their community. However, in less than twenty years they chose a new site farther to the south, indicating a shift in the way the town was spatially organized.¹³

In effect, the use of the Great House property for farming and the creation of the Glebe nearby preempted the development of the area as a population center. The servants who had been sent by the Laconia Company to work on its lands and others who came at their own expense built houses elsewhere.¹⁴ Some lived on dispersed farms, others in small hamlets or neighborhoods. The first population clusters were located to the south of the Great House along Sagamore Creek, on Great Island, and near a mill built by John Pickering in 1658 (Figure 5).

The largest cluster of buildings appeared on Great Island at the very entrance to the harbor. During the 1650s there were several "lotts granted of an acree of land...upon the great Island for house lotts." Each lot had

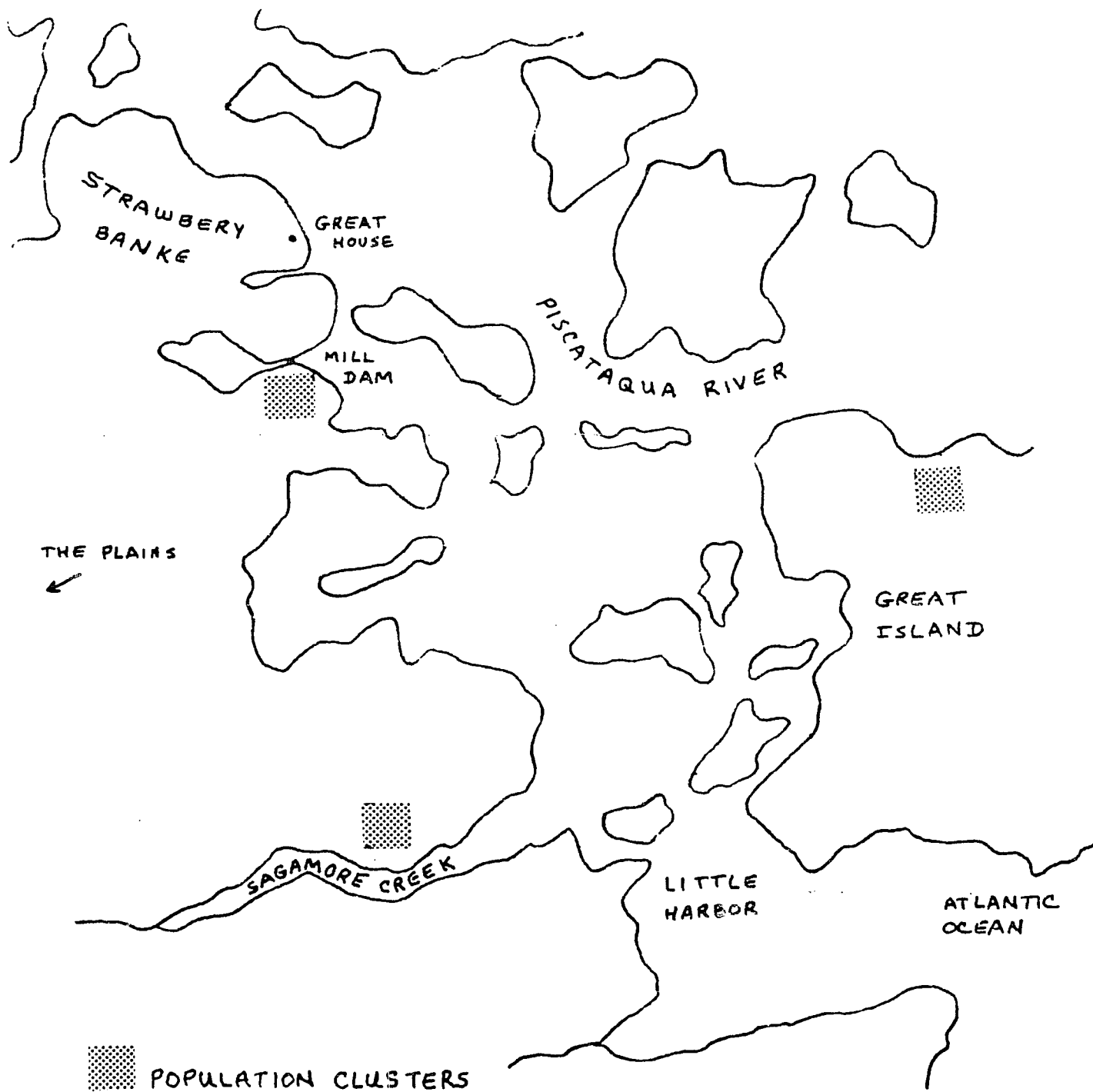


Figure 5. Population Clusters in Portsmouth, circa 1660.

about three poles of waterfrontage, or fifty feet, and at convenient intervals roads were left between lots to provide access to the water by others.¹⁵

Clearly these lots were intended for use by people involved in fishing or trade. As trade developed it was increasingly possible for an artisan or mariner to survive on an acre of land, earning enough through his occupation to purchase most of the food and other goods needed to support a family. The fishing industry thrived, and the timber trade grew steadily, with traders finding increasing profits in shipping masts, boards, staves, clapboards and shingles to Atlantic ports.¹⁶ This growth fed the development of non-farming occupations, especially on Great Island. By the mid-1660s the Portsmouth selectmen were setting off small lots specifically for tradesmen on Great Island, and many who were entitled to common lands were requesting that part of their dividend be a one acre lot on the island.¹⁷

This distribution of small parcels on Great Island coincided with the division of common lands, in much larger units, elsewhere in the town. In 1661 the town divided most of the remaining commons among those who had been inhabitants before 1657, their sons over 21 (or under if married), and their daughters over 18 whether married or not.¹⁸ Thus, while there was an increasing concentration of population in one part of the community, there was also a dispersion into other parts.

In 1655 when it came time to choose the site for a new meeting house the town sought a location closer to Great Island, but not on the island itself. Although the concentration of population was greatest there, the spread of settlement elsewhere meant that the majority of people lived on the mainland. The site chosen was near Pickering's mill dam, located between the Great House and Great Island and accessible by land for most inhabitants and by ferry for those on the island.¹⁹ This location seems a logical one, but its choice may have been influenced by Pickering's position

as head of the committee to select the new location.²⁰ At any rate, it is clear that focus remained away from the Great House.

By this time the Great House had become the property of John and Richard Cutt, two fishermen who had come from England some ten years earlier.²¹ In time each would hold important town offices; in 1680 an "old and infirm" John Cutt would become the first president of the new Royal Province of New Hampshire. But for the moment the Cutt brothers were mariners, dealing in fish, investing their profits in land, and expanding their commercial operations into timber and other commodities.²²

The brothers divided their property and developed it in support of their commercial enterprises.²³ They may have lived in the Great House at first, but they soon built newer houses near the creek to the north (North Mill Pond), which became known as Cutt's Creek (Figure 6). They centered their operation in that area. The Great House continued to function as a farm, perhaps occupied by a servant or friend.

Between 1655 and 1675 the Cutts continued to farm the land, planting in the "great field," and maintaining orchards, gardens and pastures. Corn from the field was taken to a mill they built on the north creek, and from there meal was taken to a bakehouse. Richard Cutt also built a brewhouse, providing another use for the grain he grew. This produce nourished not only their families but also the many people who worked for them, including their servants, black and white, and the fishermen at their warehouses on Star Island and Smuttynose, at the Isles of Shoals.

Cattle, fed with hay from the Strawberry Banke marsh, also provided food for those who depended on the Cutts. Salted beef could be stored in one of the warehouses built near the river and used to provision ships at the wharves. Meanwhile the cow hides were tanned at the tanyard on the creek.

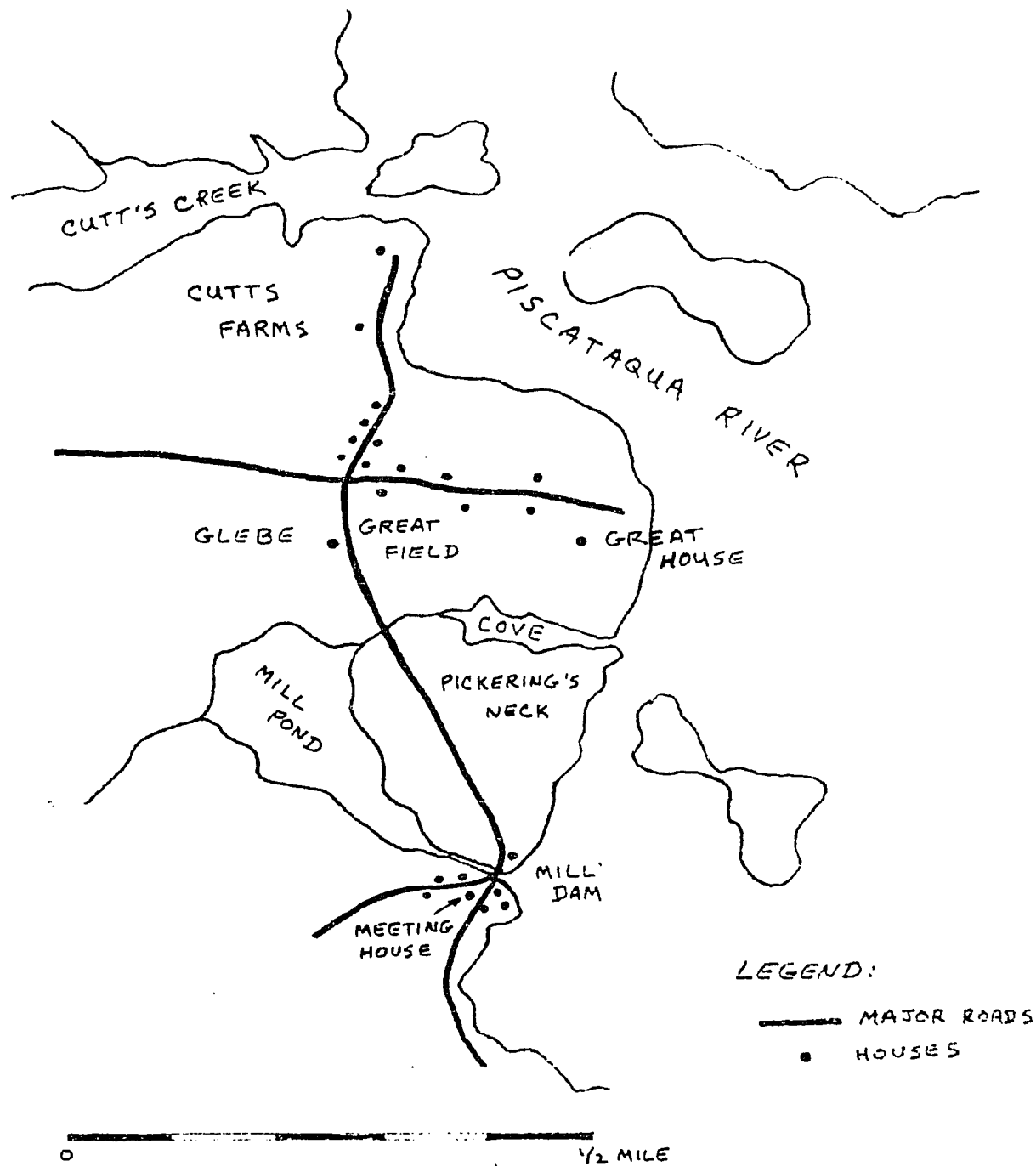


Figure 6. Strawberry Banke, circa 1675.

Other features of the farmsteads included a smith shop, a windmill on the top of a hill, wood fields, and a graveyard. In addition, each of the brothers owned large tracts of woodland elsewhere in Portsmouth and in neighboring towns, and they operated a saw mill on the creek. Thus at this time Strawberry Banke served as an agricultural base for a commercial operation involving the export of timber and fish.

Under Cutt ownership the earliest features of what would be, in the next century, a commercial center began to emerge. A highway, little more than a path, leading from the Cutt farms past the minister's house to the meeting house near the south mill dam would someday be Pleasant Street. Another running out to the head of Cutt's Creek would become Islington Road. The place where they crossed, near the great field, would someday be called Market Square.

Near this crossroads, in the 1660s and 1670s the brothers sold several parcels of land to friends and relatives. Richard sold land fronting on or near the road that ran from the crossroads up to his house (Market Street).²⁴ John sold lots to his "Kinsman" Rueban Hull and to others along the road that divided the Great House property from land of Richard's son-in-law, Captain Thomas Daniel (Daniel Street).²⁵ Thus, in the midst of large farmsteads there appeared a number of houses on smaller houselots, situated along two country roads. Figure 6 illustrates this arrangement.

This parcelling marks the beginning of a shift in population toward the Great House, or the "Banke" as the area was then called. The location along the river was well suited for the transshipment of goods between ocean going vessels and smaller river craft; hence as the Cutts' trade increased so too did the opportunities for individuals to practice non-farming occupations. The process was gradual, with John and Richard Cutt slowly finding more value in selling houselots than in using the land for agriculture. Richard died

in 1675 and John in 1680, by which time about twenty percent of the town's population lived at the Banke, as opposed to thirty-three percent on Great Island.²⁶

In his will John Cutt authorized his overseers "for the peopling of the place to sell any part of the grt. house field into house lots."²⁷ So the process continued, but still slowly. By the early 1690s our area immediately to the south of the Great House was still intact, used as a field and orchard. But in the decade of the nineties there was a burst of development, and by 1700, where no houses had stood, there were many.

In 1693 Great Island separated from Portsmouth and became the town of Newcastle. The people there had demanded their own meeting house, one that did not require a boat ride to reach.²⁸ This coincided with the rapid division of land in the vicinity of the Great House, leaving the Banke the unquestioned center of population and commerce in Portsmouth by the end of the century.

That is, it was unquestioned by all but a few. The process of shifting of population that had caused the location of the meeting house to move from the Banke to the Mill Dam in the 1650s, now worked to move it back. The majority of inhabitants favored such a move but they were opposed by a significant minority, led by the second John Pickering who had inherited the mill from his father.²⁹

Pickering, of course, had good reason to oppose a move. The Mill Dam location put his property at the symbolic center of town. Pickering had held many town offices, so the location served him well politically. The people who were buying houselots from the Cutt heirs were newcomers for the most part, and their growing number was a threat to Pickering's political base.³⁰ When they proposed that the meeting house location be moved, Pickering's response was to defend the Mill Dam site vehemently.

In June, 1707 there was a town meeting at which a group of

people attempted to have the town vote in favor of a new meeting house site. Pickering and others complained that of the twenty men who wanted the move, less than five had been officially accepted as inhabitants. They also argued that most of them had been in the town for less than ten or twelve years, hence were unfit to make such a decision.³¹ Apparently this argument carried, or the issue was not pressed, because no further action was taken at the time.

The issue arose again in September, 1711 when the town voted in favor of building a new meeting house in the corner of the minister's field, where the road from the Mill Dam met the road to Islington. The vote was 65 in favor, 45 against. The committee to oversee construction included several prominent traders who lived at the Banke.³²

Two years later the new house was almost complete. But Pickering took the opportunity of a special town meeting, called at the death of a selectman, to try to undo what had been done. On September 9, 1713 the town met to elect a new selectman. Pickering, who was chosen moderator of the meeting, was elected as selectman by a vote of 62 to 57. The other four selectmen dissented claiming that Pickering could not serve as selectman since he was already serving as an assessor. Whereupon "there was a great tumult and the Moderator proceeded to put to vote things Contrary to Notifcation." The Justices of the Peace dissolved the meeting, but Pickering persisted with the votes and took the minutes himself. Those who remained voted that the "old meeting house" would continue as the town meeting house forever, to be repaired or rebuilt at its present location, and that the glebe land would be for the use of the minister of that house and not the new one. Pickering closed the minutes by claiming that "the aforesaid Entered Votes were Past in the aforesaid Town Meeting by the Majority of the Inhabitants Legaly."³³

All was for nought, for the next town meeting, on February 20, 1714, was held at "the new meeting House."³⁴ Disputes over support for two ministers, one at the old and one at the new meeting house, continued off and on until 1738, when the General Court of the Province finally passed a law calling for support to be collected by the selectmen and equally divided.³⁵ But the construction of the new meeting house, eventually called the North Meeting House, and the holding of town meetings there from 1714 on, firmly established the Banke as the symbolic and commercial center of the town.

The shift in population and commerce to the Banke had a dramatic affect upon our site. During the decade of the 1690s John Cutt's heirs transformed it and the surrounding area from fields and orchard toouselots and streets. In the next chapter we will examine the land division and the organization of space within the site. Here we will look at the site as a unit in the context of the development of the whole town.

Over the course of the eighteenth century two processes of spatial organization were underway that had direct impact on the site. One was the selection of certain locations for certain functions and the emergence of a system of streets to link those locations. Townspeople, acting individually or as a group, made such decisions as the need arose, in response to immediate economic and environmental conditions. There was no preconceived plan for the arrangement of space; the pattern that emerged resulted from the accumulation of numerous individual acts.

The second process involved the ways in which people perceived the town and their attempts to define the spatial system they created. By giving abstract form to the place through maps and names and by attaching significance to certain locations, they gave definitions to the town. For

the most part this was a casual process, a definition implicit in the language used to describe a place. It was not until the 1770s that the town was large and complex enough to require formal, explicit description. Whether implicit or explicit, the definitions provided a framework within which people lived and made decisions.

As these two processes occurred, the role of our site within the system evolved. At first it was one among many waterfront areas under development. By the 1760s it had emerged as a part of the most active commercial area. At the end of the century it could still claim that position, but by 1820 it had fallen from prominence as commerce shifted to other sections. By 1850, as an old waterfront neighborhood, it played only a small role in the economy of the town.

In the beginning, maritime commerce, as the economic base for life in the growing town, was the function that most determined the arrangement of space. During the first quarter of the eighteenth century merchants and artisans built houses, wharves, stores and warehouses along the waterfront, stretching almost continuously from south of the Mill Dam to the North Creek. These waterfront areas had the greatest concentrations of population and activity.³⁶ The town did not focus on one central place. People thought of their town as being on the river and oriented themselves accordingly. For example, the street at the head of Samuel Hill's property was described as the "highway at the back of Samuel Hill's land;" the other end faced the water.³⁷

When approaching by land, one entered the Banke at the intersection of the main road from the west and south, the corner of the Glebe. In 1703 a stockade ran immediately to the west of this point and local tradition claims there was a fort erected there. This placed the intersection just within the protected area. Later in the eighteenth century this site would

become the center of town, but at the beginning of the century it was the "entrance," providing access to the waterfront.³⁸ Figure 7 illustrates this arrangement.

The primacy of the waterfront meant that as a street system developed the main streets were those that ran toward the river. James Grant's map, published in 1771, gives a clear representation of the street pattern (Figure 8). The main streets were twenty to thirty feet wide, permitting easy and efficient access to the places where trade occurred.⁴⁰ Along these streets one found not only the shops and homes of traders and merchants, but also taverns where business transactions often took place.

In contrast, cross streets were often as narrow as ten feet and did not run in continuous ~~lines~~.⁴¹ Anyone travelling parallel to the river had to make a number of turns along narrow streets. In time this contributed to a physical and perceptual division of the waterfront into three distinct parts (Figure 9).

This division is explicit in the way the town divided itself for tax collection. Until 1719 the waterfront was listed in two parts, viz. the Banke and the Mill Dam. In that year the town divided the Banke itself into two parts, North and South, with Crafford's or Graffort's Lane, which ran from the "entrance" easterly to the river, as the boundary between the two. This division reflected the spread of population: in 1719 the North list had 128 entries; the South list, which included properties down to the dam site, had 132 entries; and the Mill Dam list, which covered the area to the south of the dam, had 124 entries.⁴²

This three part division of the tax list continued into the nineteenth century, but the names given to the parts changed. In 1761 the Mill Dam list was renamed the South End list, so that for the next sixteen years the three parts were called the North, South, and South End. Then in 1777 the

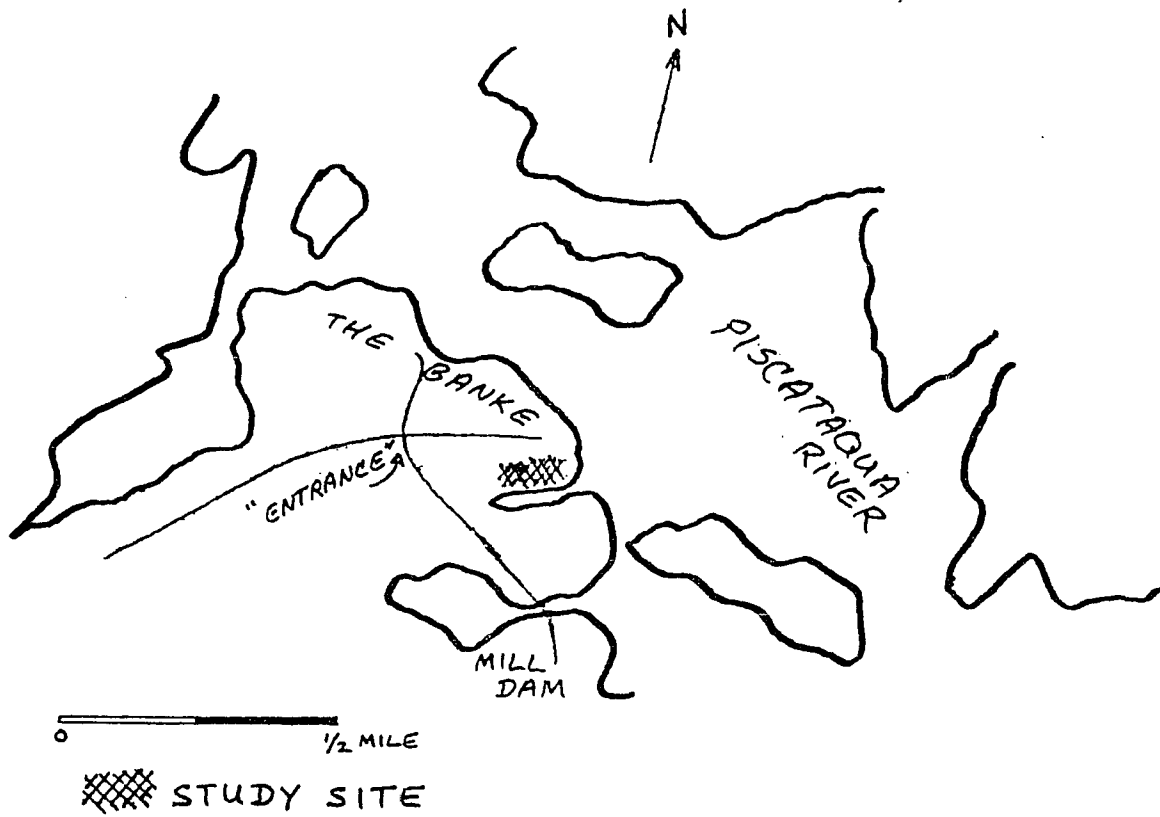


Figure 7. Spatial Organization of Portsmouth, circa 1700.

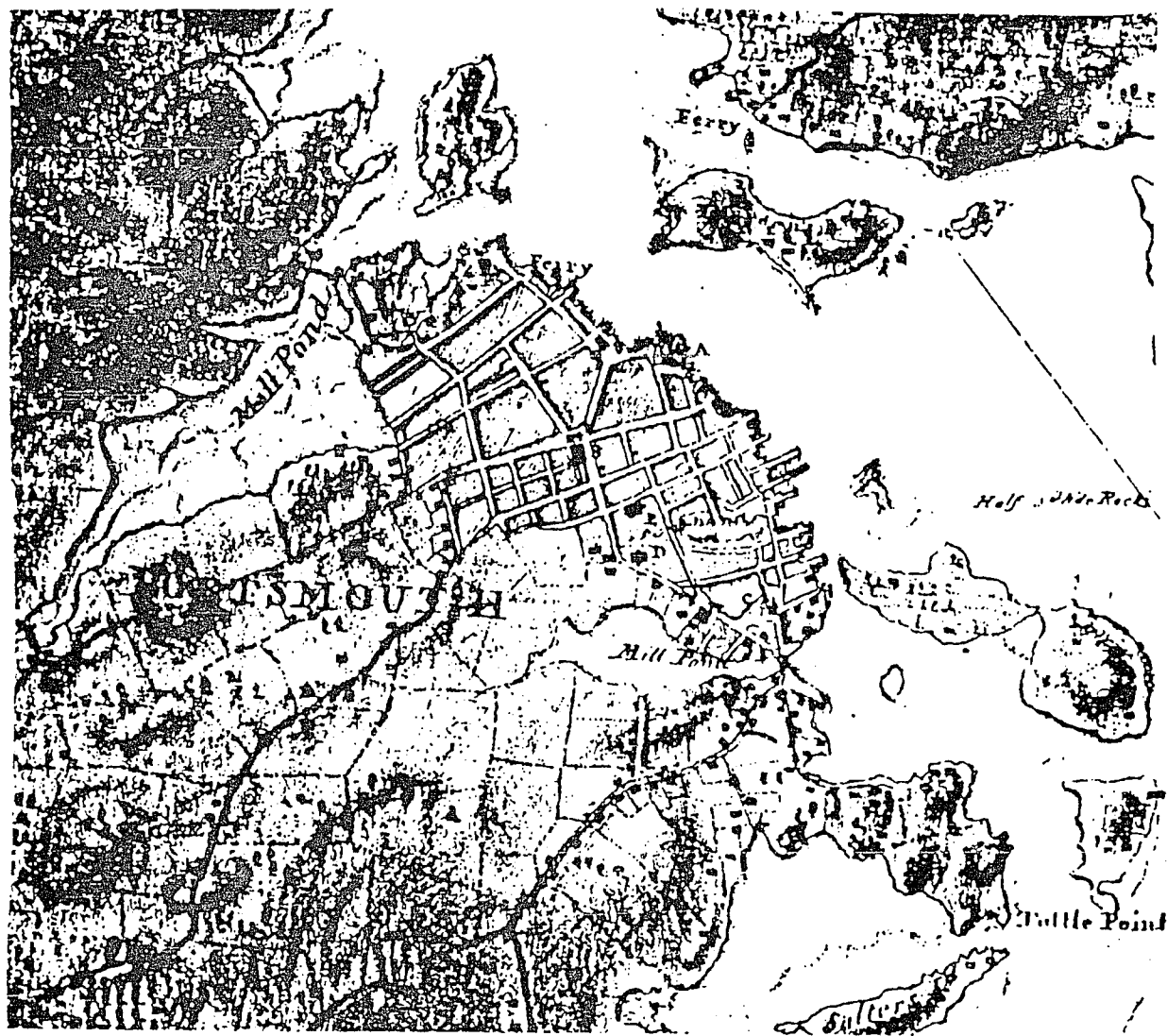


Figure 8. Detail, "A Plan of Piscataqua Harbor, the Town of Portsmouth, etc.", surveyed and drawn by James Grant, 1771.

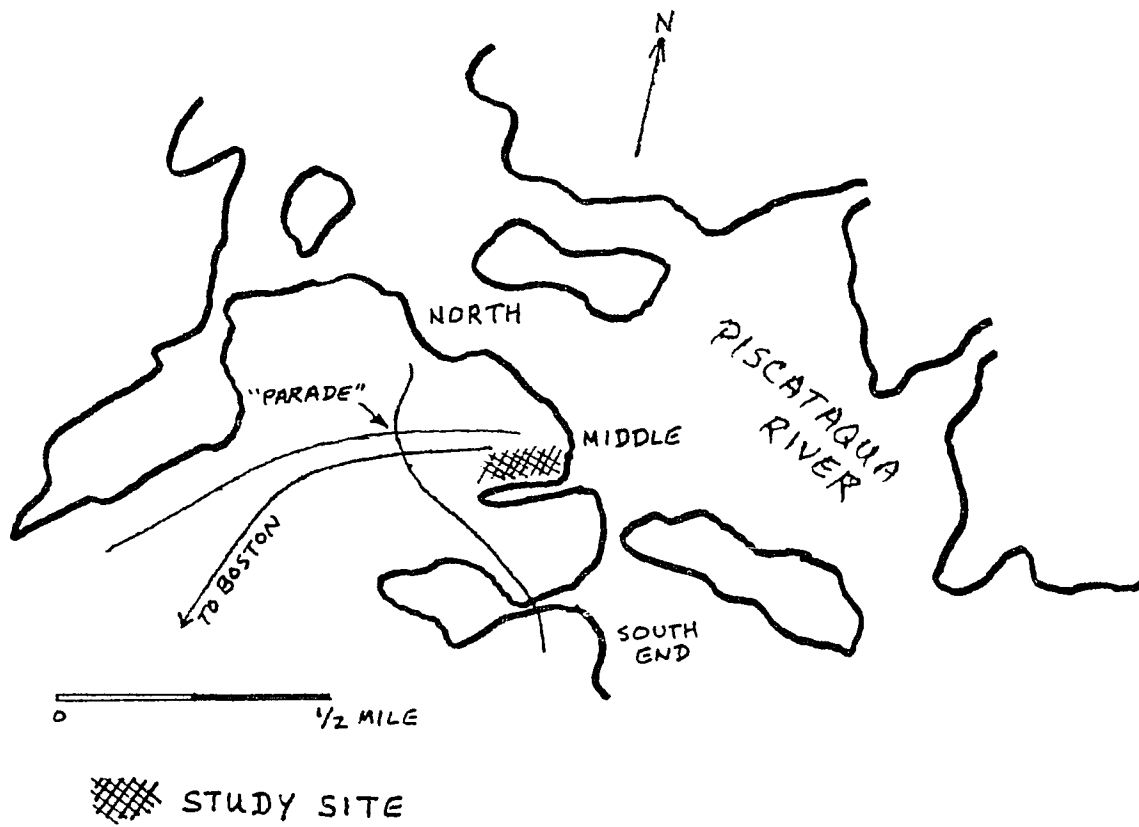


Figure 9. Spatial Organization of Portsmouth, circa 1770.

South list was renamed the Middle list, and so they remained until the next century. The Middle list was the largest of the three; a count in 1783 yields 254 entries on the North list, 333 on the Middle, and 172 on the South.⁴³

The way in which the Portsmouth inhabitants divided their town for tax purposes reflects to a degree the way in which they perceived the town to be organized. The South End, separated from the Banke by the Mill Pond, was clearly a distinct area from the beginning. The wharves there were relatively small and situated off the main river channel. The houselots were larger and more rural in nature than those at the Banke. The controversy over the new meeting house, moreover, helped to give the South End a separate identity.

The distinction between the North and Middle parts was less clear because the boundary between the two was not a physical barrier. For tax purposes the boundary was Graffort's Lane, but it is uncertain why this was so. Graffort's Lane was one of the first streets to run to the river, and this may have implanted the notion that it divided the waterfront.⁴⁴ On the other hand, the lane in 1719 divided the number of taxable properties at the Banke almost exactly in half, suggesting that its selection as a boundary resulted from immediate considerations of efficient tax collection.

In either case, it is clear that at least by 1720 people were defining two waterfronts at the Banke. Each section developed the facilities and attracted residents with the skills necessary to accomplish the exchange of imports and exports. Thus each served as a central place for commerce. The Middle section, however, had the largest wharves and proved to be the primary commercial location. Indeed, by the 1760s the main route from Boston by-passed the old entrance and ran directly up Middle Road, Broad and Buck Streets to this area, where Staver's Tavern, the terminus of the

Boston stage, stood.⁴⁵

The North waterfront lay on a narrow portion of the river, inhibiting the growth of large wharves. It was well suited, however, for local river traffic. For example, the ferry that ran between Portsmouth and Kittery, Maine, landed there.⁴⁶ Also, farmers from rural areas across and upriver brought their produce to the North waterfront where the town, in 1760, built its market house.⁴⁷ Finally, the north part of town emerged as a major area for shipbuilding, another important component of the town's economy.⁴⁸

Concurrent with the development and definition of two distinct waterfront areas was the expansion of houselots to the west. In 1705 the inhabitants voted to divide the minister's field and lease lots to individuals "for peopling the town." They used a grid pattern to create fifty-one uniform lots, reserving place for "a Meetinghouse, Court house, Alms house and Burying place."⁴⁹ Each lot was rectangular, fifty feet fronting a street and eighty feet deep. As we shall see in the next chapter, this arrangement of space contrasts sharply with our neighborhood, where the influence of economic and environmental conditions caused great variations in lot size and arrangement.

During the first half of the eighteenth century many of the lots in the minister's field were leased and built upon. This had the effect of shifting the intersection that had been the entrance to the Banke into a more central location. Gradually the intersection took on a new role. After the construction of the new meeting house there in 1714, it became an important public square where townspeople met. It was there that the militia gathered for training, and for most of the eighteenth century was called the Parade.⁵⁰ Its public significance increased in 1765 with the erection of the Provincial State House in front of the meetinghouse.⁵¹ Not

surprisingly, during political crisis such as that associated with the Stamp Act it served as a location, albeit not the only one, for mass protest.⁵²

Townspeople came to think of this location as the center of the built up area of town, the area they called by 1768 the "compact part," as distinguished from the "out skirts."⁵³ Grant's map, drawn a few years later, clearly defines this part of the community and shows the meetinghouse at the center. Thus, by about 1770 the townspeople had recognized and defined several major components of the spatial system that had taken shape, including the bounds of the system, its center, and three sections, the North, Middle, and South. Figure 9 represents this arrangement.

Identification of these and other components was casual. Streets, for example, initially received names through association with certain properties, such as "the street from Col. Packer's."⁵⁴ Some streets, in time, acquired names with local significance, such as Mast Lane or Chappel Street. But even as late as 1767 the first street to be paved in town, later called Market Street, was described in town records as the street leading from the southerly corner of Captain Benjamin Odiorne's house to the Market House.⁵⁵ Apparently it did not yet have a commonly accepted proper name which when used would clearly define it.

In 1765 the town established a committee to measure the width of streets and give proper names to each one. But it was not until 1778 that the town produced a plan of the streets with the names of each listed.⁵⁶ This was the first time that the town gave a conscious and explicit definition to the system that had developed. We can assume, then, that by this time the system was large and complex enough to require some formal description.

This system placed our neighborhood in the middle waterfront, the area of greatest commercial activity. Indeed, the largest wharves were

those that extended into the river from our site. But the area's importance was not limited to commerce. Staver's Tavern, for example, was not only the stage terminus and a convenient place for merchants to meet, but was also the location for Masonic meetings, theatrical performances, and other social activities.⁵⁷ Several prominent citizens lived in the area, including Theodore Atkinson, President of the Governor's Council, whose house stood across the street from the tavern.⁵⁸ During the Stamp Act crisis local citizens chose to erect a Liberty Pole in this part of town, rather than on the Parade.⁵⁹

In effect, then, during the 1760s and 1770s our site, as part of the middle waterfront, was a prominent place in the minds of the inhabitants of the town. Its position remained secure through economic troubles caused by the Revolution and into the recovery of the 1790s. Indeed, by the end of the century modern commercial facilities, in the form of the Portsmouth Pier and the New Hampshire Hotel, gave promise of even greater significance for the area. The pier and hotel were the results of joint stock ventures, as merchants reinvested profits in overseas trade.⁶⁰

But other developments were underway that would change the way people viewed the middle waterfront area. One was the continued concentration of functions in the center: first the meetinghouse in 1714, then the State House in 1765, and finally a new market house in 1800.⁶¹ By shifting market activities away from the north waterfront, the town increased its focus on the center. With the market came a new name for the center, Market Square, which tended to confirm its increased importance.

In 1802 fire destroyed buildings in an area running from the north side of the square to the north waterfront. This permitted both the replacement of older, wooden buildings with new ones of brick, and the widening of Market Street, which ran from the square to the site of the

old market near the water. This widened street, lined with new commercial buildings, attracted both attention and business.⁶²

The concentration on Market Square and Market Street made itself felt at our site as early as 1804. In August of that year James Geddes, who had taken over the operation of Staver's Tavern, advertised that "altho' his House is a little remote from the centre, yet he still hopes for a continuance of favors from his former customers."⁶³ Two decades earlier this tavern had been the destination for travellers to the town; now it was out of the way.

The 1802 fire occurred during a time of economic prosperity, making possible a general rebuilding of the burnt over area. Such was not the case in 1813 when a fire destroyed 272 buildings along the two main streets leading to the middle waterfront.⁶⁴ Trade was in decline as a result of Jefferson's Embargo and the War of 1812, hence while there were several major commercial blocks built in the Market Street and Market Square areas, new brick buildings near the middle waterfront tended to be single or double townhouses interspersed among smaller wooden buildings.

Most of the structures at our site survived the 1813 fire, which touched only its northernmost corner. As new buildings appeared and streets were widened in the fire areas, our neighborhood and locations farther south took on a distinct character, marked by old, wooden buildings and narrow streets. The same was true of those parts of the north waterfront that escaped the 1802 fire. Thus the two fires, and another in 1806 which effectively modernized a section that lay between the other two, changed the spatial organization of the town.⁶⁵ By 1820 there was a distinguishable central business area characterized by a predominance of brick structures, with the greatest concentration of economic activity on Market Square and Market Street. Two older waterfront sections flanked this central area, each

servicing a diminishing maritime trade. This spatial arrangement is depicted in Figure 10.

As the nineteenth century progressed the old middle waterfront saw less and less commercial activity. It was a gradual process, a response to the general decline of maritime commerce in favor of manufacturing in New England. The introduction of the railroad and mills in other parts of town further drew attention away from this area. Toward the end of the century the wharves that were still functioning were used primarily for coal imported to supply the mills and local houses, or by local fishermen. Many wharves went unused, their warehouses vacant or converted into tenements.⁶⁶

Thus, the period immediately following the fire of 1813 proved a turning point in the history of our neighborhood. No longer an important commercial area for the community, people came to think of it as out of date and out of the way.

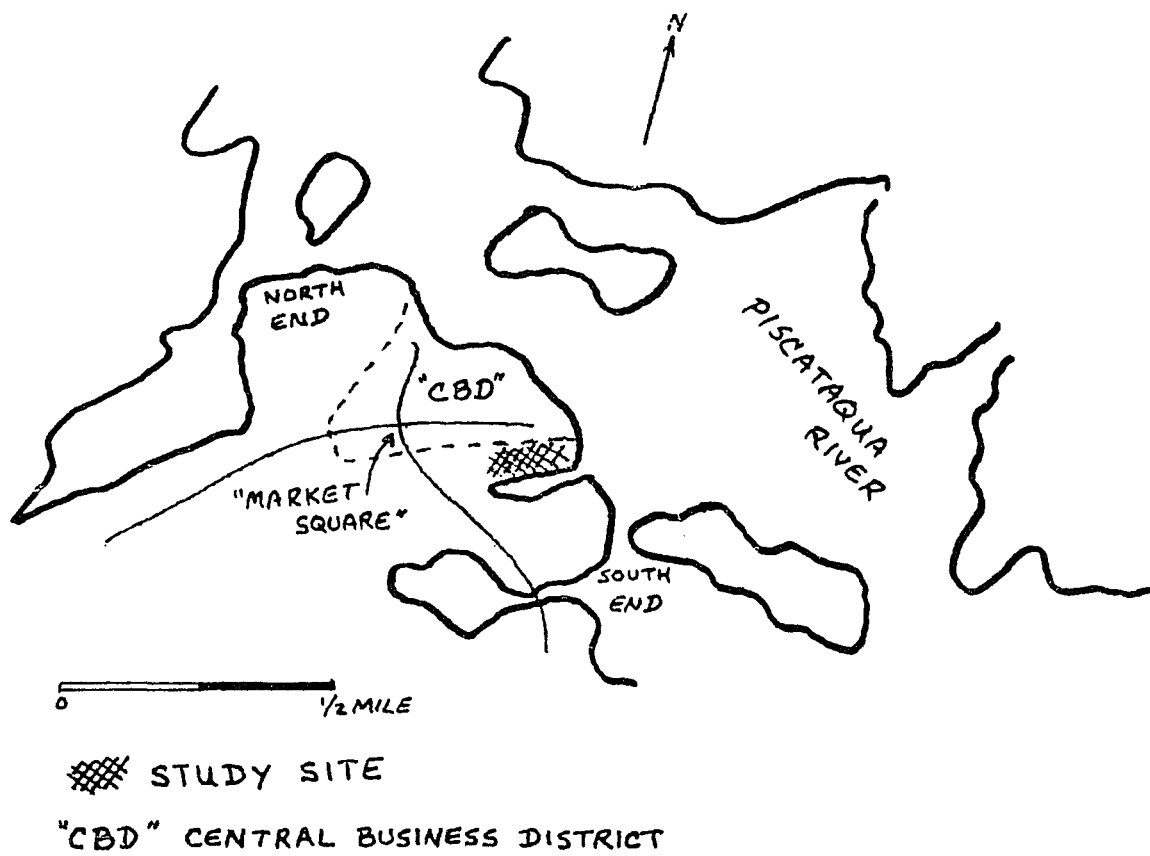


Figure 10. Spatial Organization of Portsmouth, circa 1820.

CHAPTER NOTES

- ¹ For the early years of settlement primary sources can be found in Nathaniel Bouton, et al., eds., Documents and Records Relating to New Hampshire, 1623-1800, 40 vols. (Concord and Manchester: 1867-1943), 1: 1-153; 25: 661-747. (Hereafter cited as Provincial Papers). Secondary works include Jeremy Belknap, The History of New Hampshire, 3 vols. (Dover, NH, 1831) 1: 3-52; Nathaniel Adams, Annals of Portsmouth (Exeter, NH: 1825), pp. 1-20; Charles W. Brewster, Rambles About Portsmouth, 2 vols. (Portsmouth, NH: 1873; facsimile of 1873 edition, Somersworth, NH: 1971) 1: 1-28; Edwin L. Page, Judicial Beginnings of New Hampshire, 1640-1700 (Concord, NH: 1959), pp. 3-11, 183-202d; Everett S. Stackpole, History of New Hampshire, 4 vols. (New York, 1916) 1: 3-49; Charles E. Clark, The Eastern Frontier (New York, 1970), pp. 3-51; David D. Van Deventer, The Emergence of Provincial New Hampshire 1623-1741 (Baltimore and London, 1976), pp. 3-18.
- ² Several letters written by members of the Laconia Company during the early years of settlement touch on these concerns. See especially Thomas Eyre to Ambrose Gibbons, London, May 30, 1631, Provincial Papers, 1: 61, 62.
- ³ Strawberry Banke Petition, Provincial Papers, 1: 207-208.
- ⁴ Initially the name Strawberry Banke applied to the area along the river that was settled in the 1630s; and that area, destined to be the center of the town, retained the name for at least a century. In later years it was more often called simply "The Banke". The name Strawberry Banke also applied to the town as a whole, of which the site of first settlement was only a part. This was true only until 1653, when the town was renamed Portsmouth. To further complicate its use, the name now refers to an outdoor history museum, situated along the waterfront in Portsmouth. The museum site is only a part of the original Strawberry Banke.
- ⁵ This cove did not have a commonly accepted name until the nineteenth century, when it became known as Puddle Dock. Until then it was commonly called the cove or creek, sometimes in connection with another local feature, such as Great House Cove, Canoe Bridge Creek (Canoe Bridge was at its head) or Walton's Creek (George Walton had a tanyard there in the eighteenth century). I will simply refer to it as the Cove.
- ⁶ John Mason et al., to Ambrose Gibbons, December 5, 1632, Provincial Papers, 1: 68. William Hubbard, writing some 50 years after settlement, stated that the Great House had been built in 1631 by one Chadbourne. William Chadbourne was engaged as a carpenter by the Laconia Company, but did not arrive until July 1634. Rev. William Hubbard, "A General History of New England from the Discovery to 1680," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston: 1815, 1848) Ser. 2, Vol. 5, p. 219. Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire, compiled by Sybil Noyes, Charles Thorton Libby, and Walter Goodwin Davis, (Portland, Maine: 1928-1939), p. 134.
- ⁷ Provincial Papers, 1: 81.

- ⁸ *Ibid.*, 1: 78. A discussion of the Great House at Strawberry Banke and the house at Newichawanick can be found in Richard McAlpin Candee, "Wooden Building in Early Maine and New Hampshire: A Technical and Cultural History, 1600-1720," (PhD. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1976), pp. 14, 82, 83. The map is titled "Piscatway River in New England by J. S." (The British Museum, London).
- ⁹ Ambrose Gibbons to John Mason, August 6, 1634, Provincial Papers, 1: 91-92.
- ¹⁰ Property deed from Ambrose Lane to Richard Leader, April 3, 1652, quoted in Stackpole, New Hampshire, 1: 357.
- ¹¹ George Walton's Deposition, Provincial Papers, 1: 47-48.
- ¹² Portsmouth Town Records, 1: 98 ff.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, 1: 29, 41.
- ¹⁴ Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason to Thomas Wannerton and Ambrose Gibbons, May 5, 1634, Provincial Papers, 1: 88-89. John Mason to Ambrose Gibbons, May 5, 1634, *Ibid.*, 1: 89-91.
- ¹⁵ Portsmouth Town Records, 1: 60.
- ¹⁶ Van Deventer, Provincial New Hampshire, 93-106.
- ¹⁷ Portsmouth Town Records, 1: 97, 105.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1: 69.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1: 9.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1: 29.
- ²¹ Property deed from Ambrose Lane to Richard Leader, April 3, 1652, quoted in Stackpole, New Hampshire, 1: 357.
- ²² Noyes, Genealogical Dictionary, pp. 177-179. Bernard Bailyn, The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1955) pp. 82, 162. The quoted reference is from Robert N. Toppan and Thomas S. Goodrick, eds., Edward Randolph (Boston, 1898-1901) 1: 121.
- ²³ John Cutt was granted the right to set up saw and corn mills on the north creek on February 21, 1658. Portsmouth Town Records, 1: 52. The other features of the property appear in the will of Richard Cutt, May 10, 1675, and the will of John Cutt, May 6, 1680. Both wills are printed in Brewster, Rambles, 1: 30-38.
- ²⁴ Candee, Wooden Building, pp. 98-101.
- ²⁵ Rockingham County Deeds, 3: 101, 127, 150.

²⁶ In 1678 the church instructed the tythingmen to visit the families in the community to ensure that they were keeping the Sabbath. Each tythingman was given a list of families to visit, in effect dividing the community into geographical sections or neighborhoods. By knowing where some people lived at the time we can estimate the geographical distribution of the population. Charles Brewster, Portsmouth's nineteenth century historian, was the first to use the tything lists in this way. Brewster, Rambles, 1: 62, 162. Portsmouth Town Records, 1: 211.

²⁷ Brewster, Rambles, 37.

²⁸ In 1682 residents of Great Island petitioned to have their own minister, citing the danger involved in having their houses unattended while at the meetinghouse on the mainland. The rest of the town objected because they would be left to pay the entire salary of the minister. Eleven years later the communities officially separated. Provincial Papers, 12: 672, 675, 25: 361.

²⁹ An account of the Pickerings is given in Marrie J. P. Dinwoodie, "Pickering's Neck, 1633-1975, Portsmouth, New Hampshire," report on file, Strawberry Banke, Inc., 1975.

³⁰ Of the twenty-four people who owned land at the study site in 1700, only four had been born in Portsmouth. At least fifteen had come to Portsmouth as adults. See Chapter III.

³¹ Portsmouth Town Records, 1: 335; 2: 14B

³² *Ibid.*, 2: 25F. the committee included "Capt. Gerrish, Capt. Wentworth, Mr. Jaffery, Capt. Vaughn, Capt. Phipps, Col. Packer, Thom. Westerbrook, Mr. Penhallow, Edw. Ayers".

³³ *Ibid.*, 2: 41B.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 2: 43F.

³⁵ Provincial Papers, 18: 250 ff.

³⁶ For the development of several waterfront areas see the following reports on file at Strawberry Banke, Inc.: Richard M. Candee, "The John Sherburne House, Strawberry Banke, Inc.: A Report," (1968); Jane D. Kaufman, "Development of Properties: Water Street (Marcy), Gates Street, Washington Street, Dock Lane (Hancock), Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1651-1813," (1972); Stephen Cox and Ronald Lettieri, "Deer Street Project Preliminary Historical Research," (1981).

³⁷ Rockingham County Deeds, 9: 479.

³⁸ Brewster, Rambles, 1: 78, 79 refers to a deed that mentions a fort. C. S. Gurney, Portsmouth Historic and Picturesque (Portsmouth, 1902), p. 27 reports that the site of the fort was found when the foundation for the Pierce Block was excavated in 1804. This block stands on the north side of the square. A lease from the Town of Portsmouth Charles Story, 1709, refers to the minister's field "lying att the entrance of the Bank." Quoted in Brewster, Rambles, 1: 42.

³⁹ "A Plan of Piscataqua Harbor, the Town of Portsmouth, etc.," surveyed and drawn by James Grant, 1771 (New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, NH).

⁴⁰ References to street widths can be found in some early deeds, including Rockingham County Deeds, 5: 129; 6: 72, 179. Most streets in the study still retain their original widths.

⁴¹ Deer Tavern on Deer Street, Stoodley's on Daniel Street, and Staver's on Buck, and then on Pitt Street.

⁴² The street is called Crafford's on the Tax Lists, although it is also referred to as Graffort's Lane in the records. It is now called Daniel Street. Portsmouth Town Records, 14: 149ff.

⁴³ Ibid., 16: 66 ff, 615 ff, 18: 80 ff, 504 ff.

⁴⁴ The street, "being in the broadest part about thirty feet," was given to the town by Bridget Graffort in 1700. Brewster, Rambles, 1: 78. However, the lane probably existed long before 1700 as a boundary between the lands of John and Richard Cutt. A deed from John Cutt to Reuben Hull, 1674, apparently refers to this passage as "the highway that goes to the river." Rockingham County Deeds, 3: 101.

⁴⁵ New Hampshire Gazette, April 3, 1761.

⁴⁶ The town had licensed a ferry to Kittery at least as early as 1735, and probably earlier. In 1767 the town selected a spot adjoining Russell's Wharf as the best location for a ferry landing. The site is indicated on Grant's map. See Portsmouth Town Records, 2: 54, 61, 83, 91, 116, 166, 211, 216.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 2: 167, 169, 170.

⁴⁸ Saltonstall, Ports of Piscataqua, 51-54.

⁴⁹ Brewster, Rambles, 1: 44 ff. Quote is from a lease from Town of Portsmouth to Charles Story, 1709, printed in Brewster, Rambles, 1: 42.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 1: 286, 2: 25; Portsmouth Town Records, 2: 409.

⁵¹ The placement of the State House in the intersection increased the importance of the location, but also made passage difficult, thereby inhibiting its roll as an entry to the waterfronts. See Brewster, Rambles, 1: 286.

⁵² Protests of the Stamp Act took place at the Haymarket, in front of the State House, and at Swing Bridge (at our study site). New Hampshire Gazette, September 13, 1765; November 8, 1765; January 10, 1766.

⁵³ Portsmouth Town Records, 2: 220.

⁵⁴ Rockingham County Deeds, 9: 241.

⁵⁵ Portsmouth Town Records, 2: 214.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 2: 197, 409. In Boston the systematic naming of streets occurred between 1701 and 1708. See Walter Muir Whitehill, Boston, A Topographical History (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 22.

⁵⁷ Mentions of entertainment at Stavers can be found in New Hampshire Gazette, September 8, 1769, November 5, 1769, and November 10, 1769. See also Minutes of St. John's Lodge, October 1755 to July 1766 and April 1768 to March 1776, (Masonic Library, Portsmouth, NH).

⁵⁸ Brewster, Rambles, 1: 107 ff.

⁵⁹ New Hampshire Gazette, 10 January, 1766.

⁶⁰ Brewster, Rambles, 2: 107 ff.

⁶¹ Portsmouth Town Records, 3: 389.

⁶² New Hampshire Gazette, December 28, 1802 and April 3, 1804.

⁶³ Ibid., August 28, 1804.

⁶⁴ Ibid., December 28, 1813.

⁶⁵ Ibid., December 30, 1806.

⁶⁶ Thomas Bailey Aldrich, An Old Town by the Sea (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1883, 1893), pp. 9-11, gives a contemporary account of idle wharves and silent warehouses.

CHAPTER III

A WATERFRONT NEIGHBORHOOD

Until the 1690s our site functioned as part of a larger agricultural unit associated with the Great House. In that decade Samuel Cutt and Mary Cutt Penhallow, heirs of John Cutt, began to divide the site into houselots "for the peopling of the place." Samuel had inherited the "house commonly called the grt. House, with the orchard and field adjoining," and Mary had received "the little field being part of that commonly called the great field... butting upon the river on the one side and the creek that goes up by the great house on the other."¹

As we noted in the previous chapter, this division was part of a larger process of development of waterfront areas at the Banke. At about the same time John Pickering began to sell houselots out of his land south of the Great House Cove. To the south of the Mill Dam there was additional development. After the turn of the century the process extended to the fields near Richard Cutt's old house by the north creek; and in 1705 the minister's field was "ordered to be laide out into house lotts for peopling the town."²

The process, as it occurred at our site, was rapid. By 1700 there were twenty-four individual property owners there.³ Of these, fifteen had lived elsewhere as adults before coming to Portsmouth, most appearing in local records only after 1690. These newcomers were artisans, mariners, and traders, attracted by the commercial opportunities of the emerging port.⁴ Ten of the newcomers had lived in towns closer to the frontier, towns like Dover, Oyster River, and York, where growth was inhibited by the Indian

threat and where commercial opportunities were not as great.⁵

The division was fundamentally different from the division of the minister's field undertaken by the town in 1705. In that instance townspeople, acting as a group, imposed a standardized division on the landscape, without regard to environmental conditions. The lots were uniformly rectangular, each fifty feet wide by eighty feet deep, or .092 acres. Streets intersected at right angles, forming rectangular blocks. This grid pattern reflects a common assumption on the part of the townspeople as to how land should be divided when it was possible to do so in a planned fashion, and when the land itself was uniform in nature.

Such was not the case at our site, where the quality of the land and proximity to the river forced people, acting individually, to respond directly to the environment when making decisions about division. These individuals did hold the common notions as to how land should be divided; hence, the pattern that emerged was roughly grid-like. But the lots were rarely precise rectangles and they varied greatly in size. Streets did not intersect at precise right angles, but followed the line of the waterfront.

Although the arrangement of lots and streets at the site was not uniform, there was a pattern. The configuration of houselots and streets in 1700 is depicted in Figure 11, with individual lots grouped into three zones. Zone 1 is made up of narrow lots along the river and about halfway up the cove. Zone 2 is formed by those lots without waterfrontage. The large parcels along the western or upper part of the cove comprise Zone 3. The northwest portion of the site does not fall into any zone, because by 1700 it had not yet been sold for development. It still belonged to the Cutt heirs.

The pattern revealed by the differences among the zones (Tables 1 and 2) provides clues to the nature of the land and the needs and desires of the

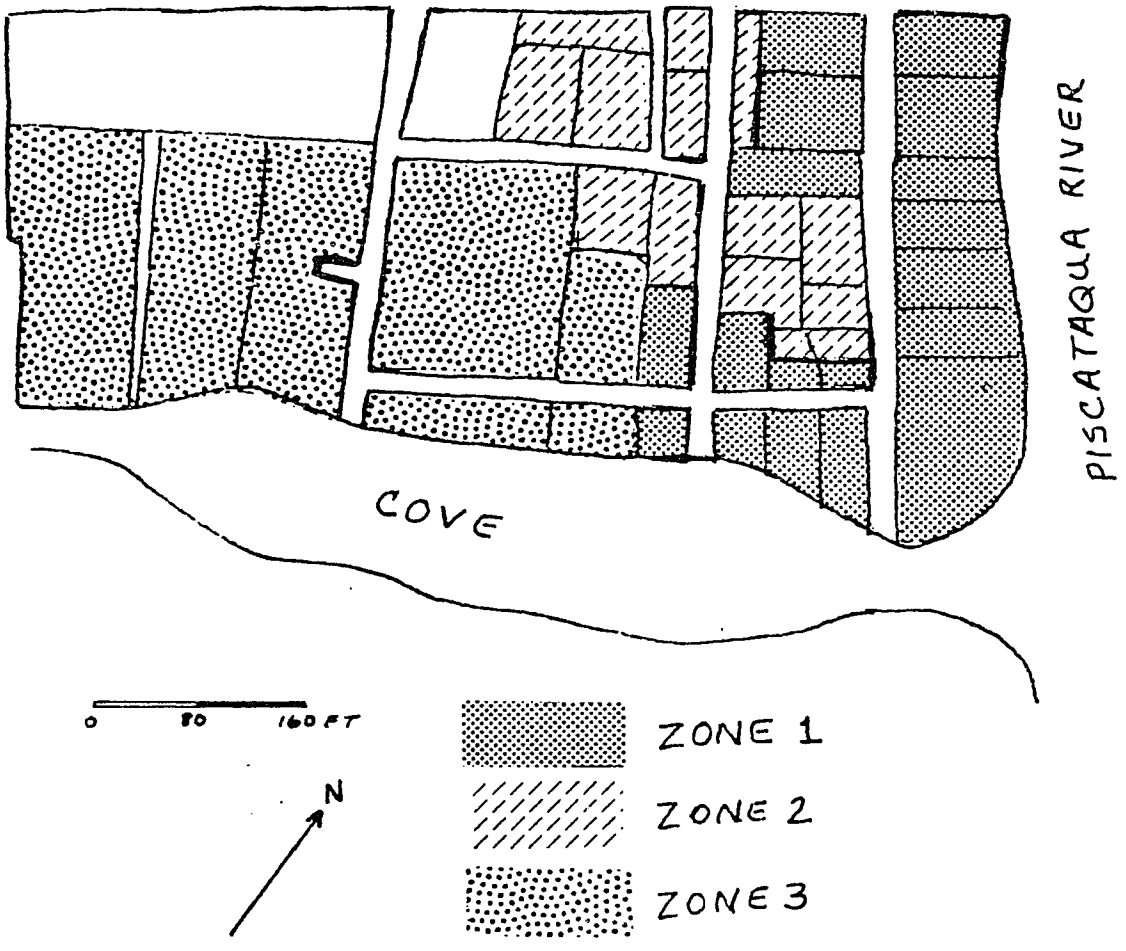


Figure 11. the Location of Zones at the Study Site, based on the initial division and sale of parcels, 1692 - 1700.

Table 1
Lot Size, 1700

Acres	-Zone-			<u>Total</u>
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	
.500-.549			1	1
.450-.499				
.400-.449				
.350-.399				
.300-.349				
.250-.299			2	2
.200-.249	1		1	2
.150-.199	1			1
.100-.149	1		1	2
.050-.099	2	8		10
.000-.049	5	5		10
N	10	13	5	28
Mean	.083	.059	.293	.109
S	.069	.024	.135	.111
E^2	= .630			

Source: Rockingham County Deeds

Lot sizes at Study Site in 1700.

Table 2
Price per acre, for Individual Lots in 1700

\$/Acre	-Zone-			Total
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	
1100-1199	1			1
1000-1099				
900-999				
800-899				
700-799				
600-699	1			1
500-599				
400-499				
300-399	1	1		2
200-299		3		3
100-199		3	1	4
0-99			3	3
N	3	7	4	14
Mean	715	231	90.5	294.6
S	366.1	65.9	43.2	280.8

$$E^2 = .708$$

Source: Rockingham County Deeds

Price per Acre for Individual Lots at Study Site in 1700.

people who had come to own it.⁶ One of the firstouselots to be sold at the Great House site went to John Snell in August of 1692. It was a small lot, forty-four foot square, cut out of the orchard of Samuel and Mary Penhallow, and butting on the river (Zone 1). The only approach to the lot by land was through the orchard but in a year or two an eighteen foot wide street (Marcy Street) was laid out from the Great House to the cove running past the head of the property. There was easy access by water; Snell's lot extended to the low water mark and he built a wharf there.⁷ In the deed of sale the Penhallows required Snell to leave a thirteen foot right of way to the river, so that others who later purchased property without water frontage would also have access to the river. For this property, and the associated rights and restrictions, we know only that Snell paid "a valuable sum."

Snell's deed suggests that access to the water was an important consideration. People who depended on trade placed a high value on land along the river and at the entrance to the cove. For this reason, the lots in Zone 1 were expensive, costing more than three times as much as lots of similar size without water frontage. They ran in narrow strips into the water, with an average frontage of forty-three feet and an average size of .083 acres. This made them narrower and slightly smaller than the standard lots in the minister's field.

In one case, the need for water frontage led to a further subdivision. Job Alcock's lot near the entrance to the cove, purchased from the Penhallows in 1693, ran a breadth of forty feet down to the water. The next year Alcock sold half of his frontage to Samuel Rymes, who built a wharf and warehouse that could be reached only by passage over Alcock's wharf.⁸

The land locked parcels in Zone 2 were, on the average, smaller than those in Zone 1. Some of these served as garden space for waterfront lots. For example, the forty-four foot square lot on the river that Edward Ayers

purchased in January of 1693 was large enough for his dwelling house, wharf, warehouse and blacksmith shop, but the next year he purchased a 26 x 52 foot plot across the street for a garden.⁹ Others put houses on their lots in Zone 2. If they needed access to the water they had it via the streets that ran to the cove or river.

Proximity to the water can explain differences between Zones 1 and 2; Zone 3, however, raises questions. The division of land along the western or upper end of the cove was sharply different from the division in the other zones. Compare, for example, the lots purchased by John Sherburne, Mark Ayers, and Nicholas Follett, in Zones 1, 2 and 3 respectively, all in the year 1695. Sherburne paid £41/10 for about .064 acre; Ayers paid £18 for .092 of an acre; and Follett paid £18 for .294 of an acre.¹⁰ Follett's lot in Zone 3 was less than half the cost, and almost five times as large as Sherburne's, and it was the same price as Ayers' but three times as large. Apparently there was something about the land in Zone 3 that led people to buy much larger parcels at a lower price.

Many lots in Zones 1 and 2 were part of Samuel Penhallow's orchard, indicating that the land there was well drained and relatively fertile. Lots in Zone 3 were part of the "Middle Field" belonging to Samuel Cutt. Could the land there have been of a poorer quality? At least we know that when the site functioned as part of a large farmstead the two areas were used differently, and that when it came time to subdivide them they continued to be treated differently.

Archaeological evidence indicates that the water at the upper end of the cove was never more than five to eight feet deep, and that the land near the water was quite wet.¹¹ At low tide there must have been a large expanse of mud flats and marshy land, ill suited for commerce. At best, the land was accessible only at high tide by gundalows or other craft with

shallow draft. This disadvantage made the land in Zone 3 less valuable than land close to the river. The wetness also contributed to its cheapness relative to land in Zone 2, which was high and dry.

These differences among the zones in 1700 anticipate differences in future development as the site emerged as an important location for commerce. Lot size, quality of land, and accessibility to the river would play a large role in determining which activities took place in which parts of the neighborhood. In effect, the zones that were already evident during the initial division would persist throughout the eighteenth century, each serving functions for which it was best suited.

In the context of an emerging commercial economy the landowners began to put their land to use. They built facilities and organized their lots to meet various needs, including the exchange of goods and the manufacture of products from raw materials. From time to time they found it necessary to alter the arrangement of space that had been established by 1700, and in the long run they made substantial changes to the site. But unlike the burst of development that appeared in the last decade of the seventeenth century, change in the eighteenth came slowly.

Land use, and hence changes made to the land, varied among the zones and gave them further definition. All zones served a residential function, providing space for dwellings. Beyond that, location and lot size determined suitable activities for each zone. In time there were shifts in the boundaries between zones, as certain activities concentrated in certain areas, and as the subdivision of larger lots proceeded.

The lots along the river in Zone 1 became the place where imports and exports exchanged hands. As mercantile operations grew this necessitated the expansion of lots there, in some cases through the consolidation of small parcels into larger units. In 1706 for example, Richard Wibird, a young shop-

keeper, purchased a river lot with a house and other buildings on it, from Nathaniel Ayers, who had moved to Boston. He used this property to expand his activities into the fishing and timber trade. In 1719 he acquired an adjacent lot, with wharf, shops and warehouses, from the estate of John Snell. By 1727 he owned five houses and two 40-ton vessels, and paid the highest taxes in town. After his death in 1732 his sons continued to develop the enterprise, adding another adjacent property in 1751.¹²

Merchants also expanded their holdings by extending their wharves into the river. The deeds suggest that there were extensive flats at low tide, running up to 200 feet from the street. The owners built wharves on the flats and then out over the water. By 1770 William Knight's wharf, built where the flats ran out about ninety feet, was 138 feet long. Wibird's wharf, called Long Wharf, was almost twice as long.¹³

At the hands of such merchants these properties became the place where the actual exchange of imports and exports occurred. One could find there, as did the men who inventoried William Knight's property in 1732, vessels laden with cargo (in this case imported from Virginia), boards and shingles awaiting export on the wharves, and warehouses filled with ample evidence of trade: rum, molasses, pewter plates, earthenware, shoes, hats, skins, cloth, buttons, cutlery, and so on.¹⁴

Closely related to commerce was shipbuilding and ship repair. Although there were no construction facilities along this section of the waterfront, Ebenezer Wentworth took advantage of the especially large flats at the cove entrance to develop a graving beach where vessels were hauled up, cleaned and repaired.¹⁵

It was the growth of wharves in response to the growth of trade that characterized the development of Zone 1 along the river. In Zone 3 things were different. Lots along the cove could not develop in the same way

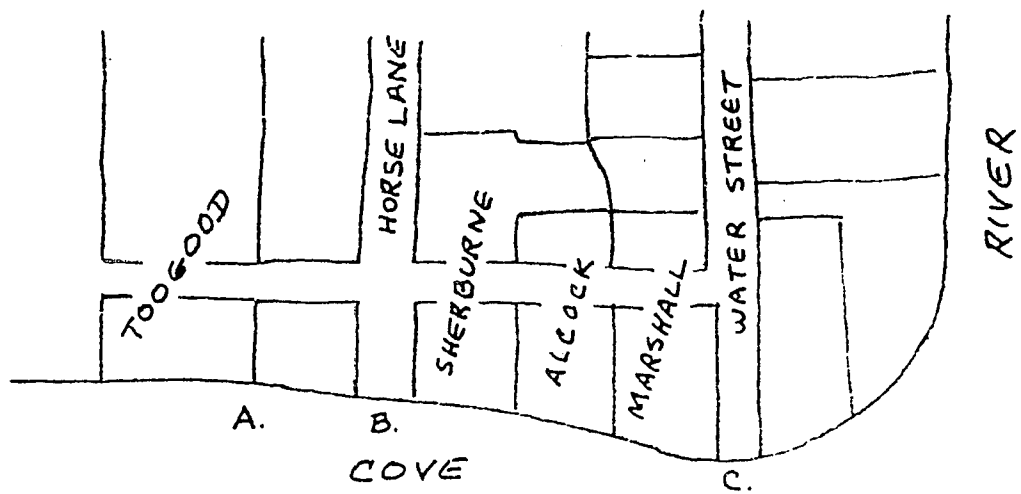
because of the small size of the waterway and the shallow depth of the water. This difference soon led to a shift in the boundary between Zones 1 and 3.

At the beginning of the century, when wharves along the river were still small, the boundary between the zones was at Edward Toogood's land. His land, which is in Zone 3 in Figure 11, was more expensive and smaller than the others in that zones, but less expensive and larger than those in Zone 1. It marks the transition in size and price from zone to zone, so it must have been there that the water became noticeably shallow. The cove lots closer to the river, belonging to John Sherburne, Job Alcock and George Marshall, were easily accessible and fell into Zone 1 with the river lots.

However, the growth of wharves on the river eventually distinguished the river lots from the three lots at the entrance to the cove. This shift is evident in the decision to construct a bridge across the entrance. In 1727 the inhabitants voted to permit a bridge to be built from the foot of Horse Lane, very close to the original boundary between zones. Then, in 1731, they changed the vote and positioned the bridge at the foot of Water Street, which then became the boundary (Figure 12). Thereafter the three lots, though relatively small, functioned like the others in Zone 3.¹⁶

The bridge further limited access to the cove, but did swing open to allow passage of boats, canoes and barks of 25 to 30 feet wide. Given this restriction the owners of cove lots developed two primary uses for their properties. Those who were merchants, like Thomas Packer, John Moffatt, or William Knight, often used their lots as adjuncts to larger facilities on the riverfront.¹⁷ The demand for space along the river made it advantageous to use the smaller wharves and warehouses on the cove for storage of cargo and supplies, and for retailing to local residents.

Others took advantage of the large lot sizes to establish manufacturing



- A. INITIAL BOUNDARY, 1700
- B. PROPOSED SITE OF BRIDGE, 1727
- C. SITE OF BRIDGE, 1731: NEW BOUNDARY

Figure 12. Shift in Boundary between Zones 1 and 3, 1731.

operations. Edward Toogood's brickyard, Samuel Marshall's pottery, James Marden's mastyard, and George Walton's tannery are examples.¹⁸ These lots allowed space for kilns, tanning vats, and production activities, while also leaving room for dwellings and gardens. Wharves along the cove facilitated the arrival of raw materials and subsequent departure of the artisans' products.

The smaller lots in Zone 2 also served a manufacturing function but for trades that required less space. Blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, a glazier and a wigmaker were among the craftsmen who practiced there in the eighteenth century. They were able to make their wares inside their dwellings or in small shops close by.

Another distinguishing characteristic of Zone 2 was the number of lots that served exclusively a residential function. Mariners who made their livings away from home used these lots as places for their families to live. Families requiring only a dwelling and a garden found the small lots in Zone 2 especially well suited to their purposes.

Other lots in the zone served support functions for the commercial operations on the river. Some provided garden space for people living in Zone 1 who had little room for this activity. Staver's Tavern was also in this zone, providing a place for merchants and mariners to meet and contract business.

Over the course of the eighteenth century Zone 2 expanded at the expense of Zone 3. As owners subdivided the large cove lots they increased the number of smaller lots that had no waterfrontage. This not only changed the arrangement of land, it also necessarily changed land use. In effect, as subdivision continued those trades requiring large amounts of space gave way to those needing less; and there was a gradual increase in the number of lots used solely for dwelling.

Following the initial rapid division of land in the 1690s there developed a more gradual process of change. Subsequent rearrangement of space involved

both the further division of some parcels and the combination of others. In the long run the increase in the town's population to 4,720 in 1790 means that the incidence of further division was greater than the incidence of combination.¹⁹ Figure 13 illustrates this growth in the number of parcels. But the process of change was far more complex than a mere reaction to population growth.

Indeed for the first half of the century population increase had little affect on the study site. Rather it caused an expansion in the amount of land under habitation elsewhere. The town began to survey and assign lots in the common lands to those who had received grants in the division of 1699. These inhabitants now had land at some distance from the waterfront, as well as the land they already owned. This offered them several options. Cordwainer Mark Ayers, who received his granted land in 1712, sold his houselot in Zone 2 in 1714 to mariner Robert Walker, and presumably moved to the new location. Job Alcock, on the other hand, sold his granted property and remained at the cove. Others kept both parcels, to be divided among their heirs. In all such cases the availability of new land eased the pressure to further subdivide parcels in the waterfront areas.²⁰

Settlement of the village of New Portsmouth at the head of Oyster River had the same affect. New Portsmouth, or Barrington, was a six mile square grant of land that had been given in the seventeenth century to the town by the government of Massachusetts Bay, as part of a boundary settlement between Portsmouth and its neighbors. In 1722 the town voted that the village should be divided according to the rates of 1721, among those who had been rated for the previous four years. The subsequent settlement of the village by Portsmouth residents or their children again slowed the increase in population density.²¹

The lack of heavy demand for living space in the waterfront areas meant

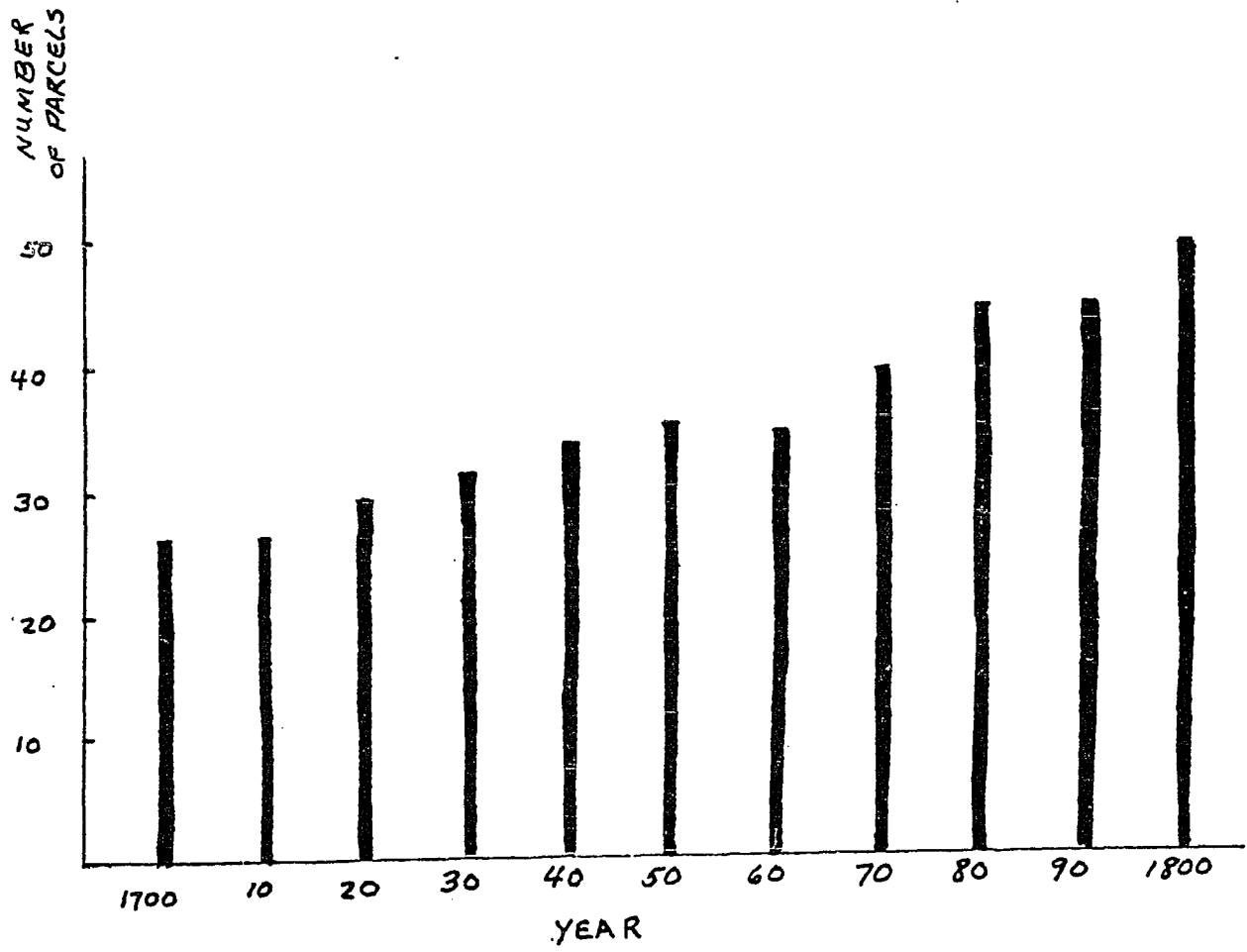


Figure 13. The Number of Parcels at the Study Site, 1700-1800.

that there was little population pressure to further divide property at our site beyond the extent to which it had been divided by 1700. The division in the 1690s had quickly brought the site to its limit of population density, given the needs of the time. This meant that the larger lots in Zone 3 could continue to function as large units.

There was, of course, another reason to divide land. Owners often sold or willed land to their children; and if one had many heirs, or only a little land, this might lead to the actual physical division of real estate. Such was the case with Amy Graves, who owned a house and lot in Zone 2. In 1715 she sold the eastern half of the house to her son Benjamin Purrington for £40, and the western half to her daughter Hannah Stephens in exchange for the care the daughter had given, and would continue to give to her. The arrangement allowed for common use of the front door and stairs. Had such a division been made a century later it would have survived; by then there was enough demand for housing so that more than one family would often share a single dwelling. But in 1715 there was no need to do so, and by the end of 1716 Thomas Blashfield, Hannah Stephens' new husband, owned both halves of the house.²²

Samuel Hill, who owned a much larger parcel along the cove, also chose to divide his property among his children. Hill had property across the river in Kittery as well as in Portsmouth, but he also had eight children. His method for dividing his land along the cove was straightforward. In 1713 he wrote a will and drew a plan of his property, dividing it into nine roughly equal parcels, each about 40 feet by 55 feet. He laid out a new street (Mast Street) so that each lot would be accessible, and he gave one to his wife and to each of his children. He also divided the waterfront into eight wharf lots, giving his sons the four larger ones and his daughters the four smaller ones. His plan has not survived, but it can be reconstructed using later deeds (Figure 14).

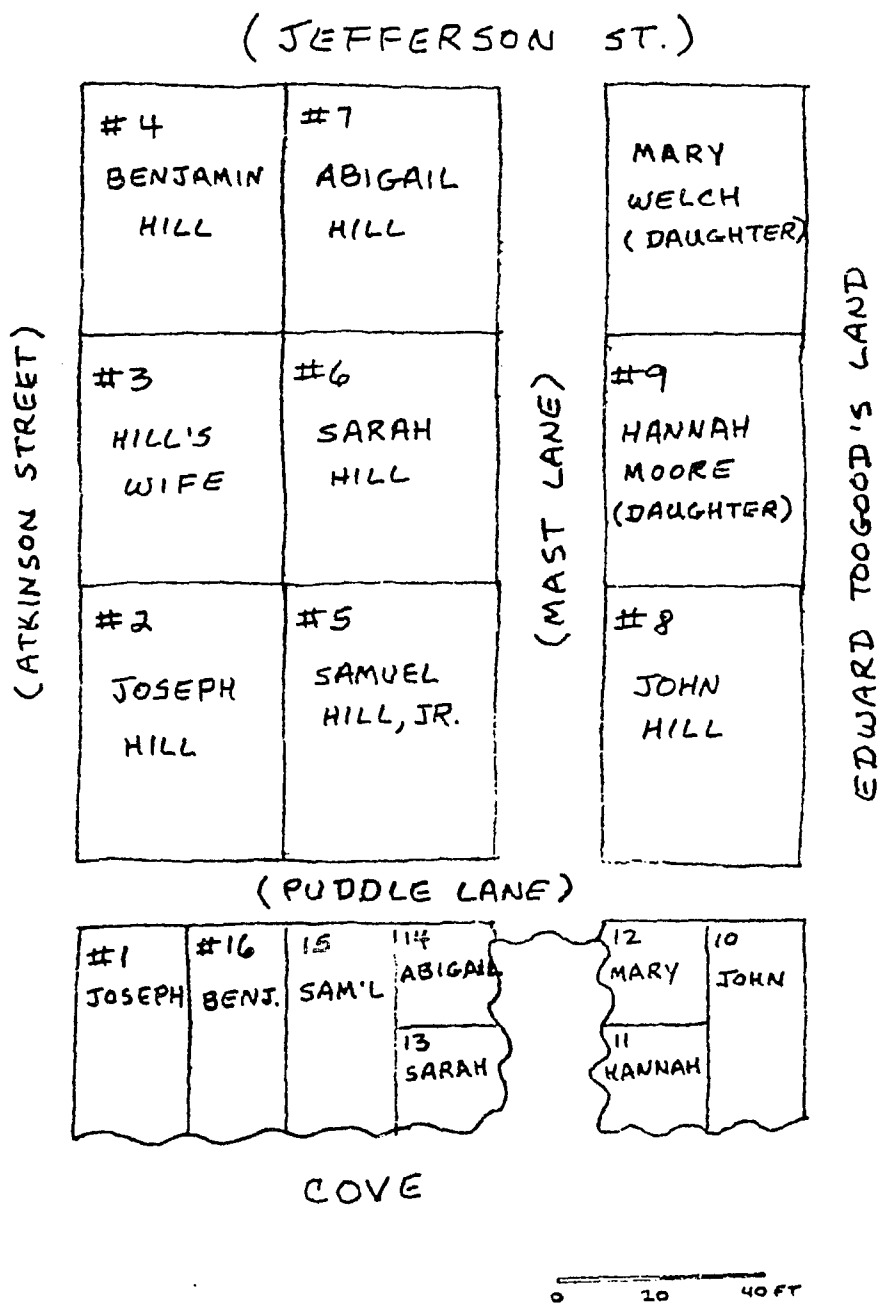


Figure 14. Division of Samuel Hill's Land in Zone 3, 1713.

Once again a division brought about by inheritance was too great given the availability of land at the time. In 1722 James Marden purchased one lot for a dwelling and later he rented another to set up a mast yard. Benjamin Parker purchased three of the lots in 1727 and another 1748. So by mid-century Hill's nine lots functioned as five units.²³

There were several other cases in which people combined more than one parcel to form a new lot. In 1736 Samuel Marshall purchased one lot on the cove, and the next year he acquired part of another lying at the head of the first. Together the two provided space for his house and pottery.²⁴ At about the same time George Walton combined the large lot of John Hill's at the western end of the study site with an adjacent parcel, almost as large, belonging to Thomas Phipps. Walton then set up a tannery.²⁵ At the other end of the site Richard Wibird, as previously noted, put together two riverfront lots, one in 1706 and another in 1719, to support his mercantile activities.²⁶

Prior to mid-century, then, there were few occasions when an owner transferred a portion of his property to someone other than an heir or a neighbor who was combining land. Division by inheritance and combination for economic efficiency were the primary forces behind any rearrangement of space. As yet there was little division of large lots into smaller ones to provide more property units for a growing population.

Between 1760 and 1780 there was such a division, due to the activities of a single owner, Walton the tanner. Prior to his purchase of land at our site, Walton had been a shopkeeper in Newcastle. In 1737 and 1738 he began to build a tanyard on the two lots that he had combined into the largest single property at the study site. At the same time he continued to run a shop, investing in trading voyages and selling cloth and other goods. He probably operated the tanyard himself, for people sometimes called him a tanner, and they referred to the yard as Walton's Tanyard. Indeed some even began to call

the cove Walton's Creek. But at least on two occasions, in 1743 and again in 1763, he hired someone to manage the yard.²⁷

From 1737 until the early 1760s Walton altered the bounds of his property three times. In 1744 he sold a 40 foot by 60 foot houselot to John Eliot, a glazier; in the mid-fifties he expanded his land through the purchase of an adjacent lot, 80 feet by 110 feet, from the heirs of Thomas Phipps; and at about the same time he sold a small garden plot to his neighbor John Grant.²⁸ After twenty years of ownership his land had grown slightly.

In the 1760s this trend reversed itself and Walton's holdings began to dwindle. He sold lots in 1762, 1763, 1765 and 1766.²⁹ This may have been due to poor economic circumstances.³⁰ In 1762 Walton placed a notice in the New Hampshire Gazette demanding payment from all who owed him money. In 1763 Joseph Welch, a chaisemaker, brought him to court for a bad debt; that same year another court action resulted in his giving a parcel of land to Richard Greeley.³¹

By this time Walton was in business with his son, also named George and also a tanner. Indeed, the sale of lots in the 1760s may not have been a result of poor economic times so much as a change in family circumstances. The son, although a tanner, at least on one occasion was called a mariner.³² Like his father, he probably had more than one way to make a living. He apparently decided to curtail the tannery operation and sell part of the land. In 1763 he rented the yard to George Moody, a leather dresser who had come from Boston.³³

With Moody operating the tannery, and parts of the property being sold to others, the Waltons ceased to work as tanners. By this time the senior Walton was approaching seventy years of age; his son apparently had other sources of income. In 1773 they put the property up for sale, mentioning a "Dwelling House, Warehouse and Wharf, . . . a Bake House and Garden Spot." There

was no mention of a tan yard.³⁴

They found no buyer for the property, although Theodore Atkinson did purchase a part of it that lay across the street from his house. In 1778 George Walton, Jr. died. His father, then in his mid-seventies, immediately divided his remaining land, giving one lot to his granddaughter, and selling four others. Finally, in 1780, he turned the remainder of his estate over to the Overseers of the Poor in exchange for care at the Alms House.³⁵

Thus, the changes that took place in Walton's property between 1737 and 1780 followed the changing circumstances of his life. At first he accumulated land; later he divided it. In the end, one Zone 3 lot yielded eleven lots to Zone 2, and left one much smaller lot fronting the cove. In the process a new street, Mud Lane, was laid out to provide access to the new lots. Figure 15 illustrates this development.

Had Walton been wealthier, or had his son lived, he might not have divided his land as he did. Such was the case with the wealthy Thomas Packer and his heirs, whose Zone 3 lot adjacent to Walton's stayed intact until the 1790s. The same was true of the other large Zone 3 lots. With the exception of Walton's land, the arrangement of lots in Zone 3 was much the same in 1790 as it had been throughout the century.

Walton's case, then, was unusual and tends to mask the general stability of the spatial system through most of the century. Despite substantial population growth, property lines changed little (if we exclude Walton's). Owners generally found most value in the use of land for manufacturing, gardening or trade. There was little pressure to convert the land into living space for others. The growing population did make it possible to subdivide land when individual situations so warranted. Walton was usually able to find buyers for parcels he wanted to sell. But it was not until the 1790s that there was a general breakdown of large lots.

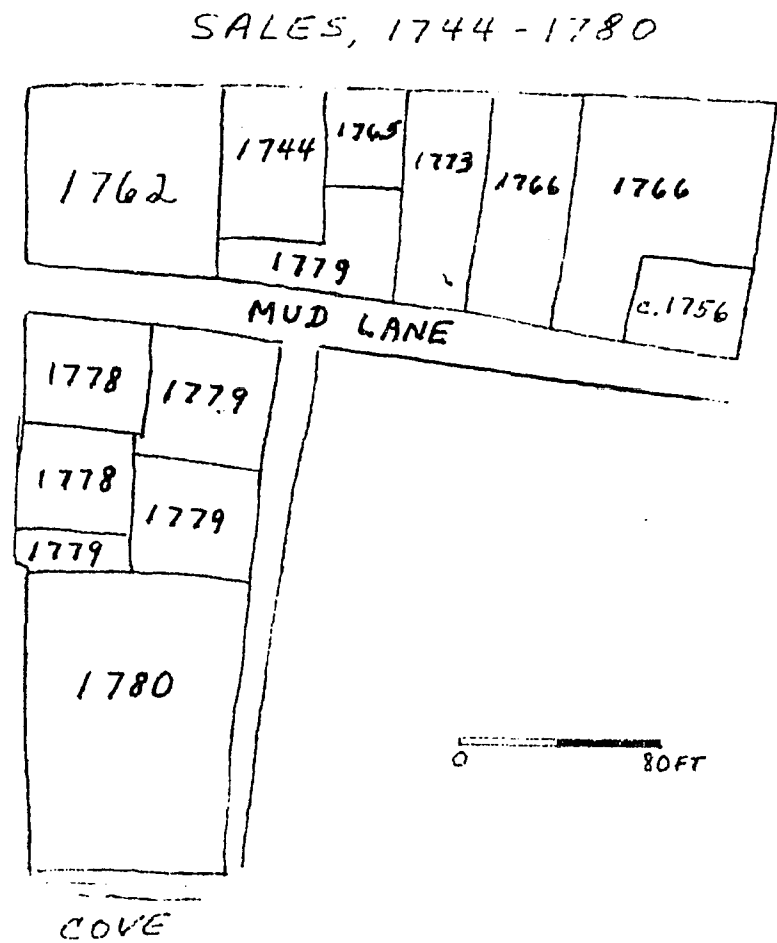
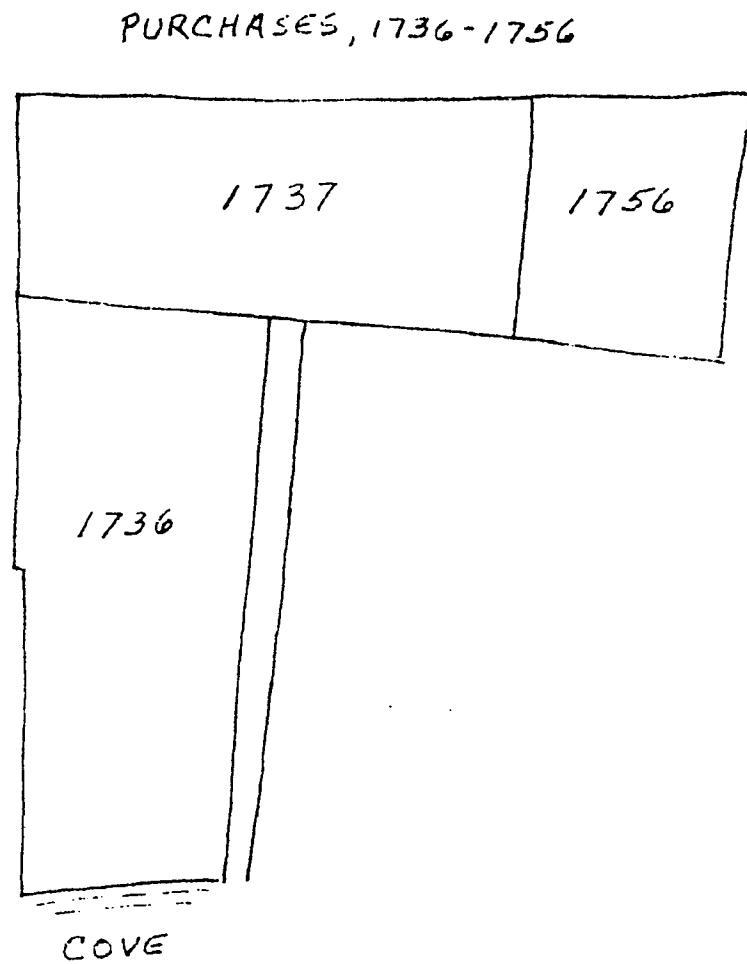


Figure 15. George Walton's Property Transactions at the Study Site, 1736 - 1780.

In the last decade of the eighteenth century Portsmouth entered a period of great prosperity that peaked in 1800 and lasted until Jefferson's Embargo. During those "thriving years" merchants invested heavily in trade, doubling the amount of ship tonnage used to carry New Hampshire products to foreign ports, and increasing the annual value of those exports five fold. This was the town's heyday, surpassing any other period of prosperity before or since.³⁶

Prosperity brought many improvements to Portsmouth. The town built a new market house, put in paved sidewalks, and planted street trees.³⁷ The Portsmouth Aquaduct Company formed to carry fresh water, through wooden pipes and at a fee, to homes in town from a spring some three miles distant.³⁸ On the waterfront near our site nineteen merchants pooled resources to build the new Portsmouth Pier, extending 340 feet into the river from the foot of Buck (State) Street and supporting a three story building divided into fourteen stores. At the entrance to the pier stood the New Hampshire Hotel, which was according to its owner, "the most convenient place for the Merchant, shipowner, Captain, Mate, and Mariner to meet at, transact business in, and use as a Boarding House."³⁹

The general increase in wealth also brought significant change to our neighborhood. There were more people than ever before involved in trade. They needed places to live and they could afford to pay. This demand for more dwelling space led to further subdivision and new construction, so that by 1805 all but one of the large Zone 3 lots had given way to smaller units.

In most instances division followed an earlier pattern, resulting from the death of an owner. But unlike earlier cases where parcels were rejoined by a subsequent owner, these divisions held. Theodore Atkinson's estate yielded three lots and three new houses during the 1790s. John Nelson's land, the old Toogood property, became two lots after his widow died about

1797. The heirs of Samuel Marshall divided his lot into three parts following the death of his widow in 1804.⁴⁰ In one case division came about through someone investing in property. In 1794 Thales Yeaton purchased a tract of land that had once been divided by Samuel Hill and rejoined by Benjamin Parker. Yeaton again divided the land into three roughly equal parts and sold one to his brother-in-law, Timothy Winn. They then proceeded to have three houses built, one on each parcel.⁴¹

The activities of Winn, Yeaton, and others quickly consumed large amounts of open space and intensified residential use of the study site. They built houses, designed primarily as living space for themselves or tenants, on land that for over ninety years had served as garden or manufacturing space. The new occupants, traders and mariners, had no need of space for craft production; they did need places close to the waterfront to live.

This is not to say that all open space disappeared. Although there was a new market house in town, inhabitants continued to produce some of their own food. There were other needs that also required yard space, including waste disposal, fuel storage and water supply. Thus, when Charles Grace advertised a new two story house on Water Street (Zone 2) in 1806 he noted that it had "a large convenient Wood House, and Barn sufficient for one cow; a good garden, . . . and an excellent well of fresh water, a pump fixed and very near the house." Of course, his very mention of these items may indicate that they were becoming rare and hence added to the value of the property.⁴²

There was also space that continued to serve a manufacturing purpose. Large scale production was gone, but smaller operations such as the blacksmith shop run by the Moulton family since 1709, survived. Even in the large house built by Winn, which apparently had two kitchens from the beginning and was

intended for multi-family use, there was one small room set aside as a shop. Nathaniel Hilton, a subsequent owner, made shoes and took in boarders.

On the whole, the neighborhood became significantly more crowded during this period. The new construction placed some buildings very close to one another. John Shapley's new house stood within two feet of the old Sherburne home; the houses of Winn and Yeaton actually touched. In direct reference to crowding, Grace emphasized that his new house was "situated in such a manner as not to be encumbered or molested by any of the neighbors."

The town had already begun to express and address concerns about overcrowding. In 1795 and 1796 the inhabitants imposed fines on "anyone digging or continuing any vault, sink or other nuisance. . . that presents a danger to neighbors or passengers." They forced tanneries and slaughter houses to move to less crowded areas. They forbade the blocking of streets and alleys by carts, sleds or other vehicles. And they established new fines for anyone building bonfires, throwing rockets or squibs, or carrying fire from house to house in an unsafe container.⁴³

The danger of fire was real, but when it did come it spared our neighborhood, with the exception of a few buildings in the northeast corner. However, as we noted in the previous chapter, the fires did have a major impact on the site, leaving it with some of the oldest buildings in town, built close together, along narrow streets. This set the stage for the next period of change in the spatial system, resulting in even more dense residential use.

When Joseph Edmonds wrote a description of Portsmouth in 1839 he found it necessary to apologize for the fact that the town was "not increasing rapidly in extent or population," noting that although the town was prosperous, the wealthy were investing their capital in trade and manufacturing elsewhere.⁴⁴ Money, and in many cases the sons of merchants, had moved

away to Boston, New York and other distant places. In sharp contrast to the period of prosperity at the turn of the century few people were now investing resources in our neighborhood.

During the period from 1810 to 1850 there were only a few changes made in the spatial organization of the site. Those that were made in Zone 2 suggest a continued increase in residential use. In one case, an owner replaced an older eighteenth century house with two smaller ones; in another an older house and shop gave way to a new brick house designed for use by two families.⁴⁵ Three other single family homes became two-family dwellings, although there was no physical division of the structures. Instead, families shared doors and stairs in common.⁴⁶

When we look at the structures themselves we will see other signs of greater residential use: the conversion of some buildings into boarding houses and the conversion of shop rooms into living space. By 1850 there was only one non-residential structure on Jefferson Street, which ran through the center of Zone 2. It was a vacant store.⁴⁷

Along the cove commercial activity continued. In 1821 Nathaniel Marshall ran a grocery store on the wharf built by his grandfather near Liberty Bridge. Thomas Safford used his wharf, at the foot of Liberty Street (Horse Lane) to bring in wood to be used as fuel by his neighbors; he also had a shop there in which he built coaches. Joshua Jones, a truckman, continued to operate his wharf at the foot of Atkinson Street.⁴⁸ Commercial use of space in Zone 3 continued to 1850 and beyond.

However, there was also an increase in residential use in this zone. The division of Zone 3 lots that had occurred between 1790 and 1805 had separated some wharf lots from theouselots of which they were originally a part. Subsequently, some owners of the wharf lots built dwellings on them. Safford, for example, had a house on his wharf as well as a coach shop.⁴⁹

Commercial activity continued also in Zone 1. The disruption of trade caused by the War of 1812, coupled with the growing depletion of timber resources in the region, had a permanent impact on the town's economy. But the change did not come overnight. Following the fire of 1813 the town widened a portion of Water (Marcy) Street that had been touched by the fire, and some owners invested in new brick buildings.⁵⁰ At the time there was some anticipation that the rebuilding would be more complete than it actually turned out to be. One of the new structures, designed to be part of a row of connected commercial buildings, continued to stand alone when other buildings were never built.

Still, the construction of some brick buildings along Water Street further distinguished Zone 1 from the others, giving it a distinct appearance. The wharves remained active, albeit on a smaller scale, as merchants adjusted to changing economic conditions. Large vessels rarely sailed to the West Indies, but coasting schooners traveled regularly to Boston and Bangor. West Indian and English goods gave way to groceries and eventually coal. The overall volume of trade declined, leaving some warehouses vacant and some converted to tenements. But commercial activity persisted in Zone 1 well past 1850.⁵¹ Ship repair also survived, with the graving beach still in operation in 1850 and a new marine railway, designed to haul vessels completely out of the water, built on Ayer's Wharf in 1833.⁵²

By mid-century then, the site was primarily residential, with a relatively small amount of commerce surviving along the water. No longer did the residents devote large areas of land to the production and trade of goods. Skilled artisans had given way to laborers. Shops had become dwellings.

For a century and a half the inhabitants of the neighborhood organized

and reorganized their environment to accomplish certain residential, manufacturing and commercial functions. The most immediate and lasting influence on the spatial organization was the natural environment, and in particular the river and the cove. Proximity to the water was the major factor in determining initial lot size and land use.

Over time an increase in population density made possible the further subdivision of land and greater residential use, at the expense of manufacturing activity. However, economic conditions determined the details of timing and location for such changes. In some cases an individual's economic circumstances caused a change in spatial arrangements, either through the accumulation or dispersal of parcels. After 1790 the general prosperity of the town led to greater residential use in support of increased commerce. Then, in the nineteenth century as commercial and manufacturing activity declined or shifted to other parts of town, there was even greater conversion to residential use.

The changes that we have traced for the neighborhood as a whole are also evident in the evolution of individual houselots. Here, too, there was no preconceived plan for spatial organization. Rather, individual owners arranged their land to meet specific, immediate needs. But the pattern of organization that emerged closely parallels the organization of the whole site, both in terms of function location at a given time and subsequent changes in response to new conditions.

CHAPTER NOTES

- ¹ The Will of John Cutt, Brewster, Rambles, 1: 36-37.
- ² Several people have traced property deeds back to the point where larger tracts were first divided into houselots. See note 36, Chapter II. In addition, land to the south of the south mill has been traced to Cynthia Harriman, a resident of South Street, Portsmouth, NH. A discussion of the division of the minister's field appears in Brewster, Rambles, 1: 41-19.
- ³ I have identified property owners by establishing title chains for each property in the study site. The chains are presented in the Appendix. I divided the site into parcels, coded from 0 to 8; within each parcel each property has a three digit code, the first digit being the parcel code. These codes will appear in brackets [] in chapter notes in order to help readers locate a given property. In the following list the names of the twenty-four owners in 1700 appear, followed by the relevant property codes, and page numbers from Noyes, Genealogical Dictionary, whence came evidence of their activities prior to purchase of property at our site.
1. Job Alcock; [406]; 59-60.
 2. Edward Ayers; [003], [402]; 70-71.
 3. Mark Ayers; [203]; 70.
 4. Nathaniel Ayers; [002], [401], [403]; 71.
 5. John Ballard; [201]; 74.
 6. Edward Carwithy; [502]; 131.
 7. Nicholas Follett; [702], [703]; 237.
 8. Nicholas Follett, Jr.; [701]; 237.
 9. Hannah Harvey; [204], [205], [206]; 315.
 10. John Hatch; [406]; 317.
 11. Beriah Higgens; [207]; 327.
 12. John Hill; [8]; 328.
 13. Samuel Hill; [404], [6]; 329.
 14. Nathaniel Jackson; [405]; 372.
 15. John Knight; [001], [101]; 403.
 16. Thomas Packer; [704]; 521.
 17. William Partridge; [001], [102]; 533.

18. Samuel Penhallow; [002], [103]; 538.
19. Thomas Phipps; [3]; 550.
20. Samuel Rymes; [004]; 601.
21. John Sherburne; [407]; 628-629.
22. John Snell; [003]; 648.
23. Edward Toogood; [501], [503], [504]; 688.
24. Samuel Wentworth; [004]; 738.

The owner in 1700 of one parcel has not been identified.

⁴ Five newcomers were traders who quickly established themselves as prominent members of the community, often through marriage. John Knight came from Jersey before 1681 and married Bridget Sloper, daughter of one of the town leaders. Samuel Penhallow came from England via Charlestown, Massachusetts, and married Mary Cutt in 1687. Thomas Packer, already married, came from Salem, Massachusetts, about 1691; years later his eldest daughter married John Wentworth, Lieutenant Governor of the province. Thomas Phipps arrived from Massachusetts in 1696, a young man fresh from Harvard College and invited to Portsmouth as schoolmaster; three years later he married Eleanor Cutt, widow of Samuel, who had died in 1698 at the age of twenty-nine. William Partridge came as a young man, working as a carpenter in 1678; over the next two decades he made a fortune, primarily through the mast trade, and served as Lieutenant Governor from 1696 to 1703. The other ten newcomers were mariners and artisans.

⁵ During the last decade of the seventeenth century the people of New Hampshire lived in fear of attack by the Penacook and Abnaki tribes in the region. The most devastating raids came in June 1689, when twenty-three inhabitants were killed at Dover, the following March at Salmon Falls where some thirty were killed, and in the summer of 1694 when the French and Indians destroyed five houses at Oyster River and killed or captured about one hundred people. There were many other smaller raids, and there was always the fear of attack. Some of those who purchased house lots near the Great House had survived an attack; the others had surely feared one. Job Alcock was born in York, Maine, in 1638, worked as a shipwright, and held many town offices. He survived an Indian attack in 1692 during which forty-eight York inhabitants were killed and eighty captured; some one hundred survivors turned to Alcock for food and shelter in the aftermath. In 1693, while serving as Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in York, he purchased a small waterfront house lot near the Great House from Samuel and Mary (Cutt) Penhallow. By March of 1694 he had moved to Portsmouth and had a seat in the meeting house there. Edward Toogood, a bricklayer, was in Boston in 1684, then went to Salmon Falls until he was driven off by the Indians. Nicholas Follett and his son were at Oyster River in the 1680s; Beriah Higgs was at Dover; John Hill was at Saco; Samuel Hill was at Kittery. All purchased lots in Portsmouth at a time when their communities were threatened by Indians. Finally, there were the Ayer brothers. Three of five sons of Captain John Ayers of Brookfield, Massachusetts, bought land in the Great House fields. They knew the Indian threat well; as children

their father had been killed in an attack.

⁶ The calculation of lot size for Tables 1 and 2 is based on dimensions given in the deeds. In some cases all four sides of a lot were given; when only two sides were given, the lot was assumed to be rectangular; in other cases it was impossible to compute the size. Price per acre was determined for only those deeds that gave both lot size and price. This limitation had greatest impact on lots in Zone 1, for which only 3 of 12 had a price given. However, the prices per acre for those three were greater than elsewhere. The prices (in pounds) in Zone 1 ranged from 389 to 1111; in Zone 2 from 146 to 333, and in Zone 3 from 61 to 154.

The rationale for dividing the site into three zones lies in part in geography, as described in the text, and in the statistical measurements of the price per acre. Specifically, E^2 for the site, when divided into zones 1, 2, and 3, is .708, indicating that about 71% of the variation in price per acre, for the site as a whole, disappears when we stay within the zones. See Theodore R. Anderson and Morris Zeldetch, Jr., A Basic Course in Statistics (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958, 1968), pp. 158-160.

⁷ Rockingham County Deed, 6: 151 records Snell's purchase from the Penhallows. By the next time the property was sold, in 1719, there were a wharf, warehouses and shops, in addition to Snell's dwellinghouse. *Ibid.*, 11: 169. [003]. Reference to the street width is *Ibid.*, 6: 346.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 7: 85, 8: 44. [406].

⁹ *Ibid.*, 9: 708, 13: 92, 26: 544. [003], [402].

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 6: 72, 84, 116. [407], [203], [702].

¹¹ Daniel Ingersoll, "Settlement Archaeology at Puddle Dock," (Ph.D. dissertation, Anthropology Department, Harvard University, 1971), p. 58.

¹² Rockingham County Deeds, 5: 157, 11: 169, 39: 187; Van Deventer, Provincial New Hampshire, p. 91 note 26, p. 251 note 65. [002].

¹³ Rockingham County Deeds, 121: 367. The length of Wibird's wharf is estimated from Grant's map of 1771. [001], [002].

¹⁴ Rockingham County Deeds, 13: 100; [001].

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 25: 82, 265: 299. [004].

¹⁶ Portsmouth Town Records, 2: 65, 76.

¹⁷ Rockingham County Deeds, 10: 219, 13: 100, 22: 471, 119: 115. [704], [406].

¹⁸ Archaeological excavations have confirmed that Toogood [504], Marshall [502], and Walton [8], actually practiced their trades on the properties they owned at the study site. A sketch of the area, dated 24 November 1803, shows the location of Marden's mast yard, [603]. See "Proposal for Insuring Joseph Smith's House," New Hampshire Fire and Marine Insurance Company Records, MS, Portsmouth Athenaeum.

- ¹⁹ I have made no attempt to measure the increase in the population of Portsmouth over the century since that increase had only an indirect impact on spatial arrangements at our study site. The figure for 1790 is taken from the census of the United States as reported in Heads of Families Census of the United States taken in the Year 1790, New Hampshire (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1966), p. 10.
- ²⁰ Portsmouth Town Records, 2: 29 F, 32 F; Rockingham County Deeds, 9: 167.
- ²¹ Portsmouth Town Records, 2: 54 F.
- ²² Rockingham County Deeds, 9: 320, 323; 10: 274, 276, 282; 10: 276; 14: 419; 16: 234; [202].
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 15: 422, 38: 40, 61: 363, 102: 394; Maine Provincial Probate Records, 3: 98; [505], [506], [507], [6].
- ²⁴ Rockingham County Deeds, 23: 54, 27: 249; [501], [502].
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 22: 380, 23: 25; [8], [3].
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 5: 157, 11: 169; [002].
- ²⁷ New Hampshire Provincial Court Records, 6664, 12789, 12791, 12832, 20994; New Hampshire Gazette, April 11, 1763; Rockingham County Deeds, 162: 2.
- ²⁸ Rockingham County Deeds, 29: 329, 45: 164, 49: 269, 281; [301], [302], [306].
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, 65: 412, 84: 318, 86: 526, 89: 509; [301], [303], [304], [307].
- ³⁰ McKinley, "The Economic History of Portsmouth," p. 360, notes that economic conditions were generally poor following the Seven Years War.
- ³¹ New Hampshire Provincial Court Records, 6528, 6529; New Hampshire Gazette, May 7, 1762; Rockingham County Deeds, 89: 509; [301].
- ³² New Hampshire Provincial Court Records, 6528, 6529.
- ³³ New Hampshire Gazette, April 22, 1763.
- ³⁴ New Hampshire Gazette, February 19, 1773. Archaeological evidence indicates that one of Walton's tanning vats went out of use in the 1760s. G. Graffam, "Preliminary Site Report of the Rider-Wood House Site," Strawberry Banke, Inc., 1981.
- ³⁵ Rockingham County Deeds, 110: 165, 462, 111: 35, 380, 129: 534; Portsmouth Town Records, 3: 36, 67, 78, 79; [8].
- ³⁶ Saltonstall, Ports of Piscataqua, pp. 122-140.
- ³⁷ Portsmouth Town Records, 3: 176, 183, 279, 389, 409; Brewster, Rambles, 1: 347

³⁸ "Petition of the Proprietors of the Portsmouth Aquaduct," MS, Portsmouth Athenaeum.

³⁹ The quote is from New Hampshire Gazette, October 22, 1805. A contemporary account of the pier is in "The Glory of America, A Century Sermon", by Timothy Alden (Portsmouth: William Treadwell & Co., 1801), p. 40.

⁴⁰ Rockingham County Deeds, 134: 42, 142: 288, 144: 346, 145: 528, 147: 479, 161: 458; Rockingham County Probate, o.s. 13327; [303], [702], [703], [501], [502], [504].

⁴¹ Rockingham County Deeds, 138: 159, 150: 135, 136; [601], [602], [604].

⁴² New Hampshire Gazette, January 21, 1806.

⁴³ Portsmouth Town Records, 3: 281, 316-318.

⁴⁴ Portsmouth Town Directory, 1839, v.

⁴⁵ Rockingham County Deeds, 210: 346, 265: 141, 275: 88, 440: 337; [701], [301].

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 145: 13, 242: 19, 274: 187; [202], [501], [601].

⁴⁷ Portsmouth Town Directory, 1850.

⁴⁸ Portsmouth Town Director, 1821.

⁴⁹ Rockingham County Deeds, 297: 218; [502].

⁵⁰ New Hampshire Gazette, June 25, 1816 advertises one of these new brick buildings. Water Street was widened to forty feet between Buck (State) and Jefferson Streets. See Portsmouth Town Records, 4: 182-183.

⁵¹ Portsmouth Town Directory, 1850, lists grocers as occupants of four of the wharves. Another dealer sold coal, wood, ground plaster, sand and hair.

⁵² Rockingham County Deeds, 269: 314. A lithograph of Portsmouth harbor in 1854 shows the graving beach still in use. "Portsmouth, NH From the Navy Yard, Kittery, ME 1854," sketched and lithographed by C. Parsons, published by Smith Brothers & Co., New York. A copy is in the collections of Strawberry Banke, Inc.

CHAPTER IV

HOUSELOTS

The basic unit of land division was the houselot. Typically it included a dwelling, outbuildings for work, storage and possibly livestock, a privy, a garden, trees, fences, paths, perhaps a well, and if on the water, a wharf. The owner arranged these features in such a way as to meet the needs of living during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Within such a space much of daily life occurred.

One household in Zone 3 has received extensive study and offers us an example of houselot organization. During 1976 and 1977 archaeologists Steven Pendery and Helen Chase directed an investigation of Samuel Marshall's pottery, which stood along the cove, bounded by Horse Lane and Jose's Lane (Jefferson Street) (Figure 16). Through an examination of relevant documents and the features and artifacts they unearthed, they were able to discover how Marshall organized his land.¹

Marshall was not the earliest owner or user of the property. He purchased it in two parcels, one in 1736 and the other in 1737. The first was forty feet wide and ran down into the cove. In 1722 there had been the frame of a building on this land, as well as a wharf and fences. When Marshall bought it there was no mention of the building. The second parcel was a garden plot that lay alongside the house of widow Hannah Toogood. It was also forty feet wide and lay at the head of the first parcel. It had no building on it.

Thus, Marshall pieced together a long rectangular lot, running over 160 feet from Jose's Lane down to the cove. Unencumbered by earlier structures, he was then able to organize the land in a way that best suited his needs. At

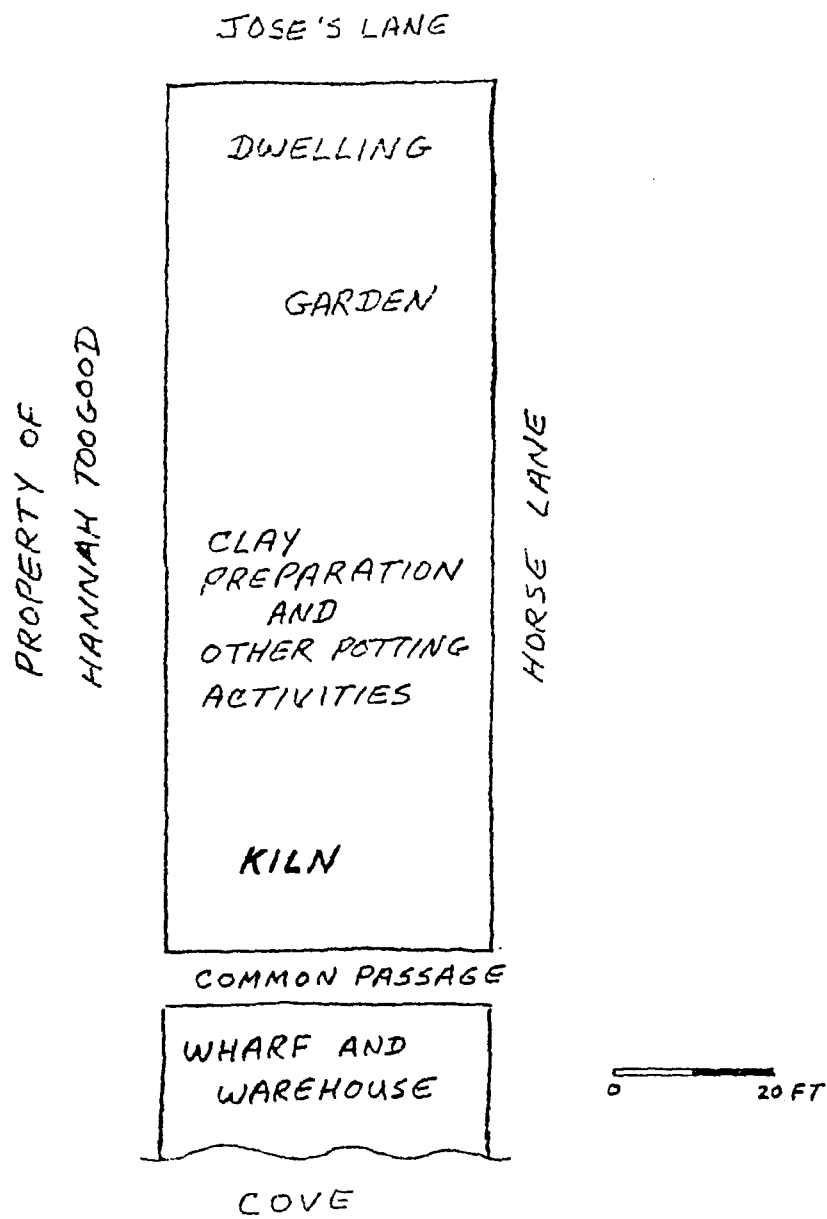


Figure 16. Samuel Marshall's Houselot, circa 1740.

the upper end, farthest from the water, he built a dwelling and put in a garden. This was the residential portion of the site, situated in such a way as to leave ample free space for craft production and marketing.

In the lower portion of the lot the archaeologists found a number of features associated with the pottery, including a combined claypit and sunpan, used by the potter to remove gravel and prepare clay of the proper consistency. They also found "substantial amounts of redware, redware wasters, kiln brick and kiln furniture," although they were not able to find evidence of the precise location of the kiln. In all likelihood the construction of a house in this area of the lot in the early nineteenth century destroyed any such evidence. At any rate, it is clear that Marshall situated his potting activity at the lower end of his lot, closest to the cove.

Across a common passage from the production area stood a warehouse and wharf, where Daniel Jackson, who inventoried Marshall's estate in 1750, found a "cannue" and two small square ended barges called gundalows. These shallow draft vessels were well suited for river travel, permitting the potter to bring in clay for his earthenware and cordwood to fire his kiln. In return Marshall may have marketed his pottery in upriver towns.

Thus, Marshall organized his land into three distinct parts, each associated with a specific use. At a time when this waterfront area was becoming a central place for trade and commerce, he made use of a parcel of open land to provide facilities for residential, manufacturing and commercial activities. This three part functional division fits with what we already know about land use in Zone 3.

Other lots in Zone 3 follow the pattern of mixed use, although the arrangement of the parts varies, depending on the placement of the dwelling. Marshall placed his house at the end of his lot farthest from the cove, very close to the street, leaving the maximum amount of contiguous open space for his

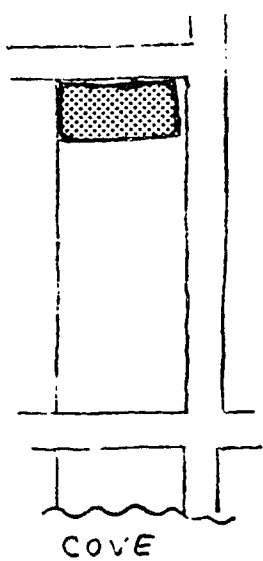
manufacturing and trading activities. However, this was not the most common configuration for lots along the cove. Nicholas Follett's property was more representative (Figure 17b).

Follett's house stood at the cove end of his lot, possibly facing the water. This position divided the land into two parts, the house separating the wharf area from other space used for gardening and livestock. Of six houses built on the lots that initially formed Zone 3 along the cove, three, including Follett's, stood near the water. The location of a fourth is unknown, but references to a pump to carry water from the cellar suggest that it too was close to the cove.

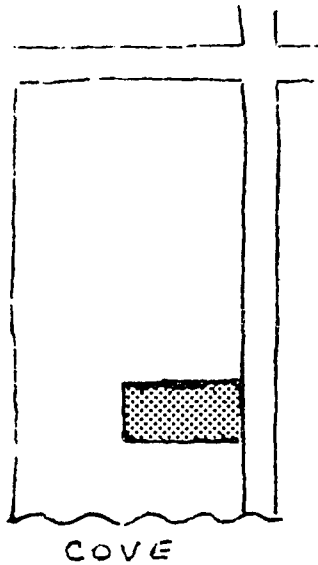
Only two houses, Marshall's and that of the brickmaker Edward Toogood, stood at the street end. A clay deposit not far from the water, or the need to establish easy access between manufacturing space and wharf, may have prompted both Marshall and Toogood to place their houses away from the cove.² Follett, on the other hand, was a mariner whose wife seems to have used his land, in 1700, primarily to raise sheep for home textile production. They had no need for large amounts of space open to the water.

John Sherburne's house (Figure 17c) was similar to Follett's in that it divided the lot into a commercial wharf area and a gardening area. However, its location relative to the street points to another variation from the Marshall case. Marshall's house stood right on the street; Sherburne's stands about ten feet back. In this instance Marshall is typical. Indeed, the Sherburne house is the only example at our site of a dwelling that does not butt against the street.

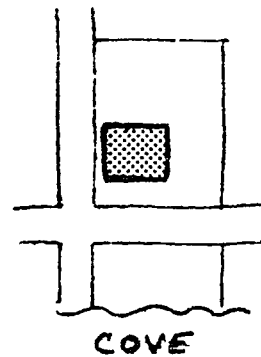
It may be that Sherburne began construction in 1695 before the street was laid out, so that he may have thought he was building close to where the street would be. Or he may have chosen a location that provided additional room for commercial activity in front of the house. This caused less space for gar-



a. SAMUEL
MARSHALL
CIRCA 1735



b. NICHOLAS
FOLLETT
CIRCA 1698



c. JOHN
SHERBURNE
CIRCA 1695

Figure 17. Variations in Dwelling House Location at the Study Site.

dening in the rear, leading him to purchase an additional garden plot in 1697.³

We do not yet have enough evidence to give a satisfactory explanation for the house's location ten feet from the street. As far as we can tell, it is the only house to survive of those that were built prior to 1720, and it may indeed reflect a common but earlier arrangement. Future archaeology may shed some light on this. For the moment we can only note it as an exception to the common practice of building houses very close to the street.

This practice contrasts with several high style houses built by wealthy merchants in Portsmouth in the eighteenth century. These houses often had front yards and open style fences, clearly designed so that people could look at them. George Boyd's house in Figure 18 is a good example. But for the less wealthy, whose lots were smaller, the need for yard space pushed their houses right up to the street. They did not concern themselves with providing vantages for passersby.

The organization of lots in Zone 1 along the river followed a pattern similar to those in Zone 3 in that there was a mix of residential and commercial use, and like the Marshall site, residential activities occurred farthest from the water's edge. The residential area usually included a dwelling and yard, although some residents planted their gardens in plots across Water Street in Zone 2.⁴ Residential use continued throughout the period as wharf owners either lived there or rented the houses to others working in the area.

Commercial use of this land distinguished it from other zones and placed certain demands on the arrangement of space. Owners and users had to sort things out so that goods entering and leaving could do so efficiently. First, as a logical consequence of the need for access from the street, dwellings were set to one side, leaving room for passage to the wharves. Such passageways were a part of every riverfront lot and were generally about fifteen feet wide.⁵

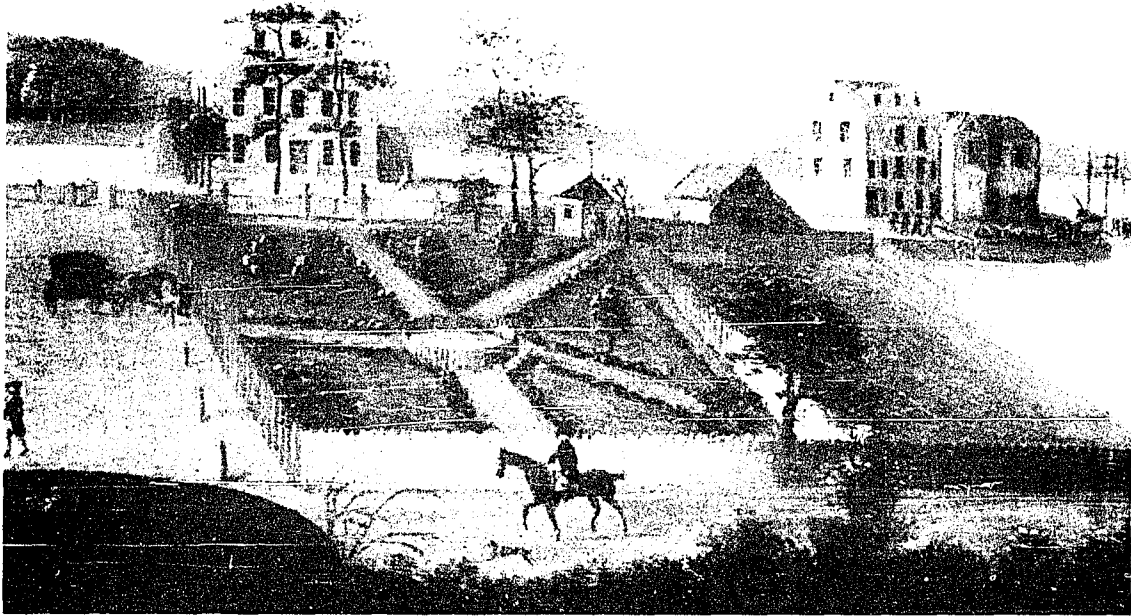


Figure 18. Detail, "The South West Prospect of the Seat of Colonel George Boyd at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, New England, 1774." (Courtesy Phillips Exeter Academy)

At the other end of the lots the flow of goods necessitated wharves laid out in such a fashion as to permit enough space for ships to maneuver and for workers to handle cargo. Initially the lots ran up to two hundred feet from the street to the low water mark.⁶ Owners constructed earthen filled wharves on the flats, and dredged alongside to permit docking for shallow draft vessels. For larger ships they built wharves on pilings, reaching out another two to three hundred feet by the early nineteenth century.⁷

Because the early lots were narrow, in some cases a wharf actually touched the one next to it and was accessible from only one side. Such was the relationship between the Shapley and Drisco wharves in 1813 (Figure 19).⁸ Long Wharf, on the other hand, stood on the lots that Richard Wibird and his sons had combined. In this case there was breadth enough for a single wharf with access to both sides. The Wibirds thus had the capacity for handling more ships, thereby maximizing the commercial use of their property.

Owners expanded their wharves in increments, attempting to gain more space for docking and cargo handling. This process resulted in width changes for each wharf, as it stepped out into the river. Sections of wharf ranged from twenty to fifty feet wide. The wider portions were necessary for temporary storage of goods. Bulky timber products, in particular, required large amounts of open wharf space as hundreds of thousands of staves, boards and planks converged on the port from inland towns, destined for export.

Between the dwelling at one end and the docking area at the other stood stores that the wharf owner rented to other merchants and traders. The occupants had common use of the passageway and wharf. The location of the stores was well suited to the function they served, for it was there that individual consumers purchased goods that had arrived by ship.⁹

Thus, a typical riverfront lot had three parts: dwelling, stores, and wharf. This arrangement was evident from the beginning and persisted as the wharves

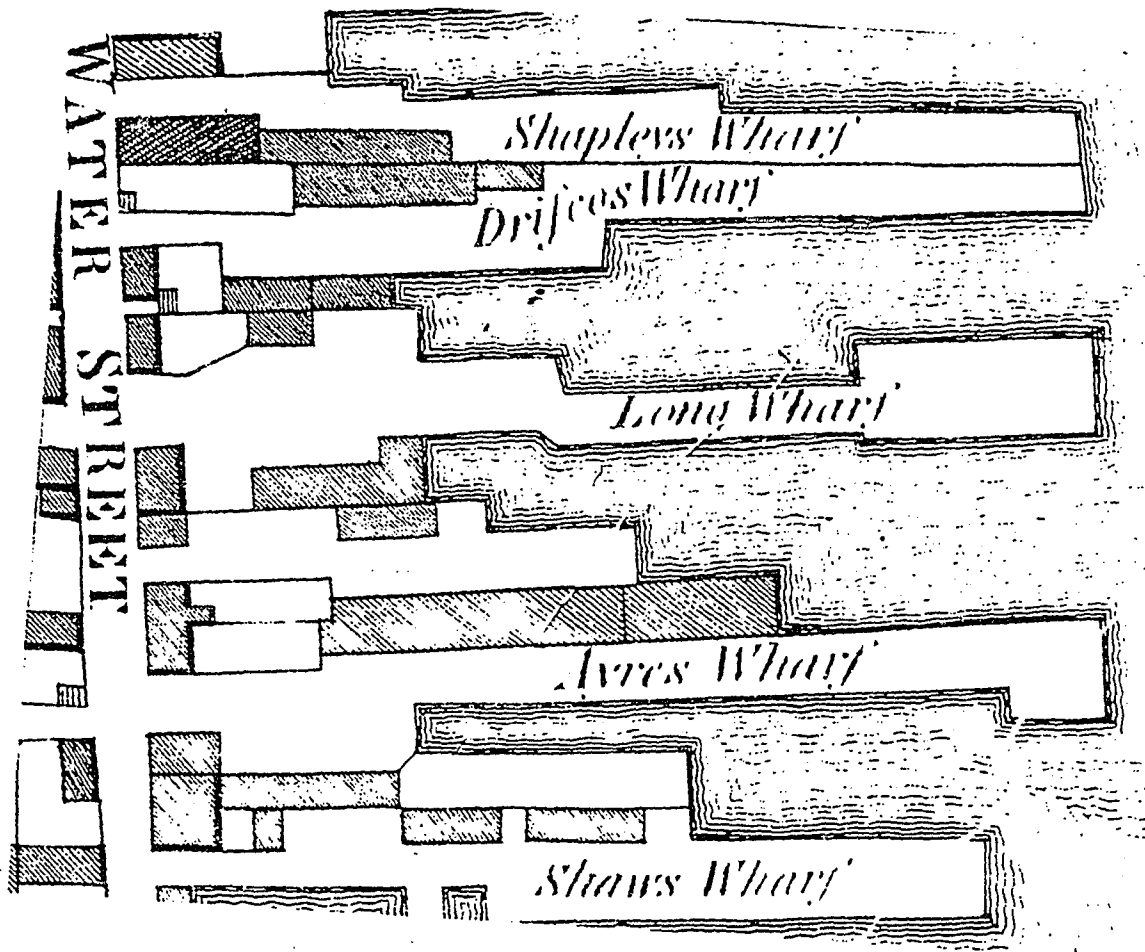


Figure 19. Detail, "Map of Portsmouth in the State of New Hampshire," surveyed and drawn by J. G. Hales, 1813.

reached out into the river. In 1717 John Snell's lot held a house, shop, warehouse and wharf. By 1813 that lot was part of the Long Wharf property, which then consisted of two dwellings, eight stores, and the wharf.¹⁰

Although the primary use of lots in Zones 1 and 3 involved trade or a trade, most owners set aside at least a portion of their land to meet certain basic household needs. Because a dwelling stood on each lot, the owner had to provide for such necessities as food, fuel, water and waste disposal. In Zone 2, where residential use was primary, almost all open space served these needs. At most a shop, such as Joseph Moulton's smithy, occupied a corner of a lot. The coopers Jeremiah and Damaris Wheelwright and the mast maker James Marden actually practiced their trades on nearby lots, leaving their houselots for residential use.¹¹ Thus, the organization of Zone 2 lots, and a portion of most other lots, rested on the ways in which people were able to meet their basic needs.

They did so within the context of an economic system based on trade. To varying degrees these neighbors depended upon one another, and upon the town, to meet their needs. They did not, indeed they could not, produce everything for themselves. Their lots were too small.

Still, they did use their yards to produce some essential goods and to accomplish certain tasks. Almost all had gardens, some had wells, many had trash pits. The amount of space devoted to these needs depended on the size of the lot. As the amount of available yard space declined, particularly at the end of the eighteenth century, the residents became more dependent upon facilities and services outside the bounds of their own lots to meet their needs.

First, let us consider food. When Benjamin Purrington sold his house to John Smith in July 1716, he reserved for himself the produce from the garden

that he had planted in the spring.¹² The garden represented an investment of time and resources to Purrington. Its yield would help to feed his family and perhaps, through sale, provide a means to purchase other goods.

Gardens were essential features of houselots at our site. They are mentioned regularly in property deeds. In a few cases an owner wanted to devote most of his land to commerce and so he purchased or rented land nearby for a garden.¹³ But the garden usually stood within the bounds of the houselot, playing an important role in the daily domestic activities of the household.

Based on archaeological evidence the garden behind John Sherburne's house appears to have been similar to gardens elsewhere in New England during the first half of the eighteenth century. The occupants of the house, Sherburnes' heirs and their tenants, planted in raised beds, one to two feet high, held up by boards. Paths made of small stones, gravel, and fragments of bones, pipe stems and ceramics, separated the beds. A pole or stockade type fence surrounded the garden and yard to keep animals out. In the beds they planted vegetables such as the peas, potatoes, turnips, cabbage, onions and carrots, listed on an inventory of the property taken in 1754.¹⁴

In the Sherburne yard there were also, at least in the earlier years of the century, a number of fruit trees, survivors of Samuel Penhallow's orchard. These provided fresh apples for pies in the fall, and possibly cider for the rest of the year. The 1754 inventory lists two hogsheads of cider, suggesting that the Sherburne's were continuing to maintain the orchard.

They also had a barn in which they kept a horse, a cow and a sow. Domestic animals were common at our site. The earliest extant inventory, taken in 1700 of Nicholas Follett's estate, lists eighteen sheep and a cow.¹⁵ The sheep reflect home textile production during the earliest years of development of the site. They became less common as demands for open space grew

and as commerce provided an alternative to home production. But cattle and swine remained a regular feature of houselots, giving meat and dairy products to families into the nineteenth century.

The food that the Sherburnes and others produced in their yards was not their sole source of nourishment. In the earliest years many of them had outlying farms where they also grew crops and raised livestock. Later, farmers from the outskirts of Portsmouth and from neighboring communities brought provisions into town to exchange for manufactured goods. Shopkeepers took the produce and resold it to local inhabitants. The town also had several markets at which local people could trade directly with the farmers. At the western edge of the compact part of town there was a hay market where residents could buy wheat, rye, corn and other grains for themselves and their livestock. There was a provisions market at Spring Hill on the north waterfront, for the sale of such foods as mutton, veal, lamb, pork, fowl, butter and eggs. The town also had two fish markets, one at Spring Hill and one at Swing Bridge in our neighborhood.¹⁶

Thus, the residents of our neighborhood traded for food as well as grew their own. The same mix of home production and trade is evident in the way people got water. Not every houselot had a well. A single well could meet the needs of many households, and if one's neighbor had already dug one it was generally cheaper to arrange to use it rather than dig one's own.

We know only a little about such arrangements. When John Cutt gave a lot to his friend Reuben Hull in 1674, he also gave Hull "liberty to fetch water at a well that said Hull has digged within the land of said Cutt." By 1702 William Partridge owned the land where the well was, and Hull's widow gave up her right to it "for a considerable sum of current money." In other cases Nathaniel Ayers retained the right to use a well in a parcel of land he sold to a neighbor, and Samuel Hutchins acquired the use of a well elsewhere on

George Walton's land when he purchased a lot from Walton in 1778.¹⁷

There were also public wells. In 1701 the town gave James Booth permission to dig a well in the street in the front of his house, provided every family in the community had the right to draw water there. In 1737 the selectmen opened a well by the town stocks, and in 1766 a number of people contributed money to have one dug and stoned near the new market house at Spring Hill. This latter instance provides us with a clue to the value of water, for those who had not subscribed to the digging had to pay four pence for each hogshead that they drew.¹⁸

Thus, a resident of our site may have drawn water from his or her own well, from that of a neighbor, or from a town pump. One would expect to find in a yard either a well, probably of stone with a pump attached, or a container such as a hogshead to hold water. The container may have been above ground, but not necessarily. Archaeologists excavated two buried barrels standing upright, each measuring one foot ten inches in diameter by two feet in length, behind the house of Peter Lowd, a cooper. The form of these containers may relate to Lowd's occupation, but the archaeologists suggest they functioned as a water reservoir.¹⁹

The disposal of waste was another function carried out in the yard. Occupants had to get rid of sewage and trash, and in some cases provide for drainage from their properties. They generally handled trash casually, scattering it about the yard, or using it to fill depressions. After Edward Toogood's death, for example, his family took advantage of the clay pit he had used for making bricks to deposit its trash.²⁰ On the Sherburne property nearby the archaeologists found several trash pits, possibly dug originally to raise the level of ground elsewhere.²¹

The occupants had privies or pits, sometimes called sinks or vaults, for sewage. There are a number of excavated privies dating from the nineteenth

century at our site, and one from about 1760 in the north end of town.²² They are woodlined, usually rectangular, from six to eight feet deep, and located away from dwellings along lot lines. The privy of Lowd, the cooper, is unusual in that it is another buried barrel, this one 3'8" in diameter and six feet deep.

Surface drainage from lots followed the natural slope of land down to the river and cove, and generally caused no problem for residents. The deeds record only one instance in which one neighbor had a stated right to run a drain through another's yard. Most often they routed water and effluent into the streets, some of which had common "shores" or sewers running through them.²³

The final salient feature of the domestic yard was the wood pile or possibly a wood shed. In this case, the residents used space for storage rather than production. In the earliest decades of the eighteenth century those who owned outlying farmland could provide for their own needs. But quickly those who lived at our site became dependent upon others for their supplies of fuel. As early as 1705 the town appointed corders to oversee the sale of wood. The corders received three pence per cord, paid by the purchaser, and anyone caught selling without notifying the corders paid a fine of twelve pence a cord. Wood arrived by gundalow on the waterfront or by cart or sled over land. Supplies apparently kept pace with increasing demands, although in 1766 several inhabitants complained about the "many Obstructions to the Landing of Wood on the Town Wharf." There were also concerns voiced in the seventies about ineffective regulations and lax enforcement, especially regarding wood carried in by land, and about attempts to monopolize the trade.²⁴

Woodpiles, gardens, sheds, barns, privies, wells - such features filled the yards that lay alongside and behind the dwellings in our neighborhood. As

population density increased, the houses grew in number and size, and the amount of yard space decreased. As early as the 1750s there were signs of strain, as the need for space began to push against the bounds of lots.

Even earlier, in 1737, the town took George Walton to court for encroaching upon a street when he set up his tannery. The street (Washington) had a jog in it, and Walton took advantage of it by building a straight fence, thereby enclosing part of the street with his property. The town reversed his action and the jog remains in the street today.²⁵

Walton's motivation may have been greed rather than need, but in 1751 and then regularly in the 1760s the problem of encroachment was common enough to prompt the town to appoint committees to measure the width of all streets and sue anyone whose property intruded on a public way.²⁶

By the 1790s when as we have seen there was a relatively rapid increase in the consumption of open space at our site inhabitants began to publicly express concerns about cordwood, rubbish, crates, carts and wheelbarrows blocking passage along streets and alleys. The crowded streets caused problems for pedestrians, leading the town to put in sidewalks and to pass a law to prevent anyone from driving a chaise or cart up onto the pavement. Thales Yeaton, for one, found it necessary to erect a granite post to protect the corner of his new house from the traffic.²⁷

Overcrowding also raised concerns about health and the water supply. In 1796 the town established a fine for anyone digging a vault or sink that presented a danger to neighbors or passengers, and in 1802 a local physician cited "overflowing vaults, sewers, drains, with garbage and filth in the streets, lanes, yards, cellars, etc." as a cause of sickness then threatening the town.²⁸ The smaller yards and more people meant that there were more privies, that these privies were filled more rapidly, and that they stood closer to wells, threatening to contaminate the water.²⁹ One solution was to regularly

clean the privies, which apparently was done in the nineteenth century.

Another solution was to bring fresh water in from a source out of town. In 1796 sixteen merchants joined to build an aquaduct to carry water from a spring about three miles distant. By 1800 the system of underground wooden pipes had reached our neighborhood and had begun to serve houses along Pitt (Court) and Washington Streets.³⁰ The aquaduct did not immediately replace the need for wells, for it took many years for the system to reach all houses.

The decrease in yard space also made people more dependent upon others for food. During the nineties the town took steps to build a new hay market and a new provisions market, more "Commodious & Central" than the old. The new market appeared in 1800, two stories high, 80 feet long, 40 feet wide, and built of brick.³¹

By this time it was possible for someone to do without a garden. When John Shapley had a house built next to the Sherburne house in 1797, he left no room for a garden. It was more important to him to have a building large enough for his dwelling and a store, from which he sold imported goods, including flour and raisins.³² His need for vegetables was easily satisfied through trade.

Shapley's case is an extreme example of the trend toward greater dependence on others for services. Well into the nineteenth century other households continued to provide for basic needs. Sixty years after Shapley had dispensed with a garden, Mary Rider still had one. She also had a privy and cordwood in her yard, although she probably got her water from the aquaduct.³³ Thus, although there was generally less room than there once had been, some yards continued to function as they had for nearly two centuries.

CHAPTER NOTES

- ¹ Steven Pendery and Helen Chase, "Preliminary Report, Historical Archaeology of the Marshall Pottery Site," Strawberry Banke, Inc., 1977.
- ² Although Marshall's house was at the street end of the property it may have faced the cove. Informants who knew the house before it was destroyed in the 1940s state that the stairs were located in what was, to them, the rear of the house, behind the chimney. In the eighteenth century stairways were generally at the front entrance, standing before the chimney.
- ³ Rockingham County Deeds, 7: 396; [407].
- ⁴ For an example of a garden across the street Ibid., 13: 92; [402]; for a garden adjacent to a house see Rockingham County Probate o.s. 6252; [001].
- ⁵ Rockingham County Deeds, 161: 243, 166: 291, 173: 296 and 209: 134 are a few deeds that refer to passageways.
- ⁶ Ibid., 12: 181, [002].
- ⁷ Ibid., 166: 291, 209: 134 are deeds that include plans giving wharf dimensions.
- ⁸ "Map of Portsmouth in the State of New Hampshire," surveyed and drawn by J. G. Hales, 1813. Detail taken from a copy in the collection of Strawberry Banke, Inc.
- ⁹ For a reference to several occupants using the same passage and wharf see Rockingham County Deeds, 161: 243; [003].
- ¹⁰ Ibid., 9: 528; Rockingham County Probate Records, o.s. 8692.
- ¹¹ The Wheelwrights owned a small lot near their house, Rockingham County Deeds, 51: 516; [405]. Marden rented a nearby lot for a mastyard. See note 18, Chapter III.
- ¹² Rockingham County Deeds, 9: 320; [202].
- ¹³ Ibid., 13: 92, 45: 164; [302], [402].
- ¹⁴ Faith Harrington and Steven Pendery, "Preliminary Report on the Sherburne House Site," Strawberry Banke, Inc. 1983; New Hampshire Provincial Probate Records, 20: 377; [407].
- ¹⁵ Ibid., 5: 32; [702].
- ¹⁶ Portsmouth Town Records, 2: 46, 142, 147, 164, 167, 169, 170, 196, 201, 211, 216, 355.
- ¹⁷ Rockingham County Deeds, 3: 101, 6: 327, 110: 165; [407], [804].
- ¹⁸ Portsmouth Town Records, 2: 8 F, 88, 208, 222.

- ¹⁹ Pendery and Chase, "The Marshall Pottery Site," p. 36; [502].
- ²⁰ Steven R. Pendery, "Summary Report, Marshall/Toogood Sites Development Project," Strawberry Banke, Inc., 1981, p. 4; [504].
- ²¹ Harrington and Pendery, "The Sherburne House Site," p. 21; [407].
- ²² Pendery and Chase, "The Marshall Pottery Site," pp. 26ff; [501]. Harrington and Pendery, "The Sherburne House Site," p. 12; [407]. Faith Harrington, "The Follett Site Excavation," Strawberry Banke, Inc., 1981, p. 18; [702]. G. Graffam, "Preliminary Site Report of the Rider-Wood House Site," Strawberry Banke, Inc., 1981, np; [802]. Aileen Button Agnew, "Preliminary Report of the Deer Street II Archaeological Project," Strawberry Banke, Inc., 1981, p. 16.
- ²³ Rockingham County Deeds, 356: 224; [305]. Portsmouth Town Records, 2: 188, 199.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 2: 46, 205, 233, 252, 253, 326, 327, 354, 425.
- ²⁵ New Hampshire Provincial Court Records, 21466; [804].
- ²⁶ Portsmouth Town Records, 2: 126, 166, 174, 191, 192, 197.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 3: 176, 183, 230, 281.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 3: 317; New Hampshire Gazette, June, 1802.
- ²⁹ Archaeologists have found only one privy in Portsmouth dating from the eighteenth century, suggesting that they may have been uncommon. Residents may have disposed of human waste by dumping into the river or onto manure piles.
- ³⁰ "Petition of the Proprietors of the Portsmouth Aquaduct, November 27, 1797," MS, Portsmouth Athenaeum; "An Act to Incorporate Certain Persons for the Purpose of Bringing Fresh Water in the Town of Portsmouth by Subterraneous Pipes, December 19, 1797," Laws of New Hampshire (Concord, NH: Evans Printing, Co., 1917) 6: 467.
- ³¹ Portsmouth Town Records, 3: 184, 229, 237, 279, 389.
- ³² The Oracle of the Day, November 2, 1796, advertises the sale of these commodities from Shapley's store; [406].
- ³³ Rockingham County Probate Records.

CHAPTER V

BUILDINGS

After the purchase of a vacant parcel of land a new owner, if he planned to live there, expended time and resources to construct a dwelling and other buildings. This activity was not only common in the earliest years of development of our site, but also repeated itself throughout the eighteenth century as new parcels became available. In addition, subsequent owners often replaced, changed, or added to older structures, in response to new needs, tastes and technology. It was this activity more than any other that transformed the physical environment into a place where people could live and work.

During the initial phase of land division in the 1690s the new inhabitants built at least eight and possibly as many as sixteen houses at the site.¹ One of these belonged to John Hill. On March 15, 1698, in the presence of his neighbors Thomas Phipps and George Snell, Hill arranged to have Edward Toogood and Samuel Hill, also neighbors, dig and stone a cellar on property he had purchased the previous year from Samuel Cutt. The next month, again with Phipps and Snell present, he contracted with Edward Skate to build a house. By examining these contracts we can reconstruct the steps taken to build Hill's house.²

At the time he purchased land along the cove, Hill was a captain in the militia, stationed at Fort Mary, an English outpost in Saco, Maine. This may explain why he did not build a house on his Portsmouth property immediately after purchase. Instead he waited almost a full year, from May of 1697 to March of 1698, to begin construction. In the spring, just after the thaw, the masons Toogood and Hill began to dig a cellar 30 feet long, 18 feet wide, and

6 feet deep. They then built a stone foundation for the house, rising about two feet above ground level, and incorporating one window and two stone stairways. One stairway would be used to enter the cellar through a bulkhead, the other would provide access from within the house. Finally, because the water table is high near the cove, they constructed a drain with pumps to carry water out of the cellar.

While the masons were completing the cellar, Hill came to an agreement with Skate, the carpenter, regarding the construction of the house. It was left to Hill to find the necessary building materials. He had to hew the timbers and bring them to the construction site. He was also responsible for getting all boards, shingles and nails. Once all the material was on hand, and the cellar was finished, the carpenter began his work.

The contract called for a house 42 feet by 31 feet, or about twice as large as the cellar. It would have two "square rooms" with a leanto kitchen in the rear, chambers above and a gable above the leanto. Figure 20 illustrates this arrangement. Skate's first task was to square the timbers for "Eight great Posts for the Square rooms, and Four Smaller ones for the Lintoe." He also prepared sills, beams, joists, rafters, purlins, and other structural units, cutting mortises and tenons so that the various parts would fit together. Once he was ready he called on other men in the neighborhood to help raise the frame. This was done by early July.

Meanwhile, Toogood and Samuel Hill were making bricks for the chimney. Because of their bulk and weight, and because the ingredients from which they are made are found almost anywhere, bricks have usually been manufactured locally. This was certainly the case with John Hill's house. The masons each owned property just a few houselots down the cove. Their lots were large, giving them ample room to produce the "good and well burnt Bricks" to which they had agreed. In a pit they mixed clay, sand and water;

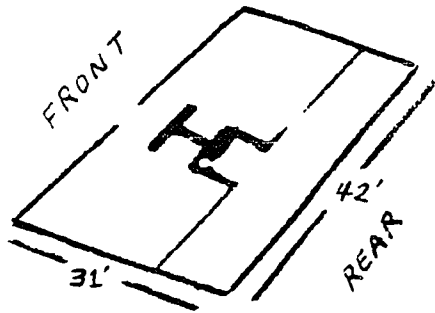
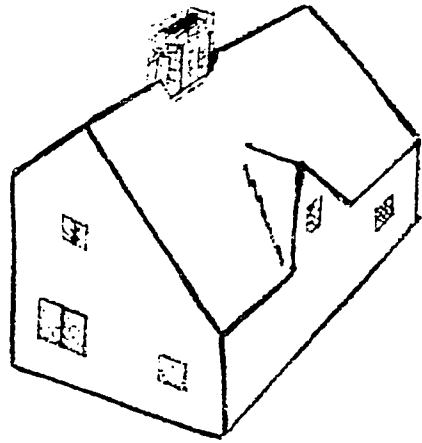


Figure 20. John Hill House, built in 1698; conjectural drawing based on building contracts.

and when it was the consistency of soft mud they put the mixture into molds. The moist bricks thus formed were then taken from the molds and set out to dry, probably under a shed. After the bricks were dry the bricklayers stacked them for burning, forming what was called a clamp or scove-kiln. They then built fires inside the clamp, maintaining the heat for several days. After the bricks had cooled they dismantled the clamp and sorted the bricks. The hardest ones, which had been closest to the source of heat, would be used above the roof where the chimney was exposed to weather. ³

With these bricks Toogood and Hill constructed a chimney with three fireplaces on the first floor, one for each of the square rooms and one for the kitchen. These fireplaces were eight feet wide and the one in the kitchen contained an "oven of a rationall bigness." Upstairs in the chambers there were two smaller, five foot wide fireplaces. The chimney then extended above the roof "a fit and Proportionable heighth."

While the bricklayers were at their work Skate was enclosing the frame with "Feathered Edge boards." He then laid the floors, with double boards, and planed the upper surface of them. He made the outer doors and hung them. Finally, for the proper finishing of the interior, he cut chamfers in "all the summers, girts, and beams," and planed "all that Part of all the Summers, girts, beams and Posts, w^h is to be seen."

The bricklayers finished by the first of September, the carpenter by the sixteenth. It had taken seven months to complete the building. The cost to John Hill was 72/10. He paid 45/10 to Toogood and Hill, one half when the cellar was complete and the bricks had been fired, the other half when the job was finished. To Skate went 9 when the frame was raised, and 18 when the house was completed. The carpenter received less than the bricklayers not because his job was easier but because Hill had provided the timber and other materials. Toogood and Samuel Hill, on the other hand, had found or

produced "at y^r own cost, and charges, all and all manner of Bricks, Stones, timber, Lime and all other materialls whatsoever" needed for the chimney and cellar.

Hill's house was completed as a single project during the course of one building season. Even the leanto, often a later addition to a smaller house, was incorporated into the original design. John Sherburne's house (Figure 21) however, was built in stages. Sherburne's house has survived, though it was adapted to different styles and uses over the years. Its frame, however, remains intact and clearly shows that it was originally built according to a one-room plan. That is, it had one large room downstairs, with a chimney at the eastern end, and a chamber upstairs. This part of the house was built sometime after Sherburne purchased his lot in 1695. Later, and certainly prior to February of 1704, an addition was made to the eastern end of the house, resulting in a single building with a central chimney. (In February 1704 a deed from Sherburne's widow Mary to their son Joseph mentions "the lower room at ye East End of the dwelling house.")⁴

The construction of a house in stages may have been typical. Abbott Lowell Cummings' study of 144 Massachusetts houses built before 1725 shows that more than half were built on a one-room plan, and most of these were later enlarged.⁵ Thus, the construction of Hill's house may have been unusual. In the contracts he is listed as being from Saco Fort in the Province of Maine, and apparently he did not have immediate need for shelter in Portsmouth. Not only did he wait a year to begin construction, but within two years of its completion he may have been living in Berwick. Although he continued to own it until his death in the 1730s, he may never have lived in the house.⁶ Thus, John Hill's house may have been built as an investment, and does not reflect the growth of a house in response to the need of its inhabitants.

At the same time that Hill and others were having houses built they were

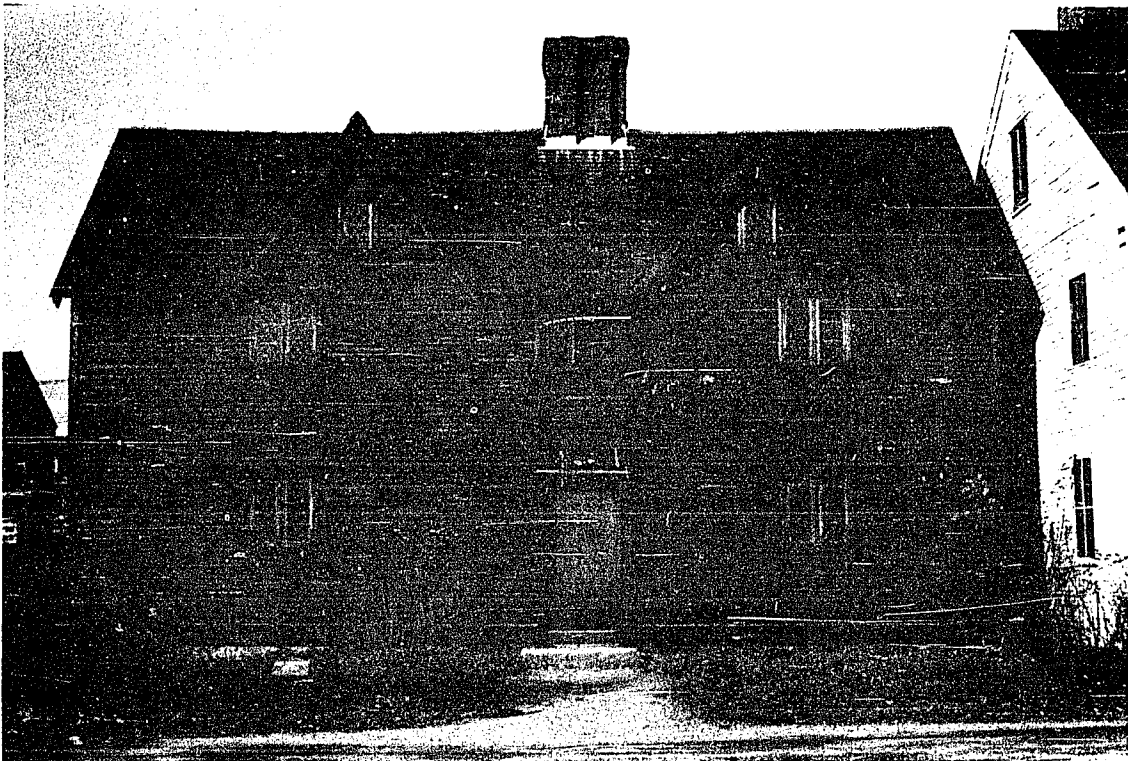


Figure 21. Sherburne House, built in two parts, circa 1695 and 1703.

also attending to the construction of warehouses, outbuildings and wharves. The craftsmen who built the dwellings were also involved in these other activities. For example, at about the same time Samuel Hill was working on John Hill's house he also built a log wharf for Samuel Penhallow.⁷

Archaeologists have only recently begun to investigate the construction of wharves during this period. Preliminary analysis suggests that the builders piled large logs, with bark removed, horizontally on top of one another, with verticle pilings to secure them. They then laid cribbing across the top to form a floor or filled the space within the logs with stones or ballast. In general, wharf construction entailed the informal use of available materials to meet immediate needs, and did not follow drawn plans.⁸

The techniques used in the construction of warehouses and other non-residential structures were similar but not identical to those used for dwellings. The major differences lay in the arrangement of space. One such structure, now known as the Sheafe Warehouse and reputedly built in 1705, has survived. Its first floor dimensions are 50'4" x 20'2", longer and narrower than most dwellings. The ceiling height on the first floor is 9'7", whereas ceilings in dwellings were usually about eight feet high. Originally there were no interior partitions and the chimney stood in a corner of the building. This left a vast amount of open space for handling goods. The second floor projects four feet beyond the first to facilitate the transfer of cargo to and from vessels (Figure 22). To handle heavy loads on the second floor the builders used "knees" to support the cross beams. Originally the exterior was probably covered with shingles or weather boards, with wide doors at either end, and only a few windows.⁹

If we bring together what we know of the spatial organization of the neighborhood and the appearance of houses and other buildings in the late 17th century, a general picture of the site begins to emerge. We can imagine a



Figure 22. Sheafe Warehouse, built circa 1705.

collection of houses standing along unpaved streets and lanes. Some of the houses are small, little more than twenty feet wide, with a chimney to one end. Others are larger, about forty feet wide, with a chimney in the center. They have shingled roofs, some with gables. The walls are covered with either clapboards or shingles, or in some places by wide weather boards. The windows are leaded, with diamond panes, and somewhat irregularly placed. The houses are new, all under ten years old. One or two are still under construction, and others are being expanded with the addition of a wing or lean-to.

Each house sits on a lot defined by a fence. Within the fences paths lead to gardens, wells, sheds, privies, shops, and other buildings. If the property is on the water there is a wharf built of logs and stones, and a gundalow or larger vessel tied there. The lots closest to the river are relatively small and already crowded with buildings and activity; those up the cove are larger, with buildings farther apart and more room for activity. Indeed, some lots in that area have no buildings at all and are still used for planting corn or grazing cattle or sheep.

Figure 23 gives an artist's impression of the place based on such a description.¹⁰ It is undoubtedly flawed in some details, but on the whole it gives an accurate impression of the neighborhood as it was created and known by the men and women who lived there in 1700.

This first generation of buildings at our site appeared near the end of the first period of American architecture. Already a new, fundamentally different approach was making an appearance in England and elsewhere. The difference did not stem from technological changes, although over the course of the eighteenth century builders tended to use lighter timbers for framing and by the end of the century some were using sawn rather than hewn elements in parts of the frame." The real change came not in the way houses were built

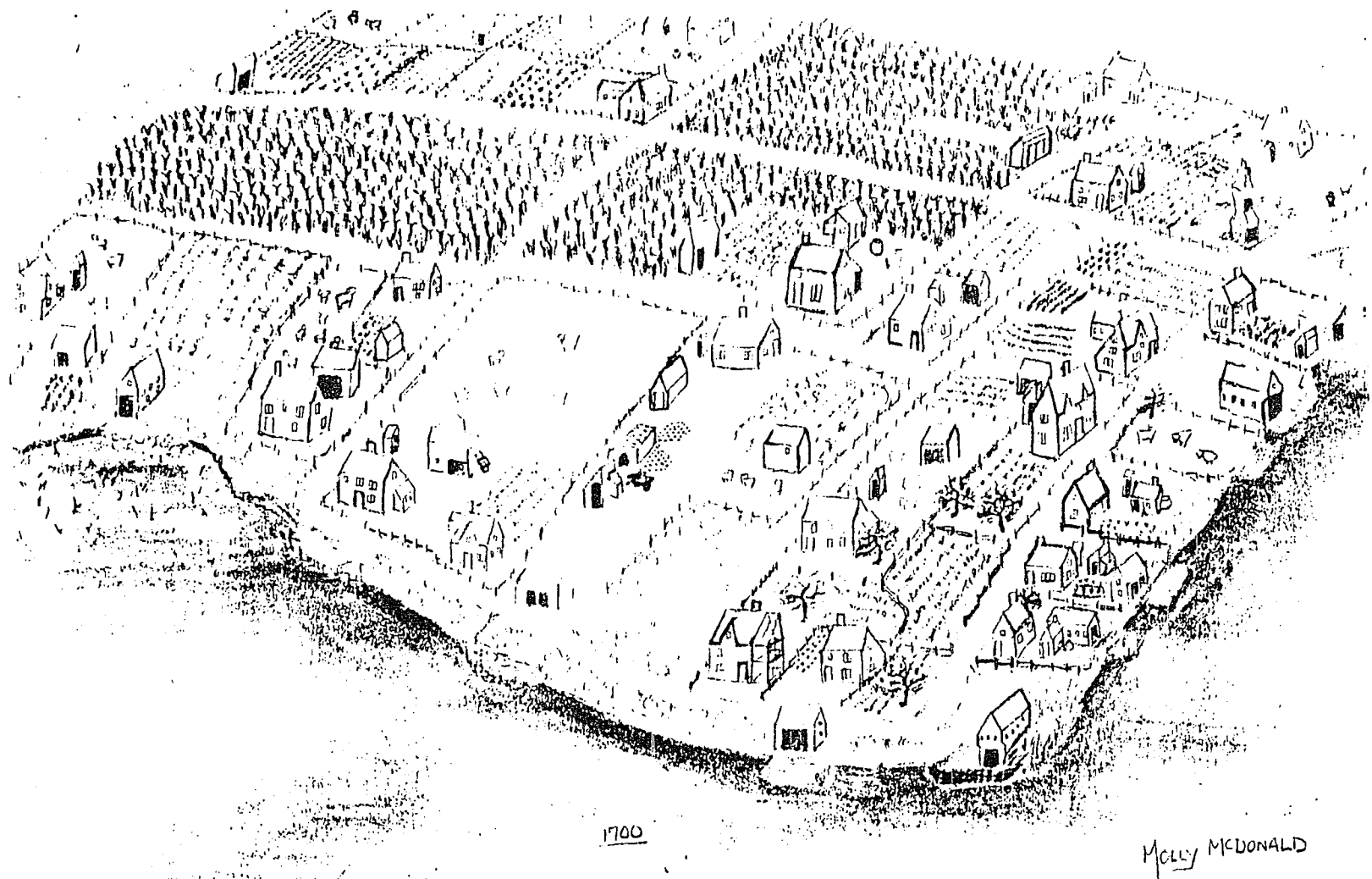


Figure 23. Conjectural View of Study Site, 1700, (drawing by Molly McDonald, courtesy Strawberry Banke, Inc.).

but in the way they looked.

An early sign of the new style is evident in the portion of the Sherburne House built about 1703. Along the chimney girt the builder applied a classical molding as a cornice.¹² In this simple act he introduced to our site a new idea of the way a house should look. This style, known as the Georgian, soon became popular and before long the first generation of houses was decidedly out of date.

The first completely Georgian structure appeared in Portsmouth about 1720. Archibald MacPhaedris was a wealthy, successful merchant, and apparently he wanted to impress others. Near the waterfront, within two blocks of our site, he had a house constructed that was modeled on the most up to date houses in Boston (Figure 24).¹³

The Sherburnes, the Hills, and the others who had built the first houses near the cove were able to watch the construction of MacPhaedris' house. This probably was not the first Georgian house that some of them had seen. As merchants and mariners many of them had been to London. But the presence of this house in Portsmouth made obvious the differences between the new style and the old.

A comparison of the Sherburne House and the MacPhaedris House reveals some of the characteristics that distinguish one style from the other. In part, the differences are technological. For example, the earlier hinged windows with small panes of glass set in lead calmes, give way to double-hung sash windows with larger panes and wooden muntins. But the major differences are in appearance. In particular, the emphasis on symmetry, with a strong focus on the central doorway, and the use of classical motifs, distinguish the Georgian style.

Inside MacPhaedris' house the master joiner John Drew covered the posts and beams with casings and panelled the walls. The person who had built

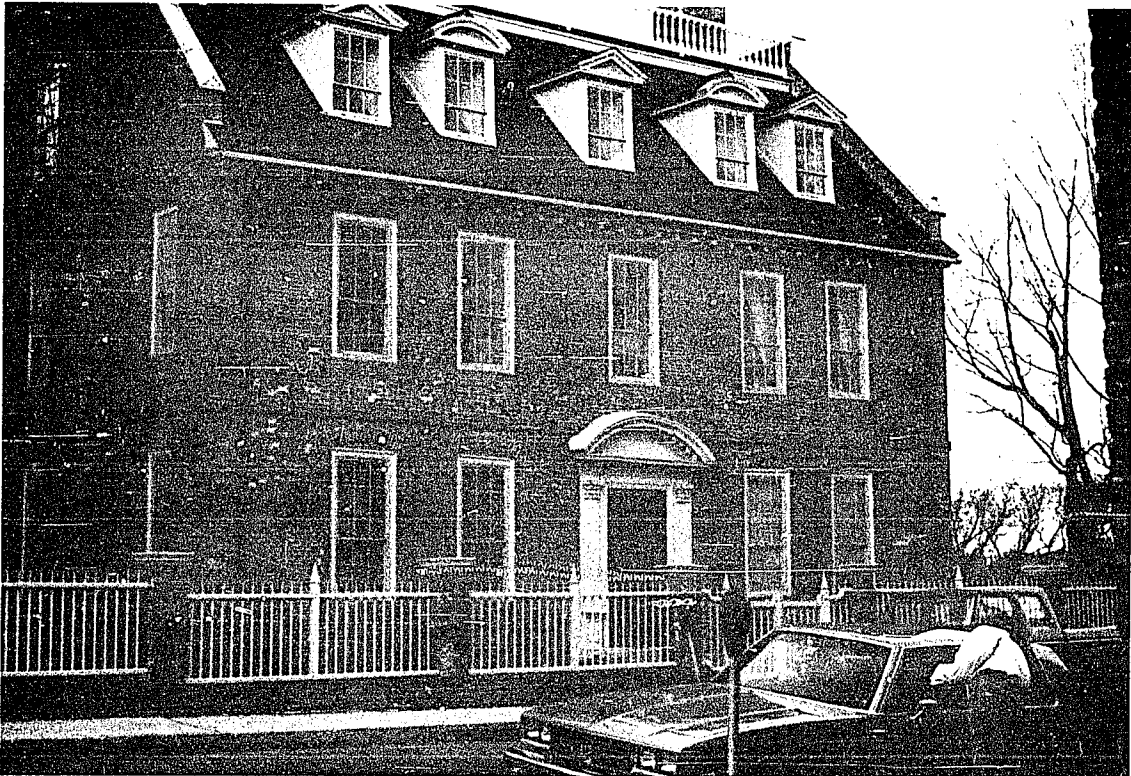


Figure 24. Georgian House built by Archibald MacPhaedris, circa 1720; now called the Warner House.

the Sherburne House twenty years earlier had left much of the frame exposed. It is not that he lacked concern for the appearance of the interior, for he took the trouble to plane, chamfer and whitewash those parts of the frame that showed. But the new style called for the frame to be covered instead of decorated. This is why the classical cornice in the Sherburne House, although it did not cover the entire beam, was a significant first step in the direction of the new style.

The differences between the new and the old are, and were, obvious. Within a few years of the completion of MacPhaedris' house Joseph Sherburne had taken the house his father had built and remodeled it in the Georgian fashion. He had the windows and doors replaced and the front gables removed; he had the central chimney taken out to make room for a central hall; and he had the ceiling plastered and frame encased. By the time he was done the house more closely resembled the MacPhaedris house than it did its earlier appearance.¹⁴

Sherburne was not simply copying MacPhaedris. Rather, he was doing what all successful merchants in Anglo-America were doing at the time. As their wealth grew they built homes in the Georgian style, homes that fit their position in society. This style, with its use of classical details and its emphasis on symmetry and balance, fit well the image of the enlightened, rational man of the eighteenth century. After 1725 the style became widespread throughout the colonies.¹⁵

This new style gradually joined the old at our site. There was no general rush to modernize, as Sherburne had done. But houses age. Weather and time cause roofs, chimneys, and clapboards to deteriorate. Most unprotected wood remains in good condition for only forty to sixty years, and the first generation of houses had wooden shingled roofs and wooden siding that was probably left unpainted.¹⁶ Thus, from 1740 on they were in need of repair.

Some owners simply provided minimum maintenance, patching roofs,

repointing chimneys, and painting clapboards; but others took the opportunity to remodel in the Georgian style. About mid-century Joshua Jackson, a blacksmith, built a new house on the spot where his father had built one in the 1690s. Although the architectural evidence has not yet been fully examined, it appears that he used the same foundation and chimney, and possibly the same frame, but that he clothed the frame in the new fashion. (Figure 25).¹⁷

The architectural details in Jackson's house are far simpler than those in MacPhaedris'. The uniform fenestration and the pilasters surrounding the central doorway clearly link the two, but the differences in scale and elaboration reflect wide differences in wealth. A blacksmith built according to the current fashion, but also according to what he could afford.

Other Georgian houses appeared at our site as new houselots became available. As we have already noted, this was a gradual process. Slowly Zone 2 expanded as the owners in Zone 3, especially George Walton, divided their large lots. John Underhill's house built in 1762, and John Staver's inn built in 1766, both on parcels purchased from Walton, are good extant examples of the Georgian style at our site. (Figures 26 and 27).

By the 1770s the neighborhood was part of the middle waterfront, where most of the commercial activity in the town took place. By then, too, there was a mix of two architectural styles among the residences. New houses in the Georgian style and older ones that had been remodeled in the new fashion stood beside others that had not changed.

On the waterfront the wharves had grown and warehouses were more numerous, although in appearance they probably looked much as warehouses had looked in 1700. Styles had changed dramatically for dwellings, but since basic construction materials and techniques had not changed, the appearance of utilitarian structures such as warehouses probably remained the same.

The neighborhood still contained ample space for gardens and craft pro-

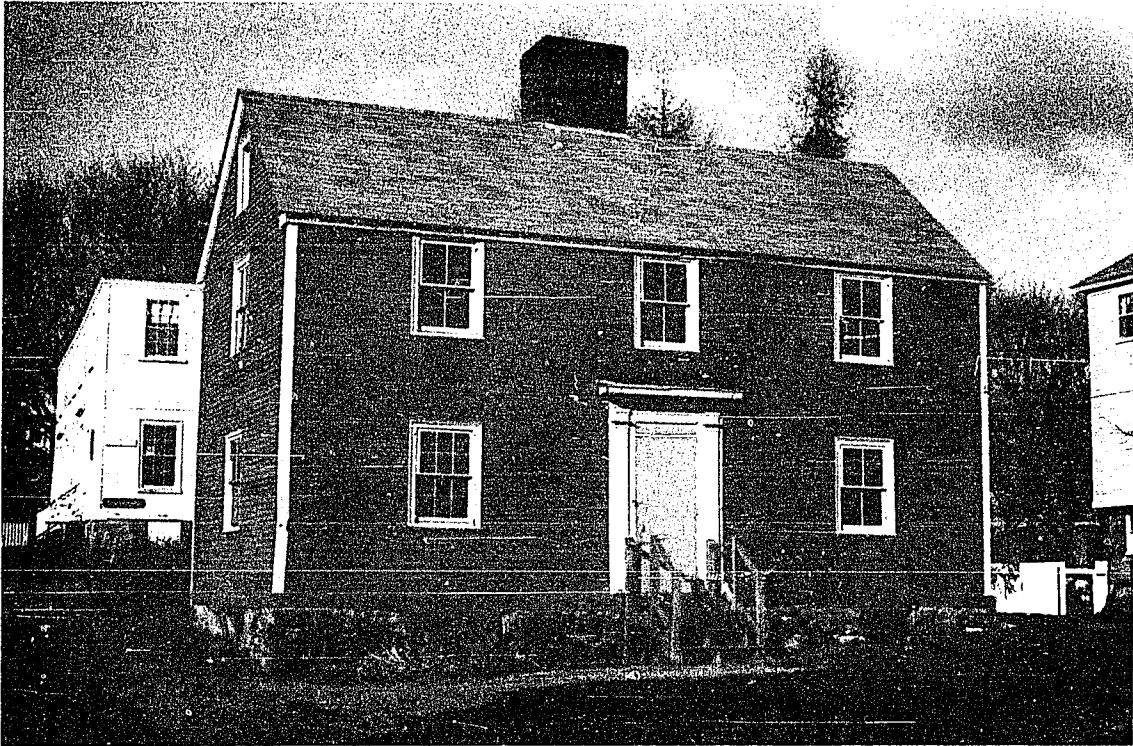


Figure 25. Joshua Jackson House, built circa 1750.

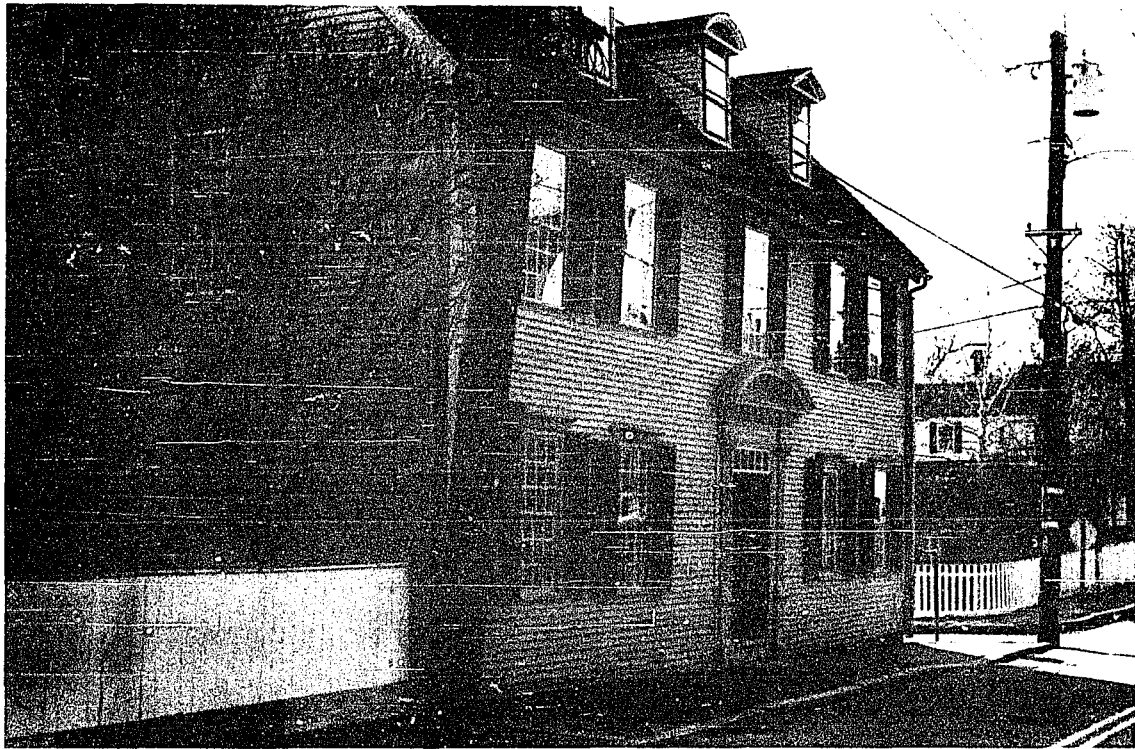


Figure 26. Georgian House built by John Underhill in 1762; now called the Chase House.



Figure 27. William Pitt Tavern, built by John Stavers in 1766, (drawing by Allen Hill, courtesy of Strawberry Banke, Inc.)

duction, although Walton had already shut down his tannery and was in the process of dividing his land. A few new streets had been laid out since 1700, and Swing Bridge had been constructed. These and other changes are evident in Figure 28 which is an impression of how the neighborhood looked about 1770.

As we have already noted, the prosperity of the 1790s had a major impact on the neighborhood, causing a marked increase in the number of houselots and in the number of houses. This growth occurred at a time of transition from the Georgian style to the Federal. That architectural change was not as dramatic as the change to the Georgian had been seventy years earlier. The Federal style continued the same basic approach to a structure, with an emphasis on balance and symmetry and a desire to cover the frame. The primary differences came in small details which had the accumulative effect of creating a lighter, more delicate feeling.

At least eight houses were built in the neighborhood during the 1790s, some on vacant land and some replacing earlier houses.¹⁸ One of these, built by William Stavers, is shown in Figure 29. This was the largest group of houses to appear in a single decade since the 1690s, and the seven that survive make up over a quarter of the extant pre-1850 houses at the site. Hence, although the differences between them and the earlier Georgian houses may be slight, their numbers make them very significant in the evolution of the environment.

Many of these houses exhibit elements of both the Georgian and Federal styles. Timothy Winn's house has two fireplace walls paneled in the Georgian fashion, the rest are plastered in the Federal. Winn may have reused old materials or incorporated a two-room Georgian dwelling into his new house. Keyran Walsh's house was more truly transitional in that a Federal styled dining room was finished at the same time as the Georgian styled remainder of the house. Both styles were popular, but clearly distinct, as is evidenced by the door that

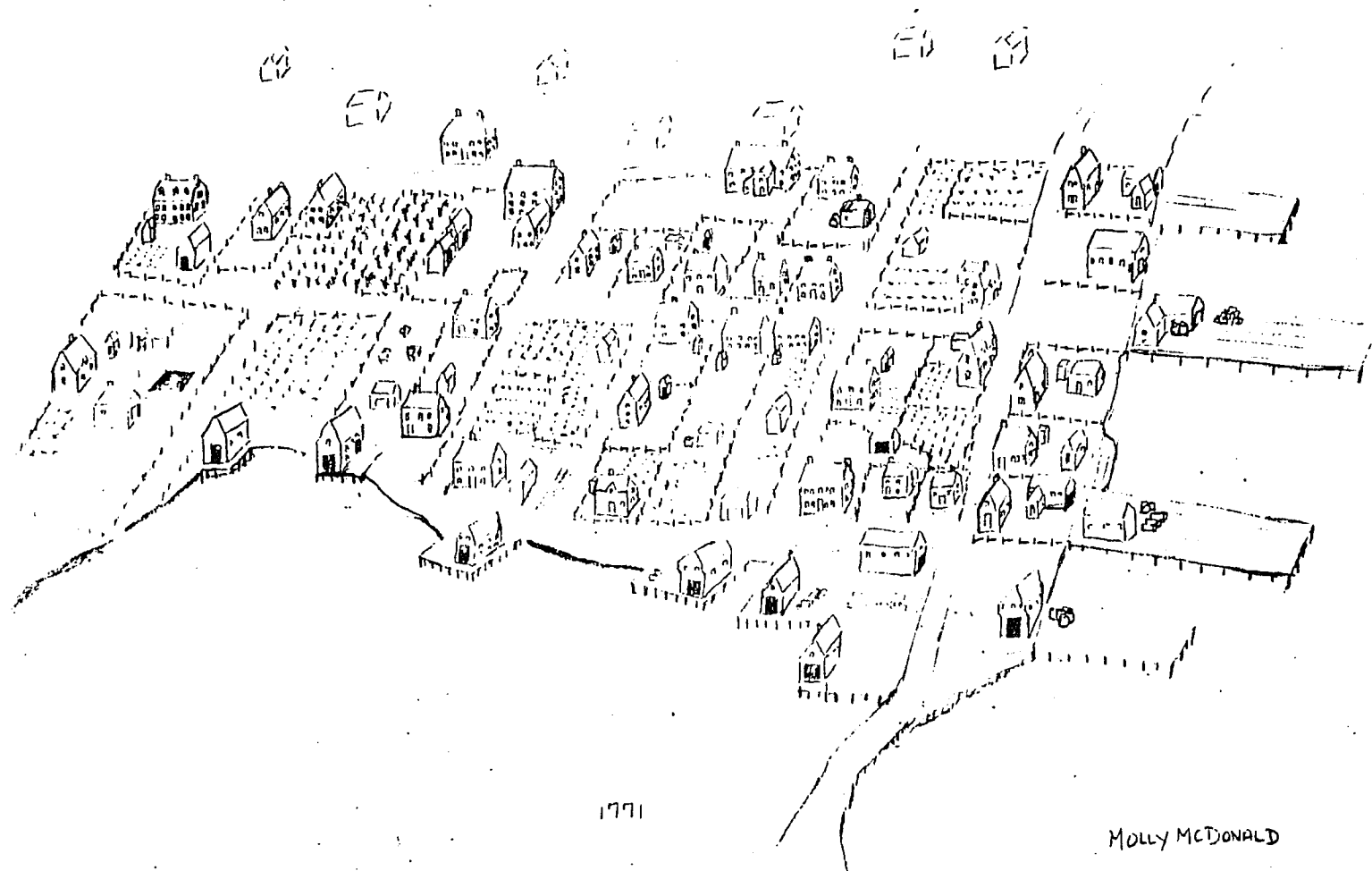


Figure 28. Conjectural View of Study Site, 1770, (drawing by Molly McDonald, courtesy Strawberry Banke, Inc.).

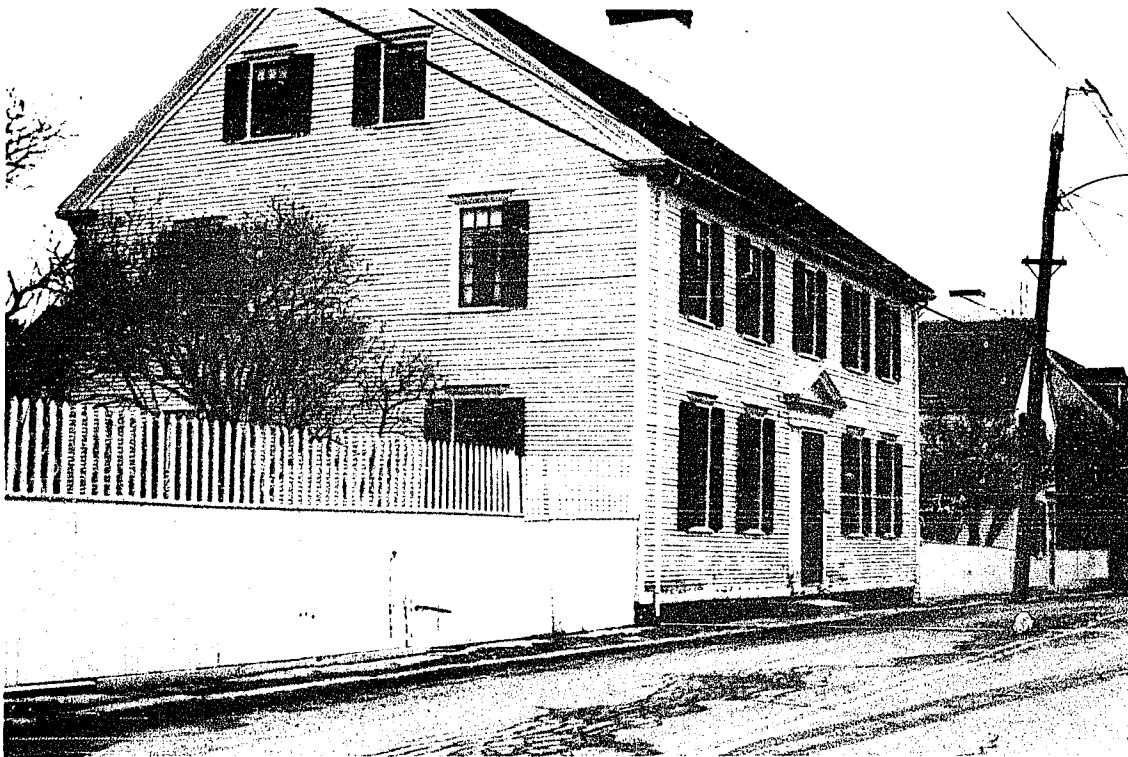


Figure 29. House built in 1797 by William Stavers; now known as the Thomas Bailey Aldrich Memorial.

serves both the dining room and the adjoining hall. That door is actually two doors sandwiched together, so that the panels on each side are of the appropriate style and configuration.

The mix of styles also appeared in the remodelling of individual rooms within older houses. In 1807 Mary Chase, who then owned the Georgian house that John Underhill had built, had one room redone in the Federal style, placing it in sharp contrast to the rest of the house.

In Peter Lowd's house (Figure 30), the Federal appeared first. The original section of the house, built about 1805 and facing the cove, is Federal. The ell, added later to the house, is actually an older building. Instead of building an addition, the owner found a Georgian house nearby, moved it, and attached it to the main structure.²⁰

The increase in prosperity and population in the 1790s led several owners to incorporate shop rooms within their dwellings. Of the eight houses built in the 1790s at least three had such rooms. The shop in John Shapley's house (Figure 31) had a separate entrance and was clearly designed as a utilitarian space, with planed and painted sheathing on the walls, and minimal decoration. It was distinctly different from the adjacent rooms ornamented in the Federal style.²¹

Thus, in the early nineteenth century we find a neighborhood marked by an even greater mix of styles. From house to house, or from room to room, one encountered Federal, Georgian, or even earlier types of ornamentation. At the same time there was a marked increase in the number of buildings. By 1813 (Figure 32) the neighborhood was a rich mosaic, reflecting over a century of economic and aesthetic evolution.

After 1813 the construction of new buildings at the end of Pitt (Court) Street and along Water (Marcy) Street introduced a new kind of structure to the neighborhood, giving that area a distinct appearance. The new buildings

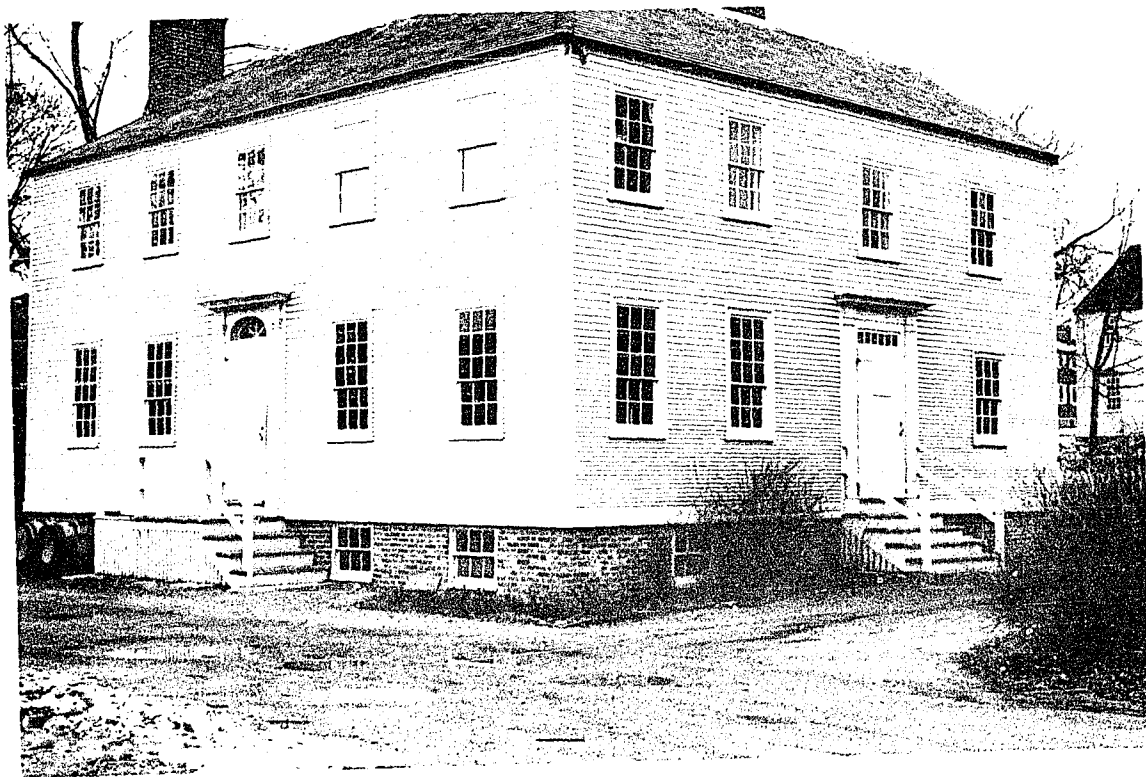


Figure 30. Lowd House, built circa 1805; the ell is an older structure (circa 1750) that was moved and attached to the main part of the house.



Figure 31. House with door to interior shop, built by John Shapley about 1790; now called Drisco House.

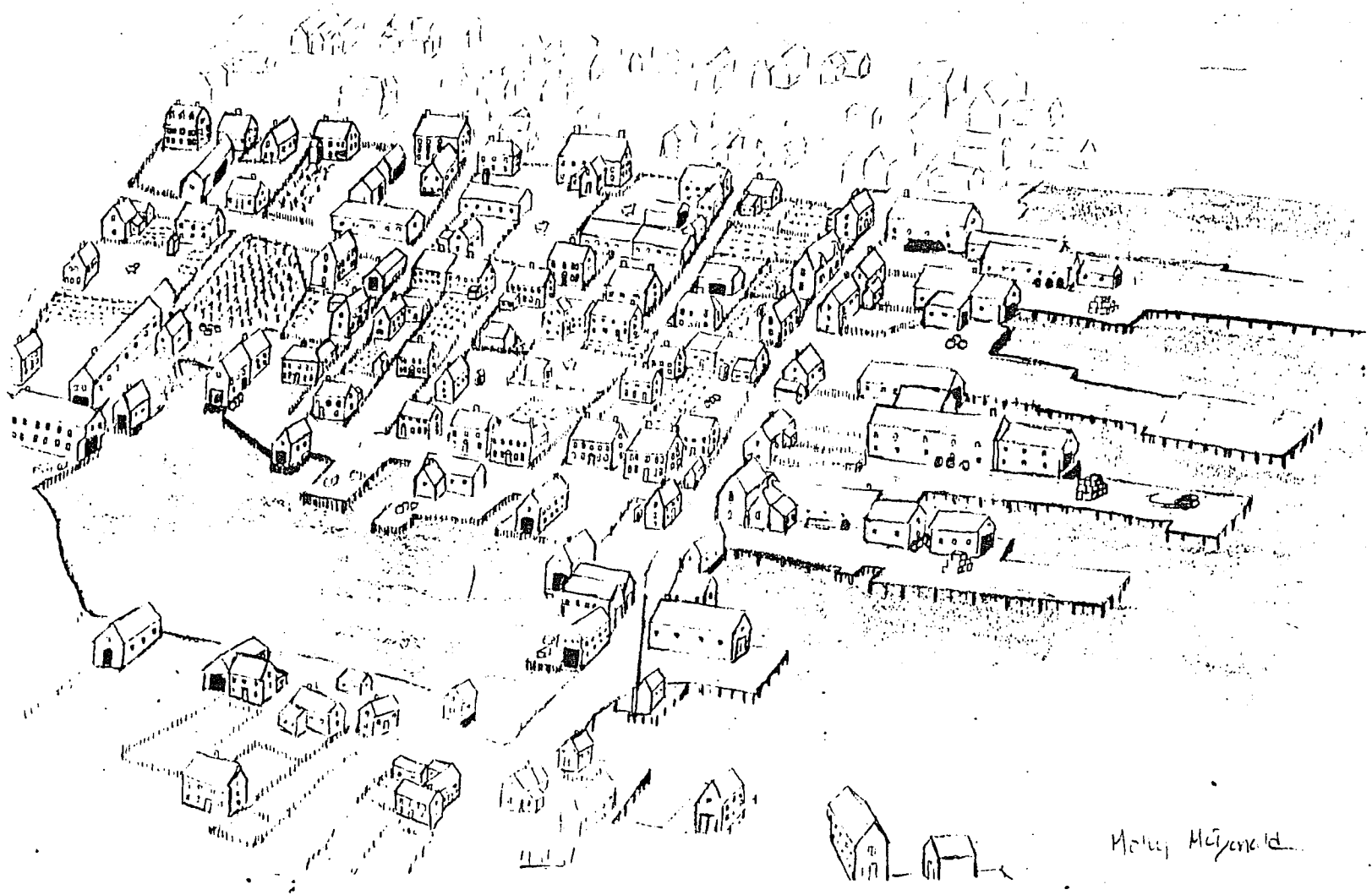


Figure 32. Conjectural View of Study Site, 1813, (drawing by Molly McDonald, courtesy Strawberry Banke, Inc.).

were of brick, but it was not only the material that set them apart. They also differed in form, placing an emphasis on height.

The front facades of earlier buildings were wider than they were high. That is, they were rectangular, with the longer axis in the horizontal position. Even when a narrow lot forced an owner to put a gable end toward the street he placed the entrance in one of the longer sides, with a path leading along the house to the door. Rarely would one find a door in the narrow, vertically oriented gable end.²² These structures were generally two stories high. Stavers' Tavern was exceptional in that it had three floors, but its facade retained the usual horizontal orientation.

The new buildings, on the other hand, had a vertical thrust. They were three stories high, with hipped or even flat roofs to emphasize their height. Designed for a crowded urban area, either as town houses or shops, they consumed less street frontage than had earlier structures. Thus, in fact, and in appearance they were taller than the older houses in the neighborhood.

Shapley Town House (Figure 33) is one of these buildings. It is actually two independent structures divided by a brick fire wall. Jefferson House (Figure 34) is another designed for commercial use and intended as part of a commercial row that was never built.²³

After 1820 yet another style appeared in the neighborhood - the Greek Revival. By this time the town's economic growth was leveling and commercial activity in our neighborhood was in decline, so there were few new buildings in this style. Nevertheless, those who could afford it modernized a room or two, or made other changes to reflect the new fashion.

The problem of aging continued to contribute to change. Reuben Shapley, who acquired several properties in the area in the early nineteenth century, razed a Georgian house that had been built at least sixty-five years before and replaced it with a smaller, simpler dwelling (Figure 35), now known as



Figure 33. Shapley Town House, built circa 1816.

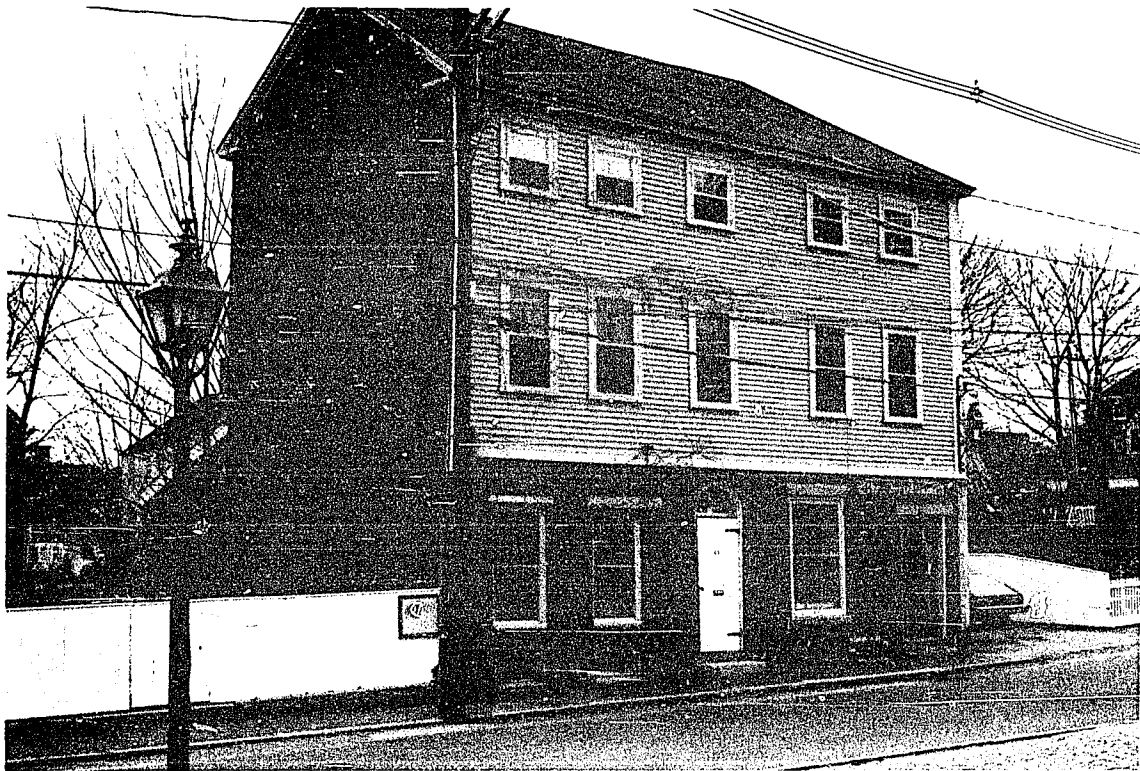


Figure 34. Jefferson House, built circa 1816.

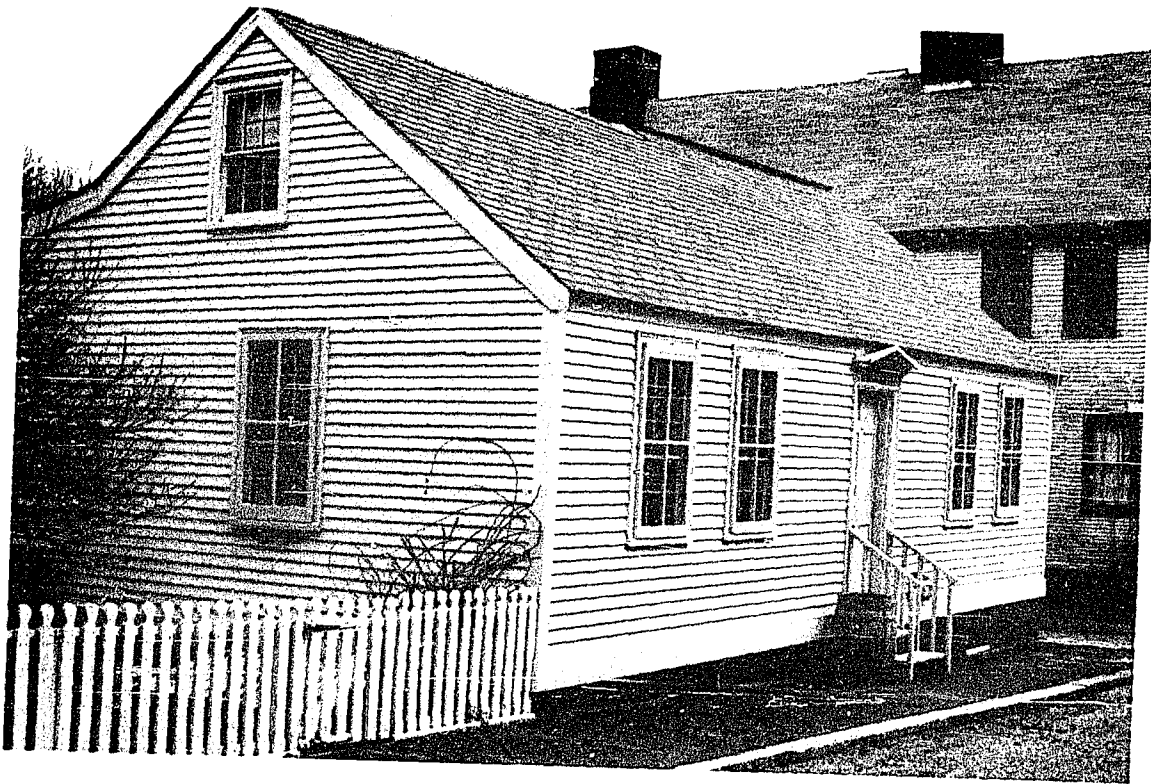


Figure 35. House built by Reuben Shapley, circa 1820; now called Peacock House.

Peacock House. Another landlord, Leonard Cotton, erected two rental houses where a house built before 1700 had stood. These new houses lacked elaborate ornamentation both inside and out.²⁴

In other cases owners scarred Georgian panelled walls and removed cornices in order to apply a skim coat of plaster. This had the effect of creating smooth, flat surfaces, more in keeping with the new style. On some exteriors simple Greek Revival doorways replaced older forms (Figure 36.)²⁵

The decline in commercial activity made shop rooms good candidates for modernization. Eventually all of the shops in the houses built during the 1790s became residential spaces, with shop doors enclosed and walls and ceilings covered with paper or plaster.

These changes were few in comparison to those that had come before 1820. As wealth moved elsewhere there was little pressure to replace or change the old Georgian and Federal houses. On the waterfront, after the post fire construction, there was little new development. So the difference in buildings between 1850 and 1820 was not one of style or form, but one of age.

Aging affected buildings in a number of ways. A few fell into disrepair as time took its toll, and by 1850 they were vacant and derelict. Most remained in adequate shape, serving as homes for increasing numbers of laborers and immigrants who replaced earlier occupants. Several of the larger buildings became tenements, but an important few survived as old mansions maintained by elderly traders or their widows.

For the town's residents this juxtaposition of ancient, elegant houses, working class dwellings, and vacant buildings evoked notions of past grandeur and present decay. The once thriving commercial area had fallen from grace, although a few gracious homes remained. In effect, the physical changes that we have followed caused changes in appearance, which in turn caused a change in reputation. Through this process our site came to symbolize Portsmouth's past.

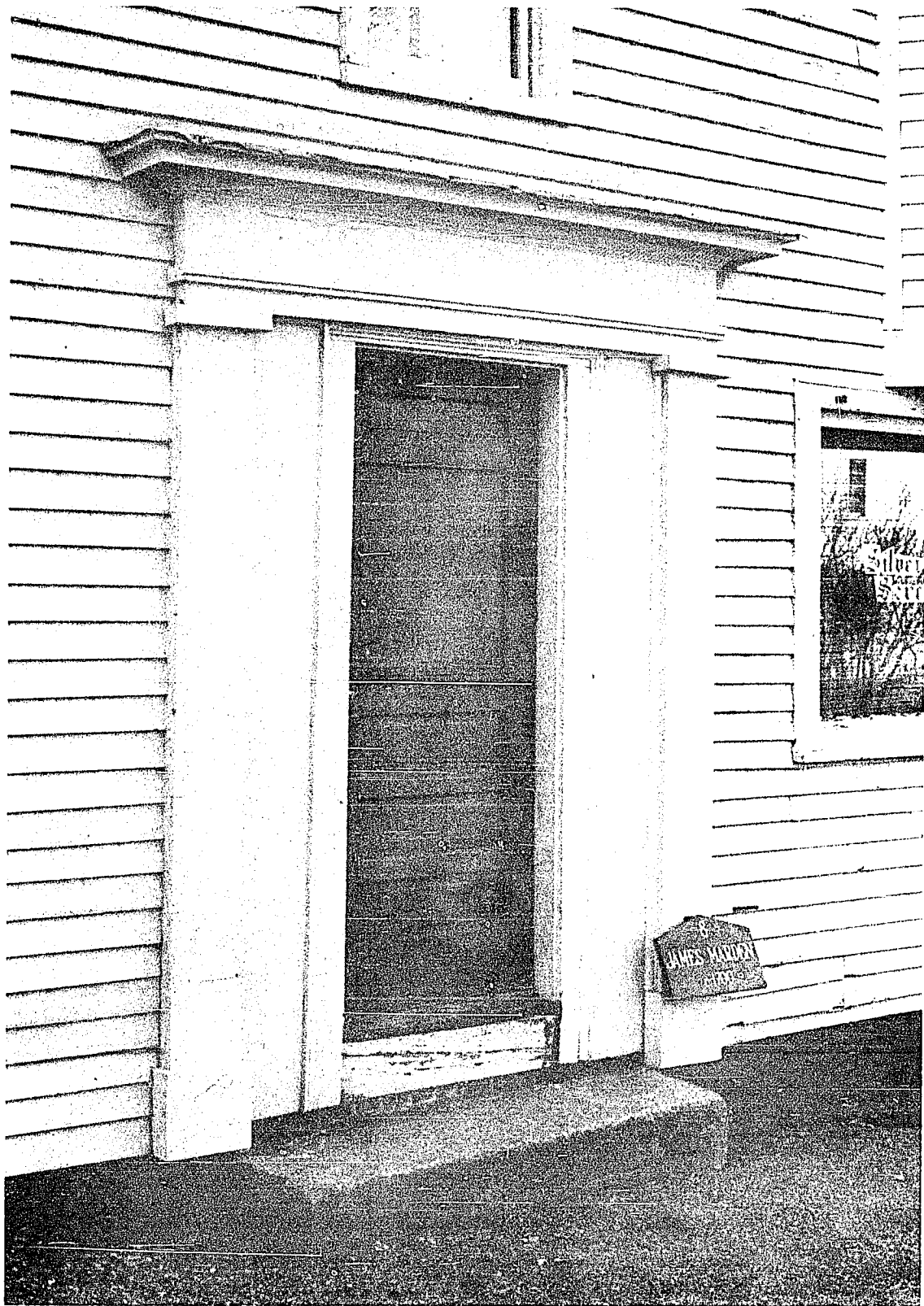


Figure 36. Greek Revival doorway, circa 1840, on Marden House, circa 1720.

CHAPTER NOTES

¹ Documents make reference to eight houses prior to 1701. For example, in 1696 Beriah Higgens purchased a lot "next to a house newly erected by Mark Ayers," Rockingham County Deeds, 5: 218. The eight were located on [003], [103], [203], [401], [405], [701], [702], [802]. In addition to the eight documented cases, eight other lots [001], [002], [202], [406], [407], [503], [507], [606], had dwellings on them the first time they were mentioned in deeds after 1700.

² "Contract between John Hill and Edward Skate, April 6, 1698," MS, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston, Mass. "Contract between John Hill and Edward Toogood and Samuel Hill, March 15, 1698," MS, New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, NH. Hill's house was probably on lot [802].

³ Harley J. McKee, F.A.I.A., Introduction to Early American Masonry (Washington: National Trust for Historic Preservation and Columbia University, 1973), pp. 41-44.

⁴ Rockingham County Deeds, 7: 44-46; Candee, "Sherburne Report"; [407].

⁵ Abbott Lowell Cummings, The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725 (Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 23.

⁶ There is evidence in the deeds that some properties were rented during the earliest period and that the practice continued. However, deeds do not always mention rental arrangements. Hence, it is difficult to measure the prevalence of renting, and little can be said about trends. Reference to Hill living in Berwick is in Noyes, Genealogical Dictionary, p. 328.

⁷ Rockingham County Deeds, 26: 471; [002].

⁸ Harrington, "Follett Site," pp. 11-13, 22; [702].

⁹ Historic American Buildings Survey, NH-7, Special Collections, Dimond Library, University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH. A nineteenth century photograph of the warehouse is in the collections of Strawberry Banke, Inc.

¹⁰ The depictions of the neighborhood in Figures 23, 28 and 32 were done for Strawberry Banke, Inc. by Molly McDonald, an intern from the University of New Hampshire. She based her work on extant period maps, photographs of surviving structures, and discussions with me. They are published here with permission.

¹¹ James Leo Garvin, "Academic Architecture and the Building Trades in the Piscataqua Region of New Hampshire and Maine, 1715-1815," (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1983), p. 20.

¹² [James L. Garvin], Strawberry Banke in Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Official Guidebook, (Portsmouth, NH: Strawberry Banke, Inc., 1971), pp. 32-33.

- ¹³ Construction of the MacPhaedris house is covered in detail in Garvin, "Academic Architecture," pp. 42-63.
- ¹⁴ Strawbery Banke Official Guidebook (1971), p. 33.
- ¹⁵ Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. 271-565 passim.
- ¹⁶ David M. Hart, "How to Date a House," Yankee Magazine (July 1976), p. 109.
- ¹⁷ Strawbery Banke, A Historic Waterfront Neighborhood in Portsmouth New Hampshire: Official Guidebook (Portsmouth, NH: Strawbery Banke, Inc., 1982), p. 24; [405].
- ¹⁸ New houses were built on lots [303], [406], [504], [601], [602], [604], [702] and [703].
- ¹⁹ Strawbery Banke Official Guidebook (1982), pp. 51, 56.
- ²⁰ Douglas Anderson, "Restoration/Rehabilitation of the Peter Lowd House, Strawbery Banke, Portsmouth, New Hampshire," report on file at Strawbery Banke, Inc., 1977, pp. 3, 4; [502].
- ²¹ Strawbery Banke Official Guidebook (1982), p. 22. The three houses with shop rooms are at [406], [601] and [604].
- ²² Houses built by John Eliot (c. 1744) [306], Joshua Jackson (c. 1750) [405], Dr. John Jackson (c. 1795) [703], and Thales Yeaton (c. 1796) [602] all had gable ends to the street but doors in one of the long facades. An exception was William Ham's house [803], built about 1791 at the end of Jefferson Street, which had its entrance in the short, gable end facing Washington Street.
- ²³ Strawbery Banke Official Guidebook (1982), pp. 26, 27; [201], [401].
- ²⁴ Rockingham County Deeds, 231: 111, 265: 155, 275: 88, 440: 337; [206], [701].
- ²⁵ Anderson, "Restoration of the Peter Lowd House," p. 4; Strawbery Banke Official Guidebook (1971), pp. 43, 47; [502], [503].

CHAPTER VI

REPUTATION

During the 1840s and 50s Charles W. Brewster, publisher of The Portsmouth Journal of Literature and Politics, wrote a series of articles on the history of Portsmouth.¹ Brewster and others were becoming keenly aware that their town was not keeping pace with the progress experienced by other towns. At the beginning of the century Portsmouth was the twelfth largest city in the nation and the hub of a thriving system of trade that included numerous smaller towns along the rivers that fed into the port. At mid-century it was just a small New England town among many, and the river towns, since turned to manufacturing, saw Boston as their hub. Dover, once a satellite of Portsmouth, was well on its way to becoming a major textile manufacturing center and the largest city in the Piscataqua region.²

Portsmouth could not brag about its progress, so it turned to its history as a source of pride. Beginning with Brewster the past became an essential ingredient in the definition of the town. By the 1870s resort owners along the ocean added "the historic old city of Portsmouth" as a nearby attraction, and Sarah Foster published the Portsmouth Guide Book, which took her readers to local ancient landmarks.³ This use of the past has remained an important component of life in Portsmouth to the present.

The salient theme of the works of Brewster, Foster, and others is that the town's importance lay in the grand days of the eighteenth century. This left the nineteenth century as a period of decline, or at best irrelevance. The physical appearance of the old waterfront areas, especially our neighborhood, contributed to this notion. Vacant warehouses and

old Georgian mansions were obvious examples of past grandeur and present decay.

We are fortunate that the best of these nineteenth century writers lived in our neighborhood. In 1849 Thomas Bailey Aldrich went to live with his grandfather in the house that William Stavers had built over fifty years earlier (Figure 29). He spent his early teenage years there and continued to visit regularly as an adult. The house, the neighborhood and the town provided the setting for several of his novels, short stories and one of his works of non-fiction.

Like many of his contemporaries, Aldrich used local color to tell a good story. He drew upon local characters and incidents, slightly exaggerated, to amuse his readers. What is significant for us is that many of the images he used to describe the setting and the people derived from his own experiences as a youth in our neighborhood.

The earliest work of Aldrich that uses a local setting is a poem that he wrote while still living with his grandfather. From his bedroom window he could see an old house, standing vacant across the street. The house had once been home to Theodore Atkinson, President of the Royal Governor's Council. For Aldrich it stood "alone, a queer and crumbling pile," its "days of former pomp gone by." The young writer admitted to having thrown stones to break the window panes, which now seemed "like eyeless skulls of some poor mortals dead!" The house, once grand, was now grotesque - a symbol of decay.⁴

Next door to his grandfather's house stood Stavers' Tavern, which by Aldrich's time was a boarding house. In The Story of a Bad Boy, a fictional account of his childhood, he writes of visiting elderly Dame Jocelyn, who lives in a small room on the top floor. She is a tragic figure, spending her

last days thinking of her youth, when George Washington had visited her father's inn and kissed her. Aldrich did not invent the story. Susannah Appleton, Stavers' daughter, was still living in the building during his youth, and Washington had visited the tavern when she was young. Aldrich takes her story and uses it to characterize an old but once grand place.⁵

This theme of past grandeur and present decay appears often in Aldrich's references to Portsmouth. In An Old Town by the Sea he calls nineteenth century Portsmouth the widow of the eighteenth century town. Grown old, surviving on wealth earned in its youth, the town just sits and dreams of its past. The image is not surprising in view of the fact that the young Aldrich knew at least three such widows living within a hundred feet of his grandfather's house.⁶

Aldrich did not overplay the theme by making the eighteenth century town appear more beautiful than it had been. He accepted Washington's comment, written at the time of the President's visit, that most of the houses were "indifferent". Brewster, on the other hand, felt compelled to defend Portsmouth, suggesting that Washington's views were colored because he spent most of his visit in the south part of town, where the houses were old. Of course, at the time of the visit that part was no older than any other; but in Brewster's time it was, and it provided a convenient, if not reasonable, explanation for Washington's slight.⁷

The value placed on the past led some writers to assume that our neighborhood had once been attractive. Again Aldrich avoided a simplistic comparison, asserting instead that the view from Liberty Bridge was "probably the same in every respect that presented itself to the eyes of the townsfolk a century ago." But Brewster looked out over the cove, with its old wharves and mud flats, and thought how beautiful it once must have been. "We wish we could give it a name better fitted to its earlier days," he wrote, "but can

only designate it as the Puddle dock of modern times." Foster was a little more dramatic, exclaiming to her guidebook readers: "You now reach Liberty Bridge, crossing the Dock, now, alas! Puddle Dock, but beautiful and commodious once."⁸

Brewster and Foster both assumed that the cove had once been attractive and that its nineteenth century appearance as little more than a puddle reflected the town's decline. But as we have seen the cove was never a deep or spacious waterway. The shallow upper end turned into mudflats at low tide. The narrow entrance, made narrower by the bridge construction in 1731, prevented large vessels from entering. At best it was a small adjunct to commercial facilities along the river.

But was it beautiful? The history of the name Puddle Dock suggests that it was not. Although the label became common in the nineteenth century, it was first applied to the cove in the eighteenth. Sometime before 1783, when the name appears in a deed, mariners began to call the cove Puddle Dock.⁹ It reminded them of a similar inlet along the Thames River in London, which had been called Puddle Dock for centuries. The origins of the name is uncertain. John Stowe, writing in the sixteenth century, claimed that it derived either from the name of a merchant who had lived there several centuries earlier, or from the fact that it served as a watering place for horses, whose trampling made the ground soft, causing puddles.¹⁰

By the eighteenth century Puddle Dock in London was used as a place where barges received the refuse from city streets, which they then carried down toward the mouth of the river for disposal.¹¹ There is no evidence to suggest that the cove in Portsmouth served a similar function. More likely its general appearance, especially at low tide, and the fact that it was frequented by barges, led the mariners to dub it after the inlet they knew in London.

The name Puddle Dock had to compete with other names. Most often the residents simply called the waterway, the creek or the cove, but they also called in Canoe Creek because it was shallow, and Walton's Creek after Walton's tanyard.¹² By the middle of the nineteenth century, though, Puddle Dock was the accepted name. For many who assumed that the decline in prosperity had also meant a decline in the beauty of the cove, the name was an obvious descriptive label, suitable to the waterway they knew. They forgot or did not know that the name first appeared long before any sign of commercial decline.

However, the common acceptance of the name Puddle Dock does indicate a growing concern for appearances. This was so not only for the cove itself but also for the town in general. Rather than being a result of economic decline in the nineteenth century, the concern related directly to problems of overcrowding that arose earlier. We can see this concern emerge in comments made by visitors.

When James Birket visited in 1750 he found the town "agreeably Scituated for Pleasure or Business."¹³ His strongest impression was that Portsmouth was an open, airy place. The town sat upon "a Moderate rising ground, not only from the river, but also from the Adjacent country to the Parade or Center thereof," from which one had "a prospect of the country on every side." The four principal streets were "pretty Straight and regular," the others "Irregular & Crooked with many vacant lots not yet built upon and most of em now made use of in gardens, etc." This description fits with what we know of the evolution of our neighborhood, which in 1750 still had plenty of open space.

Birket was also impressed by the houses. He wrote that "the houses that are of modern architecture are large & Exceeding neat. . .well sashed and glazed with the best glass [,] the rooms are well plastered and many

Wainscotted or hung with painted paper from England[,] the outside Clapboarded very neatly." Birket's emphasis on neatness and quality yields the impression of a very attractive place.

Such is not the case when we look at the comments of visitors thirty years later. During the interim Portsmouth grew and became more crowded. We have already noted that during the sixties and seventies the town showed concerns about growth and took steps to prevent the encroachment of private property onto streets. The economic depression accompanying the Revolution prevented some people from maintaining their houses, thereby adding the appearance of deterioration to the sense of overcrowding. By the 1780s the picture of Portsmouth was very different from what it had been in 1750.

Francisco de Miranda took a walk through the town in 1784, looking at the buildings, and found them "quite indifferent."¹⁴ He then added that "never before have I seen a town of this size in which there was greater sadness or loneliness!" Four years later J. P. Brissot De Warville noted that although there were some "handsome houses," many were "dilapidated," and that "everything shows signs of being in a state of decline."¹⁵

As we have seen, Portsmouth recovered from the depression and entered a period of prosperity. In the nineties people improved old houses and built new ones. They also replaced the faces on the town clock, passed an ordinance against defacing fences and walls, and planted a few rows of street trees.¹⁶ These small steps toward beautification which accompanied larger, more practical improvements such as the laying of sidewalks and the expansion of commercial facilities, indicate concerns for the town's appearance.

In spite of these advances, when Timothy Dwight considered the appearance of the town at the turn of the century he found it wanting.¹⁷ As did Brissot twenty years earlier he noted a number of handsome houses, but found "a considerable number. . . beneath the lowest rate of assessment." The public squares were "not remarkable either for their size or their beauty;"

a few streets were "wide and pleasant," but most were "narrow and disagreeable."

At this time our neighborhood was no different from any other in town. The narrow streets that bothered Dwight were an accepted part of the environment there as elsewhere. The names of some of the streets reflect even a positive attitude on the part of residents. When it came time to honor the leaders and ideals of the Revolution and early Republic, townspeople chose to rename several streets in our neighborhood. During the 1760s Commercial Street became Pitt Street, after the British statesman William Pitt, who was sympathetic to the American cause. Canoe Bridge Street became Washington Street in the seventies; Mud Lane and Jose's Lane combined to form Jefferson Street about 1800; and Horse Lane became Liberty Street in the 1820s.¹⁸ These streets were unpaved, ranging from twenty to twenty-four feet wide. They were neither grand nor beautiful. But they were busy, and among the most prominent in town.

The fires of the early nineteenth century changed that. Not only did the fires bring modern facilities to the central area, and hence a shift in commercial activity away from our neighborhood. They also set a new standard for the appearance of streets and buildings. The impulse for building anew in brick and for widening streets may have stemmed from practical considerations of the need for fire prevention and efficient transportation, but the result was that uniform rows of brick buildings and wide streets became common.

In the comments about Portsmouth, going as far back as Birket in 1750, there is an explicit preference for wide regular streets as opposed to narrow, crooked ones. This was the crux of Dwight's criticism: "The town was laid out without any regard to regularity. Had the contrary system been pursued,

very few would have been equally handsome."¹⁹ The significance of the fires is that they permitted an opportunity for the town to establish regularity. Thereafter, the central area of town met the standards of beauty, leaving our neighborhood below standard. It was at this time that the name Puddle Dock became universally accepted.

The fires thus set into motion a process that established a new reputation for our neighborhood. The shift in economic activity to other areas and the aging of buildings contributed to the process. Gradually the place took on a special meaning in the minds of the townspeople. Eventually the name Puddle Dock spread to signify not only the cove but also the surrounding area. Puddle Dock became a place; or more precisely the place acquired a name, and with it an identity.

The identity had two somewhat contradictory components. First, it was an important location in the history of the town. There one could see the building that had once been Stavers' Tavern, the Liberty Pole, the once bustling wharves, and the once beautiful cove. If the appearance of the area put some people off, others found value in the crumbling wharves and vacant warehouses. They added to the sense of antiquity. As Aldrich put it,

The crazy old warehouses are empty; and
barnacles and eel-grass cling to the piles
of the crumbling wharves, where the sunshine
lies lovingly, bringing out the faint spicy odor
that haunts the place - the ghost of the old
dead West India trade.²⁰

The place had a certain appeal. Of course, one would not want to live there if one could help it. Although some middle class residents, like Aldrich's grandfather, continued to live in the neighborhood, most others chose other areas of town. Increasingly the houses once occupied by mer-

chants, mariners and artisans became home to laborers and immigrants.

First Irish came, followed by Austrians, Italians, French Canadiens and Russian Jews. Eventually a mixed ethnic community occupied a place that had value as an artifact of the grand Anglo-American past.

For Aldrich the presence of foreigners added to the sense of decline. In another reference to Stavers' Tavern he reflects that a Mister Shaughnessy, slouching in the tenement doorway smoking a pipe, was not remotely aware that across that threshold had once passed George Washington, the Marquis de Lafayette, and other notables of the Revolutionary period. In placing the immigrant in contraposition to the founders, Aldrich implies that the decay was not only in the building but in its occupants as well.²¹

The contrast between the old order and the new immigrant culture appears again in "A Rivermouth Romance," a short story by Aldrich that uses our neighborhood as a setting.²² Mr. and Mrs. Bilkins live in a large old mansion, modeled after Aldrich's grandfather's house, on one of the streets that lead to the wharves. The story evolves around the marriage of the Bilkins' Irish maid Margaret Callaghan and Larry O'Rourke, a sailor who works too little and drinks too much. Aldrich, of course, stereotypes the characters. But what is significant for our purposes is the way in which he uses the place to reinforce the stereotypes. The mansion, with its "brass-mounted chronometer in the hall," and "the huge old-fashioned brass knocker" on the door speaks of respectability. It contrasts sharply with the "small, dingy frame house near the wharves" where the marriage secretly takes place. The newlyweds move into Mrs. Finnigan's "small, shabby tenement-house by the river," where Margaret sets up "housekeeping in a humble way." Of course, the lure of "The Wee Drop around the corner" proves too great for Larry, and Margaret finds happiness only when she returns to the security of the Bilkins' household.

Aldrich's use of our neighborhood in this way underscores the two components of its nineteenth century reputation. In the popular mind it was both an appealing place and one that repelled. Its antiquity embodied old values, refined and enduring like an old fashioned brass knocker, timeless like a deserted wharf. Its age also signified decline, the withering of values like a derelict warehouse or a shabby tenement.

An extensive examination of the long term impact of this reputation is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but some implications seem clear. In the twentieth century the neighborhood became a target for both historic preservation and urban revitalization. In the thirties this took the form of a proposal by John Mead Howells and Stephen Decatur for the creation of a historic district, in which all houses less than seventy-five years old would be removed and the rest restored. The plan called for the widening of some streets and the creation of parks and gardens.

About the same time Josie and Mary Prescott, two sisters who had inherited a fortune from their brother, decided to clean up the waterfront and make it more attractive. They used their inheritance to buy property along the river and raze old warehouses and other buildings. This resulted in the riverside park now known as Prescott Park.²³

In the 1950s the Portsmouth Housing Authority developed an Urban Renewal project for the neighborhood, calling for the demolition of all structures and building anew. As an alternative preservationists formed Strawberry Banke, Inc., and set about to save the oldest buildings.²⁴

In all of these approaches to the neighborhood people assumed that they had to improve the place, and that to do so meant changing the environment. For some this implied demolition; they saw too much decay. Others saw history, and argued for the preservation of the oldest structures.

In all cases there was a strong impulse to beautify the area by relocating buildings and widening streets.

Thus, the evolution of our site in the twentieth century, culminating in an outdoor history museum and riverside park, had its origin in the changing nature and reputation of the place in the nineteenth.

CHAPTER NOTES

- 1 Charles E. Clark, Foreward to Rambles about Portsmouth, by Charles W. Brewster (Portsmouth, N.H.: Lewis W. Brewster, 1873; facsimile, Somersworth, N.H.: New Hampshire Publishing Co., 1971), p. vii.
- 2 Dover surpassed Portsmouth in population in 1870, the cities having 9,294 and 9,211 people respectively. By 1880 Dover stood at 11,687, Portsmouth at 9,690. Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), p. 452.
- 3 Sarah Haven Foster, The Portsmouth Guide Book, (Portsmouth: J. H. Foster, 1884 [c 1876]). Quote is from an advertisement for the Farragut and the Atlantic Houses, Rye Beach, N.H., April 15, 1879, reprinted in William M. Varrell, Summer by-the-Sea (Portsmouth: The Strawberry Bank Print Shop, 1972), p. 82.
- 4 Aldrich's untitled poem is published in Brewster, Rambles, 1:109.
- 5 Thomas Bailey Aldrich, The Writings of Thomas Bailey Aldrich, vol. 7: The Story of a Bad Boy, The Little Violinist, and other Sketches (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), pp. 29-35.
- 6 Thomas Bailey Aldrich, The Writings of Thomas Bailey Aldrich, vol. 8: From Ponkapog to Pesth and An Old Town by the Sea (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), p. 185. The widows were Mary Chase [307], Mary Rider [801], and Susanna Appleton [301].
- 7 Aldrich, An Old Town by the Sea, p. 204. Brewster, Rambles, 1:266.
- 8 Aldrich, An Old Town by the Sea, p. 190; Brewster, Rambles, 1:96. Foster, Portsmouth Guide Book, p. 23.
- 9 Rockingham County Deeds, 119:260.
- 10 The Survey of London by John Stowe, Citizen of London (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., n.d.), pp. 38, 325. According to the introduction, the survey was first published in 1598.
- 11 Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1933), 8:1566.
- 12 Rockingham County Deeds, 9:636 refers to Canoe Creek; 162:2 refers to Walton's Creek.
- 13 James Birket, Some Cursory Remarks made by James Birket in his Voyage to North America, 1750 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916), pp. 8-10.
- 14 The New Democracy in America: Travels of Francisco de Miranda in the United States, 1783-84, ed. by John C. Ezell, (Norman, Okla., 1963), p. 180.

- 15 J. P. Brissot de Warville, New Travels in the United States of America, 1788 (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), p. 366
- 16 Portsmouth Town Records, 3:164,281. Timothy Alden, "The Glory of America," p. 41.
- 17 Timothy Dwight, Travels in New England and New York, 4 vols., ed. by Barbara Miller Soloman, (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969), 1:311 - 312.
- 18 For street names at various times see Portsmouth Town Records 2:197,409; New Hampshire Fire and Marine Insurance Company Records, MS, Portsmouth Athenaeum; and various deeds listed in the Appendix.
- 19 Dwight, Travels, 1: 312.
- 20 Aldrich, The Story of a Bad Boy, p. 28
- 21 Aldrich, An Old Town by the Sea, p. 213.
- 22 Thomas Bailey Aldrich, The Writings of Thomas Bailey Aldrich, vol. 4: Prudence Palfrey and a Rivermouth Romance (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), pp. 269-319.
- 23 Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., Preservation Comes of Age, 2 vols. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 1:332-340.
- 24 Strawbery Banke Official Guidebook (1982), pp. 16-18.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

In 1700 Mary Sherburne lived in a house in a place called Strawberry Banke. In 1850 Eunice Goodwin lived in the same house in a place called Puddle Dock. In the interim more than the name of the place had changed. The two women, separated by a century and a half, lived in very different environments. Each would have had difficulty recognizing the other's world.

We have examined the evolution of the place from various perspectives. First we placed it in the context of the larger town of which it was a part. Then we looked at the site itself, establishing patterns of land use and organization. Next we turned to the buildings, primarily dwellings, and described architectural styles. Finally, we assessed the reputation of the place. In each instance we discovered changes that occurred at various times in the site's development.

Based on our examination we can now define three distinct phases in the evolution of the neighborhood. The adaptation of the natural environment to meet human needs best characterizes the first phase, which ran from 1690 to about 1760. During this period the inhabitants divided the land into units and built facilities for commercial, manufacturing and residential activities. Because waterborn trade was the primary economic pursuit, the presence of the river and the cove was the dominant influence on the site and largely determined land use and arrangement.

During this phase the neighborhood presented an open, uncrowded appearance. Amidst the dwellings there were vacant lots and ample garden space. The streets were narrow, but not heavily trafficked. Along the river the lots were small initially; but subsequent reorganization provided enough room for

warehouses and wharf expansion. Lots fronting the cove were much larger, serving large scale manufacturing operations such as tanning and brickmaking.

A dramatic change in architectural style occurred during this period. Although this quickly made the earliest built houses out of date, enough were modernized and enough new houses were built to offset any sense of age. During the first phase this was a young neighborhood.

During the second phase in the evolution of the site, running from about 1760 to 1813, the inhabitants faced the task of adapting a man-made environment to the needs of a growing population. The number of individual house lots and dwellings increased, first through the dismantling of the tannery in the sixties and seventies, and then through the division of other large lots in the nineties. Large scale manufacturing operations disappeared as inhabitants devoted more land to residential use.

The growth in population fed on an expanding economy, marked by increases in the volume of trade. To handle the trade wharves reached farther out into the river and new commercial facilities, such as Staver's Tavern, the fish market at Swing Bridge, and many new warehouses, began to appear. Commercial traffic increased on the narrow streets. The town coped with this growing problem by monitoring encroachment on the streets, by laying some paved sidewalks, and by extending Jose's Lane (Jefferson Street) from Horse Lane through to Water Street, thereby increasing access to Long Wharf. But this helped only a little to meet the increased use of the streets. During this phase the neighborhood became crowded.

In the 1790s there was a change in architectural style, and again there was enough modernization and new construction to keep the neighborhood up to date. However, there was an emerging sense that in spite of the new houses, the neighborhood was not as attractive as it should be. Overcrowding not only made it difficult for the existing environment to meet human economic needs,

it also raised concerns about the appearance of that environment.

Up to this point the evolution of our site was little different from what was occurring in other waterfront areas of town. All were relatively open before 1760 and experienced overcrowding thereafter. Hence the concerns about appearance and lack of space that became evident toward the end of the century applied to the compact part of town in general.

The fires in 1802, 1806 and 1813, themselves a result of overcrowding, changed the situation. They made possible the modernization of the central area of town, leaving those areas that escaped with the old concerns. This marked the beginning of a third phase in the evolution of our site.

It is important to note that the fires alone were not responsible for the next phase. They occurred toward the end of a period of prosperity, hence there were resources for rebuilding. However, shortly thereafter the economy underwent a significant change due to disruptions in trade and the depletion of timber, which was the primary trading commodity in the region. This economic change, coupled with the modernization of the burnt out areas, determined the nature of our neighborhood during the third phase.

During this phase the inhabitants had to cope with both a crowded environment and one that was getting old, especially in relation to the newly built areas nearby. Commercial activity gradually declined, and much of what remained eventually shifted to the new areas. This eased the demands placed on the small streets, but it also made it less necessary to improve them. There was another change in architectural style during this period, but this time there was insufficient wealth to permit much updating or new building. Economic decline turned the neighborhood into an old place.

It became old not only in fact but also in the minds of the townspeople. During this third phase in its evolution its reputation changed, setting the stage for its development well into the twentieth century. It became the

Puddle Dock neighborhood - old, old-fashioned, derelict, and special.

In each of the phases of its development the economy played a key role. We anticipated this in Chapter I, when I outlined those forces that appeared to have the greatest influence on the spatial organization, structural form and reputation of a place. The need to make a living is basic to the process through which people create and modify an environment. To use R. J. Johnston's terms, an important goal of a spatial system (environment) is efficiency, usually measured in financial terms.

Other factors played a lesser role than the economy, their importance varying from phase to phase. The inertia of the natural environment had its greatest impact in phase one, when the nature of the land and waterfront influenced spatial organization and land use. The inertia of the man-made environment became more important in phase two, when the streets, lots and buildings had to meet demands of a growing population.

The impact of other factors, such as technology, aesthetics, and aging, depended on the economy. When there was prosperity the inhabitants could take advantage of new technology, such as the installation of a new water system or sidewalks. They also could follow new dictates in taste by building new houses and updating old ones. However, when the economy was poor the force of age overrode new technology and new tastes.

Finally, there was one factor that played an important role in the site's evolution that we did not anticipate in Chapter I. Most of what happened was the result of decisions made by people individually and collectively, as they sought to create and use an environment. But significant development in the site's history came about by accident. Had the 1813 fire spread into our area, or had it not happened at all, or had it occurred at a different time, then the history of our neighborhood would have been different.

In the end we have come to understand the history of a place as the interplay of many forces, human and otherwise. The way a place is at any point in time is the result of the workings of these forces on the physical environment and in the minds of the people who occupy it. Mary Sherburne and Eunice Goodwin may have lived in different worlds, but they were both participants in a process that gave meaning to our neighborhood.

APPENDIX

PROPERTY TITLE CHAINS

In order to trace property ownership at the study site I divided the site into nine parcels, numbered 0 - 9. Within each parcel I assigned three-digit codes to locations, roughly corresponding to the location of lots. Since lots sometimes split or merge or shift boundaries, the codes apply to locations rather than lots.

Thus, for some locations there may be more than one lot. On the other hand, a location may at times be part of a larger lot that transcends more than one location.

For each location I have established title chains for the relevant lots, based on property transfers recorded in deeds and wills. In the following lists I have given only the most basic information: date, grantor, grantee and source. Unless otherwise indicated, the source is a deed recorded in the office of the Register of Deeds, Rockingham County.

In chapter notes I have placed the codes in brackets in order to help readers locate properties mentioned in the text.

Although most of the title chains presented here are based on my own research, I have also used a number of reports prepared for Strawberry Banke, Inc. I have included the authors of these reports in my acknowledgments.

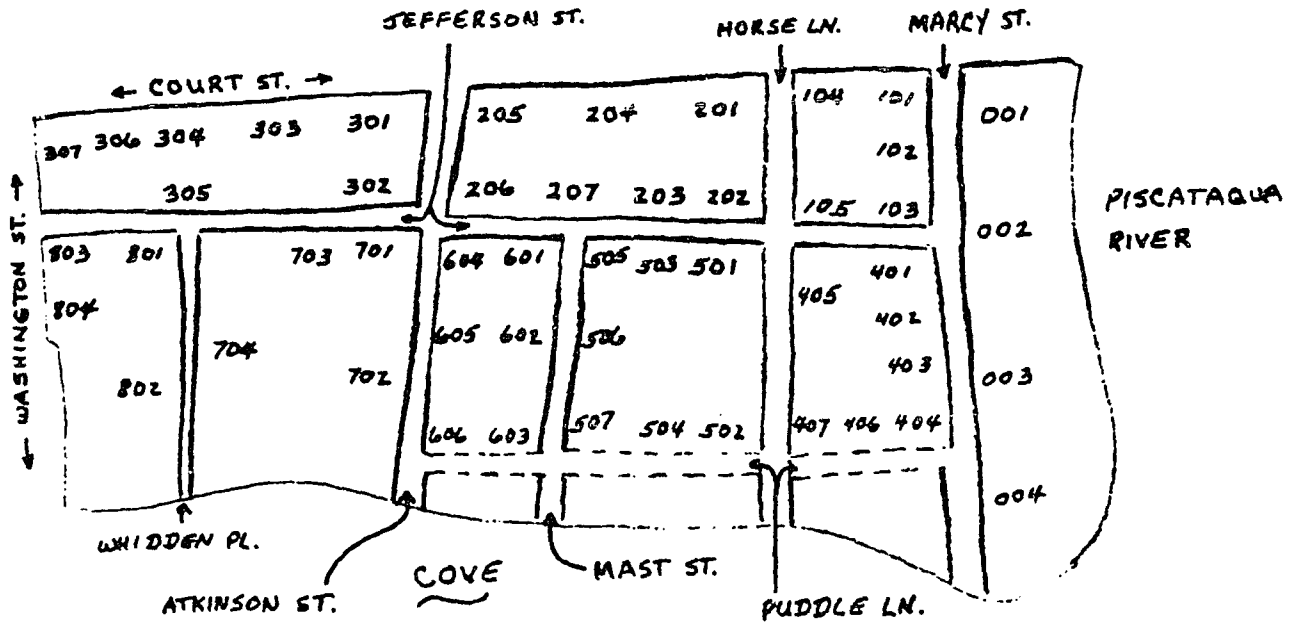


Figure 37. Representation of the study site showing property codes and locations.

Parcel 0 The river side of Marcy Street from opposite Court Street to the Liberty Pole.

001 Along the river, from opposite Court Street, about half-way to Jefferson Street.

(North part: in 1813 this was Shapley's wharf)

1694	Samuel Cutt to John Knight	6:346
1718	John Knight to Elizabeth Janvrin	11:395
1797	Abigail Janvrin to Reuben Shapley	146:129
1797	Mary Janvrin to Reuben Shapley	146:127
1797	Martha & William Marshall to Reuben Shapley	146:126
1799	Mary Janvrin to Reuben Shapley	161:418
1802	George & Nancy Long to Reuben Shapley	162:380
1823	Reuben Shapley to Nathaniel & John Haven	282:439
1833	William Haven & Samuel Cutts to Hale & Robbins	268:398

(South part: in 1813 this was Drisco's wharf)

1698	Samuel Cutt to William Partridge	6:177
1711	William Partridge to John Knight	8:162
1714	John Knight to Ichabod Plaisted	9:132
1734	Ichabod Plaisted to Joseph Jackson	20:507
1749	Mark & Mehitable Langdon (Jackson heir) to Henry Sherburne, Jr. (part of land)	39:219
1756	Nathaniel Meserve to Joseph Jackson (interest in Jackson estate)	50:52
1762	Joseph Jackson to George Janvrin (half of house and lot divided between Jackson and Henry Sherburne)	67:001
1767	Joseph Jackson to Titus Salter (mortgage)	96:89
1768	George Janvrin to Titus Salter (mortgage)	90:67
1768	Titus Salter to William Whitwell (mortgage)	90:104
1791	Whitwell heirs to James Drisco	132:344
1791	James Drisco to Benjamin Partridge	130:006

1797	Henry Trefethen (Partridge heir) to James Drisco	145:195
1804	Betty Akerman & Patty partridge (heirs) to James Drisco	159:195
1815	Division of Drisco Wharf into twelve lots among nine heirs. Drisco Lot #1:	209:135
1832	Izette (Drisco) Shaw to Samuel Hale & Ichabod Rollins Drisco Lot #2:	264:400
1814	Nancy (Drisco) & William Shaw to George Frost	204:303
1850	John Frost to Leonard Cotton Drisco Lot #3:	343:126
1819	Jeremiah Drisco to Izette Shaw	WILL
1832	Izette Shaw to Hale & Robbins Drisco Lot #4 & #8:	343:126
1815	Katy (Drisco) & James Adams to William Trefethen, Abraham Shaw & Nathaniel March	
1815	William Trefethen to Nathaniel March	209:134
1815	Abraham Shaw to Nathaniel March	209:132
1826	Sarah (Drisco) & Nathaniel March to Jeremiah Goodrich Drisco Lot #5 & #9:	270:470
1841	Elizabeth (Drisco) & William Trefethen to Heremiah Goodrich	303:437 303:439
	Drisco Lot #6 & #10:	
1833	Joshua Drisco to Hale & Robbins Drisco Lot #7:	269:70
1826	Sarah (Drisco) & Nathaniel March to Jeremiah Goodrich Drisco Lot #11:	270:470
1831	Izette (Drisco) Shaw to Nathaniel March	262:549
1831	Nathaniel March to William Damrill	226:89
1857	Lucy Damrill to Leonard Cotton	370:366

Drisco Lot #12:

1814	Nancy (Drisco) & William Shaw to George Frost	204:303
1850	John Frost to Leonard Cotton	343:126
<u>002</u>	Marcy Street, opposite Jefferson Street; in 1813 known as Long Wharf.	
	(North part)	
1716	Samuel Penhallow to John Penhallow	9:555
1718	John Penhallow to Henry Sloper	10:460
1747	Henry Sloper to Richard & Thomas Wibird	33:187
	(Middle part)	
1694	Samuel Penhallow to Nathaniel Ayers	6:93
1700	Nathaniel Ayers to George Jaffrey (mortgage)	6:241
1706	George Jaffrey to Nathaniel Ayers	5:161
1706	Nathaniel Ayers to Richard Wibird	5:159
	(South part)	
1692	Samuel Penhallow to John Snell	6:151
1717	John Snell to William Partridge (mortgage)	9:528
1719	John Snell to Richard Wibird	11:169
1721	William Partridge to Richard Wibird	12:181
	(Wibird estate)	
1814	Daniel Austin (Wibird heir) to Benjamin Damrill	205:325
1815	Daniel Austin to Benjamin Damrill	208:205
1816	Daniel Austin to Benjamin Penhallow & Ebenezer Wentworth (mortgage)	211:336
1817	Daniel Austin to Benjamin Penhallow & Ebenezer Wentworth (mortgage)	213:326
1818	Hunking & Benjamin Penhallow to Ebenezer Wentworth	218:235
1821	Hunking & Benjamin Penhallow to Ebenezer Wentworth (2/3 of Long Wharf)	231:242

1821	Ebenezer Wentworth to Thomas Bailey (one part)	231:243
1836	Thomas Bailey to Daniel Bailey	280:188
1853	Daniel Bailey to William Gookin	357:163
1854	Ebenezer Wentworth to William Gookin	357:162

003 Along river, opposite Puddle Lane; in 1813 known as Ayer's wharf.

(South part)

1694	Samuel Penhallow to Capt. Samuel Wentworth	16:465
1705	Samuel Wentworth to John Wentworth	16:446
1729	John Wentworth to Daniel Warner	16:642 17:22
1783	Jonathan Warner to Richard Hart	115:381
1783	Richard Hart to Jonathan Warner	115:382
1796	Jonathan Warner to David Pearce (mortgage)	143:193
1799	Jonathan Warner to David Pearce (mortgage)	151:206
1799	Jonathan Warner to David Pearce	151:209
1801	John Pearce to Joseph Sherburne Ayers	159:426

(North part)

1693	Samuel Penhallow to Edward Ayers	9:708
1723	Edward Ayers estate to John Ayers	26:544
1764	John Ayers to John Ayers, Jr.	Probate 23:373
1792	John Ayers, Jr. estate to William Ham	136:522

(Lot A)

1802	Joseph S. Ayers to George Melcher	161:62
1814	George Melcher to Joseph Thompson	205:364
1815	Joseph Thompson to George Melcher (mortgage)	204:434
1820	Joseph Thompson estate to Joseph Nutter	229:8
1820	Joseph Nutter to George Melcher (mortgage)	229:9
1845	George Melcher to Samuel Waldron	314:225

(Lot B)

1803	Joseph S. Ayers to John Salter	164:264
1842	Joseph S. Ayers to George Melcher	307:110

(Lot C)

No deeds found.

(Lot D)

1801	Joseph S. Ayers to Woodbury Tucker	161:243
1805	Woodbury Tucker to John Salter	171:188
1833	Salter heirs to Samuel Hale (Marine R. R.)	268:401 268:402

(Lot E, part)

1804	Joseph S. Ayers to John Salter	166:335
1833	Salter heirs to Samuel Hale (Marine R. R.)	268:402

(Lot E, part)

1804	Joseph S. Ayers to Abraham Shaw	166:450
1805	Ayers & Shaw to Benjamin Yeaton	174:55
1823	Abraham & Elizabeth Bell to John Leighton (Shaw heir)	232:454
1833	John Laighton to Samuel Hale (Marine R. R.)	269:314
1834	Yeaton heirs to Aaron & Levi Moses	274:40
1834	Levi Moses to Marine Railway Corp.	275:55
1837	Thomas & Mary Hill to Marine Railway Corp. (Moses heir)	287:454

1837	Mary Moses to Marine Railway Corp. (Lot E, part)	290:2
1804	Joseph S. Ayers to Abraham Shaw	166:450
1805	Ayers & Shaw to Benjamin Yeaton (part)	174:55
1823	Abraham & Elizabeth Bell to John Leighton (Shaw heir)	232:454
1833	John Laighton to Samuel Hale (Marine R. R.)	269:314
1834	Yeaton heirs to Aaron & Levi Moses	274:40
1834	Levi Moses to Marine Railway Corp.	275:55
1837	Thomas & Mary Hill to Marine Railway Corp. (Moses heir)	287:454
1837	Mary Moses to Marine Railway Corp. (Lot E, part)	290:2
1805	Joseph Ayers and Abraham Shaw to Elisha Hill	174:316
1828	Elisha Hill to Thomas Safford	255:79
1833	Thomas Safford to Samuel Hale (Marine R. R.) (Lot E, part)	269:311
1806	Joseph Ayers to Thomas Shaw	173:293
1833	Thomas Shaw to Samuel Hale (Marine R. R.) (Lot E, part)	269:310
1815	Joseph Ayers to Nathaniel Folsom, Jr.	207:276
1817	Nathaniel Folsom, Jr. to John Leighton (part)	213:396
1823	Andrew Bell to John Leighton (part) (Lot G)	232:454
1801	Joseph Ayers to Jonathan Colcord	161:531
1805	Jonathan Colcord to Stacy Hall	170:153
1833	Samuel Hall to Samuel Hale (Marine R. R.) (Lot H)	268:398
1801	Joseph Ayers to Jonathan Colcord	161:531

1803	Jonathan Colcord to Woodbury Tucker	166:291
1803	Woodbury Tucker to Stacy Hall, Jr.	169:111
1806	Tucker estate to Stacey & Samuel Hall	178:259
1810	Stacy Hall to Aaron Moses	188:271
1811	Stacy Hall to Aaron Moses	225:331
1819	Aaron Moses to Stephen Foye	225:332
1819	Stephen Foye to Elisha Plaisted & Joseph Nutter	225:333
1828	Elisha Plaisted to Joseph Nutter	253:369
1828	Joseph Nutter to Elisha Plaisted	254:359
1833	Elisha Plaisted to Thomas & James Hoyt	269:200
1833	Thomas & James Hoyt to Samuel Hale (Marine R. R.)	268:404
<u>004</u>	Along river, from opposite Puddle Lane to Liberty Pole. (North part)	
1694	Samuel Penhallow to Samuel Wentworth	16:465
1705	Samuel Wentworth to John Wentworth	16:466
1729	John Wentworth to Daniel Warner	16:642 17:22
1783	Jonathan Warner to Richard Hart	115:381
1783	Richard Hart to Jonathan Warner (mortgage)	115:382
1796	Jonathan Warner to John Pearse (joins lot 003)	143:193
	(South part)	
1694	Samuel Penhallow to Samuel Wentworth	16:465
1698	Samuel Wentworth to Samuel Rimes	16:445
1731	Christopher Rimes to Ebenezer Wentworth	18:181
1737	Ebenezer Wentworth to Ebenezer Wentworth, Jr.	22:366
1747	Ebenezer Wentworth to Ebenezer Wentworth, Jr.	34:23
1793	George Wentworth to James Ivers	136:74
1802	George Wentworth to James Ivers	163:234

1804	James Ivers to Stephen Foye & Aaron Moses (this part then becomes several smaller parts) (part)	169:251
1806	Foye & Moses to Abraham Shaw	173:291
1806	Abraham Shaw to Isaac Nelson	177:271
1830	Abraham Shaw estate to Lord, Mugridge and Badger	265:299
1834	Isaac Nelson to Lord, Mugridge and Badger (part)	271:228
1814	Aaron Moses to Charles Renaldi	205:275
1814	Charles Renaldi to Aaron Moses	212:226
1816	Aaron Moses to William Shaw	211:320
1818	William Shaw to Aaron Moses	216:289
1820	Charles Renaldi to John Hodgkins	225:404
1829	John Hodgkins to John Knowlton	257:209
1833	John Knowlton to Samuel Hale (part)	268:399
1815	Aaron Moses to William Shaw	207:107
1827	William Shaw to John Hodgkins	257:208
1827	John Hodgkins to William Shaw	250:132
1833	William Shaw to Samuel Hale (part)	268:404
1806	Stephen Foye to Aaron Moses	173:361
1807	Aaron Moses to Abraham Shaw	177:219
1830	Shaw estate to Lord, Mugridge, and Badger	268:403
1833	Lord, et al, to Samuel Hale	268:403
1834	Samuel Hale to Lord, et al. (part)	277:15
1811	Stephen Foye to Peter shores	195:246

1833	Peter Shores to Lord et al. (part)	269:289
1806	Foye & Moses to William Leighton	174:392
1833	Leighton heirs to Lord et al. (part)	268:350 268:351
1806	Foye & Moses to John Walden	174:391
1831	Walden heirs to Lord et al.	264:301

Parcel 1 Bounded by Court Street, Marcy Street, Jefferson Street and Horse Lane.

101 Corner of Court and Marcy Streets.

1694-5-26	Samuel Cutt to John Knight	6:346
1694-3-6	John Knight to Robert Almery	26:132
1739-9-3	John & Rachel (Almery) Roberson to Samuel More	24:310
1742-3-7	Samuel More to Ebenezer odiome	27:109

102 Marcy Street, east of Hough House

1693-12-18	Samuel Cutt to William Partridge	6:177
1711	William Partridge to John Knight	8:162
1713-3-15	John Knight to Ichabod Plaisted	9:132
1734-7-23	Ichabod Plaisted to Joseph Jackson	20:507
1749-11-28	Mark & Mary (Jackson) Nelson to Henry Sherburne, Jr. (North part)	39:215
1749-11-28	Mark & Mehetable (Jackson) Langdon to Henry Sherburne, Jr. (North part)	39:219
1756-5-10	Nathaniel & Mary (Jackson) Meserve to Joseph Jackson (grandson) (South part)	50:52
1757-2-6	Joseph Jackson to Thomas Bell (part of lot; 18 yr. lease)	65:174
1759-3-12	Joseph Jackson to John Nelson (part of lot; 10 yr. lease)	60:68

1761	Joseph Jackson to John King (part of lot)	65:44
1761	Joseph Jackson to John King (part of lot)	65:176
<u>103</u>	Water Street, corner of Jefferson.	
1761-10-30	Samuel Penhallow to Samuel Penhallow, Jr.	9:511
1717-5-15	Samuel Penhallow, Jr. to John Penhallow	9:555
1718-3-24	John Penhallow to Henry Sloper	10:460
1747-8-4	Henry Sloper to Richard & Thomas Wibird (west part; mortgage)	33:469
1751-4-29	Richard & Thomas Wibird to Henry Sloper (west part)	40:301
1751-4-30	Henry Sloper to Richard & Thomas Wibird (east part)	39:187
1764-9-30	Richard & Thomas Wibird to Foster Treferin (10 yr. lease)	83:170
1761-6-3	Henry Sloper to Henry Sloper (west part)	64:32
1762-11-5	Henry Sloper to John King ($\frac{1}{2}$ of west part)	64:563
1762-11-5	John King to Daniel Warner ($\frac{1}{2}$ of west part)	71:62
1763-3-3	Henry Sloper to Daniel Warner (other $\frac{1}{2}$ of west part)	67:343
<u>104</u>	Corner of Court Street and Horse Lane.	
1694-5-26	Samuel Cutt to John Knight	6:346
1737-10-18	Joseph & Elizabeth (Knight) Adams to John Knight	65:164
1760-4-21	John Knight to Samuel Dalling	58:47
<u>105</u>	Corner of Horse Lane and Jefferson Street, currently site of Hough House.	
1695	Samuel Penhallow to Samuel Wentworth	16:465
1699	Samuel Wentworth to Samuel Penhallow	7:7
1770	William Winkley to George Knight	102:33

Parcel 2 Bounded by Court Street, Horse Lane, Jefferson Street and Atkinson Street.

201 Corner of Court Street and Horse Lane; currently site of Shapley Town House.

1694-1-6	Samuel Penhallow to John Ballard	9:176
1709-12-1	Ballar heirs to Joseph Moulton	9:177
1731-3-6	Henry Sloper to Joseph Moulton (addition to lot)	17:481
1733-11-29	Deborah Knight to Joseph moulton (addition to lot)	19:509
1750-6-27	Sarah Farrow to Joseph Moulton, Jr. (addition to lot)	38:332
1761-3-19	Joseph Moulton to Joseph Moulton, Jr.	64:378
1780-3-10	Joseph Moulton to James Hickey (part of lot)	112:357
1788-8-19	Betty Hickey to James Drisco (same part as in 112:357)	124:313
1790-1-4	Joseph Moulton to Thos. Moulton (corner of lot)	125:396
1814-4-12	Thomas Moulton to Reuben Shapley (part of lot)	205:22
1814-4-13	Thomas Moulton to Reuben Shapley (rest of lot)	210:346
1831-10-25	Wm. Haven and Edw. Cutts to Wm. Day (east ½ of lot)	265:141
1831-10-25	Wm. Haven and Edw. Cutts to Daniel Bailey (west half of lot)	265:153

202 Northwest corner of Horse Lane and Jefferson Street.

1715-1-11	Amy Graves to Benjamin Purrington (east half of lot and house)	9:323
1715-5-23	Amy Graves to Hannah Stephens (west half)	16:234
1715-7-5	Benjamin Purrington to John Smith (east half)	9:320
1716-9-6	John Smith to Thomas Hammett (east half)	10:274
1716-10-30	Benjamin Purrington to Thomas Hammett (east half; mortgage release)	10:282
1716-12-10	Thomas Hammett to Thomas Blashfield (east and west parts joined; then Hammett gets north part, Blashfield gets south part with house)	10:276 14:419
1719-7-18	Thomas Hammett to Henry Sloper (north part)	11:87

1728-8-8	Thomas Blashfield to Benjamin Akerman (south part)	16:235
1731-3-30	Benjamin Akerman to Samuel Parsons (south part)	17:479
1731-3-26	Henry Sloper to Samuel Parsons (southernmost part of north part)	17:482
1731-3-26	Henry Sloper to Joseph Moulton (northernmost part of north part joins lot 201)	17:481
1755-4-4	Samuel Parsons to John Bartlett	47:41
1797-1-12	William Collin Meserve and Deborah (Bartlett) Meserve to Richard and Mary Low	144:344
1797-1-23	Richard and Mary low to Abigail Janvrin (west half)	145:13
1797-5-31	Abigail Janvrin to Dorothy Gerrish (west half)	145:527
1828-3-10	Low heirs to Jeremiah Bragdon (part of east half)	257:203
1829-7-29		257:204
1829	Jeremiah Bragdon to Timothy Tucker (east half; mortgage)	259:95
1834-10-24	Timothy Tucker to Leonard Cotton (east half; interest in mortgage)	274:62
1834-10-23	Ann Maria Bragdon (Bragdon estate) to Leonard Cotton (east half)	274:63
1849-4-25	Timothy G. Sentor (Dorothy Gerrish estate) to Leonard Cotton (west half)	337:127
<u>203</u>	Jefferson Street, currently site of Wheelwright House.	
1695-9-13	Samuel Cutt to Mark Aires	6:116
1714-6-15	Mark Ayers to Robert Walker	9:167
1750-6-27	Sarah Farrow (Walker heir) to Joseph Moulton (corner of lot joins lot 201)	38:332
1750-8-23	Sarah Farrow (Walker heir) to Jeremiah Wheelwright	42:376
1751-12-18	Benjamin and Sarah (Farrow) Stanton to Jeremiah Wheelwright (confirms 42:376)	42:375
1780-10-18	Jeremiah Wheelwright estate to John Wheelwright	112:460
1785-11-3	John Wheelwright estate to Abigail Leslie	119:445
1794-10-9	Joseph Moulton to Abigail Leslie (corner of lot sold in 1750 re-joined to lot)	138:380

1805	Abigail Leslie to John Rider (mortgage)	172:29
1808-8-22	Abigail Leslie to John Rider (mortgage)	183:209
1814-10-26	John Rider to Abigail Leslie	206:117
1818	Abigail Leslie to John Davenport	220:154
1838-11-20	John Davenport to John Clark	289:430
<u>204</u>	Court Street, currently site of a parking lot.	
1701-3-28	Thomas Phipps to William Partridge	6:324
1711-8-27	William Partridge to John Knight	8:162
1754-3-29	Knight heirs to Henry Carter	44:39
1782-5-25	Henry Carter to Benjamin G. Carter	115:167
1789-10-7	Benjamin G. Carter to Reuben Shapley	126:290
1831-10-5	Haven & Cutts, attorneys for Shapley estate, to Samuel Gookin	265:140
1849-6-1	Samuel Gookin to Albert Hatch & James P. Bartlett	338:106
<u>205</u>	Corner of Court and Atkinson Streets, currently site of Reuben Shapley House (Gift Shop).	
1699-4-27	Eleanor Cutt to Hannah Harvey	9:241
1716-7-25	Joseph & Hannah (Harvey) Jones to John Knight	9:479
1754-3-29	Knight heirs to Henry Carter	44:39
1775-1-24	Henry Carter to Daniel & William Hubbard	124:267
1790-7-30	Daniel Hubbard to Reuben Shapley	130:56
<u>206</u>	Northeast corner of Jefferson and Atkinson Streets, currently site of Peacock House.	
1699-4-27	Eleanor Cutt to Hannah Harvey	9:241
1716-7-25	Joseph & Hannah (Harvey) Jones to John Knight	9:479
1718-2-18	John Knight to Elizabeth Janvrin	11:395
1731-5-1	John Janvrin to Elisha Jackson	18:70
1744-2-13	Elisha Jackson to Abraham Center (east half)	33:245

1744-12-8	Elisha Jackson to John Sherburne (west half; mortgage)	29:422
1747-6-6	Abraham Center to Henry Sherburne (east half)	
1749-1-9	Elisha Jackson to John & Henry Sherburne (west half; mortgage)	40:387
1756-5-21	John & Henry Sherburne to John Grant (west half)	40:387
1757-4-8	Henry Sherburne to William Seward (east half)	52:457
1805-1-14	Seward heirs to Reuben Shapley (east half)	170:129
1817 to 1820	Various Grant heirs to Theodore Parker (west half)	216:255 233:31 32,34
1821	Theodore Parker to Reuben Shapley	231:111
1831-10-25	Haven and Cutts, attorneys for Shapley estate, to Edmund L. Sheafe	265:155
1831-11-1	Edmund L. Sheafe to Thomas E. Oliver	265:156
1834-11-29	Thomas E. Oliver to John Harrat	275:131
1840-5-8	John Harrat to Thatcher Emery	301:19
1842-11-1	Thatcher Emery to William Burns	310:18
1842-11-10	William Burns to Grace Peacock	310:18
1882-8-26	Grace (Peacock) Chase to Benjamin F. Webster	484:305
<u>207</u>	Jefferson Street, currently an orchard opposite Marden House.	
1696-1-4	Samuel Cutt to Beriah Higgins	5:218
1718-5-30	Joseph Higgens to George Almary	29:342
1744-11-11	George Almary to Samuel Sherburne	29:413
1765-2-18	Samuel Sherburne to Queen's Chapel	State Papers 38:129
1791-10-17	Jonathan Warner to Reuben Shapley (996 yr. lease) (joins lot 204)	130:444

<u>Parcel 3</u>	Bounded by Court Street, Atkinson Street, Jefferson Street and Washington Street.	
<u>301</u>	Corner of Court and Atkinson Streets, currently site of the William Pitt Tavern.	
1699-4-27	Eleanor Cutt to Thomas Phipps	8:279
1756-2-27	Cyprian Jaffrey et al, Phipps heirs, to Walton	49:281
1756-3-3	Danforth Phipps to George Walton	49:269
1763-10-1	Richard Greeley to Joseph Pattison (Greeley received lot from Walton in a judgement of the Superior Court)	82:93
1766-7-2	Joseph Pattison to John Stavers	89:509
1797-11-25	Division into three parts among Stavers heirs	Probate o.s. 6384
1797-12-5	William Stavers to Susanna (Stavers) Appleton (2 foot strip)	163:311
1800-3-26	James Alexander and Mary (Stavers) Geddes to William Stavers (westerly part of house and land)	154:178
1803-5-21	James & Mary Geddes to Susanna Appleton (kitchen privileges)	163:312
1863-4-23	Lucy S. Stavers to James Hennessey	397:350
<u>302</u>	Northwest corner of Atkinson and Jefferson	
1754-6-26	George Walton to John Grant	45:164
1789-4-7	Elizabeth Grant to John Stavers (joins lot 301)	126:42
<u>303</u>	Court Street, currently site of Thomas Bailey Aldrich Memorial.	
1699-4-27	Eleanor Cutt to Thomas Phipps (all of Parcel 3)	8:279
1737-7-4	Thomas Phipps to George Walton (lots 303,304,305,306,307)	23:25
1766-5-2	George Walton to Joseph Day (west part)	86:526
1771-10-2	Joseph Day to Theodore Atkinson (west part)	102:214
1773-4-20	George Walton to Theodore Atkinson (east part)	105:201

1797-3-6	Thomas Sparhawk (Atkinson heir) to William Stavers	144:346
1822-8-19	William Stavers to Charles Stavers & Mary (Stavers)Robinson	234:301
1823-3-24	Charles Stavers to Shadrach Robinson	236:319
1823-11-12	Shadrach Robinson to Thomas D. & Daniel Bailey	266:535
1835-6-4	Daniel Bailey to Thomas Bailey	276:320
1870-5-21	Bailey heirs to John Stockell	429:330

304 Court Street, currentiy the yard between the Aldrich Memorial and Mrs. Patch's house.

1765-10-31	George Walton to John Hooper	84:318
1800-3-6	John Hooper to Samuel Hooper	135:45
1834-10-2	Abigail Osborne to Mugridge (?)	275:50
1837-6-10	Samuel Mugridge to Samuel Clark	285:371
1838-11-14	Samuel Clark to John Rider	293:003

305 Jefferson Street, opposite Whidden Place.

1779-3-3	George Walton to John Abbott	110:351
1792-1-2	John Abbott to William Sheafe (mortgage)	135:44
1794-7-8	William Sheafe to Elizabeth Abbott	136:467
1796-4-25	Elizabeth Abbott to George Osborne	148:327
1798-1-2	James Day to George Osborne (addition to lot)	148:328
1799-3-7	George Osborn to Daniel Waldron	152:13
1804-5-30	Daniel Waldron to John Rider	170:130
1816-6-24	John Rider to George Fishley	212:195
1853-9-1	George Fishley to John C. Cornelius	356:224
1871-2-8	Cornelius estate to James Parr	431:330

306 Court Street, currently site of Mrs. Patch's house.

1744-1-5	George Walton to John Eliot	29:329
1744-3-17	John Eliot to Abraham Crusey (west half)	31:109

1764-11-13	John Eliot to Daniel Leighton	76:99
1766-4-29	Daniel Leighton to Joseph Day	89:326
1766-8-4	John Hooper to Joseph Day (strip for common passage)	86:524
1816-8-12	Dorcus Day to Anthony Langford (mortgage) (east half)	218:104
1825-10	Anthony Lngford to James Day	246:330
1829-1-29	James Day to Mary Rider	
1837-7-3	Mary Rider to John Rider	293:2
<u>307</u>	Corner of Court and Washington Streets, currently site of Chase House.	
1762-11-23	George Walton to John Underwood	65:412
1766-8-28	John Underwood to Barlow Trecothick and John Thomlinson	89:419
1799-12-5	Trecothick estate to Stephen Chase	154:408
<u>Parcel 4</u>	Bounded by Puddle Lane, Horse Lane, Jefferson Street and Marcy Street.	
<u>401</u>	Corner Jefferson and Water, currently site of Jefferson House.	
1691-12-18	Richard and Mary Martin to Samuel and Mary Rymes	5:157
1697-1-8	Samuel and Mary Rymes to Nathaniel Ayers	6:149
1700-6-6	Nathaniel Ayers to George Jaffrey	6:241
1706-8-21	George Jaffrey to Nathaniel Ayers	5:161
1706-8-22	Nathaniel Ayers to Richard Wibird	5:157
<u>402</u>	Marcy Street, just south of 401.	
1694-11-10	Samuel Penhallow to Edward Ayers	13:92
1725-6-7	Edward Ayers estate to John Ayers	26:544
1762-4-3	John Ayers to Daniel Warner	66:398
<u>403</u>	Marcy Street, between 402 and 404.	

1695-10-7	Samuel Penhallow to Nathaniel Ayers	6:94
1700-6-13	Nathaniel Ayers to Edward Ayers (joins lot 402)	9:710
<u>404</u>	Corner Marcy Street and Puddle Lane.	
1702-12-18	Samuel Penhallow to Samuel Hill	26:471
1705-6-8	Sanuel Hill to George Marshall	26:472
1739-3-1	Division among Marshall heirs	26:474
1771-7-6	George Marshall to George Marshall, Jr.	96:365
1781-2-6	George Marshall to Daniel Tilton	113:227
1783-8-4	George Marshall estate to John Donaldson	119:260
1785-8-6	John Donaldson to Alexander Ewen	120:216
1787-7-11	Alexander Ewen to Mark Lord	123:72
1788-2-13	Mark Lord to Joseph Clark	123:197
<u>405</u>	Southeast corner of Jefferson and Horse Lane, currently site of Joshua Jackson house.	
1695-7-24	Samuel Wentworth to Nathaniel Jackson (south part)	6:87
1699-10-3	Samuel Wentworth to Nathaniel Jackson (north part)	6:279
1727	Nathaniel Jackson estate to Joshua Jackson (inheritance)	7:467 7:471
1728-1-4	Joshua Jackson to Joseph Sherburne (a small piece goes to 407)	39:469
1751	Joshua Jackson to Jeremiah Wheelwright (strip of land along northern boundary)	51:516
1758	Joshua Jackson estate to Joshua Jackson, Jr.	20:416 20:454 22:4
1763	Joshua Jackson, Jr. estate to John Seward (piece in N.W. corner of garden)	Probate 7:457
1766-5-3	Joshua Jackson estate to Nathaniel Jackson (part of land and house)	90:166
1769-5-1	Nathaniel Jackson to Nathaniel Adams estate	99:17
1782-9-14	John Parker (Nathaniel Adams estate) to Samuel Jackson	130:312

1795-1-14	John Seward to Nathaniel Jackson	153:334
1797-5-19	Nathaniel Jackson to Portsmouth (strip for public street - Jefferson Street)	147:498
1800-10-10	Nathaniel Jackson to Samuel Jackson	156:360
1800-10	Samuel Jackson to William Dennett	156:361
1805-4-9	William Dennett to Woodbury Tucker	171:99
1805-9-6	Woodbury Tucker to Joseph Sherburne Ayers	174:425
1806-12-1	Woodbury Tucker estate to Mark Simes	178:17
1809-9-2	Mark Simes to Thomas E. Oliver (small parcel on Jefferson Street)	187:267
1813-1-5	Thomas E. Oliver to Francis Dupray	202:15
1814-3-15	Francis Dupray to Thomas E. Oliver	248:375
1814-10-25	Mark Simes to Bartholemew Barri (small parcel in N.W. corner)	205:276
1815-4-10	Mark Simes to James Clinton	207:17
1848-8-3	Moses and Mary Ricker (Clinton heirs) to James Goodwin	380:303
1858-7-1	James W. Goodwin to Bartholemew Barri	380:304
<u>406</u>	Puddle Lane, currently site of Drisco House.	
1693-5-18	Samuel Penhallow to Job Alcock	7:85
1699-7-2	Samuel Rymes to John Hatch (wharf next to Alcock)	8:44
?	Job Alcock to William Knight (part of lot)	22:471
?	Job Alcock to Robert Walker (rest of lot)	22:471
1736-12-27	Abigail James & Sarah Walker (heirs) to John Moffit (part)	22:471
?	Heirs of William Knight to John Moffatt (part)	119:115
1783-9-17	John Moffatt to William Knight (whole)	119:115
1792-11-5	William Knight to Deborah Carter	136:1
1793-7-2	Deborah (Carter) Clark to John Marshall (part of wharf)	136:2
1794-6-30	Deborah Clark to John Shapley	140:75
1795-6-4	John Shapley to Lydia, Sally, & Katherine Shapley	140:76

1800-3-7	John Shapley to James Drisco	155:37
1800-3-25	James Drisco to James Drisco, Jr.	155:181
1828-9-18	Joshua H. Drisco to Abraham Shaw	255:243
1833-2-14	Joshua H. Drisco to Samuel Hale	269:69
1835-1-31	Samuel Hale to Joshua H. Drisco	274:278
1878-6-1	James E. Drisco to Benjamin W. Curtis	467:294

407 Corner of Horse Lane and Puddle Lane, currently site of Sherburne House.

1695-2-12	Samuel and Mary Penhallow to John Sherburne	6:72
1697-7-14	Nathaniel Aires to John Sherburne	7:396
1704	Mary Sherburne to Joseph Sherburne	7:44 7:45
1745	Mary Sherburne to Joseph Sherburne, Jr.	29:478
1759	Sherburne estate to Nathaniel Sherburne	Probate 21:214
1826-12-1	John N. Sherburne (heir) to Hiram M. Ralph	247:314
1826-12-1	Hiram Ralph to John Sherburne (mortgage deed)	247:325
1835-6-16	Hiram Ralph estate to John M. Waldron (mortgage)	277:379
1835-8-1	Eunice Ralph to Isaac Waldron (mortgage)	278-86
1847-7-28	John N. Sherburne to James and Eunice (Ralph) Goodwin (mortgage release)	326:272

Parcel 5 Bounded by Jefferson Street, Horse Lane, Puddle Lane and Mast Street.

501 Corner Jefferson Street and Horse Lane, Marshall House site.

1693-12-28	Samuel Cutt to Samuel Penhallow	6:40
1694-1-23	Samuel Penhallow to Samuel Wentworth	16:465
1699	Samuel Wentworth to Edward Toogood	6:192

1737	Hannah Toogood to Samuel Marshall	23:54
1816	Elizabeth Waters (Marshall heir) to Phoebe Whitehouse and Rachel Cook	Probate 7712
1817-6-18	William and Phoebe Savage to Charles Blunt (west half)	213:279
1823-7-18	Rachel Holliday to John Blunt (east half)	238:250
1824-5-26	Leighton to John Blunt (west half)	242:19
1835	John Blunt to John Hodgkins (east half)	288:51
1837-11-9	John Blunt to John Hodgkins (west half)	294:153
1838-4-18	Richard Hart to Thomas Martin et al. (south portion)	302:369
1839-3-22	John Hodgkins to John Knowlton (east half)	295:125
1840-2-19	John Hodgkins to John Knowlton (west half)	297:179
1841-10-14	John Knowlton to Nanthaniel Manson (both east and west halves)	305:359
1844-10-11	Thomas Martin et al to Joseph Edmonds (south portion)	315:406
<u>502</u>	Corner Horse Lane and Puddle Lane, currently site of Lowd house.	
1696	Samuel Penhallow to Edward Carwithy	9:634
1710-10-18	Edward Carwithy to John Knight	9:634
1717-11-25	John Knight to John Haig	9:636
1722-5-21	John Haig to Joseph Jackson	12:508
1736-11-20	Joseph Jackson to Samuel Marshall	27:249
1804	Thomas Jackson (Marshall heir) to Edward Toppan, et al	178:137
1805	Edward Toppan , et al, to James Drisco	182:44
1814	James Drisco to Izette Shaw	
1814-10-25	Izette Shaw to Samuel Fernald	205:271
1814	Deborah Shackford (Marshall heir) to Thomas Safford (wharf)	204:8
1814-11-8	Samuel Fernald to Benj. Simpson and George Lang	205:272
1815-2-8	Benj. Simpson & George Lang to Thomas Manning	205:306

1821-6-8	Thomas Manning estate to Pierrepont	Probate 10262
1824-4-10	Pierrepont to Peter Lowd	243:26
1840	Thomas Safford to Benjamin Nason (wharf)	297:179
<u>503</u>	Jefferson Street, formerly site of Toogood house.	
1694-5-8	Samuel Cutt to Edward Toogood	4:39
1695-12-31	Samuel Cutt to Edward Toogood	4:44
1737-6-6	Toogood estate to Mary Cotton (heir)	Probate 14:215
1760-11-6	William Cotton to John Nelson	61:297
1774	John Nelson to Lewis Deblois (Nelson's widow's dower intact)	134:42
1793-2-8	Lewis Deblois to Jacob Sheafe (Nelson's widow's dower intact)	134:42
1796-1-29	Jacob Sheafe to Benjamin G. Carter	147:479
1802-9-28	Benjamin G. Carter to George Ham	161:458
1814-5-2	George Ham to Thomas Moulton	205:23
<u>504</u>	Puddle Lane, site currently vacant between Lowd House and Dinsmore Blacksmith Shop. (originally part of 503)	
1797-12-27	Benjamin G. Carter to David Lowd	147:479
1801-8-15	David Lowd to Martin Parry	160:45
1801-1-5	Martin Parry to Charles Harrat	161:120
1859-11-29	Harrat heirs to John Cornelius	383:101 392:110
<u>505</u>	Corner of Jefferson Street and Mast Street, currently site of Marden House.	
1695-2-9	Samuel Cutt to Samuel Hill	9:531
1719-4-28	Samuel Hill to Benjamin & Mary (Hill) Welch	61:362
1719-4-29	Benjamin Welch to Abraham Bennick	61:362

1722-12-5	Abraham Bennick to James Marden	61:363
1779-7-2	John Marden to Thomas Currier (east half)	113:231
1792-3-12	Sarah Currier to James Marden (east half)	133:373
1821-9-11	James Marden estate to heirs Love and Abigail Marden	Probate 10342
<u>506</u>	Mast Street, just south of Marden House.	
1723	Samuel Hill estate to daughter Hannah Moore	Maine Probate 3:98
1761-2-13	Jonathan Moore (heir) to William Pearne (property joins 507)	63:518
1772-1-30	Jonathan Moore to William Pearne (series of deeds confirming transfer to Pearne)	103:2-6
<u>507</u>	Corner of Mast Street and Puddle Lane, currently site of Dinsmore blacksmith shop.	
1723	Samuel Hill estate to son John Hill	Maine Probate 3:98
1762-8-24	William & Phoebe (Hill) Pearne to Joseph Lowe	67:277
1762-8-28	Joseph Lowe to William Pearne (mortgage)	67:278
1765-4-18	William Pearne to John Sherburne (mortgage)	103:87
1769-6-30	John Sherburne to William Pearne (mortgage release)	103:88
1797-6-30	William Pearne estate to Joseph Lowe	146:97
1799-2-7	Joseph Lowe to Sameul Curtis	152:43
1799-2-8	Samuel Curtis to Joseph Lowe (mortgage)	158:420
1801-12-3	Joseph Lowe to John Pitman (wharf lot)	162:2
1802-10-15	Samuel Curtis to Joseph Lowe	162:394
1802-10-28	Joseph Lowe to Elias Libby	161:467
<u>Parcel 6</u>	Bounded by Jefferson Street, Mast Street, Puddle Lane and Atkinson Street.	

1695-2-9	Samuel Cutt to Samuel Hill (all of parcel 6 and part of parcel 5)	9:531
<u>601</u>	Corner of Jefferson and Mast Streets, currently site of Winn House.	
1723	Samuel Hill to daughter Abigail Hill	Maine Probate 3:98
1723-5-1	Ebenezer and Abigail (Hill) Dennett to Benjamin Rackley	17:26
1748-11-8	Rackley heirs to Benjamin Parker (joins 604 until 1794)	38:40
1794-3-1	Supply Clapp to Thales G. Yeaton	138:159
1794-3-14	Thales G. Yeaton to Timothy Winn	140:264
1798-12-1	Timothy Winn to Elizabeth Durrell	152:324
1799-4-24	Timothy Winn to Elizabeth Durrell (adds strip of land to the south)	152:325
1801-11-13	Timothy Winn to Elizabeth (Durrell) Hilton (confirms earlier conveyance)	173:101
1805-11-4	Nathaniel and Elizabeth Hilton to Joseph Hilton	172:189
1805-11-4	Joseph Hilton to Nathaniel Hilton	173:104
1813-7-27	Nathaniel Hilton to Thomas Chandler	201-337
1814-8-24	Elizabeth Hilton to Joseph Hilton	206:136
1834-2-15	John and Abigail Hilton to Elizabeth Vennard (west half of house and land)	274:187
1868-6-9	John L. Vennard to John Buckley (west half)	419:242
<u>602</u>	Mast Street, currently site of Yeaton-Walsh house.	
1722-3-20	Samuel Hill to daughter Sarah Hill	16:27
1727-10-28	Joseph & Sarah (Hill) Fogg to Benjamin Parker	102:394
1763-7-18	Thomas Parker to John Barrett (joins 604 until 1803)	71:56
1803-10-31	Thales G. Yeaton to Joseph Smith	166:198
1803-10-31	Joseph Smith to Thales G. Yeaton (mortgage)	166:200
1805-1-3	Thomas G. Yeaton to Thomas D. Cutts	168:412
1807-1-8	Thomas D. & Richard Cutts to Joseph Harrold	178:85

1811-6-18	Joseph Harrold to Joseph Low & Phoebe Pearne	193:393
1848	Sarah Lowe to Leonard Cotton (2/3 part)	337:179
1848-6-29	Elizabeth Lowe to Leonard Cotton (quit claim of dower right)	337:128
1849-4-22	Anna T. Lowe to Leonard Cotton (1/3 part)	335:157
<u>603</u>	Corner Mast Street and Puddle Lane, formerly site of Marden Mast Yard.	
1719-8-8	Samuel Hill, Jr. to Nathaniel Mendum	
1805-4-20	Estate of Eleanor Shackford (daughter of Nathaniel Mendum) to James Dennett	170:207
1806-4-7	James Dennett to Nathaniel Hilton	175:23
1813-8-28	Nathaniel Hilton estate to Joseph Lowe (15' strip)	203:204
1813-2-15	Nathaniel Hilton to James Sheafe (all but 15' strip)	198:483
1815	Joseph Lowe to Elisha Whidden	208:56
1833-1-21	Elisha Whidden to Sarah Grant	269:23
1838-8-14	John Lowe to Sarah Grant	291:163
1870-9-19	Sarah Grant estate to Charles Robinson	431:103
<u>604</u>	Corner of Jefferson & Atkinson Streets, currently site of Yeaton house.	
1721-9-6	Samuel Hill to son Joseph Hill	15:420
1727-8-11	Joseph and Benjamin Hill to Benjamin Parker	15:422
1763-7-18	Thomas Parker to John Barrett	71:56
1785-11-10	John Barrett to David Sears and Christopher Gore	119:374
1790-6-16	David Sears & Christopher Gore to Supply Clapp	132:429
1794-3-1	Supply Clapp to Thales G. Yeaton	138:159
1804-10-13	Thales G. Yeaton to Andrew W. Bell	169:83
1813-6-13	Andrew W. Bell to Thomas Folsom	202:194
1814-6-10	Thomas Folsom to Joseph Amazeen	204:172

1838-10-6	Nathaniel Folsom & Thomas Fernald to William Isley (Amazeen estate)	290:402
1863-5-8	William Isley to Patrick Hennessey	397:377
<u>605</u>	Atkinson Street, just south of Yeaton house.	
1723	Samuel Hill to son John Hill	Maine Probate 3:98
1762-4-30	John Hill estate to David Griffith	66:428
1795-2-3	Samuel Griffith to Daniel Blasdell	138:388
1817-8-2	Daniel Blasdell to Abner Blasdell	214:527
<u>606</u>	Corner of Atkinson Street and Puddle Lane.	
1721-9-6	Samuel Hill to son Joseph Hill	15:420
1727-8-11	Joseph & Benjamin Hill to Benjamin Parker (joins 604 until 1792)	15:422
1792	Supply Clapp to John Lang	142:278
1838-7-30	John Lang to Samuel Trickey (2/3 part)	292:158
1838-7-24	Olive Emmons to John Lang, Jr. (her interest in estate of her father, John Lang, Sr.)	292:158
1850-11-9	Olive Emmons to Ann Johnson (part of estate of her father)	343:45
<u>Parcel 7</u>	Bounded by Jefferson Street, Whidden Place, Atkinson Street, and the Puddle Dock field.	
<u>701</u>	Corner of Jefferson & Atkinson, currently site of herb garden and Cotton Tenant houses.	
1699-1-4	Nicholas Follett to Nicholas Follett, Jr.	7:335
1709-5-4	Nicholas Follett, Jr. to Thomas Pickering	7:336
1724-1-20	James and Abigail (Pickering) Seavey to James Leach	14:126
1726-8-5	Samuel and Mehitable (Pickering) Weeks to James Leach	15:184
1765-2-12	Phoebe (Leach) Kennedy to Samuel Dyer	75:537
1765-2-21	Benjamin Parker to Gregory Purcell	75:541

1771-6-6	Gregory Purcell to Neal McIntyre	90:386
1771-6-6	Neal McIntyre to Gregory Purcell	90:387
1778-12-25	Sarah Purcell to Jonathan Freese & Stephen Weeks	110:346
1793-1-21	Sarah Dow to George & Joseph Freese	134:349
1793-5-14	George Freese to Samuel Hutchings	135:78
1793-6-28	Joseph Freese to Samuel Hutchings	135:79
1828-5-1	Samuel Hutchings, Jr. to Eliza J.B. Lewis	274:048
1834-10-15	Jacob & Eliza Lewis to Leonard Cotton	275:88
<u>702</u>	Foot of Atkinson, currently site of Jones House.	
1695-6-5	Samuel Cutt to Nicholas Follett	6:84
1722-4-5	Benjamin Follett to Jonathan Salter	12:430
1729-10-6	Jonathan Salter to Samuel Weeks	16:530
1730-2-20	Samuel Weeks to Charles Apthorp	19:400
1740-2-12	Charles Apthorp to Theodore Atkinson	77:5
1796-6-17	George K. Sparhawk (Atkinson estate) to Joshua Jones	145:528
<u>703</u>	Jefferson Street, currently site of Dr. John Jackson house. (part of 702 until 1795)	
1795-6-11	Susanna Atkinson to John Jackson	142:288
<u>704</u>	Whidden Place, currently site of orchard and boat shop.	
1696-11-7	Samuel Cutt to Thomas Packer	4:81
1700-3-1	John Hill to Thomas Packer (addition)	5:129
1723-12-23	Thomas Packer heirs to Thomas Packer, Jr.	Probate 10:329
1788-8-4	Thomas Packer to Hall Jackson	137:19
1794-3-12	Hall Jackson to heirs of Thomas Packer	136:270

<u>Parcel 8</u>	Bounded by Jefferson Street, Washington Street, Whidden Place and the Puddle Dock field.	
<u>801</u>	Corner of Jefferson Street and Whidden Place, currently site of Rider-Wood house.	
	(part of 802 until 1779)	
1779-5-5	George Walton to Samuel Jackson	129:534
1809-1-10	Henry Jackson to John Rider	185:37
1864-1-18	Mary Rider estate to James Wood	529:112
<u>802</u>	Whidden Place, west side.	
1697-5-3	Samuel Cutt to John Hill	6:127
1698-4-4	Samuel Cutt to John Hill	7:84
1736-2-26	John & Elisha Hill to George Walton	22:380
1737-11-22	George Walton to John & Elisha Hill (strip of land)	23:51
1780	George Walton to Portsmouth	
<u>803</u>	Corner of Jefferson and Washington Streets, currently site of Conant house.	
	(part of 802 until 1778)	
1778-8-3	George Walton to Temperance Walton	110:462
1791-9-6	Temperance Walton to William Ham	129:535
1795-5-15	William Ham to Joseph Brown	140:266
<u>804</u>	Washington Street, currently a picnic area, just south of Conant house.	
	(part of 802 until 1778)	
1778-8-7	George Walton to Samuel Hutchings	110:165
1779-1-8	George Walton to Sameul Hutchings	111:35
1779-8-11	George Walton to Samuel Hutchings	111:380
1783-3-22	Samuel Hitchings to Portsmouth (strip of land)	134:118

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