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Northeast Region

A Place of Quiet Adventure:
An Ethnographic Study of The Peddocks Island Cottages

Boston Harbor Islands National Park Area

Special Ethnographic Report

United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
National Parks of Boston
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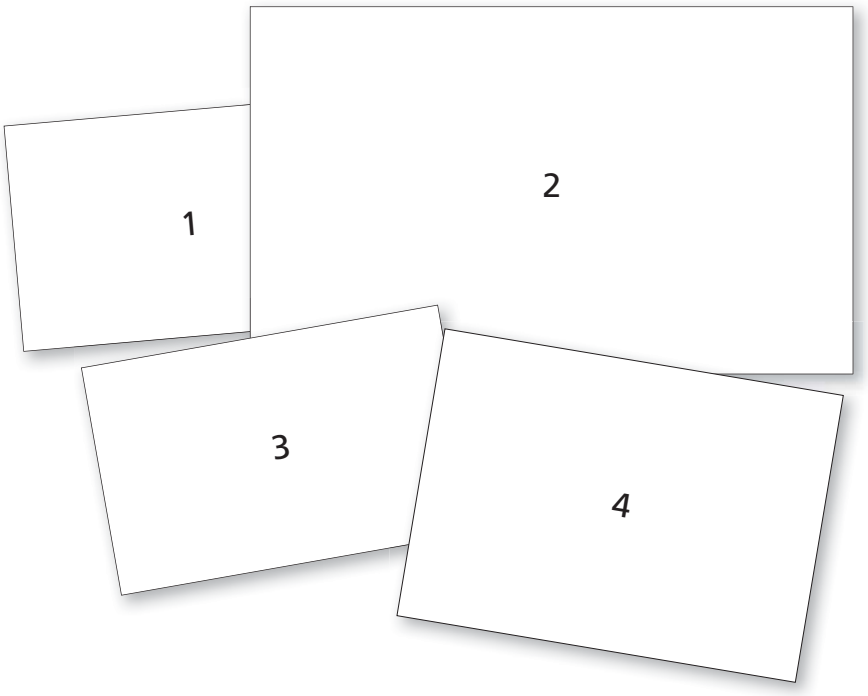
The enclosed report entitled *A Place of Quiet Adventure,* written by Dr. Cathy Stanton via an agreement with the University of Massachusetts (Amherst), was designed by the National Park Service to gather information about the history of cottages on Peddocks Island and their occupants from the time of their appearance on the island to the present. While within the legislated boundary of Boston Harbor Islands National Recreation Area, Peddocks Island is owned and operated by the Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation (DCR).

This report is an ethnographic study, representing the world view of a group of people, not just as the outside investigator sees it, but primarily as the members of the community see themselves. Using a community history approach, the researcher used oral history and ethnographic interviews, and participant observation, as well as investigation of maps, census data, photographs, and other formal and informal archival sources. The goal of the study was to increase understanding about the people associated with the cottages over the years. The National Park Service and partners will use the baseline information from this study to share the stories and resources of Peddocks Island with generations of park visitors to come. We are grateful for the contributions of the cottagers that participated in interviews and/or shared photographs or other materials that are presented in the report.

The report is not a structural analysis of the cottages, nor an assessment of management actions associated with the cottages. The information about the cottager community over time comes almost exclusively from the voluntary participation by some of the cottagers. The investigator was not charged with conducting interviews with the Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation, National Park Service or any other outside parties. By design, such interviews were beyond the scope of work for the project. Thus, the National Park Service views the information in the report as an exploration of the rich history of stories, traditions, and experiences of cottagers as they have expressed them, not as an analysis of cottage management or policies.

Thank you for your interest in the Boston Harbor Islands. We hope that you enjoy the report, and that you will come out to visit Peddocks Island and other inspiring places on the islands. Plan your visit at www.bostonharborislands.org; to learn more about park resources, or to submit feedback on this report or anything else please visit www.nps.gov/boha.

Michael Creasey
Superintendent



Cover photo credits:

1. View of the north-facing side of Middle Head, Peddocks Island, July 2013. (Cathy Stanton)

2. Former Middle Head pier with island ferry, undated but probably 1940s or 1950s. (Marlene Giammarco, née Simonds)

3. Manuel Silva and Peter Bettencourt in front of Cottages 21-25, 1932. (Collection of Frances Lopes, courtesy of Marijane Crawford and Nanci Xirinachs)

4. South-facing side of Middle Head with downtown Boston in the background, July 2013. (Cathy Stanton)

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Cathy Stanton, Ph.D.

Prepared under cooperative agreement with
University of Massachusetts – Amherst

Boston Harbor Islands National Park Area
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Northeast Region Ethnography Program
National Park Service
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Executive Summary

This study documents what is known of the history of the Peddocks Island cottages and their occupants from the late nineteenth century to the present day, drawing on archival and published sources and cottagers' memories and records. Although the main focus is on the concentration of cottages on Middle Head, they are placed in the context of the island, the harbor, and the urban region as a whole.

After a general overview of the island's natural and cultural landscape and a chronological survey of land ownership and use over time, the chapters examine

- Peddocks' role within the emerging seashore recreational economy of the mid-nineteenth century
- the movement around 1887 of a group of Azorean fishermen from Long Island, another of the islands in Boston Harbor, to Peddocks Island, and the subsequent growth of the small fishing village on the northwest side of Middle Head
- the history of the three short-lived Peddocks Island hotels
- the population of cottagers on the south-facing side of Middle Head up to the 1930s
- the arrival of a number of Italian families who formed a community within the larger cottage community starting in the 1920s and 1930s
- the post-World-War-II shift into more family-oriented multi-generational summer vacationing
- changes and continuities in the community since the island became a public park in 1970, and
- how the islanders' sense of community is constructed in close relationship with the natural environment.

Key findings of the study:

1. This study was able to document how extensive the Azorean/Portuguese presence has been within the cottage community as a whole. Although many ethnicities and origins can be found in the cottagers' backgrounds, at some point nearly all of these connect through ties of kinship, occupation, or friendship with either the first-generation Azorean fishing families who came to the island after 1887 or the

more assimilated (and sometimes related) Portuguese-American families who also built cottages on Peddocks. Although never entirely separate from one another socially, there has historically been a sense of distinction that mapped onto different areas of Middle Head, with the "village" of the northwestern side more associated with a working-class, maritime, immigrant identity and the south side more with middle-class leisure vacationing.

2. The study also documents in much more detail than had previously been done the specific connections between the displaced Long Island fishing families and Azoreans on Peddocks Island, as well as some of the links between these families and mainland places like the heavily-Portuguese East Cambridge and some parts of the South Shore.

3. Stories of particular cottager families and uses of the island show that Peddocks has long been a recreational and social fringe of Boston Harbor, and that this "edge" quality has provided opportunities for kinds of people and occupations that were increasingly marginalized by moral, social, and commercial pressures elsewhere in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Boston. The multiple displacements of Azorean fishing families, a 1909 Chinese picnic on the West Head of Peddocks Island, and small-scale commercial activity on the island show some of the ways that islanders have long used this as a place for maintaining or expressing an ethnic presence, making a living, or creating a refuge.

4. The history of the cottage community after the state's acquisition of the island in 1970 shows a combination of disjunctures, multi-generational continuities, and new arrivals (many of whom had some form of previous connection to the island through networks of kinship, friendship, or the South Shore's maritime world). Stories of key island people, particularly the last year-round occupants and people with connections to the first generation of Azoreans, help to anchor community memory despite the changes in their population and circumstances over time. Although under the current life-tenancy agreement the cottage population is an aging one, with children and grandchildren of current lease-holders much less likely to invest time and energy helping to maintain cottages they will not inherit, the continuation of a shared annual celebration at the end of the summer remains a community touchstone.

5. More than anything else, the cottage community seems to be constructed through a strong and mutual relationship with the particular environment of the island. Within the "island way" practiced by the islanders, the many attractions of island living are interwoven with the hard work of existing "off the grid," creating a kind of moral ecology shaped by collective experience and memory over time. These practices of inhabitation are quite different from the models of stewardship and environmentalism that inform management approaches to the island, but they nonetheless represent an island-specific environmental ethos and they are central to the cottagers' sense of themselves as a group. ■

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Uncredited photos were taken by Cathy Stanton in fall 2012 or summer 2013.

Acknowledgements

Anthropologists have learned to accept a number of things about the process of ethnographic data-collection and writing: that is is inescapably collaborative, that the researcher is never the one in control, and that gathering data and disseminating findings are not separate stages of a project, but loop into each other again and again, often in dialogue with the people whose stories provide the substance of the story that is being told. This study has re-taught me all of these lessons, and I have become a very much stronger researcher and writer because of it. I am grateful to all those who have been involved in the project, starting with those in the National Park Service and its partner agencies who recognized the need to develop more complete information about the Peddocks Island cottage community. Two of the key initiators of the study are no longer with the Park Service, but helped to shape the study in crucial ways: Bruce Jacobson, former Superintendent of the Boston Harbor Islands National Park Area, and Chuck Smythe, former director of the Northeast Region Ethnography Program. Those who have inherited the project, Superintendent Giles Parker, Stewardship Program Director Marc Albert, and Northeast Region Chief Historian Christine Arato, have proven strongly committed to seeing the study through to completion, and deeply interested in its findings.

At the Department of Conservation and Recreation, which manages Peddocks Island, Jeffrey Harris, Susan Kane, and Jessica Renehan have been informative and welcoming. They and other DCR staff, particularly summer caretaker Steve Larson, greatly helped to facilitate my access to the island during the summer of 2013.

At the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Marla Miller along with administrators Jean Ball, Amy Fleig, and Adam Howes helped to smooth the bureaucratic pathways. Keith Hannon of the Landscape Architecture program produced the GIS-based maps in the report and was helpful in thinking through the graphical presentation of some of the data gathered. Emily Oswald proved to be a superlative research and project assistant in the spring and fall of 2013. Her thorough and imaginative searching through the archival records was responsible for the discovery of many pieces of data that have helped to create a much more complete picture of the cottage community's early history, and her assistance in organizing the fall 2013 community event was invaluable.

Lesa Kocielski transcribed the interviews with great skill and care. Two anonymous peer reviewers offered many helpful insights and suggestions, for which I am grateful.

Finally, and most of all, I am grateful to the Peddocks Island cottagers themselves. Many were generous with their time and knowledge; several helped facilitate introductions to neighbors and other resources. I enjoyed many congenial chats on porches and lawns and appreciated the interest and openness of the islanders whose words and stories are included in these pages. Among those who were most closely involved in the research were Bill and Claire Pierimarchi Hale, Sheila and Jim Martel, and Mike McDevitt, as well as others who are listed in Appendix A. But I also understood the stance of those who chose to remain at arm's length or unconnected from the project, and whose reluctance or wariness was an honest reflection of a set of circumstances and relationships that have often been difficult. I have tried to maneuver carefully within these internal dynamics, and to be honest in turn about what I have learned over the course of the study. It has been a privilege to carry these stories, even for a short time, and I offer this compilation back to the cottagers in the hope that they find something of interest and value in it.

Cathy Stanton

January 2016

Chapter One:
Background and Purpose of This Study

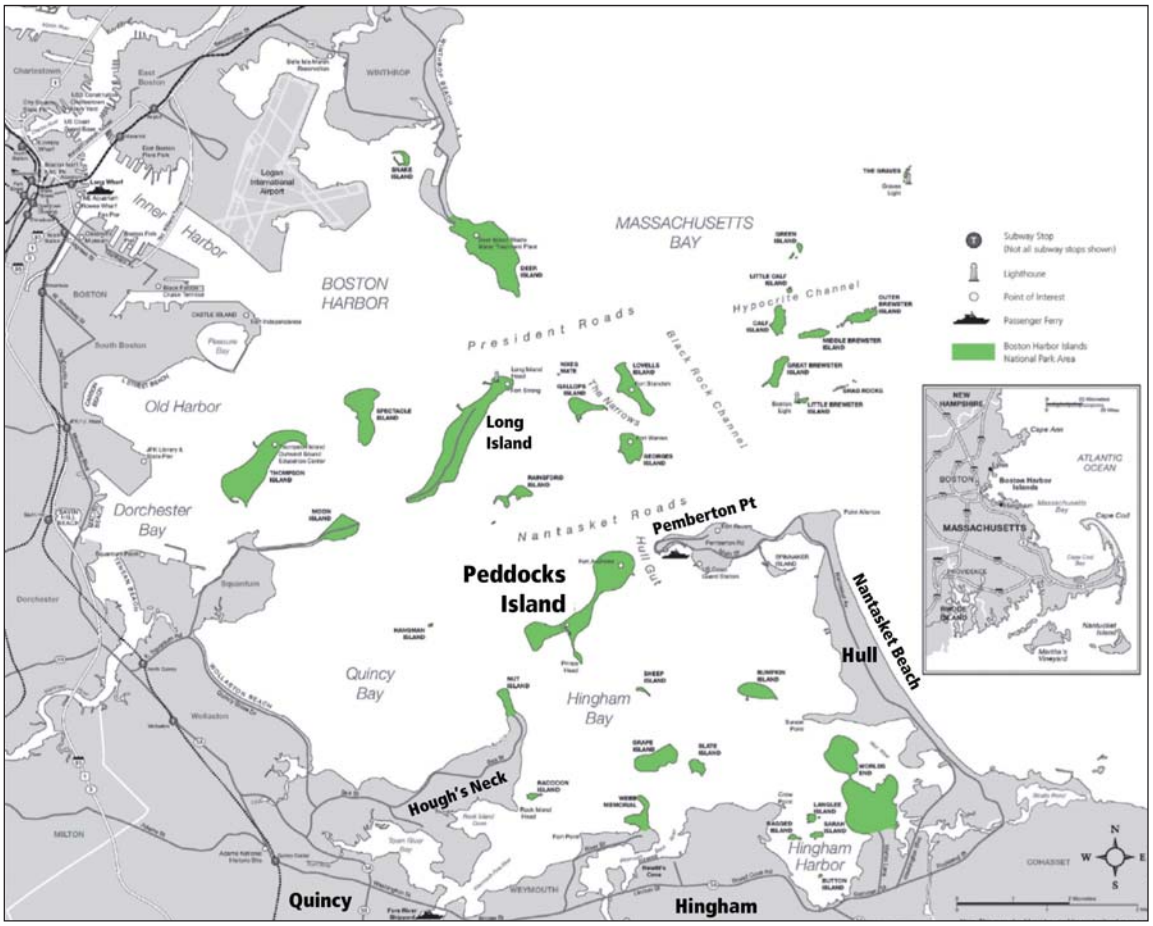

Fig. 1: Boston Harbor Islands. Islands included in the national park area are shown in green. Names in large type show key mainland towns and other features that are significant in relation to Peddocks Island. (Base map: Boston Harbor Islands National Park Area)

Peddocks Island faces inward and outward at the same time.[1] Like most islands, it exists as a kind of little wo rld unto itself—or a group of worlds in this case, with several distinct segments formed by drumlins left after the end of the last Ice Age. But it is also closely connected with the towns and cities along the coastline south of Boston, collectively known as the South Shore. This is particularly true at the island's northern and southern ends where it is separated by short stretches of water from Pemberton Point

1 Although the name of the island appears variously as Peddock's and Peddocks, this report follows the usage adopted by both the National Park Service and the Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation. Earlier spelling variants include "Petticks," "Paddocks," and "Puttocks."

in Hull and Hough's Neck in Quincy, respectively. Its southeastern shore outlines the limits of Hingham Bay, while its northwest side looks toward downtown Boston, offering views that juxtapose city and harbor, skyscrapers and open ocean.

Multiple strands intersect in its cultural history, too: Native American uses, seaside vacationers, immigrant communities, maritime trades, coastal defense, conservation campaigns, and recreation-oriented redevelopment. The remaining structures of century-old Fort Andrews on the East Head of Peddocks are a reminder of the long-standing military presence around Boston Harbor. The ongoing development of Peddocks and some its neighboring islands as public parks reflects the long process of creating greater public access to the city's waterfront and harbor, part of a broader focus by the National Park Service and other agencies on open space in urban areas. And the small cottages that dot the island, with a concentration around Middle Head, represent a living connection with the layered pasts of the harbor, the shore, and the city. This study explores the genesis and development of the Peddocks Island cottage community, the last remaining cluster of residential dwellings on the Harbor Islands and a place that is both peacefully separate from its urban and maritime surroundings and dynamically connected to them.

The study was commissioned by the Ethnography Program of the National Park Service's Northeast Region and was designed to gather and build upon existing knowledge about the cottage community. The cottages, and particularly the Azorean fishing families that originally built and occupied many of them, have been an object of curiosity for observers for much of their existence, and there is a somewhat fragmented body of documentation and oral lore relating to their history. In addition, there has been some documentation of this aspect of the island's past since Peddocks was acquired by the state in 1970.[2] However, to date there has not been an attempt to integrate all the strands of that history and and to place them within some of the wider settings—particularly immigrant and ethnic relationships and economic and environmental changes around Boston and its harbor—that have shaped this community over the past 130 years.

2 These studies include the 2009 "Peddocks Island Physical History, Chronology & Statement of Significance" commissioned by the Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation and two curriculum- and interpretation-oriented documents produced by National Park Service staff, Kevin Damstra's "An Island Neighborhood: People and Stories of Peddocks Island" (2005) and Phill Marsh's "Peddocks Island: Historical Information and Interpretive Resources" (2012). The 2009 DCR study included some information about the cottagers, based largely on Matilda Silvia's 2003 memoir *Once Upon an Island*, but was more generally focused on East Head and Fort Andrews. The two NPS projects likewise drew largely on published sources (including Evelyn Leeds' 1941 article about the Azoreans) rather than on information obtained more directly from islanders.

This study aims for that kind of synthesis and contexualization, with the goal of providing information that can be used by interpreters and managers at the Boston Harbor Islands National Park Area and those in the Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation (DCR), which owns and manages Peddocks Island.

Although in many cases the cottagers have been associated with the island for several generations, they have never held title to the land on which their cottages sit. Rather, they have always paid an annual rent or permit fee to a succession of landlords and have borne the costs of maintaining the cottages themselves. When the island owners were private individuals or companies, these transactions were relatively simple. But after the purchase of the island by the state in 1970, the cottages became in-holdings within newly-public lands, creating new challenges and complexities for both the cottagers and state managers. The National Park Service began to play a role in this relationship after 1996, when the Boston Harbor Islands National Park Area was created. The research tools of the Park Service's Ethnography Program offer a way to compile a more comprehensive community history that can inform management practices and relationships within this kind of complex setting. The Ethnography Program was created to help national parks better understand particular groups of people—often ethnic or occupational—who have long-standing associations with park resources that are part of a sense of belonging and a shared understanding of themselves as a group. This type of "traditional association" is defined by the NPS as having existed for at least two generations (approximately 40 years), predating the establishment of the park, and being expressed through the practices, values, beliefs, and sense of identity of a cohesive group or people. Park resources important to traditionally-associated peoples may include all forms and types of naturally-occurring and human-modified or constructed geographical features, landscapes, ecosystems, species, places, structures and objects—in this case, the cottages and other features of the built and natural landscape of the island, as well as material culture like the Harvey boats described in Chapter Nine.[3]

There are many ways to study these resources—for example, through archeology, landscape studies, biology, or architectural history. But documenting understandings, attachments, and uses by living communities requires a specific set of research tools known as ethnography. These methods, developed by cultural anthropologists over the past century, are designed to document a wide range of data about human experience.

3 This definition can be found in the NPS Management Policies 2006, Section 5.3.5.3 (pp. 70-71), accessed online at http://www.nps.gov/policy/MP2006.pdf.

As described in greater detail below, ethnographers gather information through a combination of face-to-face interactions, formal and informal interviewing, and use of archival, documentary, and scholarly sources. Ethnographers strive to convey how members themselves understand and construct their community and to integrate those understandings into larger narratives and settings.

At the same time, contemporary anthropologists recognize that cultural groups are never static entities but are always in the process of redefining themselves in response to changing circumstances and relationships with other people and groups. Thus, for example, the Azorean and Italian immigrants who came to Boston and Peddocks Island in the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries tended to identify primarily with a particular homeland island, village, or family rather than with the nation-state they had left. They and their descendants came to see themselves as "Italian" or "Portuguese" (and eventually "Italian-American" and "Portuguese-American") as time went by and new opportunities, tensions, and alliances presented themselves in their new homes. In the case of the Italian cottagers on Peddocks Island, we can see a particularly striking example of this process at work. In somewhat contradictory ways, the cottagers' World War II encounters with prisoners of war on the island represented a connection to Italian local and regional identities and lifeways, a chance to demonstrate loyalty to America's war effort, and a reminder of their own tenuous position between two nationalities who had recently been at war.

These examples illustrate another characteristic of human cultures that anthropologists have come to recognize over the past several decades: specific places usually play important roles in the construction of a sense of collective identity, but the *idea* of place, as well as the physical experience of it, can be very powerful in shaping identity and a feeling of belonging.[4] People may identify themselves with a place where they no longer live or even one where they have never lived. This became an increasingly common experience after the mass population movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with the development of large diasporic communities of economic migrants and refugees (for example, the Irish diaspora, within which Boston is a

4 For some works in the broad scholarly literature on the qualities of place and the relationship between place and mobility, see Arjun Appadurai, "Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology" in *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); Marc Augé, *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity* (London: Verso, 2009); Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell, 2004); Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997, especially Chapter 2).

particularly important center). New networks of transportation and communication, up to and including today's World Wide Web, have continued to enable the creation of what one anthropologist (Appadurai 1996) has termed "global ethnoscapes"—cultures that exist across distance and within experiences of mobility, as well as or even instead of being tied to particular places. Both culture and place, then, have come to look less like solid objects with neatly-defined edges and more like fields with definite centers but blurred and often permeable boundaries. This approach helps us to move beyond a simple and static notion of both "community" and "place" and to see how a sense of belonging and a feeling of place-attachment can be created through the intersection of many processes and identities. If there is a tension here with the NPS conception of a "traditionally-associated group," it is a tension that pervades anthropology as a whole. Ethnographers struggle to see both pattern and variation, change and continuity, recognizing that human culture never sits still to have its portrait taken but can only be captured through a series of snapshots that can lead us to a greater understanding when they are considered in relation to one another.

Islands and Seasonal Communities

There are two additional and related contexts that shape the nature of people's traditional association with Peddocks Island. First, it *is* an island, which gives it unique qualities as an actual and imagined place. And second, many of the ways that humans have used it over time have been seasonal and recreational, a facet that affects people's experiences and sense of place there in specific ways.

Island Places and Cultures

Anthropologists may have shifted away from seeing cultures as neatly-bounded entities, but islands *do* have defined boundaries, at least within the variation of tide and water levels. Their physical separation from mainlands has made islands unique as places and imaginatively rich as ideas (and sometimes as fantasies). In the realm of the physical, island cultures tend to be unusual in the way that systems of water and air transportation connecting with other places tend to loom very large in everyday life and livelihood. Islanders' attentiveness to the surrounding water—whether salt or fresh—tends to be intimate and constant. Island cultures and states have also played crucial roles in long-distance trade and exploration, making them nodes or hubs in larger networks as well as bounded places in and of themselves. As the global atmosphere warms and sea levels rise,

islands are also among the first places to experience the direct and devastating effects of climate change, and islanders are some of the most vocal in advocating for changes that could slow those effects.

The combination of isolation and connectedness, escape and vulnerability, has also given island places a particular resonance in the human imagination, where they have figured as everything from earthly paradises to harsh outposts cut off from the rest of human society. We can trace these two extremes in the way outsiders have imagined Peddocks Island, from the journalistic rhetoric extolling it as Boston's own "Gay Azores" (Leeds 1941) or a "Haven for Modern Thoreau" (Griffin 1967) to its use as a nightmarish set for the 2010 film "Shutter Island." Mountains, deserts, and other harsh or spectacular natural environments carry similar metaphorical weight, but islands' quality of being bounded worlds unto themselves helps to create a unique "imaginary," or a cluster of ideas and images that may powerfully shape people's perceptions and actions.[5] Islands are places where human experience is often "dramatically distilled," to use the phrase of one scholar of islands (Hay 2006:31). This combination of potent ideas and embodied experiences tends to make place-attachment to islands particularly intense.[6] These attachments combine the intensely specific—*this* island, *our* island—with the broadly imagined, embodied, and felt qualities that humans have long attached to islands in general.

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5 Writing of the "imaginaries" that motivate tourists, Noel Salazar defines the term as "socially transmitted representational assemblages that interact with people's personal imaginings and are used as meaning-making and world-shaping devices. The imaginary is both a function of producing meanings and the product of this function" (Salazar 2011:864).

6 Some recent scholars (for example, Hay 2006, McCall 1994) have argued that island studies, or "nissology" (from the Greek *nisos*, or island), offers a way to examine particular important aspects of human habitation and culture-making, including questions about borders and boundaries, migration, co-habitation, and both ecological abundance (in terms of marine resources) and limitation (relating to land resources). Advocates of island studies point out that islands are home to 10% of the world's population and make up almost a quarter of the total number of the world's sovereign states (Hay 2006:20), in addition to their disproportionate influence as trading centers, tourist destinations, and harbingers of pending ecological crisis.

Artists and anthropologists have long sought out island cultures for many of the same qualities that have stirred popular imaginings (for example, Paul Gaugin in Tahiti, Bronislaw Malinowski in the Trobriand Islands, Margaret Mead in Samoa). Mythological islands like Atlantis and Hy-Brazil continue to resonate in popular culture. Through their association with Charles Darwin, the Galapagos Islands are historically and scientifically foundational to modern understandings of biological change, while another eastern Pacific island, Easter Island, stands as an archaeological mystery and a kind of cautionary tale about humans' ability (or perhaps inability) to survive in remote environments. The Alliance of Small Island States was formed in 1990 to draw global attention to the growing threats to island populations' ability to maintain their cultures and homelands, particularly in the face of climate change but also from tourism and other kinds of development.

Islands, then, are particular kinds of places. And an island within sight of the mainland is part of another particular and highly-charged kind of place: a shore. Historians have recently traced the changing meanings and practices associated with shores and coasts. This scholarship shows that until the rise of industrialism and large industrial-era cities, shorelines were generally perceived as a kind of dangerous wasteland, a marginal type of environment that sensible people stayed away from unless they needed to be there for subsistence reasons. With the mid-nineteenth century shift into more industrial and urban living, shorelines began to take on new meanings, first as wild and romantic edges celebrated in the work of artists and writers (northeasterners Winslow Homer and Herman Melville were particularly influential here) and then as popular vacation destinations embraced by ever-wider publics (Aron 1999:17, 20-21, Gillis 2012:114-121, Corbain 1994:164ff). John Gillis, a historian of islands and shore environments, makes a clear distinction between "living *on* coasts and living *with* them"—that is, between people who may live or vacation on coasts and "coastal people whose historical relationship with the coastal environment goes beyond mere residence" (Gillis 2012:2) to include the rather unromantic and always risky business of making a living from the sea. These "coastal people" were not fixated on the picturesque or restorative qualities of the places they occupied; that was a luxury for more seasonal and urban visitors (Gillis 2012:114-117). In the history of Peddocks Island we can see a long coexistence of both kinds of people: urban or suburban vacationers with fishing and lobstering families ekeing out a living on the edge of the growing city.

An island near an *urban* shore, like Peddocks, is a still more particular kind of place. It is connected with urban processes of growth, decline, conflict, and other complexities, challenges, and opportunities, while at the same time standing apart from them. This separateness has allowed coastal islands to function as convenient places to "off-shore" various kinds of unwanted or problematic people and processes, as the history of Boston Harbor abundantly shows, with islands being used for prisons, almshouses, burying-grounds, hospitals and quarantine stations, and sewage facilities.[7] Given the strategic and economic importance of large coastal industrial cities, coastal islands have also been crucial sites of defense, adding to their long function within

7 Among the best-known of these uses are the incarceration of Native Americans on Deer, Long, and possibly Peddocks Islands during King Philip's War in the 1670s, the housing of Irish Potato Famine refugees (many of them ill with infectious diseases) on Deer Island in the mid-nineteenth century, the holding of Confederate prisoners at Fort Warren during the Civil War, and the construction of sewage outfall areas and treatment stations on Nut and Deer Islands in the late nineteenth century (GMP 2002, 122).

navigational systems. Coasts, shorelines, and islands have therefore been seen as both repositories for cities' problems and—in varying ways—solutions to or antidotes for them. They are ambiguous and ambivalent places, qualities that are also reflected in their seasonal uses and their associations with recreation and tourism.

Seasonal Uses and Communities

There has historically been a range of seasonal uses of Peddocks Island and its neighboring islands and coastline. Fishing, clamming, and lobstering have been part of subsistence and commercial activity in the harbor for centuries. There is evidence of a seasonal Native American presence on the Harbor Islands from at least 8,000 years ago (GMP 2002:10); in 1971, a more than 4,000-year-old Native American skeleton was found on the West Head of Peddocks by a cottager. European colonists used the island as seasonal agricultural land when they began to arrive in numbers in the early seventeenth century. Beginning in the first part of the nineteenth century, seasonal visitors also began to appear along the coastline, prompted by a desire to escape hot and unhealthful cities and drawn by increasingly romanticized images of wild and natural places and the people and occupations historically associated with them. Throughout the rest of the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century, seasonal and recreational uses of Peddocks Island mirrored Boston's development, with its rapid growth through expansion and immigration, the changes being wrought on older occupations, and the environmental effects of the city's need for clean drinking water, waste disposal, transportation infrastructure, and occasional relief from crowded urban living. Visitor numbers expanded as more infrastructure was developed to accommodate them, a process that continues well into the present. Picnickers, excursion trips, boaters, campers, resort and hotel customers, recreational fishermen, and people in search of a less-controlled venue for various unsanctioned activities have all found coasts and islands—including those around the Boston Harbor and Massachusetts Bay—appealing during the warmer months of the year.

Scholarly studies of tourism have helped to show how collective identities may be forged, reinforced, and sometimes challenged through these increasingly-common kinds of social formations. As the title of Cindy Aron's *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* suggests, vacationing is not merely a lightweight leisure-time activity, but something that that requires considerable organization and effort. The very concept of the vacation is linked in many ways with ideas about work schedules and disciplines

that emerged during the industrial era. In contrast to the more "natural" or fluctuating rhythms of older occupations like farming and fishing, work within an industrial economy was increasingly contained within a set number of hours, with other time set aside for rest, recreation, and family activity.[8] Yet those recreational patterns often overlap with older occupations and rhythms dictated more by seasons or natural environments, reflected in the development of tourist economies in coastal and mountainous regions around the world. And they are significantly shaped by the kinds of patterns and cyclical rituals that we will see in accounts of the Peddocks Islanders' lives on the island: opening and closing the cottage, marking the beginning and end of summer with barbecues and parades, travelling to and from the island or lake or shore. These ritualized patterns can play important roles at various stages of cottagers' lives. Movement and dwelling in these contexts are both physical and emotional or symbolic, creating seasonal landscapes which "have an enormous mental energy condensed into them," in the words of one scholar of tourism (Löfgren 1999:150).

These seasonal uses mean that the various groupings of people around places like Peddocks Island have a discontinuous, layered quality that is nevertheless very tightly tied to place. As Orvar Löfgren notes, "Emotionally, second homes often come first" (1999:139). People associated with seasonal places may belong to distinct sub-groups based on tenure, kinship, origin, and particular kinds of usage, which may or may not overlap socially and may have no point of connection outside the place itself. Yet that connection can nevertheless be a powerful one, shaping personal identities around particular experiences—for example, summer camp or family vacations—and often forming larger clusters of self-identification linked through a shared sense of place. A key point about these identities, and one that can clearly be seen in the experiences of cottagers on Peddocks, is that there are not necessarily neat dividing-lines between roles and categories: "islander," "cottager," "tourist," "visitor." Rather, these identities are enacted and continually negotiated through social interactions and demonstrations of mutual understanding, competence, and responsibility. Sometimes distinctions are clearly

8 The classic text on this shift is E.P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," in *Past and Present*, No. 38 (Dec. 1967), pp. 56-97. On the American context, see Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983). Tourism studies also address the relationship of industrialism and tourism; see, for example, John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London: Sage, 2011, especially Chapter 2 on mass tourism) and Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999, especially Chapter 1, which proposes that in modern societies, people tend to construct their senses of personal and cultural identity through leisure rather than work experiences).

expressed, as in the case of one Peddocks cottager who made acceptance of the island a litmus test for her teenage children's beaus. Evidence of good seamanship, attentiveness to the danger of fire and other problems, or first-hand recollections of widely-known parts of the community's history can also serve as ongoing tests and demonstrations of who is considered an "insider" on the island. Insiderhood does not map neatly onto length of tenure or annual stay, and indeed those things have long tended to fluctuate within families and individual lives, with people spending differing lengths of time on the island at different stages of their lives. The presence of people in paid or professional capacities—for example, property caretakers and seasonal or year-round staff at parks or hotels—may also overlap with more recreational populations. As can be seen in the roles played by many people in this category on Peddocks Island over time, these people may share a strong sense of place-attachment and community membership, further blurring the insider/outsider distinction.

This kind of community thus has a kaleidoscopic quality, with a set of elements constantly being recombined within the bounded frame of a specific place.The closest comparison may be to a traditional college campus, which similarly features a fluctuating population and sharp divisions into age cohorts yet which often invokes a lifelong and emotionally-rich sense of shared identity and belonging. Because both the physical area and population on Peddocks Island are small, the demographic clusters associated with it have tended to overlap and blend over time, although they also show lines of difference and sometimes tension, a common feature of any community or cultural grouping and one that seasonality often brings into sharper relief.[9]

Family, work, and leisure patterns have changed once again as places like Boston have moved into "postindustrial" economies characterized by ever-increasing flexibility, mobility, and volatility. Under these new conditions, travel and reconnection with meaningful physical spaces often loom even larger in individual lives. Thus recreation and tourism have never been separate from "real life" but are integral to it and can be a way to construct a sense of belonging and identity in spite of the constricting disciplines of industrial-era lives or the greater flux of postindustrial ones.

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9 For an ethnographic study of one such layered seasonal/island community, see Michael Stephan Gibbons, "Islanders in Community: Identity Negotiation through Sites of Conflict and Transcripts of Power, " *Island Studies Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (November 2010), which examines differential identities among seasonal and year-round residents of the Madeleine Islands in Wisconsin. On the surprisingly fluid relationships among "locals," "tourists," and "brokers" in tourist and seasonal settings, see So-Min Cheon and Marc L. Miller, "Power and Tourism: A Foucauldian Observation" in *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (2000), pp. 371-390.

An understanding of the cottage community on Peddocks Island requires that we see it in all of these overlapping contexts: the qualities of an island place, its setting within the coastal environment of Massachusetts Bay and Boston Harbor, and the emergence of new seasonal uses in the industrial and postindustrial eras as well as the persistence of older ones that combined maritime trades and rural patterns with uneven integration into the mainland city.

Methodology and Research Design

This study began with preliminary meetings and an exploratory site visit in the late summer and fall of 2012. During the winter of 2012-13, preliminary archival and documentary research was conducted using both digital and physical sources and some informal conversations with key knowledgeable people. The goal of this phase of the project was to develop as comprehensive a list as possible of print and other resources, as well as a database of family names known to be associated with the cottages over time. An invaluable resource was the list of cottage ownerships compiled by cottagers Bob Enos and Phyllis Montagna in the 1980s, supplied to the researchers by Claire Pierimarchi Hale. Previous state and federal studies, particularly the 2009 DCR "Peddocks Island Physical History, Chronology & Statement of Significance," were also extremely useful at this stage. The preliminary research was used to develop a final Work Plan that was revised and accepted by Park Service and DCR personnel involved in the project by early spring 2013. Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval was granted by the University of Massachusetts/Amherst Human Research Protection Office in late spring 2013. The Principal Investigator made seven short fieldwork trips to the island and associated sites (for example, the homes of current and former cottagers or people with knowledge about the cottage community's history) during June, July, and August 2013, for a total of 18 days. This fieldwork is documented via transcripts of formal interviews conducted during these trips and through ethnographic fieldnotes and photographs that are part of the project archive. Reading of secondary scholarly sources continued throughout the project.[10] Two community gatherings in summer and fall of 2013 were important components of the field research phase, creating opportunities to report back to interested islanders

10 All published or archival sources are cited in the report; information gathered from informal conversations is referenced to the extent possible, but precise dates and sources are not necessarily given in the text. In keeping with ethnographic practice, data gathered through participant-observation are noted as such, and the ethnographer's recorded notes and observations are considered to be the source material.

as well as NPS and DCR staff.[11] The report emerging from the project was drafted by early summer 2014 and peer-reviewed and revised by summer 2015. Project personnel included a cultural anthropologist with expertise in public history, tourism, and national parks; a public history graduate student who conducted much of the preliminary documentary research and assisted with the second community gathering; and a graduate student in landscape architecture who produced many of the maps for this report.

As is often the case, the ethnographic fieldwork "on the ground" proceeded somewhat differently from what was envisioned in the Work Plan. Ethnographers use a range of methods designed to provide insight into the lived experiences and ideas of a particular group of people, responding to the actual realities encountered in the field as much as pursuing a fixed line of inquiry determined in advance. These methods include both formal and informal interviewing, with the "informal" range of the continuum often including quite casual conversations and passing encounters. In addition to interviewing and consulting archival or documentary sources, ethnographers make use of a method called "participant-observation," which entails spending as much time as possible in the actual social settings being studied. In the case of the Peddocks cottages, this primarily meant visiting with people on the island, generally engaging in short or lengthy conversations with them, largely on porches or lawns, a key social setting for cottage life. The Principal Investigator also spent several nights in the newly-opened campground on East Head during some of the fieldwork trips, and did considerable hiking around the island to become more familiar with its topography and the places mentioned by islanders. She also visited mainland places that cottagers noted as particularly significant, including Hull and Hough's Neck in Quincy.

The preliminary research phase provided an entré to the community in the form of introductions to a handful of cottagers, and the summer fieldwork phase proceeded outward from there, using the "snowball sampling" or "chain" sampling method to gain introductions to additional people. This method is particularly well suited to ethnographic research because it accepts the authority and knowledge of the study population in presenting itself to outsiders, and it can provide important insights into some of the active social connections within a group. (For more on snowball sampling,

11 In late August 2013, Boston Harbor Islands National Park Area sponsored a talk by the Principal Investigator at the Peddocks Island Welcome Center. Of the 50 people who attended, about half were island visitors and half were cottagers. In October 2013, about 40 people, including current and former cottagers and island residents, NPS and DCR staff, and others affiliated with the Boston Harbor Islands, attended a presentation of the research to date, also at the island's Welcome Center.

see Noy 2008.) There are also potential disadvantages to the snowball approach, as it may provide a window into only a limited portion of a community. In the case of this study, the preliminary research provided a useful foundation of most of the cottager names over time, giving a sense of the "universe" of potential connections, and the PI was able to seek out various points of entry that helped to provide a broader base of information. Some of these came through archival research; for example, the discovery online of a obituary for a Peddocks-born man led to an interview with his son, who was not known to any of the current cottagers but who had a rich family history associated with the Azorean fishing village on the island. Other connections were more serendipitous, proving the utility of simply spending as much time as possible "on the ground."

Two other factors limited what could be gathered and included in the study. First, the discontinuous, layered nature of the cottage population in both the past and present meant that the data gathered was itself unusually fragmented. Cottagers were in residence on the island for staggered and often very limited times, there were sizeable gaps in anecdotal or documentary data about many aspects of the community's history, and ferry schedules created an additional constraint on access to the island. The body of material accumulated by the end of the active research phase, therefore, is like a puzzle with some of the pieces missing. As is usually the case with this mode of research, new information was still coming to light right up to the end of the fieldwork phase, and many potential leads have necessarily remained unexplored. For this reason, the report is more of a snapshot of what could be accomplished in the available time rather than an encyclopedic authority on the comprehensive history of the cottage community. Possible additional areas of investigation are noted in the text, as openings for future research.

A second factor influencing the field research is the decades-long history of tension between DCR (and its predecessor, the Metropolitan District Commission or MDC) and the Peddocks Island cottagers over the issues of tenancy and the process of transforming Peddocks into a public park. This tension shaped people's willingness to share information beyond a certain point. The PI was able to conduct far fewer formal, recorded, transcribed interviews than anticipated, largely due to many cottagers' preference that their words and stories not be recorded.[12] Overall, about 25 cottagers,

12 In other cases, interviews involved a group of three or more people, which makes transcription extremely difficult. In those situations, the PI made the decision to record the data through note-taking and fieldnotes rather than formal recording. In all cases, informed consent was obtained verbally and/or through the signing of an Informed Consent Form. Signed forms are part of the project archive.

former cottagers, and others with knowledge of the cottages' history were interviewed over the course of the research, slightly more than the 20 that were planned. But much of the interview material is documented through fieldnotes rather than transcriptions (see Appendix A for a list of interviewees). Although most of the cottagers were welcoming, hospitable, and often highly interested in the project, their level of reserve made itself felt throughout the fieldwork phase and had an effect on the data that could be collected. People at a handful of cottages declined to engage with the project at all, either actively or passively (for example, by not following up on repeated attempts at contact). An aggressive researcher can push for greater access, but this goes against the more usual ethnographic norm of letting the people being studied set the tone of the encounter. It also violates a kind of unwritten cottage etiquette, widely understood in seasonal communities, that recognizes yards and porches as semi-public spaces but also maintains a clear line between people known in the community and strangers. In the case of the Peddocks Island cottages, this is rendered more complicated by the fact that the yards are in fact public land rather than being owned by the cottagers, adding a sense of uncertainty to initial encounters there (one that is sometimes also felt by park visitors who are unsure whether they are supposed to be walking across what appears to be private property). Given these complexities, the PI was guided by a concern not to push past the boundaries communicated by cottagers' own social cues, which conveyed a message that can be characterized as "generally warm, but somewhat cautious." This resulted in less depth of participant-observation activities than an ethnographer usually aims for.

Despite this lengthy caveat, the project did gather and develop considerable new material about the history of the cottage community over time. Of the approximately 25 cottages still in active use, I was able to speak in some depth with people associated with approximately 14 of them, as well as with people who had recollections of cottages that are no longer standing and/or in use. I had at least brief informal conversations with people in four additional currently-used cottages, and was able to learn at least something about all but a very few of the total.[13] The fluctuating nature of community membership and cottage use, already noted above, makes it difficult to know precisely what proportion of the overall cottager population this represents, or how a total population might even

13 The ambiguity in total numbers here reflects the considerable overlap in ownership and association with particular cottages over time, as well as the differences in how active current usage is. People associated with one cottage were sometimes able to tell me something about the more distant history and use of a neighboring structure, even if I was not able to make a connection with the current users.

be defined.[14] As with other seasonal settings, there are widely differing levels of residence and extended networks of family and friends—including former cottagers—who may visit occasionally. These differences do not necessarily correlate with intensity of belonging; people across the range may consider themselves fully part of the cottager community, and it's internal definitions rather than any more objective measure that an ethnographer tries to take into consideration when assessing who belongs to a group. The research therefore sought to gather information and impressions from people who represented many different experiences: the most regular and active occupants, people who used their cottages more occasionally or sporadically, former cottagers who have maintained links with the community and the island, and some who are at a greater remove yet still feel a sense of connection.

This data was analyzed in a number of ways. A wiki (a simplified website editable by multiple users) was used by the research team to collect and cross-reference all materials, centrally organized around a database of known cottager/resident names and a numerical listing of the cottages themselves. Fieldnotes and interview transcriptions were reviewed and coded to link information with the database and with various thematic clusters that emerged from primary and secondary sources as the research progressed. In some areas—particularly in anecdotal histories of the key people, places, and changes of the decades following World War II—it was possible quite quickly to reach a level of "sufficient redundancy" (that is, a sense that the topic has been fairly thoroughly covered, with some clear repeating clusters of information and no large remaining gaps in knowledge; see Trotter and Schensul 1998 for more on this idea). In other cases, gaps remain in what is known about specific cottages, families, or time periods. Additional targeted research was conducted in the fall of 2013 to address some of those remaining gaps. Some of this additional research uncovered important new information—in particular, the discovery of links between key Azorean families associated with Peddocks Island and a small, close-knit Portuguese enclave in industrial-era East Cambridge. This enabled a more detailed exploration of the relationship between mainland and island activities among these families, as well as a clearer sense of where they fit within Boston's surging turn-of-the-twentieth-century industrial economy and its changing maritime

14 In his ethnographic study of the Cape Cod dune shacks, Robert Wolfe estimated a core population of 250 shack residents at the 19 shacks that were occupied in 2004, with connections to what he termed "coteries" of family and friends amounting to another 1,100 to 1,700 people (Wolfe 2005:i). I have deliberately not attempted a similar estimate for the Peddocks Island cottages because I believe its inherent imprecision makes these figures unhelpful and potentially misleading.

economy. Toward the very end of the drafting of the report, new details came to light that enabled much more definite documentation of the Azorean fishing families displaced from Boston Harbor's Long Island and their connections with the Azorean families who were a foundational part of the Peddocks Island cottage community. This piece of the island's history is described in detail in Chapter Four. As with most ethnographic research, the processes of data-gathering and data-analysis were somewhat recursive, with the report-writing process as one more stage of assembling a larger narrative about the community. Given that not all of the known gaps have been filled and that cottagers themselves may wish to add additional knowledge and materials to the growing archive to which this project has contributed, it may be that the report itself will prompt further discussion and collection, making it part of an ongoing shared exploration rather than a one-time gathering of information. A supplemental collection of thumbnail histories of each individual cottage, submitted with this report, is intended to provide a basis for this kind of ongoing shared research and recollection.

Report Outline

Because the different strands of the Peddocks Island story—vacationers, fishing families, military—overlap in so many places, it is difficult to tell a neat chronological story that follows all of them simultaneously. Rather than attempt a single linear narrative, therefore, the report is structured in a way that combines chronology with a focus on the main components that have added up to the cottagers' own sense of this place and the people in it.

- **Chapter Two** surveys the island's topography and cultural landscapes, and offers a general outline of the island's human history over time, with an emphasis on issues of ownership. This overview concentrates more fully on the period before 1900, as subsequent decades are covered in more depth in the later chapters. It also devotes some time to the families who occupied the cottages of "Sergeants' Row" on East Head, particularly before the 1960s. These families occupy a middle ground between the military world of East Head and the cottagers of Middle and West Heads, with connections and relationships in both, and although their stories are to some extent woven through the later chapters, it seemed worthwhile to examine them initially as a group as well.

- **Chapter Three** explores the island in the context of the seasonal vacation economy that was expanding all along the New England seashore in the nineteenth century. It identifies a number of the earliest summer cottages on Peddocks Island, dating to the mid-1870s, and proposes that the island was both drawn into the tourist trade and somewhat apart from it, serving as a kind of alternative to more mainstream entertainments in Hull and other nearby towns.
- **Chapter Four** examines the first-generation Azorean fishing community that had settled on Peddocks by the late 1880s. It begins with a survey of the remarkably close relationship between New England (especially Boston) and the Azores, followed by a description of the Azorean fishing village that existed on Long Island from sometime in the 1860s to the fishing families' eviction in 1887. The chapter concludes by tracing the settlement of the first Azoreans on East Head and then Middle Head of Peddocks Island, and working to create a picture of "Crab Alley" around the turn of the twentieth century. The focus here is on the first generation of Azoreans; subsequent generations, including present-day descendants, appear as part of later chapters.
- **Chapter Five** looks at the brief but colorful history of the several hotels on Peddocks, presenting them within the larger contexts already sketched out above: the growing embrace of the shore as a place of respite and occasional iniquity, the meeting, clashing, and blending of Boston's increasingly-varied ethnic groups, and the somewhat-symbiotic, somewhat-uneasy relationship between recreational uses of the harbor islands and the expanding military presence around the harbor in this period. The "Chinese picnic" incident of 1909 is explored in detail as a case study of how the island as an "edge" place seemed to have been used to assert both the presence of a marginal ethnic population and the power of a dominant sense of morality.
- **Chapter Six** traces the pre-World-War-II history of some of the cottages on the south-facing side of Middle Head, including the Murrays, Relihans, the Carland/Grahn family, the "Widow Currier" and her sister, and the Chalmers, Enos, and Simonds families. Topics include friendships among cottagers, summer rituals and activities, differences in social class and ethnic identity, and some of the changes in the cottage buildings themselves over time.

- **Chapter Seven** picks up the history of later generations of the Azorean families, more commonly termed "Portuguese" once they were settled in the U.S. The chapter particularly follows the stories of the Goulart family, lobstermen from Quincy and Hull; the Gills, lobstermen, boat-builders, and turkey farmers; the Ferdinands and Lewises, who ran a ferry service and small store on the island and were also connected to Peddocks families in the heavily-Portuguese mainland neighborhood of East Cambridge; the brief occupancy of Cottage 38 by Jennie and Frances Lopes; and the Ferrara, Costa, Perry, and Kennedy families, whose interwoven genealogies demonstrate one descendant's statement that "Nearly everybody [on the island] is related at some point."
- **Chapter Eight** examines the World War II period, particularly through the lens of the Italian families who bought a number of cottages on the island in mid-century. The chapter presents the war years as a watershed moment in the life of the cottage community, when year-round residents and commercial fishing dwindled and the balance shifted toward more family-oriented vacationing. It also looks at how the presence of Italian prisoners of war on Peddocks Island late in the war enabled local Italian-Americans to negotiate some of the tensions and contradictions in their own ethnic and national identities.
- **Chapter Nine** chronicles the "family era" of the 1950s and 60s, the period when many of the current cottagers were growing up. The chapter traces the by-then-interwoven lines of kinship and marriage that connect many past and present cottage families of both Portuguese and other backgrounds, and describes island "mayor" Mabel Pinto as a bridge between the older and newer generations on the island. Chapter Nine also details collective activities that drew cottagers together, such as summer church services and end- and beginning-of-summer celebrations and parades. It examines the island's enduring ties to the maritime economy, which loom large in cottagers' recollections of this era, particularly the heyday of the area as "The Flounder Capital of the World." The chapter also shows how the ongoing connection with the island caretakers on "Sergeant's Row," particularly the McDevitt family, helped reinforce community cohesion in ways that still serve as a touchstone for community members.
- **Chapter Ten** moves into the "park era" after the state's purchase of the island in 1970, and covers the debates over the long-term future of the cottagers, including

through a 1992-93 advisory committee set up to make recommendations to the state. The chapter also describes the demolition of several of the cottages, and examines the balance of change and continuity within the cottage community.

- **Chapter Eleven** returns to a more general theme, exploring the cottagers' close and attentive relationship with their natural surroundings and showing how it is very much a social relationship as well. Cottagers' stories about wells, fires, utilities, and infrastructure reflect a sense of shared responsibility and knowledge, and an "island way" that is seen by many as foundational to their collective presence on the island.

The title of the report, "A Place of Quiet Adventure," is taken from a short reminiscence by former island caretaker Judy McDevitt (McDevitt n.d.). It was chosen because it seemed to express some of the contradictory qualities that make Peddocks Island such a captivating place for many people: its sense of intimate small scale within an often-harsh and challenging environment, and the way it seems to embody both the peaceful and the colorful aspects of the image of islands that most of us carry in our minds. ■

Chapter Two:
Peddocks Island In Space and Time

Location, Topography, and Non-Human Species

Peddocks Island sits in the southern part of Boston Harbor between Quincy Bay and Hingham Bay. Like many of the other Boston Harbor Islands and prominent hills on the surrounding mainland, it is composed of drumlins, oval hills created by the deposit of debris and sediment left by retreating glaciers about 15,000 years ago (GMP 2002:7). Peddocks is made up of five drumlins: one each on West and Middle Heads, one on Prince Head[1] which has eroded considerably over the past century, and two on East Head, with a valley between in which the parade ground and main thoroughfare of Fort

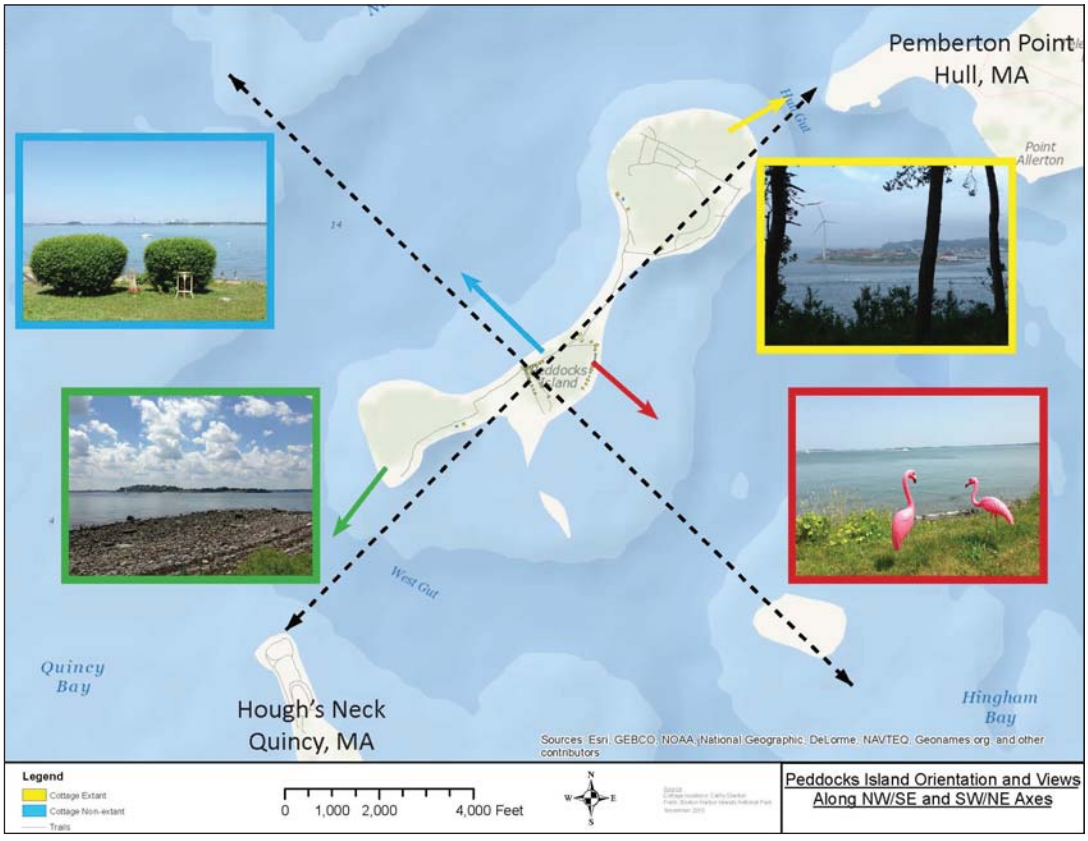

Fig. 2: Peddocks Island orientation and views along northwest/southeast and southwest/northeast axes.

1 This is referred to in documents as both Prince Head and Prince's Head, but Prince Head appeared to be the most widely-used by cottagers themelves.

Andrews were constructed. A submerged ridge known as "Harry's Rock" or "Harry's Legs" parallel to Prince Head appears to be the remnant of a sixth drumlin. The most northerly of the two East Head drumlins reaches the highest elevation point on the island at 80 feet above sea level (DCR 2009:3). From the harbor, it is easy to identify other drumlins that appear both as islands (for example, Grape and Bumpkin Islands in Hingham Bay) and as hills along the South Shore. The closest of these are Hull Hill to the northeast and Great Hill in Hough's Neck to the southwest; Peddocks forms a kind of bridge between these two, and the island is oriented largely along this southwest/ northeast axis (see Fig. 2). To the north, the island faces Boston Harbor, with Moon Island and Deer Island visible in the near distance and the skyline of Boston beyond. The south-facing view looks across Hingham Bay toward Quincy, Hingham, and Hull, the three South Shore municipalities with which it has had the closest ties over time. The Weymouth Fore River, Weymouth Back River, and Weir River empty into this part of the harbor.

Fig. 3: Seen in profile from the southeast, the five drumlins that make up Peddocks Island are visible. Left to right, they create West Head, Prince Head (small elevation just left of center), Middle Head, and two drumlins at East Head, which appear as one large mass in this photo.

At more than 200 acres, Peddocks is one of the larger islands in Boston Harbor, and its irregular shape gives it one of the longest shorelines.[2] It is outlined by cobble beaches with boulders, gravel, sand, and shells. Roxbury conglomerate (also known as Roxbury puddingstone) is among the striking types of rocks found on the beaches and elsewhere on the island. The four distinct areas of the island are connected by low-lying

2 Measurements of the island's land surface vary somewhat, reflecting the difficulty of precisely defining an island's landmass. DCR figures indicate 210.4 acres at high tide (DCR 2009:3) while NPS lists this as 184 acres at high tide and 288 at low tide (NPS "Island Facts – Peddocks Island").

sandy strips known as tombolos. The most extensive tombolo, between East and Middle Heads, has been significantly eroded within the memories of the current cottagers. According to some of the islanders, a small pond at the southern end of this tombolo shrunk greatly in size after the sand barrier separating it from the ocean was breached by demolition equipment in 2001. Between Middle and West Heads, there is a second, larger saltwater pond that is part of an embayed salt marsh system. It is open to the ocean via a narrow inlet but cut off at low tide. There is a perennial brackish pond on West Head just behind the beach which receives intermittent storm and tidal washover. All of the wetlands attract a variety of birds and other species. There are a number of freshwater wells on Peddocks Island, which figure prominently in islanders' memories of life on the island and which are described in more detail in Chapter Eleven.

The island is now quite heavily forested with trees and undergrowth, although it was largely bare for most of its recorded history. It is home to more than two hundred plant species, the most dominant of which are non-natives like Norway Maple, buckthorn, and curly dock. Native species include hackberry, white ash, staghorn sumac, and poison ivy, which has become very extensive (DCR 2009:3).[3] Among the non-native plants, privit and Asiatic bittersweet are widespread invasive species.

Over a hundred bird species have been identified on the harbor islands generally, and the varied terrain of Peddocks draws many of these (GMP 2002:8). Night herons and bitterns were among those most often mentioned by islanders as unusual and noteworthy. At least one flock of wild turkeys was prominently in residence during this fieldwork period, seemingly staying on East Head. Canada geese were also numerous, particularly around the fort area. Large and small animals on the island include deer and coyotes, at least seasonally. Islanders described the presence of numbers of feral cats in years gone by, as well as rats, muskrats, and other smaller animals.

Boston Harbor has one of the widest tidal ranges in the U.S., averaging about ten feet from low to high tide (GMP 2002:7). The dynamic tidal action results in regular depositing of large and small debris on Peddocks Island's beaches. Particularly since the harbor clean-up in the 1990s, marine life in the vicinity of the islands is varied and extensive. The underwater areas of the islands are home to lobsters, crabs, and clams. Fish species include striped bass, bluefish, and winter flounder (GMP 2002:8). Water

3 For a list of plant species on Peddocks Island, see "Peddocks Island Plants," http://www.nps.gov/boha/naturescience/upload/PEDDOCKS-ISLAND-PLANTS.pdf

depth around the harbor ranges from about three to 30 feet, with shipping channels (many of them deepened by dredging) up to 60 feet deep. In the immediate vicinity of Peddocks Island, the main navigation routes to the north are Nantasket Roads and Hull Gut (with a depth of 35 feet), which connects to a channel to the east of the island leading to the harbors of Quincy and Weymouth via the Weymouth Fore River and Hewitt's Cove in Hingham via the Weymouth Back River. To the south, West Gut between West Head and Hough's Neck in Quincy, at depths of up to 30 feet, is also heavily-used, including by commuter boats from Hingham to Boston.

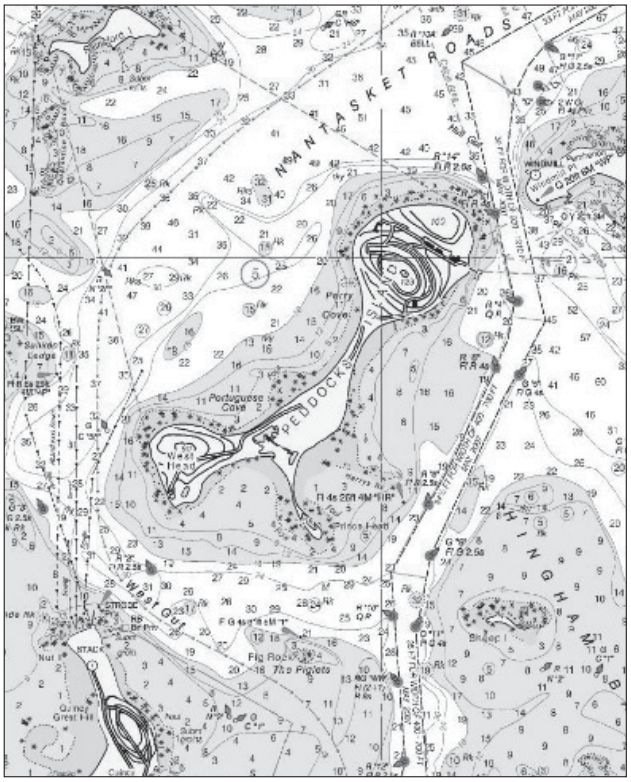

Fig. 4: Channels around Peddocks Island. Detail from 2011 chart of Boston Harbor. (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Office of Coast Survey)

Human Occupation, Ownerships, and Uses

Documentation of Native American inhabitation and uses of the Boston Harbor Islands is ongoing, and thus far has provided only fragmentary knowledge about the pre-European human presence on the islands. There is evidence that the Algonquians of the region fished in the harbor and also hunted and gathered wild plants and animals, including deer, cod, berries, and softshell clams. They also cleared fields on some of the islands and planted the "three sisters" crops of corn, beans, and squash, as well as carrying out tool-making, ceremonial, and social activities there (GMP 2002:121) The history of both land-based and marine subsistence therefore long pre-dates the arrival of Europeans in the first half of the seventeenth century, resulting in a "mosaic quality" that combined multiple seasonal strategies for getting food (Cronon 2003:51). Human remains, artifacts, and other material evidence of Native American occupation have long been found on

Peddocks and other harbor islands. In 1895, for example, a Peddocks resident digging a posthole for a garden fence found what may have been a clamshell midden and a human skeleton on the south side of East Head (Boston Globe 1895). West Head cottagers Jack Hennessey and Josephine Walsh also found Native American human and material remains in the 1960s (Griffin 1967).

Like the Natives, the English colonists made use of Peddocks and the other harbor islands for farming and fishing. But an entirely different and more rigid paradigm of property-ownership quickly led to conflict with Native groups who understood territorial rights in terms of flexible seasonal uses negotiated within extended networks of kinship-based relations. Thomas Morton, who wrote an early account of the colonial presence in the area, reported that before the English arrival, Natives killed and captured several French traders on Peddocks Island before themselves being decimated by diseases carried by the Europeans (Morton 1883:140). The cultural and religious values that the Puritans imposed on the landscape they encountered blinded them to the sophistication of Native subsistence strategies and led them to see instead "empty" and "unimproved" lands that seemed available for settlement (Cronon 2003:61-69; Lepore 1998:76-77). By 1635, Peddocks Island was being brought within European systems of legal ownership, with the island granted to the settlers of Charlestown to be used as pasture (Sweetser 1888:207). This use implies that the island was already cleared to some extent by this date, either by Natives as part of their practice of burning forested areas to create fields or by colonists who quickly cut much of the readily-available timber for building or firewood. At some time and for some reason never precisely determined, it became known by the name of Leonard Peddock, an "early comer" to the Massachusetts Bay colony who seems to have been both a farmer and a trader and perhaps had some role as an intermediary between Native people and the British settlements at Plimoth and Weymouth (Dempsey 2001:lxvii-lxvii; Morton 1883:130-31; Snow 1935:254).[4]

In 1642, ownership shifted to residents of Nantasket, on Hull peninsula, with some or all of the island divided into four-acre pasture lots (Sweetser 1888:207-8; Cabot to Swift 1897). Sweetser (1888:208) reports that the new owners "were careful to secure a grant of the island from one of the last Massachusee sachems," suggesting that multiple types of ownership—the Natives' use-based approach and the settlers' outright title—still overlapped at this point. Among those who obtained four-acre plots later in the

4 See Chapter Four, footnote 1 for a possible connection between Leonard Peddock and the early American whaling trade.

seventeenth century were members of the Loring family, who intermarried with a family named Jones that eventually came to own much of the island.[5] In addition to proprietary pieces of land held by individual grantees, some of the island was held communally by the town of Hull, probably as common grazing land. One of these was a "swamp" whose description in a later survey corresponds to the location of the tombolo between East and Middle Heads (Gould to Andrew 1859).

By the 1670s, colonial encroachment on ancestral Native territories brought the fundamental incompatabilities of indigenous and European systems of inhabitation into conflict on a wider scale. King Philip's War was a destructive and far-ranging struggle in which both sides suffered great losses but from which the colonists emerged largely in control of eastern New England. Many Natives, including "praying Indians" who had converted to Christianity but were deemed a threat during time of war, were incarcerated on the Boston Harbor Islands, possibly including Peddocks (GMP 2002:4; DCR 2009:16). Many of the captives died of disease, starvation, or exposure in the Deer Island camp during the winter of 1675-76, an early and now-infamous use of the islands as carceral space and a harbinger of their future involvement in military operations (Lepore 1998:138-45).

By 1700, Peddocks was reportedly being used to pasture cattle and sheep and to grow hay as well as barley and other grains (DCR 2009:16). By the time of the American Revolution, when the first extant maps were produced showing the island in any detail, there were buildings on both East and West Heads (DCR 2009:16). A fenced-in area and structure at the western end of the valley between the two East Head drumlins, visible on maps from this period (see Fig. 5), suggests either a paddock for keeping animals in or a garden fence for keeping them out. During the Revolutionary War, both military and agricultural use of the island continued, with Continental troops staging a 1775 raid that carried off 500 sheep and 30 cattle, 600 area militiamen camping there in 1776 to guard the entrance to the harbor, and sailors from the French fleet building fortifications on the island while their ships were being refitted in the harbor in 1778 (Sweetser 1888:207-8).

5 A letter in the Andrew family papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society, dated Oct. 6, 1897 from Frederick P. Cabot, an attorney for the federal government, to Henry W. Swift, attorney for Mrs. Eliza J.H. Andrew, provides some invaluable documentation of some of these early transactions. Cabot notes that one four-acre plot "northeast of centre of tract" was shared between Thomas Loring (who obtained his grant in 1671) and John and Benjamin Loring (in 1693), while an adjacent tract was half-owned by Thomas and John Loring from 1661. A second lot "on northwest corner of tract" was later divided between Samuel Loring (who seems to have acquired 1.5 acres in 1728) and the heirs of John Prince, who is noted as the "original grantee." The letter also traces some of the genealogical connections between the Lorings and the Joneses.

Fig. 5: In this detail from the 1778 map of Boston Harbor by Georges-Louis Le Rouge ("Plan de Boston avec les sondes et les directions pour la navigation"), a building can be seen on the west side of East Head at the approximate location of "Sergeant's Row," as well as a sightline drawn from a tree at the northwest end of the island. (Map reproduction courtesy of the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library)

After the Revolution, the island continued to be used for farming, with a small settlement developing on the more sheltered eastern side of East Head. By 1817, at least three buildings were recorded there, with four documented by 1847 (DCR 2009:4, 16). By 1844, much of East Head (and perhaps more) was owned by one Thomas Jones, who died in that year, leaving his property to Sarah Jones, presumably a daughter or other relative. But it seems likely that the settlement was actually occupied and used by members of the Cleverly family, farmers, fishermen, and marine pilots who remained closely associated with the island until the end of the nineteenth century. An 1860 source shows that the Cleverly settlement included two houses, three outbuildings, and a small wharf (DCR 2009:4), and maps from the 1860s and 1870s indicate the presence of what appear to be three houses (or perhaps two houses and a barn) as well as outbuildings and a small pond.[6] Eldridge's

6 It is difficult to determine exactly which members of the family were residing on the island in particular years, as census data records them as residents of Hull but does not note whether this meant the mainland or the island. The 1850 Federal Census shows farmer John M. Cleverly, his wife Mary B. and their three sons Francis H., John M., and Alphonso as Hull residents. In 1860 the family had expanded to include a fourth son, Amber B., another Mary (perhaps John's mother?), an Irish domestic servant and two laborers, a young man from Ireland and an older one from Sweden. By 1870, the oldest son, Francis, had married and started his own household, also in Hull (possibly on Peddocks Island). Francis's occupation is listed as "pilot"; John Sr. and his sons Alphonso and Amber are listed as "boat—fishing." In the 1880 census, it is very clear that two nuclear families of Cleverlys were living on the island: Alphonso and his wife Olive, and John Jr. and his wife Mary H. with their young sons Ernest and Walter and a stepdaughter, Mary Cummings. Alphonso is listed as a pilot

New Chart of Boston Harbor from 1884 notes a barn at this location (see Fig. 6), and later that decade, M.F. Sweetser noted in his *King's Handbook of Boston Harbor*:

> The most conspicuous object in the view from the west end of Hull is the quiet and peaceful Peddock's Island, where, between two bold grassy bluffs, several snug houses are seen, clearly outlined against a backdrop of dark-green orchards. Here dwell the Cleverlys, who, father and son, have piloted vessels into Weymouth and Quincy for half a century. From their sitting-room windows they look down Nantasket Roads and seaward, and watch their vessels coming in. (Sweetser 1888:205)

Sweetser referred several times to the Cleverly orchard and also mentioned that guests at the hotels in Hull "enjoy the result of the cattle grazing along these curving highlands, and the fruits and vegetables of the little farm" (1888:208), suggesting that like many "coastal people," the Cleverlys were combining multiple sources of income from both land and sea.

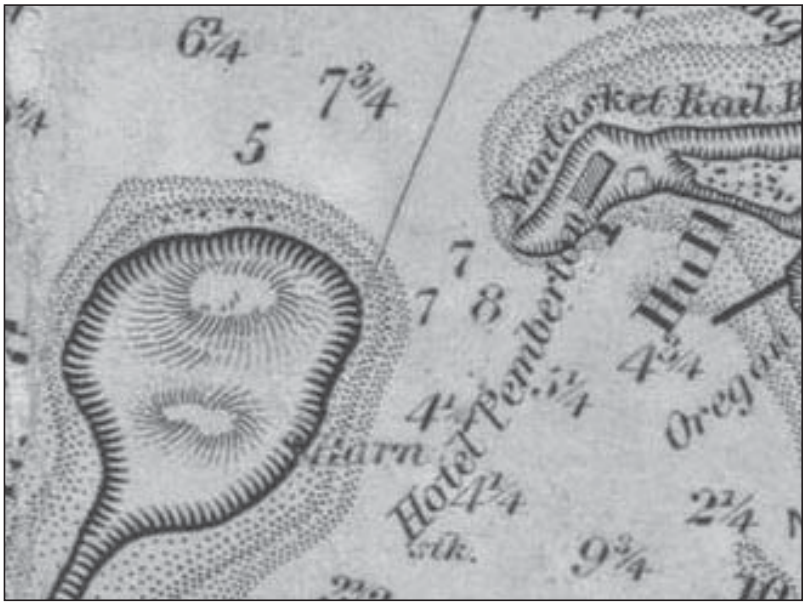

Fig. 6: Eldridge's New Chart of Boston Harbor (1884) shows a barn at the location of the Cleverly settlement on East Head, with the Hotel Pemberton and Nantasket railroad across Hull Gut. (Map reproduction courtesy of the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library)

The illustrations in Sweetser's handbook give a clear sense of what the Cleverly settlement probably looked like, providing a useful window onto this vanished island farm. The cluster of one and a half story wooden buildings is similar to the structures of other small New England farms of this period, as well as to the Azorean fishing village that existed on Long Island and then Peddocks Island in this same era. Various kinds of

and John Jr. as a farmer. 1890 census data are unavailable, and by 1900, with the creation of Fort Andrews, Alphonso, Francis, Amber, and their families were all living on the mainland in Hull.

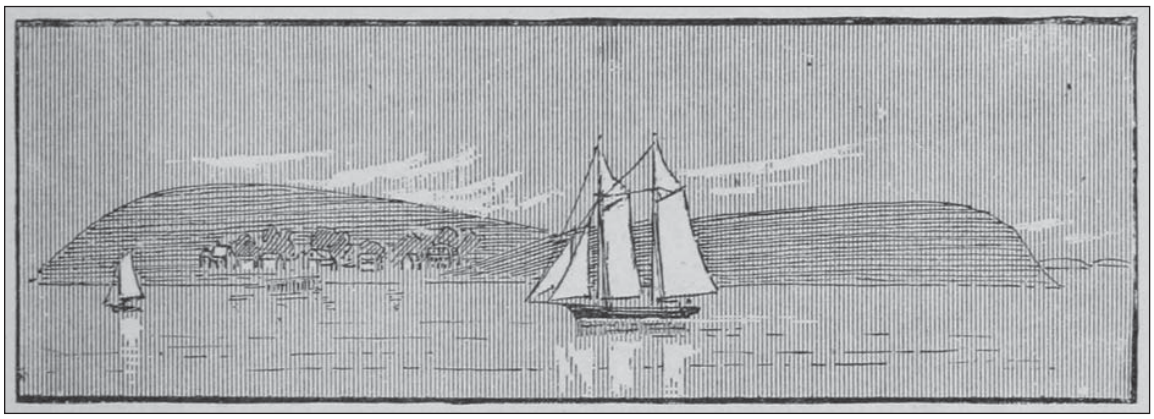

Fig. 7: "Peddock's Island" from *King's Handbook of Boston Harbor* (1888), p. 209, shows the Cleverly settlement at approximately the location of the present-day Fort Andrews landing area. (Friends of the Boston Harbor Islands)

fencing are in evidence: split-rail, picket, and what is seemingly an improvised barrier using (presumably old) wagon wheels. What appears to be a rain barrel can be seen behind one of the houses, and a number of additions and outbuildings, including one that

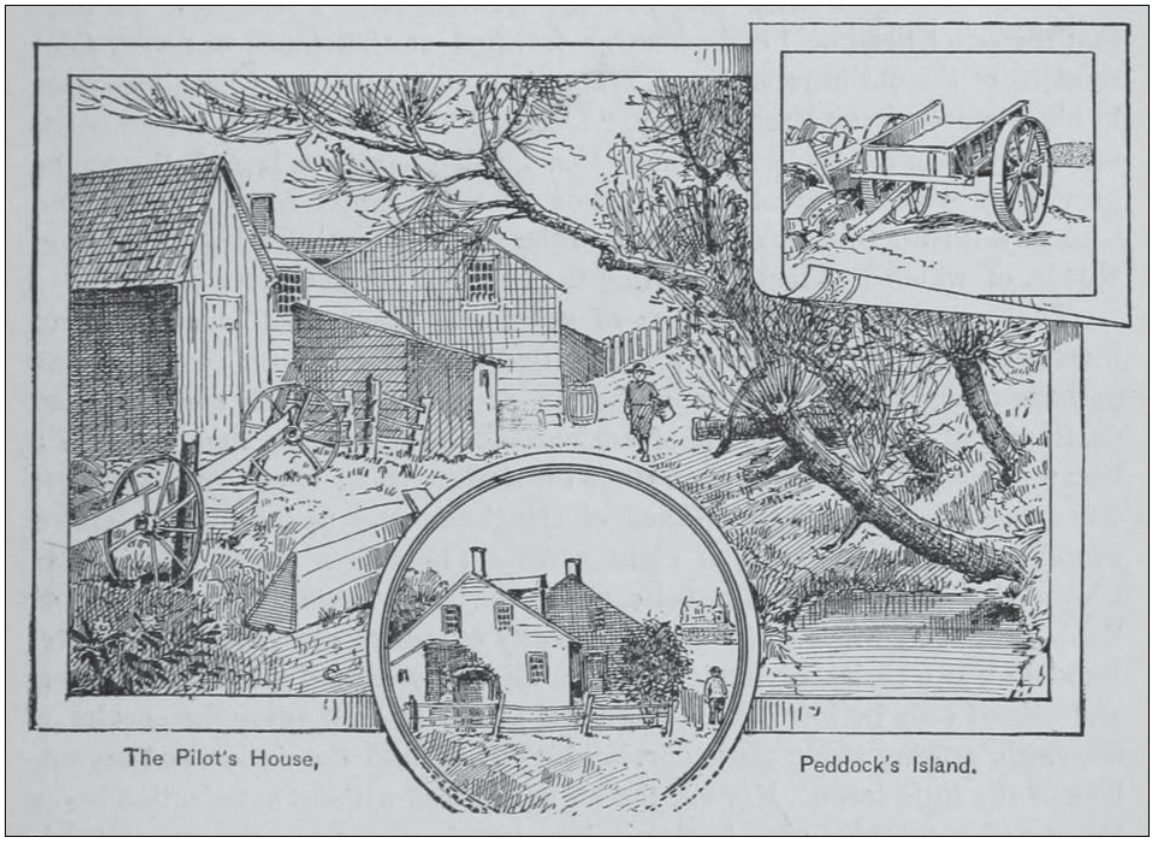

Fig. 8: "The Pilot's House, Peddock's Island" from *King's Handbook of Boston Harbor* (1888), p. 207. (Friends of the Boston Harbor Islands)

may be an outhouse attached to the back of a house, are also visible. Small flat-bottomed boats are shown both behind the buildings and on the beach; a small double-masted fishing boat can also be seen pulled up on the beach just beyond the pier. A pile of lobster traps next to the house signals the Cleverlys' participation in this aspect of fishing in the harbor.

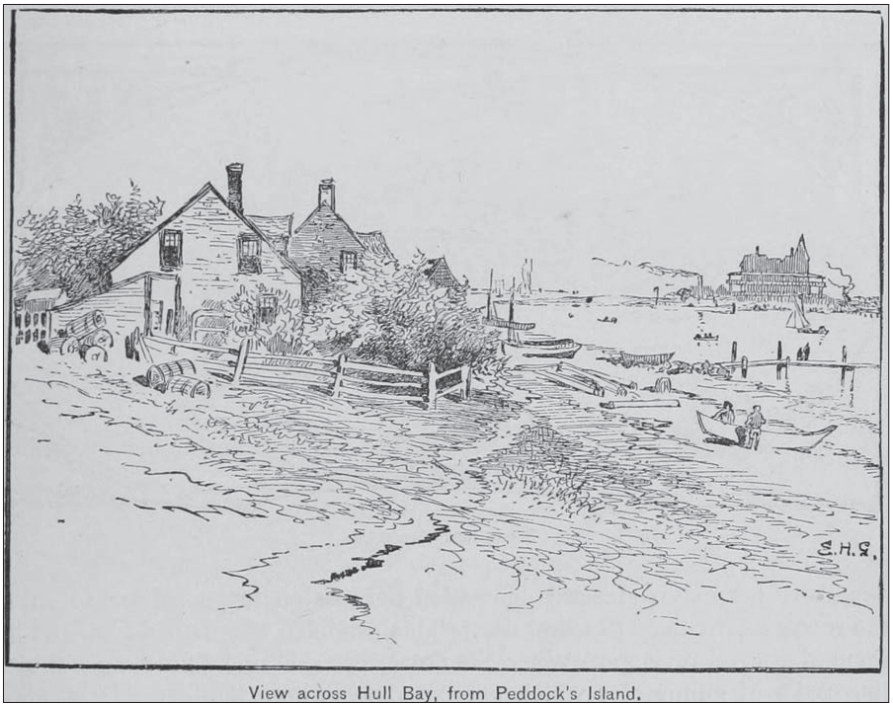

Fig. 9: "View across Hull Bay, from Peddock's Island" from *King's Handbook of Boston Harbor* (1888), p. 273. The Pemberton Hotel is shown in the distance, at right. (Friends of the Boston Harbor Islands)

By the latter part of the nineteenth century, the "quiet and peaceful" landscape of Peddocks Island that Sweetser waxed nostalgic about was already coming to seem worlds away from its mainland surroundings. Boston had been incorporated as a city in 1822; its population of about 43,000 in that year more than tripled by mid-century to over 136,000, and tripled again to about 400,000 by the 1880s. This pattern of growth continued until 1950, when the city's population reached its historical peak of about 800,000 people. Like other northeastern cities experiencing rapid growth in the era of rampant industrialization and mass immigration from Europe, Boston struggled with many kinds of growing pains: ensuring sanitation and clean water supply, integrating large new immigrant (and often formerly rural) populations, and expanding infrastructure to accommodate changing patterns of residence, travel, and commercial shipping.

Sewage was a problem throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Boston joined what Jay Dolin (2004:29-30) has termed an urban "sanitary awakening" in the first half of the nineteenth century as it began searching for more effective ways to deal with increasing amounts of human waste and wastewater. A massive new system of drainage and discharge was put in place between the 1870s and 1890s, with Moon Island as the site of a 25 million gallon sewage reservoir whose contents were flushed about six hundred feet out to sea on outgoing tides, considered at the time to be the safest method of disposal (Dolin 2004:43-44, 49). The city's marine infrastructure and waterfront, already old and outdated by the nineteenth century, were also subjects of concern and improvement. Just south of the downtown area, Fort Point Channel was dredged and expanded starting in 1866, and several harbor channels were similarly deepened later in the century to accommodate larger transatlantic ships (WPA 1975:150). The loss of much of the old downtown core in the Great Fire of 1872 was the catalyst for extensive rebuilding and reinvestment all along the waterfront (WPA 1975:151).

All of these sweeping changes in the city's economy, infrastructure, and population made themselves felt on Peddocks Island, as subsequent chapters will show. Perhaps the most dramatic change on the island itself was linked with the expansion of the military presence around the harbor after the 1885 creation of the Board of Fortifications (known as the "Endicott Board" after its head, Massachusetts native William Crowninshield Endicott). The board was charged with assessing and updating obsolete coastal fortifications, and it identified New York, San Francisco, and Boston as the American cities in greatest need of improved defensive systems. This finding led to the creation of Fort Andrews on Peddocks Island at the turn of the twentieth century as well as the building or upgrading of several other forts and military facilities in the harbor (DCR 2009:6).

These changes can be tracked through the records of nineteenth-century property ownership on Peddocks Island. The records—or rather, the gaps in them—also show that some confusion over who owned which part of the island persisted until the end of the century, and that tensions over informal occupation and uses were noted as a problem for the owners and landlords at least as early as the 1870s. It seems that the transition from some commonly-held lands on the island to private ownerships created gray areas that were not entirely cleared up until the time of the federal government's purchase of East Head at the end of the century. Sarah Jones (also referred to as Sally or Sallie in the written record) appears to have owned a good deal of the island, but it is difficult to know

precisely how much and which parts. At some point, some or all of her holdings were shared with a relative, Eliza Jane Hersey of Hingham, who was one of Thomas Jones's granddaughters. In 1848, Eliza married John Albion Andrew, a Boston lawyer (Pearson 1904:50-54). There is evidence in the Andrew family papers that John Andrew spent some time in 1859 attempting to clarify his wife's family's real estate holdings on the island.[7] The following year, Andrew was elected Governor of Massachusetts, a post he held through the Civil War years. He died in 1867; his widow outlived him by more than 30 years.

A letter written during a flurry of correspondence surrounding the federal government's purchase of East Head noted "that Mrs. Andrew and Miss Sarah Jones have claimed title in fee to the whole tract against the world for more than thirty years" (Cabot to Swift 1897). The phrase "against the world" seems to imply that there was some dispute on the matter. In 1876, Hull tax assessor Lewis Loring, a relative of the Jones family and a descendant of one of the original settler families in Hull, sent a summary of the taxable properties on the island which showed Sally Jones being taxed for 91 acres, Eliza Andrew for 27.5 acres, and John Cleverly for 13.5 acres plus a number of buildings and an orchard. Four squatters had also built summer cottages on the island, and three of these people appear to have been taxed on the buildings (Loring to Andrew 1876). The 1888 *King's Handbook of Boston Harbor* noted that Sallie Jones "now owns the entire island save a narrow strip of eight acres"—likely the "common swamp" or tombolo (Sweetser 1888:208)—and the 1897 correspondence notes that "Gut-head" or "Northeast Headland"—that is, East Head—had been "from time to time leased to farmers [probably the Cleverlys] by Miss Jones, and recently by Mrs. Andrews" (sic; Cabot to Swift 1897).[8] But the Cleverlys retained at least some land of their own as well. The Jones/Andrew claim could not be backed up with solid proof, and informal uses of the island clearly continued, as excerpts from the 1897 correspondence, with handwritten responses from the Andrews' eldest daughter, show:

> Swift: Is there any part of Peddocks Island that does not belong to you, and if so, what part?

7 These include Andrew's handwritten notes on the deed records, along with a letter including the deed information for the "common swamp" (Gould to Andrew 1859).

8 "S. Jones and others" are listed as the owners of Peddock's [sic] Island, Prince's Head, and Slate Island, and Sally Jones as the owner of Hog Island, on a map published by the Boston Department of Parks in 1887, accessed via the Boston Public Library's Leventhal Map Center. (http://maps.bpl.org/id/12669).

> *Andrew*: *About 5 acres on Pen [Middle] Head belongs to heirs of J.M. Cleverly.*
>
> Is there any abstract of title…which would help in showing how the various titles to Peddocks Island came to be vested in you?
>
> *Cannot find any*.
>
> [Swift asks where the "swamp lands" were and whether the town of Hull might still have a claim to them]
>
> *Swamp land lies between East Head and Pen [Middle] Head contains 8 1/8 acres. In 1869 it was sold to Sarah Jones & Eliza J.H. Andrew* (Swift to Andrew 1897a)
>
> Swift: Please state everything that you can which shows the possession of Miss Jones and [Eliza Andrew] under claim of right.
>
> *Andrew*: *Causing trespassers to be driven off would be an act of possession.* (Swift to Andrew 1897b)

The trespassers in question would very likely have included campers and excursionists, whose presence will be explored more fully in the following chapter. By the late 1880s the users of the island also included the group of Azorean fishermen who settled on the southwest side of East Head after they were displaced from Long Island in 1887, as well as a colony of summer cottages on the eastern side and perhaps elsewhere on the island as well.

The occasion for probing the family's title on the island was the purchase of East Head by the federal government for the purpose of building a new fort as part of the upgraded harbor defense system. The government acquired its first piece of land on East Head in 1898, a 23-acre parcel that ran along the small valley between the two East Head drumlins but did not include the Cleverly compound on the shore (DCR 2009:7). 1898 was a significant year for Peddocks Island in other ways. Eliza Andrew died and her property passed to a trust that was administered by one or another of her children.[9] The Spanish-American war was fought that year, bringing new attention to the harbor defenses. Across the harbor, the Fore River Ship and Engine Company was commissioned

9 Correspondence in the Andrew family papers indicates that the oldest daughter, Eliza, was a trustee of the estate in 1897. A 1906 Boston Globe article notes that Miss Edith Andrews [sic] was "trustee of the Andrews estate on Peddocks." "End of the Season Gossip about the Hub," Boston Daily Globe, August 26, 1906, p. 10. Edward Rowe Snow, writing in 1933, lists the trustees at that point as Edith Andrew, Frederick Turner, Jr., and Charles B. Baines.

to build military vessels, sparking a revival of shipbuilding in Quincy (WPA 1975:199-200). The war also temporarily slowed the influx of immigrants that had been drastically changing the demography of Boston and many other American cities. Late in the year, more than 150 vessels, including the Boston-to-Maine ferry the Portland, were wrecked during a storm that became known as the Portland Gale; at least one cottage on Peddocks Island was destroyed in the storm and later rebuilt (Leeds 1941). The gale also battered the hotels, beach-houses, and other seasonal tourism development along Nantasket Beach in Hull, a calamity that local moral reformers seized on as an opportunity to clean up what they saw as a growing atmosphere of vice and corruption surrounding the tourism boom in the town. By 1900, they had been successful at having the "Golden Mile" of the beach itself—although not the surrounding streets—brought under the control of the Metropolitan Park Service, a forerunner of the Metropolitan District Commission and today's Department of Conservation and Recreation (Galluzzo 2007:26-28). The same struggle over social and moral constraints was taking place on Peddocks Island in this time period, as Chapter Five will show.

After the initial transfer of property on East Head to the federal government, work began almost immediately on the first artillery battery. The fort was formally named Fort Andrews in honor of Civil War hero and Massachusetts native General Leonard Andrews, a name that was inevitably confused with that of the Andrew family (DCR 2009:17, Snow 1936:154). In 1903, the government acquired 63 additional acres on the western portion of East Head from the Andrew estate (DCR 2009:17) and construction continued, with additional battteries, barracks and officers' quarters, roads, a hospital, improvements to the wharf, and other projects proceeding in a somewhat haphazard fashion until 1906. Late that year, a committee of officers was formed to rationalize the overall construction plan for the fort, and the facility was largely completed by 1910 (DCR 2009:9-11, Silvia 2003:8). Modern utilities were added in the form of an electric power substation in 1905 and a water line across West Gut from Hough's Neck in Quincy in 1907 (DCR 2009:17, Silvia 2003:19). All of this activity was taking place within the larger project of improving the harbor infrastructure for shipping and shipbuilding. In 1902, the federal government began dredging the main channel to a depth of 35 feet, and by 1905, the world's largest stone and concrete drydock had been put in place at the Boston Navy Yard (WPA 1975:179). In 1913, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation bought the Fore River Shipbuilding Company in Quincy. The company serviced military contracts in both world wars and

left a visibly changed waterfront that is still being redeveloped today (WPA 1975:200-201). In 1914, the opening of the Cape Cod Canal helped facilitate marine traffic in the waters between Boston and New York City (WPA 1975:181).

Fig. 10: 1904 Dolen map of Fort Andrews, showing fishermen's cottages at top left (solid arrow), summer cottages and Cleverly buildings at lower center (dotted arrow), and the first military structures along the central corridor and area near the pier. (DCR 2009:31)

Outside the fort proper, changes were also taking place. The small settlement of Azorean fishing families on the west shore of East Head was displaced to Middle Head during construction of the fort, leaving five vacant cottages behind (Silvia 2003:13; see Fig. 32 in Chapter Four). Several structures from the east side of East Head, presumably including the Cleverly buildings as well as some summer cottages, were also demolished or moved. Not long after the fort was garrisoned, some enlisted men and non-commissioned

officers who had families living with them began to occupy the empty fishermen's cottages along what became known as "Sergeants' Row" (Silvia 2003:3-4).[10] One of these, a Polish-born tailor named Alex Bies, ambitiously repurposed what his daughter described as "the last and best of the old summer cottages," formerly owned by a lumberman named Pope, by floating it around East Head in 1910 and setting it on a new foundation alongside the other dwellings (DCR 2009:18, Silvia 2003:6-7, 13-19). The Bies family, like their neighbors and many of the officers who were housed on a terraced upper level of the fort, created both flower and vegetable gardens and also planted fruit trees, including a sizeable orchard on the northwest-facing slope of East Head (DCR 2009:11, 18, Silvia 2003 27-28). Bies' daughter Matilda recalled in her detailed memoir of growing up on the island:

> The soil on all of the hills was very rich even though a foot had been removed by the Army and used in other parts of the post. Each of the companies had their own hill gardens. They grew tomatoes, carrots, beets, cabbage, corn, squash, and beans. The progeny of the asparagus field may still be found scattered around the hills and roads, especially on the south and southeast side of the island.
>
> The families also had an area they could plant that the Army had plowed with a mule drawn plow. The hill directly in back of the six cottages was for the owners' use, and many, including Mother and Dad, had a good-sized garden and grew practically the same assortment of vegetables that the Army did, only on a smaller scale. There was also an Army orchard with apples, pears and cherry trees, some of which are still in evidence. Gardening on the hill was almost a social event, as each evening after retreat and "chow," families gathered to weed, hoe, and water their plots and, naturally, to exchange gossip, explore rumors, and discuss events of the day. (Silvia 2003:27-28)

In part this extensive gardening activity reflected the fact that many people still grew some of their own food in the early twentieth century, and in part it was no doubt a response to the challenges of provisioning an island, even one close to a city.

A good deal was also changing on the other two sections of the island around the turn of the twentieth century. By 1900 there was a small hotel or guest house on West Head, with a second one added around 1907 and a more substantial establishment built

10 A 1907 map of the fort suggests that there were perhaps three structures on Sergeants' Row at that point, although not all seem large enough to be dwellings (DCR 2009:35). A 1909 map shows three structures that do appear to be dwellings, clearly labeled as "cottages" (DCR 2009:43). A 1921 map shows six structures, one of which may be an outbuilding (DCR 2009:54).

on Middle Head about the same time. A row of summer cottages stretched along the shoreline from this larger hotel, at least two of them occupied and probably built by former soldiers from Fort Andrews. A second row of cottages built by Azorean fishermen lined the shore of the pond between Middle and West Heads, with several cottages farther up the bluff on the north-facing side of the island. In this time period, all of the uses of Peddocks Island coexisted, with occasional frictions but for the most part compatibly: Azorean fishing families, summer vacationers from around the Boston area, military personnel, and casual visitors who used the island for a variety of recreational purposes. The cottage occupants had a kind of hybrid status: they owned their buildings but not the land they sat on. They paid an annual rent to the Andrew estate but were able to sell or bequeath the cottages themselves if they wished. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, the trustees of the estate evidently explored selling the island in 1905, but the sale did not go through. The Andrew family remained the legal owner of Middle, West, and Prince Heads and the landlord for the cottages there until the entire island was sold to a new owner in the late 1950s.

Fig. 11: This c.1910 view of Middle Head from East Head clearly shows the row of summer cottages at left, the Island Inn at left center, Cottages 16 and 17 to the right of that, and the start of the Azorean dwellings (likely Cottages 19 and 21) at far right. Hough's Neck is visible in the background, and Prince Head can be seen at the far left. Crab Alley, over the brow of the hill, is not visible. (Lilian Perry, in collection of Mike McDevitt)

America's entry into World War I sparked a new round of construction at Fort Andrews. The Endicott-era coastal defenses were already obsolete in an era of airplanes and longer-range guns, and the fort's primary function during the war was as a training

facility and staging area for Europe-bound troops (DCR 2009:12, 18). A Nantasket-bound ferry was rammed by a U.S. submarine in thick fog between Castle and Spectacle Islands in 1917; although all the passengers were saved, the incident demonstrated how much busier and more dangerous the harbor had become with the addition of military vessels (WPA 1975:183). Fort Andrews' guns were sent to Europe in 1918 and partially remounted in 1920, after the end of the war (DCR 2009:18).

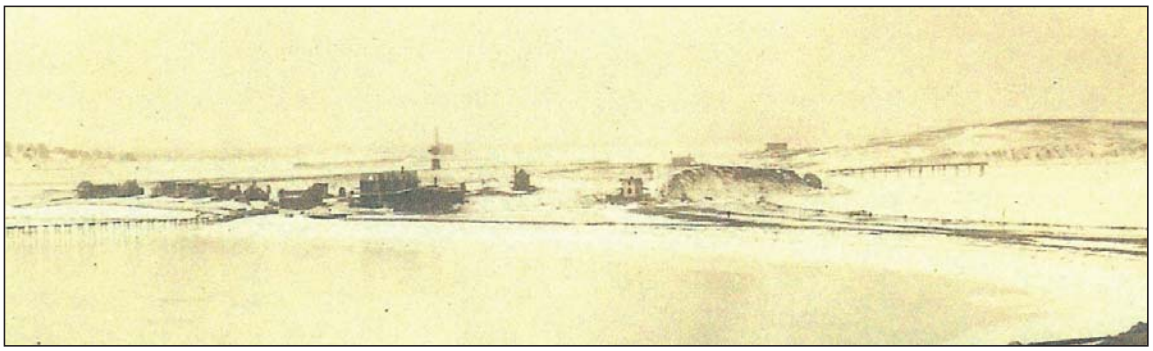

Fig. 12: This image from a c.1912 postcard shows a similar view to that in Fig. 11. A pier from the approximate location of Cottage 26 ("the Pink") can be seen at right, along with what seems to be a fairly substantial structure on West Head.

Soldiers continued to be stationed at the fort in the 1920s, but in 1928 it was put on "caretaker status" and staffed only by a four-man team, including tailor Alex Bies and retired master sergeant Sam Perry. Sam had come to the island in 1904 and stayed for many decades with his Puerto-Rican-born wife Consuelo (Connie) and their children (DCR 2009:18). Thanks to the memoir of Alex Bies' daughter Matilda (Tillie) Silvia, we have a detailed picture of life on the island between the wars. *Once Upon an Island*, published in 2003, gives a rich sense of everyday living and of the relationships among the quite diverse people at the fort, on the "civilian side," and in the somewhat transitional zone of Sergeants' Row that lay on the edge of East Head and created a point of some social interaction between military people and civilians.

Then as now, ferries were crucial aspects of island life. Matilda describes taking the early Army boat to Hull every day to go to elementary school (Silvia 2003:37), as well as the weekly boat that collected military people and civilians from the various island forts and took them to Boston to go shopping (Silvia 2003:69). She also notes the islanders' increasing use of the more dependable private ferries of the Nantasket Steam Company, which she calls "a source of life to the whole area" for their regular service between Hull and Rowes Wharf in Boston (Silvia 2003:94). Some forested areas on East Head were

beginning to mature by the 1920s (DCR 2009:12), but small-scale farming and gardening continued to be an important part of island living. Sam Perry had a small flock of chickens that he kept in a coop on the hill behind Sergeants' Row, and another retired sergeant, Fred Perry (no relation to Sam), was known for his pigs (Silvia 2003:37, 43-44). Like Sam and Connie, Fred Perry and particularly his wife Lilian, known as Nana, became important figures for the whole island community. Nana lived on the island for many years after her husband's death with her youngest daughter Mary, who continued to occupy the family's house at the west end of Sergeants' Row until sometime around 2006. Sam Perry drove a 1925 Nash automobile that had belonged to Matilda Bies' grandmother, and he used it as a kind of unofficial taxi for the islanders. Matilda describes him picking up civilians in it to take them to the weekly shopping boat (Silvia 2003:69), and one of the current islanders recalled him transporting cottagers to the fort for movie nights during the 1940s. Fred Perry owned "a fine motor boat" (Snow 1935:257) that gave him and his family access to the mainland. According to the recollections of current islanders, Nana Perry was also an accompished pilot and navigator, one of many island women who mastered maritime skills as an aspect of living on Peddocks.

Fig. 13: This undated photo shows Sgt. Fred Perry (standing at left) and a woman who is likely his wife "Nana" (seated, center) in the Perrys' boat crossing Hull Gut. (Lilian Perry, collection of Mike McDevitt)

A number of the original structures at Fort Andrews were razed during the 1930s; some of these were repurposed to rebuild the Bies house on Sergeants' Row when it burned in 1934 (Silvia 2003:130-32). At least one of the summer cottages, Cottage 1 at the exposed end

of the hotel row, was destroyed in the Hurricane of 1938 and was also rebuilt. In 1940, as World War II got underway in Europe, the fort was reactivated for coastal defense and military training, and after the U.S. entered the war in 1941, considerable new construction took place on East Head, including a new underground water reservoir and 28 temporary "700 series" structures that were used as barracks, recreation halls (one of which was used as a movie theater), mess halls, and the wooden chapel on the shore that remains one of the most striking aspects of the fort area (DCR 2009:13, 19). Both the chapel and the movie theater figure prominently in the memories of cottagers who recall this time period.

Fig. 14: The chapel at Fort Andrews, built in 1941, remains one of the most striking aspects of the fort area. Extensive renovation to the interior and exterior in recent years has preserved its historic character. (National Park Service)

As will be explored in Chapter Eight, the World War II era was a period of considerable transformation for the island as for so many areas of American life. People from the first generation of Azoreans who had been living there, in some cases year-round, were by now quite elderly, and most of their children or grandchildren had taken up mainland rather than maritime occupations. The cottage community had always been

largely seasonal, even for the Azorean fishing families; now the remaining handful of year-round residents dwindled further, completing a shift into wholly vacation-oriented uses of the island. The community also changed demographically when a number of interconnected Italian families purchased cottages, forming a new ethnic cluster within the small island population. These Boston Italians—many of whom were themselves immigrants to the U.S.—provided a point of connection to the several hundred Italian prisoners of war who were housed on Peddocks Island between July 1944 and the autumn of 1945; this part of the island's story is detailed in Chapter Eight. The island's shoreline and its smaller elevations like Prince Head continued to erode due to tides and weather. The 1910 shoreline shown at the left hand side of Middle Head in Fig. 11 is now very close to the cottages along that south-facing row (one current cottager remembers that a flagpole now right at the edge of the bluff was once 18 feet from it) while a large "puddingstone" rock barely visible along the northern shore path during Matilda Bies' childhood had rolled completely onto the beach by the late 1930s (Silvia 2003:140; Fig. 15).[11]

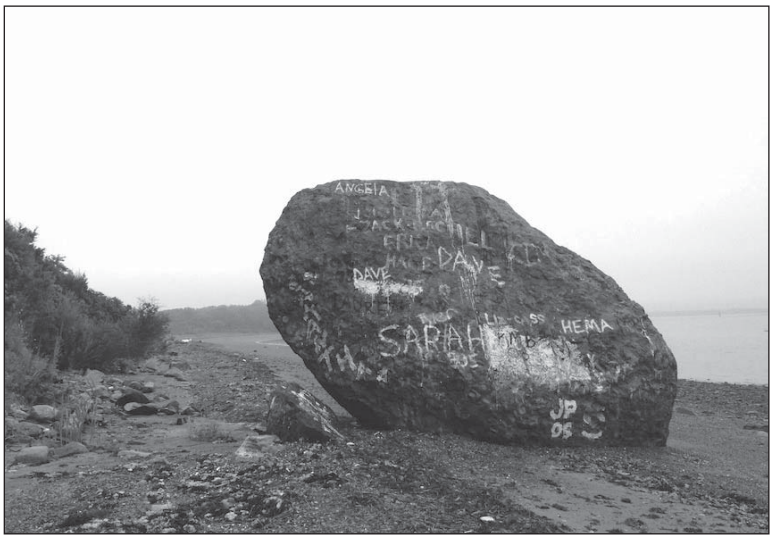

Fig. 15: The large rock on the north-facing shore of Middle Head was embedded in the shoreline until the 1930s. It has since become a marking-place for the names of islanders and visitors.

The fort was declared "excess" property in 1951 and publicly auctioned off in 1957 (Fenton 1957:26; Mass. DCR 2009:19). The buyer, Richard S. Robie, owned a Boston car rental company and had various plans for redeveloping Peddocks Island and other harbor properties (Fenton 1957). The rest of the island, meanwhile, had passed in 1956 to a new generation of heirs to the Andrew estate, who sold it in 1958 to Isadore Bromfield, a shipbuilder and Robie's partner in a company called East Coast Realty (DCR 2009:14). In 1962, Bromfield hired

11 The conglomerate rock known as "Roxbury puddingstone" (for its colorful mix of many smaller rocks) is very common on the island.

a young couple from Hull, Ed and Judy McDevitt, as on-site caretakers to help guard against fire, vandalism, and other hazards at the empty and deteriorating fort. The McDevitts and their four children quickly became part of the life of the island for the remaining handful of residents of Sergeants' Row and also for the summer cottagers. By this time the cottage community was a lively, multi-generational, multi-ethnic population of people, many of whom were connected through kinship, friendship, or mainland ties with the earlier generations of cottagers.

The principals in East Coast Realty tried for several years to develop the island. In 1957, Robie told the Boston Globe that they hoped to build "a marina that will compare favorably with any in the United States" (McLaughlin 1957). Three years later, the firm was envisioning an upscale resort on the island, "a Boston version of New York's Fire Island" (Gordon 1960:2). The company's attorney—also the state's Assistant Attorney General—told a reporter that the owners proposed to tear down "those shacks" and create "a lush ocean colony in the shadow of downtown Boston" (Gordon 1960:2). Clearly, these ambitions involved moving beyond the working- and middle-class origins of the cottage community to attract wealthier owners. Speaking of the planned new homes, the attorney noted, "I assume it won't be too cheap a house. The person buying it certainly won't be the kind of person down there now, if you know what I mean" (Gordon 1960:2). In 1964, 10,000 square foot lots on the island were advertised (Fig. 16). Current cottagers recall that East Coast Realty had most of West Head cleared in anticipation of sales of the properties. The development never materialized, however. According to islanders it fell through because of the difficulty of running utilities to the island and managing sewage. The physical limitations of the island environment, coupled with the daunting task of maintaining the old buildings at the fort, combined to make East Coast Realty's ambitious plans unprofitable.


ISLAND LOTS

10,000 sq. ft. house lots on West Head Peddocks Island. All are water front or water view. $100 annual lease. Representative at flag near Quonset Hut. Come by your own boat or our boat at Houghs Neck Publ. landing at 11 a.m. on Sat., Aug. 1 & Sun., Aug. 2. Telephone week days. LO 7-8900; eves., week-ends CE 5-5435.

Fig. 16: Real estate advertisement in the Boston Globe, Aug. 1, 1964, p. 22.

During the early 1960s, the Metropolitan District Commission (MDC), a predecessor of the Department of Conservation and Recreation, had considered acquiring East Head alone, but decided to wait until it was able to purchase the entire island (MDC 1993:22). The MDC had acquired Georges Island in 1950 and added Lovells Island in 1958 (Island Facts - Lovells

Island), beginning to move toward a vision shared by some planners and politicians around the city for a public park that would make the harbor islands more accessible to visitors. In 1968, the MDC applied for a grant to purchase Peddocks Island as a park (Marsh 2012) and two years later, it was able to use funding from the federal Housing and Urban Development's Open Space Program to acquire the island through eminent domain for $192,000 (DCR 2009:14). East Coast Realty challenged the price in 1971 and a lengthy legal battle began which was not resolved until 1982 when Bromfield and Robie's heirs were awarded more than two million dollars for the sale of the island.[12] As the legal process was going on, the island began to undergo a transition—still in progress today—to being a public park with a population of long-standing seasonal cottagers still in place.

The Metropolitan District Commission became the owner of Peddocks Island at a particularly challenging time for the agency and the harbor. Large-scale changes like the globalization of trade and capital, new shipping technologies, redevelopment of old infrastructure, and changing environmental policies and attitudes were reshaping the uses of Boston Harbor and countless other urban maritime places. These processes were—and often remain—highly politicized, with competing ideas about conservation, recreation, economic development, and the balance between public and private control over the waterfront (Brown 2009:104-5). With its ownership of three of the Harbor Islands—Georges, Lovells, and now Peddocks—the MDC was involved in discussions about harbor redevelopment, including having a seat on a Special Commission for the Development of Boston Harbor created by the state legislature in 1979.[13] But the chronically underfunded agency was also responsible for the deteriorating sewage facilities around the harbor, a situation that reached crisis point with local and federal lawsuits in the early 1980s and the implementation of a massive harbor cleanup that was ongoing for the remainder of the century.

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12 The case was "Mollie H. Bromfield and another, executors, & others vs. Treasurer and Receiver General and another," 390 Mass. 665, heard in Suffolk County Court Sept. 13, 1983 to Dec. 29, 1983. Accessed online at Masscases.com (http://masscases.com/cases/sjc/390/390mass665.html). The total amount, including costs and interest, came to $3.2 million (MDC 1993:28).

13 For a summary of the commission and its work, see Guide to Manuscript Collection 39 of the State Library of Massachusetts, "Special Legislative Commission on the Development of Boston Harbor Records," pp. 2-3 (http://archives.lib.state.ma.us/bitstream/handle/2452/120659/ocm24661093-MsColl39.pdf?sequence=1). This collection includes the records of the Peddocks Island Trust. The first principals in the Trust were architect Carl Koch, entrepreneur Harold Webber, and attorney John Bok; urban planner Michael Westgate was its executive director from 1982 to 1986. Information about the Trust was found by searching business listings and profiles of the principals.

In the early years of its ownership of Peddocks Island, the MDC did make some improvements to the pier and some of the Fort Andrews buildings, as well as opening East Head to camping in 1975 as part of the city's Bicentennial celebrations (DCR 2009:20). But longer-range plans were left to a private non-profit entity, the Peddocks Island Trust, formed in 1981 and run by architects and urban planners with experience at waterfront redevelopment. They presented an ambitious vision for the island, with a focus on eco-tourism and education. The trust's plans were seen by some cottagers as an attempt by a private entity to gain sweeping control over the whole island, and they responded, in part, by working to assert their own presence and history more vocally. One expression of this was an exhibit and master's thesis by cottager and artist Bob Enos, who created a large three-dimensional installation that featured oversized charcoal portraits of islanders by fellow artist Mary Good, along with painted plywood panels arranged in a compass shape to reflect the four cardinal directions and the intersecting axes of the island (as shown in Fig. 2). The exhibit was mounted at the University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth, where Bob completed his master's degree in 1986 (Enos 1986). By the time of the exhibit, though, the Peddocks Island Trust was no longer in operation, easing the perceived threat to the cottagers' presence to some extent. For the remainder of the decade, the MDC's management of the island continued in a state of somewhat benign neglect. The cottagers continued to pay their annual fees but there was little interaction with their new landlord.

That changed in 1990, when when MDC Commissioner Illyas Bhatti sent a letter to the cottagers notifying them that they would be evicted by October 1992. The unexpected notice prompted vigorous protests and considerable coverage in the press. Matilda Bies Silvia, then 74 years old, told the New York Times, "None of us are going to go willingly. This island is part of us; our feet are tied to the ground" (New York Times 1991). Faced with resistance, the MDC convened a Peddock's Island Advisory Committee (discussed in more detail in Chapter Ten) to study the situation and make recommendations about the future of the cottage community. Out of those discussions came the life-lease arrangement that has been in place since 1994: cottagers can continue to renew their annual leases for their lifetimes, but may not bequeath or sell them. The National Park Service came onto the scene three years later when Boston Harbor Islands were designated as a national park area in 1996. The federal presence within the partnership governing the islands was envisioned as a way "to better coordinate the management of the park and to improve visitor programs and access" (GMP 2002:15).

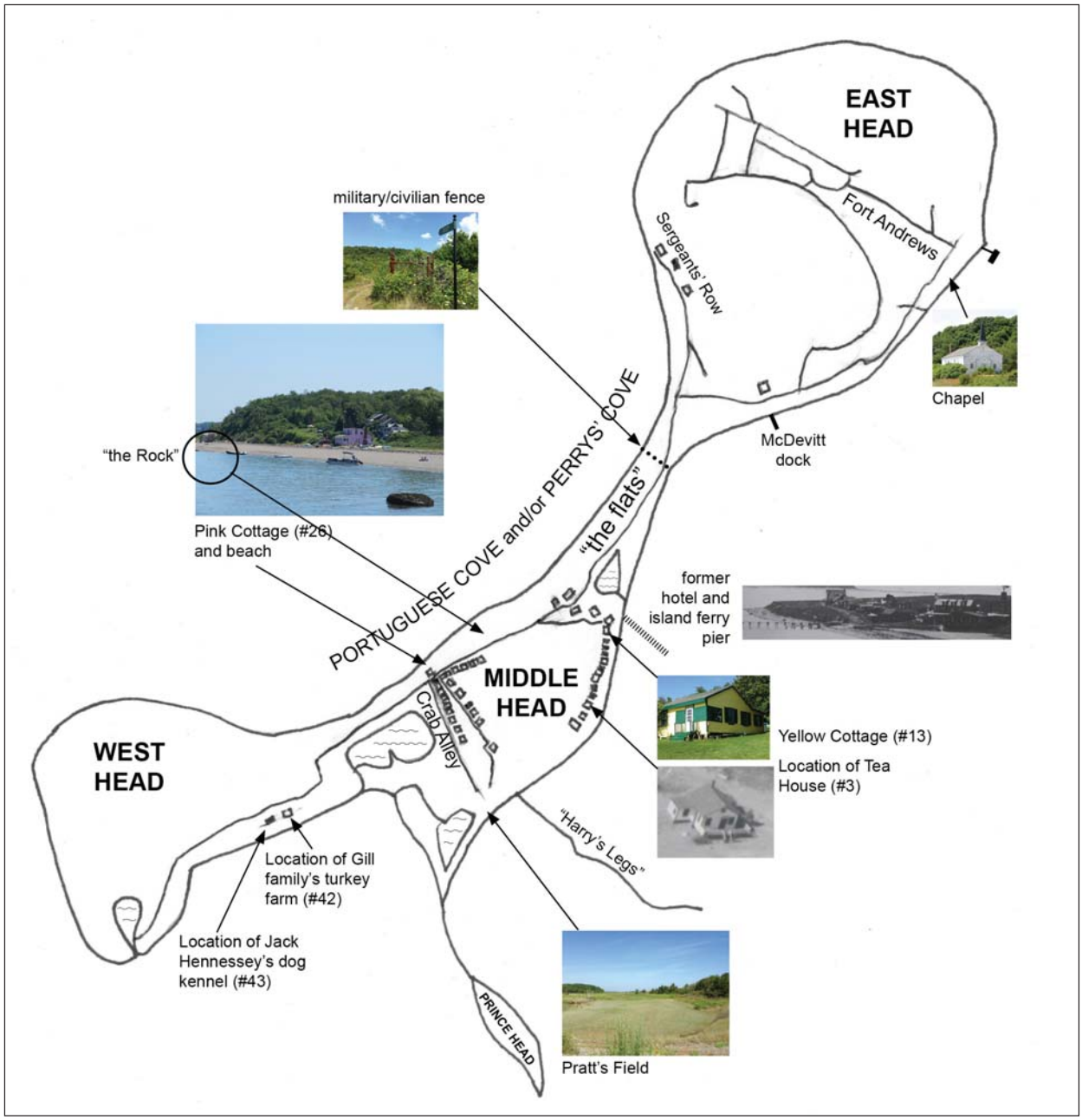

Fig. 17: Key features of the cultural landscape of Peddocks Island.

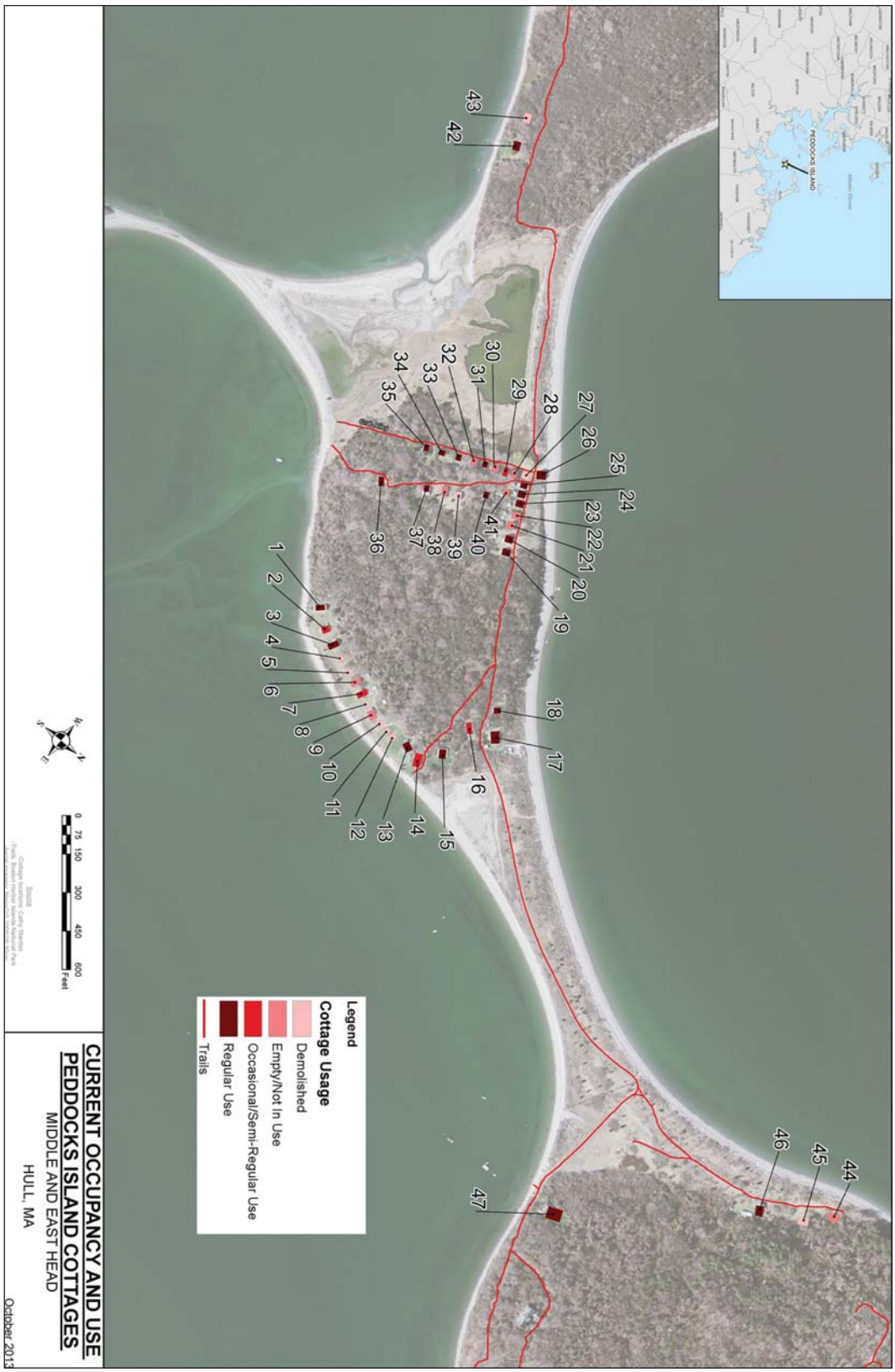

Fig. 18: Peddocks Island cottage occupancy in summer 2013.

The turn of the twenty-first century saw a much healthier harbor ecosystem, a growing public awareness of the islands as parkland, a very different city economy than had existed in the previous century. But there is also an important continuity in the movement of people toward the shore for relaxation, a sense of encounter with nature, and an escape from urban living. The Boston Harbor Island Alliance, the legislated non-profit partner of the Boston Harbor Islands national park area, is currently working with the Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation (DCR) as the land management agency to expand the public facilities on Peddocks Island. Their work is particularly visible on East Head, where a new campground opened in the summer of 2013. Ongoing renovation and new interpretive exhibits and programs at the Guard House have rehabilitated this highly visible building at the foot of the East Head pier as the Peddocks Island Welcome Center, and exterior and interior improvements to the chapel are bringing another of the fort's iconic structures back toward more active use (Island Alliance 2003). Many of the cottagers remain, paying an annual feel to DCR in order to keep the leases on their cottages active. They feel themselves to be in a kind of limbo, inhabiting a place to which they feel tied by deep, often multi-generational memories, yet aware of the very limited future that the life-tenancy agreement creates for their seasonal presence on the island.

Features of the Cultural Landscape

Most of the interwoven strands of this history can still be seen in the physical landscape of the island. For the purposes of this study, the cottages themselves are the most visible and striking landscape features. 47 cottages were standing when the island was acquired by the state in 1970, 41 on Middle Head, two on West Head (42 and 43), three along "Sergeants' Row" on East Head (44-46), and the McDevitt house (47) on the southeast side of East Head. All of the cottages are shown on the map in Fig. 18, with color intensities indicating the approximate level of use in summer 2013.

The Middle Head cottages are divided into neighborhood-like areas that reflect particular historical groupings of people among the cottage population. The majority are in an L formation along the north and west shores, with a third row (36-41) slightly uphill from the pondside cottages. The path along the front of the pond between Middle and West Heads, along with the cottages lining that path (27-35), is known as "Crab Alley," a reference to the crabs and other seafood caught and sold by some of the first-generation Azorean occupants. The other outer arm of the L is made up of seven cottages (19-25)

lining the top of the north-facing bluff. At the intersection of the two outer rows, Cottage 26, "the Pink," serves as a highly visible landmark, a landing-place for boats and meeting-place for cottagers, and something of an icon for the cottage community overall.

Fig. 19: Detail of an aerial photo estimated to be c.1945-51. At middle left, the spaces on either side of Cottage 40 (with peaked roof) may have been the sites of two cottages that burned. "The Pink" (Cottage 26) is at top left. (Jim Saudade; cottage numbers added)

A second distinct neighborhood along the south-facing shoreline has historically been associated with summer vacationers rather than fishermen, although some of the south-side cottagers were of Portuguese descent and over time there has been some additional family interconnection with the Portuguese families on the other side of Middle Head, as well as considerable overlap with Italians who originally bought cottages along Crab Alley. Many cottagers spoke about a perceived class distinction between the two sides, with the south-side occupants being seen as more well-to-do and white-collar. There was no commonly-used name for this section of the community; different people referred to it as "the south side," "Summerside," and (pointedly, in a reference to the expensive neighborhood in Quincy by this name), "Merrymount." Cottages 1 through 13 extend in a line along the bluff, with 14 through 18 forming a connected but also somewhat separate district around the main path and the location of the old Island Inn.

Fig. 20: Detail of the south-facing cottages on Middle Head, probably c. 1945-51. (Jim Saudade; cottage numbers added)

Cottages 14 and 15 were constructed as part of or from pieces of the hotel, and 16 and 17 are clearly visible in the c. 1910 photo showing the hotel (Fig. 11) (Cottage 18 was added at a later date).

Of the 47 cottages existing in 1970, eight (4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 27, 39, and 43) have since been demolished by the state and another nine (6, 9, 21, 22, 28, 30, 32, 38, 41, 45, and 46) are still standing but are owned by the state and no longer used. Their condition ranges from relatively intact (for example, Cottages 21 and 22) to badly deteriorated (Cottages 38 and 46). The remaining 30 are leased, and the majority (approximately 23) were actively and regularly occupied in the summer of 2013, with the others in less regular use (see Fig. 18). It seems that there were originally additional cottages at various locations on the island; Matilda Bies Silvia's memoir refers to the burning of two bootleggers' cottages in the 1920s (Silvia 2003:100), Claire Pierimarchi Hale's to the burning of two buildings near Cottage 40 one undated winter (Hale 2002:14), and the Boston Globe to the 1955

destruction by fire of two cottages whose location is not specified (Boston Globe 1955). Some or all of these may have been rebuilt; no islanders mentioned formerly-existing cottages other than those torn down by the MDC in 2001.

All of the cottages are of wood construction, most with clapboard or wood shingle exteriors, painted in a range of colors. Most are simple single-story structures with a variety of additions and outbuildings. There is evidence of a great deal of structural renovation and improvisation over time, making it impossible to identify "original" elements in most cases. This is an architecture of adaptation, reflecting the provisional, flexible nature of cottage inhabitation over much of Peddocks Island's history. The interior rooms of most of the cottages are small and generally organized around a main living space (often including a kitchen area) with bedrooms around or behind it. Wood stoves are the most common mode of heating, and some cottages have propane appliances. A few have interior chimneys. Most have interior or exterior porches and/or decks, and photographic evidence suggests that many of these were later additions to older buildings. The most common outbuildings are outhouses, sheds, and well houses. Some of the cottages have steps leading down to the beach, and a few have flower and vegetable gardens or various decorative and commemorative features. Specific details about construction and renovation, where known, will be discussed in subsequent chapters and are also noted in the supplemental histories of individual cottages.

The main road across the island runs from the pier at Fort Andrews over the first tombolo, across the north side of Middle Head, over the second tombolo, and then to the southern end of West Head. Additional roads and paths run along the front of Sergeants' Row on East Head, along the shoreline on the south side of Middle Head, between the site of the Island Inn (currently the site of Cottages 14 and 15) to the main Middle Head Road, and along Crab Alley. A second footpath runs along the upper row of cottages just above Crab Alley. On the south side of Middle Head, there is a grass footpath along the top of the bluff in front of Cottages 1 to 13. An old footpath connects the south-side cottages with the upper row above Crab Alley, but this is now badly overgrown. Photos of Middle Head from mid-twentieth-century show that this part of the island remained virtually bare of vegetation at that point, and cottagers recollect that the reforestation of Middle Head began in the second part of the twentieth century, starting with the end of most of the year-round occupation after World War II and continuing after the state's purchase of the island in 1970. Since 2006 park managers have cleared vegetation in many areas on East Head. Given the now-dense forest and undergrowth in many parts of the

island, including considerable poison ivy, islanders and visitors often choose to walk along the beaches rather than taking the interior footpaths. Beachcombing has long been a common activity among the cottagers, as has walking around the shoreline for pleasure.

There are a number of past and present centers of activity that cottagers frequently referred to in interviews and conversations. One of these is "Pratt's Field" at the southern end of Crab Alley, named for the family that owned Cottage 37 during the "family era" of the 1950s and 1960s. Pratt's Field, which some cottagers also referred to as "the back beach," was associated for many years with July Fourth and Labor Day festivities, as described in Chapter Eight. The tombolo between East and Middle Heads, sometimes referred to as "the flats," also has a history of use as a playing-field and common picnicking area, probably dating to the earliest recreational uses of the island.

Places relating to boats are very important nodes in the Peddocks landscape, reflecting the centrality of water transportation to any island inhabitation. In addition to the large pier at East Head, which cottagers have historically used when taking military or public boats and ferries to the island, there are several common places where boats are moored, beached, or—particularly in the past when permanent pier facilities were permitted—docked. In 2013 Mike McDevitt maintained a floating dock next to Cottage 47 on East Head. The Island Inn on Middle Head had its own pier (visible in the c.1910 and 1912 views, Fig. 11 and 12), which was also used by cottagers and by the island families—primarily the Ferdinands and Lewises—who provided ferry service in the middle decades of the twentieth century (see Fig. 58). At low tide, remnants of these piers can still be seen (Fig. 21).

The somewhat sheltered cove along the south side of Middle Head also provides a mooring- or beaching-place for boats, as does the pond on the tombolo between Middle and West Heads (although one cottager mentioned the danger of boats being cut off there at low tide). The beach next to "the Pink" and the north shore of Middle Head is a more commonly-used place for mooring boats, contributing to this location's importance as a gathering-place. The c.1912 postcard view of the island (Fig. 12) shows a pier at this location. This is also a spot from which many cottagers like to watch the sunset, and community bonfires have long been held here as well. West Head, with only one remaining cottage, no longer has any marine infrastructure, but there is evidence that there was at least one pier there in the early part of the twentieth century.[14] This part

14 There was a boat landing associated with one of the hotels on West Head, and a pier was constructed there as part of a loam-shipping business operated by members of the Gill family in the 1910s. See Chapters Five and Six for more.

of the bay is known as both “Portuguese Cove” (from the association with Crab Alley and the Portuguese families there) and, particularly in the area closest to East Head and Sergeants’ Row, “Perry’s Cove” (linked with the two unrelated and non-Portuguese Perry families who lived on Sergeants’ Row for many years). The names are somewhat interchangeable and used slightly differently by different islanders. ■

Fig. 21: At low tide, remnants of former piers on the southeast side of Middle Head can still be seen.

Fig. 22: View of north-facing side of Middle Head. The beach next to “the Pink” is frequently used as a mooring-place as well as a place for social gatherings. The large “pudding rock” can be seen at far left.

Chapter Three:
The "Vacation Habit" Comes to Peddocks Island

It is difficult to know when the first summer cottages were constructed on Peddocks Island, but four were certainly in place by 1876. In that year, John F. Andrew, the oldest son of Governor John and Eliza J.H. Andrew, wrote to his distant cousin Lewis Loring, the tax assessor for the town of Hull, asking about summer houses built by squatters on the Jones/Andrew lands on the island. Andrew may have been trying to sort out the complex and overlapping layers of ownership and occupancy that seem to have characterized many of the real estate dealings and building construction on Peddocks in the nineteenth century. He may also have been concerned about his own tax costs as new buildings were being constructed on his family's land. His precise motives in making inquiries are not clear from the Andrew family papers, but the correspondence does shed some light on the existence of these early vacation homes. Evidently Andrew inquired about a cottager named Mead, as Loring replied, "We have no property taxed to name of Mead. Probably he built after we taxed [on May 1, 1875]." He went on to list names and mainland addresses for the owners of three other unsanctioned structures:

- John and Sam McLean, 110 Court Street, Boston
- William H. Packard, Quincy
- George Ellard, Court Street, Boston

The McLeans' cottage was assessed at a value of $200, the other two at $100. Loring followed this up with a listing of the other assessed properties on the island, including the Cleverlys' dwelling house, which was assessed at $650 (Loring to Andrew 1876). While the Cleverlys were on a par with fishermen in mainland Hull, whose real estate was generally valued somewhere in the $500 to $1,000 range, the low assessment of the summer homes suggests that they were very modest. There are no indications of the precise location of these cottages, but documentation from the time of the establishment of Fort Andrews shows a number of structures next to the old Cleverly settlement on East Head (Fig. 10), and Matilda Bies Silvia refers to "the old summer cottages" on the property that became the fort, which may include the "squatters" who were of concern to John F. Andrew (Silvia 2003:6).

The presence of these and other later summer vacation cottages on the island reflects an ongoing change in perceptions and uses of the seashore over the course of the nineteenth century. Perceptions of the coast as a wasteland and the sea as a forbidding abyss gradually shifted in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century to encompass Romantic-era admiration for "sublime" landscapes, elite pursuit of healthful cures at seaside spas and other "watering-places," and widespread nostalgia for rural, natural, "primitive" places and ways of living. (For some of the extensive literature on this shift, see Aron 1999:20-24, Brown 1995, Corbain 1995, Gillis 2012:114-121, and Löfgren 1999:110-118.) This change in attitude was closely linked with two other developments: the expansion of industrial-era cities and workforces plus the growth of vacations and tourism as a practice and eventually an industry in itself. With increased urbanism and industrialism, fewer people were intimately acquainted with the kinds of work and landscapes associated with pre-industrial economies, such as small-scale farming and fishing. Places associated with these activities could thus be re-envisioned in a new and more romantic, aesthetic, or nostalgic light and incorporated into new leisure-time activities that developed around more clock-oriented industrial and professional work schedules. Around Boston, many of the immigrant groups who made up a large proportion of the city's burgeoning population had originally been rural or agrarian people, and the desire to reconnect to that experience played a role in Peddocks Island's appeal for Portuguese and Italian cottagers, as the following chapters will show. But there was also a growing urban middle class—including, by the end of the nineteenth century, the children of Boston's mid-century Irish and other immigrants—who turned to the shore as a means of temporary escape from crowded cities that were increasingly seen as unhealthful.

The idea of "vacationing," so taken for granted now, was a new notion at the start of the nineteenth century (Löfgren 1999:110). Coastal areas near large cities soon became vacation destinations, and the shore around Boston Harbor and Massachusetts Bay was no exception. As early as the 1820s, the peninsula of Nahant just north of Boston became a seasonal venue for the city's well-to-do classes, who went there in search of cleaner, cooler air in the hot summers (Aron 1999:21). The South Shore was not far behind in developing infrastructure for vacationers. The Nantasket Beach Steamship Company was founded in 1830 (WPA 1975:158) and the first hotel in Hull, the Mansion House, opened its doors in 1840 (Swan 1932:16). Other hotels appeared around the harbor, including on Deer, Long, Spectacle, Gallops, and Rainsford Islands, with private summer residences on

Worlds End, Calf, Long, and Middle Brewster Islands (GMP 2002:122).[1] Steam-driven side-wheelers began to connect coastal destinations by 1849, and an ever-expanding ferry and railroad network linked cities with piers, beaches, and hotels all up and down the New England coast (WPA 1975:150, 159-60).

As more and more people sought access to the sea, there was a shift in emphasis from health- to pleasure-oriented pursuits, creating a new set of secular rituals centered around family and outdoor living (Brown 1995:7, Löfgren 1999:118). Class, ethnic, and racial distinctions were reflected in choice of destination, type of accommodation, and pursuit of particular vacation activities, from the exclusive (for example, Newport, Rhode Island) to the working-class (Old Orchard Beach, Maine), the humble (canvas tents or economical boardinghouses) to the spectacular (the large seaside hotels that came to dominate many seaside places like Hull by the 1880s), and the modern (amusement parks) to the determinedly anti-modern, via the pursuit of "unspoiled" fishing villages, "old salts," and colonial "salt-box" architecture found in places like Nantucket and "down east" Maine (Brown 1995).

Other than boardinghouses, a form of summer accommodation that became widespread in many nineteenth-century seaside towns, all of the forms of seasonal occupation in the era can be seen in Peddocks Island's history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There is evidence of tent camping from at least the 1860s. A 1932 Boston Globe article reported:

> So many army tents were available that camping down the harbor was a popular diversion for 10 years after the Civil War. Nearly every island had its canvas colony, especially Peddocks, Long, Gallops and even Grape and Sheep, while both sides of Weir River was lined with them.
>
> Life there was rough but the war veterans showed how to live, while there was plenty of fish, clams and lobsters to be had. Short lobsters were despised, and one had only to row his board alongside a lobsterman to secure a couple of bushels of the worthless critters for nothing. (Swan 1932:16)

The writer of this article added, "Not content with tents some Bostonians put up shanties and small buildings," a process that we have seen beginning to happen on Peddocks by the 1870s.

1 A 1932 newspaper article notes, "[I]n 1819 the Mansion House was erected on…Rainsford Island and even after the city had taken it for quarantine purposes Summer visitors were allowed to camp there, provided there were no infectious diseases on hand at the time. In 1832 another hotel in the form of a Greek temple was built at Rainsford and is still to be seen" (Swan 1932:16).

A little more investigation of the builders of the earliest known summer cottages on Peddocks Island helps to situate them in these wider contexts. John and Samuel McLean, who owned the larger of the three cottages mentioned in the 1876 letter, seem to have been cousins who emigrated from the Canadian maritimes with several relatives sometime around mid-century. Their family history shows the geographic mobility of working-class people around the Atlantic rim in this time period: members of John and Samuel's parents' generation originated in Ireland and England and appear to have lived at one time or another in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Quebec. John, the older of the cousins, was born on Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia. In the 1850 census, he appears as a "boot fitter," the eldest of a large group of young relatives, but in young adulthood he is shown working as a ship's carpenter, a connection with both boats and building that probably accounts for the cousins' ability to construct a summer home for themselves on Peddocks Island. Samuel, seven years younger and born in the southern part of Nova Scotia, took a more entrepreneurial route and seems to have found a niche for himself in Boston's quickly-expanding late-nineteenth-century economy. By the 1870s, he ran a boot and shoe company located on Court Street in downtown Boston. John, then in his mid-thirties, was working for him as a salesman, along with various other family members who seemed to be employed in the store. By 1880, Samuel's family had moved to the middle-class suburb of Hyde Park, suggesting a level of prosperity that aligns plausibly with the cousins' ability to adopt what writers of the day were calling the "vacation habit" and to take advantage of a somewhat unused stretch of island shoreline to build a summer retreat for themselves. John died of stomach cancer in 1898, just as the federal government was evicting the cottagers on East Head; his death record lists him as a ship's carpenter, suggesting that his sojourn in the world of retail had not fundamentally shifted his sense of himself as a maritime man. Samuel died a decade later.[2]

George Ellard, who owned one of the lower-valued cottages on East Head, appears to have been a somewhat less-prosperous but still entrepreneurial artisan in industrializing Boston. An Irish-born Civil War veteran, he is shown working as a tailor in the 1880 federal census, and the Court Street address listed in Loring's letter suggests that he may have known the McLeans because they worked near each other. Ellard's

2 Information about the McLean family was found in the U.S. federal censuses for 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1900, as well as the 1851 Census of Canada. Marriage records show that John McLean married a Mary A. McRae in 1867 and an Annie Campbell in 1895; Mary McRae died in 1881. Samuel married Winnifred Lally in 1865. Marriage and death records also supplied names of both men's parents as well as dates and causes of their deaths.

background is harder to trace than the McLeans'; his Civil War pension record lists him as "alias John Williams" and his death record lists his parents' surname as Finton, implying some changes of identity along the way. By 1898, the year of his death from pulmonary edema, he and his wife were living in Salem, where their son Daniel had already taken up the tailoring trade, so it seems reasonable to suppose that the family were no longer vacationing on Peddocks Island at that point.[3]

The William H. Packard listed as living in Quincy in Loring's letter is more difficult yet to pinpoint. There are three men of that name who might match, but the possibilities among them point us toward some generalizations about these opportunistic early cottagers. One 1870s-era William H. Packard was a mariner in his 60s, one a well-to-do ink manufacturer, and the third was the son and namesake of the second. The first cottagers would have needed some kind of connection with boats in order to reach the island, but they also would have needed sufficient time, leisure, and motivation to build cottages, something either a retired seaman or a striving small industrialist might have had. In constructing summer homes for themselves in a somewhat-marginal location owned by a landlord who does not seem to have taken active steps to discourage them, all of these early families likely acted from some combination of desires that included the urge to reconnect with a less-urban, more water-oriented way of living and an increasingly common middle-class aspiration of a summer retreat on the shore. Like countless others, the early Peddocks Island cottagers may have used their island vacations as a way to locate themselves within a changing economy filled with both opportunity and exclusion, in which small-scale artisans were either being transformed into new middle-class consumers or pushed aside as relics of an earlier era. "Out-of-the-way" places—islands, coastlines, rural hinterlands—provided refuges from the surging market economy while at the same time enabling vacationers to express their new class status in visible, communal, and emotionally satisfying ways (Brown 1995:7). The Boston Harbor Islands—geographically very close to the shore and the city while simultaneously seeming worlds away—served as exceptionally suitable stages on which these mainland changes could play themselves out.

By the 1870s and 1880s, the "vacation habit" had changed the New England coast in many ways, and a writer for *Harper's Magazine* could describe the northeastern U.S. shore as "an almost continued chain of hotels and summer cottages… When one is on the

3 Information about George Ellard and his family came from the 1880 and 1900 U.S. federal census, Civil War pension records (which show him as having served with the Fifth New Hampshire Infantry), and death records for George and his wife Margaret Sullivan.

coast in July or August it seems as if the whole fifty millions of people [in the region] had come down to lie on the rocks, wade in the sand, and dip into the sea" (Warner 1886:170). Close to Peddocks, that infrastructure included yacht clubs and other facilities for recreational boaters. The Quincy Yacht Club on Hough's Neck, still used today by many Peddocks cottagers, was founded in 1874 (Pepe and Pepe 2008:46), and the Hull Yacht Club was established the following decade, in 1888 (Sweetser 1888:35). By that point, Hull was a heavily-visited seaside destination studded with grand hotels. The Rockland House, built in 1854, was at one time the largest hotel in the U.S. (Committee for the Preservation of Hull's History 1999:30), while other enormous establishments like the Atlantic House and Nantasket Hotel attracted elite clienteles from Boston and beyond. In 1880, the Hotel Pemberton opened on Pemberton Point (also called Windmill Point) just across Hull Gut from Peddocks Island's East Head (Committee for the Preservation

Fig. 23: "Hull, Mass., from Paddock's [sic] Island." This c.1901 photograph shows the Pemberton Hotel on Windmill Point in Hull, with the sidewheeler steamer Miles Standish on its way toward Boston. (Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)

of Hull's History 1999:28). It remained a highly visible landmark for many decades. An 1886 newspaper advertisement pointed to the hotel's proximity to Boston as well as the fact that it had "every modern appliance and convenience: large rooms, best of beds, latest improved elevator, speaking-tubes in every room, fine billiard hall, boating, bathing, and fishing, telegraph station in house, band for music and dancing, colored waiters, etc." (Boston Evening Transcript 1886). In her memoir, Matilda Bies Silvia describes the Pemberton as "a very lively place until the late 1920s. . .famous for its hospitality and its food, especially its shore dinners" (Silvia 2003:92). A 1901 photograph taken from East Head (Fig. 23) shows how close the grand hotel must have seemed to the island; its sights and sounds would have traveled easily over the water, and hotel guests arriving via steamship or train would in turn have been very aware of the little island just offshore.

However, Peddocks itself seems to have remained on the fringe of this expanding vacation universe in many ways.[4] Writing in the 1880s, M.F. Sweetser expressed a sense of nostalgia for the older agrarian landscapes that were being superceded by seasonal developments. Gazing at Hull's as-yet-undeveloped Telegraph Hill, he noted wistfully that if the elderly lady who owned it were to sell it, "this glorious height, sacred now to pure beauty and grandeur, would be quickly occupied by dull little bourgeois cottages; and the peaceful cattle, browsing the salty grass through which the path leads upward, would be banished to the lonely shores of Peddock's" (Sweetser 1888:44). That same sense of nostalgia for simpler landscapes, of course, was central to the rush toward

4 Research for this study found additional names of people who may have been among the early cottagers on Peddocks Island around the turn of the twentieth century, but it is not clear in most cases whether they owned or rented, or which cottages they may have been associated with. These names include: James W. Cavanagh (a Hull voter resident on the island in 1907 and 1908; he is one of the three potential buyers of the island in 1905, as referenced in Swift to Andrew 1905); William J. Finnick (an Irish cigar-manufacturer and Hull voter resident on Peddocks in 1900); Edward Fitzgerald (a Hull voter resident on Peddocks in 1909); Charles G. Gibson (the Boston city paymaster, reported by the Boston Globe on July 4, 1897 to have been occupying a cottage with his family that summer); John B. Halliday or Holliday and his family (also arrived for summer 1897; J.B. Halliday is listed as having a house on Peddock's Island in the Hingham and Hull 1894 city directory, and an Archie A. Halliday is listed as a Hull voter resident on Peddocks from 1903 to 1906); Edward Patterson Hewes (Hull voter resident on Peddocks in 1907 and 1908; Hewes' sister Matilda married Vincent Fowler, who was a special officer for Peddocks in 1907); Thomas Howard (Hull voter resident on Peddocks 1913-17); Frank and Marion Larrabee (a couple who are listed as renting a house on Peddocks in the 1920 U.S. Census, with an occupation of "Caretaker/Private Estate"—perhaps a nearby seashore estate, as it seems unlikely any of the Peddocks establishments would justify the employment of a caretaker); James B. Pope (probably originally a carpenter and later the owner or part-owner of a Boston lumber company, possibly Curtis & Pope Lumber, and of "the last and best of the old summer cottages" [Silvia 2003:6] on East Head, located next to the pier and guard house and moved to Sergeants' Row in 1910 by the fort's tailor, Alex Bies; Pope's background as a carpenter suggests he may have built the cottage himself); Charles F. Welch (Hull voter resident on Peddocks in 1907 and 1908 and special officer for those same years) and John J. Welch (Hull voter resident on Peddocks in 1909, special officer for 1909 and 1910).

"natural" places like the shore, and Sweetser was caught in the fundamental dilemma of tourism, which is that the presence of tourists themselves often destroys the appeal of what they have come to see. All of Hull's hills *were* quite quickly covered by new homes, as another c.1901 view from East Head shows (Fig. 24). But Peddocks itself remained much more open, and its "lonely shores" almost seemed to serve as a refuge from the holiday refuges themselves.[5] ■

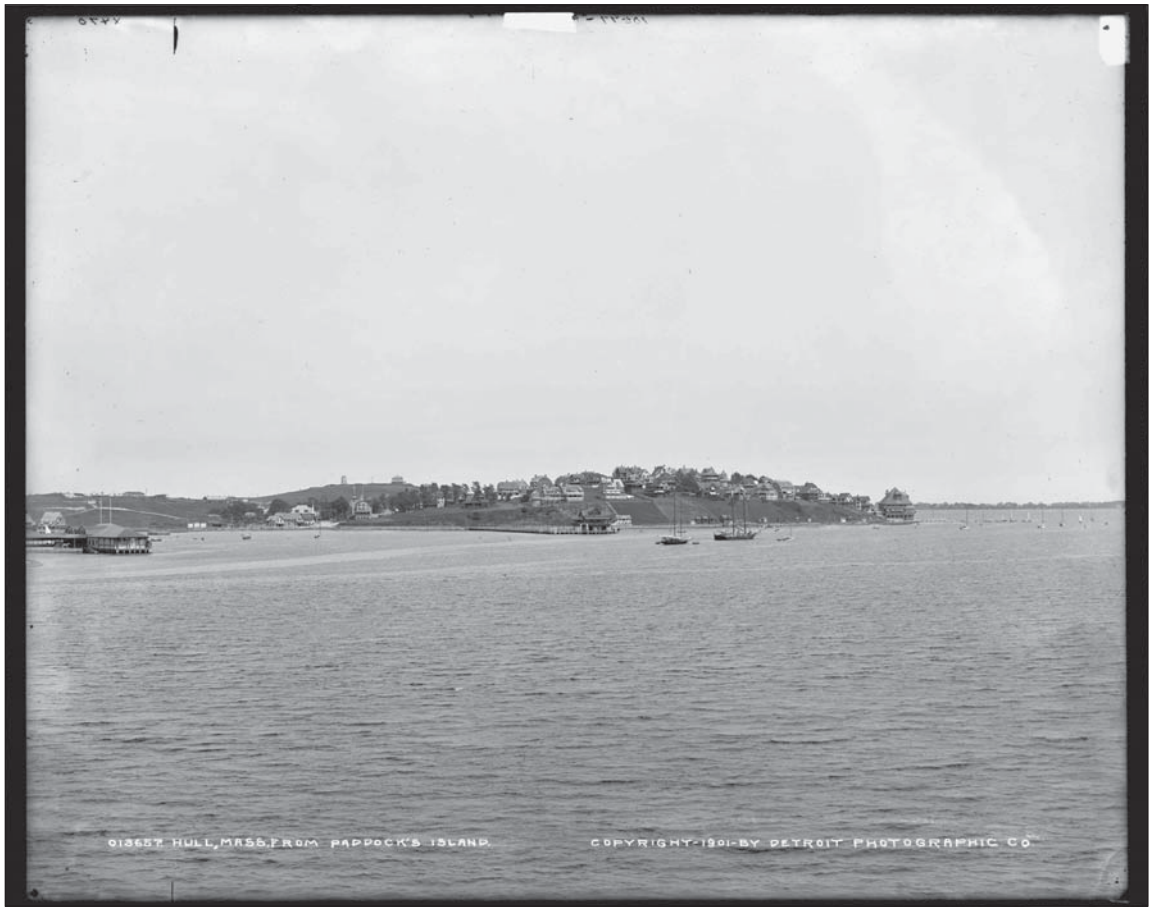

Fig. 24: "Hull, Mass., from Paddock's [sic] Island." This second c.1901 view shows the continued building of new and seasonal homes on Hull's hills around the turn of the twentieth century. (Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)

5 Sweetser noted that a much-admired painting by Joseph Foxcroft Cole, a member of the "American Barbizon" school of pastoral and landscape painting, depicted "the lovely view down the glen back of the [Cleverly] houses, and the luxuriant orchard, with its network of wind-twisted boughs" (Sweetser 1888:208).

Chapter Four:
Azorean Connections

The chroniclers of Boston Harbor's history—M.F. Sweetser in the late nineteenth century and Edward Rowe Snow in the mid-twentieth—both documented the 1887 eviction of a number of Portuguese fishing families from Long Island when the city purchased the land in order to build a new pauper's home. Sweetser, writing the year after the eviction, offers these details:

> The operations of dispossessing the residents were met with a passive resistance on their part, resulting in many distressing scenes, and calling forth much commiseration among the people at large. In 1850 the occupants of the island were George Smith, the farmer, and Nicolas Capello, the Portuguese fisherman. The heirs of the later, and their compatriots, numbered 30 families at the time when the island was depopulated. (Sweetser 1888:180)

Snow notes, "When the Portuguese settlers were forced to leave Long Island, they scattered all over the harbor," including to Peddocks Island. It has been difficult, though, to trace precise connections between the displaced Long Island fishermen and those who settled first on Peddocks Island's East Head and then along Crab Alley. This

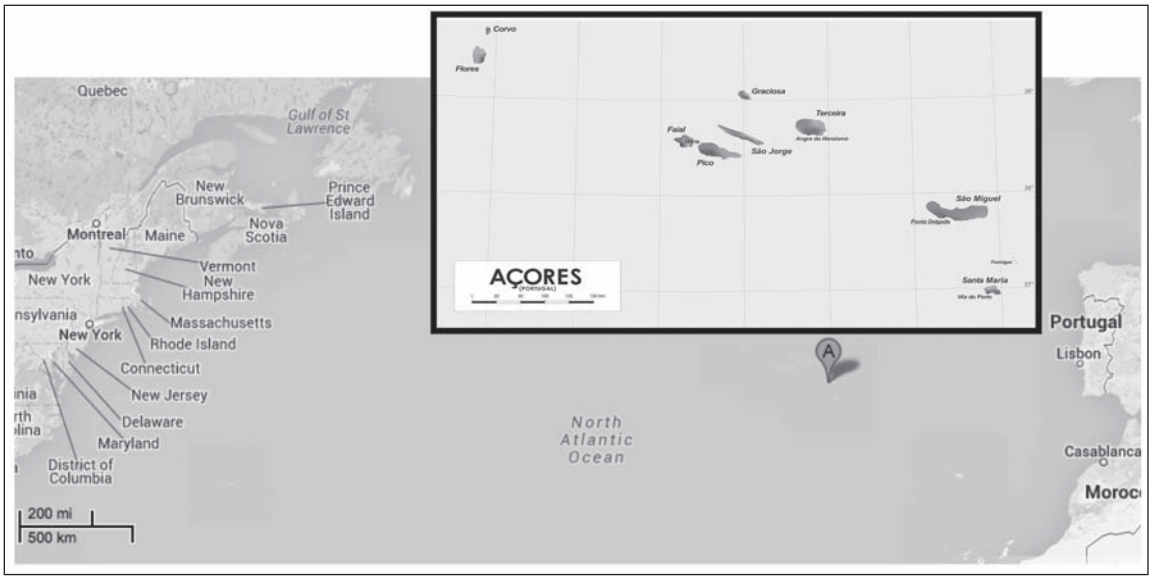

Fig. 25: 2,400 miles from New England, 850 from Portugal, and directly in the path of the Atlantic trade winds, the Azores were a customary port of call for outbound American whaling ships starting in the eighteenth century. (Base maps: Google and Wikimedia)

chapter works to fill some of the gaps in what is known about their history, starting with an overview of Azorean migration to the U.S. and New England, then detailing what is known about Azorean residence on—and eviction from—Long Island, and concluding with a sketch of the Crab Alley settlement in its earliest days. Later decades will be covered in Chapter Seven, "Portuguese Peddocks Island." The two terms "Azorean" and "Portuguese" are used advisedly, with the immigrant generation referred to as Azorean and later generations—who came to think of themselves under the term that most Americans used for them—as Portuguese. The Azorean connection is particularly important because the Azores are islands: small, isolated islands whose inhabitants have historically made a tenuous livelihood from land, sea, and trade. This cultural history plays no inconsiderable part in the character of the island community that developed—very much on an Azorean foundation—on Peddocks Island.

Azoreans and New England

The story of Azorean migration to the United States is a cyclical one, with several distinct phases and connections to the maritime, agricultural, and industrial economies of New England and elsewhere. It began in connection with the whaling trade in the early nineteenth century, when whale oil was the most widely-used lubricant and lighting fuel in the United States. Even when petroleum overtook this market after the 1860s, sperm oil continued to be prized as a high-quality lubricant, while other whale products, like whalebone for corsets and other uses, also helped to keep whaling profitable (Warrin 2010:32). New England, particularly the port towns of Nantucket, Provincetown, and New Bedford, dominated American whaling throughout its 150-year history. That history peaked in the mid-nineteenth-century with more than 700 whaling expeditions setting sail each year.[1] Because of wind patterns and the proximity of the Azores to a major Atlantic whaling ground, the remote archipelago became a regular port of call for New England whaling ships starting shortly after the Revolution, with the deep-water port of Horta on the island of Fayal as the favored destination (Williams 2007:13-14).

At least one Azorean man associated with the Peddocks cottages, Manuel Silva, started life as a whaler before coming to the U.S. A June 1941 newspaper article about the Portuguese on Peddocks Island captures some of his story:

1 It is worth noting that an Ichabod Padduck or Puddock from Cape Cod was hired by islanders on Nantucket in 1690 to instruct them in the skills needed for whaling (Starbuck 1878:17, Warrin 2010:70). Investigating a possible connection with Leondard Peddock for whom Peddocks Island was named would require more investigation, but given the proximity in place, a link seems very possible. Starbuck's 1878 history of American whaling lists several other Paddocks and Paddacks as being involved in the trade.

> "One year on ship, six years on land," he was a whaler, a harpooner. "The whale come close to land; someone see him; we get in our boats and go after him. Yes, we shoot harpoon at him, with gun—" he illustrated with his brown gnarled fingers—"but sometimes he gets it loose like this—" he twisted the fingers of one hand between the others, and went on in rapid Portuguese.
>
> Tony [Ferdinand], the young ferryman, listens to the old man and interprets in English. "He says the whale pulls the boat a long way; sometimes they have to let him go." Tony explained, independently, how the whaling industry died out when oil from the ground was substituted for whale oil. So the whalers left the islands. Manuel Silva is the only one who remembers the Azores, how warm it was there, and all the fish and the fruit. (Leeds 1941)

A piece of material evidence that some islanders see as possibly linking Manuel Silva with the whaling trade is a sperm oil can found in a back shed when Silva's small house (Cottage 27) was being torn down in 2001. Former island caretaker Mike McDevitt maintains a collection of Peddocks-related artifacts, and he was given the oil can by a state workman who noticed it during the demolition.[2]

Fig. 26: A sperm oil can salvaged during the demolition of Manuel Silva's small house (Cottage 27) in 2001, now in the collection of Mike McDevitt in Hull.

Because of their role as a crossroads for whalers and other traders, the Azores became a surprisingly cosmopolitan place by the nineteenth century (Warrin 2010:57). First settled by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, the archipelago consists of of nine volcanic islands about 850 miles west of mainland Portugal. Over several centuries, their inhabitants developed a mode of subsistence that combined agriculture and fishing, both conducted on very small scales that reflected the ruggedness

2 In her 2007 essay on the history of Peddocks Island, Judy McDevitt notes that when she first came to the island in 1959, "Mabel Pinto kept her kerosene in a can marked 'Sperm Oil,'" probably a similar can to the one found in Manuel Silva's cottage (McDevitt 2007:9).

of both the land and marine environments (Williams 2007:11, 22). Like the other "coastal peoples" John Gillis describes in *The Human Shore*, they had "one boot in the boat and the other in the field," as a Swedish saying puts it (Gillis 2012:75). Except for a small elite that controlled most of the farmland, eighteenth and nineteenth-century Azoreans were essentially feudal peasants. Like the rural Italians who came to Boston later in the century, they tended to identify themselves most closely with specific villages and family lineages rather than with the distant Portuguese nation which in many ways was unfamiliar and hostile to them (Williams 2007:15). The islands' small size and geographic isolation resulted in a relatively limited number of families and names, and many of the Portuguese surnames associated with Peddocks Island—Cabral, Costa, Enos, Ferrara (or Ferreira), Goulart, Lewis (Luis), Perry (Perreira), Rose, Silva, and others—can be found throughout the records of the Azorean diaspora, especially for people from the islands of Pico and Fayal. One former islander interviewed for this study, Russell Goulart, noted, "In my phonebook in Florida… there used to be 13 Goularts, and I used to get calls all the time how to make Portuguese clam sauce and if I could interpret [for Portuguese-speakers]." The prevalence of the same surnames, compounded by the use of a small number of first names and the tendency to name both sons and daughters after their parents, along with the fact that some Azorean migrants Americanized their names quite quickly, creates challenges for the precise documentation of many of the early Peddocks Island fishing families.

Azorean migration to the U.S. was prompted by a combination of "push" and "pull" factors: over-population, lack of opportunity to buy land, repeated crop failures, a much-resented Portuguese military draft, plus the opportunity to make money on U.S. whaling voyages or—as important for many of the emigrants—to reach America and find other kinds of work. Beginning in the 1840s and increasing sharply in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Azoreans were part of the vast migration of Europeans to the New World. Unlike Portuguese mainlanders, who favored Brazil when they emigrated, the Azoreans overwhelmingly chose America, with 94% of all migrants from Fayal and Pico ending up in the U.S. and the great majority of those choosing southeastern Massachusetts, California, or Hawaii (Williams 2007:26). The latter two places offered work in fishing or farming, but in Massachusetts, particularly after the 1880s, many Azoreans were also drawn by the availability of low-skill jobs in the textile industry, a shift which drew many women in addition to the mostly-male immigrant population of the earlier decades (Baganha 1991:280, Baganha 1995:93, Williams 2007:23-

24). Even during the declining years of the whaling industry in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Azoreans and Cape Verdeans—from another of Portugal's Atlantic island possessions—continued to be prominent in low- and sometimes high-level positions in whaling (Warrin 2010:303-4).[3] American restrictions on immigration in the early twentieth century reduced the number of new arrivals sharply, as it did with all immigrant groups. But one unique facet of Portuguese migration to the U.S. is that it saw a resurgence later in the twentieth century, with many newcomers settling in places that already had older, assimilated Portuguese populations (Williams 2007:111-12).

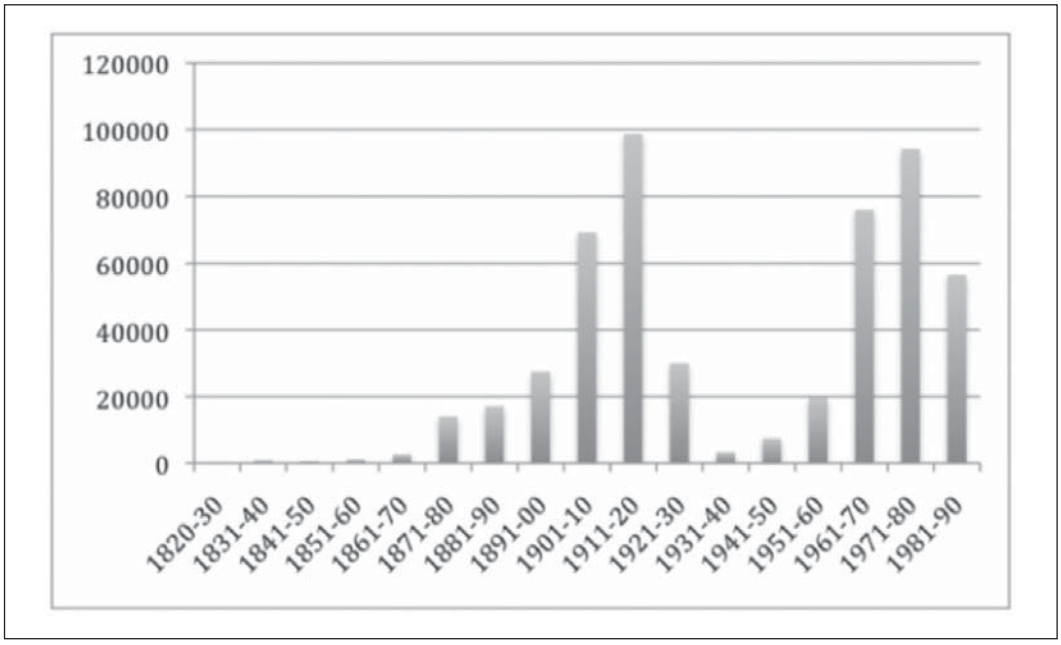

Fig. 27: Azorean immigration to the U.S., 1820-1990. Data from Williams, *In Pursuit of their Dreams,* p. 113 (Data sourced from U.S. Census and Immigration Naturalization Service 1976 Annual Report, pp. 86-88)

The links between Massachusetts and the Azores were established because of whaling, but they extended into new realms as New England's maritime and merchant economy expanded. Throughout the age of sail and into the era of the steamship, the islands remained an important port of call for New-England-based ships carrying trade

3 Warrin lists known Azorean whaling-masters sailing from U.S. ports, and we find many of the family names associated with Peddocks Island on that list: Avilla (de Avilla), Costa (from both Cape Verde and Fayal), Da Costa, Enos (from Pico), Ferreira, Freitas (possibly Fratus/Frader in other records associated with Long and Peddocks Islands) (Cape Verde), Lopes (Cape Verde), Luis/Lewis (Fayal), Rose (Pico), Senna (Cape Verde), Silva (Fayal), Simmons (perhaps the same as Simonds) (Fayal), Sylvia (from both Pico and Cape Verde). While some of these names are so common as to be inconclusive, the relatively small population pool overall probably does mean that there were kinship and village connections with the Peddocks Islanders on some level.

items. The connection with Boston was particularly strong, in large part because members of Boston's Dabney family served as U.S. consuls in the Azores for almost the whole of the nineteenth century (Warrin 2010:57). The Dabneys were also traders in wine and other goods, and their many ships, particularly the Maine-built *Azor*, were crucial to the flow of people, letters, and money within the Azorean diaspora. During a mid-nineteenth-century famine in the Azores, the Dabney family underwrote the cost of a relief voyage by the *Azor* filled with 10,000 bushels of grain donated by Bostonians. The islands were also drawn into the widening practice of seaside vacationing, becoming a popular winter and summer resort for elite Bostonians and their friends (State Street Trust 1918:39).

Fig. 28: The *Azor*, built in Maine for the Dabney family in 1854, was part of the extensive network of connection between Boston and the Azores. (State Street Trust 1918:39)

The Azoreans who settled on Peddocks Island, then, were part of an extensive network of trade, travel, and migration. In Boston, they occupied a somewhat ambiguous place among the city's many immigrant groups around the turn of the twentieth century. Like the far more numerous Italians, they tended to be poor, rural, uneducated, and Catholic, and many of them harbored dreams of returning home rather than settling permanently in America. Somewhat poorer even than other southern and eastern European immigrants, they placed an even greater reliance on their own communities for resources and mutual support. This in turn reinforced their insularity (for example, through a relatively low degree of intermarriage with people of other ethnicities) and contributed to outsiders' perceptions of them as sharply different (Williams 2007:157).

All of these qualities led many Americans to think of the Azoreans as backward and unwilling to assimilate (Baganha 1991:279-95, Puleo 2007:14-17, Warrin 2010:60-61). Like the Italians and many other immigrant populations (initially including the Irish), they were also perceived as non-white by Bostonian whites, a racial coding that placed them at the lower end of the ethnic and racial hierarchies in the city (Moniz 2009).[4]

On the other hand, they were associated in many people's minds with the "gay Azores," well-known to New Englanders, as well as with the era of whaling which was already being widely romanticized by the later nineteenth century. This gave them a somewhat exotic fascination for many Bostonians. They were a small enough group that, unlike the Italians, their maintenance of peasant traditions often seems to have been seen as colorful rather than threatening, as journalistic coverage of their presence on the Harbor Islands shows. And people who became acquainted with them tended to be deeply impressed by how hard they worked. One crew member on a whaling ship noted that the Azoreans were "veritable models of thrift and of parsimony" (Warrin 2010:54) and others were struck by their willingness to do difficult jobs that others avoided, like capturing fresh rainwater on deck in order to make a little extra money laundering their fellow sailors' oil-soaked clothing (Warrin 2010:55). Although they settled in various parts of the industrial city—East Boston, the North End, Somerville—many of them seem to have remained "coastal people" who managed to find niches for themselves around Boston Harbor where they could escape the city, pursue traditional occupations like fishing and farming, and maintain the family and occupational networks that helped to sustain them in their new homes.

The Long Island Fishing Colony

One of those niches, at least for a handful of families, was on Boston Harbor's Long Island. The details of mid-nineteenth century land transactions there are somewhat murky, but a number of anecdotal sources (including Sweetser, quoted above) state that the first Portuguese fisherman to live there was named Nicholas Capello or Copello. This

4 For some of the now-extensive literature on "whiteness" and racialized perceptions of immigrant groups in the U.S., see Jennifer Guglielmo and Salvatore Salerno, eds., Are Italians White? How Race is Made in America (New York: Routledge, 2003); Noel Ignatiev, How the Irish Became White (New York: Routledge, 1995); Matthew Frye Jacobson, Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); George Lipsitz, The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998); and David R. Roediger, Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White (New York: Basic Books, 2005).

name sounds more Italian than Portuguese, and there is only one sign of it in the city and census records surveyed for this study: he appears on an 1885 list of property-owners scheduled to be compensated under the city's eminent domain acquisition of the island. An Italian fisherman named Emanuel Simon[5] is recorded as living on Long Island in the 1865 state census, along with another fisherman from New Hampshire named John Locke, two farmers, a lighthouse keeper, and a number of people running a hotel.[6] One later account states that Capello sold his land to a number of other Portuguese, who were encouraged by his heirs to settle there (Trickey 1887), but this does not align with the presence of his name on a list of owners in 1885. However we are to understand the presence or absence of the Italian or Portuguese Capello/Copello, by the time of the 1870 U.S. Census, half a dozen Azoreans were listed along with the New Hampshire fisherman Locke, and five years after that, when the city's assessor tried to sort out who owned which properties on Long Island, there were about ten Azorean families who owned land and occupied a cluster of small lots on the shoreline.

The family names on the 1875 assessor's list include several that were later associated with Peddocks Island: De Silva (probably the same as Silva), Fira (probably Ferrara), Frader (perhaps Fratus or Freitas), Perry, Rose, and the variously-spelled Sufferin or Sarveran which is very likely the same as the "Serferins" brothers who appear on Peddocks Island in the 1900 U.S. Census, a name that Edward Rowe Snow knew as Safarino (and that was probably actually Serafin). The other Azorean names on the 1875 assessor's list are Martin, Gaspere, Verio (possibly Verreira, a variation of Ferrara), and Nicholeo.[7] By 1880, the colony had expanded in size and included a number of families with small children, but the U.S. Census for that year shows that the family

5 This name actually sounds more Portuguese than Italian, and it seems possible that there may be some link here with Manuel Simonds and the Simonds family on Peddocks Island.

6 Sweetser names the 1850 occupants of Long Island as farmer George Smith and "Nicolas Capello, the Portuguese fisherman." (Sweetser 1888:180). In his 1887 Globe article about the displacement, Henry Trickey reports at length the account of an unnamed state official whose narrative resembles Sweetser's very closely, suggesting that perhaps this official was the source for both accounts. Trickey also spoke with John Locke himself, but Locke did not name his first (supposedly) Portuguese neighbor on the island.

7 The 1875 assessor's report was found through the diligent searching of Friends of the Boston Harbor Islands member and Peddocks Island cottager Suzanne Gall Marsh in the Boston City Archives, with assistance from archivist Marta Crilly. The specific location (for example, a box number) was not noted. A copy is included in the project archive. The discovery of specific names of the Azorean fishermen on Long Island enabled further searching in city and census records, leading to more complete documentation of their presence there and confirmation of connections with the Peddocks Island Azorean families.

names remained essentially the same: Vader (Frader/Fratus/Freitas), Gasper, Perry, Frairara (Ferrara), and Silver (Silva), with the addition of Inness, Francis, and Lewis (also a Peddocks name). Nearly all of the 12 adult men were born on the island of Fayal; all 17 of the children were born in Massachusetts; and interestingly, three of the seven adult women—Rita Ferrara, Mary Perry, and Kate Silva—were born in Massachusetts to parents from Pico, suggesting the possibility that they may have been from the same family. (See Appendix E for the full list of known Portuguese occupants of Long Island.)

For small-scale fishermen like the Azoreans and John Locke, the city's rush to build and vacation along the shore was a double-edged sword. The expanding urban population and tourist economy offered good retail and wholesale markets, but also put pressure on real estate prices and availability, so that small fishermen without capital increasingly struggled to find a base from which to operate. Long Island was not immune to these pressures; by the 1850s, there was one hotel, the Eutaw House, on the island, described by one observer as a "commodious building and pleasant resort" (Snow 1935:293) and apparently offering the fairly common off-shore entertainment of boxing matches in addition to other pleasures (Hagan 1969:27; Snow 1935:297). But more ambitious plans to develop the island for tourism fell through when a consortium called the Long Island Land Company had the island surveyed for lots but then failed financially before their plans could be realized (Snow 1935:297). This failure may have worked to the fishermen's advantage, as it meant that much of Long Island went undeveloped for many years, creating an opportunity for them to acquire small pieces of land on the water. The fishing village that they built for themselves, sheltered behind a knoll near the cliff where the Long Island lighthouse stood, remained outside the mainstream of shoreline vacation activity (Trickey 1887). The particular circumstances of lobster-fishing in the harbor, too, helped to create a niche for the Azoreans. Lobstering was actually in decline around Boston by 1850 due to over-harvesting, pollution from sewage and other sources, and growing competition from Maine. By the 1880s, government agencies were studying the problem in Boston Harbor and reseeding the lobster beds there. But small-scale operators were still able to generate income from selling lobster and other seafood to Boston retailers and hotels (Gallager 1989:19-20).

The Long Island fishermen were not alone in making a living in the harbor in this way. Other island lobstermen included members of the Turner and Barber families, who lived in Hull for much of the year but lobstered seasonally from Calf Island, one of the Brewster group at the far edge of the harbor, from the 1850s through the late

1880s (Gallagher 1989). Hangman's Island was also home to "several snug little huts of fishermen" who were also growing corn, potatoes, and other vegetables on the tiny outcrop in Quincy Bay just west of the West Head of Peddocks Island (Connelly 1932:36). Mirroring the patterns of occupation seen on Peddocks itself, much of this settlement was informal, as Snow's account of the Hangman's site confirms: "The regulations under which it may be leased prevented construction of a house or shack of any sort, but many fishermen disregarded the rules and built up small service sheds in which they lived and stored their traps and seines" (Snow 1946:147). The Long Island village seems to have been the most extensive and formalized of the lobstering settlements around the harbor. An 1887 account (Trickey 1887) lists what they paid to buy their lots, and the 1875 assessor's reckoning traces out the details of ownerships and transactions (City Council of Boston 1886:305). Sweetser's 1888 book describes the village as "a quaint little cluster of huts, inhabited by a colony of olive-skinned Portuguese fishermen" (Sweetser 1888:180).

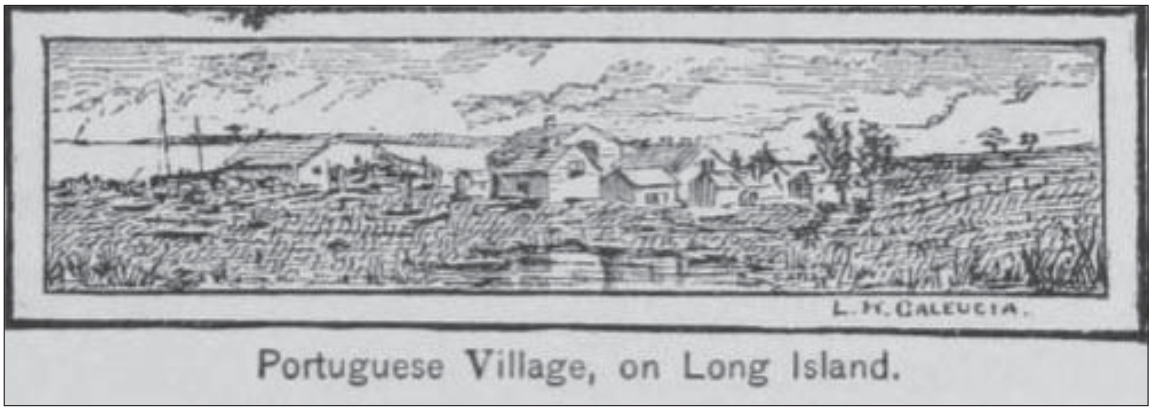

Fig. 29: Illustration of Long Island fishing village in *King's Handbook of Boston Harbor* (1888), p. 185. (Friends of the Boston Harbor Islands)

Sweetser, like some later journalists, was drawn to the exotic charm of this maritime outpost on the edge of the modern city. He wrote, "Many a pretty little Azorean child ran along the grassy slopes of the hills near by, seeking vainly for the oranges and pine-apples, the palms and periwinkles, of his 'Summer isles of Eden lying in dark-purple spheres of sea'" (Sweetser 1888:180; the poem quoted is Tennyson's "Locksley Hall"). Press coverage at the time of the familes' eviction gives additional details about the village. Henry Trickey, a journalist who wrote a lengthy article about the eviction for the Boston Daily Globe, noted that the Azoreans' houses were "rough in construction and sadly needing paint, but still comfortable… Around the doors were little vegetable gardens,

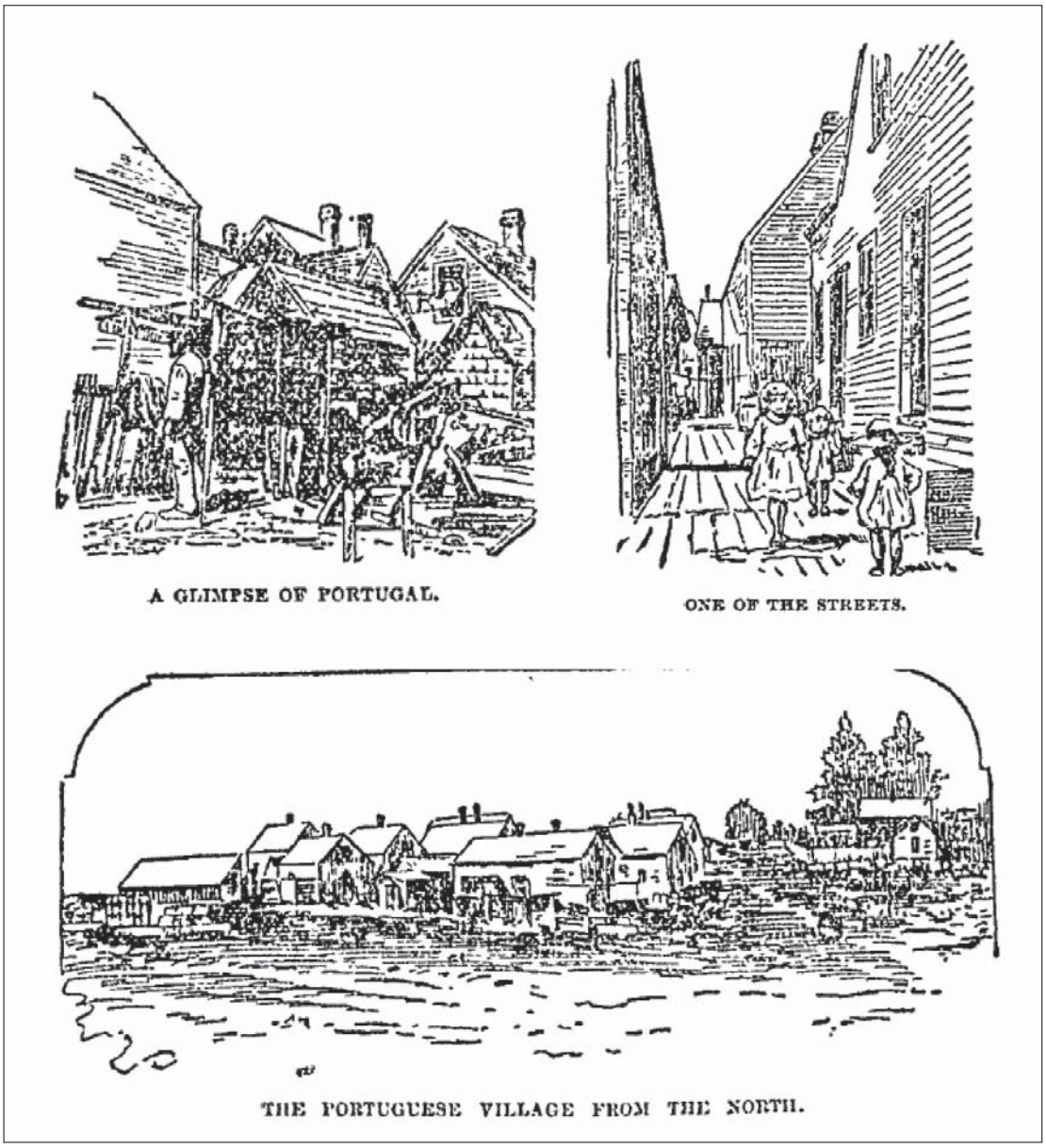

Fig. 30: Illustrations of Long Island fishing village from 1887 Henry Trickey article in the Boston Daily Globe.

and despite the reduced conditions of the people, there was a thrifty appearance about the place" (Trickey 1887). Trickey described one house that he visited: a story and a half tall, surrounded by a garden. The kitchen, like the rest of the small house, was "roughly furnished, but neat in appearance"—phrases heard in later journalistic descriptions of the Azoreans' Peddocks Island cottages. An article written the day of the first evictions details the contents of one of the houses: a kitchen table and cooking stove, crockery, a

few chairs and an old bureau, children's clothes, various household goods and bedroom furnishings (Boston Daily Globe 1887). Most of the lots that the houses stood on were quite small; an 1885 property listing shows the majority of the properties being between a thousand and two thousand square feet, with two around six thousand square feet (City Council of Boston 1886:305).

The Azorean village became a minor *cause célèbre* in the summer of 1887, when the fishing families were suddenly evicted from what had been their home for at least two decades. As would happen to them and some of their descendants on Peddocks Island in the early and then the later twentieth century, a change in ownership from private to public land, and the expansion of public infrastructure and services, was the cause. Struggling to find room for the city's indigent population in aging mainland facilities, the City of Boston purchased Long Island by right of eminent domain in 1884 in order to build a new pauper's hospital and other institutions.[8] The primary landholders were the heirs of the owners of the company that had hoped to make Long Island into an expensive resort, and they seem to have been satisfied with the city's price for their property. But John Locke and the Azoreans were bitter about what they considered paltry offers for land that was invaluable for the continuation of their livelihoods. Locke noted:

> The fishing grounds have become so isolated from the available mainland, by reason of the occupancy of almost all the water front by summer residents and business houses, that it is next to impossible to find a spot which offers one-fourth the inducements which Long Island does. Its situation is favored, as it is the centre of the lobster grounds. (Trickey 1887)

Two of the Azoreans told Henry Trickey that appealing to the courts was beyond their means, and one of them, Joseph Gaspar, said, "There is no law like this in the country to which I belonged" (Trickey 1887). Speaking about the fishermen's apparent passivity in the face of eviction, one of Trickey's other sources said of the Azoreans, "[W]hile they are fairly familiar with the common laws, and seldom if ever break them, they had no idea of the existence of an act by which their property could be taken. It is not remarkable, therefore, that they seemed perfectly helpless to meet the issue" (Trickey 1887). It also

8 There is some variation in the records for the precise date of this acquisition. The National Park Service's factsheet for the island states it was purchased by the city in 1882 (Island Facts – Long Island). Patrick Connelly, writing in the 1930s, dates it to 1885 (Connelly 1932:21). Sources consulted for this study suggest that the actual date was 1884, based on references in testimony to the City Council committee investigating possible impropriety about the purchase as well as newspaper accounts of the debate about the price. See the testimony of Harrison W. Huguley in Appendix A of the *Documents of the City of Boston for the Year 1886*, Vol. III (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1887), as well as "No Corruption: More About the Long Island Purchase," Boston Daily Globe, Dec. 3, 1886, p. 2.

seems that the delay after the city's acquisition of the land by eminent domain had led the fishermen to think that perhaps nothing would happen after all. A city official contacted by Trickey explained that the seeming suddenness of the August 1887 eviction notice was a result of city officials' decision that it had become urgent to open the new Long Island facility for indigent women as soon as possible, as well as a demonstration of the city's seriousness in taking the land (Tickey 1887; Boston Daily Globe 1887).

The Azoreans' plight garnered considerable public and political support, including from Hugh O'Brien, the city's first Irish mayor, who "maintained throughout the trouble a warm sympathy for the unfortunates" (Trickey 1887). One city councillor told the council in October of 1886 that "The poor Portuguese fishermen on Long Island have a moral right to the land they have lived on for years" (Boston Daily Globe 1886a:5). The press also seemed generally sympathetic, and some of the fishermen themselves seem to have aimed to invoke moral outrage at their dispossession. Joseph Gaspar, "one of the most intelligent Portuguese," pointed out to Trickey that "Boston talks much of its liberality and freedom. It sends money to Ireland to help the poor; but the very men who have done all that are the ones who have robbed us of our homes" (Trickey 1887). Trickey likened the Azoreans to the Acadians who were expelled from maritime Canada, a well-known and often-romanticized tale of displacement and loss.

Sweetser was not the only observer who was struck by the way the Azoreans ultimately accepted their ejection from the island. An article written the day after the first evictions notes, "They took everything quietly… and offered not the slightest opposition, although they believed they were being used unjustly" (Boston Daily Globe 1887). The article chronicled in detail the arrival of city officers in what was probably the home of Joseph and Rita Ferrara, where the children were just getting out of bed and nothing had been packed because the occupants seem to have been holding out hope that they might not actually have to leave. The process of emptying the house was swift, and the workers were reported to "regret the necessity of the work" when they were confronted with the weeping mother and her children. Nonetheless, a squad of men with axes quickly chopped the corner posts supporting the structure, and the house was pulled down by teams of convict laborers who had been working on readying the grounds of the new women's hospital.

> In an instant there was a sharp crack of breaking timbers then a dull clash of plastering and clapboards, and in an instant the little house gave up the ghost, turned a complete somersault and landed on its pitch roof.

> It was unused to standing in this position and accordingly fell on its side. Then the rope was again adjusted this time for the purpose of pulling down the sides, but no more difficulty was experienced.
>
> Among the sobbing of children and the subdued lamentations of the fishermen's wives, the remaining destruction was accomplished, and the visitor who passed that way half an hour later would not have been surprised on being told that no habitation had been on the spot for years. (Boston Daily Globe 1887)

However, the officer in charge of the operation continued to feel some sympathy for the displaced, offering to let the remaining families stay overnight after the first day's work of tearing down three houses. The city official interviewed by Henry Trickey was less sympathetic, pointing out that "The board has done everything possible to aid the poor, and will land the household goods of every family at any point in the harbor they may designate. That is all that can be expected" (Trickey 1887).

It is difficult to know exactly who all of the evicted families were, but the same cluster of Peddocks-associated names—Silvas, Ferraras, Serafins, Gaspars, and Perrys—appears in both the 1880 U.S. Census and on a list read into the City Council proceedings for April 30, 1885 of Long Island landowners whose property the city was planning to buy (City Council of Boston 1886:305):

- Rose L.V. Corinha
- Annie Gaspere
- Rita Terreira [Ferrara]
- Frank Sarveran [Serafin]
- Frank Enos and Emanuel Silva
- Antonio Silva, and Antonio Francisco
- Joseph Perry
- Nicholas Copello

It is intriguing that three of the women are named as owners. In at least one case this may have been because the wife was better able to speak English and deal with the city officials: Annie Gaspere/Gaspar was born Annie Cook in Ireland, and married Joseph Gaspere of Fayal in Boston in 1873 (although in his conversation with Henry Trickey he seems to have been very fluent in English).

It is also intriguing to see the name Frank Enos appearing on the list, seemingly in partnership with someone named Emanuel Silva. Enos (spelled "Enis") is mentioned in Trickey's article, but the name does not appear in any of the census records or other documents about the Long Island Azoreans. Genealogical information about the early years of this family in the U.S. fill in some of the gaps, but many remain. Frank Enos and his wife Perpetua migrated from the Azores about 1860. One of their sons, also named Frank, married a woman from Nova Scotia and became a jeweller in Boston. As recalled in Enos family stories, at some point he bought a fishing shack from some Portuguese fishermen on Peddocks Island, moved it to the south-facing side of Middle Head, and turned it into a summer cottage for his family. He was the grandfather of Bob Enos who is currently a cottager on the island. According to Bob, the story that has come down in the family is that "fishermen from the Boston-facing side of Middle Head came to the jewelry store to have their clocks repaired, and [my grandfather] got into conversation with them. Being Portuguese, I guess he could speak to them in their language. Many of them didn't speak English." Eventually, "He bought a shack from them, and moved the shack from their side of the island to the side facing Nantasket."

But the presence of Frank Enos's name among the Long Island fishermen suggests that the connection went back to the previous generation, and that the Enoses were among the families associated with the Long Island colony. Since Frank Jr. was just 20 years old at the time of the evictions, it seems likely that the Enos listed as a Long Island landowner was the immigrant Frank Sr., then in his 50s. "Interestingly," Bob Enos said in a 2013 interview, "the family didn't talk a lot about the generation that came before the thirties, when I came along," suggesting that the memories of their early years in America may not have been entirely positive ones or that Frank Jr. and later generations worked to shed their traditional Azorean identities as quickly as they could. It may also be that the experience of having lost their Long Island homes—places where they had owned property and been able to put their existing skills to use, making a good living without having to live in crowded urban quarters or adapt to a clock-driven factory schedule—was painful enough that the memory was not preserved in family stories.[9] We are left,

9 Studies of memory and trauma increasingly make it clear that cultures and individuals have a wide range of ways of coping with painful pasts. In some times, places, and groups, it seems important to air grievances and have them acknowledged, sometimes multi-generationally. For case studies of this strategy, see Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish, and Jewish Immigrants in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995). In other cases, people find more comfort in forgetting, or in reframing events in ways that allow them to move on with their lives. For examples, see the essays in Rosalind

then, with many questions, but also with a sense of the complex relationships of people in the first and second generation of Azorean immigrants, some of whom were assimilating in uneven and perhaps ambivalent ways.

Azoreans on Peddocks Island

The evictions from Long Island set in motion a mini-diaspora of Azorean fishing families to other islands in the harbor. An Azorean man with the Americanized name of Joseph King moved to Apple Island (now part of East Boston and Logan Airport), where he apparently attained some official stature (Snow 1941:91) and leased land to other fishermen for huts (Connelly 1932:38).[10] Sunday "fistic combats" held on the island drew police attention in 1901, showing that the long-standing practice of off-shoring marginal forms of entertainment favored by many urban audiences continued around the harbor (Snow 1941:91). Joseph Marion, another Portuguese man, is reported to have relocated in 1886 from Long Island to the south side of Spectacle Island, where his widow later married another Portuguese fisherman named Jose Safarino who came to Spectacle in 1888 (Snow 1946:144). Safarino is very likely a variant on the Serveran/Sufferins name found on Long Island and the Serferins on Peddocks, and it is probably a misspelling of Serafin or Seraphin, a more likely Portuguese name than the Spanish-sounding "Safarino." Snow writes glowingly about a visit to Jose Safarino in August 1934, recounting the kinds of maritime adventures that captured the imaginations of land-dwellers:

> [W]e reached the hut just as night was coming on. Safarino invited us in, and we sat down at his table. Lighting his lantern, he spun story after story of his childhood, in the harbor, telling how he played around the guns at Long Island Head as a child. He also spoke of his service aboard the Lighthouse Tender Mayflower, and the rescue in 1898 [during the Portland Gale] which earned him the Massachusetts Humane Society's medal. As the evening wore on, the time came to go back to our boat, so we bade farewell to this island fisherman. (Snow 1946:144-45)

Shaw and Lars Waldorf, eds., *Localizing Transitional Justice: Interventions and Priorities after Mass Violence* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010) and Duncan Bell, ed., *Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship Between Past and Present* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), especially Section III.

10 King appears in the 1870 U.S. Census for Long Island but not in subsequent records about the Azorean community, so it is possible that he left the island before the 1887 expulsions. One possibility is that "Capelo" and "King" are the same person, given the similarities between the Italian "capo" (head, chief, boss) and the idea of a king or leader.

The Spectacle Island Safarinos were also friendly with the eccentric "Portuguese Joe" who lived by himself on Quarantine Rocks, just south of Rainsford Island (Snow 1946:144), suggesting that the Azoreans remained interconnected even when they were dispersed around the harbor.[11]

Some of the fishermen, of course, came to Peddocks Island. The standard account of their arrival on Peddocks Island is that they floated their shacks across the harbor from Long Island to East Head. The 1887 newspaper story describing the evictions challenges that narrative to some extent, suggesting that at least some of the Long Island homes were very thoroughly demolished. It is possible that some were saved and moved on the second day of the eviction, or that the fishermen managed to rescue and repurpose some of the materials from the demolition site. A 1984 newspaper article recounts the story that "they dismantled their shacks, stacked the wood onto barges and set sail for Peddocks" (Raver 1984), an explanation that is certainly congruent with many other accounts of floating equipment and materials to the island. The statement of the city official that "[we] will land the household goods of every family at any point in the harbor they may designate" (Trickey 1887) suggests another possible means of moving the contents and perhaps some of the building materials from the houses. It seems unlikely, though, that the idea of the fishermen simply floating all of their houses whole from one island to another is entirely accurate.

Like the squatters on the other side of Peddocks' East Head, the Azorean families took advantage of an unused stretch of shore with an absentee landlord, finding a spot that gave them continued access to the prime lobster beds within a short distance to the mainland. It was farther to the downtown fish piers and retail markets, but faced with the potential loss of their entire fishing income as well as their much-loved homes, the additional distance may have seemed a reasonable trade-off. Their first choice of location was the somewhat sheltered area that later became known as Sergeants' Row. Maps prepared during the early construction of Fort Andrews show a "Portuguese fishing village" still in place there in the first decade of the twentieth century, comprising 15 structures (some of which may have been outbuildings; see Fig. 31). The seven Portuguese households listed in the 1900 U.S. Census for Peddocks Island include some of the Long Island names—Serferins/Serafin, Farara/Ferrara, and Perry—along with

11 For a photo of Portuguese Joe's cottage, see the Boston Harbor Islands Mass. Memories Roadshow collection. http://openarchives.umb.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/p15774coll6 /id/950/rec/11.

people named Costa (probably related to the Ferraras, as discussed in Chapter Seven), Mora, and Alberts. The most direct link between the two islands is via Andrew and Rita Ferrara, who are the only people to appear unequivocally in the census for both islands. The absence of the name Silva on this list may reflect that Manuel Silva went elsewhere for a time before rejoining his friends and family on Peddocks Island.

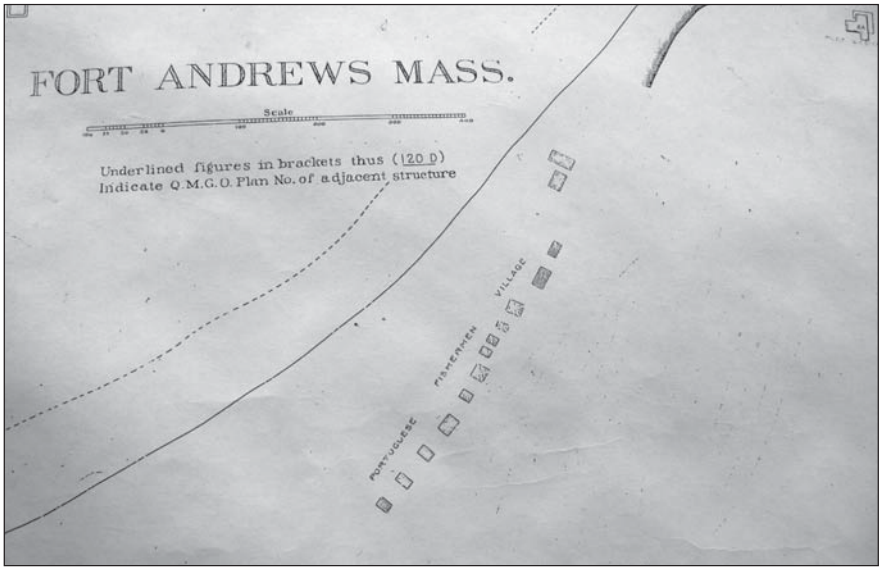

Fig. 31: Map of Fort Andrews during its construction phase (with additions dating from 1900 through 1909) shows 15 structures in the "Portuguese fishing village" on the site of what later became Sergeants' Row. (Map supplied by Peter Sault, who accessed it at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland)

Having been ejected from land and homes that they had bought and paid for, the fishermen may have decided that rebuilding on land they *didn't* own could not be any riskier. However, it turned out to be just *as* risky, and just over a decade later, they were displaced a second time when the federal government bought East Head from the Andrew estate in order to built a fort. Manuel Silva told a journalist many years later: "'I was first at Long Island, then the government came, and I moved to another island. Then I live over there'—he pointed to the ocean-end of Peddocks and the brick houses of Fort Andrews—'and the government come again. So I move here [i.e. to Crab Alley]'" (Leeds 1941). Around 1900, some or all of the fishermen moved to the pond side of Middle Head, which became known as Crab Alley, following the pattern of choosing fairly sheltered south-facing locations. Not all of them moved their houses—according to Matilda Bies Silvia, five of the Portuguese buildings remained on East Head and were occupied by NCOs from the fort when her father relocated one of the vacation cottages there in 1910 (Silvia 2003:13).

Some of the fishermen, then, probably rebuilt a second time. By 1909, a Boston Globe article about Crab Alley refers to "the little village of 12 houses tucked away there

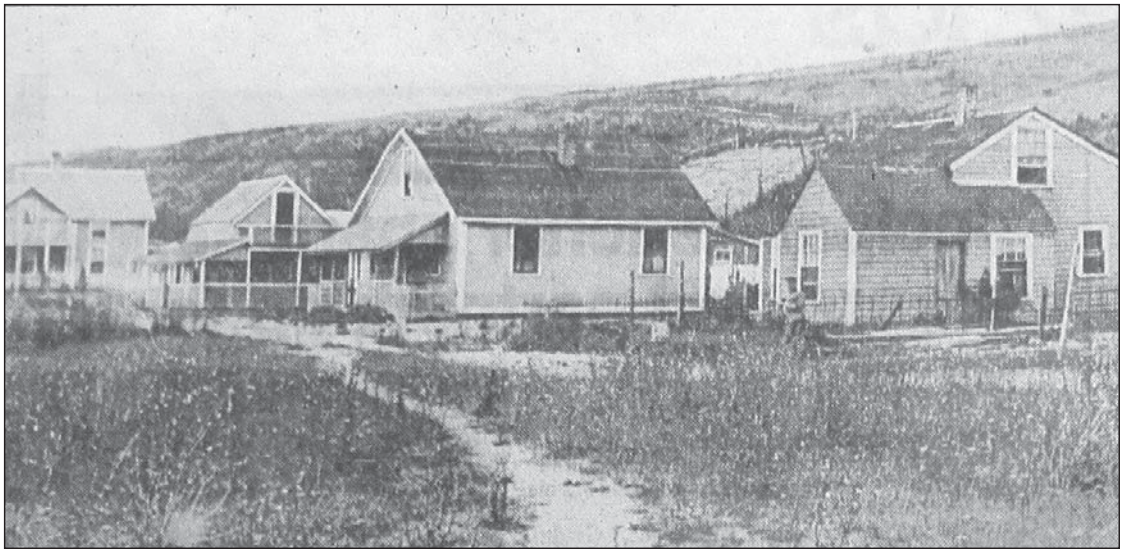

Fig. 32: Matilda Bies Silvia's memoir includes this photo of Sergeants' Row, showing her parents' relocated home at the far left and "the five remaining Portuguese fishermen cottages," occupied by NCOs from Fort Andrews by the 1910s. (Matilda Bies Silvia, *Once Upon an Island,* p. 19).

in back of Princes head" (Boston Globe 1909e), and the U.S. Census for 1910 reflects a community of about this size, with listings for ten households containing members of the Alberts, Cabral, Corey, Ferrara, Gill, Pinto, and Pusiver (probably a misspelling) families.[12] In 1920, there were eight Portuguese households, comprised of Lewises, Sylvias (Silvas), Ferraras, Gills, Alberts, Roses, John Pinto, and James Mcgee and his Portuguese wife (perhaps a daughter of the Cabral family). By 1930, the list had shrunk to just three households, those of Manuel Ferrara, Manuel Silva, and John Pinto, and in 1940 there were six, made up of members of the Silva, Pinto, Ferrara, Lewis, and Ferdinand families.

There are obvious gaps and misunderstandings in the census listings, probably due to the language barrier, the complicated family interconnections among the Azoreans,

12 The Census data are illuminating in some ways, confusing in others, perhaps reflecting the census-takers' difficulty in communicating with the Azoreans and the flexible nature of their residence on the island. In 1900, the U.S. Census lists the following Azorean fishermen and their families on the island (it is not clear whether they were still on East Head at that point or had moved to Crab Alley): brothers Frank and Manuel Serferins (probably Safarino or Serafin), John and Nellie Mora, Andrew and Rita Farara, Manuel and Rose Farara, Antonio Farara, Antonio and Mary Costa and their son Frank, Antonio and Mary Perry, and Joseph and Lucy Albeto (probably Alberts). All are listed as owning their own homes.

In 1910, the listing is as follows: Anthoney and Mary Pusiver, Manuel and Rose Farrara, Lewis and Mary Corey and their sons Joseph and Lewis, John Pinto, Gill Mathews (almost certainly Matthew Gill), Joseph Albert (Alberts), Joseph and Mary Perry, Anthoney Ferrara, and Joseph and Mary Cabral. Once again, all of the fishermen are listed as owning their own homes.

The "Family Tree" compiled by Phyllis Montagna and Bob Enos in the 1980s lists the following names originally associated with the Crab Alley cottages: #26, Rose; #27 Silva; #28, Firara; #29, Gohms; #30, Gill; #31, Alberts; #32, Trask; #33, Fratus (probably Freitas); #34, Rose; #35, Silva; #40, Corey; #41, Pinto.

and the probable fluidity of their occupation of the island. For example, the "Family Tree" listing of all the cottage occupants includes the name Fratus as a first or second owner for three of the Middle Head cottages (33, 39, and 40), suggesting that the Fratus/Freitas/Vader/Frader family had maintained its connection with the other Long Islanders even after the move. Yet they do not appear in any of the U.S. Census records for the island. And beyond the positive link of Andrew and Rita Ferrara with both the Long Island and Peddocks Island villages, it is difficult to be sure which members of the Long Island Ferrara family built which of the Peddocks cottages, and exactly how they were related to the other island families.

Changing patterns of mainland and seasonal residence probably complicate this history further. The 1909 Globe article notes,

> Most of the fishermen are from Boston, and nearly all of them have homes in the city or suburbs, where they leave their families for four or five months in the winter, while they go deep sea fishing or on coasting schooners. Come summer again the children are taken out of school, and with their mothers go back to the island where they live until the late fall and the easterly gales make the frail summer houses untenable. (Boston Globe 1909g)

This seems to represent a different pattern from what appears to be a more year-round pattern of occupation on Long Island. The change may reflect a number of factors: the greater distance between Peddocks and the city; the fact that there were more school-aged children as time went on; and perhaps a sense that it was good to have a mainland home and source of income in case a family lost an island dwelling and access to a fishing income yet again. It is difficult to say with real certainty, though, who lived year-round on the island in the early decades of the twentieth century. This part of Peddocks Island remained something of a world apart until after the Second World War, with the loss of the remaining Azoreans from the immigrant generation and the shift into a much more assimilated Portuguese-American identity.

Echoing the accounts of the Long Island village, the 1909 description in the Globe conveys the sense of a rustic but carefully-maintained community, as well as showing the same fascination that even some Portuguese-descended islanders felt for the somewhat exotic enclave so close to a modern American city:

> The houses are all small frame structures, tenanted by families whose heads make a living by catching fish and lobsters. The houses are all neat and well kept, and back of each is a tiny garden in which vegetables are raised, while

some of the women have even cultivated flowers and made their tiny homes quite attractive.

At nearly every house the cooking is done in a stove which sets out in front and is buttressed by empty dry goods boxes and packing cases, which doesn't detract at all from the toothsomeness of the food prepared. Children are quite numerous in the village, and a hardy, wholesome looking lot they are, too.

Part of the men who live there are Portuguese, and the rest are Americans. For the most part the fishermen go to sea or draw their lobster pots in power dories, and they are a stalwart, muscular lot of men, as those who follow such an occupation must be. They are burned by the sun and tanned by the wind until they are so swarthy as nearly to verge on black. . .

There is no style put on in the Peddocks Island fishing village, but the folks who live there appear to enjoy themselves and abide in comfort. (Boston Globe 1909g)

Fig. 33 This undated photo of "Crab Alley" along the southwest-facing side of Middle Head shows a number of people, most or all of them men, working around the toolsheds that lined the shore between the cottages and the sheltered tidal pond that they faced. (Lilian Perry, from collection of Mike McDevitt)

An undated photo of Crab Alley (Fig. 33) shows the main village "street" in the early part of the century. This view of the relocated cottages makes a useful comparison with the way the NCOs from the fort had renovated the remaining East Head structures to make them larger, less seasonal, and decidedly more middle-class (Fig. 32).

The Crab Alley structures are more obviously home-built, with a mix of found materials (for example, some of the porch railings and board-and-batten siding appear to have be of mismatched lumber, possibly scavenged from the beach) and more formal building materials and decorative elements like shingle siding, metal stovepipes, picket fences, and flagpoles displaying American flags. In one cottage along the row, the kind of outdoor cookstove mentioned in the Globe article appears to be in evidence, although others seem to have their cooking facilities inside. The 1909 article also includes an illustration of an unidentified woman in a long skirt and straw hat standing next to a side-by-side pair of outdoor stoves. It is possible that this is "Tia [Aunt] Rosa," the second wife of Joseph Alberts in Cottage 31 and a colorful figure who was part of the collective memory of the island for many cottagers. Matilda Bies Silvia wrote that:

> All summer Rosie Alberts…cooked her lobsters and crabs outdoors on an old iron cook stove that was parked right in front of her house. She sold the shellfish and the booze to wash them down. Rosie spoke little English, but this was no barrier to business. She married Mr. Alberts when he went to Portugal to find a bride. When he returned with Rosie and her little boy, he was asked about the boy, and it is said that Alberts retorted, "Well, when you buy the cow, you have to take the calf." (Silvia 2003:100)[13]

Bob Enos was among the cottagers who availed themselves of Tia Rosa's homebrewing skills. "I think I had my first beer there," he said in an interview. Annmarie Centrella, of the Ferdinand family in Cottage 21, recalls that her great-grandfather Theodore was an Azorean immigrant who "kept company" with Tia Rosa in his later years. Annmarie remembered her great-grandfather as a very small-statured man while Tia Rosa was "tall and big-boned." Claire Pierimarchi Hale recalled her as "a husky, funny woman with a chopped off finger" (Hale 2002:6) who wore men's clothing and kept a big kettle boiling under the apple tree outside her house. Annmarie and others also remembered that Tia Rosa spoke very little English and followed the Azorean custom of carrying things in a washbasin balanced on her head, something that made an impression as being distinctly "Old World." Claire Pierimarchi Hall notes that in the summer of 1946, after the wartime restrictions on harbor travel were lifted, many of Tia Rosa's fishermen friends came to visit the island with their families, camping and cooking on the beach, playing music and singing late into the night (Hale 2002:6).

13 Assuming that Joseph and Lucy Albeto in the 1900 Census are Joseph Alberts and his first wife, Rosa would have married him after this, possibly in 1907, as the 1910 Census lists Joseph Albert as having married three years previously. No wife is included in this census listing, but there are a number of such gaps, reinforcing the idea that the census-taker was unable to penetrate very far into this community of non-English speakers.

Reflecting the way that some Azorean families had become more assimilated by this time, Bob Enos recalls,

> My father used to discourage me and my brothers from going over there. I don't know why. He did, which stimulated a real interest in the other side…
>
> I used to love to go over and sit and listen to the Portuguese fishermen sitting on the porch of what's now known as the Pink Cottage. It was Joe Silva's cottage. And they were speaking in Portuguese, which was kind of magical because it was my first contact with a foreign spoken language. And they were old and they looked different than everybody else on the other side. They didn't dress the same. They were rough-living people. Not bad rough, but tough life.

For Bob, the "Otherness" of the Azoreans was appealing. For previous generations in the Enos family, it was perhaps an unwelcome reminder of a way of life that felt out of step with the modern American world they wanted to be a part of. It is a common story in immigrant communities, and even within the small population of cottagers on Peddocks Island we can see the layers of tension, the processes of change, and the moments of rediscovery—an Portuguese-American boy buying his first beer from an immigrant home-brewer—that very often characterize ethnic and diasporic identities.

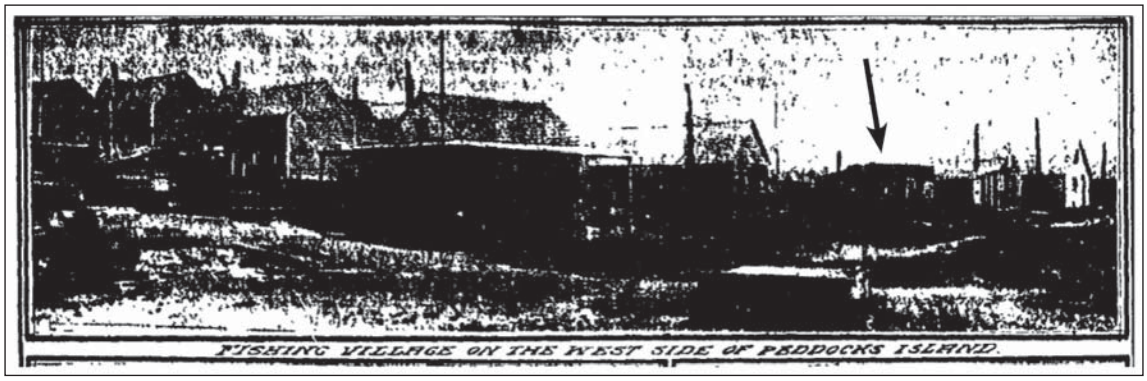

Fig. 34: This image from a 1909 Boston Globe article about the Azoreans on Peddocks Island shows the same flat-roofed building seen in the Crab Alley photo in Fig. 34 (probably on the site of the present Cottage 29, marked with an arrow) as well as some of the cottages on the north-facing slope of Middle Head, on the left in the photo. (Boston Globe 1909g)[14]

14 According to Sheila Martel, who is descended from several of the original Azorean families, Cottages 23-25 and 27 were floated over from Long Island in a second wave of displacement when the city was expanding the facilities there (Hagan 1969:27). This is somewhat at odds with the visual evidence from the 1909 Boston Globe article, which includes a view of the fishing village showing buildings already in place along the north-facing hillside (Fig. 34). It does seem that the slightly larger and perhaps newer Ferdinand and Lewis homes (19-22) toward the crest of the hill may date from later than the initial displacements of the Crab Alley fishermen.

One more feature of Crab Alley, still seen to some extent, is the presence of small and functional outbuildings along the waterfront. A later newspaper account, this one from 1941, describes one of these structures:

> The toolshed is as wide as any of the houses, with two doors facing the hill and two windows on the waterside. Sticks and tools and ropes are piled along the walls. In the middle of the shed is an electrically operated saw, where they cut up the wood for the traps and boxes and buoys. (Leeds 1941)

The Azorean fishing families were not, like the cottagers elsewhere on the island, using their seasonal homes to demonstrate aspirational class mobility. Rather, they were "coastal people" trying to carve out space close to the industrial city where they could continue living—at least to some extent—as they had in their homeland. Along with Italian fishermen, whose backgrounds were often very similar, the Azoreans and their sons continued to have a presence in the fishing economy around Boston Harbor for many decades. In 1912, an official report applauded "the rapid development of [a] fleet of motor boats which fish off the entrance to the harbor"; six of the top nine fishermen for the previous year had Portuguese names (Commissioners on Fisheries and Game 1912:18).[15] Three decades later, a WPA history of the harbor noted the presence of a still-thriving small-scale fishing economy:

> Between Commercial Wharf and T Wharf are ranged the stalls of wholesale and retail fishdealers who have not yet gone to the Fish Pier. Barrels and baskets of fresh-caught fish overflow onto the sidewalk, and in a sheltered cove behind the stores ride the many-colored boats of the Italian and Portuguese fishing fleet. (WPA 1975[1941]:234)

The children and grandchildren of the immigrant generation of Azoreans continued to work as fishermen and lobstermen in the harbor for many decades, and some of their descendants on Peddocks Island maintain licenses for lobster pots today. ■

15 These fishermen were Manuel C. Santos ($40,000 "gross stock") in the Mary C. Santos, Frank Nunan ($39,110) in the Elizabeth W. Nunan, Manuel Domingoes ($32,000) in the Belbina P. Domingoes, George Perry ($30,000) in the W.M. Goodspeed, Frank Santos ($28,700) in the Jeanette, and Robert Wildes in the Richard Nunan ($25,200). Santos is a name that appears on the "Family Tree" for Cottage 23, but nothing more is known about their history on the island.

Chapter Five:
The Peddocks Island Hotels

The Willows, West Head Inn, and Island Inn

The histories of the three Peddocks Island hotels confirm the idea that the island's modest scale and somewhat removed location offered visitors the potential for escape from the middle-class respectability that increasingly characterized more populated vacation spots. These histories also show us how the various stands of the island's population—military personnel, Azorean fishing families and their descendants, and summer vacationers of other ethnic backgrounds—were becoming intertwined as early as the turn of the twentieth century. As with the cottages, it is difficult to pinpoint an exact construction date for the hotels, particularly for the two more rustic ones on West Head. One of these, the Willows, was certainly in operation by 1897, when the Boston Globe reported on the arrival of its July Fourth guests. The list was short—two families, a single man, and what was perhaps a father-daughter or brother-sister pair—suggesting that the Willows was not an extensive establishment, perhaps little more than a guest house. A later newspaper article refers to it as the "Willow club," which may mean that it served as a private summer retreat for a members-only club rather than as a hotel *per se*. The paper names a number of people staying at cottages on Peddocks but does not mention any other hotel guests, implying that the Willows was the only hotel on the island at that point.[1]

The story of the proprietors of this small establishment is a rather sad one. Its owner, Eli B. Bellows, was the son of a laborer in Connecticut and seems himself to have been a carpenter by trade, putting him into the artisan classes who were both benefiting from and being challenged by the rapidly-changing opportunities of the regional economy. By 1870 he was living in Massachusetts with an Atlanta-born wife and their small son, Fred, and city directories through the 1870s show that he seemed

1 A full list of these and other holiday arrivals on the island appears in "Heads All Counted: Census Completed Along Nantasket Shore. Shows Number of People Present to be Larger Than Last Year. Items of News and Gossip from the Hotels and Cottages," Boston Daily Globe, July 4, 1897, p. 15. For Peddocks Island, the entry reads, "The guests at the Willows are: Mr and Mr. B. O. Wolf, Dr Phillip Wolf, Master Harold Wolf, Carl Wirth, Miss. L. Wirth, F. C. Titon and family, and Walter Shaw. Chas. G. Gibson, city paymaster, and family are occupying a cottage on the island. Mr and Mrs Joseph Knisel and John B. Holliday and family are also stopping on Peddocks." See Chapter Three, footnote 4 for names of other people who were probably cottagers during this early period.

to be prospering to some extent as a builder. Like the McLean brothers, he was able to buy a house in the expanding middle-class suburb of Hyde Park, but his family's stay there seems to have been brief. Their shifting residences and fortunes during the 1880s and 1890s—a short stint living above a restaurant near Castle Island, which Eli owned or managed, followed by a return to carpentry, with two years living in a South End rooming-house where Eli served as manager—suggest that he was attempting to expand his activities into the service and recreation economies of the quickly-growing city, but with mixed success. Somehow or another—perhaps by the same process of informal building that the early cottagers had seized upon, or perhaps by being hired to construct a summer retreat for a private club—he managed to become the manager of the small summer establishment on the West Head of Peddocks Island by the late 1890s.

However, the Willows burned to the ground under mysterious circumstances in late December of 1904. Eli, then 60 years old, died of a heart attack "contemplating the ruins" of his business (Boston Globe 1904). Noting that "Peddocks Island is frequently visited by men from Hull and also by soldiers from the forts of the lower harbor," police speculated that one of these interlopers may have robbed the building and then set fire to it to cover the evidence of theft. On Eli's death certificate, his occupation is listed as "hotel keeper"; his body was returned to his native Connecticut for burial. In an equally sad sequel, Eli's son Fred, then in his thirties and suffering from depression, committed suicide the following year. Once a traveling jewelry salesman, Fred had more recently been spending summers on Peddocks Island and was listed as the manager of the Willow Club in the newspaper notice of his death.[2]

The other West Head hotel was known by a variety of names: the C.Y. West Hotel, Y.O. West Head House, West Head Inn, and Drake's Inn, after its proprietor. It was also sometimes referred to as "the clubhouse," which, along with the "C.Y." and "Y.O." initials, may suggest an association with a private club, as in the case of the Willows. A newspaper

2 Information about the Bellows family, where not otherwise cited, comes from federal census records, Hull voter lists, Boston and Hyde Park city directories, death certificates for Eli and Fred Bellows, and Find a Grave (findagrave.com). Matilda Bies Silvia refers to "the Clubhouse" on West Head, which was "reputed to have been the scene of some wild parties" but "not often occupied" during her childhood in the 1920s (Silvia 2003:62). In a 2007 essay about the history of Peddocks Island by island caretaker Judy McDevitt, there is a mention that E.B. Bellows also used the main Cleverly house on East Head as a hotel, and that the house burned under suspicious circumstances on June 24, 1906. The cited source is a logbook "Found on Peddocks Island in the 1960s and believed to have been written by the orders of Colonel S.C. Vestal, Commanding Officer, Fort Andrews, May 1904" (McDevitt 2007:12). It is very unlikely that the Cleverly house on East Head would have been used as a hotel after the building of Fort Andrews began, and both Eli and Fred Bellows were dead by 1906, so the story seems like a conflation of other elements from the history of the hotels on the island.

description categorized it as a "rustic summer pavilion" built of unfinished wood, with a wide porch on all four sides and a big central room used for dining. The basement housed a kitchen and barroom, and an upper story contained another large open room where curtains were used to create sleeping partitions (Boston Globe 1913). The hotel seems to have had its own landing and to have been quite close to the water; one former islander interviewed for this study recalls having its site pointed out to him many years ago, but noted that there was no longer any sign of the wooden foundation posts. The hotel burned to the ground in a spectacular fire in November 1913, and a building erected on the same site "on West Head Bluff" also burned in the mid-1930s (Snow 1935:19).

Fig. 35: This Boston Globe photo of Chinese guests on the porch of the West Head House in 1909 shows the rustic construction of the building. (Boston Globe 1909a)

Fig. 36: Members of the Brown family on Peddocks Island, undated (almost certainly between 1906 and 1917). The style of construction suggests that this was either the West Head Inn or the Island Inn. (Carl Johnson)

The proprietor of the West Head Inn, William S. Drake, was a former Boston police officer who seems to have opened the hotel when he retired in 1907. The timing is intriguing: another, more substantial hotel opened on Middle Head at almost exactly the same time, owned by retired baseball player John Irwin. There are a number of potential strands of connection between the two new hotels and their owners which point toward the uses of

Peddocks Island by people who were on the edges of Boston's respectable middle classes around the turn of the century.

The new hotels appear to have been built very shortly after a failed negotiation for the sale of the Andrew family's property on the island. A letter among the Andrew papers indicates that the trustees of the estate drew up a purchase and sale agreement with three men, William Cavanagh, Mathew J. Conor, and William H. Mears in November of 1905 (Swift to Andrew 1905). Cavanagh and Conor are difficult to trace through the documentary records with any certainty, but Mears's career is more visible, and suggests that the attempted purchase of the island was part of a brief and unsuccessful bid by a small-scale entrepreneur to enter the burgeoning recreational economy of coastal New England. Born just north of the city, Mears was the son of a shoemaker and made his own start in business as a retail grocer. By his mid-forties, he appears to have been trying to branch out. He became co-owner of a novelty stationery firm, Souther-Mears & Co., which sold postcards and perhaps other items in the first decade of the century. An entry in a 1905 business directory lists him as vice-president and director of the Boston & Hough's Neck Steamboat Company, likely a part of the planned Peddocks purchase. The steamship company seems to have been a speculative venture that never actually came to fruition, as it disappears from the records after that single listing. It may be that Mears and his co-investors were enticed by the success of other similar ventures in the area and envisioned Peddocks Island as a vacation or excursion destination serviced by their own steamship line. Mears's fortunes declined in the years that followed, particularly after a serious 1911 streetcar accident, but he appears to have had an unstoppable constitution, and continued working as a paint and paper salesman well into his 80s.[3] For him, though, as for a number of subsequent would-be developers, the dream of turning Peddocks into a vacation destination proved not to be viable, and the Andrew family retained ownership of Middle, Prince, and West Heads for several decades longer.

In 1905, the year of the failed sale, tax valuations from the town of Hull document 10 buildings on the Andrew property. Two years later, this rose to 20 buildings plus a hotel valued at $1,600 and a wharf at $500. This substantial value suggests that it refers to the hotel on Middle Head, known variously as the Island Inn, Irwin's Inn, and Irwin's Hotel, rather than the much more "rustic" establishment on West Head, so it seems

3 Information about the life of William H. Mears is from federal census records (1860 through 1940); Boston city directories; the *Directory of Directors in the City of Boston and Vicinity* (Boston: Bankers Service Company, 1905); and the trade publication *Geyer's Stationer: Devoted to the Interests of the Stationery, Fancy Goods and Notion Trades*, Volume 55, No. 1383 (1913), p. 12.

reasonable to date the construction of the Island Inn to 1906 or 1907.[4] The Andrew trustees may have failed to sell the island outright, but it is possible that their willingness to entertain offers had attracted the attention of other would-be seaside entrepreneurs like John Irwin and William Drake.

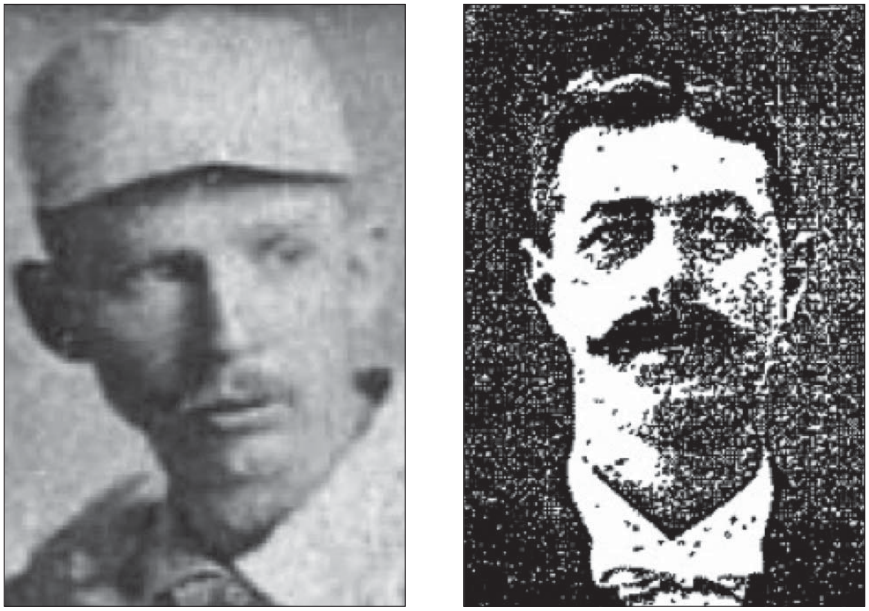

Fig. 37: John Irwin (1861-1934) and William S. Drake, Sr. (c.1863-death date unknown), proprietors of the Island Inn and the West Head Inn, respectively. (Baseball Reference and Boston Globe 1907b)

Both Irwin and Drake were of Irish ancestry, born during the Civil War years, and both had had considerable success in highly visible but not always reputable professions in turn-of-the-century Boston: law enforcement and professional sport.[5] Canadian-born John Irwin and his brother Arthur were both professional baseball players, playing with many teams during the 1880s and 1890s. After retiring from the game in 1896, Irwin was a partner in a billiard parlor in the South End, an establishment described in his obituary

4 John Irwin appears in the Hull voter lists as a resident of Peddocks Island from 1907 to 1917, giving weight to this supposition. Subsequent tax valuations for the Andrew estate on Peddocks show the hotel, wharf, and 24 buildings in 1909 and the hotel, two wharves, one house, 13 cottages, 15 Portuguese cottages, and two stables in 1915.

5 Information about John Irwin and his family, except where specifically cited, is drawn from Canadian and U.S. census records, Hull voter records and street directories, and Baseball-Reference.com. Information about William Drake comes mainly from the newspaper articles cited and from Boston city directories; he is more difficult to trace through census records.

as "for years the headquarters of the sporting fraternity" (Boston Globe 1934). This was a free-wheeling era in the baseball world, with fierce competition among leagues, clubs, and players over rules, profits, territory, and status. Far from the standardized and relatively sanitized game today, early baseball closely reflected many of the most boisterous aspects of urbanizing and industrializing America in the Gilded Age, and was associated with a rowdy culture of ethnic rivalries, drinking, gambling, and fighting (Achorn 2013:xiii). Struggles over control of these elements—in terms of both moral and legal sanctions against them and illicit profits from them—characterized the years when the Irwin brothers were playing professionally, with the forces of corporate control and moral order only slowly gaining ascendancy in the early twentieth century (see White 1998 on the history of this transition).

In the decade when Irwin was running his Peddocks Island hotel, we can see those struggles continuing as the champions of morality sought to rein in the offshore pleasures enjoyed by Irwin and Drake's guests. It might seem that the presence of a retired high-ranking police office like William Drake would be a factor on the side of law and order, but in fact the Boston Police Department of the late nineteenth century was, in the words of one writer on the subject, "not as well organized or effective (or as free from corruption) as one might have desired" (Miller 2010:25). Founded in the 1850s as the industrializing city was experiencing a huge influx of famine-era Irish immigrants, the BPD reflected the Irish-Yankee tensions of subsequent generations. By the end of the century the police force was very heavily Irish and was sometimes more closely aligned with those involved in gambling and other illicit activities than with the Yankee champions of morality who continued to call for stricter social order.

Those moral reformers banded together in an organization eventually named the Watch and Ward Society, which by the late 1880s had gained considerable power to investigate and prosecute a range of vices, particularly gambling, "indecent" plays, books, and pictures, and prostitution. As Neil Miller writes in his history of the organization,

> The society did not have an anti-immigrant tinge to it—certainly not in its rhetoric—but a great deal of what was perceived as vice was associated at the time with immigrant groups—gambling with the Irish, for example, and opium with the Chinese. For Boston's old families who were losing political influence and felt that their city was slipping away from them in many respects, the Watch and Ward offered. . .moral power. (Miller 2010:12)

The Watch and Ward quickly targeted both Irwin and Drake and their hotels, suggesting that Drake was among those Boston police officers who were at least somewhat comfortable on the shady side of the law. Born in South Boston, Drake joined the police force as a reserve officer "in the strenuous days" of the 1890s, as a newspaper account of his 1907 retirement noted (Boston Globe 1907b). He quickly became a full-time patrolman, working in the city's "Tenderloin" or red-light district before being promoted to duty in the upper-class Back Bay neighborhood. He later became a state police officer charged with investigating crimes supposed to have been committed by "tramps" or "rovers" before leaving the force at the relatively young age of 44 to open his hotel on Peddocks Island (Boston Globe 1907b).

Drake and Irwin seem to have catered to customers uninterested in—or perhaps just on the margins of—middle-class decorum. Matilda Bies Silvia, born the year that the Island Inn was shut down, relays second-hand reports of it as "a center for adult entertainment" nicknamed the "Headache House Hotel… The clientele was not that of the Ritz by any means, so there were brawls and murderous fights, which often necessitated summoning the mainland police" (2003:67).[6] In fact, the town of Hull designated special officers to oversee the island between 1898 and 1916—the time period when the island's uses were at their most diverse, with summer cottagers, hotels, excursionists, fishing families, and military personnel all occupying a small landmass which seems to have provided an offshore alternative to mainland vacation options. The backgrounds of these special officers provide some insight into the mix of people on and around the island at the turn of the twentieth century, as well as showing that their authority, like the emerging outlines of middle-class identity in Boston at the time, was by no means firmly established. (See Appendix D for a full list of special officers and dates of their tenure.)[7]

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6 John Galluzzo relays an anecdote about one such "murderous fight" between local pickpockets and members of an Irish society holding its annual outing at Irwin's hotel. Having been robbed the previous year, the Irishmen were ready for the pickpockets the second time around, and supposedly beat and killed at least three and perhaps as many as nine of the thieves (Galluzzo 2007:63). While the outlines of the story are probably plausible, the murders seem less so, and are probably the kind of colorful exaggeration that frequently seems to have been ascribed to Irwin's establishment. Other cases of violence on the island—for example, the Chinese picnic incident described later in the chapter—were reported extensively in the local press, and it seems unlikely that multiple murders would have gone unremarked.

7 Except where other sources are specifically cited, information about the special officers comes from census records and city directories for Boston, Hingham, Hull, and elsewhere.

The earliest of the special officers, Chester B. Hayden, was listed as a farmer on Peddocks Island in the 1894 Hingham and Hull directory. Joel Hayden, presumably a relative, was renting Ambrose Cleverly's house and digging a new garden on East Head the following year, suggesting that the Haydens had taken over the Cleverly farm by that point (Boston Globe 1895). The Haydens seem to have moved on after 1900, when the land they were working was turned into Fort Andrews. In 1901, Winfield Scott Richards came on the scene, serving as special officer for the island until 1908. Richards, originally from Maine, was a real estate agent with a home in Newton and what appears to be a summer home on Hull's Nantasket Avenue. The second home and the presence in the Richards household of domestic servants from French Canada, Scotland, and Ireland suggest that Richards prospered in his real estate dealings. His willingness to serve as a special constable for Peddocks Island may mean that he saw himself—fittingly, for one of the many men of his generation named after Mexican War hero Winfield Scott—as part of the struggle to maintain morality and order in the rapidly-changing city and its coastal edges. For most of Richards' tenure, he was assisted by a revolving cast of other men, including two associated with the hotels: Fred Bellows of the Willows in 1905 and John Irwin starting in 1907.[8] Many of these seem to have had somewhat tenuous and mobile occupational lives. Byron Nason, a young carpenter who served with Richards in 1906, was also from Maine, and appears to have worked constructing seasonal facilities on Cape Cod and elsewhere. He later became a high school shop teacher and had a brief brush with fame in 1911 when his childhood sweetheart was poisoned in Boston and Nason was questioned as a suspect in the sensational case (a mentally-unstable Baptist minister was eventually convicted and executed for the crime; see New York Times 1911 for details on Nason's role in the investigation).

In 1907, Richards and Irwin were joined by no fewer than four other special officers, the highest number ever. This increased policing was perhaps a response to an incident referred to in the newspaper as a "riot" the summer before (Boston Globe 1906). No further references to this event were found in the research for this study, and it remains as a tantalizing fragment suggesting that the off-shore atmosphere of the island occasionally resulted in trouble. One of the additional officers added after the 1906 incident, Frank Flint, was in his mid-50s and appears to have served as a constable in a

8 Since the Willows had burned to the ground the previous winter, it may have been that an assignment as a special officer was a way of offering Fred Bellows a berth on the island during a time when he was dealing with his father's death and the loss of the business.

number of other places, including East Boston and Cambridge, in addition to working in factories, a rope walk, and an auction house. Another of the 1906 officers, 40-year-old Vincent Fowler, had connections on the island; his wife's family summered there. Fowler himself was born in New Brunswick, and had a number of occupations: "store work" in the 1900 census, a special policeman in 1910, then working for what was apparently a surety bonding company, where he went from selling insurance in his fifties and sixties to serving as a janitor in his later life. After 1907, there were fewer special officers. They always included John Irwin, who served with one other man from 1909 to 1912 and then by himself from 1913 to 1916. His fellow officer in 1911 and 1912 was Peter C. McElroy, an engineer and steamfitter whose parents had emigrated from Scotland and Ireland. McElroy, in his thirties at the time, was employed at or around more than one military fort around Boston Harbor, and it seems reasonable to suppose that he was working at Fort Andrews during the years that he served as a special officer on the island.

We can see the same diversity and mobility in John Irwin's own island household as enumerated in May 1910 for the federal census. In addition to Irwin himself (then aged 46) and his wife Ella, both of whom were born in Canada, we find three African-American men from the American South: hotel clerk Thomas Lewis (35, from Virginia), waiter Laurence Jackson (29, possibly from Washington, D.C.), and porter Max Whitfield (36, from North Carolina). It seems that the modest Island Inn, like the upscale Pemberton Hotel, could claim the distinction of having "colored waiters." Another clerk, 24-year-old John Bailey, was white and born in Massachusetts. The rest of the staff was comprised of two white men who ran the hotel boat (a 21-year-old and a 60-year-old, both from Massachusetts), a 57-year-old carpenter with an Irish name, and a widowed 54-year-old cook from New Hampshire. Some of the staff are listed as married in the census, but no spouses are listed, likely reflecting the seasonal nature of their jobs at Irwin's hotel. Irwin himself had other work during the rest of the year; a 1908 Boston Globe article noted that he was coaching baseball at Bowdoin College, but was visiting friends in Boston in April and "will return to Peddock [sic] Island in a few weeks" (Boston Globe 1908). In 1911, Irwin bought himself a house in Hull, and he remained a Hull resident for most of the rest of his life.

Almost immediately after the Island Inn was built, John Irwin was hosting well-publicized "old timer" baseball reunions there. The first of these took place in 1906, probably in another location (the newspaper story just says "down the harbor"), but

in 1907, Irwin's hotel was the home base for a gathering of former players then in their forties or older. The newspaper account rather coyly conveyed a sense of the rough-and-tumble nature of the participants and the event:

> Badges as red as the spurt from a spiked hand were worn by old-time ball players and their followers at Peddocks island yesterday, and from early in the day until the harbor lights were kindled glad hand squeezed glad hand, the merry tinkle of glass vessels mingled with old-time gossip of the diamond, and men with little or no wind to spare played ball. . .
>
> There was evidence on the early boats that there would be something in the nature of good cheer and hand grasping at Peddocks before the day began to wane, and John Irwin, who was once a mainstay in teams competent to put up high class ball, got in a whole shipload of food and things for the occasion. John, like the men he entertained, is out of the game and has so bulked with good food and prosperity that he would now have to swat a ball from here to Ballyshannon in order to round the bases with safety. (Boston Globe 1907a)

Fig. 38: The 1908 Old Timers baseball game at the Island Inn on Pedddocks Island was a star-studded reunion. (Baseball Magazine, November 1908)

The popularity of the 1907 reunion seems to have prompted an even more star-studded gathering the following year. Baseball Magazine noted "Never before was such an array seen," with the attendees including many former greats and innovators—for example, the originator of the curve ball (Baseball Magazine 1908:41-42). Like the Boston Globe, Baseball Magazine referred archly to John Irwin's style of hospitality:

> Peddock's Island was chosen because it is the home of "Honest" John Irwin, a former professional ball player, of the famous Irwin family, fathered, as it were, by the veteran Arthur Irwin, who has been in touch with baseball this season as the scout of the new York club of the American League. Mine host Irwin always has on hand that which cheers the inner man, and he was kept busier than ever in his life before. (Baseball Magazine 1908:41)

pg. 6

OLD TIME BALL PLAYERS SQUEEZE HANDS

Outing at Peddock's Island Brings Out the Heroes Of Days Gone By From Far and Near.

"PICKY" PIERCE — "MOSE" CHANDLER, AND ARTHUR CUMMINGS HOLD A FANNING BEE

JOHN PETER REPRESENTING CITY HALL GETTING HIS EYE ON THE BALL

JOHN IRWIN — EMMET SEERY AND GEO. WOOD OF OLD PLAYERS LEAGUE ABOUT TO HAUL THEIR PENNANT UP

HARRY BERTHONG WHOSE RECORD OF RUNNING THE BASES IN 14½ SECONDS IN '58 STANDS UNBROKEN

TIM MURNANE AND MIKE REAGAN ORIGINATORS OF "OLD TIMERS MEET"

Badges as red as the spurt from a spiked hand were worn by old-time ball players and their followers at Peddocks Island yesterday, and from early in the day until the harbor lights were kindled glad hand squeezed glad hand, the merry tinkle of glass vessels mingled with old-time gossip of the diamond, and men with little or no wind to spare played ball.

It was the second event of the kind, the first, which was held down the harbor last year, being so successful that the efforts made this time to round up a goodly number of players who have had their day at making and preventing runs were persistent, energetic, and they proved not to have been made in vain.

The badges marked the wearers as veterans of the national game, and one

Fig. 39: An illustrated article from the August 2, 1907 Boston Globe (p. 6) shows some of the "oldtimer" baseball players who gathered on Peddocks Island for a reunion hosted by John Irwin. Irwin himself is pictured at middle left. (Boston Globe 1907a)

The baseball connection with Peddocks appears to have continued in at least some form even after the Island Inn was closed down in 1917. A 1929 anouncement of summer arrivals on the island included "Mrs. Walter Maranville and daughter of Springfield," a link with Hall-of-Famer "Rabbit" Maranville who played for many teams including the Boston Braves between 1912 and 1935 (Boston Globe 1929). But no more large-scale reunions appear in the newspaper or documentary record after 1908, perhaps because the activities of "mine host Irwin" and his fellow hotel-keeper William Drake had by that time attracted the attention of authorities and moral

reformers who decided to rein in the island conviviality. An incident the following year helps us to trace that shift.

The 1909 Chinese Picnic

In his 1946 book *The Romance of Boston Bay,* harbor chronicler Edward Rowe Snow wrote,

> During the fall of 1908, the managers of the resort on the island, the Y. O. West End House, and the Island Inn, were under suspicion for conducting gambling houses and similar establishments. As a result, on July 29, 1909, Chief of Police Reynolds of Hull arrested John Irwin, proprietor of the Island Inn. In the case which developed it was brought out that so-called Chinese picnics were the primary factor in bringing the action. A rather amusing part of the procedure was that at the time of his arrest John Irwin was Chief of Police at Peddock's Island. Irwin was let off with a slight fine, but activities were thereafter conducted in a more orderly fashion. (Snow 1946:256)

Snow's account makes for a lively story but misses many of the political and social subtleties at work in a rather extraordinary event. The "Chinese picnic" held on West Head on July 12, 1909 took place at a time of heightened ethnic, religious, and racial tensions in Boston. The tight-knit "Brahmin" elite—to which the Andrew family belonged—were seeing their status erode as the older textile and shipping industries they had dominated became economically less powerful and large new immigrant populations settled in the city (Holleran 1998:10, Lindgren 1995:8, Miller 2010:7-8). The first of these, the famine-era Irish, had faced deep discrimination but were beginning to make inroads into city politics by the 1880s, with the first Irish mayor elected in 1884 (Miller 2010:8). For differing reasons, many people among both the Brahmins and the still-assimilating Irish resented newer groups like the Italians and other southern and eastern Europeans who arrived in large numbers in the latter part of the century (Puleo 2007:14, 17, Williams 2007:58-61). The city's very small Chinese population was caught in the middle of these larger struggles, typifying the immigrant position in some ways while not fitting it in others, as their non-Western "Otherness" unsettled the racial and class-based categories of identity that Bostonians of European descent were constructing for themselves. The 1909 picnic incident on Peddocks Island opens a window onto some of the complexities of those processes and shows how the marginal environment of the island and the shore became a site for negotiating changing roles and relationships in the city.

It is difficult to say how extensively Peddocks Island was used for day-excursions prior to 1909. Some group events, like the old-timer baseball games and an August 1909 visit by the Market Garden Association, were obviously sanctioned, while Eliza Andrew's 1897 comment about about "causing trespassers to be driven off" (Swift to Andrew 1897b) implies that others were not.[9] Hints of occasional trouble can be seen in newspaper accounts such as the August 1906 Boston Globe story mentioning that "promiscuous parties" would no longer be tolerated "because of the riot there last Sunday" (Boston Globe 1906). And a 1934 newspaper article reminiscing about outings on Peddocks and other harbor destinations noted, "[W]hen you started on a picnic from East Boston, and took proper prophylactics against seasickness before leaving, you were apt to wind up almost anywhere, and to believe that you were almost anywhere else. It didn't matter" (Allen 1934:13). There seemed to be a blurry line between official and unofficial outings, and between decorous and "riotous" behaviors.

The Chinese picnic illustrates this gray area particularly well. It was clearly among the authorized trips, with 600 adults and children arriving on a boat auspiciously named the *Governor Andrew* at Fort Andrews. Not only did the visitors make use of the East Head pier, but they were escorted all the way to the picnic grounds at the West Head Inn by a noncommissioned officer and guard from the fort. Lee Wah, president of the On Leong Tong merchant association that organized the excursion, was joined by a newspaperman, two Boston police inspectors, and a retinue of Chinese guardsmen in "a four-wheeled vehicle hauled by two army mules driven by a crack army teamster" (Boston Globe 1909a). On West Head, the Chinese "began to play all manner of games and seemed to be having the genuine good time of their lives," showing that they embraced the "vacation habit" by flying kites, playing baseball, and enjoying "all manner of innocent diversions" (Boston Globe 1909a). The reporter who wrote this account did not seem to share the views of the city's moral reformers about diversions that might be seen as less innocent, but wrote, "Those Chinese who were accompanied by white women went to various spots on the shore and spooned just as young Americans sometimes do," while "The loft of the hotel was transformed into a den where Chinese smoked the long pipes [presumably referring to opium], some white women also indulging" (Boston Globe 1909a). Somewhat ominously, the Chinese guardsmen and some of the young boys spent

9 An August 15, 1909 Boston Globe article ("'Some Pumpkins' at Peddocks Island," p. 4) describes the Market Gardners' Association field day on Peddocks: "Although organized 20 years or more, the Market gardeners' association held its first field day and outing today, making its headquarters at Irwin's hotel, Peddocks Island."

part of the day in target practice with the guards' .44 caliber revolvers. A large number of Boston dignitaries, including a member of the governor's executive council and some city attorneys and politicians, were among the party, and late in the day many of the Fort Andrews soldiers joined and "helped with the noise-making" (Boston Globe 1909a). An evening fireworks display captivated not only those on the island but a sizeable flotilla of private boaters who "paid the Chinese a compliment by illuinating their boats with Chinese lanterns and by setting off fireworks and rockets" of their own (Boston Globe 1909a).

CHINESE FEAST AND MAKE MERRY
AT PICNIC AT PEDDOCKS ISLAND

On Leong Tongs and Their Guests, Over 600 in All, Enjoy Themselves Thoroughly With Banqueting, Music, Sports, Fireworks and Harbor Sail From Boston and Return.

Fig. 40: The Boston Globe article about the July 12, 1909 Chinese picnic on Peddocks Island presented the event in an extremely positive light. (Boston Globe 1909a)

However, not everyone in the area was happy about the Chinese presence. It seems that some boaters landed uninvited on the island during the afternoon, and according to Yee Wah, "tried to annoy the Chinamen and their guests, and… looted the Chinamen and their dining pavilion during the evening" (Boston Globe 1909b). West Head Inn landlord William Drake described the outsiders as "rowdies who landed upon the island from yachts and power boats," and defended the behavior of the Chinese, who he said had not done "anything more than may be seen every day and evening in Chinatown" (Boston Globe 1909b). Rather disingenuously, Drake disclaimed any direct knowledge of trouble during the day, but police and selectmen in Hull were disturbed by reports of what had happened on the island, and there were some calls in the following days for the city of Boston to investigate (Boston Globe 1909c). Subsequent newspaper accounts of the affair do not make it entirely clear whether it was the behavior of the "rowdies" or of the Chinese

themselves that prompted those calls, but a short follow-up article nearly a week after the picnic suggests it was the latter. "Immigration Officials Laugh at Story that Chinamen Were Smuggled on Peddocks Island," the sub-headline ran. The story went on to note that Immigration Bureau officials were declining to pursue allegations that the picnic had been a pretext for bringing illegal aliens into the harbor, noting that "every Chinaman at present in Boston or vicinity can be accounted for" (Boston Globe 1909d).

This last statement points toward some of the background of this rather puzzling affair, in which the Chinese picnickers simultaneously seem to be honored guests and reviled aliens. Boston's Chinese population was so well-documented because as in other American cities, it had been the target of extensive governmental monitoring for more than a decade. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, prohibiting all Chinese immigration to the U.S., was extended in 1892 by the Geary Act, which stripped away basic legal rights from those Chinese already living in the U.S. and required them to carry a resident permit at all times at the risk of deportation (Wong 1996:81). These beleaugered immigrants lived in a few large and many small "Chinatowns" where they worked mainly in the laundry trade. In Boston, a Chinatown neighborhood began to develop during the late 1870s, and by 1900 about 250 Chinese, 96% of them male, were living in an eight-block area just west of Downtown Crossing, with perhaps 850 in the Greater Boston area (To 2008, Wong 1996:90). To most Bostonians, they were deeply exotic "others" whose presence was troubling, fascinating, or both.

The public's ambivalence about the Chinese played a central role in the civic response to a 1903 murder and police raid that provides a key context for understanding the Chinese picnic on Peddocks Island six years later. The murder involved members of rival "tongs"—merchant associations that functioned somewhere between the legal and illegal economies.[10] Local newspapers sensationalized the killing and Boston police implied that it was part of an internecine war over the profits from bringing illegal immigrants into the country. On the evening after the victim's funeral, police raided Chinatown and arrested 234 Chinese men who were not carrying identification papers with them. More than half were released within a day when families and friends rushed to the courts with proof of residency, and another 50 were granted bail within a few days. Ultimately, 50 men were deported. The newspapers made great play of the incident and its aftermath, with sketches of "humorous scenes" like Boston police holding a fleeing

10 The two organizations, On Leong Chinese Merchants Association and Hip Sing Tong, both began in New York's Chinatown and remain active today with branches in many cities including Boston.

Chinese man by his pigtail and groups of arrested men sleeping in the cloakrooms and offices of the courtroom because the official jail cells were full (Boston Globe 1903:14, Boston Herald 1903, Wong 1996).

The newspaper accounts downplayed how extensively the Chinese community had managed to make connections and alliances within the ethnically- and racially-diverse city. There is evidence of intermingling among Chinese, Irish, and both white and black Americans through church and work association, intermarriage, and probably friendship as well. White and black men and women were among those posting bail for the Chinese men arrested in 1903, and in addition to the expected political protest against the raid from the Chinese consulate in Boston, there was a sizeable public rally at Faneuil Hall five days later, with prominent Euro-American speakers including William Lloyd Garrison, son and namesake of the famous abolitionist (Boston Globe 1903, Wong 1996:93-94). Rather than being a highly-isolated and unassimilable group of "Others," then, Boston's Chinese appear to have had supporters as well as detractors, and their experience reflects the same blending of discrimination and opportunity that other immigrants—like the Azoreans displaced from Long Island 16 years earlier—found in the city. The raid had repercussions far beyond Boston; it was partly responsible for the hard feelings leading to a 1905 boycott of American goods in China, which some scholars have seen as a defining moment in the birth of modern Chinese nationalism (Wong 1996:96).

The On Leong Tong picnic on Peddocks Island in 1909 is perhaps the best evidence of how much headway the Chinese had made in asserting their right to a public presence in the city and the region. There are many aspects of the picnic story that show considerable official and popular support for the Chinese: the landing at Fort Andrews, the military escort and sanction for the pistol-carrying tong guardsmen, the celebratory flotilla of small boats joining the fireworks display, and the positive tone of the newspaper story describing the outing. Images from the *Globe* story show Chinese leader Lee Wah and some of the other attendees dressed in Western trousers, shirts, ties, and straw boater hats, looking much like other Boston businessmen and excursionists. Records of the 1903 raid showed a handful of Chinese-Caucasian marriages, and at least some of those couples seem to have attended the 1909 picnic.[11] Some of the attendees were dressed in non-Western attire and an orchestra of Chinese instruments played to entertain the

11 A photograph from the July 13, 1909 *Boston Globe* article shows two white women, Mrs. Grace Soo Hoo Kee and Mrs. Nellie Lem Goon, while the article mentions the presence of the latter as well as Mrs. Maude Young Dan and Mrs. Gussie Mon, whose names suggest they may have been non-Chinese as well.

picnickers, but these cultural markers seem to have been understood as intriguing and non-threatening by the majority of observers and non-Chinese present. The conflict with the "rowdies" in the later part of the day shows that this perspective was by no means universally shared. But no actual casualties were reported by the generally-sympathetic press. The Hull selectboard's conspiracy theories and calls for investigation seem to have fallen on deaf ears, suggesting that on balance, tolerance had the upper hand in this case.

While the picnic incident seems to reflect a fairly high degree of official support for the Chinese, it is also significant that the gathering took place not on Boston Common or Nantasket Beach but in an out-of-the-way place with a somewhat questionable reputation. Marginal environments like the Harbor Islands and establishments like Drake's and Irwin's hotels were perhaps more conducive than mainstream vacation sites for working out unresolved identities and relationships. And while the Chinese themselves appear to have gained something of a foothold in the decade after the turn of the twentieth century, their presence on the island seems to have helped strengthen the authorities' existing suspicions about Drake and Irwin. Following the picnic, J. Frank Chase, the zealous leader of the Watch and Ward Society, filed complaints against both men in Hingham Court for a variety of charges including illegal gambling and sales of alcohol. Both were found guilty and given short jail sentences (Boston Globe 1909e). The outcome of these cases is not entirely clear; Irwin pleaded not guilty and both men appealed, but in his Superior Court appearance Drake pleaded guilty, perhaps as part of a plea-bargain that kept him out of prison (Boston Globe 1909f). The case disappears from the papers by the late fall of 1909, and it seems possible that the behind-the-scenes brotherhood of the Irish-dominated law enforcement world, anathema to the moral purists of the Watch and Ward Society, had exerted itself on behalf of the two men. Snow's later assertion that "Irwin was let off with a slight fine, but activities were thereafter conducted in a more orderly fashion" may tell part of the story (Snow 1946:256). Both the Island Inn and West Head Inn continued in business for several more years, although Winfield Scott Richards, Irwin's fellow-officer on the island, appears to have seized on the events of 1909 to instill greater order, "mapping out a campaign against the gamblers and other law violators who flock to the island Sunday" (Quincy Daily Ledger 1909). For instance, the Harvard Class of 1910 had been scheduled to hold its senior picnic on Peddocks, but the Andrew estate revoked its permission. The class ended up paying more for a mainland venue, a fact which was noted in the class's annual report as contributing to the high cost of the event (Harvard College 1911:viii).

(An additional note that some of the costs were due to the damage done to the new venue suggests that the island owners' fears were not ungrounded.)

The U.S. declaration of war in April 1917 gave the Watch and Ward Society the opportunity it had been waiting for to move against establishments like John Irwin's hotel in a much more concerted way. The 1917 Draft Act granted the Secretary of War sweeping authority over military facilities, and a 10-mile "moral zone" was quickly declared around all training camps to make sure that prostitution and saloons—a particular embarrassment to reformers and "social hygienists" during the 1916 U.S. expedition against Pancho Villa in Mexico—did not spring up around U.S. camps at home or in Europe (Miller 2010:60-63). J. Frank Chase declared, ""It is recognized today that it is the artificial stimulants that promote the Social Evil… Drink must be kept away from the soldier because it weakens self-control and leads to debauch and disease" (Miller 2010:63). By the summer of 1917, the newly-created Commission on Training Camp Activities (CTCA) had recruited the Watch and Ward as a local arm of its moral policing efforts, and the red-light districts of Gloucester, New Bedford, Taunton, and Cumberland, Rhode Island were quickly targeted for raids (Miller 2010:64).

Research for this study turned up no specific documentation of how and when John Irwin's Island Inn was shut down, but his obituary notes that the hotel was "closed by military order" when the U.S. government activated Fort Andrews, and the Hull voter lists show him as resident on the mainland rather than the island after 1917. He seems to have continued in the hotel trade, operating the New Weymouth Hotel on Nantasket Beach in Hull (New York Times 1921).[12] Peddocks Islander Matilda Bies Silvia recalled him in his later life as "a friendly white-haired gentleman… [who] would sit on the front porch of his house on Main Street, always greeting us with a smile and a wave" (Silvia 2003:68). The Island Inn, meanwhile, "eventually fell into disrepair and ruin" (Silvia 2003:68), with some of its materials, its useful wharf, and its still-working well being turned to new uses by the increasingly interconnected population of cottagers who now became the sole occupants of Middle and West Heads. ■

12 This single mention of Irwin's proprietorship of the New Weymouth Inn is found in a newspaper story about the suicide of Irwin's brother Arthur, who was revealed to have been living a double life with families in both New York and Boston. Arthur Irwin was reportedly despondent over a business deal gone awry, involving a patented scoreboard device, and threw himself overboard from a New-York-to-Boston ferry in July 1921 (New York Times 1921). In the 1917 Hull street directory, the New Weymouth House at 339 Nantasket Avenue is listed as being owned by William H. McCarthy. It is not precisely clear where this establishment was, as addresses have shifted since then, but it appears to have been not far from the present-day Nantasket Beach Resort.

Chapter Six:
Early South-side Cottagers (1910s to 1940s)

The photograph of Middle Head's south-facing shore taken about 1910 shows that there were already a number of cottages there during the hotel's heyday (Fig. 11, detail Fig. 41). At least one of the present-day cottages, number 14, is very recognizable just to the left of the main hotel building in the photo, while some of those farther along the row have been rebuilt or substantially altered over the succeeding decades and others have been added.[1] This chapter will explore what is known about the cottagers on this side of Middle Head in the years leading up to World War II. As with much of the early history of the cottage community, this knowledge is quite fragmentary, but some family memories of current cottagers do reach back to this era, connecting the complex dynamics of early twentieth-century Boston vacationing to the present-day occupants.

Fig. 41: (Above) Detail of c.1910 view of Middle Head from East Head, showing the Island Inn and row of cottages on the south-facing shore. (Lilian Perry, in collection of Mike McDevitt)

Fig. 42: (Left) In 2013, Cottage 14 still visibly resembled the c.1910 view in which it appears just to the left of the Island Inn.

1 Cottage 14, the long blue cottage, is the most clearly identifiable of this row. Perhaps eight or nine cottages are visible farther along the row; these may include Cottage 4 (torn down in 2001), which had a distinctive porch roofline that seems to appear in the photo. Evidence from cottagers shows that Cottage 7 was added in the 1920s. Quite a number of smaller buildings, some of them outbuildings but possibly including additional dwellings, can be seen behind the shore row. The probably unreliable logbook source mentioned by Judy McDevitt in connection with the history of hotels on the island apparently says, "there was a row of fourteen cottages to the south of Bellows' hotel [supposedly the old Cleverly house on East Head], which reached the brow of Middle Head… Most of the remaining cottages were moved to Penn's Hill [Middle Head], in the middle of the island" (McDevitt 2007:8). As with the hotel history in Judy McDevitt's essay, the details here are shaky, as there is no other other evidence of the south-side cottages having been moved *en masse* from East Head.

One of the earliest cottage families on this side of Middle Head was probably Robert and Catherine Murray and their four children. The Murrays likely built Cottage 12 (now demolished). A 1933 Boston Globe article about summer arrivals on Peddocks noted that Murray was "a well-known newspaper man and has been a resident at the island for the past 35 years" (Boston Globe 1933), and another article the next year mentions that "Bob Murray, brother-in-law of John Irwin and habitué of Peddock's" recalled Middle Head being bare of trees at the turn of the century (Allen 1934). It is not entirely clear whether or how Murray was actually related to Irwin, but he did share a Boston-Irish background (his parents and parents-in-law were all Irish immigrants) and an occupational status similar to the professional but socially-dubious realms of sport and law enforcement. The family lived in Dorchester for many years, but always in rented apartments, suggesting that Murray's career as a newspaperman never quite afforded them the opportunity to buy a house of their own. He died sometime during the 1930s.[2]

The story of one of the Murray daughters, Mabel, illustrates the considerable overlap between the cottage population and the military personnel at the fort, as well as the island's links with the more questionable side of Boston's entertainment world. In the case of the military connection, there was of course "Sergeants' Row" on the south side of East Head, home to several retired NCOs and their families. Particularly in the periods when Fort Andrews was out of active service (1928-1940 and post-1946), these families, like the McDevitts who took over the caretaker role in 1962, were most closely associated with East Head but were also well-known within the summer and fishing communities.[3] But beyond Sergeants' Row, we can trace a number of other connections between Middle Head and Fort Andrews. In 1912, John Irwin's 20-year-old daughter married a soldier some 15 years her senior who was stationed at the fort. By 1920, the

2 Information about this family is found in U.S. Census records as well as the newspaper articles cited.

3 It is difficult to pinpoint which military personnel listed in the 1920 U.S. Census were living on Sergeants' Row, as opposed to being in the Fort proper, but Fred and Lilian ("Nana") Perry and their three children Gertrude, Mary, and Frederick appear among the families listed, as do Sergeant Harry Downes, his wife Margaret, and their son Henry ("Harry," mentioned in Matilda Silvia's memoir); Consuelo Perry and her two children (her husband Sam is not included for some reason); and Alexander and Matilda Bies and their two oldest children, Matilda and Stanley. Matilda Bies Silvia mentions Sergeant Tommy Quinn and his Russian-born wife Nellie and their two sons as other neighbors during the 1920s, and also refers to Margaret Austin as "the girl next door" (Silvia 2003:37, 57-58, 124, 132). The 1930 U.S. Census lists military personnel at the then-inactive fort as follows: James C. Mcgrath; Samuel and Consuelo Perry and their children Viola and William; Paul Book; Alexander and Mathilda Bies and their children Stanley, Mathilda [sic], and Eugene, John and Mary Maykovich and their daughter Mary, and Neil Terrance. In her memoir, Matilda mentions the Maykovitches, a Polish/Irish couple who were succeeded by southern-born Corporal Barney Kirland and his Irish wife from South Boston (Silvia 2003:127). She notes that the caretaker in 1934 was a Sergeant Andrews (Silvia 2003:131).

couple were living with their three young children at Fort Standish on Lovell's Island.[4] Two of the oldest extant cottages in this area of Middle Head, Cottages 15 and 16, both seem to have been built by former military men who were stationed at Fort Andrews at some point during their military service. Cottage 15 (currently the Hale cottage) is listed in the 1980s "Family Tree" as having been built—in part from repurposed materials from the Island Inn, according to the current owners—by a Sergeant McGee. A James McGee of Irish descent from New Jersey seems to have been posted briefly at Fort Andrews around 1905 before being sent to Manila and elsewhere, although it is not certain whether this is the same man who built Cottage 15.[5] In the 1920 federal Census, a James McGee is shown as a resident of Peddocks Island, living with his wife Theresa, whose parents were immigrants from Portugal (presumably the Azores). McGee's occupation is listed as "milkman," and it seems possible that in addition to marrying into the Portuguese community, he may have been working for Azorean dairyman Joseph Cabral, whose farming activities will be described in the following chapter. This is a case where the records are inconclusive enough—and the living arrangements perhaps fluid enough—that it is difficult to be sure about all of the details. But the available bits of evidence do point not only to a connection between the fort and the cottages but also to one of several Portuguese-Irish couples who can be documented in the second and third generations of islanders.

Cottage 16 was the summer home of the Murrays' daughter Mabel and her second husband, a military veteran.[6] Sometime in the 1910s, Mabel married a Boston policeman named Waldron and they had three daughters. But the marriage ended through death or divorce, and in 1926 Mabel remarried, to a man named Maurice Relihan. Relihan was a Virginia-born son of Irish immigrant parents, who had served with the Quartermaster Corps at Fort Andrews. In 1930, the family's winter home was near Columbia Point on Boston's South Shore, where Relihan, a pipefitter by trade, ran his own business. Matilda Bies Silvia recalled the Relihans (spelled as "Rallahan" in her memoir and recalled by some cottagers as "Rollahan") and noted that by that time Maurice was already dying of

4 Information about this couple comes from their marriage record and the 1910 and 1920 U.S. federal census.

5 Information about James McGee is from the U.S. Census and federal military enlistment records.

6 In addition to sources specifically cited, information about this family comes from U.S. Census records, Massachusetts marriage indexes, and military service and draft records. Cottage 16 is clearly visible in the c.1910 photo, so it may have been built by someone previous to the Relihan ownership, as Maurice Relihan does not appear as a soldier at Fort Andrews until 1920.

cancer and had a tube in his throat, perhaps a result of the asbestos exposure that afflicted many plumbers.

Mabel's daughters, who retained their father's name of Waldron, seem to have caused quite a stir in the small island community. Dottie, the eldest, caught the eye of one of the Portuguese men from the north-facing side of Middle Head. The man in question, John DeAvellar, was married, but took to paying "more than casual attention" to Dottie, to the point that Relihan threatened to shoot him if he didn't leave her alone (Silvia 2003:70-71).[7] At this distance in time, it is difficult to know what combination of motives prompted Relihan's response: step-fatherly protectiveness, moral outrage at the idea of a married man flirting with a young unmarried woman, or perhaps a patrolling of ethnic and class boundaries between the mostly Irish and Yankee cottagers on the south side of Middle Head and the more working-class Portuguese families on the other side of the hill. The middle daughter, Virginia (known as Ginger), was another link between the island and the less genteel side

Fig. 43: Boston burlesque dancer Ginger Waldron, shown here probably in the 1940s, was the granddaughter of an original cottager and stepdaughter of a former Fort Andrews soldier who summered on Peddocks Island in Cottage 16. (Burlesk As You Like It)

7 Matilda Bies Silvia believed that John DeAvellar (spelled "DeAvilla" in the memoir) was married to Mary Lewis, daughter of island ferryman John Lewis, but it appears she had mixed the families somewhat. These families are discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

of Boston society in the early twentieth century, including the burlesque and gambling world around Scollay Square. Matilda Bies Silvia described her as "a pretty girl with a beautiful body" and noted that she later became "a stripper and the toast of Boston Burlesque" at establishments like the Old Howard and the Crawford House (Silvia 2003:71). Although the family connection is not quite clear, it seems much more than coincidence that one of the prominent theaters in the square was named Waldron's Casino.[8]

Maurice Relihan died in 1932 and although the family's mainland residence was in Boston, he was buried in Hull, suggesting that he may have seen the seashore as "home." His widow and step-daughters continued to come to the island for at least a little longer, as they are mentioned in a 1933 newspaper article about summer arrivals on Peddocks (Boston Globe 1933). Mabel's fortunes seem to have declined after her second husband's death. She moved frequently, mostly around Dorchester and South Boston, and by the early 1940s was working as a cleaner at the Customs House. Like the Murrays, this family had likely been just on the edge of middle-class financial security, which in this case did not survive the early loss of the primary bread-winner. The cottage itself reflects a sense of an aspirational class position. It is far more like a miniature suburban home than other structures on the island, with bedrooms upstairs (rather than the more usual sleeping loft or open attic space), a separate kitchen and front sitting room, and most striking, a pair of pebbled-glass windows between the sitting room and the front porch, reminiscent of homes in the expanding "streetcar suburbs" of the period (see Fig. 44).

In the case of the Grahn/Carland/Davis/Hult family, who owned a pair of cottages farther along the south-facing row, the connection with Fort Andrews extended over two

8 The Waldron girls' father was Harry Amos Waldron, a Boston policeman originally from New York state. He seems to disappear from the documentary record in the 1920s, and it is not clear whether he died or divorced his wife Mabel. Waldron's Casino was built in 1910 and run by Charley Waldron, presumably some relation of Harry. In its early years, the theater was a venue for Italian-language plays, movies, and operas, which were heavily-attended by the Italians of the nearby North End. By the 1920s it was offering burlesque shows, and then a combination of movies and vaudeville. Like the rest of Scollay Square, it declined after World War II and was razed in 1962 as part of the "urban renewal" project that created Government Center. Its location was 44 Hanover Street, approximately at the eastern end of the present-day John F. Kennedy Building in Government Center. See David Kruh, *Always Something Doing: Boston's Infamous Scollay Square* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1999), pp. 117-18 and Donald C. King, *The Theatres of Boston: A Stage and Screen History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2005), p. 209. Additional information about Waldron's Casino is taken from newspaper articles and ads and from the online discussion page on Old Howard Casino Theatre on "Cinema Treasures," http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/8999. A New England Watch and Ward Society report from 1932 notes that "There is unquestionably a strict surveillance kept on this theatre," showing that like the Peddocks Island hotels, it was on the "watch-list" for Boston's morality police (Investigator's Report, November 17, 1932. seq. 8745, accessed online at http://etseq.law.harvard.edu/2010/09/852_rare_new_england_watch_and_ward_society_records_digitized/)

generations.[9] The family's history also sheds light on some of the intriguing ethnic and gender patterns of vacationing Boston in this period. English-born Elizabeth Grahn and her Swedish-born husband Peter, an engineer, arrived in Boston from England in the 1890s with two small children, including an infant daughter, Ada. By 1900 they were living in Back Bay, suggesting a comfortable level of prosperity, and had added a son and another daughter, Lilian, to their family. At 19, Ada married a 20-year-old steamfitter and the couple had a son the next year, while they were living with Ada's parents in Allston. How the family came to be connected with Peddocks Island is not quite clear, but there are two interesting possibilities. First, in the 1910 U.S. Census, Peter Grahn's occupation is listed as electrical engineer in a hotel. Although residential electrification in American cities did not become widespread until the 1910s and 1920s, many public spaces were brightly lit by 1910, especially in places designed to showcase wealth and luxury (Nye 1998:165-66). Whether Grahn's employment was regular or only temporary (for example, installing or upgrading a hotel lighting system), some connection with Hull, which boasted the grandest hotels in the Boston area, seems very plausible.

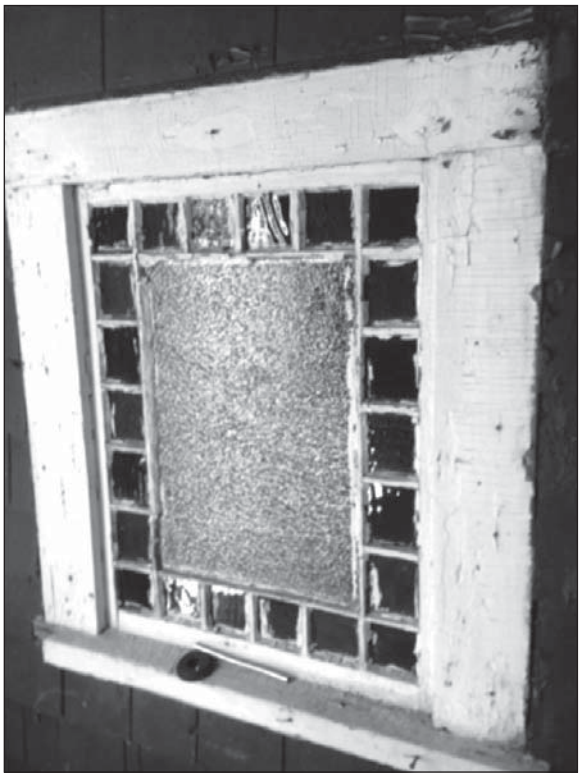
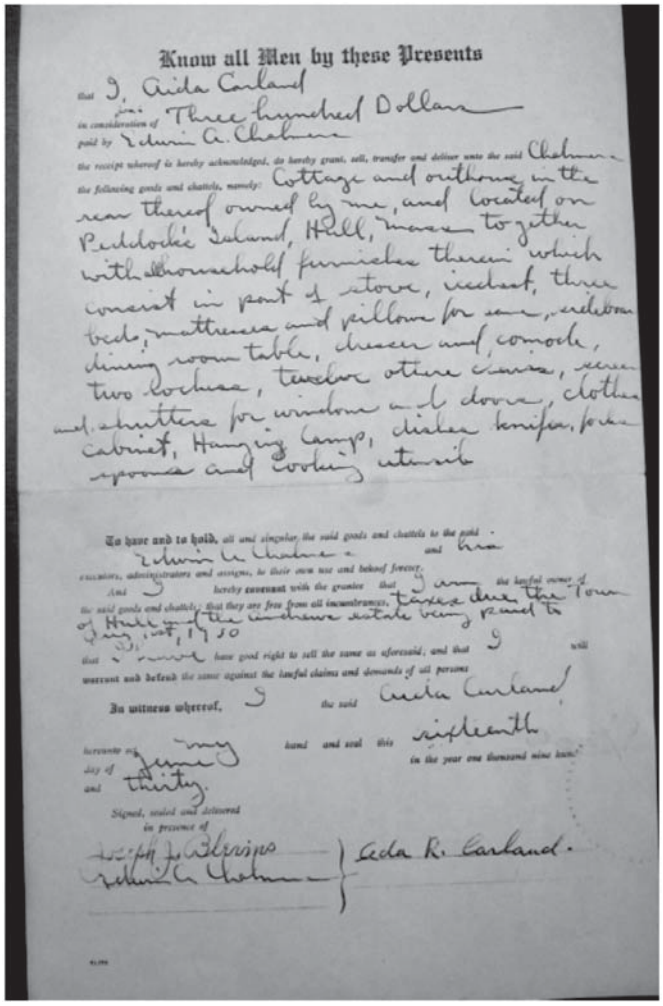


Fig. 44: The decorative porch windows of Cottage 16 reflect a more middle-class sensibility than some of the rustic cottages on Middle Head.

9 In addition to specific sources cited, information about this family comes from U.S. federal Census records, Boston city directories, Hull voter records and street directories, immigration and military records. Ada Carland was born in England in 1892 and died in 1978. Her first marriage was in 1909 to Harold Legee, her second sometime before 1917 to Clarence Avery Carland, whose birthplace is not clear (likely North Carolina). Clarence was living in Oklahoma and had possibly remarried by 1930. Ada's sister Lilian was born in Massachusetts in 1901 and died the same year as her sister, in 1978. Her husband was Swedish-born Einar Hult, whom she may not have married until somewhat later in life. Ada, Lil, and their mother Elizabeth all lived for many years in an apartment at 1066 Massachusetts Avenue in Allston. Additional information about this family and their cottage came to light as this report was being finalized, and is in the Park's files.

A second link—which may have followed the family's association with Hull's vacation world—is that after being divorced or widowed by 1917, Ada married a second time, to a soldier who served with the Coast Artillery Corps at Fort Andrews between 1909 and 1912. Her second husband, Clarence Carland, was the son of a farm family. His non-military occupations include "lunchman" and carpenter, implying that he had various useful skills but not necessarily high-paying ones. Ada and her sister Lilian also had marketable skills and perhaps some business ambitions as well. Both worked as dressmakers and in 1917 Ada was listed as running a dry goods shop on Nantasket Avenue in Hull. For a time in the 1910s, the family seems to have owned two cottages on the south-facing side of Peddocks, with the parents and perhaps the younger children, including Lilian, in Cottage 3 and Ada and Clarence Carland in Cottage 2. Sweden had a very extensive summer cottage tradition that was strikingly similar to the one that had developed in New England by this time, and it may be that for this family, summering on Peddocks Island evoked Scandinavian memories as well as American aspirations and leisure patterns (Löfgren 1999:120-132).



Know all Men by these Presents

that I, Aida Carland

in consideration of Three hundred Dollars

paid by Edwin A. Chalmers

the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, do hereby grant, sell, transfer and deliver unto the said Chalmers

the following goods and chattels, namely: Cottage and outhouse in the rear thereof owned by me, and located on Peddocks Island, Hull, Mass together with household furniture therein which consist in part of stove, icechest, three beds, mattresses and pillows for same, sideboard, dining room table, dresser and console, two lockers, twelve other chairs, seven and shutters for windows and doors, clothes cabinet, Hanging Lamp, dishes knives, forks spoons and cooking utensils

To have and to hold, all and singular, the said goods and chattels to the said Edwin A. Chalmers and his executors, administrators and assigns, to their own use and behoof forever.

And I hereby covenant with the grantee that I am the lawful owner of the said goods and chattels; that they are free from all incumbrances, taxes due the Town of Hull for the current fiscal year, 1930

that I have good right to sell the same as aforesaid, and that I will warrant and defend the same against the lawful claims and demands of all persons

In witness wherefor, I the said Aida Carland

hereunto set my hand and seal this eighteenth day of June in the year one thousand nine hundred and thirty.

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of

Ada R. Carland.

Fig. 45: 1930 deed of sale for Cottage 2 from Ada (misspelled "Aida") Carland to Edwin Chalmers. For $300, Chalmers purchased Cottage 2 along with its outhouse and all of its furnishings, which included a stove, icechest, beds and bedding, sideboard, table, chairs, dresser, clothes cabinet, commode, two lockers, window shutters, a hanging lamp, and kitchen utensils. (Philip Chalmers)

However, Peter Grahn died in 1921 in his early fifties, and later in the decade Ada's second marriage broke up, two events that would have altered the family unit significantly. Starting sometime in the 1920s, Ada Carland began renting Cottage 2 to a law clerk named Edwin Chalmers, who bought it outright in 1930 (Fig. 45). It appears that Ada, her sister Lilian, and their widowed mother Elizabeth remained on the island for many years, sharing Cottage 3. Elizabeth remarried—according to Matilda Bies Silvia, her second husband was a sergeant named Davis from the hospital at Fort Andrews, although no further information about him was found for this study (Silvia 2003:110). Lilian also married, to a man named Hult from Boston's small Swedish community, whom she later divorced. But cottagers' recollections of this family center around the three women, suggesting that they were the ones who spent the most time on the island. Fragmentary memories from present-day cottagers give a sense that the women, who lived in Allston and worked as dressmakers during the rest of the year, valued the time to indulge themselves in reading, listening to music, and dancing on the porch to music from a hand-cranked Victrola. Edwin Chalmers' son Philip recalls them as "very personable… very nice."

The Carland women operated a small tea-room in Cottage 3 for a number of years. Edward Rowe Snow mentions "Mrs. Gram" (i.e. Grahn, presumably Ada and Lil's mother Elizabeth) "who formerly ran a delightful tea room on the island" (1935: 156) and Matilda Bies Silvia describes the business in rosy terms:

> It was a charming little store with bright flowered drapes and painted round tables for serving ice cream and soda. The candy counter was filled with dishes of penny candy and five-cent candy bars. On top of the counter was a jar of ice cream cones. It was on the civilian side and was operated by Ada Carland, her sister Lillian Grand [Grahn], and their mother, Mrs. Davis... On July 4, almost everyone would drop in for sundaes, ice cream sodas, soda pop, and candy. (Silvia 2003: 110)

Matilda adds that the ice cream and sodas were kept cold in an ice chest filled with ice delivered to the island by boat in 100-pound blocks. It is not clear how long the tea-room was in business, although Philip Chalmers, who was a child in the cottage next door during the 1930s and 40s, does not remember it, suggesting that it operated primarily in the 1920s. During the prewar period, it would have been part of the modest seasonal infrastructure on the island, which included Barney Silva's small store on Crab Alley and the ferry services provided by men in the Lewis and Ferdinand families.

Another very different pair of sisters occupied Cottages 14 and 16 in the middle decades of the twentieth century. In Cottage 14, probably John Irwin's home during his years on the island, there was a somewhat mysterious woman known to most islanders as "the widow" or "Widow Currier." She is difficult to trace through the documentary records, appearing with certainty just once, in the 1940 U.S. Census for Peddocks Island, where her name is listed as "Lyda Curran." The census suggests that she was a naturalized citizen with a sixth-grade education, born in Nova Scotia—another of the many links between coastal Boston and the Canadian maritime provinces. Matilda Bies Silvia, who recalled helping her mother deliver mail to the cottage, noted that there were rumors that the widow had survived two husbands and inherited considerable money from each of them. Bob Enos, who spent summers in Cottage 7 starting in the 1930s, remembered that she "got checks" and always lived by herself. Matilda's memoir, reaching a little farther back into the 1920s, reports that for a time she co-habited—scandalously, for the era—with a "soon to be retired soldier, Sergeant Paul Bork" until he died, after which "the Widow became more and more eccentric" and reclusive (Silvia 2003: 68). Matilda describes her as "a heavyset lady, well groomed, a beautiful face with a pale complexion, jet black hair and impeccably dressed though always in black" (Silvia 2003: 68). In later years she took less care of herself, chain-smoked, sometimes shared her dinner plate with her numerous cats, and seldom went far from her whiskey bottle. Marlene Giammarco (née Simonds, later Gill) in Cottage 13 next door recalled her as "an odd person" who "scared the life out of me," especially when young Marlene was sent by her grandparents to deliver cigarettes that the widow had asked them to pick up for her. Marlene noted that "Sam Perry, the caretaker, used to take care of her during the winter months, kept the coal over there for the heat and took good care of her."

The widow's sister, known as Tillie, owned Cottage 16, probably purchasing it from Mabel (Murray/Waldron) Relihan after her husband's death in 1932. Tillie is an even more shadowy figure in island memory than her sister, although many people recalled her name and noted that she lived with or was married to a man known as "Jimmy No-Legs" who got around in a wheeled chair or cart. Bob Enos remembers Jimmy as "the nicest guy in the world," rather hen-pecked by his wife but much liked by the cottage children. Tillie kept to herself, according to Marlene Giammarco, who said, "We'd go up the path and went like heck by her house." Bob Enos also noted that the sisters were not on speaking terms with each other, despite living year-round in a rather harsh and isolating setting, and the picture that emerges of them is of two women who

found the island to be a place where they could retreat into themselves. Matilda Bies Silvia wrote of the Widow that "Only a few islanders were allowed in her kitchen… She never seemed to lose her faculties in spite of her frequent visits to the bottle. She was caustic but witty and never wasted words. It was said she paid her bills promptly, and in some ways, she was very methodical," even arranging and paying for her own funeral in advance (Silvia 2003: 68-69).

The early south side cottagers, then, included reclusive eccentrics, enterprising achievers, former soldiers, and people with only a tenuous grasp on middle-class success. But as time went on, there were also more seasonal vacationers who *had* managed to secure places for themselves in the professional world. Edwin Chalmers, who rented and eventually purchased Cottage 3 from Ada Carland, was part of a group of interconnected white-collar cottagers at the southwestern side of Middle Head. Born in the 1890s, Chalmers came from a settled Massachusetts family of mixed German and Scottish heritage. By the time he was in his thirties, he had established himself in the legal profession, working as an assistant clerk of the court in Boston's Municipal Criminal Court. A friend, Tom Imrie, already owned one of the Peddocks cottages (currently Cottage 1) and introduced Chalmers to the island. Philip Chalmers, Edwin's son, has memories of the Imrie family, including Tom's sister Isabel who was "a wonderful swimmer" (a large rock just off the shore in front of Cottage 2 is still known to the Chalmers family as "Izzy's Rock"). At some point, the Imries sold Cottage 1 to one of Edwin Chalmers' friends and fellow clerks of the court, Fred Hardy, who owned it until it was destroyed during the Hurricane of 1938. During this period, a number of professional men commuted to work from their summer cottages on Peddocks, a not-uncommon pattern in middle-class cottage communities in the U.S. and elsewhere (Löfgren 1999: 135). Unlike the more widespread practice of fathers arriving just for the weekend (something that did happen on Peddocks in the postwar years), the Peddocks Islanders were able to commute daily to Boston. Phil Chalmers recalls that "bathing consisted of a swim" and the commuters then caught the little island ferry or got a ride with a lobster boat to Pemberton Point in Hull, from which they could take one of the Nantasket ferries to Rowes Wharf in downtown Boston. Phil remembers that in addition to his own father and Fred Hardy, these men in suits included Joe Dwyer (Cottage 4), who was a manager at the Boston Stock Exchange, and the owner of Cottage 6, a high-ranking Boston police officer.[10]

10 It has been difficult to learn much about this cottager. Phil Chalmers recollected his name as Walter Tilseley, while the list of cottager names collected by Phyllis Montagna and Bob Enos in the 1980s lists him as

Phil Chalmers and his siblings, including older twin sisters Evalen and Doris (known as Dottie), were part of a cohort of young islanders coming of age in the 1930s and 1940s. The relationships among them help to give a clearer picture of interactions and interconnections among the different groups and neighborhoods on the island. Phil recalls his sisters being friendly with the daughters of Fred and Nana Perry from Sergeants' Row, and he also remembers the other East Head Perrys, Sam and Connie. Like many people, he noted that Sam—with his well-equipped shop and the car that he sometimes used as an informal island taxi—was an important resource for the more seasonal islanders. On the south side of Middle Head, the families with children closest in age to the Chalmers siblings were the Enoses in Cottages 7 and 8 and the Simondses in Cottage 13. Before World War II, the Chalmers family was among the several who shared water from the well behind Cottage 7.

The Enos and Simonds families represent an intriguing and important link between the two neighborhoods of Middle Head. Both the Enoses and Simondses were of Portuguese heritage but were much more identified with the middle-class, white-collar world of the south side. As already described in Chapter Four, according to Enos family tradition, the jeweller Frank Enos, the son of an Azorean immigrant, at some point purchased a fishing shack from one of the fishermen on Peddocks Island and moved it to the south-facing side of Middle Head to use as a seasonal cottage. He and his Nova-Scotia-born wife had four children, and as those children grew up and had families of their own, the cottage became the summer home for an extended clan of third-generation Enoses. One of these cousins, Helen, married a man from another Portuguese family associated with the island, the Perrys (this family is not connected to either of the unrelated Perry families on Sergeants' Row, but is very likely part of the Perry family that came with the Long Island group). The original dwelling (Cottage 8) eventually became theirs when the older family members stopped coming to the island in later life. One of the sons of jeweller Frank, Walter, moved from the family's mainland home in Charlestown ("a very rough-and-tumble place at that time," his son Bob notes) to Somerville and eventually to Medford, where he worked for the telephone company and raised his own family of four children, including his sons Walter and Bob. Walter Sr.

Tillise. Bob Enos recalls him as a large, broad-chested man who sometimes joined with other cottagers to set off a Fourth of July fireworks display. However, no further anecdotal or archival information could be found about a Boston policeman by this name or any of its possible variants (including Tildsley and Tilsey). Marlene Giammarco recalled "he was a policeman, and he used to come down by himself. Very friendly guy. All I can remember is he would go out and go swimming and stand in the water for like hours, then go back up."

married a woman of Irish background named Kay; Bob recalls that Ada Carland made his mother's wedding dress. With the original family cottage straining at the seams by the 1920s, Walter Sr., "a very clever man" who "had a sense of how things were made," according to his son Bob, scavenged large and small pieces of driftwood from the island's beaches and availed himself of Sam Perry's well-stocked shop to make additions to the old cottage and eventually to build a new one next door (Cottage 7) for himself and his family.

Like Cottage 8, Cottage 13 (known to many islanders as "the Yellow" because of its striking color) also began as a smaller structure that was renovated and expanded over the years by a more assimilated Portuguese family. As with the Enos family, it was the great-grandparents of the current owner who first came to the U.S. Martha and Manuel Simonds immigrated separately around 1870 and married in 1876, with the original Azorean surname Americanized somewhere along the way. There was clearly an entrepreneurial streak in this family, several of whom managed to acquire real estate and start small grocery and automotive businesses in the heavily-Portuguese neighborhood of East Cambridge. By the 1910s, Martha and Manuel's oldest son Frank seems to have moved with his Portguese-born wife Adeline and two young sons to the South Shore town of Stoughton.[11] Census records list him at various times as a farmer and owner of a variety store and gas station—occupations that all reflected his development of a diverse small business selling groceries and fuel. A branch of the Fernandez/Ferdinand family from Cottages 19 to 22, neighbors and perhaps tenants of the Simonds in Cambridge, lived next door to Frank and Adeline in 1930, and a number of other Peddocks-associated Portuguese names (particularly Silva and Cabral) appear in the same neighborhood through the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, suggesting that the family networks operating in East Cambridge extended to some extent into the suburbs as well as onto the island. These networks of connection will be explored in more detail in the following chapter.

At some point, probably in the early 1930s, Frank and Adeline's older son Fred purchased a small building on the south side of Middle Head, where it was gradually enlarged over time. Early in the Simonds family's tenure there, a little sign saying "Soots

11 Frank's wife appears under different names in U.S. Census and Cambridge and Stoughton street directory records: Adlida, Adelide, Adalaid, Adeline. Her granddaughter Marlene knew the name as Adeline. Her maiden name was Rose and her family was from Provincetown on Cape Cod, according to their 1904 marriage record. Additional information about this family comes from family members Marlene Giammarco (Frank and Adelide's granddaughter) and Marlene Gill (their great-granddaughter).

Us" was hung above the front door, and the family also jokingly named their outhouse: it was known as Norma. (Norma's sign and the reasons for the name have both been lost over the years.) Fred's brother Frank had married and set up his own household by the time their parents began coming to the island, but after he remarried, one of his young daughters, Marlene, went to live with her grandparents, and spent most of her youthful summers with them on Peddocks. In contrast to the commuting fathers farther along the cottage row, it was sometimes Marlene who continued working on the mainland even after the summer had started. "I didn't always stay the whole summer," she noted in a 2013 interview. "As I got older, my grandmother and grandfather came down, and I watched the variety store. When I was around 12 or 13, I'd take care of the little store and then come." She would take Tony Ferdinand or Johnny Lewis's ferry or sometimes drive her grandfather's inboard speedboat, an infamously leaky little craft. She says that the cottage was always painted yellow, but that the color of the paint has become brighter with later repaintings.

Fig. 46: Cottage 13, "the Yellow," summer 2013.

Fig. 47: A young Marlene Simonds, probably in the late 1940s, stands on "the flats" where cottagers often played baseball. The photo clearly shows how much more extensive and open this part of the tombolo between East and Middle Heads once was. (Marlene Giammarco, née Simonds)

Bob Enos, who spent his summers on the island starting in the 1930s, has very clear recollections of the opening up of the

cottages each year, enacting the "nostalgic ritual" (Löfgren 1999:150) of returning to a place and a way of living very different from everyday mainland realities:

> One of the sweetest memories I have was my father using a scythe cutting the grass around the house, because he mastered it and it's a very graceful — it's like a page out of ancient times. And you could hear it, and it was just beautiful. And so you were opening the island up on our side. It was closed. The village went on during the winter, but nobody would come around to the summer community part of the island. And everyone would do that; they would come and they would cut their grass, and cottage by cottage the place would come alive.

Fig. 48: Three generations of the Simonds family of Cottage 13 ("the Yellow") are seen in this mid-1940s photo taken on the main Middle Head pier near the site of the former Island Inn. A family friend is at at left, with Marlene Giammarco's Azorean-born grandmother Adeline Simonds at center, and Marlene's father Frank holding his son Frank. In foreground is his daughter Frankie Ann. (Marlene Giammarco, neé Simonds)

During the prewar period when Phil Chalmers, Bob Enos, and Marlene Giammarco were among the youthful cohort of Peddocks Islanders, there was a sense of social distinction but also a certain amount of social mingling between the cottagers

on the south side of Middle Head and the Crab Alley families, who by that time included many descendants of the original Azoreans plus some additional people of Portuguese descent, as well as some of the Italians who will be discussed in Chapter Eight. The south-side youth were friendly with each other, but Phil noted, "we didn't have that much interaction with folks on the other side for some reason," and Bob Enos confirmed:

> People stayed on their side for the most part. The village crowd generally stayed together and formed a community within that strip of land facing Boston, and the same was true of the Nantasket-facing crowd. . .

Phil recalls that his family's closest relationships were with their immediate neighbors, the Imries, Hardies, and Dwyers. He said, "I do recall many an evening sitting with my parents and Joe Dwyer and his wife looking right out, you know, looking south to Hingham or Hull whatever. . . [T]hey were good friends." But there was also some exchange with the Crab Alley families. Bob Enos remembers "chumming around" with Bobby Perry from Cottage 38 and Bobby's cousin Dick (known as "Brother") Kennedy from Cottage 35, two young men whom Phil Chalmers recalled as "beautiful swimmers. They would swim out to the—we called it Harry's Legs. They'd swim out there, think nothing of it." Many of the island kids also swam off the old hotel pier at high tide, with the more adventurous among them diving off the pilings. Prince Head was another popular youthful rendezvous. In Bob Enos's recollection, it was "a great place for bonfires, lots of deep grass" where amorous teenagers looking for privacy had to contend with younger siblings and cousins who would "go over and harass the romantic-inspired. They hated us."

Marlene Giammarco was particularly friendly with one of the Enos cousins from the south side, Carol, but she also played with Claire Pierimarchi Hale and Lydia Locatelli among the Italian cottagers from Crab Alley, as well as Florence Montagna from Cottage 39. And as a young adult, Marlene forged a much closer connection with the Peddocks Portuguese families when she met Rod Gill, a third-generation islander whose family had long been builders and handymen for the cottage community. When Rod was hired to paint the house next to the yellow cottage, he and Marlene fell in love, eventually married, and had a family of four daughters, one of several interconnections by marriage among Peddocks families.

On the south side itself, game-playing was the norm on summer evenings. Phil Chalmers remembers a group of men getting together on the lawn near Cottage 4 and

playing quoits, a game similar to horseshoes. In Bob Enos's recollection, "Card playing was a great activity; penny ante, on up to five and ten, rarely beyond that, at least on our side. I think the gambling on the other side was a little bit more serious." The card game, usually five-card draw poker, would be held in different cottages on different evenings, and in addition to the game itself, it was, in Bob's words, a "gabfest."

> That's when you get together and did a lot of talking about life back in the city and life on the island… The men liked to do it, but the women were the ones that—I think it was a social drawing, and that's what drew the women, because I think the women were more into that than the men. The men would talk shop but wouldn't talk much beyond that.
>
> *So you'd put the kids to bed and then go down the road.*
>
> Yes. That was the difficult task, putting the kids to bed.
>
> *You've just got to wear them out.*
>
> Yes, right. When it was in our house, I know we used to come down the stairs—it was a two-story—and sit just inside the door and listen to the conversation.

As the middle of the century approached, seasonal life on Peddocks Island was moving farther away from the diverse rough-and-tumble of the early decades of vacationing in the harbor. But as the following chapter will show, the occasional drama of illicit activity and ethnic encounters was by no means over, and in fact these have been continuing threads throughout the island's history. Well into the twentieth century, the island also remained a destination for various kinds of excursions. Matilda Bies Silvia's memoir includes an account of a company picnic by the S.S. Pierce grocery chain in 1925 that was "almost like a carnival" with games, hot dogs, ice cream and other summer food, buntings and flags, music, singing and dancing (Silvia 2003: 91). And Bob Enos remembered similar parties into the 1930s and 1940s that are strikingly reminiscent of the glory days of the Island Inn:

> One of the things that used to fascinate me, that caused my father to tell me never go down to the flats, was that they used to have these boating parties coming from the yacht clubs from Boston, Savin Hill, South Boston, up in that area. And they would roll the kegs of beer ashore, and they would play softball in the flatland that was between Middle Head and the fort. It's still there. It's just this great big flat area. It's all grass now…They would play ball, which were pretty well organized initially, but as the game wore on they got

> pretty loose. They brought food, and that was what we were interested in. We weren't into alcohol yet and they were very generous and friendly. They got more friendly as the day wore on.

In Matilda Bies Silvia's recollection, these parties were somewhat less extravagant in the 1930s and 1940s than those before the Depression, but still festive and lively, and they inevitably ended with a visit from the Coast Guard or the Harbor Police "to assist the caretakers in subduing some disorderly people" (Silvia 2003: 128). Peddocks Island retained its quality as an "edge place" where some people went to test or escape the boundaries of propriety even while others were making social statements about their arrival in the financially-stable middle classes. The mix of the reclusive and the sociable, the newly-arrived and the assimilated, the staid and the scandalous, continued to characterize the cottage community in many ways. ■

Chapter Seven:
Portuguese Peddocks Island

During the primary fieldwork research for this study in the summer of 2013, several conversations with Sheila Martel of Cottage 23, who is descended from many of the island families, helped shed light on the many interconnections among the Peddocks Island cottagers. "Nearly everybody is related at some point," Sheila said during an initial meeting. While the preceding and following chapters show that the cottage community has always been a multi-class and multi-ethnic one, it is hard to over-state how the lines of relationship among people of different ethnicities, social classes, and parts of Middle Head run to and through the island's Portuguese families. To use a weaving metaphor, their history is like the warp threads that run lengthwise all the way through a piece of cloth; their presence, and the kinds of kinship, friendship, occupational, and mainland connections surrounding them, make up a constant throughout the history of the community. (The map in Appendix G gives some sense of how this has been reflected in particular cottage ownerships over time.)

This chapter will follow the stories of a number of these families in the first half of the twentieth century. The history of the Goulart family offers a unique window into the early days of Azorean lobstering around the island and the continuation of some aspects of Azorean culture into the present. The history of another island family, the Gills, shows how some of the Peddocks Islanders pursued a combination of fishing, farming, building, and other occupations to make ends meet. The Ferdinand and Lewis families were among those providing seasonal infrastructure for cottagers. Their stories intersect with that of the Simonds family from the south side of Middle Head, revealing connections not only between the two sides of the cottage community but also between the island and the crowded ethnic enclaves of industrial Boston. Fragmentary but poignant recollections from the Lopes family show how the island experience was woven into expanding networks of association and how it is still meaningful across generational distance. And the interlinked Ferrara, Costa, and Kennedy genealogies shed light on some of the ways that "Nearly everybody is related" and how the cottage ownerships by the mid-twentieth century reflected those interwoven strands.

The Goularts: The Space to Breathe

Among the families who established themselves on the island during the first phase of Azorean residence were the Goularts. They do not seem to have been among the Long Island fishermen, but probably joined those families not long after they had come to Peddocks. According to his grandson Russell, Costa Goulart (born in 1877) came to the U.S. as a young boy indentured to a farmer near New Bedford but soon made his way to the Boston area. Many members of the family settled in East Boston and the North End, but after a short stint in East Boston, Costa, an illiterate but hard-working and highly entrepreneurial man, based himself on the South Shore, eventually settling in Hull but spending considerable time on Peddocks until the late 1930s. Russell's father was born on the island just before World War I, and Russell himself grew up among many Italians and fellow Portuguese in Hough's Neck. Russell knew his grandparents well, and was particularly close to them during the World War II years when his father, a ship's captain and maritime pilot, was away from home a good deal. Russell's recollections provide a first-hand account of this older generation of islanders.

Costa Goulart started his fishing business with a sailing dory, and saved money for years until he could buy a boat with a large single-cyclinder diesel engine that he named the *Sweet Pea*. Russell recalls the sound of the harbor during those days: "It was a wonderful sound. An awful lot of the boats then all had one-lungers in there, and… it was so wonderful to be out there and hear all of these one-lungers going." Like other lobstermen, Costa developed a powerful physique:

> [E]verybody was big, maybe not in height but big… I got big hands, but not like them. They could never get a glove on. They couldn't buy a glove.
>
> *So do you think it was just that the bigger, stronger guys went into lobstering or—*
>
> They got big and strong doing it… Oh yes, you think you're weightlifters, wait until you start hauling lobster pots and slinging them and stacking them… You had to stack those all by hand, and they were heavy. It was continual. It never stopped. It was over and over and over again.

A favorite with his grandfather, Russell became known in the family as "Little Costa." He started going to sea at age five, picking up the crabs that came up with the lobster traps (crabs sold for a penny apiece in Boston and paid for the diesel fuel for the boat) as well as helping build and repair traps during the winter months. The lobstermen would store

their catch in a submerged "lobster car" kept just offshore, and would take them to the city once or twice a week, selling them at the pier near Quincy Market to Italian vendors who would peddle them on pushcarts. Like other Goulart boys, Russell was given his first boat when he was five, replaced by a custom-built boat and six lobster traps of his own two years later: "[My grandfather] said, this is the way you get your money, and I fished six lobster traps up at a place called Black Rocks, he showed me where." He had "all kinds of jobs" for the fishermen and lobsterman, including following along behind the boats that were catching pogies (shad) for bait, and scooping up the fish that escaped the larger boats' nets. He grew strong early and still has thick "Portuguese arms," which he and other islanders likened to Popeye's (Manuel Ferrara was similarly thick-armed and known to neighbors as "Spinny," from the association of Popeye and spinach).

Fig. 49: In this c.1944 photo, Russell Goulart, aged seven, is shown holding a baby and allowing some young friends to sit in his new fishing boat. Russell's caption notes, "At seven I was already very strong." (Russell Goulart)

Provisioning the lobster crews was another demanding job. Costa's wife Francis kept chickens on the island and was doubtless among the women referred to in the 1909 Boston Globe article as growing vegetables in their back yards. When the men left in their boats at 3 a.m., Francis would start cooking chickens and making bread, baking 12 loaves a day in her woodfired cookstove from flour that the family purchased by the barrel in Boston. The lobstermen started with the most distant of their 300 traps out at the Brewster Islands and worked their way in, arriving back at Peddocks at midday: "They'd come in at noon, eat all them chickens, all that bread, and then fish the inside" in Hingham Bay. On Sundays, city-bound relatives would make their escape to the island:

"75 to 100 people, Portuguese, would come down by boat and she fed them, lobsters and crabs and clams." By the late 1930s, Francis decided "she wanted some comfort finally," and convinced her husband to move to Hull, where they had the luxuries of electricity and running water.

Fig. 50: Russell Goulart's Aunt Anna (left) with his grandparents Costa and Francis (holding baby Russell) at their home in Hull in 1937. (Russell Goulart)

Costa continued to expand his business, including investing in three fishing boats in Gloucester. In a particularly interesting example of collaboration and communication among "coastal people," he also recruited "Novi" boat-builders from Nova Scotia, famed for their "Cape Island" lobster boats, to come to the South Shore during the Depression and ply their trade while living in summer houses that Costa had bought at bargain prices: "He paid for the food and he paid for the coal, and they remodeled [the houses] and they built boats, but what he did is he gave them a place to be when it was too damn cold up there to work."[1] A sideline for the family was making "bathtub gin" during Prohibition

1 On Cape Island boats, see "Clark's Harbour" entry in The Canadian Encyclopedia (http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/clarks-harbour/), *Small Wooden Boats of Atlantic Canada*, by Wayne Barrett and David A. Walker (Nimbus Books, Halifax, 1990), and the "Cape Island Boats" section of

(1920-1933), part of what Matilda Bies Silvia describes as "quite a flourishing bootlegging business" on Crab Alley during those years, despite the scrutiny of the Watch and Ward Society and other guardians of morality (Silvia 2003:100). Matilda recalls a soldiers' song from Fort Andrews celebrating the local product:

> The rum they sell in the village sure is extra fine,
> It's good for cuts and bruises and better than iodine. (Silvia 2003:99)

According to Russell Goulart, one of Costa's teenaged daughters, Mary, was "the salesperson, and word was spread, 'never mess with Mary,' to the soldiers, because you would regret it to the short life you might have." (Mary was married to what Russell called "a high-end gangster" from the North End before coming back to live with her parents in Hull.)[2]

Costa Goulart returned frequently to the Azores, particularly in his later life, and shared his American prosperity by buying shoes and other gifts for relatives back home. Russell recalled,

> The only thing that he spent money for for himself was barbershop shaves. He didn't shave. He went to a barber to shave. If somebody on the islands couldn't shave him, he'd shave. But when he came to Hull, he'd go over to Pedonti's Barbershop and get a shave. That was his one thing.

"Nova Scotia Motor Fishing Boats" online exhibit from the Canadian Museum of History (http://www.historymuseum.ca/cmc/exhibitions/hist/ lifelines/linsc01e.shtml). One interesting facet of these boats' history is that they may have first been commissioned by clients from Massachusetts.

2 Matilda Bies Silvia also describes a "Sunny Smith" as one of the most active Peddocks bootleggers. Smith lived in "the first house on the civilian side," "straight across the flats" from her home (Silvia 2003:100), suggesting that it was probably near Cottage 17. One summer day in the Prohibition years, Smith's still exploded and burned down Smith's cottage and one other; cottagers and soldiers from the fort managed to douse the fire using a bucket brigade before more damage was done.

Although the name "Smith" is too common to make certainty possible, it is worth noting that one of the sons of the Ferdinand family, Joseph, had changed his name to Smith by 1920 and seems to have been trying to Americanize more rapidly than others in his family. The apparent location of "Sunny Smith's" operation is not far from the Ferdinand/Lewis cluster of cottages described later in this chapter, making it possible that Joseph/Sunny was among the Azoreans who had turned to bootlegging as an economic opportunity in tough times. It also suggests that there were at least two additional cottages on this part of Middle Head at one point. Matilda notes that "The people made and sold spirits as usual as soon as the smoke cleared!" (Silvia 2003:101).

Mary Goulart's "high-end gangster" husband may have been named George Magno. The couple appear to have been married in 1920, when Mary was just 16 and George was 21. There is a George Magno listed as a Hull voter resident on Peddocks Island from 1922-25. During the 1920s and 1930s Magno appears to have lived in Revere. By 1930, the Boston-born Italian-American Magno was living with a Mexican family in Los Angeles and working as a general laborer—perhaps a way to escape dangers at home?—while his wife had moved back in with her parents. Information about this couple is found in U.S. Census records, city directories for Boston, Revere, and Lynn, marriage records, and Magno's World War I draft registration card.

Fig. 51: Russell Goulart (left) and his cousin Stanley Melonoski [Malinowski?] posing playfully in a lobster trap in the 1940s. (Russell Goulart)

Russell's grandmother continued to cook for a crowd in her mainland home:

> I knew her for a long time, and never, ever saw her out of the kitchen. She had an apron that went right down to her ankles. She had a rocking chair in the kitchen, and when she wasn't working, she would sit in the rocking chair. She had slippers too, never saw her with shoes on… [T]he Glenwood stoves, two burners were wood, two burners were oil, and she always kept orange peels on the back of the stove, and she had a pot of soup that never, ever was washed. Everything that was after supper went into the pot, and…when I went there all the time, she'd say, 'Mangiare! Mangiare! Eat!'

Her wake, in 1948, was the first time Russell had ever been in his grandparents' living room, which was otherwise off limits with the furniture carefully protected by plastic sheets.

In Russell Goulart's recollections of his family, a sense of cultural continuity comes through clearly, along with an unromantic but profound affinity for coastal places. He said, "My Portuguese relatives, all my Portuguese relatives up in Boston, they look and act the same way now, talk the same way now as they did years and years ago. They look like—they look like history." A part of that history includes recollections of the harsh demands of maritime living. "One of the strange things about the Portuguese is that a long time ago, the Portuguese women got married in white, and when they took off the white they dressed in black. Did you know that? Do you know why? They grieved the death of their husband immediately, because men died [when they went to sea]." Following his 2013 interview, Russell told a story about his grandmother making a deathbed request that her husband not go fishing any more, an appeal that speaks volumes about her lifelong worry about the dangers of life on the ocean. Costa honored

her request, hauling the *Sweet Pea* up to his driveway on rollers and then systematically dismantling the boat and burning it in the fireplace. But the perils of coastal living were also balanced by satisfactions that the first generations of Azoreans did not find on the American mainland. When asked what Peddocks Island meant for his family, Russell said:

> It was a place of haven. My grandfather liked solitude… It was his place that gave him everything that he wanted in life, and my grandmother, and the children, all the children. It gave them—it gave them the space required, because they needed to be able to go like this [spreads hands wide], and to breathe… It was space in here [points to head], to be self-sufficient, to—just to breathe.

The Gills: One Boot in the Boat and the Other in the Field

Like Russell Goulart's grandmother, many of the early Azorean families on the island were making use of the products of land as well as sea in their efforts at feeding themselves and making a living. In this, they were following the pattern set by earlier farmer-fishermen like the Cleverlys and other immigrants around Boston who found ways to continue growing some of their own food even in the industrial city. Matilda Bies Silvia reports on the dairying operation that Joe Cabral ran on Peddocks Island into the 1920s:

> [W]e would sometimes pass Joe Cabrelle's cows wandering on the hill munching here and there... The cows really lived off the fat of the land… Joe Cabrelle, the cows' owner, supplied almost all of us with unadulterated, unpasteurized whole milk, put into cans and bottles that were hastily rinsed in cold well water.[3]

Bernard "Barney" Silva, who occupied Cottage 35 and ran a small store there as well as in East Cambridge, is listed as living on a farm on the island in the 1940 U.S. Census, suggesting that he was cultivating food at least for his own use and perhaps also for sale to others.[4]

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3 Matilda's "Cabrelle" and the "Cabrae" listed on the 1980s "Family Tree" of cottage ownerships are clearly the same as the Cabral listed on Peddocks in the 1910 U.S. Census. Cabral is a very common Azorean name, and appears in many connections with the island: Jose Seraphin, who is probably the Jose Safarino/Sufferins who appears on Long Island and was likely related to the "Serferins" brothers on Peddocks in the 1900 Census, was the sponsor for a young immigrant named Manuel Cabral in 1907; Peter Bettencourt, who spent time in Cottage 38 in the 1930s, lived surrounded by Cabrals in his Cambridge mainland home; and a Manuel and Vera Cabral lived next door to the Simonds family in Stoughton in the 1940 U.S. Census.

As noted in Chapter Six, there was also likely a connection between the Cabral family and a man named James McGee, possibly the builder of Cottage 15.

4 In the East Cambridge neighborhood where Barney Silva lived when not on the island, a World War II-era Victory Garden program involved many people of Portuguese origin (Cambridge Community Development

Fig. 52: The two stores of Bernard "Barney" Silva (known to island children as "Barney Google"), at Cottage 35 (left) on Peddocks Island, and 125 Charles Street (above) in East Cambridge. (Photo on left: Claire Pierimarchi Hale)

Perhaps none of the island families combined land and sea as extensively as did the Gills. The original immigrants in this family appear to have been Matthew and Francisca Gill, who came to the U.S. in the early 1890s. Matthew is listed as living on Peddocks Island in the 1910 U.S. Census, although like most of the other islanders he also had a mainland address, in this case an apartment two blocks from the shore in the City Point neighborhood of South Boston.[5] By 1920, the older Gills no longer appear in the Census for the island, but their oldest son, Joe, his wife Ida, and three young children are listed there, probably at Cottage 30. Joe, known as "Old Joe" to distinguish him from his own son Joe, is listed in some records with the full name of Joseph Perry Gill or Joseph Pereira Gill, and the initial P in his father's name suggests a possible connection with the Perry/Pereira name that appears so plentifully around Portuguese Peddocks Island. Joe and Ida's family eventually grew to include eight children, two girls and six boys (shown

Department 1978:5). This gardening is documented in a 2005 oral history of the ethnically mixed neighborhood: "The Portuguese old-timers called them farms. They were down where the Sonesta Hotel is now. It was all open land there. During the Depression and the war, families planted vegetables on the land. Each one had their own section, and they'd bring down a wheelbarrow, hose, different things. If somebody couldn't make it down to water their plants, another guy would do it. Nobody would fool with those farms; you wouldn't go around there at night" (Boyer 2005:133).

5 The Gills' 1910 mainland residence is listed as 181 N Street in the U.S. Census. Matthew is listed as a fisherman in the U.S. Census for 1910 and as a fisherman or lobsterman in Boston street directories.

in Fig. 53). Joe and Ida's daughter-in-law Marlene (now Giammarco) recalls them as "wonderful people," and Marlene's daughter, also named Marlene, recalled her grandfather Joe as a big and tall man with a deep voice who seemed like he might be intimidating to children, but who was actually very gentle and approachable. She had fewer memories of her grandmother, but did remember her having very long gray hair that she wore in a bun.

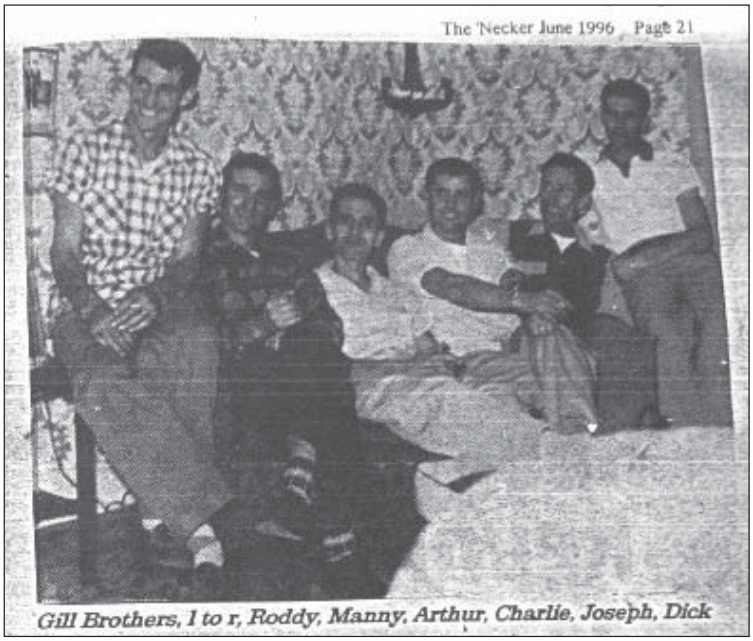

Fig. 53: The six sons of "Old Joe" and Ida Gill, probably around 1950. Joe, the oldest, second from right, was born in 1915 and Dick, the youngest, in 1932. (Connors 1996; used with permission of Wendy Connors)

Members of the Gill family have been engaged in a range of business ventures on the island since very early in the twentieth century. Until 1909, they ran a business selling and shipping loam from the island, constructing a pier on West Head for that purpose.[6] When the business ended, the pier remained, and was the subject of a lawsuit in 1915 when a boat was driven against it and it collapsed, killing a woman in the boat.[7] The Gills themselves clearly developed the kind of respect for the ocean's dangers that is characteristic of people living with (rather than just on) coasts. In a 1996 article about Peddocks Island in a local paper, one of Joe Jr.'s sons recalled "a near-drowning incident" after which his father simply turned the boy's boat upside down, "keeping him a terra-firma hostage" until he had taken his safety lesson to heart (Connors 1996:21). Marlene Gill (the younger) spoke about how amazed she and her friends were when they encountered

6 Matilda Bies Silvia reports that "The soil on all of the hills was very rich" (Silvia 2003:27) and that the army removed a foot of it in the building of Fort Andrews. The Gills seem to have been doing the same thing, seemingly in cooperation with the Andrew estate.

7 The case was Fuller v. Andrew, 230 Mass. 139, Dec. 4, 1917-May 23, 1918. See http://masscases.com/cases/sjc/230/230mass139.html

visitors to Peddocks who weren't familiar with boats. To the island children, this was like meeting someone who had never learned to walk.

Like others on and around the island, the Gills caught and sold fish, lobsters, and clams. But all of the boys were also carpenters, a skill that has been passed down to many of their own children. Some were also fine cabinetmakers and boat-builders, especially "Old Joe's" son Rod, who built many small boats for islanders and also served as a kind of general handyman for all of the cottages. Rod's daughter Marlene frequently helped her father in his woodshop and has picked up the knack of repurposing scavenged lumber; she made a picnic table from wood that washed up on the beach, copying the design from a battered table that also came in on the tide. One of her stories about Rod suggests that Old Joe's gentle demeanor with children continued into the next generation: having put a beautiful piece of oak by mistake into the scrap pile that Marlene was allowed to use for her own projects, Rod wasn't angry when she scarred it beyond use attempting to pound nails into the unexpectedly hard wood. Instead, he admitted his carelessness, helped her pull out the nails, and showed her a better way to build what she had been trying to make. As noted in Chapter Six, Rod married Marlene Simonds of Cottage 13, forging a connection by marriage between the more working-class Crab Alley cottagers and the families for whom the island was an escape from rather than a source of work.

When islanders speak about the Gill family, they invariably mention the turkey farm that some of the brothers—particularly Arthur—ran on West Head. Like Joe Cabral's dairy operation and the orchards and gardens that helped feed the soldiers at Fort Andrews, this small-scale operation reflects the very long-standing practice of agriculture on the island. Mabel Pinto, wife of a second-generation fisherman and a long-time resident and unofficial "mayor" of the island, recalled eating turkey from the Gills' farm for Thanksgiving in the years when she and others stayed on the island year-round. One former cottager recalls that the turkey meat tasted like bayberries, because that formed part of the birds' diet on West Head. The Gills carried their turkeys to market by boat, a cumbersome process that influenced their eventual decision to move the farm to Easton, the mainland town where some members of the family had settled.

The turkey farm was located near Cottage 42 on West Head. The other West Head dwelling, Cottage 43, may also have been built by the Gills, but not for themselves. The original occupants were members of the DeGust family, whose history is somewhat shadowy but gives a glimpse of the kind of ethnic encounters taking place around the fringes of the harbor islands in the first decades of the twentieth century. Andrew

DeGust was a French Canadian who came to Massachusetts from Cape Breton Island—another maritime place—in the early 1890s, about the same time as the first generation of Gills arrived from the Azores. By 1910, Andrew and his Massachusetts-born wife Ella (whose parents were English and Irish) were living with their five children in East Boston. But the 1910 U.S. Census shows that Andrew and his oldest son, 10-year-old Henry, spent that summer on Greater Brewster Island, pursuing Andrew's trade as a lobsterman. The list of other summer 1910 occupants of Greater Brewster is revealing:

- three families of lobstermen from Portugal (one named Silver – probably Silva)
- an unmarried Portuguese lobsterman named Rose
- a Danish/Russian fisherman with a Scottish wife and eight children
- a Swedish fisherman with a Canadian wife
- two unmarried Swedish brothers, also fishermen

Here we see the same mix of ethnicities and origins that is apparent among the south-side cottagers on Peddocks, reflecting the intermingling on the New England coast of people from all around the Atlantic rim. Some of the Azorean names associated with Peddocks appear here—Rose and Silva—as do the patterns of some families joining fishermen during the summers and fathers teaching their sons maritime trades at an early age.

Andrew DeGust evidently did quite well as a lobsterman or was able to make some income from other sources: he owned his own home and had naturalized as a U.S. citizen, indicating that he settled quite quickly and decisively in his new home. At some point, according to former Peddocks cottagers Peter Sault, who once owned the quonset hut that later occupied the location of the DeGust home, Andrew met "Old Joe" Gill, who convinced his fellow lobsterman that he should have a place on Peddocks Island from which to do his seasonal lobstering. The house may have been a two-family home or possibly a combined house and boathouse; the c.1912 postcard view of the island shows a substantial structure on West Head (see Fig. 12 in Chapter Two) that may be the DeGust house. By the time of the 1920 Census, the DeGusts had moved to Quincy, which would have given much easier access to a new seasonal island base. Andrew DeGust was also a carpenter, and in the 1920s and 1930s he was working as such on the mainland. In the 1940 U.S. Census, though, he is once again listed as a lobsterman, which may mean that during the hard times of the Depression years he had returned to his earlier trade. At some point the family ceased using the Peddocks house, and while it was being occupied by then-caretaker Andrew Sweeney in the early 1950s, it burned to the ground. Among

the cottager community, there seems to be very little knowledge of its original owners. Even the outline of their story, though, gives a sense of how fluid the occupational and ethnic boundaries were around the margins of the harbor in the early decades of the twentieth century. In drawing on the kinds of traditions and networks of affiliation that sustained a coastal livelihood in more distant places, these immigrants and strangers around Boston Harbor forged relationships that enabled them to make a livelihood on the edges of the city.

The Ferdinand/Lewis Families: Connections with the Mainland

At the crest of the north-facing bluff on Middle Head are four cottages that constitute something of a little group unto themselves. They are associated with members of the Ferdinand and Lewis families, who were related by marriage and who provided a ferry and delivery service for the island for many years in the middle part of the twentieth century.[8] It is hard to say with certainty when this service started, but it seems to have flourished in the 1940s and 1950s, providing a needed function and a point of contact for the islanders. "We used to pay for it," Marlene Giammarco said, "but it was worth every penny."

Along with one of his brothers, Theodore Ferdinand, the short-statured fisherman who "kept company" with Tia Rosa Alberts in his later life, built Cottages 19 and 21, according to his great-granddaughter Annmarie Centrella. Theodore and his wife Mary came to the U.S. in 1892, the same year as the Gills. Also like the Gills and the Goularts, they were not part of the original group of fishermen who came to Peddocks after being displaced from Long Island, but they established themselves on the island not long afterward, possibly through kinship or occupational connections with the earlier arrivals. Theodore appears to have been something of a go-between or guide for other immigrants, as he traveled to the Azores at least three times in the early part of the century, returning each time with family members and other newcomers.[9] In the U.S., he

8 Information about these families comes from a Nov. 8, 2013 telephone interview with Annmarie Centrella and from U.S. Census records, Boston and Stoughton city directories, immigration records, and draft registration cards. In census and other early records, the Ferdinand family's name appears as Fernandez or Fernandes, but it appears to have been Americanized quite quickly. The Massachusetts Death Index for Theodore's 1954 death in Hull lists the name as Fernandez.

9 In 1903, Theodore sailed on the *Patria* on June 23 and returned via New Bedford on July 2. The two names next to his are José da Rocha Luis (possibly a connection with the Lewis family who became linked with the Ferdinands by marriage and occupation on Peddocks Island) and Maria José Serafina, a domestic servant whose husband, José Serafina Moreira, lived on the same short East Cambridge street as the Ferdinands and the Simonds family. The Serafina/Safarino/Serferins name suggests a link with earlier Azoreans around the

worked as a plumber and "fireman," probably a boiler operator rather than fighting fires, as his places of employment include a woodworking shop and meat-packer (the hazards of these occupations may account for the fact that he was missing two fingers from his left hand). Bob Enos recalls the couple:

> He was a short man. She was taller than he. They were both very slight. They didn't speak English. She wore black all the time, always with her hair in a bun. She looked very European. And he always wore a suit jacket on the island, which was quite extraordinary, and a hat, straw hat. They were very friendly, but it was nothing more than a nod. There was no language that you could share.

The Ferdinand family's mainland home was in the densely-populated industrial neighborhood of East Cambridge near Lechmere Circle and the Charles River, where they worked at a variety of manufacturing and service jobs. Several of Theodore and Mary's sons were involved in delivery services of one sort or another (as teamsters, chauffeurs, taxi drivers, delivering telegrams) as well as perhaps operating a storefront business—possibly a grocery store—from their home on Lowland Avenue (now Lopez Avenue).[10] These enterprises suggest the same kind of small-scale entrepreneurialism that they and others showed on Peddocks Island, where the end of the hotel era at the time of World War I and the shift in vacationing patterns based on car travel rather than coastal steamship routes had left a transportation vacuum for cottagers who did not have their own boats. The Ferdinand family history also illustrates the pattern noted in the 1909 article about the Portuguese fishing village on Peddocks Island, of most islanders having homes in Boston where wives and children lived while the men were fishing over the winter, with the families reunited on the island in the warmer weather (Boston Globe 1909g).

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harbor islands, including Long and Peddocks, as outlined in Chapter Four. In 1904, Theodore sailed to the Azores and back on the *Peninsular* and returned along with a José da Rocha Fernandez, possibly a brother, who was headed for the home of a cousin named Viera or Fieira (possibly Ferreira/Ferrara) in New Bedford. In 1912 Theodore sailed on the *Roma* bound for Provincetown, with a Maria Carmina Fernandes who joined her father in Taunton. Although the rest of Theodore and Mary's children were born in the U.S., their fifth child, Anthony (Tony), was born in the Azores in 1905, suggesting that his parents had returned there temporarily. Tony's citizenship is listed as "Port.-Am. Cit." in the 1910 U.S. Census.

10 In 1915, a building permit was issued to "Fernandes Theodore" to alter the house at 24 Lowland Avenue as a store. Information about the history of this and other houses on the street comes from "Cambridge Buildings and Architects" on the Harvard/Radcliffe Online Historical Reference Shelf, compiled by Christopher Hail (http://hul.harvard.edu/lib/archives/refshelf/cba/l.html #lopezave).

A little investigation into the East Cambridge neighborhood where the Ferdinands lived sheds some light on the connections between island and mainland life for the Azoreans on Peddocks Island.[11] East Cambridge was one of several concentrations of Azoreans around Boston. As in the others—notably in East Boston and the North End—they lived among larger populations of Italians and other immigrants, manufacturing zones, and housing stock that was either already aging or built by those of modest means to begin with. In East Cambridge, the Azoreans were squeezed into a few blocks between a strip of utility and factory buildings lining the Charles River, the massive Boston and Maine railway lines coming out of North Station, and an extensive courthouse and jail complex that was being expanded during the decades when the immigrants were settling in the neighborhood. This heavily urban setting was in many ways the polar opposite of

Fig. 54: 22-24 Lowland Avenue in East Cambridge, the four-story house at center, was occupied for many years by members of the Ferdinand family. The Simonds family owned a house next door; people with other Peddocks-associated names like Silva, Rose, Lopes, and Costa owned or occupied many of the apartments on this and nearby streets.

11 One bit of data that proved difficult to follow up on seems extremely suggestive of a mainland as well as an island connection between the Peddocks Azoreans and the Andrew Estate. On the 1930 G.W. Bromley map of Cambridge, a block of houses on Spring Street between Lowland (now Lopez) and Second Streets is shown as being owned by an "Eliz. A. Andrew." Although this does not correspond directly with the name of either John Andrew's widow, Eliza J.H. Andrew, or their daughter Elizabeth Loring Andrew, the presence of the Andrew family name in a block so heavily connected to a number of Peddocks Island Azorean families is striking. The Andrew ownership of the block appears to have been fairly short-term.

the kind of open spaces that the Azoreans were used to. But it did give them a starting-point in the quickly-growing city, one from which they could establish small businesses, find work in factories, and—for families who owned or knew someone with a boat—even access the waterfront so they could get back and forth to the more familiar environment of the harbor islands when time allowed.

As is common among immigrant populations, the first Azorean arrivals in East Cambridge established a foothold and tended to help those who came later, often by renting them apartments. One of the earliest was a Manuel Sears (probably originally Soares), who bought or perhaps built a number of properties starting in the 1880s, including some on Lowland Avenue. By the 1890s, these properties were being rented to—and some eventually bought by—members of the Ferdinand family as well as by Manuel and Martha Simonds, the parents of Frank Simonds who came to own Cottage 13 ("the Yellow") on Peddocks Island. Here we have a mainland connection between two Azorean families from opposite sides of Middle Head, one more associated with the fishing families on the north-facing side of the island and the other with the more middle-class vacationers on the south-facing side. By 1920, Frank Simonds had moved away from East Cambridge and settled in the South Shore town of Stoughton to establish his grocery business and raise his family. But several of his siblings stayed in East Cambridge, where they worked at the same kinds of industrial and small-scale service and delivery occupations as their neighbors the Ferdinands. Many of these ventures involved cars and engines, suggesting that the kind of skills that were essential for small-scale fishermen and farmers had carried down to newer generations in industrial-era Boston among these families, as among other Peddocks Islanders.[12]

We do not know for certain when or why the Ferdinands first began to visit the island. On the "Family Tree" listing, the first owners associated with Cottage 20 are named Ruby and Ferrara, suggesting a possible connection within this four-cottage group with the Ferraras who were prominent among the displaced Long Island fishing families. Annmarie Centrella's recollection is that Theodore and his brother built Cottages 19 and 21 first, which seems borne out by the c.1910 photograph of Middle Head (Fig. 11; detail in Fig. 55). The gap between the first and second cottage at the crest of the hill looks wider than it is presently, suggesting that these are numbers 19 and 21 and that 20 and 22 filled in the gaps at a later date.

12 Information about the Sears, Simonds, and Ferdinand families in East Cambridge comes from U.S. Census records, Cambridge city directories, "Cambridge Buildings and Architects" on the Harvard/Radcliffe Online Historical Reference Shelf, vital statistics records, street atlases and maps, and draft registration cards.

For the Ferdinands, the newly-built houses on the island probably represented a number of different opportunities, including for older generations to socialize in familiar settings with people who spoke their own language. We can sense this in Evelyn Leeds' 1941 article in the Boston Sunday Post, which includes a vignette of the elderly Theodore beachcombing with his friend Manuel Silva. Their neighbor John Pinto told the reporter:

Fig. 55: In the c.1910 photo of Middle Head (see Fig. 11 in Chapter Two for the full view), Cottages 19 and 21 are clearly visible but with a gap between them that was likely later filled by Cottage 20.

Fig. 56: In this undated (but probably c.1950) photo, the cottage group of 19-22 shows how Cottages 20 and 22 likely filled in the spaces between the original buildings. (Jim Saudade)

> You should see the two of them out there… It's only two or three in the morning, and still dark, and they're out there walking around looking for things with flashlights. One of them goes one way, and the other goes the other way, and they come together. Sometimes they find something good. Once, about a year and a half ago, they found a boat. It was a good boat, I guess it had drifted from one of those boats at anchor out there. Usually it's just wood. (Leeds 1941)

As for others on this side of Middle Head, the island was also a place for the Ferdinands to grow food. Annmarie Centrella recalled that her great-grandparents and many of the other Portuguese fishing families had small farms on the island, raising chickens and goats—"There were a lot of goats on the island," she said—for eggs, milk, and meat. The Ferdinands had a vegetable garden behind and beside the cottage, with a flower garden out front and a grapevine between the shed and the outhouse.

For the more handy and enterprising among the younger members of the community, the island also offered a potential market for their skills and services. This was particularly the case for Theodore and Mary Ferdinand's son Anthony (Tony), who married the daughter of another island family, the Lewises. Probably sometime in the 1920s, the couple began operating a seasonal ferry service and a small grocery business that included delivering ice, milk, newspapers, and other goods to the islanders.

Fig. 57: "The ferryman, Tony Ferdinande [sic], at the tiller of his boat." (Boston Sunday Post 1941)

John and Justine Lewis emigrated from the Azores in 1905, somewhat later than the original Peddocks Azoreans. Their two oldest children, including their daughter Thelma, were born in the Azores; three others, including their youngest, John Jr., were born after the family arrived in the U.S. They were not, therefore, among the families displaced from Long Island, but the presence of a Joseph Lewis in the 1880 U.S. Census for the Azorean fishing village there suggests a possible family connection with these later arrivals. In the 1920 U.S. Census, John and Justine's family was listed as living on Peddocks Island. John Sr. was working as a deckhand on a steamboat that year, and their oldest daughter Mary was working in a candy factory, suggesting that like most of the other islanders by that point, they had a mainland home as well. It's not entirely clear which of the Peddocks cottages they originally occupied or whether their connection with the Ferdinands preceded or followed their residence on the island, but around 1925, Thelma Lewis married Tony Ferdinand, linking the two families closely together.

Leeds described Tony as "about five feet tall, with high cheek-bones and very white teeth" and a Portuguese flag tattooed on his arm, perhaps reflecting the fact that

unlike his siblings, he had been born on the Azores during a return trip by his parents and was actually a dual Portuguese-American citizen. In response to Leeds' question about how he had become the island ferryman, Tony said, "Well…I happen to fall in love with a girl on the island and I sort of got lost over here" (Leeds 1941). His reply hints that Peddocks Island may have been a kind of far edge of the Boston Portuguese community, which might exert various kinds of attraction for a young first-generation Portuguese-American. Bob Enos credits Thelma with much of the entrepreneurial spirit that the couple seems to have shared: "She was a very smart woman, and I think together they made a very successful couple on the island." In 1930, Tony and Thelma's mainland residence was an apartment in the two-family house at 22-24 Lowland Avenue in East Cambridge (Fig. 56), where Tony was working as a taxi driver. At some point, they took up occupancy of Cottage 21 on Peddocks Island, operating a small seasonal store out of the front room up to the 1950s. Tony floated over a 1928 Chevrolet truck in the 1930s and used it for making deliveries, relying on his automotive skill to keep the old vehicle running.[13] Evelyn Leeds noted, "In the winter, he leaves the truck out in the snow beside his house, but when he comes back, he has always managed to get life into it again. It still goes although it sounds like a moving firecracker" (Leeds 1941).

Cottage 22, next door, was occupied by Thelma's younger brother John, known as Johnny, who eventually took over the unofficial job of island ferryman. He also worked as a fisherman and continued to deliver ice and other supplies to cottagers during the warmer months. Some cottagers described the island ferries as being run on a schedule, especially in the summers, while others recalled them as being arranged by appointment with Tony Ferdinand or Johnny Lewis. Several people also noted that other islanders with boats would give rides to cottagers who needed to get to the island, and that most of these were in 20-foot-long skiffs, but that Tony's boat was larger, with a cabin. Bob Enos recalled the ferrymen dropping people off at the by-then rickety Island Inn pier, while Annmarie Centrella remembered the drop-off points more often being right on the beach, either near the old pier, near Pratt's Field, or (less often) near the pink cottage. Many cottagers spoke about the ritual of the ice delivery, noting that by the time everyone's ice had been picked up or delivered on a hot summer's day, what was left was more like ice cubes than blocks. Marlene Giammarco remembered:

13 This was one of very few vehicles on the island. The other one in semi-regular use on Middle Head was Sam Perry's 1925 Nash, described in Chapter Two. On East Head there were a 1922 LaFrance fire truck and a 1947 Willys Jeep, described in Chapter Nine. Like everything else on the island, these would have been floated over in a ferry or barge at some point.

> The boat would come over and there would be ice on them, blocks of ice on the bow of the boat, on Johnny Lewis or Tony Ferdinand's, and we'd all go down there with our ice tongs to get the ice. Of course, it'd start like this big coming over on the boat. By the time we got it, we didn't have—so we'd all run down with our ice tongs, bring it up and wrap it in newspaper and put it in the icebox.

Claire Pierimarchi Hale recalled cooling off on the way home with a lick or two from the ice block, and being rewarded at the end with a chunk of ice to suck on (Hale 2002:11).

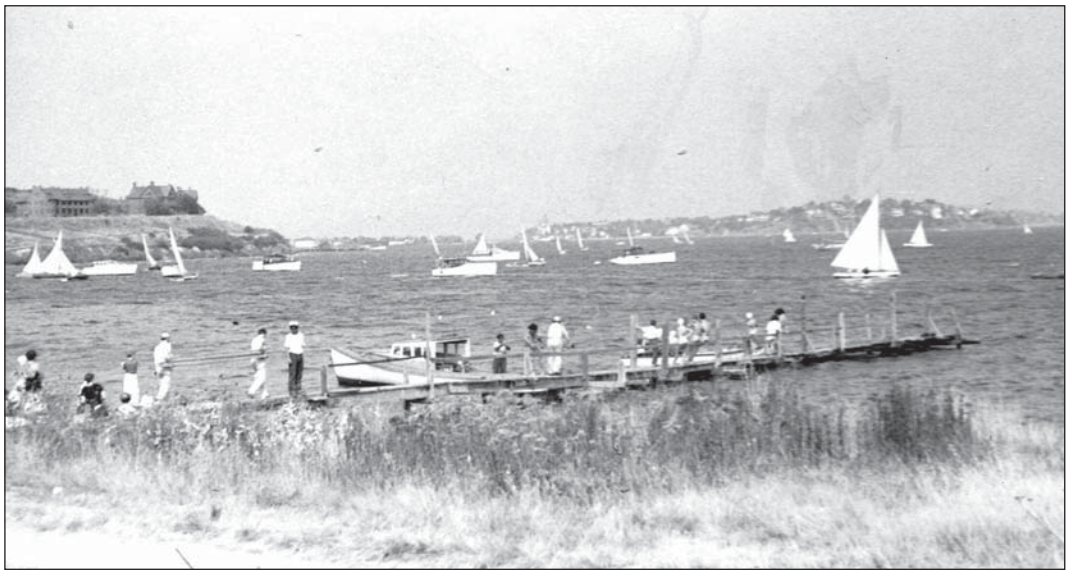

Fig. 58: This undated photo shows the Middle Head pier on a busy day. The small island ferry is at center; the man in white cap to the left of it may be ferryman John Lewis. (Marlene Giammarco, née Simonds)

John Lewis, left, and John Pinto carry up an ice chest from the small boat while Joe Silva looks on. (All photos by James C. Ward, Boston Sunday Post staff.)

Fig. 59: John Lewis (left) John Pinto (center) and Manuel Silva's son Joseph (right) delivering an ice chest, 1941. (Boston Sunday Post 1941)

For Marlene's family, the Simondses, the shack they had converted into a seasonal home represented a place where they could rest from the labor of running their mainland grocery store. For the less economically secure Ferdinands and Lewises, coming to Peddocks Island was as much a matter of work as recreation. It is hard to be certain which of these interconnected families originally introduced the others to the island, but as on the mainland, it is clear that some of them had reached more comfortable levels of prosperity in America than others. However, the need to provision the island and provide transportation for cottagers created economic opportunity for some of the less well-off islanders, and points to the importance of those who were able to supply the practical needs of the interdependent and interrelated cottage community.

Peddocks Geneaologies: Community and Interconnection

In 1930, a woman named Jennie Sylvester Lopes bought Cottage 38 from the elderly woman who originally inhabited it and who sold it—just as Ada Carland did with her sale of Cottage 2 to Edwin Chalmers that same year—for $300 with all of its furnishings included. Next door in Cottage 37 was the family of "Old Joe" Gill, who had built both 37 and 38; just down the slope were Barney Silva's store in Cottage 35 and

Fig. 60: Cottage 38, known as "Chicadee," in 1931, the year after it was purchased by Jennie Sylvester Lopes. (Collection of Frances Lopes, courtesy of Marijane Crawford and Nanci Xirinachs)

cottages belonging to other original Crab Alley families. Jennie Lopes is difficult to trace through the documentary records and her granddaughter, Marijane Crawford, knows little about her life history, but Jennie seems to have come to the island on weekends and summers throughout the Depression years, in company with her teenaged daughter Frances and Jennie's friend Peter Bettencourt. The family seems to have left little impression in the cottagers' collective memory, but a memoir of the island written by Frances and a collection of photos shared by Marijane Crawford help to fill in some of the gaps in the story. They provide a glimpse of a more peripheral Portuguese cottage family whose experiences continue to resonate for later generations.

In her memoir, Frances Lopes recalled that when she first visited Peddocks Island, she had a feeling of going back in time—the common "nostalgia of return" (Löfgren 1999:150) that is so often associated with seasonal homes and simple living. For this younger Portuguese-American, the simplicity of island living was not a first-hand memory, but something new that she encountered through cottage life. She mentioned oil lamps, outhouses, and dug wells, the pure sea air and the sound of seagulls, and the feeling that she could walk forever without getting tired. She recalled the old Chevrolet owned by Tony Ferdinand, who was the family's connection with the mainland via his ferry service. Cottage 38 had three small bedrooms, a kitchen, a living room, a front porch with two couches, and a rock garden outside the front door. Frances remembered the agent of the Andrew Estate visiting each year to collect the $30 annual rent, and recalled buying crabs and lobsters on "Fisherman's Alley" and visiting Barney Silva's store at Cottage 35. She became particularly friendly with one of Joe and Ida Gill's daughters, Mary, with whom she went fishing, rowing, hiking, swimming, digging for clams, and picking bayberries, blueberries, and wildflowers. There is evidence that like other Portuguese families on the island, the owners of Cottage 38 grew grapes, perhaps for making wine; a 1937 photo of the family cat ("Googoonuts") shows what appears to be a grape arbor with a fairly young grapevine in the background (Fig. 62). Frances and her summer friends also went looking for colored rocks on the beach, a particular Peddocks activity that generations of island children have pursued, pounding different colored rocks to powder and then using the powder to create layered pictures or what they referred to as "scenery" in small jars.

Peter Bettencourt, who spent time on the island with Jennie Lopes and her daughter Frances, seems to have had a close connection with the Silva family and perhaps others among the Peddocks Islanders. Bettencourt was the youngest child of an Azorean

Fig. 61: Frances Lopes, left, and Mary Gill, right, on Peddocks Island, 1937. (Collection of Frances Lopes, courtesy of Marijane Crawford and Nanci Xirinachs)

couple who lived at various times in East Cambridge and other heavily-Portuguese neighborhoods around the city. Peter was the only one of his siblings born in the U.S., so he straddled the generations between old and new homelands. In the 1900 U.S. Census, the family had a boarder named Manuel Silva, and although this was not the same Manuel Silva from Peddocks Island, it does suggest a possible connection with the Peddocks Island families. Ferraras, Cabrals, Pintos, and other familiar island names also appear very near the Bettencourts in various census listings. In a photo taken on the island in 1934 (Fig. 63), a clear sense of affection and familiarity comes through. Bettencourt (at lower right in the photo) has his arm around one of the elderly Azoreans, perhaps one of the Silvas, with two generations of other family members gathered on the steps of Cottage 26, the Silvas' cottage. Frances Lopes' caption, "1934 friends gather for an evening of conversation," conveys the island custom of visiting in the evenings, as well as the centrality of the Silva family and Cottage 26 within the cottage community. In another photo (Fig. 75), he is shown with the old whaler Manuel Silva. Like so many people on the island, Bettencourt also seems to have been handy with machines and tools as well as knowledgeable about boats and woodworking. On the mainland, he worked at a variety of jobs including as a chauffeur and auto mechanic. A 1939 photo (Fig. 64) shows him

Fig. 62: In this 1937 photo of Jennie Lopes' cat "Googoonuts" in the rock garden outside Cottage 38, what appears to be a grape arbor with a fairly young grapevine is visible in the background. (Collection of Frances Lopes, courtesy of Marijane Crawford and Nanci Xirinachs)

Fig. 63: "1934 friends gather for an evening of conversation" shows Peter Bettencourt at lower right, with three generations of islanders, likely from the Silva family (the young man holding the dog may be Francis Silva, also pictured in Fig. 64) on the steps of Cottage 26. (Collection of Frances Lopes, courtesy of Marijane Crawford and Nanci Xirinachs)

standing proudly with a skiff that he built, with Frances and a young member of the Silva family posing with the oars. He also carved a wooden sign with the name that Jennie Lopes gave to her cottage: "Chicadee."[14]

14 Information about Peter Bettencourt comes from census records, city directories for Cambridge, Somerville, and Boston, and draft registration records, as well as from Marijane Crawford's notes about her mother's memoirs.

There are also some threads of unhappiness running through these family stories that make the bucolic summer photos all the more poignant. Mary Gill, Frances' close friend on the island, became estranged from her family in her adult life, cutting herself off from them entirely. Many of the Peddocks families would likely have been struggling financially during the Depression years, with some of the men reluctantly taking relief jobs (Russell Goulart's father balked at taking relief work—in Russell's words, "He did it a little bit, but he was so mad at that he wouldn't do it… He just dug clams and lobstered"). Despite the love that Jennie Lopes and her daughter Frances shared for the island, they were forced to sell the cottage when Jennie fell ill in 1940, a decision that Frances' daughter Marijane Crawford thinks was so painful that it kept her mother from ever talking much about her time there. It is difficult to know where Peter Bettencourt fits in this story—was he the original point of connection between Jennie and the Silvas and others on the island? A bachelor working at a lonely mainland job who found community among those of his parents' generation on Crab Alley? A common-law partner who was able to be with his sweetheart in this out-of-the-way place? As with Ada Carland and Lilian Grahn on the other side of Middle Head, it is intriguing that the ownership of "Chicadee" was held by a woman, in this case one with a long-term visiting male friend who was obviously fond of the island and the people who lived there. After Frances' death, her daughters read about Peddocks Island in her memoir, and were struck by how

Fig. 64: Left to right, Francis Silva, Peter Bettencourt, and Frances Lopes, posing with a boat built by Bettencourt, 1939. (Collection of Frances Lopes, courtesy of Marijane Crawford and Nanci Xirinachs)

much the place meant to her and how happy she had been there. They have visited the island twice themselves since then and are incorporating Frances' memoirs about it into their own narrative of their family's history. Even for people with no first-hand memories of the island, past experiences there—both happy and unhappy—have continued to make themselves felt to a later generation.

When Jennie and Frances Lopes had to sell Cottage 38, they found buyers among their neighbors' families. Jack Downey, a Crab Alley cottager since the 1960s, noted in a summer 2013 conversation that "No one got a cottage unless you were a relative," and although the Downeys managed to find a way in to the community without being related to anyone, in general the sale of cottages did tend to be among family members. In this case, Manuel and Cassie Perry, who purchased Cottage 38, were part of the extended Ferrara-Costa-Perry-Kennedy clan whose descendants include Sheila Martel. Some of the interconnections among these island names seem to trace back to the household of Mary Ferrara, who emigrated from the Azores as a young girl in 1870. Both Mary and Ferrara (with its multiple variant spellings of Ferreira, Ferraria, Firara, Veirera, etc.) are such common Azorean names that tracing her early years in the U.S. is difficult. But in the 1910 U.S. Census we find her living in the North End and working out of her home as a "paints finisher," presumably for a nearby manufacturer. By that point she was widowed, and her adult daughter, also named Mary, was living with her, along with Mary's son—Manuel Perry—who seems to have been a child of an earlier marriage, and a daughter—Alice Costa—with her current husband. That husband, Frank Costa, is not listed in the household in 1910, and the presence of a second female-headed family in the same dwelling, the DiGlorias, suggests that perhaps some or all of the adult men were away working, possibly at maritime jobs. Mary later had another child, Richard (Dick) Costa, with her second husband, creating a three-generational Portuguese household with several step-relationships and some gaps in co-habitation.

These family relationships became more complicated when step-siblings Manuel Perry and Alice Costa married an Irish brother and sister: Manny married Catherine (Cassie) Kennedy, and Alice married Cassie's brother Richard Kennedy, linking this extended Azorean family lineage with an equally extensive Boston Irish one. Manny and Cassie were able to establish a cottage home on Peddocks for themselves by buying Cottage 38 from Jennie Lopes. The couple is still remembered by many people in the community. Sheila Martel recalls that Manny owned the only hammock on Middle Head, which he loved to relax in. The neighbors' children also loved it, and took every

opportunity to inveigle him into going into the cottage so they could take his place in the hammock. At some point, Manny's half-sister Alice and her husband Richard Kennedy also bought a place on the island, acquiring Cottage 35, the former store, from Bernard "Barney" Silva. Their blended heritage can be seen in the shamrocks on the shutters of this "Portuguese fishing shack," a feature of the décor that has been carefully preserved by the Kennedy descendants who still own it.

Fig. 65: Shamrocks on the shutters of Cottage 35, originally owned by storekeeper Bernard "Barney" Silva and then acquired by Richard and Alice (Costa) Kennedy, reflect the blended ethnic heritage of the owners. This is the same structure as in Fig. 52, photographed from the other side of the building.

At this point we can begin to see just how interknit the Peddocks cottage families had become by mid-century. The Ferrara name also appears at Cottage 20, which was built by the Ferdinand family but occupied for many years by Myrtle and Manuel ("Spinny") Ferrara.[15] Manuel Ferrara also owned Cottage 24 at one point, reflecting the

15 Jim Saudade, whose family bought Cottage 20 in the 1960s, reports that the signs of the Ferraras' occupancy were still very clear, with four beds in the small upstairs bedroom that had once clearly housed four sons, and a downstairs bedroom decorated for a girl, in addition to the parents' main bedroom.

way that the islanders have bought and sold cottages from one another over the years. After Ferrara sold Cottage 20, it was owned for a time by members of the Costa-Kennedy family who were by that point finding—as the Enoses did on the other side of Middle Head—that their growing numbers were over-crowding the small space of Cottage 35. Close friendships among new generational cohorts also realigned and strengthened family relationships. Sheila Martel recalls that Manuel and Cassie Perry's son Bobby Perry, his cousin Dick "Brother" Kennedy, and Johnny Lewis, the younger island ferryman, were the "best of buddies"; it was Brother Kennedy and Bobby Perry that Phil Chalmers from Cottage 2 remembers as "beautiful swimmers" who thought nothing of striking out into the ocean together. Bob Enos was also friends with Bobby Perry, and those two families became connected by marriage when Bob's cousin Helen Enos married Bobby's brother Richard Perry, a Crab-Alley/southside marriage similar to the one between Roddy Gill and Marlene Simonds. There are numerous other connections, some lost in the uncertainty of earlier memories and documentation and some more recent—for example, the Perdigao family on the south-facing side, who intermarried with the Simonds family and further expanded the web of relationship among the descendants of Azorean immigrants. By the time of the Second World War, the various elements of the island community—vacationers, fishing families, retired soldiers and fort caretakers—had formed a multi-layered, multi-generational small community that contained its own lines of difference but was closely connected to—and through—the island place they shared. ■

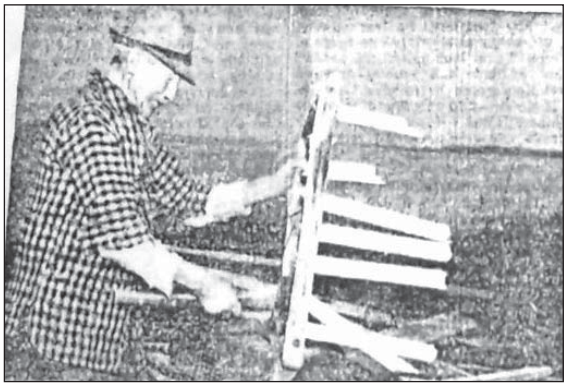

Fig. 66: Manuel Ferrara dismantles an old lobster trap to use for kindling. (Boston Sunday Post 1941)

Chapter Eight:
Italians on Peddocks Island

In mainland places like the North End and Somerville, Boston's Portuguese immigrants were the minority among much larger Irish, Italian, Eastern European, and other immigrant and ethnic populations. On Peddocks Island, it was the Portuguese who were in the majority, but the city's cultural complexity was in evidence on the island as well. In the story of the cottage community and the harbor islands, we can see cases of intermarriage and friendship across ethnic lines, sometimes directly, as with the Costa-Perry-Kennedy alliances, and sometimes in more indirect ways—for example, in the seasonal lobstering community on Greater Brewster, which included Scandinavians, Portuguese, Scots, and Russians along with the French Canadian soon-to-be Peddocks Islander Andrew DeGust. John DeAvellar, the Peddocks fisherman who was threatened with a shotgun by cottager Maurice Relihan for flirting with Relihan's pretty step-daughter, seems to have had another liaison with an Irish-American woman on the island in 1901, producing a son, also named John, out of wedlock. DeAvellar was already married to an Azorean woman and the couple had a son of their own, but according to a family member, the love-child was acknowledged within the family and the two sons were treated as equals.[1] One of Russell Goulart's aunts married a Polish man named Stanley Malinowski, who fished with Russell's grandfather Costa. Russell's own parents were a mixed Portuguese-Irish couple, with the added complication that unlike the great majority of Irish in Boston, his mother, Dorothy Tracey, was Protestant, not Catholic. "Her brothers hated my father, didn't want her to marry him," Russell recalled. A math and science teacher described by her son as a "brilliant woman," she came from from a shipbuilding family in Northern Ireland, learned to speak and write Portuguese, and became the letter-reader and -writer for many of the older Goularts.

The processes of ethnic encounter and alliance come through particularly clearly in the story of the Italians on Peddocks Island. This chapter follows their history, focusing especially on the 1930s and 1940s. Those decades were a point of transition for the

1 The DeAvellas or DeAvellars do not appear on the "Family Tree" of cottage owners, but Annmarie Centrella has a clear recollection of them living in Cottage 24 or 25 at one point. Other information about this family is from U.S. Census records, Boston city directories, the birth record for the out-of-wedlock son, and information shared by a visitor to the island in August 2013 who was a relative of the family. No records were found for Rosella McLaughlin, the name of the woman who was the mother of DeAvellar's illegitimate son, but it is possible that she was someone staying or perhaps working at one of the early cottages or hotels.

cottage community, with the gradual loss of the older generation of Azoreans, a growing number of connections among people from different parts of the community, and a shift into more family-oriented vacationing by the 1950s and 1960s. Conversations with Claire Pierimarchi Hale and Claire's 2002 memoir *Memories of an Island Gypsy* form the basis of most of the first-hand accounts of the Italians on the island.

Before the War

By the time of the First World War, Italian immigrants and their children made up a full ten percent of Boston's total population (Puleo 2007:90). Like the mid-nineteenth century Irish whose former neighborhoods they very often moved into, the Italians struggled with poverty, discrimination, sub-standard housing stock, and limited occupational opportunities, with the important difference that the Irish themselves, having attained at least some measure of hard-won success in the city, tended to join the Yankee elites in looking down on the newcomers, as well as resenting the competition they posed for blue-collar jobs (Puleo 2007:14-17). Despite these difficult circumstances, some of the Italian immigrants managed to find occasional ways to escape the crowded city and even to take up the "vacation habit" as working-class people and immigrants were increasingly doing (Aron 1999, especially Chapters 7 and 8). Many, like the Azoreans, found opportunities to reconnect with non-urban patterns of living that were familiar to them from their lives in Europe. And as with others who sought out the shore and the countryside, the Peddocks Italians were drawn by a sense that these places were more healthful than their urban environments, an idea that prompted the location of several hospitals around the harbor and islands at different times.

This seems to have been the case with Silvio Pierimarchi, a 32-year-old Italian immigrant who made his discovery of Peddocks Island in 1918. Silvio had come to Boston six years earlier with his wife Gina, and in 1918 he was deeply concerned about the health of his small son, Bruno, who was suffering from rickets. This childhood bone disease, caused by vitamin deficiency, was one of many ailments that affected Boston's Italians disproportionately to the rest of the city's population. A smallpox epidemic had killed more than a thousand people in the North End in the early 1870s, during the earliest phase of the Italians' mass migration to the U.S., and infectious diseases like typhoid, diphtheria, infant cholera, and bronchitis were commonly found there and in other heavily Italian neighborhoods (Puleo 2007:6, 12-13). One doctor on a committee convened to deal with an outbreak of tuberculosis in the North End called it an inevitable consequences for a population "made up chiefly of agriculturalists, fresh from the

sunny hills of Tuscany and Sicily, abruptly thrown into unnatural and dark sweatshops, a population overworked, underfed, poorly clad, curbed with all the worries and anxieties of the morrow" (Puleo 2007:12). In 1918, the Spanish Influenza pandemic was also raging, underscoring the immigrants' vulnerability to infectious diseases (Puleo 2007:122). In the midst of these fears about the dangers of crowded city living, Silvio Pierimarchi happened to make the acquaintance of one of the Azoreans from Peddocks Island, who suggested, on learning that Silvio's son needed braces on his legs in order to walk, that the clean air and sunshine of the island might be what the boy needed in order to regain his strength. This was an idea that many social reformers were also actively promoting, often through the establishment of "fresh air" camps and other vacation facilities specifically intended for poor urban women and children (Aron 1999:183-205). In Boston Harbor, the "Floating Hospital" founded in 1894 was one attempt to improve city children's health through exposure to invigorating ocean air, while the Burrage Hospital on nearby Bumpkin Island opened in 1902 with the same purpose (Mucci 2016:5-6). But as with the Azoreans, the Pierimarchis' arrival on the island was not part of any official or organizational project, but rather a case of working-class city-dwellers creating their own opportunities and finding a refuge in the somewhat out-of-the-way island.

Silvio and Gina rented a cottage from one of the Portuguese families, and as the fisherman had predicted, by the end of the summer Bruno was able to walk and run without help. His father was so elated by his island experience that the family began coming to the island every year, renting Cottage 17 and inviting other relatives to join them for picnics and visits. In 1920, the family gathering included the newly-arrived matriarch, Angela Sarra Pierimarchi, who had sailed into Boston with her teenaged daughter Ilva and 12-year-old son Victor the previous fall. On the mainland, members of the Pierimarchi family lived in various parts of the city, including Somerville, Medford, and Everett, but they continued making regular summer pilgrimages to Peddocks Island throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The family expanded with time, as Ilva married a man named Louis Locatelli and Victor married a woman named Albina Bassignana; in 1935, Victor and Albina's first child, a daughter named Claire, was born.[2]

2 Information about the family in this section is drawn from Claire Pierimarchi Hale's memoir (Hale 2002), U.S. Census data, Boston, Everett, Somerville, and Medford city directories, records of vital statistics, and ships' passenger lists. Claire notes that her Uncle Silvio and Aunt Gina rented Cottage 17 for many years, suggesting that this may have been the first place they stayed on the island. The "Family Tree" lists the first owners here as the Serellhas, a Portuguese name but not one that this study was able to find any additional information about. Specific information about the homeland origins of the Peddocks Italian families was not documented for this study, so the assumption of their connection with rural southern Italy is based on more general patterns for Italians in Boston.

In 1937, the Azorean owners of Cottage 30 (listed as Goulet in the Family Tree, but possibly the Goularts) decided to sell their cottage, and Silvio Pierimarchi bought it from them. The Pierimarchis were likely the first people from outside the close-knit Azorean network of families to move onto the Crab Alley section of Middle Head. In some ways this represented the start of a shift within the cottage population. But in addition to the fact that the Pierimarchis had actually been coming to the island for two decades by that point, the many similarities between the Italian and Portuguese immigrant populations meant that this was an extension of the existing community as much as a new direction for it. Like the Azoreans, the majority of Boston's Italians came from rural and agrarian backgrounds. They were mainly from the south of Italy—often Sicily—who had experience with farming and in many cases with maritime trades as well. Like the Azoreans in their home country, they had also been struggling for decades with severe economic and environmental hardship (Puleo 2007:48-52). The Portuguese and Italians arrived in Boston over the same span of time, starting to settle in very large numbers by the 1870s and peaking just before World War I, in the period when the Pierimarchis were arriving (Puleo 2007:90).

One very important point of comparison is that like the Azoreans, the new Italian arrivals tended not to think of themselves as "Italians" but as belonging to particular homeplaces or families. In large part because of their experiences with unresponsive or ineffective governments, immigrants from both places tended to rely very heavily on their own long-standing kin and village networks rather than trusting to more distant, less accountable sources of power (Gans 1965:164-65). Among the Italians, this was sometimes called *campanalismo*—the construction of allegiances that extended as far as the sight or sound of a particular church tower and its bell (Puleo 2007:69). Dense settlement in certain Boston neighborhoods, relatively low rates of citizenship in the earlier decades of migration, and a very high rate of intermarriage among people from the same networks reinforced these allegiances; Puleo reports that from the 1870s to the 1920s, more than 80 percent of the marriages in the North End's two Italian parishes were between people whose families came from the same province in Italy (Puleo 2007:70). In addition, as we have seen with the Azoreans, many who came from Italy harbored the dream of someday returning, seeing their time and work in the industrial U.S. as a means to an end rather than necessarily a permanent new home (Puleo 2007:53-55). These strategies added to the prejudice against southern European immigrants in places

like Boston. And poverty and prejudice in turn threw the immigrants further back on their own resources, including marginal, semi-sanctioned, or even illegal enterprises like small-scale fishing and farming or risky ventures like bootlegging, particularly during Prohibition (Puleo 2007:195-6). Over time, intermarriage with other ethnic groups, education for younger generations, and movement from the older crowded neighborhoods to suburbs around the city did change those patterns, but places like the North End, East Boston, Somerville, and East Cambridge remained very heavily Italian and Portuguese until well into the late twentieth century (Puleo 2007:227-228).

By the later years of the Depression, then, one Italian family had established itself as a part of the Peddocks Island cottage community. In 1939, two years after Silvio Pierimarchi's purchase of Cottage 30, his younger brothers Victor and Igidio (known as Gene) saw an opportunity to create a seasonal home for themselves as well. On the slope above the Crab Alley cottages was a former cow barn, perhaps part of the small dairy farm run by the Cabrals, which had included living quarters in the back. The building had become very run-down, but the brothers purchased it for $10 and set about collecting lumber from the beach and making it into the snug dwelling and set of outbuildings that now constitutes Cottage 40 (Hale 2002:2).[3]

Fig. 67: Cottage 40 during the Pierimarchis' ownership. The windmill on the shed was used to generate electricity. (Claire Pierimarchi Hale)

Over the next couple of decades, the Italian network of family and friends on Peddocks Island extended outward and eventually encompassed nearly a dozen of the cottages. In addition to Cottage 30 on Crab Alley and Cottage 40 just up the hill, some members and friends of the Pierimarchi family later bought cottages on the other side of Middle Head. Claire's maternal grandparents, the Bassignanas, bought Cottage 14,

3 In the "Family Tree," this cottage is originally listed under the name of "L. Correy," likely referring to Lewis and Mary Corey who appear in the U.S. Census for the island in 1910. The next name is "Fratus," probably Freitas, a family about which little is known, although their names appear on Cottage 33 (listed as "two sisters") and Cottage 39 (intriguingly listed as "Erwin/Fratus") as well.

the long blue cottage that had originally been part of the Island Inn property. Victor and Albina, Claire's parents, moved there as well in the late 1940s, and the cottage is now owned by Claire's brother. Next door to the Portuguese Simonds family at "the Yellow" (Cottage 13) were two related Italian owners, the Leggieros and the Chiracostas, at Cottages 11 and 12 respectively. On the other side of the blue cottage, Bette and Al Simone, friends of the Pierimarchis, bought Cottage 15; that cottage is now owned by Claire and Bill Hale, who represent a last point of family connection to the Italian cottagers. Back on Crab Alley, three other cottages along the waterfront row were also bought by Italians. Claire's Aunt Ilva and Uncle Louis Locatelli moved into Cottage 32 along with their daughter Lydia, one of Claire's most frequent playmates during their summers on the island. Descendants of that family, the Smiths, owned Cottage 32 until it was sold to the MDC; it is currently empty. Next door, Cottage 33, probably another Goulart dwelling at one point, was bought by the D'Amicos, while Cottage 34 was bought from the Portuguese Rose family by the Spezzaferris. Another Italian named Damigella bought Cottage 29, making a row of six Italian-owned cottages in what had formerly been the center of the Azorean fishing village as well as four on or near the site of the old Island Inn.

Fig. 68: Relatives and friends beside Cottage 40 in the 1940s. Left to right in front row: Lee Pierimarchi, Lydia Locatelli, Claire Pierimarchi. Middle row: Louis Locatelli, Ilva Locatelli, Torey Pierimarchi on lap of Guiseppe Bassignana, Bette Simone, Al Simone, Doris Pierimarchi, Albina Pierimarchi, Victor Pierimarchi. Standing: Gene Pierimarchi. (Claire Pierimarchi Hale)

Silvio and Gene Pierimarchi worked as insurance agents, their brother Victor as an electrician, but like other cottagers, when they were on the island they pursued many traditional activities associated with older, more rural patterns of living. When they came for the summer, the family brought along chickens which provided eggs and eventually went into the pot for Sunday dinners (in Claire's memoir, she notes, "I never ate on Sunday") (Hale 2002:8). The Pierimarchis and Damigellos also built grape arbors, a landscape feature that can still be found in many backyards in Italian and Portuguese neighborhoods around mainland Somerville, Medford, and other places where these immigrants settled. The arbor at Cottage 40 no longer produces grapes, but the current owners continue to use the arbor as a shady summer kitchen and dining room (Fig. 69). Claire recalls the Italian custom of hanging a jug or goatskin full of homemade red wine from a hook above the dining-room table—in the new setting of an American city, her family sometimes adapted an enema bag to the purpose—from which everyone's glasses could easily be filled (kids got a squirt of wine in a glass of water). The hook above the table in Cottage 15 is still there. A collection of empty wine bottles still sits in the attic of Cottage 29, once the Damigellas', seemingly waiting to be filled with wine from the next grape harvest (Fig. 70). Home wine-making had been legalized with the repeal of Prohibition in 1933,[4] but the Italian cottagers found evidence of the island's history as a site of illegal production. Matilda Bies Silvia's memoir recounts how

> Bottles were kept in a false wall or floor and often in the "Katzinger"—popularly known as an outhouse. Sometimes they were hidden in the ground or in a wood pile—any place that would secret them from the "Revenuers." Whenever they showed up, there was never any evidence to be found. (Silvia 2003:100)

According to Claire, when the Pierimarchis were rebuilding the old cow barn, her father discovered a stash of bottles, some broken, some still filled, under the floor of the original living quarters, very likely hidden there during the Prohibition era.

Like the Portuguese, these families adapted many of their existing social and cultural patterns to help them establish themselves in an often-hostile new urban environment. The Italian family table—what some even refer to as *il sacro desco*, or "the sacred (dinner) table" (Ferraro 2005:185)—was perhaps the most important of these. Along with the other islanders, the Italian families planted gardens and gathered wild

4 American Homebrewers Association http://www.homebrewersassociation.org/homebrewing-rights/statutes/

Fig. 69: The grape arbor at Cottage 40, built by members of the Pierimarchi family and seen here in November 2012, no longer produces grapes but is still used as a shady outdoor kitchen and dining room by the current owners.

berries and various kinds of seafood. The Peddocks Italians seem to have been much less nautically-inclined than the Portuguese, but they still made good use of what could be gathered from shore, as well as buying lobsters, crabs, and other seafood from Tia Rosa Alberts, a lobsterman known as Vajine, and others.[5] Jim Saudade, whose family began coming to the island in the 1950s, remembers Albina Pierimarchi, Claire's mother, saying to him, "Jimmy, you go and fetch me a pail of clams," from which she would make clam sauce for homemade pasta, giving Jim a big plateful for his help. Many cottagers, including Claire, spoke about scooping up shiners when the small silvery fish were thick in the water, which happened especially during a high lunar tide, and then either frying or sautéeing them in olive oil.

Fig. 70: A collection of empty wine bottles, a remnant of island grape-growing and wine-making among the Italian cottagers, sits in the attic of Cottage 29 in the summer of 2013.

5 This islander was mentioned by both Bob Enos and Claire Pierimarchi Hale (who spells his name Va Jean in her memoir). It is not clear which of the Azorean families he was part of.

Claire remembers her grandmother Angela Pierimarchi, who had a "passion for cooking" (Hale 2002:19), standing at the woodstove in Cottage 30 in a long print dress and apron, creating wonderful dishes—a picture that evokes Francis Goulart and other island women spending their days cooking to feed their large extended families. Neighbors on the island were well aware of how central food was for the Italians. Marlene Gill, the daughter of Rod Gill and Marlene Simonds, has strong childhood memories of how good the Italians' cottages along Crab Alley always smelled. Mary Downey, a Crab Alley neighbor since the 1960s, remembers Mary D'Amico next door in Cottage 33 starting to cook first thing in the morning and her husband Mike coming in to take his place at the head of the table at dinnertime. Over time, the Italian cottagers became closely woven into the social life of the cottage community. Annmarie Centrella recalls that the Ferdinand family, at Cottage 19, was friendly with several of the Italian families, especially the Pierimarchis and

Fig. 71: Leonard and Lorraine Pratt, Doris and Gene Pierimarchi, Cathy and Carol McKay on the bocce court in front of Cottage 40, probably in the 1960s. (University Archives & Special Collections Department, Joseph P. Healey Library, University of Massachusetts Boston: Mass. Memories Road Show Collection, Contributor: Raymond E. Pratt)

Leggieros. As a child, Marlene Simonds played with Claire Pierimarchi and her cousin Lydia Locatelli.

There were other signs of the Italian presence in the cottage landscape as well, perhaps most noticeably the bocce court that the Italian men built collectively one summer. Claire Pierimarchi Hale recalls the men playing bocce every night after dinner and all day on Sundays, and Jim Saudade recollected hearing the heated disagreements over games—what Claire calls "a lot of yelling and measuring" (Hale 2002:21). A 1959 photo taken on the bocce court (Fig. 71) shows Claire's Uncle Gene and his wife Doris seated with some of their non-Italian neighbors, including Lenny Pratt of Cottage 37 who is holding up one of the wooden bocce balls. At the same time, there is a marked contrast between the casual summer clothing worn by the Pratts and the Pierimarchis' somewhat more formal dress. Claire notes that the Italian families took great care with their dress, even in the informal environment of the island, suggesting that while there was social mixing, there were also clear cultural differences. Perhaps it is the memories and places associated with food and drink—the grape arbor, the wine bottles in the attic and ceiling hook over the dining room table, the recollections of good smells and crowded picnic tables—that best capture the way that the Italian-owned cottages created a kind of world-within-a-world on Middle Head in the middle decades of the twentieth century.

Peddocks Island during World War II

Even before the U.S. entered World War II, military activity around Boston Harbor intensified, as the city's coast once again began to be seen as a point of vulnerability as well as a place of escape and opportunity. In 1940, Fort Andrews was reactivated as a headquarters for the 241st Coast Artillery, although as in World War I the fort was ultimately used more for administrative and training functions than for active military defense (DCR 2009:13, 19). Other old and new military installations—among them Fort Warren on Georges Island, Fort Standish on Lovell's, Forts Revere and Duvall in Hull, and Fort Strong on the tip of Long Island—ringed the harbor during the war years, along with an extensive network of mines, early-warning technologies, and nets designed to stop torpedos, submarines, and unauthorized surface craft.

With the rapid wartime expansion of ship-building activities in Quincy and Hingham, Hingham Bay took on a new strategic significance, and the narrow gaps off Peddocks Island's East and West Heads were closed off with anti-submarine netting. Many cottagers recall that the harbor was all but closed to civilian boating, with fishing

and lobstering in the outer harbor sharply curtailed as well. To reach the island, Peddocks Islanders had to obtain identification cards so that they could take the "government boat," the military craft that serviced all of the harbor forts and the soldiers and civilians stationed there. Claire Pierimarchi Hale and others remember the lengthy trip around the harbor, with stops to open the barriers across all the channels. Phil Chalmers recalls that this temporarily ended the summertime commuting of fathers from the island to downtown. An additional change for the cottagers was that they now disembarked at Fort Andrews rather than at the Middle Head pier or closer to their cottages, making a much longer trek with belongings and supplies. (After the first of these treks, Gene Pierimarchi built a wagon for the family to use). There were periodic military maneuvers on the island, during which the cottagers had to remain indoors while the sound of Fort Andrews' guns boomed from East Head. Like others around the city, the islanders were subject to blackout regulations at night. Unlike most other Bostonians, however, they also had occasional access to the more social side of military life in the harbor, with invitations to the island children to watch cartoons at the fort's movie theater and one memorable evening visit from two soldiers in a jeep who brought chocolate ice cream to people on Middle Head (Hale 2002:15).

Men from the Peddocks families on all parts of the island served in the military during World War II, mirroring general patterns in the U.S. Matilda Bies Silvia's husband was stationed in Los Alamos, New Mexico, while her two brothers were in Germany and the South Pacific (Silvia 2003:145). Silvio Pierimarchi's son Bruno, whose childhood ricketts had been the reason his father came to the island, became a captain in the Air Force, enlisting a few months before Pearl Harbor.[6] Walter Enos and many other men of his generation from the Portuguese families on the island went to war as well. Joseph Goulart, who had been born on Peddocks Island and knew the harbor and shore intimately, captained oil tankers and transported military officers to forts and bases up and down the New England coast, including on a 65-foot boat called the *Balmy Days* that was sometimes the venue for high-level off-shore meetings. Joseph's son Russell recalls his father occasionally smuggling him onto the boat as a treat, and also remembers

> walk[ing] the beaches every day as a child. I mean, I used to pick up big cases of machine gun bullets, all kinds of food, and the thing that I loved best was

6 Silvio used the alternate spelling Pieromarchi; according to his military records, Bruno A. Pieromarchi (1915-1962) enlisted on July 11, 1941 in Richmond, Virginia. He is buried in Golden Gate National Cemetery, according to Findagrave.com.

> the rations. We couldn't get candy, but there used to be a little package of malted milk, and that's what I got.

With his father away for much of the war, Russell also spent a good deal of time with his Goulart grandparents, Costa and Francis. Because they spoke little or no English, he became much more proficient in Portuguese, but "When my father came back from the war he was so mad that I was speaking Portuguese. He had such a hard time going to school speaking Portuguese." For Russell's father, as for many children of the millions of immigrants who came to the U.S. in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, older patterns of living were not so much traditions to be celebrated as obstacles to be overcome on their way to a new identity as full-fledged Americans. Wartime heightened the pressures of divided identities, but the Portuguese, whose country of origin was officially neutral (and tacitly supportive of the Allies) during World War II, felt this less acutely than those like the Italians who had homeland ties to a country that America was now fighting. Even before the U.S. entered World War II, Bostonian prejudice against Italians had been fed by fears about the immigrants' politics and by stereotypical associations with anarchism, radical labor politics, Communism, and organized crime (Puleo 2007:106, 123, 195-6). Italians in the city had been working for decades to counter these stereotypes, including by enlisting in the U.S. military in large numbers during World War I (Puleo 2007:113-14). But much of this work was undone when Mussolini declared Italy's alliance with Germany in June of 1940. The fact that facism was in no way allied with the anarchism that Americans had feared, or that the majority of Italians in the U.S. were uneasy, at best, about Mussolini by 1940, carried little weight. Tensions around the presence of so many Italians in the U.S. were heightened after Franklin Roosevelt, whom the Italians had strongly supported at the polls in previous elections, gave a speech in which he borrowed a phrase from a French politician referring to Italy's alliance with Germany as a "stab in the back"—a loaded phrase that evoked old images of stiletto-wielding Mafia assassins (Puleo 2007:189, 197-203).[7] Italians in Boston and other American cities were once again the object of suspicion and hostility, a situation made more difficult by their continued love for their home country and their fears that their sons in the U.S. military would be called upon to fight and kill countrymen and perhaps

7 Although Italian-Americans were not interned in large numbers as Japanese-Americans were, some were displaced, sent to camps, and placed under curfews and other travel restrictions, especially on the west coast. Some Italian fishermen on the West Coast had radios and flashlights confiscated by the authorities. Italian non-citizens were declared to be enemy aliens in the early part of the war, although this was revoked by mid-1942 (Puleo 2007:212).

even kin. They found ways to demonstrate their loyalty to America—for example, by becoming citizens and using English rather than Italian in some fraternal meetings (Puleo 2007:211-12)—but their situation was a difficult one.

Most were relieved when Italy signed an armistice with the U.S. after Mussolini's fall in mid-1943. And the armistice created a unique opportunity for Boston's Italians to resolve some of the tensions within their own transnational allegiances. The Allies held more than 80,000 Italian prisoners of war, many of whom had been captured in North Africa early in the conflict. Once America entered the war, and especially after the Allies' Italian campaign started in 1943, the U.S. reluctantly agreed to house more than 50,000 of these, as well as 370,000 German POWs.[8] The Italian prisoners were in an anomalous situation: they had never fought against the U.S., many were opposed to Mussolini's alliance with Hitler in the first place, and after the 1943 armistice, their home country was not even at war with America any longer. (Further complicating their status, some of these men were actually American citizens born to migrant parents with a foot in both Italy and the U.S.) The American military's solution was to give them some freedoms—for example, they could travel and interact with local populations to some extent—while still keeping them under watch and requiring them to do paid, supervised war-related work as part of "Italian Service Units," or ISUs. 1,800 ISU members were sent to Boston starting in March of 1944. At first they were housed at Fort McKay on Columbia Point, but in July, after their presence began to cause tensions with area residents (not least because of the fascination they had for young local women), 500 were sent to Camp Myles Standish in Taunton and 1,300 to Fort Andrews. Although they weren't allowed to use the PX where others at Fort Andrews bought supplies, they did have access to the evening movies as well as the fort's canteen, and they quite quickly made themselves at home on the island (Silvia 2003:151-53). As at most other locales where ISUs were housed, their morale was high and the men generally well-behaved, with no incidents of anyone going AWOL. Matilda Bies Silvia notes that "Their life was pretty relaxed" and that they were

8 In addition to specific cited sources, information about the prisoners is compiled from a number of sources: the film "Prisoners in Paradise" (and its accompanying historical narrative – see Calamandrei 2000); a video interview with Greg and Josephine Cioffi at the 2011 Boston Harbor Island Mass. Memories Road Show; a June 20, 2013 lecture by Anne Marie Reardon at the National Archives, Waltham, Massachusetts, and subsequent conversations with Anne Marie Reardon; Stephen Fox, *Uncivil Liberties: Italian Americans Under Siege During World War II*. Waymart, PA: Universal Publishers (2000); and Janet E. Worrall, "Italian Prisoners of War in the United States: 1943-45," Teacher's Guide for "Prisoners Among Us: Italian-American Identity and World War II," pp. 39-46 (accessed online at http://prisonersamongus.com/ StudyGuide.pdf). Anne Marie Reardon's recently completed doctoral dissertation on German and Italian prisoners of war in Massachusetts, including on Peddocks Island, will provide a much more detailed scholarly account of the ISUs on the island and elsewhere.

mostly relieved to have escaped the miseries of a war many of them had not wanted to fight in (Silvia 2003:151).

Although they were on Peddocks Island for just over a year, from July 1944 through late 1945, the ISU men created a vivid impression in the community memory of the cottagers. Frank DeCosta, whose family owned Cottage 17 during the war, remembered them giving him candy bars, which he came to associate so strongly with the Italians that he was shocked when he saw a John Wayne movie in which it was American GIs who were handing out candy to local children (Connors 1996:21). Marlene Simonds from Cottage 13 also recalls encountering the prisoners at the guard house on East Head, where they would exchange a few words in broken English and give the children ice cream. "They were the nicest prisoners," she said. "They were very happy. They didn't want to go back. They loved it." Matilda Bies Silvia remembered the Italians playing "fast, exciting, and rough" soccer games and noted that they would keep an eye on the comings and goings of people on Sergeants' Row from the hillside above (Silvia 2003:152). As the men among the Italian cottagers had done, the prisoners constructed a bocce court for themselves; many years later, island caretaker Mike McDevitt discovered a wooden bocce ball on the site (Fig. 72).

Fig. 72: Former island caretaker Mike McDevitt holds a bocce ball that he found at the site of a bocce court made and used by Italian Service Units (ISUs) at Fort Andrews.

Matilda, who frequently went out fishing for flounder and lobster, wrote, "By the time I hit the beach [on the way home] there was an Italian curiosity committee in the distance" (Silvia 2003:150). The men quickly scooped up for themselves whatever "trash fish" (like shark and skate) she left on the beach and cooked it for themselves in their own mess hall. In her dissertation research on Italian and other prisoners of war in Massachusetts during the Second World War, historian Anne Marie Reardon heard tales

of splendid Italian cooking at Fort Andrews, a reflection of this central facet of Italian social and cultural life. Music, too, played a role in ISU life on the island. Like most of the islanders, Bob Enos's family had little direct connection with the men—"they were friendly, we nodded and they tried out some of their English"—but hearing them sing at Mass left a lasting impression on him as on other cottagers:

> We went to church there [at Fort Andrews], and they had a woman who came over from Hull. She brought together a choir of the prisoners and they sang at Mass. It was like going to La Scala. It was spectacular, unbelievable, in that wooden church that's right still there.[9]

If the ISUs were exotic outsiders for most on Peddocks Island, for the Italian cottagers—as for Boston's Italians in general—they were something quite different. Claire Pierimarchi Hale recalls:

> On the first Sunday after we saw the prisoners, we went to church. As I walked among the prisoners with my Nonnie Bassignana, she spoke in her Italian dialect, asking them what region they were from. The prisoners seemed ecstatic to speak with one of their "Piasans", and soon after they were sneaking out at the low tide mark [at] the end of the fence that separated the village from the fort, and spent hours at the kitchen table, eating pasta, playing cards, talking of the old country and the politics. (Hale 2002:16)

The mutual discovery of people from their home country and often their native regions or even families, caught in similar dilemmas over loyalty and identity, created a space of solidarity and sociability during the anxious final year of the war. The ISU men began to socialize with local Italian-Americans at church, over Sunday dinners, at special events like dances and games of soccer or softball, or in more informal settings like the kitchen tables of Peddocks Island cottagers. In addition to the ISU men visiting the mainland, Italians from the city came to the island to visit on weekends. Often they brought food, although as Greg Cioffi, the son of one former prisoner noted in a 2011 interview, the ISU men "cooked better than a lot of the local Italians" (Cioffi 2011); they also had access to fresh fruit and vegetables from East Head's gardens and orchards as well as the seafood they could gather from the beach.[10] Cioffi's father Giuseppe/Joe was fluent in both

9 Father Larry Drennan mentioned a story he had heard that the two priests in Hull had been seminarians in Rome and knew how to speak Italian, so they were asked (by the Fort Andrews leadership, presumably) to say Mass at the chapel for the Italian prisoners.

10 Some cottagers noted that orchards had actually been planted as well as tended and harvested by the Italian prisoners, but given the very short time they were on the island (late summer 1944 through the end of 1945), it seems much more likely that they were picking fruit from the existing orchards on East Head.

English and Italian, and became a kind of go-between and informal interpreter around the base.

The social space where the prisoners and locals interacted was actually supported by military and political officials in Boston and elsewhere. Officials were concerned about unifying the civilian population behind the war effort and they also recognized that the ISU men were an important source of labor—and a symbol of transnational cooperation—at a time when the U.S. was rallying itself for the final push of the war. There were many levels of rhetoric and motivation at work in the interaction between the ISUs and local Italians. It allowed Boston's Italians to present themselves as both Italian and American, while gaining some ground with the city's leaders. For many, it was an expression of hope that their own husbands, sons, and brothers were being equally well cared for in prison camps in Europe and elsewhere (Puleo 2007:220-221). In a more directly political sense, it allowed the local Italians to be seen making a visible contribution on the home front, while the prisoners were presented as having materially aided the war effort as well. One newspaper pointed out that the ISUs had done over 12 million hours of work without guards and without a single incident of sabotage (Worrall n.d.:44). Despite the army's emphasis on positive PR, tensions still arose in Boston and many other places when the press and non-Italians protested that publicly-supported excursions for the ISUs amounted to "coddling" enemy prisoners at a time when American soldiers were still in combat (Worrall n.d.:41-42). And the inevitable romances that bloomed between ISU men and young (mostly Italian-American) women conflicted with the army's strict prohibitions, leading to complications after the war when women who wished to marry ISU men had to travel to Italy to do so. (Anne Marie Reardon has documented 15 such cases among the ISU men in eastern Massachusetts, but feels confident there were many more.)

No marriages resulted from the conviviality in the island or mainland homes of Peddocks Island's Italian cottagers, although at least one of the visiting mainlanders—Josephine Cioffi, a 14-year-old when she first visited Fort Andrews—did later marry her sweetheart, the young interpreter Joe Cioffi. But as with the 1909 Chinese picnic, the story of the ISUs on Peddocks shows us how members of an ethnic minority in Boston used the island as a place to assert themselves more fully as residents and citizens in a city that had often been reluctant to see them that way. In both cases, we can see how the city's Italian immigrants strategically aligned themselves with people in power who could help them. In neither case were these questions resolved once and for all, but

they were opened in new ways, perhaps thanks in part to the "edge" atmosphere of the island that enabled unexpected interactions across cultural and political differences. In a coda to the ISU story, Claire Pierimarchi Hale recalls a red-letter day when some of the prisoners were allowed to visit her family at their Somerville home for a final party before being returned to Italy. Claire relates that her whole experience of encountering the prisoners had helped her to understand some of the hostility that was directed at Italians in Boston. That hostility was very much in evidence on the day of the going-away party, with the Pierimarchis' mostly-Irish neighbors vocally expressing their objections to the presence of both the ISU men and the American soldiers who accompanied them as guards. But it seems that the heavy military presence cut both ways, and Claire notes in her memoir, "It seems that we were more respected by our neighbors after that" (Hale 2002:16). Through their risky, multi-layered association with the Italian prisoners and the authorities responsible for them, the Pierimarchis and others in Italian Boston became a little more firmly rooted in their homes in the U.S., while also perhaps helping to shift the way other Americans saw their own nation as it began to emerge from the years of Depression and war. ■

Fig. 73: This photo from Claire Pierimarchi Hale's collection shows her maternal grandfather, Giuseppe Bassignana (back row, second from left) with some of the Italian Service Unit (ISU) men from Fort Andrews who visited the Italian cottagers on weekends. In the background is the windmill that Claire's family installed on the hillside above Cottage 40. (University Archives & Special Collections Department, Joseph P. Healey Library, University of Massachusetts Boston: Mass. Memories Road Show Collection, Contributor: Claire A. [Pierimarchi] Hale)

Chapter Nine:
The Family Era (1945-1970)

When World War II ended, civilians were able to access Peddocks Island much more easily once again, and in many ways, the cottagers picked up where they left off, with an expanding and interconnected network of people built on the foundation of the earlier fishing and vacationing families. In other ways, things were changing. Only a handful of the original Azoreans were still coming to the island, and very few of those stayed year-round any longer. Many of the younger generation of cottagers were now married with children of their own, giving the Middle Head colony much more of a family- and recreation-oriented character that expressed itself in both private and community-wide traditions. Attempting to cope with the pollution of the harbor that had been a problem since Boston's rapid expansion in the late nineteenth century, the city constructed new sewage treatment facilities, one of them right next to West Head, but despite this and some new laws and policies, water quality continued to worsen in the immediate postwar years. And by the late 1950s, East Coast Realty had become the new landlord on the island, after many decades of the cottagers paying rent to the Andrew Estate. Throughout these years, the handful of remaining year-round people, including several from East Head, served as important reference-points for the cottage community, looming large in the memories of those who are still on the island today.

Bridging Past and Present: Mabel Pinto

The Peddocks Island cottages had always been places for both work and play, with seasonal and some year-round use by fishermen and lobstermen who lived alongside summer vacationers of both Portuguese and non-Portuguese background. Work and leisure continued to blend in the postwar years, although with important changes. Most significant was that there were few people left from the first generation of Azorean immigrants, and almost none of their children were pursuing maritime livelihoods. Evelyn Leeds' June 1941 profile of the Azoreans on Middle Head captured stories of the last people from the immigrant generation who remained on the island, particularly Manuel Ferrara and the old whaler Manuel Silva. Leeds described Silva, then aged 74, as:

> [A]n erect, powerful man well over six feet tall. Like the others, he wears a faded blue shirt and dungarees, with a visored cap down over his gray hair,

> plus an unusually strong leather belt around his waist. Old Mr. Silva has a deep voice: he speaks English slowly, with a Portuguese accent. Although he doesn't read or write, he carries himself with an air of authority: he is the patriarch of the clan. (Leeds 1941)

Leeds finished her article with a poignant vignette of Manuel Ferrara, then 73:

> "My wife, she died July, 10 year ago," he said. "I do everything now, cook, everything. Don't fish any more. No good for fishing." He sat with his hands in his lap, an old white-haired man in faded dungarees, a black-and-white shirt with a scarf at the neck, and a dust-colored hat. "No good for anything now," he repeated mournfully, and muttered to himself, partly in English, partly in Portuguese. (Leeds 1941)

Fig. 74: Manuel Silva as shown in the 1941 Boston Sunday Post article profiling the Portuguese fishing community on Peddocks Island. (Boston Sunday Post 1941)

Some of the current cottagers still remember these two men, both of whom lived into the late 1950s. Claire Pierimarchi Hale recalls that *Ti* (Uncle) Manuel Silva was sometimes called "Black Manuel," that he liked to sit on the porch of Cottage 26 every evening smoking a cigarette, and that he was retired from active fishing and lobstering by the 1940s, serving as the trap and net repairman for other men in the community (Hale 2002:7; Leeds 1941).[1] Annmarie Centrella of the Ferdinand family in Cottage 19 recalled that Manuel Ferrara had remarried by the time she was growing up and that he and his wife Myrtle were still living year-round on the island after the war, the last of the immigrant generation to do so. She described Myrtle as "quiet and lovely" while Manny himself was "rough and gruff" in a way that children sometimes found a bit frightening. Jim Saudade, Jr. remembers a different side of Manny Ferrara, who would sometimes amuse the island kids with his Popeye impersonation: captain's hat on

1 The nickname "Black Manuel" is intriguing. As already noted, Azoreans were often regarded as non-white in the U.S., but photos of Manuel Silva suggest that he was no darker in complexion than other Peddocks Islanders. One possibility is that the nickname may refer to some Cape Verdean ancestry or connection.

Fig. 75: Manuel Silva (left) and Peter Bettencourt (right), shown in 1932 in front of Cottages 21-25. (Collection of Frances Lopes, courtesy of Marijane Crawford and Nanci Xirinachs)

his head, pipe clamped between his jaws, shoulders rolled out to emphasize his massive lobsterman's arms. Along with Tia Rosa Alberts, Theodore Ferdinand, and members of the next generation like the island ferrymen Tony Ferdinand and Johnny Lewis, the two men represented a living connection with the original fishing colony on the island.

Another important point of connection can be found in the Pinto family, particularly Mabel Pinto, a central figure in the cottage community for many decades.[2] Mabel was not Portuguese—the 1930 U.S. Census lists her as Massachusetts-born with two parents who were from Newfoundland. The family lived in Winthrop, where her father was the caretaker of the Winthrop Light. Probably in 1918, when she was about 21, she married one of the Portuguese Peddocks Island fishermen, John Pinto, then in his late

2 Information about the Pinto family comes from U.S. Census records, Hull voter lists, Social Security records, cottager recollections, and newspaper stories, although the latter tend to be unreliable. John Pinto Sr. appears first in the U.S. Census for the island in 1910. In 1920 and 1930, he is still listed there on his own. In 1940, Mabel and her son John are listed as living there, with no mention of John Sr. Mabel is listed as a divorcee that year, but Claire Pierimarchi Hale's memoir (2002:4) notes that she was widowed. In a 1960 Boston Herald story, Mabel said that she had been at the deathbeds of four people in her cottage; two of those were perhaps her husband and son (Gordon 1960:2).

40s; their son John was born around 1919. The family seem to have had a mainland home for at least part of the time, another reflection of the way that many of the island families fluctuated between mainland and off-shore residence. In 1930 the Pintos had an address in South Boston, where Mabel's husband worked (like Peter Bettencourt and several members of the Ferdinand family) as a chauffeur. At some point Mabel was either widowed or divorced, and John, Jr. apparently died of tuberculosis when he was in his 20s, sometime after 1941 when visiting journalist Evelyn Leeds described him as "tall, slim, and dark, with brown eyes" (Leeds 1941; see Fig. 59 in Chapter Seven). For many decades, Mabel inhabited Cottage 41 by herself, seeming to enjoy her persona as a colorful island "character" and eventually taking on the semi-serious designation of mayor. She took over the job of cooking for Manuel Silva and his son Joseph after Manuel's wife died. "She used to have the Portuguese dishes—I do sometimes. I have an awful time," Mabel told Evelyn Leeds. "Joe doesn't like anything hot, old Mr. Silva likes things hot, and I can't get anything hot enough" (Leeds 1941). One winter, Joe Silva died while he was out pulling lobster traps; his skiff floated back in to shore with his body in it, leaving another gap in the dwindling population of year-round Peddocks Islanders (Hale 2002:7). Mabel herself was the last of the year-rounders on Middle Head, continuing to live there full-time until sometime in the 1950s (Davis 1970:6, Scheible 1989:1). After that, she came seasonally, arriving in late spring, staying until October, and renting a room on the mainland in the other months of the year.

Fig. 76: Mabel Pinto, 1964, with Cottage 25 in the background. (Robin MacDonald-Foley)

Stories about Mabel Pinto are one important common thread running through the cottagers' shared memories. Jim Saudade saw Mabel as "kind of the glue" that helped the community cohere in the postwar years, perhaps because she was such a constant presence on the island. Perhaps her cottage's location

at the main crossroads on Middle Head added to that presence as well. Starting in the 1970s, she owned a CB radio, which made her key point of contact for all the islanders in an emergency. Like Tia Rosa Alberts, she also played a role in the otherwise-masculine maritime world: many people remember her boiling crabs in a big cauldron over a fire on the beach next to the pink cottage and selling crabmeat to cottagers on weekends. John Ferdinand, Annmarie Centrella's brother, remembered bringing pollock—considered a throwaway fish at the time—to Mabel so she could feed it to her cat. Mabel also seems to have been a kind of conduit for the memories of the older Azorean islanders. John Downey, who used a rowboat for his commute to the mainland for two summers after his motorboat was stolen, spoke about Mabel demanding to see what his palms looked like after the strenuous trip. When she saw that he'd had the sense to put gloves on, she said approvingly, "That's just like the Portagees used to do." Her cellar was apparently a hiding place for boys in the large Gill family from Cottage 37 on the fairly frequent occasions when they were in trouble with their parents, with the added attraction that the cellar was where Mabel did her home-brewing. A 1996 newspaper story mentions her skill at this, as well as at baking pies, which often used wild berries picked on the island. As a boy, Frank DeCosta from Cottage 17 shared with Mabel the location of a "secret strawberry patch" he had found, and she rewarded him by baking him blueberry pies for many years (Connors 1996:21). Robin MacDonald-Foley, who spent a good deal of time in Cottage 25 as a young girl, recalled in a 2014 email, "Mabel was so nice to us. She used to find little toys on the beach, then she would nail them to the posts on her house. I would always admire them and want one. Once in a while I got my wish, along with a piece of candy. She was a gem."

Not all memories of Mabel were entirely positive. Some cottagers recalled that she had a sharp tongue, while others had mixed feelings about her self-appointed role as "mayor." To her next-door neighbor Rich Murphy, her prickly manner was a sign that she was "a real islander" who simply didn't care what other people thought of her. He noted that once she decided she approved of someone, her manner became much friendlier. Rich spent a good deal of time listening to Mabel tell stories about the island, and said that Edward Rowe Snow, who wrote extensively about Boston Harbor, also heard many stories from her, which suggests that she was a source for at least some of his writing about Peddocks Island.

Stories about Mabel Pinto frequently contain the phrase "Mabel and Mrs. Healy," a reference to her close friendship with the woman whose family bought Cottage 22 from

the younger island ferryman, Johnny Lewis. Mabel was known to everyone by her first name, but Mrs. Annie Healy always seems to be "Mrs." in the cottagers' recollections. She was seemingly sweet where Mabel was salty, "a lovely person," according to Annmarie Centrella. Mrs. Healy was an Irish immigrant who had come to the U.S. at 23, and who lived in Quincy (Scheible 1989:8). Although she had a husband and several children, people recall that she was the one who really liked coming to the island, and that she was often there by herself, an echo of the other independent women who found the island to be a place of retreat for themselves. Mabel and Mrs. Healy went on weekly mainland shopping trips together, ferried across by one of the men who had boats (sometimes Bucky Shaw in Cottage 28, sometimes Rich Murphy in Cottage 40). And they often got together for the island ritual of watching the sun set, sometimes sitting snugly on the porch of Cottage 22 under afghans, a recollection shared by a number of cottagers. As the summer shifted into fall, the sun would set more and more toward the south, and Bob Enos recalled that the two women would watch for it to reach a certain spot over West Head as a signal that it was time to leave the island for

Fig. 77: A 1989 newspaper photo captures old friends Mabel Pinto, then almost 90 years old, and Annie Healy, 84, as they walk to the boat that took Mabel off the island for the last time. (Scheible 1989)

another year. In the fall of 1989, Mabel Pinto, then aged 90, decided that it was finally time to leave for good (Scheible 1989). She sold Cottage 41 to the Saudade family, gave her crab-cleaning tools to her neighbor Dan Connolly, and went back to Winthrop, where she died four years later. Several of the current cottagers attended her funeral, and memories of her remains very vivid in the island community two decades later.

Island Caretakers: Perrys and McDevitts

The year-round residents of Sergeants' Row were also important anchor-points for the cottage community. Along with Matilda Bies Silvia, the two Perry families—Sam and Consuelo, Nana and Fred—represented a link with the active years of Fort Andrews in two eras of world war, while the McDevitts, hired in 1962 by the island's new owners, were part of a new phase of island life, with the fort shuttered and decaying but a vibrant multi-generational cottage community just across the tombolo in Middle Head.

Matilda married in 1938 and spent the war years on Peddocks Island while her husband was overseas. Afterward, she lived for much of the time in New York City, where she worked as a professional dancer. In 1958, she gave birth to a daughter, Leslie, and the two continued to come to her family's island home—Cottage 45—for many years. Florence Bies, widow of Matilda's brother Eddie, lived with her daughter in Cottage 44, Sam and Connie Perry's old house. On the other side of the row, closest to the water, was Cottage 46, the home of Fred and Nana Perry. Their two daughters, Gertrude and Vi, both married soldiers from Fort Andrews. One of Vi's sons, Don, spent much of his early life with his grandparents and was good friends with Eddie Bies, with whom he shared a passion for tinkering with boat engines. Like Fred and Nana's son Fred Jr. (known as "Boy" Perry), Don went into the Navy; he eventually became an admiral (Silvia 2003:108).[3]

Nana Perry is another of those island figures who is central to community memory. Jim Saudade described her as "sweet, hard-working, with no fears, and a comfort to be with." He noted that if Mabel was the self-declared head of the island community, "Nana was the soul." Jim remembers that people sometimes asked her if she was afraid of strangers landing on the beach next to her house on the almost-unpopulated East Head. She would reply, "Oh, that has happened—and I just offer them a cup of tea." Peter Sault, who owned one of the West Head cottages during the 1970s, spoke about Nana taking hot coffee out to the Portuguese clam-diggers on cold winter days. A sense

3 Additional information about these families is from U.S. Census and military records. Fred Perry died in 1963, and is buried, with his wife, in the veterans' cemetery at Fort Devens, Massachusetts.

of Nana Perry as both adventuresome and indomitable comes through in another story from Jim Saudade, from the period when the island's new owners were hoping to develop new cottage lots on West Head and had hired excavators to clear the land. One of them, a man who was as enormous as the bulldozer he was operating, had parked his machine on the beach near the pink house at the end of the workday. Nana was at the popular visiting-spot talking with some of the cottagers, and Jim remembers her catching sight of the huge bulldozer and sidling up to it, saying admiring things to the driver until he realized what she was interested in and asked, "Would you like to go for a ride?" Much to her delight, he hoisted her up on the seat with him and took off down the beach on the giant machine. Mike McDevitt, Nana's neighbor on East Head for many years, has many similar fond memories of her, including how, in her later years, she would ask the McDevitt children to thread her sewing needles for her because she couldn't see well enough to do it herself. Nana died in 1984, and her daughter Mary continued to live alone in the house. Mary had relied heavily on her strong and capable mother, and did not thrive on her own on

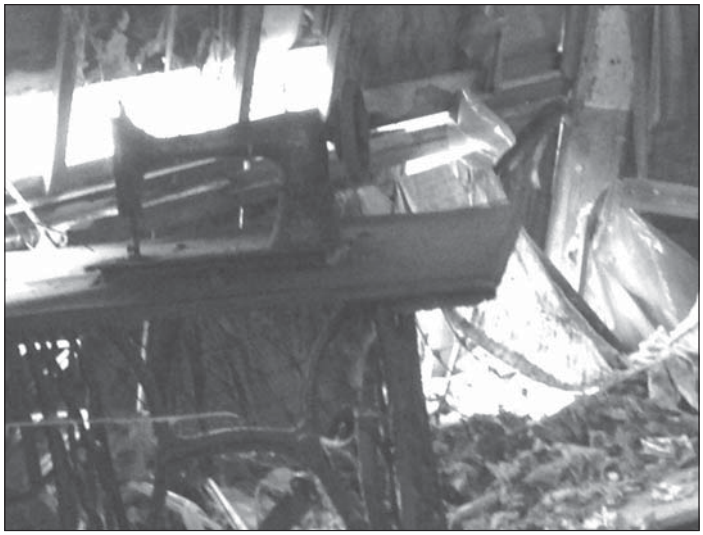

Fig. 78a, 78b: (Above) Cottage 46, the former home of Fred and Lilian "Nana" Perry and their daughter Mary, was among the empty and deteriorated cottages in summer 2013. (Below) Some of the family's belongings, like the sewing machine, could still be seen in the structure.

the island; eventually it was decided that she would be better cared for on the mainland, and she moved to a seniors' home in South Boston, dying there around 2007.

During the 1950s, many things were changing around the harbor and the shore. Vacation patterns continued to become more dominated by car and later air travel, and most of the remaining Victorian seaside resort hotels fell into disuse. These included the once-magnificent Pemberton Hotel on Windmill Point, which was demolished to build Hull High School in the 1950s (Committee for the Preservation of Hull's History 1999:28). Shore vacationing continued to be big business in New England, though, and the importance of tourism in the region was one of the reasons—along with concerns about economic redevelopment and environmental health—for growing attention to the increasing levels of pollution and antiquated maritime facilities in Boston Harbor (Dolin 2004:53). In 1954, the city built a low-level sewage treatment facility on Nut Island, just off the West Head of Peddocks Island, designed to relieve some of the pressure on the over-taxed late nineteenth century sewage system. But the small plant was immediately over-loaded and much of the waste that was supposed to be dispersed on the tide remained close to shore (Dolin 2004:54-55). Throughout the immediate postwar decades, city and state officials wrestled with the sometimes-contradictory tasks of cleaning up the harbor, promoting the region's historic and natural attractions, and reshaping Boston's economy for an era when much of the industry that had fueled its earlier prosperity—including the massive ship-building facilities built during World War II—had shut down. The mix of financial, technological, cultural, and environmental successes that would contribute to late twentieth-century Boston's economic revival was not yet in place, but it was beginning to come together in the 1950s and 1960s, including through the state's acquisition of Georges Island, the first of its Harbor Island properties and the nucleus of today's Harbor Islands park, in the late 1950s (Ward 1998:191; GMP 2002:15, 19).

Fort Andrews had been under caretaker management since the end of the war, with most of the buildings shuttered and a series of men hired to maintain security at the disused facility. Cottagers recall various caretakers from those years: Sam Perry, Gus Williams, Andrew Sweeney, a man named Schofield and one named Atwood. Sweeney, who was also caretaker of Fort Warren and Fort Standish (Silvia 2003:154), seems to have inhabited more than one of the Peddocks cottages at various times: the "Family Tree" lists him at both Cottage 20, Manuel and Myrtle Ferrara's former home, and at Cottage 43,

the former DeGust home.[4] When East Coast Realty purchased the entire island from the federal government and the Andrew estate, the practice of employing a live-in caretaker on East Head continued. In 1962, Isadore Bromfield hired Ed McDevitt of Hull to be the full-time caretaker on Peddocks, with the particular charge to collect rents from the cottagers, guard against vandalism and board up broken windows at the empty fort, and keep the roadways plowed in the winter so that buildings would be accessible in case of fire (McDevitt n.d.). Ed's wife Judy, who had just turned 19, was his partner in the caretaker job. The Hull fire chief, then acting as an overseer for the island, interviewed her thoroughly before accepting Ed's application, to make sure she seemed able to withstand the rigors of living on an island with no electricity or running water. It turned out that in addition to Ed's experience with boats and navigation, Judy's background on a commercial farm in Scituate, Massachusetts gave her many practical skills and a knack for self-sufficiency.

Those qualities stood her in good stead once the family—which included the couple's infant son Eddie—moved into one of the former officer's quarters on the upper level of the Fort Andrews complex in June 1962. Like the Middle Head cottagers, the couple cooked on a woodstove, used kerosene lanterns for light at night, and got used to hauling groceries from the mainland, in addition to fishing and foraging. The fort's old orchard and gardens were particularly prized sources of fresh food, and Mike McDevitt recalls lurching over East Head in one of the two old vehicles kept there—a 1922 LaFrance fire truck and a 1947 Willys Jeep—in search of peaches and asparagus. The McDevitts also kept horses on the island for several years, stabling them in the Guard House and letting them drink from a bathtub under the hydrant near the pier, which was allowed to trickle year-round to keep it from freezing.

The McDevitts had three more children during their time on the island: Mike, Christine, and Judy. All three are still among the cottagers, Mike in Cottage 47 and his sisters in Cottage 44. They share memories of the older Sergeants' Row families, the Bieses and Perrys, as well as of the Middle and West Head cottagers. In her written account of her first day on the island, Judy McDevitt recalled being visited by "a neat looking elderly woman [wearing] a dress and earrings [who] carried a long walking stick." She turned out to be Nana Perry, who had once lived in the same unit of Fort Andrews

4 Jim Saudade related a story about Ed McDevitt discovering the dead body of Andrew Sweeney on Georges Island, after realizing that something must be wrong when Sweeney's boat remained tied to the pier even though the tide level had changed. The McDevitts ended up buying the boat after his death, renaming it the *Seahorse*.

housing (15A) that the McDevitts were moving into (McDevitt n.d.). Like Nana, Judy proved herself to be tough and resourceful, with maritime skills of her own (like her daughters, she had a tugboat operator license and became interested in boat-building, making a pair of skiffs in the late 1980s). In addition to growing and preserving food and raising chickens, as many of the islanders had long done, she followed the example of Mabel Pinto, Rose Alberts, and others in brewing her own beer, using recipes in the Foxfire books that an island friend gave her (other island friends, also following tradition, tended to drink it before it had matured, to Judy's frustration).

Fig. 79: Cottage 44, originally occupied by Sam and Consuelo Perry and then by Florence Bies and her daughters, is now owned by the McDevitt family and sports a sign from one of the family tugboats.

The McDevitt family, separately and collectively, kept watch over the island for many years. Russ Crombie, one of the current cottagers who grew up in Hough's Neck, recalls, "It was taboo to land on this island when Eddie McDevitt was the caretaker." Shortly before the state acquired the island in 1970, and with help from their island friends, the McDevitts built a new home for themselves (now Cottage 47), adding the newest dwelling to the island and continuing the caretaker pattern of moving from the fort to the Sergeants' Row side of East Head. The McDevitts' marriage ended in the late 1970s, and Ed moved to the mainland to take a job as the harbormaster in Hull; his son Mike then became the island caretaker. Judy left the island for a time but returned in 1988 to move into what had originally been Sam and Connie Perry's house (Cottage 44), occupied for some years by Florence Bies and her daughters. At some point the "Perry" nameplate had been removed from the front door, but when Judy discovered it in a shed, she restored it to its former place, having noticed a spot on the door where it had clearly once been (Fig. 80). Like her son Mike, she had a deep interest in the island's history, joining with West Head cottager Peter Sault to pursue

research at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. and writing a short history of Peddocks Island while she was pursuing a graduate degree in writing near the end of her life (McDevitt n.d.).

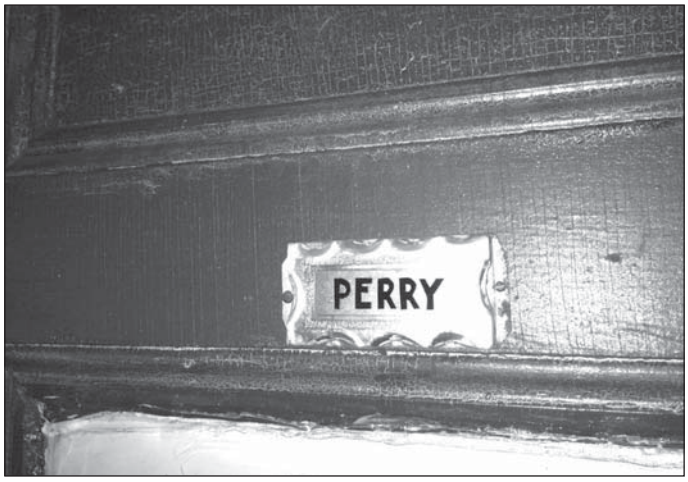

Fig. 80: The nameplate on the door of Cottage 44 was removed by the next occupants but found and restored by Judy McDevitt after she moved into the cottage in 1988.

Judy McDevitt's account of moving to the island with her husband and small child at 19 includes the recollection of looking at Peddocks Island from Pemberton Point before she had ever been there, and thinking that it seemed like "a place of quiet adventure" (McDevitt n.d.). From her first night on the island, she wrote, "The blessed quiet was the best part, and still is" (McDevitt 2007). Many of the cottagers' memories of Judy, who died of cancer in 2011, emphasize her toughness, willingess to try new things, and deep affinity for the island. In a 1996 newspaper article, Wendy Connors, the sister-in-law of a cottager, recalled a rough trip across Hingham Bay in a newly-restored family boat that was in danger of crashing into the pier that was still standing near the pink house. Connors was waist-deep in the water trying to fend it off when "out of nowhere like a vision from God, came Captain Judy McDevitt. Calmly and knowingly, she turned the boat around, tied us up, and gave me instructions on exactly how to get out of there when we left" (Connors 1996:20). A very beloved four-legged member of the McDevitt family seems to have shared these same guardian instincts. The McDevitts' dog Dante was well-known to all of the cottagers, to the point that, as Marlene Gill said, "Everybody had a Dante bowl and a Dante bed in their cottage… She really belonged to the whole island." Many people related the story that when small children were playing on the beach, Dante would diligently patrol the water's edge to make sure they didn't fall in or hurt themselves. When Dante died in 1997, one of the cottagers distributed laminated color photos to all the dog's human friends (Fig. 81); they can be seen in many cottages today, and there is also an outdoor memorial that overlooks the beach in front of Cottage 23 (Fig. 82).

Fig. 81: (Above) The same laminated photo of Dante, the McDevitts' dog, can be found in many of the Peddocks Island cottages.

Fig. 82: (Above) A memorial to the McDevitts' dog Dante, who "really belonged to the whole island" according to one cottager, can be seen overlooking the beach outside Cottage 23.

Fig. 83: (Right) Judy McDevitt on Peddocks Island, 2007. (University Archives & Special Collections Department, Joseph P. Healey Library, University of Massachusetts Boston: Mass. Memories Road Show Collection, Contributor: Stephanie Schorow)

Newcomers, Celebrations, and a "Modern Thoreau"

The demographic makeup of the cottage community changed in part through generational shifts in the older island families in the postwar decades. But there were also some new additions, mostly in family groups with a handful of people who came to the island on their own. The stories of the Saudade and Downey families show how these newcomers became woven into the island mix, while the experiences of Jack Hennessey and other single cottagers illustrate the enduring appeal of the island as "a place of quiet adventure."

The Saudades are a case of the exception proving the rule: they were not part of the original extended network of Portuguese families who formed the foundation of the cottage community, but they *were* descended from Azoreans who settled in the

Boston area, and the family's memory of living on the water seems to have played a large part in prompting them to start coming to Peddocks Island. They were living in heavily-Portuguese Somerville when a friend introduced Jim Saudade, Sr. to the island, and the appeal of the whole South Shore area resulted in the Saudades moving to Hough's Neck in Quincy, where Jim Jr. and his two sisters grew up. Jim Sr. was a World War II veteran and former sailor in the merchant marine who was very familiar with boats. He, his son, and sometimes his younger daughter began coming regularly to the island, where they camped on the beach near the pink house and came to know many of the islanders. They established more of a foothold when Florence Bies invited them to turn the small outbuilding behind Cottage 44 into a kind of bunkhouse in the 1950s. Eventually they were able to buy Cottage 20, the former Ferrara home, when they heard through the grapevine—while walking to church on Sunday morning, an important moment of interaction for cottagers—that the members of the Kennedy family who'd bought it were planning to sell.

Memories of Jim Saudade Sr. run through many cottager recollections, in large part because of his central role in the island-wide celebrations that took place each year on the Fourth of July or Labor Day weekends.[5] Known to the cottagers as "Jungle Jim" because of the pith helmet he wore while digging clams, he served as a kind of master of ceremonies and organizer of kids' games on special occasions, as well as being a favored storyteller at other times. Jim Sr. was also a very close friend of Ed and Judy McDevitt, and their children were part of the same age cohort of younger islanders in the 1950s and 60s. The very large number of children in that era made for lively and creative events, with a parade that often started in front of Cottage 13 ("the Yellow") and wound its way around Middle Head, finishing up at "Pratt's Field" next to the pond, where old-fashioned games like sack races, tugs of war, pie-eating and doughnut-eating contests (with doughnuts dangling from strings) were the order of the day. Stephen Keith from Cottage 36, closest to the field, sometimes rented a big tent to make it more comfortable to be out in the hot sun. The island kids made their own costumes, many of which related to island life. Jen Crombie, a descendant of three island families, recalls dressing her brother as a tide chart one year, and notes that a good costume could be a

5 These celebrations have historically been held on one or both of these holiday weekends, with the schedule changing over time. Some cottagers recall them being either at the beginning of the summer or at the end, but Annmarie Centrella can remember years when it was both. Her sense is that over the years, people came to feel that the Fourth of July weekend was just too busy with opening up cottages for the year, and that gradually there was a consensus that it felt more relaxed to shift the celebration to Labor Day weekend.

summer-long project. Cottagers remembered elaborate coats of clamshells or feathers ("The Birdman of Peddock's Island," complete with yellow boots as legs) as well as more quickly-improvised creations: one pair of sisters who only arrived at their cottage late in the summer came up with the last-minute solution of turning yellow trash bags into fetching "Bo Peep" dresses and bonnets. One year Judy McDevitt dressed her four children as a chain gang, in striped prison garb. Adults also dressed up for the occasion; a 1964 photo shows a group of neighbors from the north-facing row of Middle Head in their Labor Day creations (Fig. 84). The island-wide celebrations were—and still are—organized by the Peddocks Island Association, a cottagers' group which was started by two island women, Alice (Costa) Kennedy from Cottage 35 and her neighbor Gertrude Pratt from Cottage 37, largely for the purpose of maintaining communication among the cottagers about issues and information of common concern as well as facilitating community gatherings.[6]

Fig. 84: Cross-dressing and an old-fashioned bathing costume were the order of the day for a group of north-side neighbors in the 1964 Labor Day parade. Left to right: Patsy Todescho, Ellen MacDonald, Josephine Walsh, Jack Gelb, Bill Daly. (Robin MacDonald-Foley)

6 The information about the founding of the association comes from the caption to a 1959 photo of the Pratt family in front of Cottage 37, collected as part of the Mass. Memories Roadshow project on the Boston Harbor Islands. Accessed at http://cdm15774.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p15774coll6/id/979/rec/1. The current PIA leadership did not wish to share the organization's files with the PI for this study (although Bob Enos shared a copy of a 1981 newsletter) and few people mentioned it during interviews and conversations, so it has not been discussed at any length in this report.

Women in the community were also centrally involved in another activity that drew many islanders together: summer church services. Starting around 1960, the cottagers were able to use the chapel at Fort Andrews, and had a visiting priest come to the island—often someone from Blessed Sacrament Parish in Hough's Neck, but sometimes from St. Anne's in Hull, which had official jurisdiction over the chapel—to say an early Mass before his other duties on the mainland. The majority of the Portuguese, Italian, and Irish-descended cottagers were Catholic—Jim Saudade and others recall Mrs. Healy from Cottage 22 as being particularly devout—but some non-Catholics attended the services as well. Jim described people gathering and walking from Middle Head to East Head as a group, "almost like a procession" when "everybody had a long chance to talk." In Jim's recollection, the majority of the congregation tended to be made up of women and children; he remembers the processions being colorful, with women in their Sunday dresses. In 1965, the cottagers formed a work party to repaint the interior of the chapel, and the women sewed new altar cloths out of sheets. Annmarie Centrella, whose family was among the church-goers, remembers that as a girl she fantasized about someday being married in the oceanside chapel. Various boatmen from the island and the

Fig. 85: In this 1968 photo, the children's costumed parade is just getting underway, with cottagers Wes Kendall at left and Rod Gill next to him, looking away from the camera. The children second and third from left are Phil Chalmers' son Steve and niece Paula Clark dressed as a mariachi couple. (Philip Chalmers)

mainland ferried the priest over to the island; a pair of altarboys sometimes accompanied him. One of the regular visiting priests during the 1960s was Father Bill Donlon of Blessed Sacrament Parish, who seems to have enjoyed the "quiet adventure" of crossing the bay to say Mass. One of his younger colleagues, Father Larry Drennan, recalls how

> he stood up in the bow of that [boat] with the gospel in his hand like Saint Paul, going to preach the gospel. . . He just loved to do that because he tried to imagine what it was like for the early apostles to go preach the gospel in different lands. So I just imagine him up in the bow of that ship with the gospel book in his hand, "Here I come!"

Fig. 86: Two of Marlene Giammarco's daughters, Marlene and Linda Gill (now Crombie) are in the center of this scene from the 1969 parade. Their sister Cindy is behind them in a flower headdress; the woman to her left is Rita Muse from Cottage 6. At left, "Jungle" Jim Saudade can be seen in his characteristic pith helmet. (Marlene Giammarco, née Simonds)

At some point, the chapel was officially or unofficially christened "St. Dominick's"; Father Drennan thought this was perhaps because of a connection between Father Donlon and a friend at the Dominican-run Providence College, but the name also appears in a 1965 newspaper article about the summer services, suggesting that it was a more permanent designation (Gordon 1965).[7] Jim Saudade characterized the summer Masses as "a very special thing here" and noted that it was "a blow when it stopped." Cottagers made other arrangements to attend Mass when the chapel services were not held; Bob Enos's family and others sometimes went to the church in Hull, and it

7 The newspaper article, from June 13, 1965, was supplied by a cottager, but information about its source was not included on the photocopy. The article includes a photo of two volunteers repainting the interior of the chapel, and mentions that four years earlier, Most Blessed Sacrament Church in Quincy had sent over clergymen after receiving permission from East Coast Realty. In 1965, the officiating priests were two curates from St. Mary's Church in Hull, Rev. John Lepore and Rev. David McGowan, who travelled to the island from a Nantasket pier in their boat the "Iron Duke" each Sunday morning.

seems that open-air Masses were occasionally held under the big catalba tree next to the Enos cottages (Connors 1996:21). Frank DeCosta from Cottage 17 recalled that after the services at the Fort Andrews chapel stopped, his mother Alice would send one of her sons (usually John, the oldest) to get bread, milk, and the Sunday paper, with instructions to go to Mass and say a prayer for all of them while he was there (Connors 1996:21). It is not exactly clear when the services stopped, but they do not appear to have gone on into the 1970s.

In addition to providing a chance to attend Mass and to visit with other cottagers, the Sunday services on East Head gave the Middle Head residents a by-then-unusual inside look at the decaying fort. Jack and Mary Downey were among the island parents who would not let their children play there, because of the dangers of the big empty buildings. The Downeys, like the Saudades, joined the cottage community in the postwar years, through a somewhat similar route that combined previous acquaintance with other cottagers and being in the right place at the right time when a cottage owner decided to sell..[8] Jack is one of the many current cottagers who grew up on the South Shore, familiar with boats and coastal places. Mary was born in western Massachusetts; like Judy McDevitt, she had experience with farm life and with growing and preserving food and other skills of frugal living. Jack used to visit the island when he was in the harbor fishing; his first acquaintance with the cottagers came when he met an elderly Italian man—one of the Pierimarchi family—while contemplating the ocean from the bluff on West Head. The Italian cottager invited Jack to come back to his cottage for a glass of wine, and a friendship was forged which continued over evening

Fig. 87: Mary and Jack Downey in front of Cottage 34, Summer 2013.

8 Information about the Downey family is from conversations with them on the island in the summer of 2013, documented in fieldnotes.

visits and card games for several years. On one visit, Jack noticed an index card tacked on the side of Cottage 34, then owned by the Spezzaferri family, saying that the cottage was for sale. Because he didn't have a pen and paper with him, Jack scratched his phone number on an old spare oar he kept in his boat and left it at the cottage. The neighbor who contacted him—Mary D'Amico from Cottage 33—already knew Jack from his visits to the Pierimarchis, and was happy to sell the cottage on a handshake to the Downeys, who had just started a family and were cash-poor. This kind of informal transaction seems to have been common in the transfer of cottages from one owner to another, with handshake agreements backed up by more official deed transfers of the kind shown in Fig. 45.

The Downeys' family eventually included three daughters who spent all of their youthful summers on the island with their parents. Jack became a commuting father in the pattern of the earlier south-side commuters, boating to the Wollaston Yacht Club where he got out of what he calls his "Superman" costume (yellow boots and other nautical gear) and into his "Clark Kent" suit and tie to go to his job as a salesman. This rigorous schedule became even more strenuous after his motorboat was stolen and he had to row himself to the Quincy Yacht Club on Hough's Neck for two summers instead of motoring to Wollaston farther up the shore. Despite the challenges, the Downeys enthusiastically embraced island living, sometimes visiting in the off-season and having "Peddocks Island nights" with lanterns and other cottage supplies at their mainland home in Norwell whenever the power went off.

New additions to the community, like the Downeys and the Saudades, continued to strengthen the interconnections among the cottagers rather than diluting a sense of belonging on the island. By the time the second and third generation of islanders was growing up, there were many layers of relationship, whether through kinship or longtime proximity and friendship. In the words of Jim Saudade, "We went in and out of people's houses with virtually no entrée required," sometimes invited to lunch at one cottage and dinner at another. Several of the current cottagers mentioned the marriage of Desiree Smith (a descendant of the Locatellis) from Cottage 32 and Dan Connolly, whose family has owned several of the cottages on the north-facing side of Middle Head, as a special occasion for celebration on the island. Even for cottagers unrelated by kinship, the seasonal celebrations and church services tended to draw people together, especially those with children. Two frequently-mentioned figures among the non-related cottagers were Lawrence "Bucky" Shaw and Margaret "Bunny" Staples, who started as caretakers for Cottage 1 and eventually bought the two-story Cottage 28 on Crab Alley.

Like some of the other "caretaker" figures, one or both of them seems to have stayed on the island beyond just the summers in some years. Bucky sometimes filled roles like shoveling pathways and ferrying people to and from the mainland, becoming fixtures in the community over time. He also worked at Hurley's Wharf in Hough's Neck, an important part of the local maritime infrastructure discussed below. Another individual cottager, remembered by several current residents as a lively part of the community, was Patsy Todescho, who owned Cottage 23 after the war. Patsy was a close friend of Richard Kennedy in Cottage 35 and the Ferdinand family in Cottages 19 and 21. In Fig. 84, he can be seen as a participant in the 1964 Labor Day parade. Like the Saudades, he seems to have been the exception that proved the rule. Although not part of the close-knit Italian cadre of families centered around the Pierimarchis, he was Italian, hailing from East Boston and perhaps reflecting the way that Italians and Portuguese had settled in many of the same neighborhoods around the city. Jim Saudade recalls him as a "very jovial" man with a passion for searching out, drying, and pickling wild mushrooms. One summer, Patsy was chagrined but also admiring when Jim discovered on West Head a particular type of mushroom that Patsy had long been searching for. In an era when many of the Peddocks cottagers were raising families, Patsy was also an interesting exception: he did have a large family on the mainland, but seems to have come to Peddocks to go flounder-fishing and to be on his own, perhaps seeking the "space to breathe" that had appealed to the Goulart family or the somewhat solitary respite enjoyed by people like Mrs. Healy or the Carland sisters.[9]

And as in previous eras, there were some cottagers who seemed to seek actual isolation. One person mentioned by many cottagers was Jack Hennessey, a Korean War veteran who rented the quonset hut on West Head (Cottage 43) starting around 1964. A lobsterman, truck driver, breeder of Malamute dogs, and self-taught naturalist and archaeologist, Hennessey seems to have stayed on the island in all but the coldest months in some years, and year-round in others, particularly when he needed room to kennel litters of pups (Griffin 1967, Howland 1967). The Downeys recall him living on the mainland and traveling to the island every day to feed the dogs at one point, and many people remembered hearing the howling of the dogs. Some of the island children found it thrilling to go down to West Head and try to sneak past the kennels, which were not far from where the Gills had once had their turkey farm. Hennessey seems to have seen himself as an adventurer at heart. One newspaper article about him from 1967 noted

9 Information about these cottagers is drawn from conversations during the summer of 2013, documented in fieldnotes.

that in addition to cataloguing fauna and wildlife on the island and searching for Indian remains and artifacts, "He dreams about joining an expedition to the Arctic but believes he's past that age" (Griffin 1967). The Downeys said he did sometimes hook his dog team up to a sled and race from end to end of the island in the winter, and that he once went on a trip to the upper Amazon in which the trip organizers took the participants' money and stranded them, with nearly fatal consequences. This image of the adventurer—perhaps coupled with the fascination of "off the grid" island living—was clearly appealing to many mainlanders. The Boston Globe dubbed him a "Modern Thoreau," while a reporter for the Quincy-based Patriot Ledger wrote that "Jack lives the old-fashioned New England life, away from the noise and overcrowding of the cities" (Howland 1967), reflecting the pull of preindustrial and natural settings that had motivated visitors to New England coasts and mountains for more than a century. Jack Hennessey occupied the quonset hut during the years when the principals in East Coast Realty were doing their best to develop West Head and the rest of the island into a high-income summer colony, but on the island itself, quieter ways of living continued to prevail.

Flounder-Fishing and Harvey Boats

Boats and fishing are a part of most conversations with Peddocks cottagers, as they tend to be for islanders in general. But during the "family era" of the 1950s and 1960s, two boat- and fishing-related recollections seem to stand out for the cottagers, particularly people who came of age during those decades. First was the ascendancy of Hough's Neck and Quincy Bay as "The Flounder Capital of the World." And second was the development of small boats specifically adapted for the waters and shores around the island, used extensively by Peddocks Islanders as well as by people all around Hingham Bay.

Even after the opening of the Nut Island sewage processing plant in 1954 and another plant on Deer Island on the north shore of the harbor in 1968, as well as the passage of federal and state water quality legislation in 1965 and 1966 respectively, the waters around Peddocks remained badly polluted. By 1968, out of concern for public health, the state had restricted or prohibited harvesting in 80 percent of the shellfishing areas around the harbor (Dolin 2004:54-57). Ironically, though, bottom-feeding fish like the winter flounder were drawn to the sludge discharged by the outdated treatment plants, and the fishes' meat was so lean that even when contaminants became concentrated in their livers, they were still safe for humans to eat (Massachusetts Water Resources Authority 1996:15). By the 1980s, flounder were showing the effects of

contamination more visibly in the form of lesions and fin rot, but in the 1960s and 1970s, they were plentiful and still healthy enough that a thriving recreational flounder fishing industry sprang up, with six boat rental businesses operating out of Hough's Neck alone (Massachusetts Water Resources Authority 1995:15).

In Russell Goulart's recollection, it was very shortly after World War II that sport fishermen from New York, Pennsylvania, and even farther afield began coming to Quincy to fish for flounder. Russell took his own five children flounder fishing each fall and filled his freezer with food for the next year:

> [L]ate in September, I'd take my five kids. They'd be fishing the flounder with spreaders, and all I did was clean, fillet and clean, and in one day — I knew where to go, a big worm bed where flounders go. And for years and years they went there, so I would go there, because they were loading up with food for the winter. And I would put up enough flounder fillets for a family of seven for a year. I took — you know those old quart milk cartons, the paper ones? . . .I'd put food for one meal, seven of us, in it. Then I'd fill it with water, stand it up and freeze it, fold it over, then I would stack them in my freezer.

Jim Saudade also recalls island families eating well on flounder, but like several other young cottagers and many mainland boys of his age, he also found summer employment in the flounder fishing business. From the age of about 13, he followed a summer schedule that started as early as 4 a.m. when the fishermen were heading out for the day, and ended in the early evening with unloading gear from the boats and filleting fish—at ten cents a piece—for the renters who didn't want to do it themselves. Jim worked for Harvey's boat rentals; Ken Clark, from Cottage 1, worked for a rival company, Hurley's, which also maintained a wharf on Hough's Neck. Both wharves were part of the waterfront infrastructure that had been built in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to cater to previous generations who came to the shore to fish and vacation. The Quincy Yacht Club, established in 1874, was a central part of this infrastructure on Hough's Neck, and the flounder-fishing businesses clustered around it on the northeastern side of the Neck.[10] Many current and former Peddocks Island cottagers are

10 The Quincy Yacht Club built its first building in 1888 at the foot of the "Great Hill" (a drumlin) in Hough's Neck. In 1912, the club moved its building closer to the water and expanded it as its membership increased (Pepe and Pepe 2008:45-46). In February of 2012, it suffered a fire from which it is still recovering; the building is closed, although the wharf remains open (Young and Knothe 2012). Jason L. Harvey (c.1851-1936) was the son of a Maine shipbuilder who came to Massachusetts and started a boat-building and rental business in Hough's Neck by the early years of the twentieth century. Boston-born Walter Hurley (1908-2001) was a car dealer who incorporated his boat rental business in Hough's Neck in the summer of 1971. Current and former cottagers talked about Jason L. Harvey operating a boat called the *Alert* that ran to Irwin's Hotel/ the Island Inn in the early twentieth century. Walter Hurley apparently also ferried people to the island later in

Fig. 88: A "Harvey boat" built by Judy McDevitt in the late 1980s undergoing restoration in the Hull boatyard of her son, Mike, in the summer of 2013.

still members and dock their boats there. One of those is Russell Crombie, one of the partners who bought "the Pink" (Cottage 26) in the late 1970s. As a teenager, Russ also worked painting boat bottoms at the Yacht Club, and had summer jobs with the flounder-fishing rental companies as well. Harvey's and Hurley's each had about 125 boats, most with six- or nine-horsepower motors, and most of them were rented each weekend during the fishing season. Ken Clark remembers fishermen setting out with two barrels in their boats, an empty one to fill with fish and a second one filled with beer. Like other boys on the staff, he was sometimes sent out at the end of the day to round up inebriated fishermen who had lost track of time. After a summer of pulling boats out of the water and lifting barrels full of flounder, the youthful staff were strong enough to deal with occasional resistance.

By the 1960s, Harvey's old business was being run by a man named Jerry Lyons, who also began building small fishing boats known as "Harvey skiffs" or "Harvey

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the century, including sometimes carrying the visiting priest to the chapel on East Head for Sunday services. Information about Harvey and Hurley is from conversations with Peddocks Island cottagers, census records, business and city directories, and http://www.werelate.org/wiki/Person:Jason_Harvey_%281%29.

boats."[11] Walter Hurley also built the boats that his company rented, but the Harvey boats seem to have inspired a much more loyal following. Russ Crombie recalled people putting 35-horsepower motors on the 18-foot skiffs and having "Harvey vs. Hurley" races from Boston Harbor to Provincetown, a distance of some 30 miles across Massachusetts Bay and Cape Cod Bay. Mike McDevitt described the Harvey boats as having "a lot more finesse," as well as being built to take a larger motor and thus to be more useful to working fishermen rather than those who were just fishing recreationally on weekends. Lyons was known to make a boat *gratis* for fishermen occasionally, adding to his reputation as someone who was pursuing a craft as well as making a living. Some specific design features, particularly a slight reverse curve in the hull near the back of the boat, also make the Harvey boats exceptionally stable and suited to the multidirectional chop and current around Quincy and Hingham Bays (one area of which is sometimes referred to by boaters as "the washing machine"). Several cottagers related stories about of the Harvey boats' strength and stability; the Clarks and Ghernas recalled bringing 52 bundles of roofing shingles to the island in a Harvey boat one Memorial Day weekend. Ken Clark said the boats were "indestructible" and "lasted forever." Like others on the island, he pointed to the fact that they can be dragged right up onto the beach as a big part of their utility. (Marlene Gill remembers helping to scrape the barnacles off the bottom of her family's Harvey boats, using "pumice stones" from the Peddocks beaches.)

Fig. 89: The flower boxes on the porch of Cottage 23 are shaped and painted to match the owners' Harvey boat, in part as a form of identification in case the boat goes missing.

11 Dave Lavangie, who owned the quonset hut (Cottage 43) on West Head for a time, also apparently ran and then owned Harvey's boat rental business as well.

Although Harvey boats are no longer built commercially, the design has been copied by other boat-builders in the area, including some hobbyists. One of these was Judy McDevitt, who used her self-taught carpentry skills to replicate the unique hull shape. The second of two Harvey boats that she built in the late 1980s now sits in Mike McDevitt's boatyard on Hull's Pemberton Point, where it is being restored (Fig. 88). Boats from the heyday of the flounder-fishing era are sought after by collectors and enthusiasts, and memories of both Harvey's and Hurley's rental businesses frequently appear on online bulletin boards for fishermen.[12] Hurley's building and wharf next to the Quincy Yacht Club were bought by the state and now serve as an office for the Quincy Harbormaster and a maritime unit of the Quincy Police Department. On the island, some cottagers still use their Harvey boats, and the iconic design can also be seen—painted the same dark green and black as the Martels' boat itself—in the flower boxes on the porch of Cottage 23, owned by Sheila and Jim Martel (Fig. 89). To watch an experienced driver navigate one of these small open boats through the often-choppy waters around Peddocks Island is to be made aware of the many ways that collective memory, human inventions, and environmental systems interact to create profound local knowledge of how to live in particular places. ■

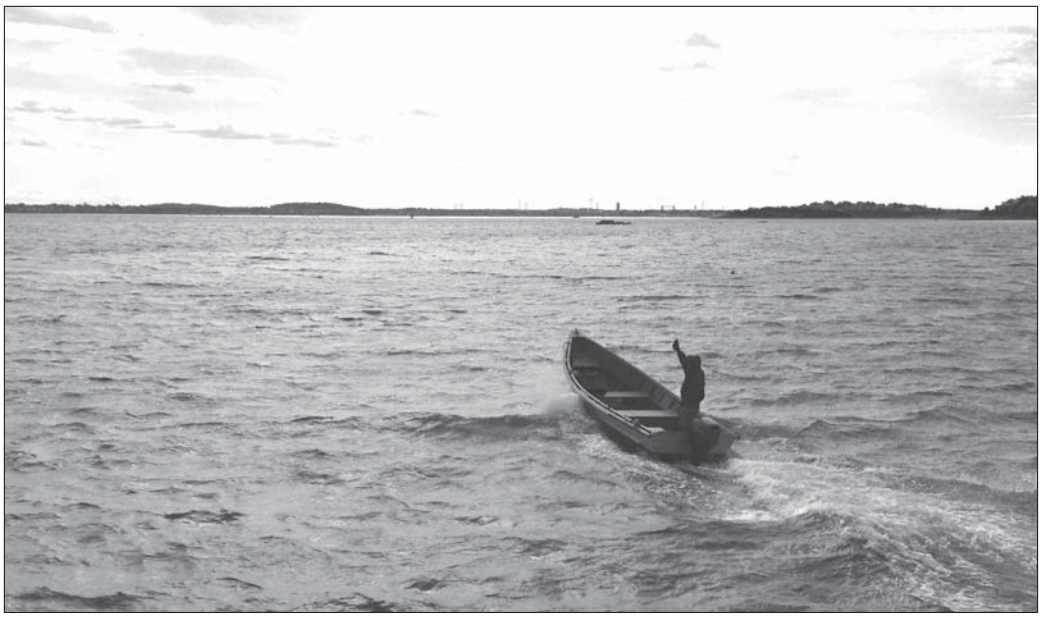

Fig. 90: A Peddocks cottager leaves the island in a skiff, fall 2013.

12 See, for example, "Quincy Bay flounder" on *Stripers Online* from 2008 (http://www.stripersonline.com/t/585870/quincy-bay-flounder) and "Any revival of Quincy Bay flounder fishing?" on the same forum from 2012 (http://www.stripersonline.com/t/830756/any-revival-of-quincy-bay-flounder-fishing).

Chapter Ten: The Park Era (1970 to Present)

The overview of the island's history in Chapter Two has described how the Metropolitan District Commission (MDC) of Massachusetts acquired Peddocks Island from East Coast Realty in 1970, making the state the sole owner of the whole island. In that capacity, the MDC took over the landlord role that had been held for many decades by the trustees of the Eliza Andrew estate and by East Coast Realty since the late 1950s. As the process of turning Peddocks and some of the other Harbor Islands into a public park began, long-standing ambiguities about use and ownership, which can be seen in the history of the cottages since the 1870s, came much more to the foreground. The cottagers' presence had seemed not incompatible with the island as a privately-owned entity, or with the largely-separate world of the military fort. Their particular form of tenure, in which they owned their cottages but not the land on which they sat, was certainly unusual by mainland standards. But the persistence of this hybrid type of occupation made sense when seen against the backdrop of the Harbor Islands as an "edge" place, somewhat outside of typical mainland practices. Now, however, Peddocks was being brought into a new relationship with the state, the city, and the public on whose behalf the island had been acquired. As in countless places where private "in-holdings" have been absorbed into parks, this change opened new questions about the persistence of private occupation on what was now public land. Could the "quiet adventure" of the island experience be extended to a wider public in a way that was compatible with the islanders' continued presence?

As described in Chapter Two, an advisory committee was formed in the early 1990s to try to resolve these and other questions about the island's future. The state officials, cottagers, and others who made up the committee very fully aired a range of views about how to understand the cottage community and how it might relate to ideas of a larger public good, and the report that emerged from its work in 1993 is a very useful document for understanding this part of the cottage community's history. The report is particularly helpful as this period is in some ways the least thoroughly documented through interviews and conversations with cottagers themselves, perhaps because of the still-existing tensions around the life-tenancy arrangement that emerged from the 1992-93 deliberations. This chapter will use the Advisory Committee's report as a starting-point for discussing changes in the cottage community since 1970.

Redefining the Cottagers' Presence

The Peddock's Island Advisory Committee was made up of agency and government officials, two architects, and representatives from interested non-profits like the Friends of the Boston Harbor Islands, the Boy Scouts, and the Peaked Hill Trust, a group involved in the similar effort to define the terms of occupancy for the "dune shacks" on the ecologically fragile beaches of Cape Cod National Seashore.[1] The committee was chaired by John Sears, a former chairman of the MDC who had been involved in the decision to acquire the island as parkland. Cottagers were also represented, initially Jack Enos and Sheila Martel. They were joined later by Bob Enos, who was then head of the Peddocks Island Association. Bob's M.A. thesis installation, the compass-shaped painted panels and oversized portraits of islanders that had initially been shown at the University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth in 1986, was re-mounted at one of the committee's meetings as a way to help non-cottagers on the committee gain a deeper understanding of the cottage community and its history.

The committee's 1993 report reveals a good deal of soul-searching by many of the participants over how to understand the cottagers' changed position now that the land their cottages sat on was publicly rather than privately owned. Although the committee was charged with setting the direction for development of the entire island as a park, it was the Middle Head cottages that took up the bulk of the time and posed the most challenging questions (MDC 1993:8). Three possible solutions were discussed: (1) indefinitely-renewable annual permits for the cottagers, (2) a process of gradual transition in which the MDC would have the right of first refusal when a cottager wanted to sell, and (3) life-tenancy permits for then-current cottagers. By a very narrow margin, the

1 Debates over the future of the dune shacks have been extensive and ongoing, and in many ways they form a comparable case for the situation on Peddocks. A few of the Cape Cod structures have been removed over time; others are still occupied by the families who have historically been associated with them; still others are rented through lottery system by the Peaked Hill Trust and other non-profit management entities. After the Peaked Hill Bars area of the dunes was designated as a historic district in 1989, Cape Cod National Seashore commissioned a study through the Northeast Region Ethnography Program to better understand whether the shacks might be a "traditional cultural property" (TCP) for their users, leading to the 2005 release of "Dwelling in the Dunes: Traditional Use of the Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, Cape Cod" by Robert J. Wolfe. Wolfe concluded that the interconnected family and artistic occupation of the shacks over time did constitute a traditional use in the anthropological sense. However, in 2007, the Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places found that the shacks did not constitute a TCP because the group(s) using them did not have a clearly-defined and continuous membership. Despite this ruling, the findings of the study have continued to be considered in management decisions by the national park, including a 2012 Preservation and Use Plan that recognizes the rights of long-standing users and works to preserve the historic district's cultural history while ensuring a consistent level of public access. For documents relating to this long process, see "Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District" page on the Cape Cod National Seashore website (http://www.nps.gov/caco/parkmgmt/dune-shacks-of-the-peaked-hill-bars-historic-district.htm).

committee voted for the third alternative, but many questions were left unresolved. Was the ultimate goal to remove the cottages entirely, or to keep some or all of them in place? A "heavy majority"—essentially everyone but Sears—"felt the cottages should remain in one form or another as a part of island life" (MDC 1993:2). But it proved difficult for the committee to envision what form that should take. If some or all of the cottages remained, who should be able to use them? Then-current cottagers had claims to different levels of longevity and interconnection in the community, and respecting the most deeply-rooted of those claims raised questions. Should cottagers' children and grandchildren—many of whom had already grown up spending some or all of their summers on the island—somehow share in them, reflecting a "cottage community" that included a range of types and intensities of uses? This idea seemed to challenge the feasibility of the life-tenancy arrangement. Building on the model that the Peaked Hill Trust had developed, proposals were made for some kind of hybrid access that would make some of the cottages available for short- or perhaps longer-term use by selected members of the greater public, although how to select those people was another unresolved issue. Although many of the problems arose around logistics, Peaked Hill Trust founder Julie Schecter noted that "the core issue remains one of philosophy" (MDC 1993:14), reflecting differing understandings of whether or how the interests of the public might benefit from the continued presence of the cottagers and cottages.

Schecter and Bob Enos wrote "minority reports" setting out their arguments for the value of continuity and a gradual transition to some kind of public or semi-public use of the cottages. Enos noted that the particular skills and knowledge embodied in the living memories and practices of current cottagers could be of tremendous practical value for new people who might rent the cottages or stay on the island in future. He linked these skills and knowledge with specific values and traditions—"cooperation, seamanship, service to the community and to the island in general, and the passing on of life styles appropriate to island living" (MDC 1993:12)—and pointed out that inculcating newcomers with these values was a way to ensure that "The tradition of caring for the island, its paths and beaches and its open areas, would continue" (MDC 1993:12). In Enos's vision, "the cottage community" would be able to continue even under very changed circumstances, because its collective memory would be shared and gradually extended. This view of the community encompassed a "both/and" understanding, rather than a strict insider/outsider distinction—that is, the cottage community could be both continuous and changing without losing its unique character. Under the life-tenancy plan,

Enos pointed out, the wealth of knowledge and tradition would be lost "in the short span of a single generation" (MDC 1993:13).

Schecter's statement built on these ideas and made more explicit arguments about the potential public benefits of this approach. She drew on a rationale that supporters of hybrid occupancy of the Cape Cod dune shacks had used, writing that "Public interest is not served exclusively through unqualified public access or absence of any private use" (MDC 1993:14) and that even qualified or partial access for members of the public could be beneficial because it would help to perpetuate a simple style of living "once common and now rare," certainly within metropolitan Boston (MDC 1993:15). She also noted that the Peaked Hill Trust had found that many people who were interested in staying in fragile coastal environments were sympathetic to the fact that accommodations there had to be limited in order to protect the resource. "[M]any people support the idea that someone should be able to have that experience, even if they can't," she wrote (MDC 1993:15).

Schecter also acknowledged that this potentially valuable resource would be "a management headache" for the MDC, and John Sears, in his lengthy statement in the report, focused very largely on that aspect of the case. Bob Enos noted in a 2013 interview that Sears had been "torn," recognizing the historical significance of the community yet bound to consider the administrative implications of its continued presence, even in a transitional state that was ultimately moving toward something more fully public. Despite his stated respect for the "long and colorful" histories of many of the island families, Sears questioned whether either the architectural or cultural aspects of those histories were significant enough to justify their public preservation, especially given the very substantial inherent challenges of managing an island park (MDC 1993:27). He did acknowledge the benefits of the cottagers' keeping a watchful eye on the island, especially Middle Head, and admitted that there had been some uneveness in the first 20 years of the MDC's management of the island MDC (MDC 1993:23, 29). But ultimately, Sears' vision for the future of the park was based on an either/or conception of public and private space. Article 97 of the state Constitution, an amendment which passed in 1972, guaranteed all residents of Massachusetts access to public lands, and Sears saw privately-held cottages as a direct barrier to that access. "I would not want to manage the island under such circumstances," Sears concluded (MDC 1993:21). For him, professional management by state park employees was the more feasible choice, far preferable to the complex, relationship-based, less-publicly-accountable kind of care for the island that Bob Enos had written about.

The life-tenancy arrangement, credited to State Representative Mary Jeannette Murray of the South Shore, was a compromise between immediate eviction and long-term guarantees that the cottage community would remain. In practice, it has amounted to the kind of gradual transition that many on the Advisory Committee felt was inevitable. Despite his impassioned advocacy for the community, Bob Enos was not and is still not simply wedded to maintaining the status quo. He said in a 2013 interview, "I think that places, especially secondary places like summer places, have a lifespan," and in his view, the most important goal is to manage the transition into the park era so that the cottagers' collective knowledge does not disappear. Others remain convinced that the natural lifecycle of this particular seasonal community is being cut short prematurely and unnecessarily. Twenty-three years later the park managers and cottagers are still living with this tension. Aside from any claims represented by their long-term tenure and association, many cottagers see practical value in their own continued presence as security, a repository of knowledge, and human interest for visitors to the island. Even after the watershed decision of 1993, these questions are still discussed among the remaining cottagers, who tend to be those whose commitment to the cottages and the island runs deepest.

Changes and Continuities since 1970

In the first 25 years of the MDC's management of Peddocks Island, some 20 of the 47 cottages changed hands. Some were quickly sold to the state, creating empty spots in the cottage landscape that were deeply troubling to many of the cottagers. Other sales were to newcomers, which resulted in considerable turnover in some respects but continuities in others, as many of the new cottagers had existing connections with the island, its occupants, and the maritime activities surrounding it.

Cottagers who sold their cottages in the first decades of MDC ownership did so from a variety of motives. Among those who sold to the MDC directly, according to current cottagers, some were not unhappy about the opportunity to sell to the state. In some families, the people who had initially purchased the cottage were aging, resulting in a generational shift and less enthusiasm for the hard work of keeping an island cottage open. In those cases, family members who had been children during the close-knit "family era" had moved away or were not interested in making the kind of long-term commitment that the cottages required. On the south-facing row, these sellers included the related Leggieros (Cottage 11) and Chiracostas (Cottage 12), part of the island's

Italian population. Their cottages, along with Cottage 10 and the pair owned by the Perdigaos (Cottage 4) and Kings (Cottage 5) further along the row stood empty by the 1990s, their doors and windows removed "to expedite deterioration" (DCR 2009:14; see Fig. 91). There were fewer gaps along Crab Alley, but Cottage 39, long owned by the Montagna/Gibson family, was no longer used by the 1990s, and Manuel Silva's little shack (Cottage 27) between "the Pink" and Mabel Pinto's Cottage 41, was also empty. On the north-facing bluff, Cottage 22, formerly owned by island ferryman Johnny Lewis and then by the Healy family, was no longer used by Mrs. Healy's children, and her son John eventually sold it to the MDC.

Fig. 91: Cottages 4 and 5 stand empty and awaiting demolition in the 1990s. (Peter Sault)

Many current cottagers spoke strongly about their sense of anger and even desecration at seeing the cottages of friends, relatives, and former neighbors intentionally exposed to the elements and left to decay. Just as difficult was seeing the first set of empty cottages demolished in 2001. In addition to the sadness of losing familiar pieces of the landscape, cottagers were highly indignant when a state official indicated that he planned to dispose of the debris by burning it. The islanders were able to enlist the support of the Quincy fire chief, who backed up the cottagers' insistence that setting fire to a huge pile of material on an island with no fire-fighting capacity was foolish in the extreme. Since 2001, another 10 cottages (6, 9, 21, 28, 30, 32, 38, 41, 45, and 46) have come into state ownership and are in various conditions of decay. Neighbors on Crab Alley have decorated Cottages 30 and 32 as a way to offset the rather depressing effects of living amidst abandoned buildings (Fig. 92). The two cottages are a popular sight with visitors to Middle Head, who inevitably photograph the "Island of Lost Soles" display of orphaned flipflops and the colorful collections of lobster buoys salvaged from the beach. Cottagers express concerns about the fire hazard posed by the empty cottages, but as with

Fig. 92: Cottage 30, probably originally a Gill family cottage and currently owned by the state, has been decorated by neighbors with salvaged lobster buoys from the beach and is a popular picture-taking site for visitors on Middle Head.

the earlier demolitions, they are equally troubled by the process of slow deterioration, which runs counter to the tremendous care and effort that many families put into maintaining their own cottages under challenging conditions. The ongoing maintenance of the cottages is also a double-edged sword for them: state officials document both deterioration and improvements to the occupied cottages, tending to see one as evidence of neglect and the other as a sign that the cottagers are investing for a long-term future that no longer exists for them on the island. The life-tenancy arrangement has created, as some argued that it would, a kind of limbo that is often uncomfortable for all involved.

Fig. 93: Several of the cottages were demolished in July 2001, including Cottages 8, 9, and 10 on the south side of the island, above. (Claire Pierimarchi Hale)

If the decision to sell cottages opened the way toward demolition for some of the buildings, in other cases it created opportunities for newcomers who were already familiar with Peddocks and were now able to acquire a cottage, following the pattern of

Fig. 94: Cottage 26, "the Pink," was first painted pink by owner Jack Gelb, probably in the 1950s.

Fig. 95: The outbuildings of Cottage 26 retain some of the historical maritime character of sheds and other small structures along Crab Alley.

the Chalmers, Pierimarchi, Saudade, and Downey families in earlier decades. Many of these new cottagers were from nearby Hough's Neck in Quincy, part of a cohort of "Neckers" that includes commercial fishermen and lobstermen, Quincy Yacht Club members, former summer workers in the flounder-fishing businesses, and even some descendants of the original Azorean families on the island. The five friends who got together to purchase "the Pink" (Cottage 26) in the late 1970s combined all of those characteristics. Like the Italians in the 1940s and 1950s, they and their partners and children have come to form a sub-group within the overall cottage population. A point of connection with the older island

families came through the marriage of one of the "partners in the Pink," Russell Crombie, to Linda Gill, the daughter of Rod and Marlene Gill. The story of how they met seems to reflect the role of barter and small-scale commercial transactions—doing handyman work around the cottages, ferrying people in boats, buying or sharing food—in creating the web of relationships that has characterized the island over time. Russ was hired to paint Cottage 16, then owned by Eileen Iddings, in the 1970s, and got to know Linda from Cottage 13 that way, almost exactly as her father Rod Gill had met her mother Marlene Simonds when he was painting a neighboring cottage. Linda's sister, named Marlene after her mother, is also a part of this group and is regularly in residence on the island. Cottage 26, then, continues to be a key point of reference on Middle Head, not only because of its eye-catching color—which, like "the Yellow," has actually gotten brighter over the decades—but because of social and familial connections among its occupants and others on the island.

In some cottages, generational shifts did not mean changes in family ownership. A number of younger cottagers who had grown up spending summers on the island became the primary owners themselves, sometimes raising their own children as summer islanders. The Chalmers, Clark, and Gherna families in Cottages 1 and 2 are among these. Phil Chalmers, whose father Edwin began renting Cottage 2 in the 1920s, still visits, along with his son, nephew, and other family members. Phil notes, "Just about everyone who's there has a long family history, long tie-in with the island." Next door, another set of Phil's nieces and nephews value their time at Cottage 1, which some of them travel long distances to reach. Donna Gherna and her husband Tom were both teachers in Massachusetts before retiring to Florida, and Donna recalls that she frequently referenced island living in talking with her students about science, history, and other subjects. Like other families, the Ghernas relate stories about cottagers who feel the need to be on the island to mark significant occasions and transitions: a daughter getting engaged, a newborn brought to the island for the first time. (A similar story was told by Rich Murphy in Cottage 40: he chose to have his daughter baptized at the island. He planned to use seawater for the ceremony, but the devout Mrs. Healy in Cottage 22 was so shocked by the idea that she insisted on bringing him some properly-sanctified holy water from her church in Quincy.) At the other end of the south-facing row, Claire Pierimarchi Hale and her husband Bill were able to buy Cottage 15 and to be next door to her brother in Cottage 14, which had been owned by the previous generation of Pierimarchis and Bassignanas. The Hales' children and grandchildren have continued the tradition of

Fig. 96: Cottagers in summer 2013, clockwise from top left: Ken and Annie Clark, Donna and Tom Gherna in Cottage 1; Bill and Claire Pierimarchi Hale in Cottage 15; Sheila and Jim Martel in Cottage 23; Jim Saudade and Carol Palmer in Cottage 20.

visiting the island; a photograph contributed by Claire to the 2011 Mass. Memories Roadshow focusing on the Boston Harbor Islands shows three of her granddaughters standing proudly on "the Rock," whose surface bears the names of island residents and visitors.

On the other side of Middle Head, Jim Saudade in Cottage 20 represents a second generation of that family's occupancy. Jim Saudade Sr., who came to the island with his children starting in the 1950s, died in 2002, and Jim Jr., who had spent much less time there since going away to college and who was living in Vermont by that time, was faced with the decision of what to do with the cottage. When Judy McDevitt called him to tell him about a window that needed repairs, he got himself a 17-foot boat and came over to make a serious assessment, which made him realize that keeping the place would require considerable time and travel. He began to shift his work schedule to accommodate regular weekend trips during which he worked on the building, and as he moved toward

retirement, he bought property in Florida for the winters and was able to start spending the entire summer—June through September—on the island. Jim's neighbors Sheila and Jim Martel in Cottage 23 still keep up a weekend commuting schedule from their home in Winthrop, and their two children are the fifth or possibly sixth generation of islanders, tracing their genealogy back to the Costas, Ferraras, Kennedys, and other Azorean and Irish families of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Members of the McDevitt family—particularly Mike McDevitt, who operates the Achushnet Towing Company on Pemberton Point and co-owns Jo's Nautical Bar in Hull (visible in the background of Fig. 13 in Chapter Two)—continue to be a part of the island community as well. They are the only occupants of East Head's cottages now; Mike lives in Cottage 47 and his two sisters in Cottage 44.

Despite gaps in the physical and social landscape of the cottage community, it is clear that many continuities remain with past experiences of cottaging on the island. Annual celebrations continue on Labor Day weekend, although the events are now more focused on socializing and fundraising than on the costumes, games, and parades of the "family era." The festivities are still organized by the Peddocks Island Association, which continues to facilitate communication and conviviality among cottagers as it has done for many years. As the island continues to become more developed and publicized as a public park, campers, day-excursionists, and other short-term visitors are also an increasing presence. These visitors are drawn by a range of tours, performances, and other public recreational opportunities that in some ways harken back to the "hotel era" when Peddocks was a kind of playground where people from the city could get away to enjoy a seaside adventure.

Several cottagers note that one big change from previous decades is that there were always younger islanders who were willing (and expected) to do a good deal of the physical work of being on the island, like stacking wood, carrying supplies up from the beach, or running errands. A facet of the life-tenancy agreement is that the core cottage population is an aging one, and children and grandchildren of the current lease-holders are much less likely to invest time and energy on helping to maintain cottages they will not inherit. Cottagers sometimes refer to Peddocks as "Lug and Tug Island," noting the effort it takes to haul everything from pier or beach to cottage, especially with the "younger" cottagers now entering their 50s and 60s. Some also mentioned that the level of everyday cooperation and mutuality among cottagers has lessened in the decades since 1970 with changes in the size and makeup of the island population, although they agreed that when

there was real need, particularly in emergencies, people were still quick to help each other out. The process of reforestation that began after World War II has continued, with a concommitant increase in mosquitoes, ticks, and other insects. "We bathe in Deet," one cottager said. In part to combat the bugs and also to facilitate getting around the island, the cottagers take an active role in helping DCR employees and other volunteers keep trails and clearings cleared and mowed.

A final change is in the mix of where cottagers' mainland homes are located. When the MDC bought the island in 1970, these were mainly clustered around the South Shore and in the Somerville/Medford area just north of Boston, with a number of families scattered throughout the Greater Boston suburbs. The geographic distribution of mainland homes is now somewhat different, with a notable concentration of people from Quincy (principally from Hough's Neck) and a greater dispersion overall, including retirees who spend some of the year outside the state entirely (as shown in Appendix I). While the South Shore towns are proportionately more represented at this point, the island's close connection with the neighboring mainland towns is nothing new; it is the number of locations overall that has changed, reflecting the aging and dwindling population and their patterns of living as they move toward and into their retirement years. ■

Chapter Eleven: "An Island Way": Cottagers in an Edge Environment

A theme that runs throughout the history of the Peddocks Island cottages is the cottagers' close relationship with their "edge" environment—the land, water, sky, weather, and non-human species that surround them. This final chapter examines how this relationship with the natural world is also very much a social one, rooted in shared knowledge and experience over time and resulting in a close interweaving of the natural and the cultural that seems foundational to the cottagers' sense of themselves as a community. Stories about gardening, farming, fishing, berry-picking, and other food-related activities have been touched on in other chapters throughout the report, as have boats and maritime trades. This chapter will focus on cottagers' stories about wells, water lines, fires, outhouses, windmills, and other technologies relating to island utilities, and how those stories reflect a kind of moral ecology shaped by shared experience and memory over time.

"Moral ecology" is one of two terms worth examining at the start of the chapter. The term describes a non-coercive moral system in which people work out in practice what constitutes ethical behavior (on this concept, see Bellah 1985 and Hertzke 1998). This is not an "anything goes" approach, but rather a combination of a "live and let live" philosophy with a recognition that co-inhabitation requires some compromises on everyone's part. A moral ecology does not imply cohesiveness or unanimity, and may in fact be characterized by a high degree of tension as people push and pull against the demands of being part of a group, arriving at a balance that is always dynamic rather than static, requiring continual maintenance rather than being rigidly decided once and for all. Such a system does not necessarily involve the natural world from which the "ecology" metaphor is drawn. But in the case of Peddocks Island, the cottagers' physical environment looms so large in their everyday experience on the island that it is seldom separate from their social interactions. It is, in fact, around the shared use of fragile places and scarce resources that the Peddocks cottagers have most visibly constructed their particular moral ecology, in ways that the ethnographic examples in this chapter will explore.

This is perhaps a counter-intuitive idea, because the cottagers are not the kinds of people stereotypically thought of as living "close to the earth." They are modern, white, and middle-class, and most of them reside in mainland cities or suburbs for much of the year. Most who were asked about this aspect of their experience during the study did not describe themselves as environmentalists in the conventional sense. Yet this chapter will argue that the cottagers do exhibit a very deep and specific ethos of environmental awareness and stewardship, one that emerges directly from their strong attachment to this particular island place, with all of its limitations.

If this interpretation seems counter-intuitive, the problem may lie with the too-sharp distinction that our modern minds tend to draw between "nature" and "culture," an idea that is worth revisiting briefly here as well. The nature/culture distinction is very much an artifact of the kinds of historical processes that have been traced through the chapters of this report. As already discussed in Chapter Three, nature was not as widely perceived as something separate from human activity before widespread urbanization and industrialization and the modes of work and leisure that grew up within them. Rather, the natural environment was part of most people's everyday experience, for better (for example, as a resource to be used for subsistence) and worse (for example, as a source of danger in the form of wild animals or stormy seas). It was only as more people became insulated from those experiences that the idea arose of nature as something "out there" that could be visited and appreciated for its aesthetic, recreational, or restorative qualities—or, conversely, something that needed to be *protected* from the effects of humans' presence.

In recent decades, there has been a growing scholarly, political, and public recognition of the problems arising from this artificial separation. Scholars have pointed out the problematic roots of the nature/culture binary, including its links with the colonization and exploitation of non-European peoples and places.[1] Particularly as the human influence on climate and the threats associated with climate change become more

1 For just a few examples of this extensive and growing literature, see the essays in William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996), Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012[1967]), and Ted Steinberg, *Down to Earth: Nature's Role in America's History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). For an important discussion of the problematic qualities of these concepts as applied to non-Western peoples, see Shepard Kretch III, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000). For examples of newer "posthuman" approaches to understanding the natural world and humans' place within it, see Stephen DeStefano, *Coyote at the Kitchen Door: Living with Wildlife in Suburbia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011) and Donna Haraway, *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

widely recognized, this rethinking of the entrenched nature/culture binary has taken on more urgent importance for many environmental advocates.[2] In the realm of policy and politics, including those affecting parks and other conserved places, some are attempting to repair the nature/culture division by rethinking the purposes and presentation of places that have been set aside for recreation and leisure, sometimes creating a tension with officials whose job is to uphold existing environmental laws.[3] That tension makes itself felt around understandings of environmental stewardship on Peddocks Island. Park managers tend to hold an "either/or" view (either something is environmentally damaging or it is not) while cottagers' environmental choices often arise from a sense of what they believe to be compatible with human and environmental health in a very specific place and situation (for example, the sense that a well-constructed and carefully-maintained traditional outhouse in a particular location on the island is ecologically sound). This chapter will explore some of those choices and practices against the backdrop of the community's history on the island.

Infrastructure

The absence of conventional infrastructure is one of the first things that most people comment on when they speak about the cottages on Peddocks Island. Young Jenny Lopes recalled the feeling of going back in time when she first visited the island in 1930, and Phyllis Montagna had the same feeling when she first arrived in the 1940s, finding the place "weird and barren" at first. "You either like it or you dislike it," she told a reporter in 1984. "You come out here just to be quiet and peaceful. And you have to accept a little roughing. We had an outhouse; we'd catch rain water for baths and washing clothes" (Raver 1984). Unlike the occupants of East Head, who have had more extensive utilities throughout much of the twentieth century because of the presence of

2 The National Park Service's Climate Change Response Program, part of a larger initiative within the Department of the Interior to understand and address the causes and consequences of climate change, is one sign of a public-policy attempt to think more holistically about humans within the "natural" environment. A recent reorganization within Massachusetts state government that brings together farming, fishing, conservation and recreation, energy use, and public utilities under the same cabinet-level office (the Executive Office of Energy and Environmental Affairs) similarly seems to attempt to bridge the nature/culture divide and to address environmental issues in a way that more fully encompasses human social and economic life.

3 For discussions of this attempted reintegration, see Rebecca Conard, "Applied Environmentalism, or Reconciliation Among 'the Bios' and 'the Culturals,'" *The Public Historian*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Spring 2001), pp. 9-18; Conard, "Spading Common Ground: Reconciling the Built and Natural Environments," in *Public History and the Environment,* edited by Martin V. Melosi and Philip V. Scarpino (Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 2004), pp. 3-22; and Rolf Diamant, "Reflections on Environmental History with a Human Face: Experiences from a New National Park," *Environmental History* 8 (October 2003), pp. 628-42.

Fort Andrews, the Middle Head cottagers have always had to do more "roughing."[4] In the earliest days, this sometimes reflected the occupants' own traditional modes of living, especially in the case of the Azorean families. As time has passed, the very basic qualities of island life have become more and more distinct from mainland living, becoming a source of curiosity for outsiders and a point of pride—although also a good deal of hard work—for islanders. Island "mayor" Mabel Pinto made an oblique reference to these rigors when she spoke to a journalist about leaving her cottage after nearly seven decades. "When you're out there," she said, "there are things you don't say. But it was getting hard" (Scheible 1989:8). The spartan nature of life on the island has sometimes served as a kind of test of character and commitment: Sheila Martel's mother was known to tell her children, when a new romantic interest appeared on their horizons, "If they don't like the island, dump them!" Annie Clark recalls that after her wedding, in her native Florida, to Ken Clark from Cottage 1, she was looking forward to a beachfront honeymoon on Peddocks Island, which she was imagining in terms of expansive Florida beaches and substantial seaside cottages. It was not until they were on the boat on the way to the island that one of her new sisters-in-law asked her what she thought about spending two weeks in a place that had an outhouse as a bathroom. This was the first time anyone in the family had mentioned an outhouse, suggesting either that they so took it for granted there was no need to mention it or that it was a test for the newcomer to the family (or perhaps both).

Outhouses are a central aspect of rustic island living. Robin MacDonald-Foley from Cottage 25 remembers how "crazy and a little scary" it always was to go to the outhouse at night, and how there was always a cold draft coming up from below. A good deal of care is lavished on many of the Middle Head privies. The two-seater at Cottage 17 when the DeCostas lived there came from Sears and was known to its owners as "the Rolls-Royce of crappers" (Connors 1996:21). Like "Norma," the outhouse at Cottage 13, the one at Cottage 40 was given a name: it has been the "Pastry Shop" since the Pierimarchi family first bought it in 1939. Outhouses have been periodically rebuilt and updated over the years; the one behind Cottage 2 was built about 15 years ago, according

4 Endicott-period and later forts often boasted state-of-the-art utility infrastructure for the day, with their own water, electrical, telephone, and other services where municipal ones were not readily available. At waterfront forts, sewage was dumped into the ocean, and garbage and combustible waste were burned (Berhow 2004:418). At Fort Andrews, an electric power substation and coal shed were installed in 1905, a water main from Hough's Neck in 1907, a wireless radio station in 1908, garbage incineration facility in 1909, a fire station in 1912, and in the World War II era, a 200,000-gallon water reservoir in 1941 (Silvia 2003:19, DCR 2009:17-18).

to plans carefully drawn up by Phil Chalmers (Fig. 98). They have inevitably also been the site of practical jokes, especially among island children. After being locked into the Pastry Shop by her younger brother, Claire Pierimarchi Hale and her cousin Lydia constructed an elaborate story about a magical creature who lived in the birdhouse on top of the outouse, and backed it up by making a tiny figure, complete with clothes and home furnishings, that they secretly installed in the birdhouse. Her brother was suitably amazed and fascinated, to the point that he forgot all about the fun of locking the girls in the outhouse (Hale 2002:22).

Park managers point out that the continued use of the cottage outhouses is not in compliance with state sanitary regulations for waste disposal systems. While cottagers did not directly address the issue in interviews and conversations, indirect evidence—particularly the pride that many show in their carefully-built and maintained outhouses—

Fig. 97: (Clockwise from top left) Outhouses of Cottage 37 (labeled "Think Tank"), 26 ("the Pink"), 40 (labeled the "Pastry Shop") and 18 (with rain-barrel water collection from roof).

suggests that they regard this low-technology infrastructure as adequate and not ecologically damaging, a view that reflects their essentially pragmatic relationship with the island environment.[5]

In other ways, too, islanders have long had to provide basic utilities for themselves. At least two cottages have at one time had small windmills, erected in the spring and taken down each fall, to supply small amounts of electric power. Marlene Giammarco recalled,

> We used to have a windmill on top of the shed… for electricity. [M]y grandfather [Frank Simonds] loved to listen to the radio, "Gang Busters" and "Amos 'n Andy" — you know, those old shows. So he had a car battery connected to the windmill somehow, I don't know. And then if it was a real windy day we even had lights, the lights would go on… It depended how strong the wind was, and that was a luxury.

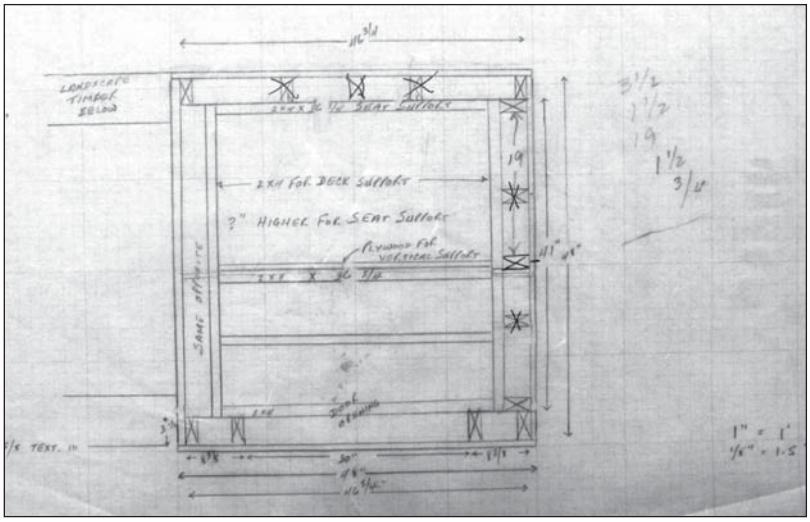

Fig. 98: Carefully-drawn plan for the rebuilding of Cottage 2's outhouse. (Philip Chalmers)

The Pierimarchi brothers also rigged up a windmill, which can be seen in Fig. 67 of Chapter Eight. The windmills are part of a long tradition of invention and adaptation that has helped islanders to extend the capacities of kerosene lanterns, woodstoves, and outhouses. These are small-scale solutions, not seeking to replicate the much greater capacity of off-island systems but adding some small conveniences to life on the island.They reflect the abilities of many of the cottagers over time, particularly (but not exclusively) the men in the community, whose ability

5 While there is little that is political or ideological in the cottagers' approach to this aspect of island life, it does align with the perspectives of some advocates of "simple living" and low-tech design who argue that older solutions to waste disposal and other infrastructural needs have perhaps been undervalued by modern societies. For example, see Michigan Technological University, "Latrines And Out-houses Trounce Toilets In Global War Against Poor Sanitation," ScienceDaily, June 20, 2008 and Chris Curtis, "Wendell Couple Off Grid Again," Greenfield Recorder, January 5, 2015.

to improvise a solution to a wide range of problems has been invaluable in a setting where simply running to the hardware store is not an immediate option. Sam Perry's workshop, the Gill brothers' woodworking skills, Walter Enos Sr.'s "sense of how things were made," Victor Pierimarchi's experience as an electrician, and the interest of many current cottagers in newer renewable energy technologies like photovoltaic panels and simple solar thermal systems, all speak to the fact that the kind of people drawn to island living are very often those who are also pragmatic problem-solvers and "do-it-yourselfers"—a tradition that undoubtedly dates to the era of the earliest cottagers with their many connections to the skilled trades. This implies an independent kind of thinker, but it is also the case that islanders have often collaborated on infrastructure projects (for example, the short-lived water line to the south-side cottages discussed in the following section, or one cottager's purchase of solar panels from a company going out of business, which were re-sold cheaply to fellow islanders). Most of the photovoltaic panels seen on cottages around the island are direct-current panels that store electricity in batteries, but one cottage also has a small inverter, enabling neighbors to come and charge devices and equipment because of the availability of 110 volt current there. As with the wells and water infrastructure discussed in the following section, ingenuity is both individual and potentially shared, in ways that reflect and reinforce relationships among the islanders and their families.

Water

In interviews and conversations with cottagers, it quickly became clear that fresh water has long been as important in island life as salt water, and that people's experiences with wells and access to drinking water reflect a good deal about particular social groupings and relationships. At various periods, there have been water lines running to Middle Head from both Nut Island and Pemberton Point, but this has been variable, depending on the level of activity at Fort Andrews, the state of repair of the lines, and other factors. For most of the history of the cottage community, wells have been the main source of fresh water. There are a more than a dozen wells scattered among the cottages on Middle and West Heads, and they have been shared in varying configurations among different cottages over time (see Appendix F for maps of wells and other water resources). Some, like the well associated with the Island Inn in the early twentieth century, are quite old, while others were dug or re-dug within living memory. The former Island Inn well is now shared by Cottages 14, 15, and 16 (see Fig. 100). A well behind Cottage 8, the

original Enos cottage, was shared by a number of the south-side cottages before World War II. When Cottage 1 was rebuilt after 1938, the owner dug a new well, and the Leggieros also dug a new well for themselves when they rebuilt Cottage 11. Cottage 13, "the Yellow," has its own well; Marlene Giammarco notes that although it is fairly shallow, it has never run dry in her memory, although in general the wells on the south-facing side do tend to run dry sooner than those on the other side of Middle Head. Rainwater is the sole source of supply for the island wells, so they are very immediately affected by weather patterns (Masterson et al. 1996).

Fig. 99: In this photo from the early 1940s, members of Claire Pierimarchi Hale's family gather on the steps of Cottage 40. Attached to the wall is the metal can that served as a tank to provide basic running water in the kitchen sink after being filled with milk cans at the well. (Claire Pierimarchi Hale)

Because the Peddocks Island wells do not conform to state regulations for potable water, the cottagers no longer used them for drinking water, but instead bring water in containers with them from the mainland. Signs stating "non-potable" are now seen on many of the island wells, which are used only for cooling purposes, but stories about the wells are still a central part of many cottagers' memories and conversations about the island.

Digging and maintaining wells were often shared activities. Sheila Martel reported that the well her family now uses was dug in the 1940s by her grandfather, Richard Kennedy, and his good friend Patsy Todescho, and that it was originally shared by Cottages 20, 23, 24, and 41. Mabel Pinto pointed proudly to "my beautiful well" in a 1978 newspaper article about the island, noting that "whoever put one stone in the well when it was built became a partner" (Sullivan 1978). Well-sharing patterns changed as relationships did; by the time Rich Murphy bought Cottage 40 in 1979, the partnership was with Phyllis and

George Montagna at Cottage 39. Fetching water from the well was an important duty, often delegated to younger cottagers and sometimes welcomed, sometimes avoided by them. Bob Enos described his job as water-gatherer as being like an indentured servant, but added, "I used to like it because it made me feel strong, and it made me strong." In a section of her memoir called "Water, Water," Claire Pierimarchi Hale recalls dreading the daily trips to the well to fill up the milk cans that her family used for carrying water. The cans were emptied into a tank on the wall outside the kitchen window, which allowed for running water into the kitchen sink (Fig. 99). As a boy, Raymond Pratt in Cottage 37 was given the crucial job of putting the cover back on the well after the water was drawn; he was also responsible for picking fruit from the family's extensive backyard garden and filling the kerosene lamps.[6] The Downeys' daughters were also sent to fetch water in milk cans; their parents joked that "running water" in Cottage 34 meant saying to one of the girls, "Run and get some water" (and that this often translated to *walking* water rather than running). East Head has at times been better-supplied with actual running water, including at present, since a new micro-tunnel was run across Hull Gut to carry water, electric, and sewage lines in 2006. But when Ed and Judy McDevitt first took the caretaker job in 1962, there was no running water in the buildings, and Ed recalls frequent boat trips to the Coast Guard boathouse on Pemberton Point with two four-gallon metal cans to get water.

The necessity to cooperate, sometimes with several households, around a scarce and precious resource led to careful sharing and sometimes to disputes. Pointing out that the island wells tend to refill slowly, Denise Sarno-Bucca, a seasonal resident in the 1980s, noted that care and respect for wells has been part of the Peddocks cottage culture. Bob Enos agrees: "I think generally people were aware that it was a very important treasure that they shared, and they cared for it." When wells did run dry, there were backup plans. Cottage 15 had a water line that came from Fort Andrews, possibly reflecting the connection of its builder, Sergeant McGee, to the fort. Bob Enos and Claire Pierimarchi Hale both recall Nellie Long in Cottage 15 allowing neighbors to get water during dry spells. There was also a hydrant near the Pink House for a time, which served as a backup water source for Crab Alley cottagers. When disagreements over wells and water supply arose, Mike McDevitt recalled that people had sometimes locked up their wells to restrict access, although he characterized these more as "tiffs" than serious conflicts.

6 This memory is from the caption to a photo contributed during the 2011 Mass. Memories Boston Harbor Island Road Show; it can be found online at http://openarchives.umb.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/p15774coll6/id/982/rec/4.

Fig. 100: Wells have long been an important aspect of the island infrastructure and a reflection of its social relationships. Clockwise from top left, the wells at Cottage 35, the old Island Inn well shared by Cottages 14, 15, and 16, the stone well at Cottage 42, and the well at Cottage 13.

But the seriousness of water is reflected in folk stories from the island about people drowning in wells. There are a number of these, some of them documented in a set of oral histories collected by Hull High School students in 1983 as part of a local-history project co-sponsored by the Peddocks Island Trust (Leiterman 1983). In one story, two Crab Alley neighbors named Francis Miller and Joseph Harris were feuding over their shared well during a summer drought. After Miller enclosed the well in his house out of spite, Harris put a curse on him. Years later, Miller was found dead in the well on his mainland farm, the same year that the well on Peddocks ran dry (Meschino 1983). A second "cursed well" story involved a cottage on West Head in which a descendant of a former resident saw in her well the face of her grandfather, who drowned there after being cursed by a neighbor during a fight over the well (Nealon 1983). The family names in these stories do not correspond to any known island families, and in many ways they are standard ghost stories of the kind that are often told around

campfires. They do carry weight for at least some cottagers, though, and it is intriguing that some of them are associated with Cottage 29, which does have its well enclosed in the back portion of the house. The Harris/Miller tale was related by Lillian Beauvais, whose family owned Cottage 29 for many years. Although no documentary evidence was found for this study relating to deaths in wells, either in this cottage or elsewhere on the island, the moral message of the stories seems very clear: wells are shared property, and survival on the island requires cooperating with other people in order to ensure that everyone has access to fresh water. The uncharacteristically enclosed well in Cottage 29 is a physical reminder of this lesson, a device for reinforcing moral and social messages that members of the community feel it is crucial to know. It serves as a "chronotope," a place in the social landscape where collective memory is materialized and helps to shape a group's sense of shared identity and agreed-upon practices (Basso 1984:44-45).

The hydrant at the Pink House was located on a water line that ran from Nut Island to West Head and along the northern side of Middle Head. Like other water lines on the island, it was subject to periodic breaks and other damage, but it was operative during the 1970s and 1980s, creating a brief period in which people on the Middle Head were much less reliant on their wells for fresh water. The cottagers on the south-facing side ran a spur line of PVC pipe to supply their cottages; it can still be seen near the surface of some of the island paths. Current cottagers noted that some in the community quickly came to take this once-limited resource too much for granted, in one case even installing a swimming pool that their neighbors felt was out of keeping with the simple style of island living. In 1990, dredging work on the underwater tunnel between the Nut Island sewage treatment plant and the expanded facility on Deer Island cut the water line, which has never been repaired. Fresh water has become an even more precious resource on the island now, because the wells do not meet legal requirements for potable water and islanders must bring drinking water with them by boat.

Fresh water figures in other aspects of island living as well. Rain barrels are a very common sight at the actively-used cottages and continue to be a crucial source of water for washing and to mitigate the risk of fire. Some cottagers have rigged outdoor showers, and a few have created homemade solar thermal systems—generally just black hose coiled or lying flat in a sunny spot. The most extensive of these was built by Rich Murphy in Cottage 40 immediately after the Nut Island water line was cut in 1990. His water system utilizes more than twenty 55-gallon plastic barrels that catch water from gutters on all sides of the house. A propane-powered pump moves the water up to two horizontal

barrels on the roof, which then provides pressurized water coming down to the sink and outdoor shower. A large coil of black hose heats enough water for washing people and dishes, and a mixing valve lets users control the mix of hot and cold from different barrels. According to Rich, the first big rainstorm of the summer usually provides enough water to last through the whole season, all for the cost of a small amount of propane to run the pump occasionally.

Fire

Concerns about fire safety go hand in hand with the limited availability of water on the island, and cottagers recall many stories about fires and near-fires in the cottage community. These concerns clearly have a long history: two of the island's three hotels were destroyed by fire, and a 1929 Boston Globe article noted that "The residents of the residential section [of Peddocks Island] are to circulate a petition, which will be presented to the Selectmen [of Hull], asking that a water main be continued from the site of the Irwin Hotel to the center of the colony. The residents feel that some fire protection is needed now that the fire brigade of Ft. Andrew has left the island" (Boston Globe 1929). Lightning strikes, explosions, and human carelessness all figure in these histories. The Bies house burned after its kerosene stove exploded in 1934 (Silvia 2003:130-31) and the destruction of Cottage 43, the old DeGust house on West Head, was caused by a kerosene refrigerator exploding. Mike McDevitt and others spoke about a propane explosion that destroyed Cottage 3, once the island tea house, in October 1983, when it was owned by Bob and Madeline Simonds (DCR 2009:20). An article about the island in the Boston Herald reported a neighbor's account of the resulting fire: "Flames were shooting 50 feet into the sky. Balls of fire were falling on neighboring roofs" (Raver 1984). Fortunately this was during the era when water was running to the south side of Middle Head, and neighbors were able to keep the adjacent houses doused using garden hoses until Mike arrived in the fort's fire truck. (The 1922 LaFrance fire engine had been replaced in 1972 with something less antique.) Mike also remembers his parents talking about fairly frequent brush fires into the 1960s, when the island was so much barer and drier. Many of these, in his recollection, started when inexperienced fishermen came ashore on the beach on cold or windy days and decided to start a fire for warmth, not realizing how quickly the wind could spread it. The Boston Globe reported an April 1955 fire, noting that "two Summer cottages and a mile of woodland" were burned before fire-fighting

efforts and a sudden downpour extinguished it (Boston Globe 1955:1).[7] And the plan to burn the debris from the 2001 demolition of several of the cottages was troubling to the cottagers not merely because of the sense of loss but because the recklessness of the idea ran directly counter to their own caution about setting fires on the island.

Against the threat of fire, islanders have been vigilant and always ready to rush to each other's aid. "There's a keen understanding that there's no fire department on the island," as Jim Saudade put it. He remembers his father becoming "almost paranoid" about fire as he grew older, and Jack Downey spoke about younger islanders being taught always to set their evening bonfires below the high tide line so that when the water came in it would douse any remaining embers. Claire Pierimarchi Hale recalls arriving on the island one summer to find that two buildings next to theirs (Cottage 40) had burned over the winter and that someone standing on their roof trying to keep it from catching fire had made a dent that could be seen on the ceiling. The footprint became the topic of many family stories, no doubt as both a cautionary tale about the ever-present risk of fire and a reminder of the importance of help from neighbors (Hale 2002:14).[8] Jim Saudade and his neighbor Annmarie Centrella both recalled a fire in the Ferdinand house (Cottage 19) one summer around 1960, which islanders managed to douse by quickly forming a bucket brigade to nearby rainbarrels and to the shared well above the north-side cottages. Crucial allies in fighting fires, the McDevitts, like other caretakers before them, sometimes required assistance themselves, as when arsonists set fires that destroyed two of the big fort buildings in the 1980s and 1990s. This is similar to the neighborliness of any place where neighbors look out for and keep an eye on each other. But the heightened sense of isolation and vulnerability on the island adds intensity to the collective watchfulness and mutuality, which goes hand in hand with the more bucolic and picturesque aspects of living on this or any other small island.

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7 This is a somewhat puzzling story. The newspaper reported that "91 year-round residents of the island" were among those battling the blaze, but by 1955 there were almost no year-round residents, and it would have been highly unlikely that 91 people were at the cottages in April in any case. It seems likely that the people who rushed to help put it out were area residents familiar with the island, perhaps including some cottagers who lived nearby on the mainland.

8 As with the 1955 Globe article, it is not entirely clear where the burned cottages (or perhaps outbuilding) stood. In the c.1945-51 aerial photos of Middle Head provided by Jim Saudade, it does appear that there are open spaces on either side of Cottage 40, suggesting that there may have been additional structures there at one time. Claire's memoir does not give a date for the fire, but it was likely earlier than the 1955 fire. The "Family Tree" notes that Cottage 39 was built in the space occupied by the two burned cottages, and puts the date of the fire as sometime in the 1940s. The first owner on the "Family Tree" list is "Nebes," the second is "Erwin – Fratus." Nothing was discovered in this study about these families, although the possible link with John Irwin at the Island Inn and the recurring Fratus/Freitas name are intriguing.

"An Island Way"

The preceding chapters have traced some of the lines of kinship, shared memories, and collective practices that have contributed to the Peddocks cottagers' sense of community over time. This final section considers how this relates to environment and infrastructure, while being careful to avoid the temptation—which journalists and other observers have often fallen into—of romanticizing or idealizing the islanders and their simple mode of living. The cottagers are not a dwindling remnant of a close-knit maritime or pre-industrial population, holding onto a threatened and more "natural" way of life out on the margins of civilization. Unlike "intentional communities" or groups that choose to live in non-mainstream ways, they are by no means philosophically or ideologically opposed to modern living. They are fully connected to the contemporary mainland in those lives and might well accept more of its amenities—electricity, running water—on the island as well, if they were available.

But those amenities are not available, and the cottagers want to be on the island with or without them. And that is the first key point about the nature of this community *as* a community: it exists because of their attachment to and knowledge about this very specific place, and not apart from it. A second key point is that people's modes of being on the island—with or without running water—have been inherited and learned (often collectively) over many years of inhabitation here. Conversations and interviews with cottagers showed that most or all share a deep respect for both the limits and the potentially dangerous power of natural forces, a willingness and ability to work within those limits and dangers, and an intimate awareness of—and ongoing curiosity about—the island's physical environment. As Bob Enos argued eloquently in the 1993 Advisory Committee report, those practices help to create a feeling of collective identity as well as the continued reality of that identity. A third key point is that for cottagers, "the environment" includes the people—and not just "people" generically, but these particular people and families, with their particular histories, skills, problems, and idiosyncracies. Knowledge about how to exist without the full infrastructure of modern life in this "edge place" has come to the cottagers through specific networks of association and relationship over many decades. Jim Saudade of Cottage 20 said during a summer 2013 conversation that "There's an 'island way,' and that means you're supposed to help people," even if you're not particularly fond of them. It is important not to romanticize this as a kind of mystical shared communion with the natural world. But it is also important not to undervalue it or to miss its remarkable qualities.

Evidence of this quality of the island community appeared throughout the research for this study. It can be heard in Matilda Bies Silvia's memoir: "As children we embraced natural learning and survival, and as adults, we relied on community and simplicity. When you're raised on an island, it is difficult to know or want any other kind of life" (Silvia 2003:159). Annmarie Centrella noted of her childhood on the island, "You used anything and everything. Back then that was the way of living, and you got to appreciate it." Echoing the idea of Peddocks as "Lug and Tug Island," she added, "The hard work that it takes to be a resident there is the thing that makes it so special." A sense of knowing how to live without the luxuries of modern living comes through in cottagers' stories as well—for example, the Downeys' "Peddocks Island nights" in their mainland home when the power went out. One story related by several cottagers involved Jack Hennessey, the "modern Thoreau" on West Head, who was looking out his window in the quonset hut one night at the lights of Hough's Neck when suddenly they all went dark. He could see the outline of the Great Hill against the sky, but no evidence of the city itself. Apparently prompted by the idea that the tables were turned and for the moment he was the one with superior resources, he lit all of his oil lamps and put them in his wondows as a kind of "So there!" to the city-dwellers whose "advanced" way of life had been shown to be not so reliable or powerful after all.

One-time island caretaker Judy McDevitt clearly shared this sensibility: collaborating with a National Park Service ranger on a 2005 curriculum to interpret the island community to school groups, she noted that the McDevitts

> have lived in an environmentally friendly way, due in part to necessity. Their heat and cooking fuel is renewable wood. Trash has always been separated into burnables, compostables, and things like cans that need to be disposed of ashore. They grew vegetables organically before it was "the thing to do," using food scraps, seaweed, horse and chicken manure to enrich the soil of their garden. As solar panels have improved they have taken advantage of them and replaced dangerous oil lamps with electric lights. (Damstra 2005:42)

"If everyone used as little electricity as they do," the authors noted, "we would not have an energy crunch" (Damstra 2005:43). Asked whether Judy McDevitt, with her enthusiasm for learning new/old skills and her use of homesteader resources like the Foxfire books, had been an example of someone going "back to the land," her friend Jim Saudade said, "She never *left* the land." The same seems true of Mary Downey, who continues to can and preserve food extensively, to the admiration of her neighbors. The

Downeys are among the cottagers who still have older propane or kerosene refrigerators in their cottages but no longer use them for cold storage, perhaps out of caution after previous fires on the island. Instead, the Downeys lower food that needs to be kept cold into their well, a time-tested and low-tech mode of refrigeration.

Another facet of the islanders' practical environmentalism has to do with foresight and long-term planning, as opposed to the last-minute decision-making that is possible under more luxurious circumstances. Mike McDevitt pointed to this as the single biggest distinguishing factor between island and mainland living, and Bob Enos amplified the point in his 2013 interview:

> When you look back at something, it always looks better than it was. But I think in terms of the island, it was as good as it is remembered. It was a primitive, close-to-nature living for people who were coming from the city, from various parts of Boston and vicinity. You brought things with you that you needed, and there was no quick, easy running to the store. So there was a lot of thoughtful preparation for going. You knew what the limits of the island were, and you lived your life within those, pretty much, and found pleasures that made it all not just bearable, but enjoyable.
>
> Fishing was a big thing, swimming, boating. We had rafts when I was a kid. The people on the island were very friendly, back and forth, doors were opened. You just had a sense of community, rather than just houses in a row. There was a connection, and the connection I think was this shared hardship, and the shared love, knowing that you were having an experience that most other people weren't having. It is quite unique.

Enos was speaking about earlier periods in the cottagers' history, but the same ideas were expressed over and over again in summer 2013 conversations. The shared island values of foresight and resource-consciousness can also be seen in the negative, in people's comments that some of the south-side families were too quick to use running water too freely when it was first available in the 1970s.

Jim Saudade offered the most extensive expression of how the natural and cultural worlds intersect to create "an island way." In an email following the August 2013 preliminary presentation of this research, he argued that the discussion of the islanders' close relationship with their surroundings should encompass "a lot more than just an awareness of our environment and wise utilization of its resources":

> In his introduction to *The Human Shore* (if you haven't read it, I recommend it) John R. Gillis states: "I have come to appreciate the difference between

> living on the coasts and living *with* them, and I have learned to make a sharp distinction between people located on coasts and coastal people whose historical relationships with the coastal environment goes beyond mere residence." It is clear, that Peddocks Islanders are coastal people.
>
> Most of us grew up on the Quincy coast where we learned to swim, sail, row, fish and run a skiff. Every summer we would take Red Cross swimming lessons from the time we were very young until we were teens. We graduated from Minnow to Fish, to Flying Fish, Shark and then learned to save our own life at sea through Junior Life Saving and to save others in Senior Life Saving. By the time we were 12, it's amazing we didn't sprout gills! Then we went to the, city sponsored, Boat Club where we spent summers learning to row and sail. Throughout this time we learned to fish with our parents in boats and by ourselves off jetties. By the time we got to the island, we were well trained in the basics of being coastal people. We knew how the weather and the sea could be such a heavenly combination and how it could crush your boat and kill you.
>
> While none of us depend on the sea for our living like some of our ancestors and the original occupants of the Peddocks cottages we still live with the shore. We all have NOAA radios (common radio stations do not predict wind speeds or wave heights) and before that barometers. We frequently start a conversation with an observation of the seas or the forecast. We are all aware of the changing presence of lobsters, fish, baitfish and sea birds. We modify our activities and plans around the weather, fish, and tides. We comb the beaches not just for fun but much of our lumber for repair projects come off the beach. We take hardware off flotsam and jetsam and reuse it. And we all take this living with the shore for granted as we grew up with this relationship.

This taken-for-granted attentiveness to the limits of space, mobility, and both human and non-human resources is a key part of what holds the islanders' moral ecology together, creating ties that run to and through a much-loved place. Not all of the ties are affectionate ones, although many are. Some are purely pragmatic—who is in residence at a particular time? who can be counted on to keep an eye on potential problems? Some—particularly those based in kinship—are maintained on the mainland as well. But most are not. To a very great extent, they exist in relation to the island. As a community, the Peddocks cottagers' primary commitment is to the island, and the other qualities of their community flow from that.

In their practices of inhabiting the island, the cottagers themselves have often blurred too-neat distinctions between nature and culture, work and leisure, traditional

and modern, off-shore and mainland living. Their identities and roles span all of those categories in ways that may seem confusing or contradictory until they are placed within the unifying frame of the island itself. It is what connects them and gives a sense of cohesion to this complex "both/and" population. This does not necessarily reconcile the internal tensions among people and practices—for example, between the lively and noisy sociability of the Italian cottagers at mid-century and the quest for solitude by Jack Hennessey, the "modern Thoreau" on West Head in the same period. Rather, it *contains* those tensions, which tend to be worked out over time through interaction with other cottagers, non-human species, and the physical environment itself. The cottagers *do* live "close to the land," then, but not in any general or ideological sense. They are close to *this* land and its ocean surroundings. They have inherited and continued to develop a pragmatic and embodied sense of how to fit into a particular natural and cultural ecology and to cope with the rigors of off-grid living in a demanding maritime setting. ■

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Appendix A:
Interviews, Meetings, and Island Visits

August 2012: Initial project meeting with NPS and DCR staff

November 2012: Orientation visit to island with DCR staff

January 2013: Preliminary meeting with Claire and Bill Hale

March 2013: Attendance at Boston Public Library talks by Ellen Berkland, Suzanne Gall Marsh

June 2013: Day-visit to island; met with Mike McDevitt

July 2013: Three visits to island

July 2-4, 2013: Conversations with Mike McDevitt, Suzanne Gall-Marsh

July 10-13, 2013: Informal interviews with Sheila Martel, Jack and Mary Downey, conversation with Denise Sarno-Bucca

July 26-29, 2013: Informal interviews with Marlene Gill, Russell Crombie and Caroline Crombie, follow-up conversation with Sheila and Jim Martel
Visits to Quincy, East Weymouth, Rockport, and Cape Cod to interview Peter Sault, Father Larry Drennan, Phil Chalmers, and Bob Enos
Meeting with Annemarie Reardon in Cambridge

August 2013: Three visits to island

Aug. 2-3, 2013: Informal interview with Jim Saudade, formal interviews with Marlene Giammarco, Russell Goulart

Aug. 9-10, 2013: Informal interviews with Claire and Bill Hale, Clark and Gherna families, conversations with Rich Murphy, John Ferdinand and family

Aug. 25-26, 2013: Informal conversations with cottagers; presentation to cottagers and island visitors. Project update meeting with NPS and DCR staff

October 2013: Community event on Peddocks Island

November 2013: Telephone interview with Annmarie Centrella

Other current and former cottagers contacted at some point in the study were Steve Chalmers, Jen Crombie, Betty and Dick Harrington, Robin MacDonald-Foley, Vinny Nigro, Jack Walsh, Lorraine West

Appendix B: Project Documents

1. Project Summary
2. Superintendent's Letter of Introduction
3. Informed Consent Form
4. National Park Service Legal Release Form
5. Permission to Reproduce Photographs

Ethnographic Study of the Peddocks Island Cottages, Boston Harbor Islands, National Park Service

Cathy Stanton, Ph.D., Principal Investigator

April 15, 2013

The Boston Harbor Islands national park area is sponsoring a study of the history of the Peddocks Island cottages, with the goal of gathering information that national park staff can use in their interpretation and management of the island. The study will gather together existing historical materials about the cottages and their use over time, and will add to this information through interviews and other sources. The project will result in a written report as well as a possible website. Participants in the study and others interested in the history of the cottages will be invited to an informational community meeting in Fall 2013 to hear about the progress of the study so far.

The project will take place between April and December 2013. The primary researcher is Cathy Stanton, Ph.D., a cultural anthropologist and public historian working for the University of Massachusetts History Department under a cooperative agreement with the National Park Service. She will conduct interviews and related research and may be reached at 978-544-5226, 222 New Salem Road, Wendell, MA 01379, cstanton@tiac.net, or by cell phone at 413-475-4996. The research will consist of examination of records and other materials in archives and published sources, participant-observation activities on the island as appropriate, and recorded interviews with people who are knowledgeable about the history of the cottages.

Participation in the research is entirely voluntary. People choosing to participate in interviews will be asked to sign a consent form explaining the project and a release form authorizing the use of the interview information by the National Park Service. Interviewees will have the option of stipulating that their names not be used in quoted material in the final report. Tapes and transcripts of the interviews will be housed permanently in the library of the Boston Harbor Islands national park area, and may be available to other researchers in the future.

A Research Design/Work Plan for the study is available upon request from Cathy Stanton. Questions about the project can be directed to Marc Albert, Stewardship Program Director, Boston Harbor Islands National Park Area, 978-360-0421 or marc_albert@nps.gov. The Park Superintendent is Bruce Jacobson, Boston Harbor Islands, 15 State St, Suite 1100, Boston, MA 02109; (617)223- 8669, Bruce_Jacobson@nps.gov. ■

United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
Boston Harbor Islands National Recreation Area
15 State Street, Suite 1100
Boston, Massachusetts 02109-3502

BOHA 01

June 20, 2013

Greetings,

From June to December, 2013, the National Park Service is sponsoring a study of the history of cottages on Peddocks Island in cooperation with the Massachusetts Department of Conservation & Recreation. The purposes of the study are to increase knowledge about the island and its cottages; learn how the cottages have been used over time; and gather information park staff can use for management and for sharing the stories of Peddocks Island with visitors.

The project's principal researcher is Cathy Stanton, a cultural anthropologist and public historian associated with the History Department at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Other researchers may also be gathering information under Cathy's supervision. Preliminary research began in November 2012; interviewing people knowledgeable about the cottages' history will continue through the summer, with possible follow-up interviews in the fall. A final report based on the research will be available to the public in 2014.

Questions about this project should be addressed to Christine Arato, Northeast Regional Historian, National Park Service, at 617-223-5103 or christine_arato@nps.gov.

Sincerely,

Bruce Jacobson
Superintendent

Consent Form for Participation in a Research Study
University of Massachusetts Amherst

Researcher(s): Cathy Stanton, Ph.D., Public Ethnographer
Study Title: Ethnographic Study of the Peddocks Island Cottages
Funding Agency: National Park Service

---

1. WHAT IS THIS FORM?

This form is called a Consent Form. It will give you information about the study so you can make an informed decision about participation in this research.

2. WHO IS ELIGIBLE TO PARTICIPATE?

People who have memories or associations with the Peddocks Island cottages are eligible to be a part of the study.

3. WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?

The purpose of the project is to produce a detailed description of the history of the cottages that will be useful for park management, interpretation, and public education about the island's history and multigenerational use of the cottages. The material may also be used in future museum and website exhibits created by the National Park Service about the history of Peddocks Island.

4. WHERE WILL THE STUDY TAKE PLACE AND HOW LONG WILL IT LAST?

The research will be conducted between April and December 2013. You will be invited to an informational community meeting in the fall of 2013. A final report from the project will be available in 2014.

5. WHAT WILL I BE ASKED TO DO?

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to provide information about the history of the Peddocks Island cottages and cottagers. This information will be collected via an audio-recorded interview that will take between one and two hours.

6. WHAT ARE MY BENEFITS OF BEING IN THIS STUDY?

Your participation in this research may contribute to a clearer understanding by National Park Service and Department of Conservation and Recreation officials of the history of the Peddocks Island cottages over time. This may help them to interpret the cottages more fully and accurately in signage, programming, and websites.

7. WHAT ARE MY RISKS OF BEING IN THIS STUDY?

We believe there are no known risks associated with this research study. A possible inconvenience may be the time it takes to complete the study.

8. HOW WILL MY PERSONAL INFORMATION BE PROTECTED?

Because this study is designed to produce a detailed history of the cottages, we hope that participants will give us permission to use their information, materials (for example, photographs of the cottages), and

names. However, you may specific at any time during your interview that you are speaking off the record. You may also request that certain statements not be recorded or quoted. You are under no obligation to provide information or materials and you may choose to end the interview at any time. Tapes and transcripts of interviews will be part of a project archive that will be curated by National Park Service/Boston Harbor islands staff. Transcripts will also be added to the Boston Harbor Islands collections at Healey Library, University of Massachusetts Boston.

9. WHAT IF I HAVE QUESTIONS?

Take as long as you like before you make a decision. The researcher will be happy to answer any questions you have about this study. You are welcome to contact Cathy Stanton at 222 New Salem Road, Wendell, MA, 01379, phone (978)544-5226, email cstanton@tiac.net. If you wish more information about the study, you may contact Boston Harbor Islands Superintendent Bruce Jacobson at (617)223-8666, email Bruce_Jacobson@nps.gov, or Marc Albert, Stewardship Program Director, Boston Harbor Islands National Park Area, phone 978-360-0421 or email marc_albert@nps.gov.

If you have further questions about this project or if you have a research-related problem, you may contact the University of Massachusetts Amherst Human Research Protection Office (HRPO) at (413) 545-3428 or by email at humansubjects@ora.umass.edu.

10. CAN I STOP BEING A PART OF THE STUDY?

You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to. If you agree to be in the study, but later change your mind, you may drop out at any time. There are no penalties or consequences of any kind if you decide that you do not want to participate.

11. STATEMENT OF VOLUNTARY CONSENT

I have read this form and decided that I will participate in the project described above. The general purposes and particulars of the study as well as possible risks and inconveniences have been explained to my satisfaction. I understand that I can withdraw at any time.

_____	_____	_____
Participant Signature:	Print Name:	Date:

By signing below I indicate that the participant has read and, to the best of my knowledge, understands the details contained in this document and has been given a copy.

_____	_____	_____
Signature of Person Obtaining Consent	Print Name:	Date:

U.S. Department of the Interior
National Park Service

Legal Release

This agreement is entered into by _____ (interviewee) and Boston Harbor Islands National Recreation Area, National Park Service. Both parties enter into this agreement in order to facilitate the future use of the interview conducted on _____ (date) for historical and educational purposes.

The interviewee herein grants, relinquishes, and transfers to the National Park Service the following rights:

1. All legal title and property rights for said interview.
2. All rights, title, and interest in copyrights in said interview, and more particularly, the exclusive rights of reproduction, distribution, and public display.

I herein warrant that I have not assigned or in any manner encumbered or impaired any of the aforementioned rights in my oral memoir. I hereby authorize the National Park Service to record, transcribe, and edit the interview, and to use and re-use the interview in whole or in part. I understand that the National Park Service shall have no obligation to use the interview. I further understand that I am to receive no financial compensation for my participation in the project.

_____ _____

Interviewee Date

_____ _____

Interviewer, on behalf of the NPS Date

Permission to Reproduce Photographs

This agreement is entered into by _____ and Boston Harbor Islands National Recreation Area, National Park Service. Both parties enter into this agreement in order to facilitate the future use of the photograph(s) described below.

Permission is hereby granted to the National Park Service to reproduce the photograph(s) listed below as part of its Ethnographic Study of the Peddocks Island Cottages. The photo(s) may be used in printed materials, online, as part of an exhibit, or in any other form unless specified below:

_____

_____

The rights listed above have not previously been given to other parties. I understand that the National Park Service shall have no obligation to use the image(s). I further understand that I am to receive no financial compensation for these materials.

The source of the photograph(s) will be listed in print and other materials as follows:

_____

_____

Photo(s):

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____ _____

Date

_____ _____

Principal Investigator, on behalf of the NPS Date

Appendix C: Census Data for Peddocks Island Cottagers, 1900-1940

Complete census information is included in the project files. This summary lists names of civilians enumerated on the island by federal census-takers 1900-1940. Clear errors have been corrected and surmises added in square brackets.

1900

Hayden	Chester B	Head	35	Massachusetts
Hayden	Catherine	Wife	41	New Brunswick
Smith	Fred A	Head	40	Massachusetts
Smith	Lillian N	Wife	36	Massachusetts
Smith	Charles	Son	12	Massachusetts
Smith	Samuel R	Son	9	Massachusetts
Serferins	Manuel	Head	68	Portugal
Serferins	Frank	Brother	72	Portugal
Mora	John M	Head	40	Portugal
Mora	Nellie	Wife	40	Western Islands
Farara	Andrew	Head	42	Portugal
Farara	Rita	Wife	30	Portugal
Farara	Manuel	Head	31	Portugal
Farara	Rose	Wife	18	Portugal
Farara	Antonia	Head	44	Portugal
Costa	Antonio	Head	42	Portugal
Costa	Mary	Wife	47	Portugal
Costa	Frank	Son	19	Massachusetts
Perry	Antonio	Head	35	Portugal
Perry	Mary	Wife	36	Portugal
Albeto	Joseph	Head	45	Portugal
Albeto	Lucy	Wife	43	Portugal

1910

Irwin	John	Head	White	46	Canada
Irwin	Ella	Wife	White	42	Canada
Lewis	Thomas G	Hired Man	Black	35	Virginia
Taylor	Sara A	Hired Girl	White	54	New Hampshire
Jackson	Laurence S	Hired Man	Black	29	District of Columbia
Hennercey	Danial	Servant	White	57	Massachusetts
Jinkins	Elma F	Servant	White	21	Massachusetts
Bailey	John C	Servant	White	24	Massachusetts
Holbrook	Charles	Servant	White	60	Massachusetts
Whitfield	Max	Servant	Black	36	North Carolina
Pusiver	Anthoney	Head	White	47	Portugal
Pusiver	Mary P	Wife	White	46	Portugal
Farrara	Manuel	Head	White	42	Portugal
Farrara	Rose	Wife	White	40	Portugal
Corey	Lewis	Head	White	40	Portugal
Corey	Mary	Wife	White	40	Portugal
Corey	Joseph	Son	White	8	Massachusetts
Corey	Lewis	Son	White	7	Massachusetts
Pinto	John	Head	White	39	Portugal
Ferrara	Andrew	Head	White	45	Portugal
Gill	Matthew	Head	White	60	Portugal
Alberts	Joseph	Head	White	65	Portugal
Perry	Joseph K	Head	White	40	Portugal
Perry	Mary	Wife	White	39	Portugal
Ferrara	Anthoney	Head	White	50	Portugal
Cabral	Joseph	Head	White	36	Portugal
Cabral	Mary	Wife	White	36	Portugal

1920

Lewis	John	Head	35	Portugal
Lewis	Christiana	Wife	37	Portugal
Lewis	Mary	Daughter	16	Portugal
Lewis	Thelma	Daughter	14	Portugal
Lewis	Carolina	Daughter	6	Massachusetts
Lewis	John	Son	2	Massachusetts
Sylvia	Antony	Head	56	Portugal
Sylvia	Mary	Wife	56	Portugal
Ferrara	Manuel	Head	52	Portugal
Ferrara	Rose	Wife	36	Portugal
Mcgee	James	Head	39	New Jersey
Mcgee	Theresa	Wife	32	Massachusetts
Pinto	John	Head	48	Portugal
Gill	Joseph	Head	32	Massachusetts
Gill	Ida	Wife	26	Massachusetts
Gill	Joseph	Son	5	Massachusetts
Gill	Arthur	Son	2	Massachusetts
Gill	Emma	Daughter	0	Massachusetts
Alberts	Gilbert	Head	68	Portugal
Alberts	Rose	Wife	33	Portugal
Alberts	John	Son	12	Portugal
Rose	Frank	Head	50	Portugal
Rose	Anna	Wife	44	Portugal
Larrabee	Frank	Head	35	Massachusetts
Larrabee	Marion	Wife	27	Massachusetts

1930

Ferreria	Manuel	Head	62	No	Portugal
Ferreria	Rose	Wife (4)	47	No	Portugal
Silva	Manuel	Head	63	No	Portugal
Silva	Joseph	Son	35	Yes	Massachusetts
Pinto	John M	Head	59	No	Portugal

1940

Curran [Currier?]	Lyda	Head	60	Canada English
Silva	Bernard	Head	65	Portugal
Berard	Maude	Housekeeper	68	Mass.
Silva	Joseph	Head	50	Portugal
Silva	Manuel	Father	73	Portugal
Pinto	Mabel	Head	44	Mass.
Pinto	John	Son	21	Mass.
Fierria [Ferrara]	Manuel	Head	72	Portugal
Lewis	Jackine [Joaquin? John Sr.]	Head	55	Portugal
Lewis	Justina	Wife	59	Portugal
Lewis	John	Son	22	Mass.
Ferdinand	Theodore	Head	68	Portugal
Ferdinand	Mary	Wife	69	Portugal

Appendix D: List of Hull Special Officers for Peddocks Island, 1898-1916

Data taken from Hull annual reports

1898 – Chester B. Hayden

1899 – Chester B. Hayden

1900 – Chester B. Hayden

1901 – Winfield Scott Richards

1903 – Winfield Scott Richards, James E. Glanett

1904 – Winfield Scott Richards, James E. Glanett

1905 – Fred L. Bellows, Winfield Scott Richards

1906 – Winfield Scott Richards, Byron G. Nason

1907 – Winfield Scott Richards, Frank W. Flint, John J. Lane, John Irwin, Vincent Fowler, Charles Welch

1908 – Winfield Scott Richards, John Irwin, Charles Welch

1909 – John Irwin, John Welch

1910 – John Irwin, John Welch

1911 – John Irwin, Peter C. McElroy

1912 – John Irwin, Peter C. McElroy

1913 – John Irwin

1914 – John Irwin

1915 – John Irwin

1916 – John Irwin

Appendix E: Data Relating to Displacement of Long Island Fishermen

1851

- Charles H. Poole surveyed lots on Long Island for Long Island Co., preparatory to lots being sold at auction (Mass. Historical has a copy of this map)

1865 state census for Long Island

- farmer Nathanial Cleaves and family
- pilot Charles Walker
- hotel keeper Joseph Snow, family and servants
- farmers David Philbrook and John Mulcahy
- lighthouse keeper Pliny Small
- Italian fisherman Emanuel Simon (40)
- NH fisherman John O. Locke (35)

1870 U.S. Census for Long Island

- lighthouse keeper Pliny Small and family
- hotel keeper Frank Tyrrell, wife, and staff
- various carpenters, farm laborers, and others clearly working for the hotel(s), plus the following fishermen and their families:
- John O. Locke (41), wife Josephine (25), their children Charlie D. (2) and Annie M. (6 mos.)
- William P Burns (48), b. Massachhusetts
- Antoine Martin (50), b. Portugal
- Manuel Sophrine [Sufferins/Serveran/Serafin?] (30), b. Portugal
- two blank lines
- [Mnolgie?] F. Perry (25), b. Western Islands [i.e. Azores]
- Joseph King (30), b.Western Islands
- Antoine Maressa (27), b.Western Islands

1875

- Notes from Boston Assessors Office, Sept. 10, 1875, list the various occupants of lots surveyed by Poole in 1851:
- Lot A: Anthony Martin heirs
- Lot B: Joseph Gaspere and Jose P. De Silva
- Lot C: Antonio Verio and Joqauim Fira [Fina? Firara?] dev
- Lot D: Frank Sarveran [probably Serferins/Safarino/Serafin/Sophrine]
- Lot E: Frank E. and Emanuel E. Silva
- Lot F: Manuel Sufferin (for northern half) [also probably Serferins/Safarino/Serafin]
- Lot G: Antonio Silva and Antonio [unclear/cut off on photocopy]
- A: Long Island Co. sold Anthony Martin - 1199 fol 56 J.F. Came sold to Joseph Gaspero and Manuel Nicholeo - Oct. 1873 (cont.)
- B: 1260 f 21 Manuel Nicholeo conveyed his 1/2 to Jose P. De Silva - March 1875
- C: 1093 f 5 J.F. Came sold to Joseph Gasper and Manuel F. Perry - Feb. 1892
- C (cont.): 1128 f 275 Gasper Perry [sold to?] Antonio Viero & Joaquin Frader [maybe Freitas/Fratus?] - Oct. 1892
- C (cont.): 972 f 265 J.F. Came sold Mary wife of Francis J. Rose and Manuel S. Rose - Aug. 1869
- D: Manuel L? P.? Rose sold his 1/2 to Mary Rose - Oct. 1872
- D (cont.): Mary Rose sold to Frank Sarveran [Serferins/Safarino/Serafin] - Oct. 1892
- E [?]: 1136 f 311 J.F. Came to Frank E. and Emanuel E. Silva - Dec. 1872
- F [?]: 972 f 192 J.F. Came to Manuel Sufferin (for northerly half) - Aug. 1869
- F (cont.): J.F. Came to Mary Louisa wife of Manuel Sufferin (for southerly half) - Sept. 1870
- F [could be G]: 972 f 192 J.F. Came to Manuel Sufferin (for northerly half) - Aug. 1869
- F [cont. - or could be G]: J.F. Came to Mary Louisa wife of Manuel Sufferin (for southerly half) - Sept. 1870
- G.: 1187 f 22 Manuel and Mary L.S. Sufferin to Antonio Perry - Nov. 1873
- G (cont.): 1246 f 124 Antonio Perry to Antoine Silva and Antoine Francisco - Aug. 1874

Assessors' notes: "The conveyances define the position of lots A, B, and C with tolerable correctness. Lots E, F, and G must be very nearly correct the conveyances however giving as a rule less land than is enclosed with the stakes. But Lot D is not even approximately correct the bounds given in the deed (30 feet on Coral St. 24 feet on the southerly line and 20 feet [to?] Coral Street) can not be the boundaries if the position of the easterly line of C is correct. J.F. Came (agent for Martin) who sold the lot in 1869 admitted in the conveyances of lot E in Dec. 1872 that Frank Sarveran's land joined lot on the line marked on the plan as 48 feet."

(This document is in the Boston City Archives, where it was found by Suzanne Gall Marsh with assistance from Marta Crilly.)

1880

- John O. Locke appears in Boston City Directory as "fish dealer, house, Long Island"
- In the 1880 U.S. Census he also has a home in Somerville (where he's also listed as a fish dealer)
- The Portuguese lobstering families in 1880 on Long Island are listed as:
    - Anthony Vader [maybe Frader/Fratus/Freitas?] (42), wife Rose (38), children Mary (12), Anthony (8), Willie (6), Rose (4), Frank (3), and Manuel (1) - parents born in Fayal, children all born in Mass., so Anthony and Rose came sometime before 1868
    - Frank Inness [?] (43), born in Fayal
    - Joseph Gasper (30), born in Fayal
    - Manuel Perry (27), born in Fayal, with wife Mary (22), born in Mass., parents born in Pico, and daughter Mary (1), born in Mass.
    - Jackson [probably Joaquin or Joseph] Frairara [Ferrara] (31), born in Fayal, with wife Reita (29), born in Mass., parents born in Pico, sons Jackson (9) and Henry [?] (1), both born in Mass.
    - listed as "boarder" [with the Ferraras?] are Antone Frairara (22), born in Fayal, Joseph Lewis (20), born in Fayal, and Antoine Francis (31), born in Fayal, and his family: wife Mary (28), born in Fayal, and five daughters, Rose (5), Mary (3), Amelia (2), Matilda (1), and Louda (1 month), all born in Mass.
    - Antoine Silver [Silva] (25) and his wife Amelia (30), both born in Fayal

- Joseph P. Silver [Silva] (29), born in Fayal, with his wife Lemmia (25), also born in Fayal, and their two children, Frank (4) and Mary (1), both born in Mass., along with a boarder in their household, Frank Saffron/Soffron [Serafin] (43), born in Azores
- Joseph P. Silver [Silva] (30), born in Fayal, his wife Kate (28), born in Mass. with parents from Pico, and their daughter Mary (1), born in Mass.

1882 or possibly 1884

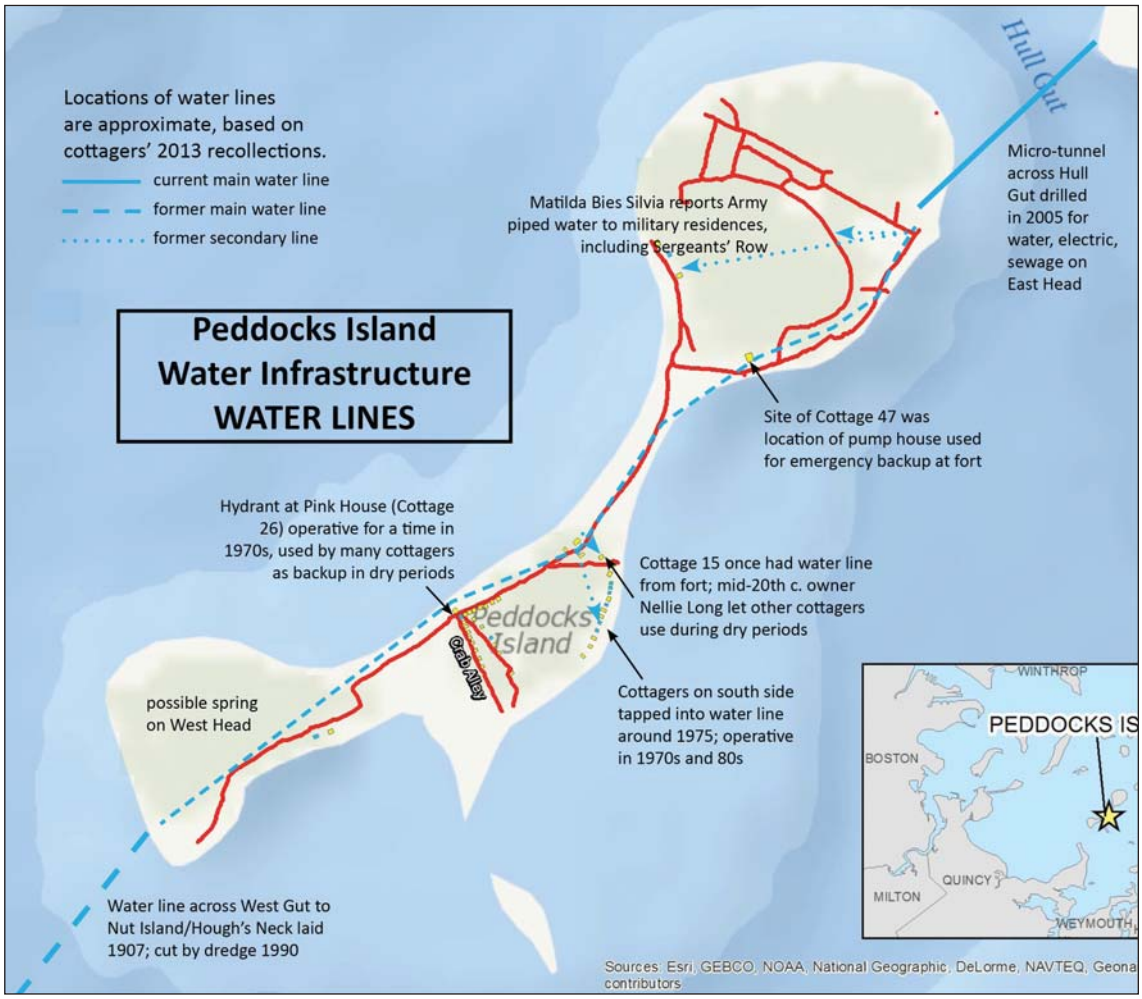
City purchases Long Island, except for 50 acres owned by federal gov't (Hagan 1969:27)

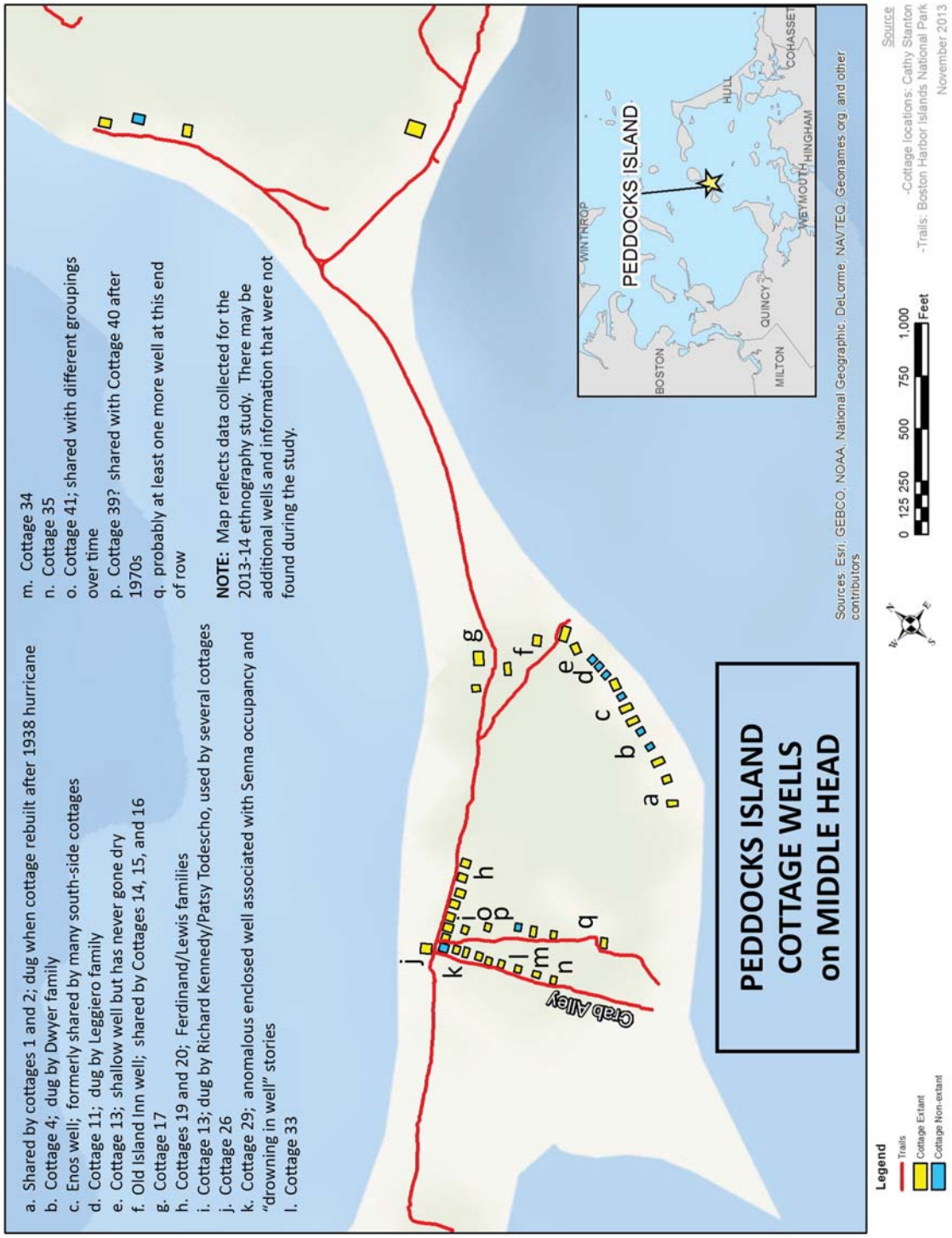
1885

Question raised at April 30 city council meeting about why claims for Long Island land have not yet been paid. Joint Standing Committee charged with acquiring land on Long Island submits this schedule of payments to be made:

Frances A. Snow, 47,811 sq ft, $1100 land, $1500 building
John O. Locke, 13,385 sq ft, $300 land, $400 building
Fred W. Todd, equity supposed to be in C. A. Gay, 5,549 sq ft, $100 land
Thos. Ellis, equity supposed to be in Barnes heirs, 20,452, $600 land
J.T.Z. Chardler [Chandler?], 31,458, $600 land, $1000 building
Richard Addison, 5,436, $100, $700
Wm. P Barnes, 3,086, $100 land
Mary A., wife of W.P. Barnes, 6,171, $100, $100
Rose L.V. Corinha, 6,095, $200 land, $200 bldg
Annie Gaspere, 1,606, $100, $100
Rita Terreira [Ferreira], 2,342, $100, $200
Frank Sarveran, 1,703, $100, $100
Frank Enos and Emanuel Silva, 1,056, $100, $100
Antonio Silva, and Antonio Francisco, 1,538, $100, $100
Joseph Perry, 1,438, $100, $100
Nicholas Copello, 5,832, $200, $100

Appendix F:
Maps of Water-Related Infrastructure on Peddocks Island




a. Shared by cottages 1 and 2; dug when cottage rebuilt after 1938 hurricane
b. Cottage 4; dug by Dwyer family
c. Enos well; formerly shared by many south-side cottages
d. Cottage 11; dug by Leggiero family
e. Cottage 13; shallow well but has never gone dry
f. Old Island Inn well; shared by Cottages 14, 15, and 16
g. Cottage 17
h. Cottages 19 and 20; Ferdinand/Lewis families
i. Cottage 13; dug by Richard Kennedy/Patsy Todescho, used by several cottages
j. Cottage 26
k. Cottage 29; anomalous enclosed well associated with Senna occupancy and "drowning in well" stories
l. Cottage 33
m. Cottage 34
n. Cottage 35
o. Cottage 41; shared with different groupings over time
p. Cottage 39? shared with Cottage 40 after 1970s
q. probably at least one more well at this end of row
NOTE: Map reflects data collected for the 2013-14 ethnography study. There may be additional wells and information that were not found during the study.
Crab Alley
PEDDOCKS ISLAND COTTAGE WELLS on MIDDLE HEAD
PEDDOCKS ISLAND
WINTHROP
BOSTON
QUINCY
MILTON
HULL
WEYMOUTH
HINGHAM
COHASSET
Sources: Esri, GEBCO, NOAA, National Geographic, DeLorme, NAVTEQ, Geonames.org, and other contributors
0 125 250 500 750 1,000
Feet
Source
-Cottage locations: Cathy Stanton
-Trails: Boston Harbor Islands National Park
November 2013
Legend
Trails
Cottage Extant
Cottage Non-extant

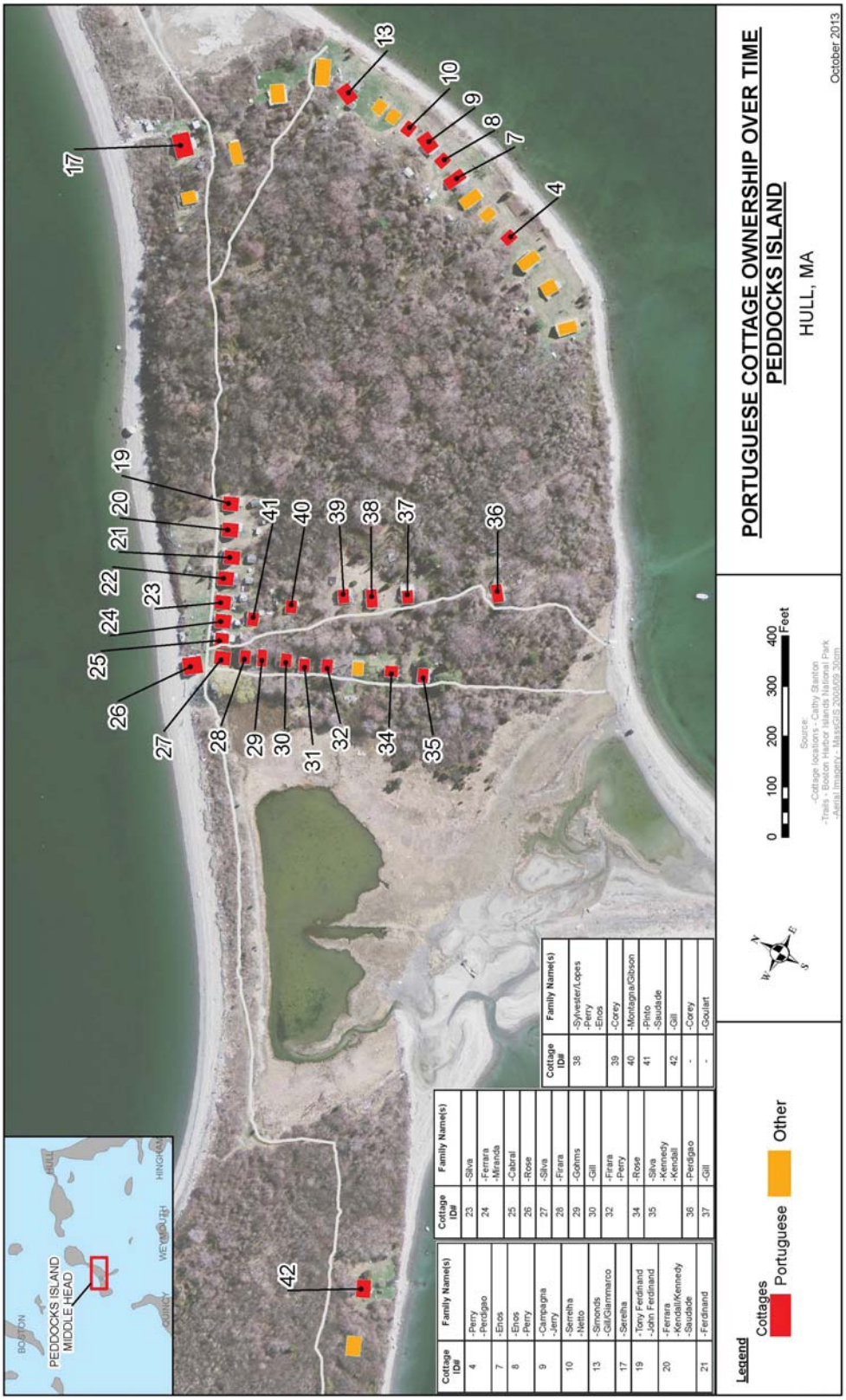
Appendix G:
Map of Portuguese Cottage Ownership Over Time

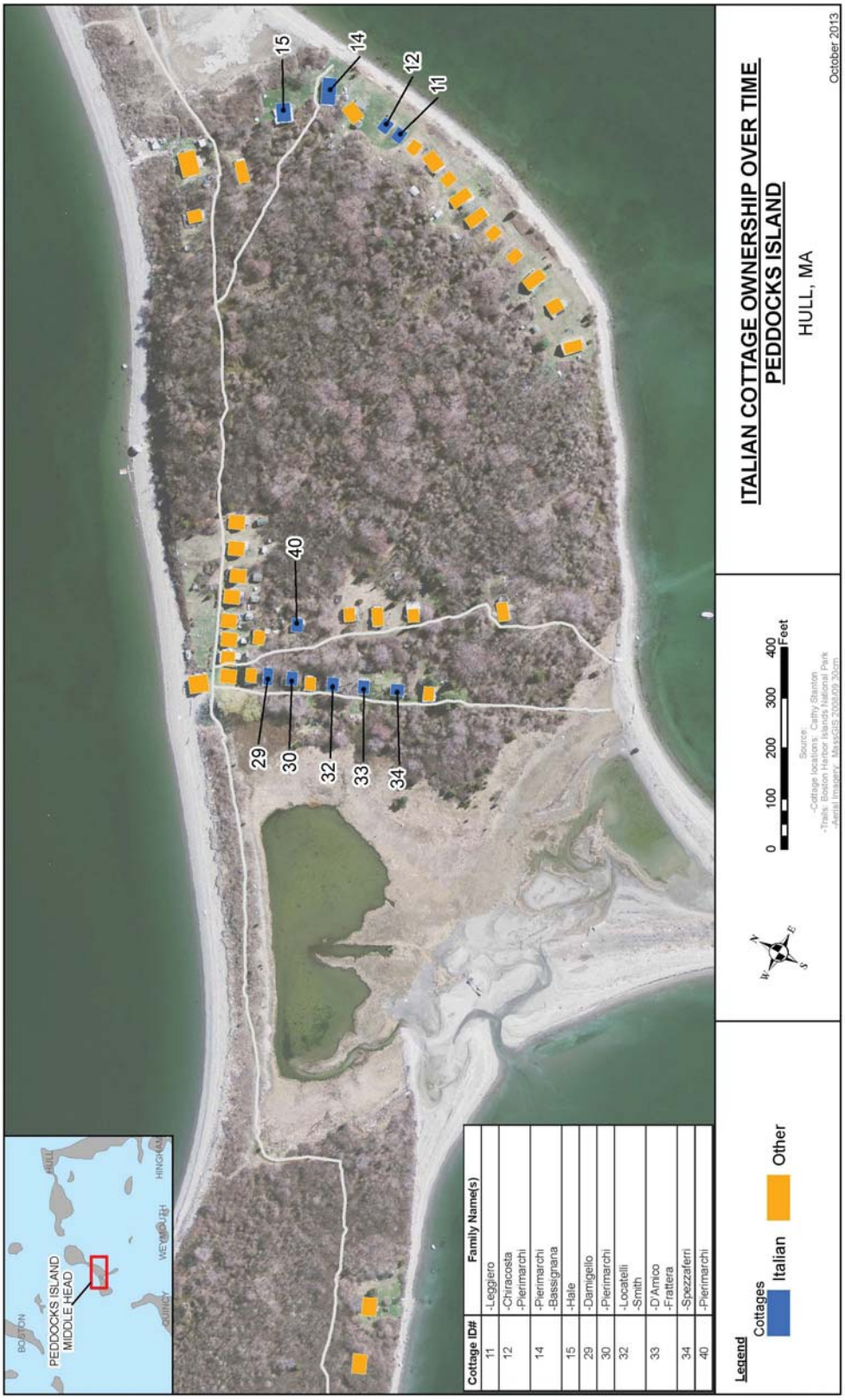
Appendix H:
Map of Italian Cottager Ownership Over Time

NOTE: These maps were developed from data in the "Family Tree" listing, interviews and conversations with cottagers, and census data. Some additional information came to light after the creation of the maps that could not be added, so the maps should be treated as a general guide to represent locations of particular clusters of ethnic population rather than as definitive listings. See the supplemental histories of individual cottages for the most up-to-date occupancy data as of summer 2015.

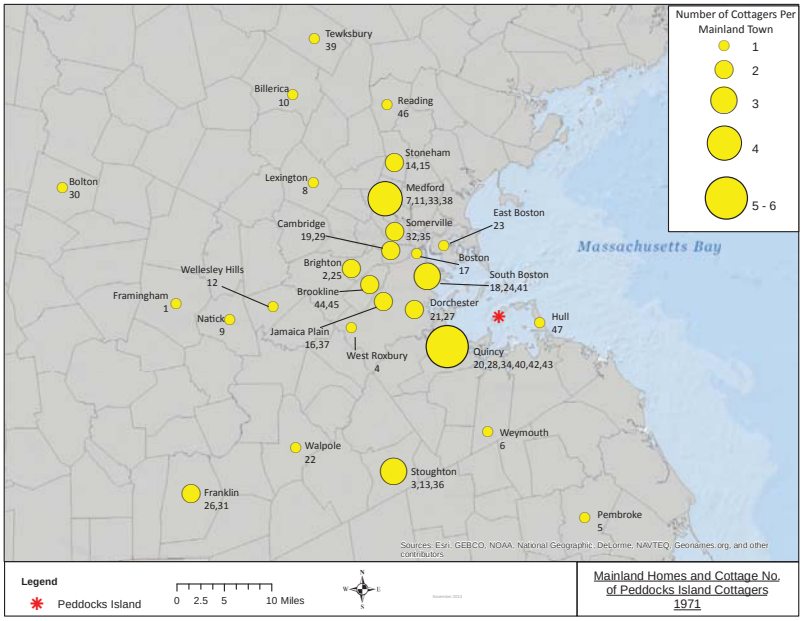
The Portuguese map includes ownerships for all cottagers known to be of Portuguese descent. This includes people descended from first-generation islanders (eg. Ferrara, Silva), more assimilated Portuguese-American families with an early connection to the island (eg. Enos, Perdigao, Simonds), and more recent Portuguese-Americans with no known genealogical connection to the earlier Peddocks families (eg. Saudade). There are very likely other Portuguese families whose names and presence could not be documented with certainty (eg. the "Fratus" family associated with Cottages 33, 39, and 40).

There are some names that may be Italian or Portuguese (eg. Campagna in Cottage 9, Senna in Cottage 29). The maps reflect some educated guesses about these in some cases, but in others they have been left out because of a lack of solid information.

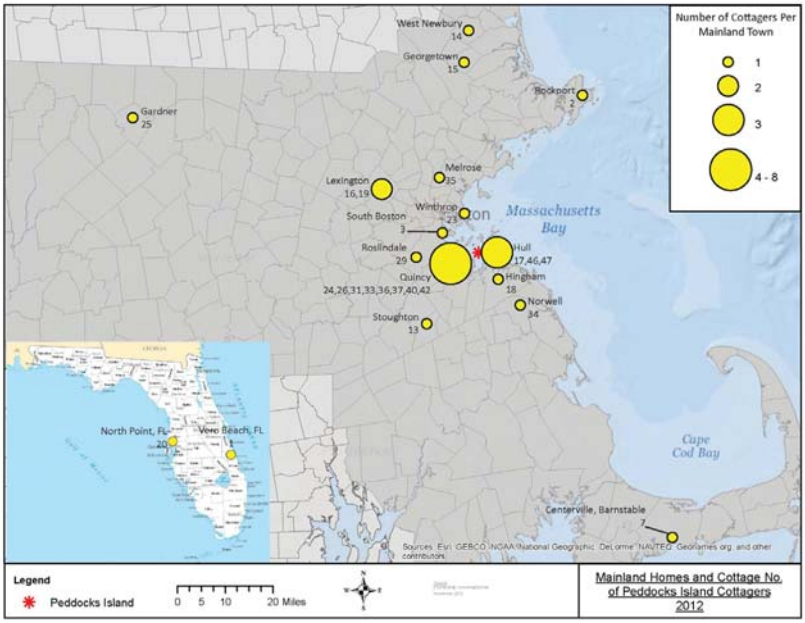

PEDDOCKS ISLAND
MIDDLE HEAD
BOSTON
HULL
WEYMOUTH
HINGHAM
QUINCY
PORTUGUESE COTTAGE OWNERSHIP OVER TIME
PEDDOCKS ISLAND
HULL, MA
October 2013
Legend
Cottages
Portuguese
Other
0 100 200 300 400 Feet
Source:
-Cottage locations - Cathy Stanton
-Trails - Boston Harbor Islands National Park
-Aerial Imagery - MassGIS 2005/09 20cm
Cottage ID# | Family Name(s)
4 | -Perry -Perdigao
7 | -Enos
8 | -Enos -Perry
9 | -Campagna -Jerry
10 | -Serrelha -Netto
13 | -Simonds -Gil/Giammarco
17 | -Serelha
19 | -Tony Ferdinand -John Ferdinand
20 | -Ferrara -Kendall/Kennedy -Saudade
21 | -Ferdinand
23 | -Silva
24 | -Ferrara -Miranda
25 | -Cabral
26 | -Rose
27 | -Silva
28 | -Firara
29 | -Gohms
30 | -Gill
32 | -Firara -Perry
34 | -Rose
35 | -Silva -Kennedy -Kendall
36 | -Perdigao
37 | -Gill
38 | -Sylvester/Lopes -Perry -Enos
39 | -Corey
40 | -Montagna/Gibson
41 | -Pinto -Saudade
42 | -Gill
- | -Corey
- | -Goulart


ITALIAN COTTAGE OWNERSHIP OVER TIME
PEDDOCKS ISLAND
HULL, MA
October 2013
Legend
Cottages
Italian
Other
0 100 200 300 400 Feet
Source:
-Cottage locations: Cathy Stanton
-Trails: Boston Harbor Islands National Park
-Aerial Imagery: MassGIS 2008/09 20cm
PEDDOCKS ISLAND
MIDDLE HEAD
BOSTON
WEYMOUTH
HINGHAM
QUINCY
15
14
12
11
40
29
30
32
33
34
Cottage ID#
Family Name(s)
11
-Leggiero
12
-Chiacosta
-Pierimarchi
14
-Pierimarchi
-Bassignana
15
-Hale
29
-Damigello
30
-Pierimarchi
32
-Locatelli
-Smith
33
-D'Amico
-Frattera
34
-Spezzaferri
40
-Pierimarchi

Appendix I: Mainland Homes of Cottagers, 1971 and 2012



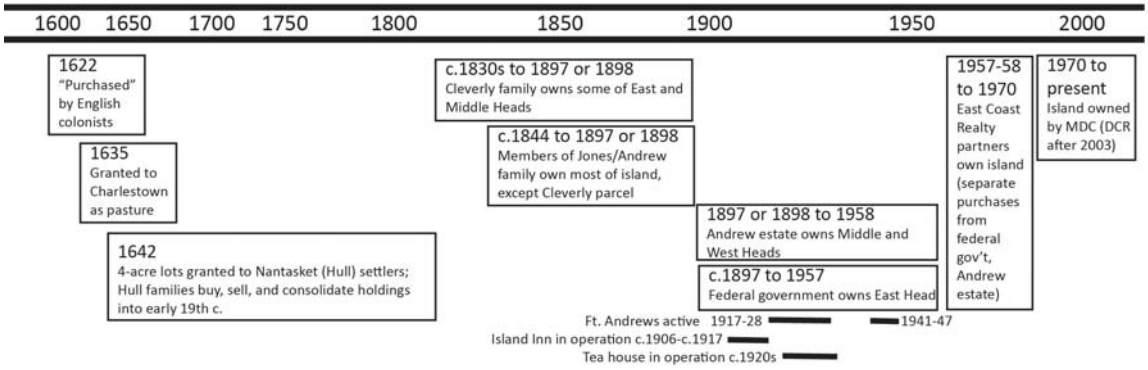
Mainland homes of Peddocks Island cottagers in 1971, based on a Peddocks Island Association listing.



Mainland homes of Peddocks Island cottagers as of summer 2012, based on a DCR listing.

Appendix J: Chronology of Island Ownerships and Other Key Events

The visual timeline below is intended to show overall island ownerships and a few key time periods at a glance. The more detailed chronology that follows includes information relating to ownership, uses, and property transactions; selected events affecting the cottage community; and arrivals of some key people, families, and groups. Given the difficulty of knowing specific dates for individual cottage construction and family occupancies in the great majority of cases, there has not been an attempt to create a timeline that includes data at that level. See the supplemental listing of what is known about individual cottage histories for the data that was gathered for this study.



1622 English colonists "purchased" Nantasket Peninsula from Wampanoags (Committee for the Preservation of Hull's History 1999:9)

1635 General Court grants Peddocks Island to Charlestown for pasture land (DCR 2009:16)

1642 Island divided into four-acre pasture lots for Nantasket residents (probably largely cleared by this date) (DCR 2009:16)

1700 Peddocks reportedly used for tillage, pasture, and hayfields by this date (DCR 2009:16); Hull/Nantasket owners buy, sell, and consolidate their holdings on the island over the next century and a half, in ways that leave some confusion about precise ownerships

1817 There are at least three dwellings on the east shore of East Head (DCR 2009:16)

1830s-1890s Cleverly family lives in a complex of buildings on the east shore of East Head, including four buildings by 1847 and two houses, three outbuildings, and a small wharf by 1860 (DCR 2009:16)

1844 Thomas Jones, grandfather of Eliza Jones Andrew, owns much of Peddocks Island by this date (Snow 1935:154, DCR 2009 16); purchase date is not clear; at some point it passes to Sally Jones; Cleverly family retains some acreage, probably on Middle Head and Prince Head

1865 State census shows some fishermen living on Long Island in Boston Harbor

1870 U.S. Census shows six Azoreans and other fishermen living on Long Island

1870s Peddocks reportedly a popular camping spot by this date for people from Boston area (Swan 1932:16)

1875 Boston city assessor's list shows about 10 Azorean families on Long Island

1876 A letter from Hull tax assessor lists Sally Jones as owner of owner of 91 acres on Peddocks Island, Eliza Andrew 27.5 cres, and John Cleverly 13.5 acres plus several buildings and an orchard (Loring to Andrew 1876); at least four cottages, probably built without permission of the landowners, were noted in this letter

1880 Pemberton Hotel opens across Hull Gut from East Head (Committee for the Preservation of Hull's History 1999:28); U.S. Census shows an expanded colony of Azorean fishermen on Long Island, including several families

1887 Azorean fishing families evicted from Long Island; several families move to west side of East Head of Peddocks Island as well as other Harbor Islands; other Azorean families join them on Peddocks (Trickey 1887, Leeds 1941)

1897 or 1898 Federal government acquires first parcel of East Head for harbor defense from Cleverly family and Eliza Andrew; Andrew family retains remainder of island (Snow 1935:154 puts date at 1897; DCR 2009:16 says 1898); Willow Club/ Hotel in operation on West Head by this date (Boston Daily Globe 1897)

1898 Eliza Andrew dies, leaving her heirs Peddocks property including four houses, a 15-acre orchard she seems to have purchased from the Cleverlys at some point, and 90 acres of land (Hull land valuations 1898); Andrew estate becomes the landlord for cottagers; construction on Fort Andrews begins; at least one cottage destroyed in Portland Gale in November, probably on West Head; later rebuilt (Leeds 1941); Hull appoints first of special officers for Peddocks Island (Hull annual reports 1898-1916)

1903 Federal government acquires the western side of East Head from the Andrew estate (DCR 2009:17); Azorean fishing families who had relocated there move to Middle Head/Crab Alley after this date

1904 Willows Club burns to the ground under mysterious circumstances (Boston Globe 1904)

1904-1907 All but one (Pope's?) of the East Head summer cottages are moved or dismantled (DCR 2009:17)

1904 Sergeant Sam Perry comes to Peddocks Island/Fort Andrews; stays until at least 1960 (Gordon 1960:2)

1905 Andrew estate includes 10 buildings on Peddocks (Hull land valuations 1905)

1906 or 1907 Island Inn built by John Irwin on Middle Head; Andrew estate includes 20 buildings plus the hotel (Hull land valuations 1907); William Drake retires from Boston Police Department and builds a hotel on West Head (Boston Globe 1907b); Boston Globe reports a "riot" involving excursionists to the island in August, leading the Andrew estate to tighten restrictions on landing there (Boston Globe 1906); "Tia Rosa" Alberts comes to Peddocks Island (1910 U.S. Census)

1907-8 "old-timer" baseball reunions held on Peddocks (Boston Globe 1907a; Baseball Magazine 1908)

1909 Andrew estate includes 24 buildings plus hotel on Peddocks (Hull land valuations 1909); Boston Globe mentions a "little village of 12 houses tucked away…in back of Princes head," presumably a reference to the Crab Alley dwellings (Boston Globe 1909g); Chinese picnic at Drake's Hotel leads to controversy over activities on island (see Chapter Three)

1910 Construction of Fort Andrews largely completed (Silvia 2003:8); Bies cottage (formerly Pope's) floated from east to west side of East Head (DCR 2009:18); U.S. Census lists ten Portuguese households on Peddocks[1]

1913 C.Y. West Hotel (aka Y.O. West Head House, West Head Inn, Drake's Inn) burns to the ground in November (Snow 1935:19); another building replaces it

1915 Andrew estate includes hotel, one house, 13 cottages, 15 Portuguese cottages, two stables, and two wharves (Hull land valuations 1915); stone arch added to demarcate military side of island (DCR 2009:18)

1917 Fort Andrews activated to war status (DCR 2009:12)

1918 First Italian cottager, Silvio Pierimarchi, rents island cottage (Claire Pierimarchi Hale); Mabel Pinto comes to island as a young bride (Leeds 1941)

1 As noted in the text, U.S. Census data should be taken as only an approximation of who was actually occupying the Middle Head village at any given time. The blend of seasonal and full-time occupancy, the fluidity of families coming and going from Boston at different times of year, and language/cultural barriers between the Azoreans and census-takers means that we should treat this data as just one kind of evidence, to be weighed along with others (newspaper accounts, family memories, photos, etc.).

1920 U.S. Census lists eight Portuguese households on Peddocks

1921 Additional cottages from Long Island may have been floated to Peddocks (Sheila Martel)

1920s Tea House operates in Cottage 3; two bootleggers' cottages burn (Silvia 2003:100)

c.1920s-c.1950s Tony Ferdinand and John Lewis operate a small ferry service on island

1923 Andrew estate includes 29 cottages, four houses, and one stable on Peddocks (DCR 2009:18)

1928 Fort Andrews relegated to "caretaker" status; staff of four caretakers is responsible for security at the fort through the 1930s (DCR 2009:18)

1932 Sergeant Fred Perry, who had been stationed at the fort, retires to a house on Sergeants' Row; his widow Lilian ("Nana") remains there until early 1980s and their daughter Mary until around 2006 (Snow 1935:155, Silvia 2003:40; fieldnotes)

1930 U.S. Census lists three remaining Portuguese households (Manuel Ferrara, Manuel Silva, John Pinto), reflecting gradual shift to purely seasonal occupation of the cottages

1934 Bies house and replacement for the Y.O. West End House both destroyed by fire (DCR 2009:19)

1937 New Bies house, current Cottage 45, completed (DCR 2009:19); first Italian cottage family, the Pierimarchis, purchase their own cottage (Cottage 30) from Azorean former owners (Claire Pierimarchi Hale)

1938 At least one cottage (Cottage 1) destroyed in hurricane ("Family Tree")

1940 Fort Andrews reactivated for coastal defense and military training (DCR 2009:19); U.S. Census lists six Portuguese households on Peddocks (Silva, Pinto, Ferrara, Lewis, and Ferdinand families)

1941 Evelyn Leeds notes the Portuguese colony on Peddocks comprises eight families (Leeds 1941)

1942 Four houses, 29 cottages, and one stable noted on Middle and West Heads (Orfant 1992)

July 1944-fall 1945 Ft. Andrews reservation designated an Italian prisoner of war compound for an Italian Service Unit of about 1,000 men, moved there from Camp McKay in South Boston (DCR 2009:19)

1950s Mabel Pinto begins coming to the island seasonally instead of year-round (Davis 1970:6; Scheible 1989:1)

1951 Fort Andrews declared as surplus (DCR 2009:19)

1955 Two cottages on Middle Head burn during the winter (Boston Globe 1955)

1956 West and Middle Heads bequeathed to Beatrice Phillips of Florida and Margaret F.A. Hansell of Pennsylvania, presumably the new heirs of the Andrew estate (DCR 2009:19)

1957 88-acre Ft. Andrews portion of island sold at auction to a group headed by Richard S. Robie (Fenton 1957)

1958 Isadore Bromfield, Robey's partner in East Coast Realty, purchases West and Middle Heads from the heirs of the Andrew estate; East Coast Realty now owns the entire island and collects annual rents from cottagers (DCR 2009:14).

1962 Ed and Judy McDevitt hired by Isadore Bromfield as caretakers for the island (Mike McDevitt)

1964 10,000 square foot lots on Peddocks advertised for sale in Boston Globe (Boston Globe 1964; see Fig. 16)

1968 Metropolitan District Commission applies for grant to buy the island as a park (Marsh)

1970 Island acquires by MDC by eminent domain, with $192,000 in funding from HUD Open Space Program (DCR 2009:14); Mass. Acts of 1970, Chapter 742 includes Peddocks within Boston Harbor Islands State Park (Marsh); state's ownership of Fort Andrews/East Head is in fee simple, but cottagers retain ownership of their cottages while the land under them becomes property of the state; cottagers now pay annual fee to MDC to lease their cottages

1971 East Coast Realty sues state, claiming purchase price was too low (MassCases.com)

1975 Peddock's Island is opened for camping (DCR 2009:20)

1981 Peddock's Island Trust established as development entity for island (State Library of Massachusetts; see page 43, footnote 13)

1982 East Coast Realty suit resolved with award of more than $3 million to plaintiffs (MassCases.com)

1985 Peddocks Island included on National Register of Historic Places as part of Boston Harbor Islands Archeological District; Fort Andrews deemed eligible for National Register by Massachusetts Historic Commission (DCR 2009:20)

1986 Mike McDevitt takes over island caretaker job from his father Ed (Mike McDevitt); Peddock's Island Trust dissolved (Michael Westgate/LinkedIn profile); Bob Enos' MFA thesis show mounted at University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth (Enos 1986)

1989 Mabel Pinto leaves the island for the last time (Scheible 1989)

1990 Dredge working on expansion of harbor sewage treatment facilities cuts water line from Hough's Neck, leaving island without running water (cottagers)

1990-91 MDC begins eviction process against cottage residents (DCR 2009:20)

1992-93 Peddocks Island Advisory Committee deliberates on future plans for island, particularly the cottages; life tenancy plan results from committee's work (MDC 1993)

1996 Boston Harbor Islands added to national park system (GMP 2002:15); legislation also creates Boston Harbor Island Alliance and Advisory Council as management and development entities (GMP 2002:20)

1997-2000 Peddocks Island closed to the public while old pier is replaced after failure (DCR 2009:20)

2000 Cottage 45 owned by the Silvia family sold to MDC (Marsh)

2001 Seven cottages demolished by MDC on July 31 (DCR 2009:14)

2002 Fort Andrews determined by Massachusetts Historical Commission to be eligible for listing on National Register (DCR 2009:20)

2003 Department of Conservation and Recreation (DCR) formed as successor to MDC

2005 DCR and Boston Harbor Island Alliance fund new micro-tunnel under Hull Gut to bring water, sewer, and electricity back to East Head (DCR 2009:20); cottages are determined by Mass. Historical Commission to be eligible for listing on National Register (DCR 2009:21)

2007 DCR report lists approximately 38 extant cottages in varying conditions, of which approximately 30 were occupied (DCR 2009:15)

APPENDIX K: DCR PERMIT

dcr
Massachusetts

DEPARTMENT OF CONSERVATION AND RECREATION
SEASONAL COTTAGE CAMPSITE PROGRAM
2016 SEASONAL COTTAGE CAMPSITE APPLICATION & PERMIT
SEASONAL SCHEDULE:

Park	Camping Season	Off-Season
Ashmere Lake State Park, Hinsdale MA	Friday April 15 to Monday Oct. 17, 2016: full cottage access	No off-season cottage access is permitted at Ashmere Lake
Myles Standish State Forest, Plymouth MA	Friday April 15 to Monday Oct. 17, 2016: full cottage access	January 1 to April 14 and October 18 to December 31, 2016: access per Section X of Permit (fee and notice in case of emergency)
Peddocks Island, Boston Harbor Islands	Friday May 20 to Monday October 17, 2016: full cottage access	No off-season cottage access is permitted on Peddocks Island

REMINDERS:

- Cottage and surrounding lot must be closed, cleaned & secured for the off-season, including the removal of all furniture, sporting equipment, boats, floats & docks, outbuildings, gardens, home decor etc. All Park visitors and staff must have unimpeded access to all park lands and shoreline at all times. Remove and store all chairs, toys, inflatables, boats etc., from shoreline each evening during the season.
- Properly dispose of all trash, recycling and grass or brush clippings properly and off the premises. Do not transport firewood into or out of the Park, per DCR firewood/invasive species directives. Please remember to complete required quarterly well/water testing, as applicable, per Section S of the Permit Terms.
- Cottage owners cannot accept rent or other compensation for occupancy by other visitors (no sub-letting or rentals to non-family, non-permittees). Where permitted, no more than five (5) active vehicles are to be parked onsite after 8pm. All vehicles should not be present and removed during the off-season.
- Call 911 and notify Park staff ASAP for any lost person, unattended campfire, forest fire, swimmer or boater in distress, injured person, hazardous material or unsafe conditions you encounter.
- A violation of permit terms is cause for permit revocation, exclusion from the program, and eviction.

ALL DOCUMENTS AND FULL FEE PAYMENT MUST BE RECEIVED BY DCR *BEFORE* YOU OCCUPY YOUR COTTAGE STARTING IN APRIL 2016. A FULLY EXECUTED PERMIT SHOULD BE ON HAND AT YOUR COTTAGE.

PERMIT CONDITIONS AND TERMS

Pursuant to the authority set forth in Massachusetts General Laws, c. 132A, § 7, c. 92, § 33; 302 Code Mass. Regs. § 12.00 and 350 Code Mass. Regs. § 2.04; and all other enabling and applicable powers, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Conservation and Recreation (hereinafter "the Department") does hereby authorize the named permittee to maintain, use and occupy a summer seasonal cottage campsite on lands owned by the Commonwealth under the care, custody and control of the Department in accordance with the terms and conditions set forth herein. In order to protect the rights and safety of the general public as well as to ensure the reasonable exercise of the permitted use, the following conditions and provisions shall govern:

A) In consideration of such use the Permittee shall pay to the Commonwealth a fee in full, as indicated in the fee schedule below, prior to any authorized use and occupancy. Payment shall be in the form of personal check (subject to insufficient fund fees), certified check or cashier's check only. Per 801 CMR 4.02, the Seasonal Cottage Campsite Program fee schedule is as follows:

Ashmere Lake State Park cottages.....	$ 900
Myles Standish State Forest cottages:	
College Pond	$3800
Curlew Pond	$3800
Fearing Pond	$1620
Rocky Pond	$3800
Widgeon Pond	$3800
Peddocks Island cottages	$ 400

Personal Checks, certified checks, or cashier's checks shall be made payable to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Remit payment in full, with the signed permit, to the Department of Conservation and Recreation along with all other documents required or requested. For coverage of risks and indemnification, insurance should be obtained and a copy of any certificates of insurance shall be provided prior to the season and occupancy; see Section N below for further details.

B) This Permit is issued with the approval of the Commissioner of the Department under the statutory and regulatory powers provided above and pursuant to which this permit may be canceled at any time within thirty (30) days after notice of a default, or such additional time as may reasonably be required to correct any such defaults, or for any reason which, in the sole opinion of the Commissioner is in the public best interest. Such cancellation shall become effective within thirty (30) days after mailing a written notice thereof to the Permittee at the address listed in the permit. Thereafter, the Department, its agents, contractors, servants or employees, may remove or cause to be removed the camp or other structure, including the personal property within the permitted area, or may destroy on site said property, whichever is in the best interest of the Commonwealth without further notice or liability therefore against the Commonwealth.

C) The provisions of paragraph B notwithstanding upon the adoption by the Department of a change in Land Use Policy which would prohibit further issuance of cottage campsite permits, the Department shall provide Permittee a minimum of three years notice prior to the termination of the program and issuance of permits. This paragraph C does not apply to Peddocks Island permits.

D) No costs for site improvements such as wells, septic systems, water meters, testing, inspection or reporting required by any law, rule or regulation, etc. will be reimbursed to permit holders for any reason.

E) No portion of any fee paid on a permit which has been canceled due to Permittee default shall be returned.

F) All (painted or stained) camps shall be conservative colors and combinations, preferably either brown or green paint, or brown or green stain. Approval of the colors to be used must be given in writing by the Facility Supervisor before painting any camp. Camps shall be kept painted and neat. Cottages on Peddocks Island may remain the current color and when or if repainting occurs, the Cottage must be repainted that same color or painted a conservative brown or green.

G) It shall be the responsibility of the permit holder to maintain the lot in a neat and satisfactory condition, remove and dispose of any dead trees or shrubs and maintain the driveway or parking area within the respective lot. The removal of standing trees and shrubs shall be subject to the prior written approval of the Facility Supervisor or his designee. Suspected invasive species should not be planted and should be reported to the Facility Supervisor or his designee for proper identification and treatment. No objects may be affixed to any trees or vegetation on Department property. No plantings shall be allowed unless approved by the Facility Supervisor The building(s) shall be kept in a neat, safe and sanitary condition at all times. No cars, tires, bins, barrels, storage containers, etc., shall be allowed without approval of the Facility Supervisor. Disposal of trash, refuse, or brush clippings shall mean disposal off the premises and off park property. In the case of island locations, refuse must be properly removed off the island on at least a weekly basis. .

H) Cottage owners must remove all personal property including boats, tables, chairs, inflatables, docks, floats, etc., on or before **October 17, 2016**, from the campsite and/or store them inside or neatly beneath the Cottage, covered, hidden from view and secured against animals and storms, or taken off-site. Any items that are left outside the Cottage at the end of the season, may be removed and disposed of by the DCR with no further notice or liability therefore. Any cost of removing and disposing of these items will be at the expense of the Cottage owner on the lot where said items were found to be and the Cottage owner may be billed for this expense by the DCR.

I) No open fires shall be built upon the lot except in existing fireplaces. The design and location of any fireplaces must be approved in writing by the Facility Supervisor. Brush Clippings may be removed from Peddocks Island by use of a small (no larger than 36" across) manageable fire between high and low water lines; and all cottage owners must comply with all local and state regulations applicable to open burning.

J) The Permittee shall not authorize use of said camp to any other person(s) for compensation of any kind (no seasonal renting).

K) The Permit holder shall notify the Facility Supervisor in writing in advance when the campsite permitted is to be used and occupied by persons other than the immediate family of the permit holder. Use and occupancy by anyone other than the permit holder, or immediate family of the permit holder, shall be limited to a maximum of ten (10) days during the term of this permit. Permit holders and their guest(s) shall be subject to all rules and regulations governing the Department lands. Off Season overnight use of the cottage campsite is prohibited without a camping permit (See Sections T and X herein).

L) In the event of a fire or a natural disaster, if it is determined by the Department that more than 50% of the total cottage structure, excluding foundations or footings, is destroyed, reconstruction of said

structure shall not be allowed. All debris shall be removed by the Permittee within 90 days of said determination. If damage is determined to be less than 50%, the necessary repairs may be made after receipt of written approval by the Department. Any and all repairs must be of a character and design consistent with the original structure using the same footprint, dimensions, and similar materials. All restorations and/or rebuilding must be completed within 12 months of the date of approval to make repairs and a current permit must be paid in full during the construction process. Additional permits may be required by DCR Engineering and some local authorities (fire, electrical).

M) The Permit is in no way intended to convey exclusive use to the Permittee of any part of the land used in conjunction with said authorization. The permit does not convey a property right. It is not a lease or rental agreement it is a revocable license for specific use under specific terms and conditions. The lands upon which the seasonal cottage campsite is located are public lands and at all times members of the public shall be allowed free and unimpeded access over and across the lands upon which the seasonal cottage campsite is located. Additionally, the exercise of this permitted use shall constitute Permittee's acceptance of complete liability and responsibility for Permittee's use of the property, its actions, and the actions of its members, guest, invitees, agents, contractors and employees upon the site, and an agreement that the Permittee will indemnify, defend and hold harmless the Department against any and all claims that may arise there from. Further, the Permittee will not make any claims against the Department for any injury, loss or damage to persons (including bodily injury or death) or property occurring from any cause arising out of the authorized use by the Permittee, its agents or guests.

N) The Permittee shall also procure from an insurer licensed to do business within the Commonwealth a general public liability insurance policy with coverage amounts of not less than $100,000 per person and $300,000 per incident naming the Commonwealth Department of Conservation and Recreation as an additional insured for liability and notice. Permittee shall notify the Department of cancellations or changes or ensure that a notice endorsement is obtained from the insurer. A current certificate of insurance must be delivered to the Department along with the duly executed Permit and fee.

O) The Commissioner and the Department officers, agents and employees shall have the right-of-way over any camp lot at all times for the proper discharge of their duties.

P) No alterations, non-routine repairs, additions, or new sheds and outbuildings of any kind shall be initiated without the prior written approval of the Commissioner of DCR and designated senior staff. All work shall be done under the direct supervision of the Facility Supervisor and other applicable Department staff. Any and all work that may be authorized by the DCR will be subject to all applicable local permitting requirements. Failure to comply with all applicable local building and permitting requirements will result in revocation of permit privileges. By executing this permit the Permittee declares that to his/her personal knowledge, no unauthorized alterations, repairs or improvements have been made to the cottage herein authorized and acknowledges that misrepresentation will be grounds for permit revocation.

Q) No trailers or other dwellings, in addition to the one single family summer seasonal cottage herein permitted, shall be allowed on any lot used under a permit. Use of garages, sheds, or other structures for dwelling purposes is prohibited.

R) No drains from sinks, showers, bathtubs, or septic tanks, shall be allowed to drain or leach into a pond, body of water, shoreline or natural drainage, either above or below the surface.

S) Effective with the issuance of the 2006 permit and as per 310 CMR 22.02, privately-owned cottages in the DCR Seasonal Cottage Campsite Program formally meet the definition of a Public Water Non-

Community System. All active wells have been assigned a source ID # and will be required to comply with Massachusetts Department of Environmental Protection drinking water requirements. All testing shall be reported on DEP approved forms as follows:

1. Routine Quarterly Testing: Each well serving a privately owned cottage shall be sampled during the 2nd calendar quarter (April – June) for total coliform bacteria and during the 3rd calendar quarter (July – September) for total coliform bacteria and nitrate. This twice quarterly sampling is required to be completed by June 30 (2nd quarter) and September 30 (3rd quarter) during each permitted season of occupancy.
2. All analyses shall be conducted using analytical methods approved for the monitoring of drinking water supplies. All water sampling results should be sent to:

   WhiteWater Inc., 253 Worcester Road Charlton, MA 01507,
   T: 888 377 7678 F: 508 248 2895, ATTN: General Manager.

Thank you. The safety and health of all other permittees and users of the forest and waters depend on your compliance.

T) As of January 1, 2006, no transfer of a summer seasonal campsite permit will be authorized or approved by DCR.

U) The premises herein permitted shall be subject to a minimum of one pre-season exterior inspection to determine compliance with the aforementioned conditions, as well as with local health and safety standards. The Permittee may be required at the request of the DCR to submit a completed campsite inspection report on a form to be provided by the DCR, and subsequently verified by the DCR. Owners of cottages found to be out of compliance will be notified of the discrepancies and given a time by which the situation must be corrected. If discrepancies are not corrected within that time, permits will either not be issued the following year or may be revoked.

V) Any and all driveway barriers, gates or similar devices are prohibited. No Permittee shall erect, maintain or cause to be erected any sign, fence, perimeter barrier or impediment to public access at any site governed by this permit.

W) At Myles Standish State Forest, no more than five (5) actively used vehicles may be parked at or adjacent to any campsite after 8:00 pm unless approved in writing by the Director of the Division of State Parks and Recreation or the Facility Supervisor. At island properties, motorized vehicles are prohibited unless a written approval permit is issued by the DCR. All vehicles at any park should be removed by the end of the season.

X) This is an annually issued permit. Cottage occupancy and access follows the annual Program Schedule (See Page 1 above) according to Permit Terms. Payment for the permit must be received by the Department in full no later than: i) the due date listed on the DCR permit application; or ii) the permittee's first day of cottage occupancy for that year. It is understood that the Department may exercise its discretion to cancel the permit or to refuse to issue succeeding permits as per sub paragraphs B and C herein. At Myles Standish State Forest and Ashmere Lake State Park, overnight occupancy of the permit premises is allowed during the following period and shall not exceed (179) days annually: the Friday of Patriots Day weekend through Columbus Day for all campsite owners. By special request Myles Standish State Forest campsite users may stay overnight during the off-

season for up to three (3) consecutive nights at a time (for no more than six (6) consecutive nights total per stay) beyond the period stated above. The procedure to be followed is: 1) permittee must notify the Park Facility Supervisor at least two days prior to planned arrival or stay (by giving the Park Facility Supervisor your name, camp lot number, pond name and stating how long you plan to stay; and 2) upon arrival, you must check in at the Park Headquarters, register, and pay the established winter camping fee for the intended length of your use. Failure to notify the Park Facility Supervisor of your intent to occupy the premises overnight and failure to make payment of the applicable fee in a timely manner shall be considered reason for revocation or future non-issuance of the camp permit. For off-season day use at MSSF, permittees are encouraged to phone or stop by Headquarters to advise Park staff of cottage use. All permittees are encouraged to advise local Park staff when opening and closing their cottage for the camping season. Peddocks Island occupancy periods remain unchanged.

Y) No generated electricity will be allowed at any of the cottage camp sites without the written permission of the Facility Supervisor.

Z) At Myles Standish State Forest, piers, floats (solid or inflatable) and buoys are not permitted to be installed or utilized, temporarily and or permanently, on or in the ponds. A temporary dock or mooring permit will be considered or granted via a permit for each Cottage Campsite that had a permit for a dock or mooring during the prior season. Permits may be requested by writing to the Park Supervisor. Please include a copy of your prior dock or mooring permit with your request. Piers, floats and buoys are not permitted on Peddocks Island.

AA) In the event, due to the exercise of this permit, a tax or fee is levied on the premises during the year in which the permit is in force, the Permittee agrees to pay such tax or fee when due and shall make no claim against the DCR or the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

BB) DCR Parks contain numerous sites of archaeological significance and therefore no digging, excavation, or soil disturbance of any kind shall be allowed except by a pre-approved Special Use Permit which has its own fee schedule and approval process. Soil activity shall be conducted under the site supervision and approval of the Department archaeologist or other appropriate personnel designated by the Department, and in compliance with the Massachusetts Historic Commission regulations. Existing gardens at Peddocks Island, with established history of soil disturbance, may continue to be used providing there is no increase in their overall size, depth, or configuration. Requests for approval of continued use of such gardens, or any other soil disturbance, must be requested annually, in writing, from the Facility Supervisor.

CC) A Cottage Campsite Permit holder who happens upon or is notified of a lost person, an unattended campfire, any possible forest fire, a swimmer or boater in distress, an injured person, hazardous material or condition shall make this situation known to the Facility Supervisor, his designee and emergency services agencies as soon as possible. A Cottage Campsite Permit conveys no authority for the Cottage Campsite Permit holder to act as a Department Host Camper, agent, or employee at any Department Campground or property.

This permit may not be marked or changed in any way by the Permittee to qualify for approval. All terms and conditions set by the Department are final. This application for permit must be completed by the Permittee and submitted with the required fee, in full, to: Susan Milano, Program Coordinator; Department of Conservation and Recreation, 251 Causeway Street, Suite 600, Boston, Massachusetts 02114. Questions may be addressed in writing to Ms. Milano at the above address or by e-mail: susan.milano@state.ma.us or to DCR.permits@state.ma.us. Telephone inquiries must be reasonable and may be answered in writing. Occupancy may only commence upon receipt of all

required documents and full payment by the Department. Permittees may be required to show a fully executed permit in hand.

dcr
Massachusetts

DEPARTMENT OF CONSERVATION AND RECREATION
SEASONAL COTTAGE CAMPSITE PROGRAM

2016 SEASONAL COTTAGE CAMPSITE PERMIT – SIGNATURE PAGE #1

COTTAGE LOCATION: **Cottage Number:** _____

Check One: ☐ Ashmere Lake ☐ Peddocks Island ☐ MSSF- *Pond*: _____

Permittee Name: _____

If applicable, list any co-permittees established and accepted by DCR prior to 2006 (subject to DCR review and confirmation): _____

_____

2016 Permit Fee: $_____

Please check to acknowledge:
- ☐ Insurance Requirements (Section N)
- ☐ Water Testing requirements (Section S)
- ☐ Occupancy requirements (Section X)

PERMITTEE SIGNATURE: Applicant and Witness, please sign below:

I have read the conditions and provisions above, and I approve and agree to these permit terms.

_____ _____
Permittee Signature Date

_____ _____
Print Name Date of Birth

_____ _____
Witness Signature Date

_____ _____
Print Name

DCR AUTHORIZED APPROVAL:

_____ _____
Date

Please return BOTH SIGNATURE PAGES WITH ALL OTHER DOCUMENTS.
One fully executed copy of the Signature Page will be returned to you by mail or E-Mail.

dcr
Massachusetts

DEPARTMENT OF CONSERVATION AND RECREATION
SEASONAL COTTAGE CAMPSITE PROGRAM

2016 SEASONAL COTTAGE CAMPSITE PERMIT – SIGNATURE PAGE #2

COTTAGE LOCATION: **Cottage Number:** _____

Check One: □ Ashmere Lake □ Peddocks Island □ MSSF- *Pond*: _____

Permittee Name: _____

If applicable, list any co-permittees established prior to 2006 (subject to DCR review and confirmation):

_____

_____

2016 Permit Fee: $_____

Please check to acknowledge acceptance of:
□ Water Testing requirements (Section S)
□ Occupancy requirements (Section X)

PERMITTEE SIGNATURE: Applicant and Witness, please sign below:

I have read the conditions and provisions above, and I approve and agree to these permit terms.

_____ _____
Permittee Signature Date

_____ _____
Print Name Date of Birth

_____ _____
Witness Signature Date

_____ _____
Print Name

DCR AUTHORIZED APPROVAL:

_____ _____
Date

Please return BOTH SIGNATURE PAGES WITH ALL OTHER DOCUMENTS.
One fully executed copy of the Signature Page will be returned to you by mail or E-Mail.

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Ethnography Program
Northeast Region

Boston Harbor Islands National Park Area
15 State Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02109
Web: www.nps.gov/boha