SOCIAL INTERACTION BETWEEN TOWNSPEOPLE AND SUMMER RESIDENTS IN THE RESORT COMMUNITY OF NAHANT, MASSACHUSETTS

MARY WINSOR LOWELL

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SOCIAL INTERACTION BETWEEN TOWNSPEOPLE AND SUMMER RESIDENTS IN THE RESORT COMMUNITY OF NAHANT, MASSACHUSETTS

by

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A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine social interaction in the resort community of Nahant, Massachusetts, one of the earliest east coast summer resorts and the summer residence for prominent Bostonians from the 1800s to the early 1900s. The period emphasized is from 1900 to World War II by which time the town had become a year-round community. The focal point of the study is the reconstruction of the relationship between two distinct social classes: the Boston summer people and the local permanent residents whose livelihood depended on the summer resort industry. One folklore form, the personal experience narrative, through which this relationship is demonstrated will be analyzed.

Fieldwork for this study was conducted in the author's home community, and field methods included interviewing townspeople and remaining summer residents as well as participating in local activities and folklore events. Disciplines other than folklore, most notably sociology and oral history, are incorporated in this study.

The history of the permanent settlement and that of the resort era of the town are discussed separately to demonstrate specific factors of the development of each while keeping in mind the interdependence of the summer and year-round populations. Social change and social status are then examined to determine certain factors contributing to the change from a summer resort to a year-round community and to understand Nahant's

current position as a suburb of Boston. The relationship between the townspeople and the summer residents on a business and social level are studied noting the differing life styles of the two groups. The relationship is demonstrated in part through the personal experience narratives of one of the last remaining tradesmen to be involved in the once lucrative summer business. As well as presenting the memorates of this local plumber, Charlie Gallery, this study also includes a discussion of Gallery as a storyteller.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Space does not permit me to mention all the people whose contributions great or small, conscious or unconscious have helped in the completion of this project. However, I would like to thank the Folklore Department of Memorial University and its faculty for support throughout the fieldwork and writing, especially Dr. Herbert Halpert for gearing my interest towards narrative. I am grateful to my supervisor, Larry Small, for being open-minded about the topic of this thesis and for giving suggestions on the drafts of the paper. A special thanks goes to George Casey for his help in the time-consuming process of the final editing.

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In any community study the outcome of the project depends on the degree of support the researcher receives from the people of the community. I owe a great debt of gratitude to the townspeople of Nahant who have given me support for years and who were particularly helpful during the period of research. I am endebted to all the people who gave freely of their time and recollections. The people connected with the planning committee

of the Nahant Historical Society, the Nahant Public Library, and the Nahant town hall were especially helpful, and Calantha Sears deserves special thanks for her interest and help. Of the private collections made available to me, I would like to thank, in particular, Don Hodges for access to his slide and photograph collection. The person who deserves the greatest recognition is Charlie Gallery whose knowledge of local history was indispensable and whose stories kept me in a good enough humor to see the project through.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 20: East Point stable built in the late 1800s and remodelled in the 1970s for year-round use.

Figure 21: East Point, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge's summer house built in the late 1860s destroyed ca. 1942.

Figure 22: Summer houses looking west toward Town Wharf.

Figure 23: A Cornelius Coolidge summer house built in 1829, Nahant Road, East Point.

Figure 24: House at Irishtown, Spring Road, built in the late 1800s.

Figure 25: Bass Point looking from Bailey's Hill north.

Figure 26: Bass Point looking from Bailey's Hill west.

Figure 27: Short Beach and east side of Little Nahant.

Figure 28: Houses on east side of Little Nahant built ca. 1920.

INTRODUCTION

This study deals with social interaction in one of the oldest summer resorts on the east coast of the United States and a town which is now a year-round community and suburb of Boston. Nahant, Massachusetts located in Essex County ten miles northeast of Boston was the summer residence for prominent Bostonians from the early 1800s to the early part of the twentieth century. The interdependence and mutual influencing of the summer residents and the local permanent population is the basis of this study. The emphasis is on the period from 1900 to World War II by which time Nahant had become a year-round community. Consideration is given to the gradual change from a resort to a permanent community and to the final resort phase occurring from 1920 to 1930 as viewed by townspeople who were involved in the resort industry into the 1920s.

The focal point of the study is the reconstruction of the relationship between two distinct social classes: the Boston summer people and the local permanent residents whose livelihood depended on the summer trade. The Boston people who owned summer houses in Nahant and who took an active role in town affairs had the most impact on the town of the three groups present in any one given summer season. Nahanters had continued contact over the years with this group which returned summer after summer in contrast to the irregular contact local people had with the day excursionists and the hotel clientele which represented the two

remaining factors in the summer population of the town. The personal experience narrative is analyzed as one folklore form through which the relationship between the Boston summer residents and the year-round residents is demonstrated. The Boston people provided much of the material included in the personal experience narrative repertoire of the recognized historian and storyteller of the town, Charlie Gallery.

This study attempts to determine the degree of impact a seasonal population had on the town and the ways in which interaction between distinct social classes and permanent and seasonal groups is remembered and communicated in Nahant today. It is evident that the seasonal influx of a different social class and occupational group created certain tensions in the community. Such tensions needed to be released while maintaining good relations with the seasonal group for purposes of economic survival. The influence of seasonal populations on communities across North America and on the life style of local people needs to be investigated. The fact that communities are markedly altered on an annual basis by the influx of outsiders has implications for the forms of communication represented in these locales.

The first chapter deals with the methodology and fieldwork which was conducted in the author's home community in the summer and during the Christmas period of 1975. The advantages and disadvantages of working in one's home community are discussed. The interdisciplinary nature of the study which draws from such disciplines as sociology and oral history as

well as folklore is noted by reviewing some of the literature related to the topic. The second and third chapters outline the history of the permanent settlement and that of the resort era of the community respectively. These developments are discussed separately to demonstrate specific factors of each even though the summer and year-round populations are interdependent. Furthermore, Nahant's relationship to other nineteenth century resorts is discussed in chapter three so that the peninsula's development may be viewed in terms of national recreational trends.

Local manifestations of various processes of social change are outlined in chapter four. Social change and status are examined to determine certain factors contributing to the change from a summer resort to a permanent community. Nahant's current position as a suburb of Boston as compared to the earlier small town orientation is also studied. Chapter five deals with the relationship between the townspeople and the summer residents on a business and social level noting the differing life styles of the two groups. The final chapter demonstrates how the relationship between two distinct groups is revealed in local narrative tradition. The personal experience narratives of one of the last remaining tradesmen to be involved in the once lucrative summer business demonstrate the tradesman-client relationship representing the primary contact between the summer people and Nahanters. Those personal experience narratives of Charlie Gallery, a local plumber, which

describe his relationship with the summer people whom he served throughout his life are emphasized. In this chapter the importance of the distinction between knowing the information and knowing how to perform that information (Hymes 1975:18) will be demonstrated. In conjunction with the shift in emphasis in narrative scholarship from the story text to the storyteller and the function and context of the story, the total performance event of the narratives and the creativity of the individual narrator will be studied by giving examples from Charlie Gallery's total repertoire.

This study, therefore, is in part a community study and in part a narrative study. However, the two sections are not mutually exclusive and knowledge of the total social and historic context is necessary to understand social interaction in a resort community. As that interaction is demonstrated through personal experience narratives the narrative tradition forms an integral part of the community study.

Heretofore, folklorists have not thoroughly investigated the influence of a seasonal population on a locale and the effect of seasonal disruption on forms of folklore. Personal experience narratives dealing with tradesman-client relationships along with the esoteric-exoteric elements in such narratives told by an individual of one class about his experiences with another social class have implications for further study.

I

METHODOLOGY AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In discussing the methodology used for this study, I will concentrate on my actual fieldwork which was conducted from May to August and during the Christmas period of 1975 in Nahant, Massachusetts. I will comment on my proceedures and problems and explain my role as participant-observer as well as note the advantages and disadvantages of working in one's home community. Furthermore, the interdisciplinary nature of the study will be demonstrated as it encompasses the fields of folklore, oral history, sociology, cultural geography, and economics. Finally, the relationship between my approach and approaches taken in other community and narrative studies will be discussed by reviewing the pertinent literature.

Having made the decision to work in my home community, I planned to study local architecture and the modification of summer houses for year-round residence. The pre-1850 resort architecture of the town had been recently investigated and these findings presented by Rogers (1974) so I planned to concentrate on the period post 1850. I had also counted on working with Charlie Gallery the seventy-five year old local plumber who was familiar with the history of all the houses in town and who I knew was recognized as a storyteller. Shortly after the fieldwork began in May 1975, my interest shifted

from architecture to oral history and the local narrative tradition as these emerged as the primary means of understanding life in the town fifty years earlier. The problem which interested me most was determining the relationship between two socially distinct groups, the Boston summer people and the Nahanters, as this relationship was expressed through personal experience narratives and anecdotes. I was intrigued by the gradual change from a summer to a year-round community and the implications this had for current social interaction in the town.

The period of Nahant as a fashionable "watering place" or resort in the 1800s had been well documented through newspaper articles, diaries, letters, and literary publications although references were fairly scattered. However, the final phase of the summer resident colony occurring in the 1920s had not been investigated. I set out to talk to local people aged sixty years and older who could remember the early twentieth century and the summer residents. I was also interested in the current orientation of the town as a suburb of Boston.

In order to discuss the methodology, I should make my position in the community clear. My father, John Lowell, makes up the sixth generation of Lowells to summer in Nahant; however, he moved to the town permanently in 1951. Although he has lived year-round in Nahant for twenty-five years, he is still considered by some townspeople as a Boston person. I have lived in the town all of my twenty-five years; but, from the

third grade on I commuted to schools out of town within a fifteen mile radius of Nahant. I have not had much contact with local people my own age, and most of the people I know in town are people known to my parents. My primary contact with Nahanters has been through Sunday School and the non-denominational Protestant church.[1]

Before beginning the fieldwork, I was concerned that there might be problems talking to certain townspeople due to my family's social position. Since my family had a history of being summer residents[2], I feared informants might be reluctant to relate narratives about other summer residents. However, none of these fears were born out in my fieldwork as all informants accepted me as a Nahanter and were pleased that someone was interested in their recollections. Furthermore, my father has been very active in town affairs having served on the School Board in the 1950s and as town moderator from 1962 to the present. Since he is well known in town, it was easy for me to introduce myself to people as his daughter. As far as my fieldwork was concerned, all the people interviewed knew and thought highly of my parents.

In explaining my project to local people, I generally assumed the role of historian. I became involved with the newly formed Nahant Historical Society in the planning of the opening of the Whitney homestead [Figure 15][3], the oldest house in town, parts of which date from 1717, on August 3, 1975 and the display of exhibits of the history of the town. This

entailed attending weekly meetings and serving as a hostess at the semiweekly open house during the month of August. With the Historical Society I had easy access to local memorabilia[4] and tape recordings made in 1965 when a few local people interested in Nahant's history set out to record all the old-timers, men and women generally at least sixty-five years old, including certain summer residents.[5] Although these individuals interested in the local history had plans to interview several people, they completed seven taped hours of interviews with three men and two women. One of the women was a summer resident who had settled permanently in town and whose dual perspective was particularly interesting. Although the quality of sound of these tapes had deteriorated somewhat over the ten year interval, I was able to make fairly complete transcriptions of them. Two of the five people previously interviewed are still living so I interviewed both of these men. These earlier recording sessions with the exception of one consisted of an interviewer and a person to operate the reel to reel tape recorder plus the informant. The exception was when three local men were interviewed together. Consequently, in this latter session there was a larger audience than for the other interviews as each man recounted his experiences, and the presence of the audience is often reflected in the indications of laughter in examples from these tape transcriptions. Interviews done in 1965 and those I conducted in 1975 made it possible to determine such things as the degree of

variation in Charlie Gallery's narrative repertoire.[6]

People involved in the local historical society knew that I was interviewing several people around town, and the society asked me to record certain Nahanters whose recollections they felt were particularly worthwhile preserving. I was more than willing to do this as I wanted to interview these individuals, and the request of the Historical Society gave me an easy introduction. Most of the people I interviewed had heard the 1965 tapes played to large audiences at "Nahant Nights" at the junior high school auditorium and were aware of how the tapes might be used. Copies of all my field tapes will be given to the Nahant Historical Society.

Working in one's home community has certain advantages and disadvantages. The advantages include the fact that a local person is readily accepted whereas outsiders would have to prove themselves. Consequently, establishing rapport with one's informants as an insider is not the problem it might be for an outsider. Moreover, townspeople are eager to support a fellow Nahanter in studying the history of the town. During the research period I felt an obligation to the town through the Historical Society to help document the town's history by interviewing local people and taking an active role in the society. However, as more demands were made on my time for work unrelated to my thesis, the degree of involvement expected of me proved to be a major disadvantage of working in my own community.

My role in the community during the fieldwork was that

of participant-observer. In my mid twenties, I was limited in my participation in those organizations which are the realm of older, generally over forty years, women such as the Garden Club and the Ladies' Aid Society of the Nahant Village Church although I did attend a monthly meeting of the latter. As it was, I was the only younger person involved in the Historical Society. The participant-observer technique is commented on by Florence Kluckhohn who states that such an investigator "forced to analyze his own roles, is, on the one hand, less misled by the myth of complete objectivity in social research and, on the other, more consciously aware of his own biases." (1940:343). There is always the problem of a possible lack of objectivity in working with people you have known for years and being too close to the situation to maintain a proper perspective. However, having spent most of the time away from Nahant since 1969 when I went away to university, I felt I was removed enough from town activities to be objective. I was able to maintain a degree of objectivity by getting away from town for four weekends during the summer.

My role during the period of research as a participant-observer was in part in the sociological sense of participating in community activities (e.g., Vidich 1955:354-360). This is in keeping with the role promoted by fieldworkers in sociological community studies which will be discussed later in this chapter. In discussing the role of the participant-observer in folklore, Goldstein defines his use of the term as follows:

> The term participant observer will be used throughout this work to designate a fieldworker who participates in a folklore context or event which is being studied by him. It should not be confused with general participation in the activities of the community, except in so far as certain of those activities are folklore events (1964:79).

In that the personal experience narrative evolves from the context of everyday conversation, I was participating as well as observing such a context. During the actual recording, I was the only person present with the informant and provided the interaction which stimulated the relating of specific personal experience narratives.

I did not depend exclusively on the tape recorder for obtaining material in my fieldwork. The recorded interviews were only a small part of my research as I spoke informally with individuals of all strata of local society when I encountered them at various places around town and at local functions. People were very helpful in suggesting others who remember the old days of the town and with whom I might talk. I also gained valuable insights and information through talking to people who had studied the history of the town.[7] Through conversations with people who have a reputation for knowing everything that is going on in the town, I easily kept abreast of current local news and gossip.

Fifteen hours of tape were recorded with six Nahanters, three men and three women, who worked for or whose families had worked for the summer people. In addition, one long time summer resident, my grandmother, was recorded. These seven

primary informants ranged in age from sixty-eight to eighty years. It should be noted that there are not many people left in town who remember the Boston summer people of the early 1900s when they were the summer group which had the most impact on the town. I did not record a few of the old-timers I interviewed and still others I was not able to see because of illness or their extremely shy nature. All interviews with the exception of one were conducted at the informant's home. In one instance an informant wished to come to my house to be recorded.

Interviews were recorded on a Sony five inch reel to reel tape recorder set at 3 3/4 speed. The interviews generally lasted one and a half hours depending on the informant's willingness to talk and his or her degree of fatigue. I made use of a combination of directive and non-directive interview techniques depending on the topics being discussed. In dealing with the general oral hisroty of the town I asked the same questions to all informants. My direct questions focused on the change from a summer orientation of the town to a year-round community. Therefore, I obtained local people's perceptions of the relationship between Nahanters and the Boston people, the importance of the summer colony to the economic base of the town, and the processes of social change which affected the development of Nahant. Their recollections and their perception of the significance of the schools, transportation, social organizations, stores, hotels, and recrea-

tion as well as narratives about shipwrecks, local characters, and summer residents were recorded. Naturally questions were asked about each informant's life history. Interviews with my main informant, Charlie Gallery, were for the most part non-directed as I knew his telling stories stemmed from normal conversation. I did elicit particular stories which I had heard on the 1965 tapes or which other people in town told me Charlie knew.

To protect people who gave freely of their opinions and perceptions of all aspects of the town's development, the names of my informants with the exception of Charlie Gallery have been withheld. When exerpts of tape transcriptions are included in the text, it is important to know only that the speaker is a summer resident or Nahanter. It should further be noted that the tape numbers are my own, and tapes designated 1 through 16 are my field tapes. The number 1 or 2 immediately following the tape number indicates the side of the tape. Transcriptions from the 1965 tapes are denoted by the interviewer's initials[8] and date. Within the transcriptions the interviewer's questions or interjections are indicated in parentheses while any explanation of the text is given in square brackets. Furthermore, words emphasized by informants are underlined in the transcriptions.

During the period of fieldwork I was able to check interview data by playing my own tape recordings to various people. Both of the men recorded in 1965 and again by myself in 1975

were happy to have people listen to their tapes so I played some of my tapes at the opening of the Historical Society[9] and on another occasion of the society's open house when I was again hostess. At these times I was able to get a fair amount of feedback from the audience about the content of the tapes as well as about the narrators. At my house on another occasion I played some tapes of Charlie Gallery for two long time summer residents who pointed out minor flaws in Charlie's renditions of the geneologies of summer families.

I also made use of photographs in my fieldwork using an Aries 35 mm SRL camera for black and white and color prints, and twenty of these prints are include here. I had access to an excellent photograph and slide collection dealing with all aspects of the cultural landscape of the town beginning in the late 1800s. From this collection I had a certain number of prints made of which five appear in this study.

During the interviews there were certain topics which were not pushed. For instance, I became aware through local people's comments that Charlie Gallery and another informant had had a "falling out" when the latter took over Charlie's plumbing business in World War II when Charlie went into the United States Navy. This animosity was never mentioned by Charlie and only indirectly referred to on one occasion by the other man. Currently, Charlie is about to take over the job of plumbing inspector from which this other man retired. There were many other forms of this "ethnographic dynamite" (Goldstein

1964:116-117) which people in town are aware of but which are not talked about publicly. This is one type of in-conflict information which I was party to as an insider.

In terms of motivation and remuneration of my informants, I did not use any material inducements.[10] Most of the informants were happy to talk to me and proud to think that their recollections were of value. This psychological gratification (Goldstein 1964:163) was of primary importance in my fieldwork. Most of the old-timers do not have a chance to talk about the old days as much as they would like. I gave them the opportunity to recollect, and they in turn gave me their version of the oral and social history of the town and the last phase of Nahant as a summer resort. Upon completion of the fieldwork, I sent cards to my informants thanking them for sharing their recollections with me and for having given of their time.

The printed documentation used in this study came from various sources. The Nahant Public Library has a large collection of Nahant memorabilia and books with references to Nahant which although not available to the general public I was able to study. Besides published sources this collection included unpublished manuscripts written by townspeople, autograph books, photographs, letters, and scrapbooks of local events. In addition, I spent a good deal of time at the town hall going through annual town reports which date back to 1853, and I spent a few days at the Nahant police station going through

the police records dating back to 1910. Through such requests to use this primary reference material, word spread quickly that I was interested in the history of the town. As well as using these Nahant records, I located material on the town in the Lynn Public Library which has microfilm copies of most Lynn newspapers back to the late 1800s. Nahant has never had any kind of continuous newspaper of its own; therefore, its news is included in the Lynn paper. The Lynn library has, as well, a good map collection of Essex County. Other institutions containing both published and unpublished material on Nahant were the Boston Public Library, the Boston Athaneum, and the Massachusetts Historical Society. The latter contains the church records for the Nahant or Boston Church, the church founded by the summer residents in Nahant.

All of my informants referred to the book Some Annals of Nahant written by Fred Wilson (1928) which concentrates on the history of the town before 1900.[11] As well as presenting historic material, Wilson's book contains anecdotes and local legends. Informally written, there is practically no documentation in the book. However, Wilson left all his notes and correspondance through which he gathered much of his information to the Nahant library where I was able to study this material. This brings up the problem of the effect of printed sources on folklore, especially narrative (e.g., see Dorson 1971). The major emphasis on narrative tradition in the Annals is on legends about the sea which reflect the orientation of the

town for so many years. As far as legends of ships wrecked on Nahant are concerned, the information most people give is gleaned from the Annals as there have only been two wrecks on the shores of Nahant since 1900. Furthermore, Nahanters who are cognizant of the report of a sea serpent of Nahant in the 1800s are so informed because of having read Wilson's book. The work is highly respected by townspeople because it is the only full length local history existent, and it was written by a member of an old Nahant family and a man who spent years compiling his information.

One final point in the discussion of my fieldwork proceedures and problems is that of the limitations of being a woman attempting to obtain certain types of information in a male oriented society. I am referring specifically to my studying the narrative tradition of Nahant, particularly one form of personal experience narrative. My primary informant would not tell me any off-color stories and even hedged on some stories pertaining to liquor. In referring to Charlie's repertoire, one man working with the Historical Society had this to say of Charlie's stories: "Some [are] publishable and some not...he's been working with Molly but he can't tell her some of his stories" [Field Notes July 14, 1975]. I was, however, able to compensate somewhat for this loss by hearing some of Charlie's stories secondhand from my father. I was also limited by my age and sex in not being able to participate in the morning coffee hour at the Nahant Village Store [Figure 9],

This daily gathering and male oriented activity will be discussed in chapter four.

Having outlined the particulars of how I approached my fieldwork, I will now point out the relationship between this study and related studies. This is an interdisciplinary project drawing from folklore, oral history, sociology, cultural geography, and economics. As the personal experience narrative emerged as the means of explaining and relating the oral history of the town, I began to look at the social and economic development of the town as a basis for understanding the context of the narrative tradition. An understanding of the development of Nahant as a resort and as a permanent community and the relationship between the summer people and Nahanters is a prerequisite in analyzing the personal experience narrative dealing with the final phase in the 1920s of the Boston summer people.

The relationship between this study and other community studies must initially be considered by mentioning the community studies by sociologists applicable to this investigation. The aim of these community studies in general is to describe the social interaction within a locality and to determine how processes of social change are manifested in the community. In their detailed analyses of the historic and economic as well as social development of a locale, they present an interesting combination of sociology and history. Such an approach has bearing on this study as a combination of history and sociology

is basic to understanding interaction between distinct social groups in a resort community.

One of the best known of all sociological community studies is Small Town in Mass Society (1958) co-authored by Vidich and Bensman. In their study of a rural up-state New York community, the authors define their purpose:

> This study is an attempt to explore the foundations of social life in a community which lacks the power to control the institutions that regulate and determine its existence (1958:x).

Their findings were significant, but as Bell and Newby point out, the book created a scandal making future fieldwork in the town almost impossible (1972:120). However, Small Town in Mass Society is important to folklorists for its methodology especially in reference to the participant observer method as mentioned above.

Other important community studies include Middletown (Lynd 1929), a study of an American city in the 1920s, with the follow up volume Middletown in Transition (1937). In Middletown the authors note the reasons governing selection of the particular city: "A typical city, strictly speaking, does not exist, but the city studied was selected as having many features common to a wide group of communities" (Lynd 1929: 7). In the same way, Nahant is not necessarily typical of a New England town, but it has features common to most New England communities.

As will be demonstrated, Nahant, due to its proximity to Boston and other work centers, has become a dormitory community

for these areas. Thus, in terms of suburban studies Crestwood Heights (Seeley et al. 1956), a study of a wealthy Toronto suburb, should be mentioned. Although a great part of the volume is concerned with child rearing, the book presents an ethnographic model for suburban studies.

The last of the sociological community studies to be noted here is Yankee City (Warner et al. 1963), a study of the industrial city of Newburyport, Massachusetts. Because the authors discuss regional manifestations of social processes, the findings of this work are of some value to my study. Community studies are of value to the folklorist in discovering the social processes at work in a locale. Through this type of background, as with this study, one can then understand an item of folklore and its performance in terms of the total social context.

Outside of historians, studies of resort communities have been conducted primarily by geographers and economists. In his doctoral dissertation in geography entitled "Recreational Land Use in Ontario" (1956), Wolfe concentrates on the summer cottage as a tangible factor in the geographical landscape. He includes in his discussion some reference to early American resort development and notes that seasonal mass movement of people and the consequent impact on areas need to be investigated. Of greater application to my study is Faught's analysis of the problems of the resort community of Falmouth, Massachusetts (1945). The author describes the life style of resorts as one of seasonal duality which promotes a variety of socio-

logical problems. Many of Falmouth's social and economic problems parallel those of Nahant. Furthermore, as the book was published in 1945, the author's period of research is close to that being reconstructed in this study. Faught's type of study along with the community studies provided valuable insights into ways of organizing my fieldwork and paper.

Oral history has been an integral part of my study in reconstructing a phase of Nahant's resort development. In discussing works of oral history, one must mention Montell's book The Saga of Coe Ridge: A Study in Oral History (1970). By means of recorded recollections, the author reconstructs the post Civil War history of a Negro community in Kentucky and demonstrates the use of oral sources to piece together events and attitudes in an area where there was no written history. Although there is written history for Nahant, it is the use of oral history to reconstruct an era which is applicable to the present investigation. The need for further cooperation between the disciplines of folklore and history is noted by Jordan in his discussion of the folklorist as social historian: "An understanding of history aids in comprehending folklore; and a knowledge of folklore is of benefit if one wishes more clearly to understand the historical narrative" (1953:195-196). Moreover, Vansina's oral history methodology (1965) and Dorson's ariticles discussing the interrelationship of oral and written history (e.g., 1964; 1968) further demonstrate the application of oral history to folklore. The impor-

tance of oral history is obvious for this study of Nahant in determining the impact of social change as well as attitudes of another era.

The shift in emphasis over the past few decades in narrative scholarship from the story text to the storyteller, context, and function provides greater opportunities for studying the performance of verbal communication. In his article "Oral Styles of American Folk Narrators" in which he discusses the storytelling styles of seven narrators, Dorson notes that "folklorists have only incidentally and sporadically concerned themselves with problems of folk-narrative style" (1962:77). Along with style, the social function of narratives must be determined, and Degh's work on the social functions of storytelling (1957) must be noted in this respect. Scholars such as Crowley, through his analysis of creativity in Bahamian narrative (1966), demonstrated an early interest in an approach to folklore defined by Ben-Amos as "artistic communication in small groups" (1971:13). Furthermore, in presenting a set of postulates and a model for understanding storytelling events, Georges notes that "storytelling events are communicative events and social experiences" (1969:323) which must be studied holistically in order to be fully appreciated.

Equally applicable to the present study is Jansen's work on narrative. In his article "Classifying Performance in the Study of Verbal Folklore" (1957), he demonstrated ways of classifying various degrees of performance. Bauman takes the same

approach to narrative as he departs from the text-centered approach to verbal art by dealing with verbal art as performance. He notes that the concept of performance "is a unifying thread tying together the marked, segregated esthetic genres and other spheres of verbal behavior into a general unified conception of verbal art as a way of speaking" (1975:291). All these studies stress the importance of the social context of the social interaction involved in a narrative performance. In the section of this study dealing with personal experience narrative, I am concerned with the performance of the narrative as it pertains to the social context of the community.

The major work to date on performance and communication is that edited by Ben-Amos and Goldstein (1975). Hymes' article within that work is of particular importance to this study as he distinguishes between knowing information and knowing how to perform that information (1975:18). This concept has direct bearing on the narration ability of my main informant.

In regard to narrative studies in folklore very little has been done with personal experience narrative. Introduced by von Sydow the term 'memorate' as distinct from legend stood for a category of material which dealt with personal experiences (1948). In their article "The Memorate and the Proto-Memorate" Dégh and Vazonyi (1974) are concerned with redefining von Sydow's earlier memorate definition. There is growing interest in the study of personal experience narrative as a valid form of communication, and Labov and Waletzky in their study "Narrative Analysis:

Oral Versions of Personal Experiences" (1967) deal with the analysis of the personal experience narrative from a structural viewpoint. In presenting an analytical framework for oral versions of personal experience stories, the authors state the purpose of their research:

> The ultimate aims of our work will require close correlations of the narrator's social characteristics with the structure of their narratives, since we are concerned with problems of effective communication (1967:13).

Another study of the personal experience narrative is Small's thesis "Patterns in Personal Experience Narrative: Storytelling at Cod Harbor, A Newfoundland Fishing Community" (1971) which discusses the role of this narrative form in a Newfoundland community. Small correlates the narratives with the culture which produced them and notes various functions of the personal experience narrative.

As personal experience narratives develop out of everyday conversation and substantiate that conversation, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's work on parables as they relate to specific social situations (1975) is important. It is apparent that the personal experience narrative must be studied within its social context.

My study incorporates certain aspects of all of the disciplines represented by the literature outlined above. The discussion of social processes promoting change in the town is related to social change literature and community studies. Moreover, I have drawn from cultural geography to more fully

understand patterns of land settlement, and economic factors are included in the discussion of the social and occupational differences of the permanent local population and the summer residents. Furthermore, oral history was important in my study in reconstructing a period of the town's development. Finally, in my analysis of the narrative tradition and specifically the role of the personal experience narrative, I will explore aspects of folklore as performance and communication. The interdisciplinary nature of this study is based on the assumption that in order to understand the narrator and the total narrative tradition one must approach these in terms of their social and historic context.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

[1] The town is predominantly Roman Catholic with much of the population of Irish or Italian descent.

[2] My grandparents summered in Nahant from 1926 to 1971 and were remembered by all my informants. The first Lowell to summer in Nahant was my great-great-great-grandfather, John Amory Lowell, who built a summer cottage on East Point in the early 1800s.

[3] Originally a private home, the Whitney Homestead was run as an inn from 1819 to 1936 (Nahant Bicentennial Brochure 1976) when it fell into disrepair. It has since been restored by John Jarl who allowed the Historical Society to use half the building for display purposes. The property was sold in 1975, and the Nahant Historical Society is looking into the possibilities of purchasing the historic building.

[4] Memorabilia consisted of such items as maps, photographs, letters, newspaper clippings, and scrapbooks as well as artifacts from old houses and hotels around town.

[5] My father had interviewed on January 30, 1965 the plumber, Charlie Gallery, then aged sixty-five who became my main informant. Their topic of discussion had been the old days of the town and the people who lived there in the early 1900s.

[6] For a discussion of a similar situation of gathering narratives over an extended period of time see Brunvand's study (1961) of a storyteller interviewed seventeen years earlier by Halpert (1942). Although these narratives were not tape-recorded in either situation they were written down or dictated so they remain as close to the original as possible.

[7] A man who now lives in Nahant has co-authored a book on a prominent Boston merchant who was also a Nahant summer resdient, Thomas H. Perkins (Seaburg and Paterson 1971). Paterson is currently preparing another biography, this one on Frederic Tudor, a Nahant summer resident and Boston merchant who did much to improve Nahant's landscape.

[8] The three men who conducted interviews in 1965 are referred to by their initials as follows: S. P. [Stanley Paterson]; F. W. [Fred Wilson]; J. L. [John Lowell].

[9] The theme of the Nahant Historical Society opening was the history of hotels in the town with emphasis on the Nahant Hotel which represented the fashionable resort phase of the peninsula in the 1800s. The opening also included the showing of early slides of the town and its buildings.

[10] It would not have been considered proper even as a gift following my fieldwork for me to present my male informants with any liquor. Even though Charlie Gallery was known to drink a good deal when he was younger, he has cut down because of his ulcers.

[11] Copies of the Annals are difficult to find now although many Nahanters have private copies; therefore, the Nahant Historical Society is looking into reprinting certain sections of the book.

II

HISTORY OF THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

This chapter outlines the history of the town's development from its use as common pastureland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to its operation as a town in the 1970s. The history of the permanent population as it grew around the resort industry as well as certain contemporary features of the town will be discussed. The geography of Nahant will be considered noting the significance of the geographical position of the peninsula and the separate development of its three distinct areas. Nahant's relationship to the eastern seaboard and the New England region will be noted in the discussion of local occupations, ethnic origins, and the town meeting form of government. In addition, the operation of various town departments will be considered in relation to Nahant's past dependence on the summer resort industry.[1]

The town of Nahant is located in Essex County ten miles northeast of Boston at 42°25.5' North and 70°55.0' West on a peninsula of the same name which juts out into the Atlantic and covers 1.06 square miles [Figure 1]. The name Nahant is derived from the Indian word "Nahanteu" meaning "the twins". This applies to the peninsula as it is composed of two (twin) islands, now known as Big and Little Nahant, joined by a half-mile long beach (Lewis 1844:21). Nahant is attached to the mainland and the city of Lynn by a beach two miles long. The

peninsula encompasses approximately eight hundred acres with Big Nahant accounting for five hundred acres, and the highest elevation on the peninsula is eighty-five feet.[2] The current population of the town is 4,200 with 2,230 registered voters (Nahant Annual Town Report 1975:145).

The peninsula is divided into three primary geographic areas: Big Nahant, comprising nearly two thirds of the total area of the town, Bass Point, and Little Nahant [Figure 2]. The eastern end of Big Nahant, East Point, where the Boston summer colony was concentrated, is another area of importance in this study [Figure 4]. This study is concerned primarily with growth and change in Big Nahant, as that is the area in which the permanent population was first established and in which the summer colony developed. Bass Point [Figures 25 and 26] and Little Nahant [Figures 27 and 28] were important in other phases of the town's growth, especially the resort era of the community.

The geographical position of the peninsula is highly significant in that being attached only by a narrow causeway, it is set apart from the mainland, yet at the same time it is close to the industrial centers of Lynn and Boston. Changes in the degree of isolation of the town account for various phases of development. Moreover, the geographic position directly affected certain aspects of the town's history. Because of its proximity to the port of Boston, Nahant was the scene of many shipwrecks in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[3] Further-

more, the peninsula's position at the mouth of Boston Harbor made it a strategic point for military bases in both the First and Second World Wars. Therefore, the government took over relatively large areas of Bass Point beginning in the Spanish American War and lasting through World War I, and East Point in World War II.[4] Thus, such external factors must be considered in discussing the development of the town. Given the geographical position of the town, the early history of the area may now be discussed.

Boston was settled in 1630 by the Massachusetts Bay Company from England, and by 1632 there were at least eight colonies near Boston Bay (Jones and Jones 1975:3) including Lynn and Salem. In the eighteenth century, Boston was a thriving port, and merchant families had already established their fortunes by shipping cargoes to the Mediterranean, the West Indies, and Europe (Jones and Jones 1975:44). The whaling industry helped to establish fortunes all along the New England coast in such ports as Salem, New Bedford, and New London. In terms of its development as a summer resort Nahant was tied to Boston and its merchant families. However, as Nahant formed part of the common land of Lynn, its early history was closely allied with that of Lynn.

In 1004 the Viking, Thorwald, is said to have landed at Nahant where he chose to be buried after he was wounded by Indians (Lewis and Newhall 1865:26-27). Another early visitor who referred specifically to Nahant was Captian John Smith who

surveyed the New England coast in 1614 (Lewis and Newhall 1865: 30). A description of the peninsula of Nahant in 1634 by William Woods follows:

> . . . The sandy beach is 2 miles long, at the end, whereon is a neck of land called Nahant. It is 6 miles in circumference, well wooded with oaks, pine, and cedars. It is besides well-watered, having besides the fresh springs, a great pond in the middle, before which is a spacious marsh. In this neck is a store of good ground, fit for the plow; but for the present it is only used to put cattle in, to weather goats, and swine, to secure them from the wolves; a few posts and rails, from the low water marks to the shore keep out the wolves (quoted in Lewis and Newhall 1865:114).

As soon as Lynn was settled, the inhabitants realized the usefulness of the peninsula of Nahant.

In the seventeenth century there was a great deal of debate over the ownership of the peninsula based on certain land grants as well as on claims of individual ownership. One instance of the individual claims was that of Thomas Dexter who in 1657 claimed to have bought Nahant for a suit of clothes from a Sagamore Indian named Black Will (Lewis and Newhall 1865: 119). The ensuing lawsuit was eventually won by the town of Lynn; however, there is evidence that this same Indian sold Nahant more than once (Deveney 1953:n.pag.).[5]

Another attempt to acquire Nahant was the 1688 petition for a grant of the peninsula by Edward Randolph, then the Secretary of State of Massachusetts. The proceedings of this petition demonstrated the degree of early development of Nahant, and Newhall notes that the acquisition attempt was violently

opposed by the inhabitants of Lynn.

> They showed that it was divided into planting lots, by vote of the town, as early as 1656; that it was fenced; that lots were manured and planted, and a few tenements erected; that, by hard labor and at considerable expense, it had been brought from its originally barren condition to be of real value for planting and pasturage (Newhall 1876:46).

As was Dexter's claim, Randolph's petition was defeated by the town of Lynn, and Nahant remained part of the commonland of that town.

Throughout the eighteenth century the peninsula was used by Lynn residents for pastureland, and shells and seaweed were gathered from the beaches and used as fertilizer. For example, the annual records of the Lynn Town Meetings show that the town of Lynn leased the beaches of Nahant for this practice to one Benjamin Alley from 1742 to 1757 when they were then leased to Alley's son (Records of ye Towne Meetings of Lyn 1742-1759 1966: 8, 72).

Because the peninsula was cleared for pastureland, Nahant quickly became denuded of trees so that by 1800 few trees were left on the peninsula (Deveney 1953:n.pag.). In 1706 Nahant was divided among Lynn residents into 208 agricultural lots varying in size from half an acre to four acres. These lots were subsequently divided among families over the years, resulting in numerous holdings of a few square yards whose ownership was difficult to trace.

The first permanent inhabitant appears to have moved to Nahant in 1690 (Lewis 1844:291). However, it was not until 1800

that a village was established on the peninsula, and by this time Nahant had become a very popular place for people from surrounding areas to picnic in the summer. As late as 1803 there were only three houses on the peninsula all of which were occupied by members of the Society of Friends. Apparently, the Quakers living on Nahant did not initially welcome visitors to their peninsula. Wheildom reports that the families did not like strangers and would "run affright when they saw them coming, and it was with great difficulty that anything in the nature of cooking utensils or food could be obtained from them" (1842:31). By 1809 the number of houses had increased from three to six and most accomodated a few boarders in the summer.

Unless approached by boat, Nahant was accessible only at low tide when vehicles could be driven across the hard sand of Long Beach. The soft sand of the causeway above the high tide mark was impassable in a carriage. Writing about Essex County in 1859, Whitehill discusses Nahant's position as a peninsula, noting the delicate nature of narrow causeways.

> Characteristic of this coast [Essex County] are the peninsulas--Marblehead Neck and Nahant--that... might easily have become islands had not man artificially maintained the narrow causeways that connect them with the mainland (1959:72).

The importance of the Nahant causeway in providing protection for Lynn Harbor is discussed by a nineteenth century historian.

> The protection of this beach seems absolutely necessary for the safety of the city [Lynn], for, were it swept away, tides might actually rush into the streets. Encroachments of a serious nature have been made (Newhall 1876:86-87).

The first road was built across the beach in 1848, but it was continually damaged by storms which necessitated frequent and costly repairs. It was the debate over the financial burden of the protection of the road across Long Beach which finally gave Nahant its independence from Lynn. In 1853 Lynn accepted Nahant's petition to become a separate town giving Nahant all responsibility for the beach road.[7]

By the time of its incorporation in 1853 Nahant had 300 residents, thirty of whom were registered voters, and sixty-eight houses, including those owned by summer people (Deveney 1953:n.pag.). Earlier residents had made a living from farming and fishing supplemented by taking in summer boarders.[8] By the mid-nineteenth century Nahant had become a popular and well-known summer resort and the town thrived on "the summer business".[9] Fishing was an important industry all along the New England coast and especially so in Nahant, as it provided the flourishing hotels with seafood. At that time local fishing centered around Nipper Stage, named for perch, which is now the town wharf [Figure 5], and the fish flakes were set up along the two beaches adjacent to the wharf. Fishing declined over the years as it became more and more difficult to make a living from the depleted fish stocks; however, today a handful of local men continue to fish on a part-time basis.[10]

Throughout the nineteenth century and early twentieth century the town was oriented towards a seasonal industry, and the permanent residents depended on "the summer business" for

their livelihood. In spite of the fact that there was competition since many of the stores were operated by outsiders and open only in the summer, the local grocery store owners also reaped the benefits of the summer trade. Local men worked as carpenters, painters, plumbers, gardeners, and caretakers, and depended on the upkeep of the summer homes for their work. Although this was mostly seasonal work marked by opening the houses in the spring and closing them again in the fall, certain repairs and rennovations had to be done during the winter. Moreover, certain men were employed as caretakers on a year-round basis. Local women also found employment with the summer people as they cleaned the houses in the spring and fall or took in laundry in the summer.

Due to their success in the summer business, certain local businesses gained considerable recognition outside of Nahant. The building business of J. T. Wilson and the florist business of Thomas Roland grew in response to the summer trade and eventually did business in Boston, as well as on the North Shore of Massachusetts.

In discussing local occupations, Nahant's proximity to Lynn, the leading manufacturer of shoes in the United States in the nineteenth century (Cumbler 1974), must be remembered. Leather piecework was done in homes and small shops all over New England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Watkins 1961), and stitching was done in several shops in Nahant. With improved transportation to the peninsula, Nahanters could work

in Lynn. When the shoe factories began to close down in the early 1900s, Lynn was able to attract another industry in the form of General Electric Company which absorbed much of the city's work force. Today many townspeople are employed with General Electric in Lynn.

Along with knowing local occupations, it is important to realize the ethnic composition of the town in order to understand Nahant's relationship to regional immigration, particularly in reference to the Irish and Italians. The town began as an Anglo-Protestant community; however, by the time of incorporation in 1853, some Irish Roman Catholics had moved to Nahant. Wilson notes that the first Irishman probably settled in town before 1840 (1928:221). By 1875 there were 60,000 foreign-born Irish living in Boston (Warner 1962:6), and they gradually rose in economic status and migrated outward from the city. Most of the Irish who came to Nahant came after the Civil War. By the late 1800s these Irish were established in the section of town locally known as Irishtown, and later they moved from there to other areas of Nahant. Warner states that the ethnic makeup of a suburb often reflects the nearby city's ethnic composition of thirty years earlier (1962:66). Warner's theory applies to Nahant as the town reflected the earlier Boston situation. Irish laborers and tradesmen settled in Nahant and found seasonal work with the resort industry. The summers saw more Irish in town as the transferred households of the summer residents, the maids, coachmen, and butlers, were primarily

Irish. Handlin notes that by 1850 at least 2,227 Irish girls were working as domestic servants in Boston (1959:61).

The other major immigration influx to greatly affect the ethnic make-up of the town was that of the Italians which followed the same pattern as the Irish, though at a later date. By 1920 most of the Irish had moved out of Irishtown to other parts of Nahant, and the Italians had moved into the section known as Irishtown. In referring to Italians settling in Irishtown, one Nahanter relates the following anecdote set in the old town post office: Two strange men came into the post office one evening, and when they went out someone asked who they were. One man replied, "I don't know their name, but they're two of the Italians from Irishtown." [Tape 13:1].[11] Within the past twenty years some Italians have moved to other sections of Nahant including East Point. The Irish and Italians represent the major groups in the ethnic composition in the town; however, there is still a large Anglo-Protestant group. In marked contrast to nearby towns such as Swampscott which is predominantly Jewish, Nahant has few Jewish families. Furthermore, there are no Blacks in Nahant although there is a large black population in Lynn.

The history of the churches in town bear a direct relationship to the early seasonal orientation of the town as well as to the changing religious affiliation of the town's population. The first church in Nahant was built on East Point by the Boston summer people in 1832 for their own use and to which visiting

ministers, primarily Protestant, from Boston came to speak throughout the summer months. Called the Nahant Church by its summer members, and the Boston Church by townspeople, this church in the form of a Greek temple was damaged by a hurricane in 1868, and the present Gothic stone church [Figure 11] was built in its place. The local residents represented several Protestant denominations, and no one group could afford to build their own church. Consequently, the Independent Methodist Church was built in 1851 to accomodate all Protestant denominations and became known as the Nahant Village Church. While retaining their non-denominational Protestant status, the Boston and Nahant Village Church finally merged in 1958. Services were moved to the Boston church while the Village Church was used as a Sunday school. The latter building was eventually converted to a Y. M. C. A. [Figure 10]. A variety of sects including Congregationalists, Unitarians, and Episcopalians are today represented in the Nahant Village Church, the non-denominational status of which is unusual for a New England town. The merging of the two Protestant churches is significant in that it marked the end of a separate identity for the summer colony in the town. The relationship between the Nahant and Boston churches will be discussed in greater detail in chapter five.

The majority of the contemporary population of the town is Roman Catholic; however, the first permanent Catholic church in Nahant was not built until 1872 by which time there was a significant Irish population. This church was torn down and

a new one constructed in its place in the 1960s. The Catholic and Protestant churches in town have remained fairly separate, although there is increasing cooperation between the two religions marked by periodical ecumenical services.[12]

The location of the three churches demonstrates early and diverse settlement patterns of the local residents as a group, as compared to the summer people. The Catholic Church and the Independent Methodist Church were built on Nahant Road along which the permanent residents concentrated their homes. In contrast, the summer people built their homes along the shorefront in the East Point area where their church was located, and on the North side of the peninsula to take advantage of the ocean view.

The distribution of public buildings and stores is also important to understand the total layout of the town. The center of town has always been in the same general area on Nahant Road, and today it consists of the post office [Figure 9], Village Store, town hall [Figure 7], and library [Figure 8], all of which are located on the same side of Nahant Road.[13] The library and town hall built in 1894 and 1912 respectively are both substantial structures for a town of Nahant's size [see Appendix B] and reflect the prosperity of the resort era.

Local stores catering to the summer trade disappeared by World War II, and today the business operations in the town consist of the following: four small grocery stores, a meat market, two restaurants, one fast food service, a liquor store, a barber-

shop, two hairdressers, a laundromat, a gift shop, a pharmacy, a real estate agency, two nursing homes, and two gas stations.[14] However, townspeople receive goods and services primarily from the Boston and Lynn areas. The town is residential, consisting almost entirely of single family dwellings. Exceptions to this are an inn which has been converted to apartments and an apartment complex built in 1973 on Bass Point [Figure 26]. The three schools in Nahant were built in 1905, 1936, and 1968; however, since Nahant has had no high school since 1914, high school students commute by bus to two high schools and various trade schools in Lynn.

The operation of such vital organizations as the fire and police departments must be considered as such departments demonstrate certain aspects of small town life. After the town's incorporation, citizens took turns patrolling the town, and over the years the number of permanent policemen has increased to nine full-time men in 1975. The police department is housed in an old school building which was moved from the cemetery lot across the street.[15] In the early 1900s, the police and fire departments were responsible for the protection of townspeoples' houses as well as the protection of several hundred vacant summer cottages during the winter. Local police had to guard this property against vandals, and the problem of vacant property will be discussed in detail in the examination of the relationship between the permanent residents and the summer people in chapter five. The volunteer firemen known as

call firemen were divided into several companies to man the various pieces of apparatus. Such volunteer work shows the recognition of and pride in doing one's civic duty, and this community-oriented attitude is important in efficiently running a small town. Today the fire department is located on land that was taken over by the United States Army in World War I. In addition to call firefighters, there are now nine full-time firemen.

Nahant's history is marked by two major fires, one in 1896 which burned six large summer homes on East Point, the other in 1925 which destroyed seventy-four cottages on Bass Point with a total loss of $156,350 (Nahant Annual Town Report 1925:52).[16] The houses burned in the Bass Point fire were mostly small, flimsy summer cottages which were so close together that, according to one Nahanter, "You put your head out one window and you'd have it in another woman's dining room" [Tape 7:2]. The houses now found on Bass Point are still very close to one another; however, their spatial distribution is an improvement over the earlier cottages. Moreover, the present small lot sizes on Little Nahant, on which there were only two estates in 1900, further indicate the result of lax zoning laws as well as the desirability of seashore property.

The economic and political history of Nahant is easily studied through the town's annual reports which date back to 1853. The town meeting form of government found throughout New England continues to operate in its traditional form in Nahant

where the annual meeting is open to all voters (see Gould 1940; Webster 1945). The significance of this form of government is described by Burns and Peltason:

> In the United States, this town meeting is the outstanding example of a direct democracy where all the voters participate directly in making the rules, passing new laws, levying taxes, and appropriating money (1963[1952]:769).

Under this system of government, the registered voters meet once a year, in the town hall on the third Saturday in April in Nahant, to vote on the business of the town. A Warrant giving the time, place, and agenda of the meeting is circulated by the selectmen before the meeting, and each voter is given a town report including the annual financial statement. Each voter present at town meeting has the right to speak on any business arising as well as vote. The primary concern of the meeting is to pass the annual budget, and Nahant now has an Advisory Board which makes recommendations to the voters concerning proposed expenditures. Special meetings are called during the year when necessary; however, the three men forming the town's board of selectmen serve as the executive committee of the town meeting, and act on behalf of the voters in between meetings. The meetings are presided over by the town moderator who is elected annually.

Nahant's population is small enough to continue the traditional selectmen, town meeting system. However, in larger towns such a system is unwieldly, and many New England towns have resorted to having a town manager, a limited town meeting, or

a representative town meeting. The latter form is that usually adopted in Massachusetts (Young 1962:856). Because of their large populations, all the towns around Nahant have changed over to the representative system in which a set number of representatives are entitled to vote.

Civic responsibility is promoted through the town meeting system as the holding of town office is a point of pride among townspeople, and Nahanters remember some strenuously contested elections.[17] A familiar trait of town meeting noted by Young, and evident in Nahant especially in the first half of the twentieth century, is debate in the form of speeches and arguments sparked by controversial issues (1962:855). Townspeople looked forward to town meeting for the entertainment provided in the hot and colorful debates. Today town meeting is no longer the social event it was when the town was smaller although people are still eager to see who is there and how they vote on various issues.

The preceeding sketch of the history and development of the permanent settlement of Nahant is intended as background information to familiarize the reader with the community. The major points of geography, early history, occupation, ethnic composition, and town government have been outlined. Nahant's development in these areas is allied with much of the rest of New England; however, as an early resort Nahant is hardly typical of regional development (see Jensen 1965; Odum and Moore 1966 [1938] for a discussion of the concept and application of region-

alism). The growth of the permanent population of the town was greatly influenced by the needs of the summer colony throughout its history. The development of Nahant as an independent town and as a fashionable summer resort are interrelated. As the establishment of the permanent population has been considered, the growth of Nahant as a resort may now be discussed to determine the impact this resort growth had on the total development of the town.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

[1] Any historic information not specifically footnoted for chapters two and three can be found in Wilson (1928), i.e., information about churches p.38. See Appendix A for a chronological list of significant events in Nahant's history as an independent town and as a summer resort.

[2] Although certain rock combinations and formations are of interest, no attempt has been made to discuss the geology of the peninsula (see Agassiz quoted in Wilson 1928:87-91; Lewis and Newhall 1865:74-75).

[3] There were twenty-five major shipwrecks on Nahant between 1740 and 1898 (Wilson 1928:143) and two more in the early 1900s. A lighthouse was built on Egg Rock, an island a mile north of Nahant, and first shone in 1856 to warn ships of the peninsula; however, in a few instances the light was mistaken for other lighthouses along the Massachusetts coast, and the misled ships were consequently wrecked (see Snow 1946).

[4] The impact of these government land seizures will be further discussed in chapter four. The military's actions are significant in relation to the development of the cultural landscape of the town. The takeover in World War I necessitated the moving of several houses from the base property. However, eventually the town was able to buy back most of the affected land on Bass Point and East Point for public use. Part of the East Point land is now used as an oceanographic research center by Northeastern University.

[5] It is interesting to note that the transaction between Dexter and Black Will, although having no legal merit, is nevertheless the basis for the town seal adopted in 1853, which depicts Dexter buying Nahant from the Indian for a suit of clothes. This fact is also pointed out in a speech by Henry Cabot Lodge, a long time summer resident of Nahant (1904:4).

[6] In fact, with the first division of common land in Lynn in 1657, men faced a fine if they did not clear their Nahant lot of trees within six years. This policy was reversed in 1704 when it became evident that there was little shade for grazing animals. Consequently, a penalty for cutting down bushes or trees on Nahant was imposed (Lewis 1851:11-12); however, the damage had already been done.

[7] Lynn became a city adopting a mayor-council government

in 1850, and Swampscott, adjacent to Lynn, was incorporated as a separate town in 1852. Nahant had earlier petitioned in 1851 to form its own town government but had been refused by Lynn.

8 Because it lacked a good harbor, Nahant did not develop as an early fishing port as did other Massachusetts coastal towns.

9 The summer business referred to trade supplied directly or indirectly by any seasonal summer group, including the day excursionists and hotel clientele as well as those summer residents who owned or rented houses.

10 Having a history of small lot sizes, Nahant was never farmed on a large scale. Aside from the usual family vegetable gardens, by 1910 only two farms were operating, neither of these covering more than ten acres.

11 Old-timers in town continue to refer to this section as Irishtown although the name no longer applies to the area.

12 None of the three churches has ever had its own cemetery. Land for Greenlawn Cemetery [Figure 12], which is owned and operated by the town, was first purchased in 1856, and this action was one of the first considerations of town meeting following incorporation.

13 In contrast to many New England towns, Nahant does not have a town common usually located in the center of town. Although the entire peninsula had been common land, the land quickly passed into private hands, and the town was built along Nahant Road leading from one end of the peninsula to the other. Many of the roads in town developed out of early range roads set up in the 1706 division of land.

14 Other businesses are run from individual homes. A significant enterprise was a night club and restaurant built next to the golf course by a well-known baseball player in the early 1970s and which burned down in 1975. The club was set up to attract out-of-towners to Nahant; however, the club was never financially successful.

15 Moving buildings on Nahant was a fairly common practice, and some buildings were moved more than once. Some houses were put on barges and floated around the peninsula to a new site. However, the majority of the buildings were moved by use of rollers and either oxen or horses. Through

this system a capstan was sunk into the road, and the animals turned the capstan,which had a line tied to the building set on rollers.

[16] The Bass Point fire was the only instance in which the Boston fire boat was called in to fight a fire on Nahant, and it is credited with saving the rest of Bass Point from destruction.

[17] The degree of one's involvement in town government is a factor affecting one's status in the town; therefore, this point will be discussed in greater detail in chapter four.

III

RESORT DEVELOPMENT OF THE PENINSULA

This chapter discusses Nahant's rise to prominence as a watering place or resort and describes the significant periods of its resort development. The town has been a resort almost as long as it has been a place of permanent residence. No extensive building was begun until after 1815, and by that time the peninsula already had a reputation as a summer resort. As the social, economic, and political history of the town is closely related to its early resort base, a fairly detailed analysis of the resort development is warranted. Nahant's relationship to other famous east coast watering places such as Newport, Rhode Island and Bar Harbor, Maine will also be considered. Finally, the exclusive resort era of the nineteenth century will be discussed to show how early resorts relate to the rise of seasonal mass recreation.

Nahant forms part of the area known as the North Shore of Massachusetts encompassing the towns in Essex County from Nahant on the south to Gloucester on the north [Figure 1]. By the end of the nineteenth century this section was well known as a resort for Bostonians (see Loring 1932). However, the North Shore had a somewhat different function than other elite resorts as many people summering on the Shore commuted a few days a week to work in Boston. Grant, writing in 1896, discusses these early commuters.

> Unlike Newport, Lenox, and Bar Harbor, the North Shore is first of all a dormitory. The busy men of affairs, who spend the summer at Beverly Farms or Manchester, go to Boston every day and return home in the early afternoon, content to sit on the piazzas enjoying the breezes from the ocean, or to drive or ride (p. 33).

Whereas Nahant, the oldest of the North Shore resorts, could be easily reached by steamer from Boston, the other towns had to wait for the expansion of the railway[1] before they became popular summer colonies.[2]

Most eighteenth century resorts in the United States were frequented for health reasons. The two major divisions of resorts were the inland springs, or spas, which depended on natural springs with medicinal waters, and the seaside resorts which stressed the beneficial nature of the sea air. Consequently, invalids were attracted to Nahant in the 1700s by the cool temperatures and salt air. Writing in 1820, a doctor notes some of the infirmities supposed to be alleviated by Nahant's climate as dyspeptic complaint, cutaneous diseases, and chronic enlargement of the glands (Channing:1). However, the health giving properties of the watering places were gradually eclipsed by the time of the early nineteenth century with the influx of the wealthy leisure class escaping the summer heat of the cities. As stated by Reniers in his discussion of the accepted tour of the springs of Virginia in the nineteenth century "the fashionables were merely following on in the path beaten down long since by the invalids" (1941:250).[3]

Each resort had its own particular attractions and atmos-

phere. Wolfe notes that "a summer resort gains its character both from its natural endowment and from the people that frequent it. It is a social creation built upon a natural base" (1956:110). Thus, either the factor of the location or the class of visitors of a resort is dominant at any given time; however, in studying individual resorts, the social factor takes precedence over the geographical factor (Wolfe 1956:110-111). For this reason, the social interaction resulting from the town's resort base is the focal point of this study.

Even though resorts began as scenic and health-giving areas, they soon became places of social importance, and this concept ties in with Amory's theory of the progression of resorts. He outlines five phases of resort development noting that first artists and writers come to an area to enjoy the scenery; second come clergymen and professors interested in the simple life; third come the "nice millionaires" bringing their children in contact with the simple life; fourth come the "bad millionaires" who build ostentatious cottages, dress for dinner, and generally destroy the simple life; fifth trouble develops as the bad drive out the good millionaires (1952[1948]:23). This simplified model can be applied with modifications to most resorts, and Nahant's relationship to this concept will become evident through the following discussion.

As well as the cool temperatures, Nahant's attractions included natural rock formations such as Spouting Horn, Swallow's Cave, and Pulpit Rock. In addition to descriptions of these

specific places (e.g., Lewis 1848), there are innumerable nineteenth century accounts of days spent at Nahant. An 1835 newspaper editorial describes the popularity of the peninsula.

> Nahant, if we may judge from the carriages which daily pass over the beach, continues to be the favorite resort for pleasure and comfort...The romantic and rural appearance of the place and the excellence of the public houses will continue to make this a favorite retreat (Lynn Mirror July 16 quoted in McIntosh 1912:n.pag.).

Three local houses, two on Big Nahant owned by the Breed and Hood families and the third operated by Silsbee on Bass Point, took in boarders in the early 1800s. However, sufficient accomodations for summer visitors were lacking.

The first summer cottage on Nahant was built by Thomas H. Perkins in 1817. Then, in 1821 he and Wayne Payne bought eighteen acres of land for $1,800 on East Point from the Breeds of Nahant in order to build a hotel (Wilson 1928:53). The Nahant Hotel built on subscriptions from other interested Bostonians opened in 1823 and was immediately successful. It represented an early example of ocean resort hotels and was one of the first large buildings specifically designed as a hotel in the Boston area (Rogers 1974:17). The facilities of the hotel frequented by Boston merchants and their families is given in an 1830 description.

> A spacious and elegant stone edifice has been erected as a Hotel, near the extremity of the peninsula, in a very commanding and pleasant situation. This building contains 70 chambers, constructed on a plan of peculiar convenience both for families and for single persons. The dining hall is sufficiently spacious to accomodate

> 150 persons at the table, besides which there are drawing rooms and private parlors. Large and commodious stables are appended to the Hotel; and a bath house for warm and cold baths, and floating baths for those who may prefer the bracing action of sea water, make a part of the establishment. The hotel is surrounded by piazzas which afford a most delightful prospect in every direction, and receive the cool and refreshing breezes every part of the day (Davison:372).

The patrons of the hotel consisted mostly of Bostonians although others, including many southerners, came to enjoy the seaside while benefiting from all the luxuries of that time at the Nahant Hotel. Other resorts such as Newport and Saratoga depended on southerners for their clientele before the Civil War.

The Nahant Hotel, which changed hands several times, was expanded in 1831-32 by the building of a large three story addition, and in 1859 steam heating was installed so that the hotel could be used into the fall. However, the hotel was never financially successful, and the building burned in the fall of 1861, the furnishings having been sold at auction the previous summer (Wilson 1928:79-80).

Shortly after the Nahant Hotel was built in 1823 another Bostonian, Cornelius Coolidge, began buying up shore front property with the plan of building close to sixty summer cottages. Filing for bankruptcy in 1842, Coolidge had managed to build only thirteen cottages for fellow Bostonians.[5] These early summer cottages were mostly one and a half stories with the first story built of stone, full length windows, and a piazza around the entire cottage. These houses all built on the

eastern part of the peninsula constituted the center of the summer resort colony which continued through to the early 1900s.[6]

All east coast summer resorts of the 1800s, each with its specific clientele, developed their own socially and architecturally defined cottage colonies. Because of its pervasive social importance, Newport, Rhode Island stood out from all other watering places as Barrett notes: "In its arrogant prime, it [Newport] had a crushing importance" (1952[1941]:14). Though popular as a resort in the mid 1700s, Newport was totally transformed from a seaport to a summer resort in the 1800s. Curtis describes the difference between Nahant and Newport in mid nineteenth century.

> Nahant would not satisfy a New Yorker, nor, indeed, a Bostonian, whose dreams of seaside summering are based on Newport life. The two places are entirely different. It is not quite true that Newport has all of Nahant and something more. For the repose, the freedom from the fury of fashion, is precisely what endears Nahant to its lovers, and the very opposite is characteristic of Newport (1852:n.pag.).

Newport stood out from other resorts with its unusual array of architectural forms--huge mansions and castles one of which is the Vanderbuilt family house known as The Breakers (see Mason ca. 1875; Downing and Scully 1952).[7] Building at Nahant never approached elaborate architectural forms; however, most of the estates had stables and some had greenhouses.

As cottage colonies grew at all resorts, the hotels suffered. Barrett notes this occurrence at Bar Harbor, Maine in the nineteenth century: "Rodick's [a hotel at Bar Harbor],

like the Ocean House at Newport, declined in grace with the development of the cottage colony" (1952[1941]:301-302). Nahant was not unlike other resorts, and although hotels continued to be built, the later ones were not of the size or elegance of the Nahant Hotel.

That Nahant's attraction as a resort continued throughout the 1800s is demonstrated in the following representative newspaper report:

> The best thing you can do on a warm day this summer when the thermometer stands among the nineties is to take your shawl--for you will need it--and go down to India wharf [Boston], where you will find the steamer "Anita" which will carry you to Nahant, an attractive little peninsula, where dwell the elite of Boston (The Gazette July 22, 1888:n.pag.).

Coming from the hot city of Boston, people enjoyed a refreshing excursion by boat to Nahant. The summer steamer service between Boston and Nahant was initiated in 1817 and continued from 1818 to 1914 with a one season hiatus in 1884 (Maolis Club History 1914:26). Up to ten trips a day were made, and the steamers docked at the wharf near the Nahant House at East Point (Daily Evening Transcript July 24, 1830:n.pag.). As stated by Smith, "resort hotels were beginning to spring up along the coast and the steamboat was the comfortable way to reach them" (1960:65). This idea of comfort and convenience was apparent as the boat trip taking just one hour was a shorter journey from Boston to Nahant than by road.

A factor contributing to Nahant's fame and popularity was that many well known Boston artists, writers, professors,

and statesmen summered on the peninsula. The attraction to natural beauty and the frequenting of an area by intellectuals fits into the first and second phases of Amory's concept of resort development. Furthermore, various scholars are reported to have written portions of their works in specific houses in Nahant.[8] It was Thomas Appleton, celebrated wit and artist and a frequent visitor to Nahant, who coined for the peninsula the phrase "cold roast Boston" as he found the snobbishness of Boston society extended to the resort (see Amory 1947 for a discussion of the exclusiveness of Boston society). Grant's comment on the whole North Shore of Massachusetts corroborates this idea: "If there is any plea to be urged against the attractiveness of the North Shore it is that the society is so exclusively Bostonese" (1896:2).

Each New England resort had its own particular form of society, and some had stricter standards than others. Bar Harbor, because of its distance from major centers, was discovered and promoted as a resort after the Civil War somewhat later than the other major American resorts. As noted by Hale Bar Harbor's society was less exacting than that of other resorts: "Of all the summer resorts that were then [nineteenth century] fashionable, it [Bar Harbor] had perhaps the easiest and most tolerant social life" (1949:168). This easy social life was caused by the isolation of the area.

Towns whose early development was marked by a resort base benefited from the summer residents as they brought certain

public utilities to towns at an earlier date than the area normally would have received them. Morison discusses this idea in describing the people of wealth and taste at Bar Harbor "who built big 'cottages', demanded and obtained water supply and electricity, tennis courts, golf courses, yacht races and swimming pools" (1960:49). In the same way, various services reached Nahant at an early date as demonstrated in 1885 when the summer residents obtained a water supply (Wilson 1928:317).

Most resorts had a single figure or a small number of people who initially promoted the development of the watering place. Throughout the history of the town, summer residents were responsible for local improvements, and Frederic Tudor stands out as the individual who greatly improved the appearance of the peninsula. Having made his fortune through shipping ice to the West Indies, Tudor built a summer house in 1825, planted trees, and maintained his own extensive orchards throughout the town. His numerous and varied accomplishments are outlined by Pearson.

> Evidences of his [Tudor's] benevolent activity [in Nahant] were everywhere: roads that he had laid out well shaded with trees, marshes drained, a wharf built, and, finally, an amusement park, Maolis Gardens, one of the first in the country. His grounds were regularly open to visitors, and in the fall, at his cider-making festival, all the inhabitants were made welcome (1933:214).

Having proved that trees could be grown on Nahant, Tudor had accomplished the three things he had wanted to do in life, namely, to ship ice to the Indies, to have six children, and to make trees grow on the peninsula of Nahant (Wilson 1928:71).[9]

The amusement park, the Maolis Gardens,[10] referred to by Pearson, was located on the north side of Nahant and opened in 1860. It was marked by every form of amusement of the day: music, dancing, flying-horses, target rifles, trained bears, and Indian basket-makers (Foye ca. 1912:n.pag.). The park was dotted with numerous buildings including elaborate rock pavillions [Figure 13] which were used for picnic parties.[11] Day excursionists were attracted to Nahant by the Maolis Gardens as they could reach Nahant easily by steamer and then be driven by "barge"[12] to the north side of the peninsula. Visiting Nahant in the 1800s, the day trippers came to the resort earlier than they appeared at other resorts. As amusement parks in other areas grew in popularity, the Maolis Gardens declined until the operation was finally dismantled in 1892.

During its resort development, Nahant was marked by some peculiar attractions. For instance, the sighting of a sea serpent off Long Beach in 1817 gave the town much publicity. Consequently, visitors flocked to the peninsula for a chance of seeing this great monster. The sighting was probably a gimmick devised by certain local hotel proprietors; nevertheless, several respected people signed affidavits to the effect that they had seen the Nahant sea serpent. The creature continued to be sighted, and was in evidence as late as 1838 as Wheildon describes:

> Of late years at Nahant, everything uncommon, and sometimes even a ledge of rocks, which surely is not very uncommon here, is "cracked

> up to be" the Sea Serpent; and thus the credulous are imposed upon--the veracity of many and intelligent and truth-speaking witnesses discredited, and an air of falsehood thrown over the whole story (p. 36).

Because of the tremendous amount of publicity around this feature, some people visiting the peninsula for the first time were disappointed in not seeing the sea serpent (see Drake 1901:156-159).

With its rise as a watering place and its function of providing recreation for the summer residents from Boston, the town claimed some early developments in recreation. Retired shipping merchants built seaside summer cottages and turned to yachting in their leisure time. According to Morison, yachting began in Massachusetts when Benjamin C. Clark, a Boston merchant who spent his summers at Nahant, bought a pilot schooner (1921:247). The first open yacht race in the state was subsequently held off Nahant on July 19, 1845. Morison comments on the significance of this regatta: "The fame of this regatta, the boats owned by her [Nahant's] summer residents, and a huge new hotel [Nahant Hotel], made Nahant the yachting center of Massachusetts Bay until the Civil War" (1921:248). Only one of the boats entered in this race was owned by a year-round Nahanter since this form of recreation was the domain of the leisure class.[13]

Nahant is recognized for early developments in tennis as well as yachting. The debate as to where the first tennis game was played in the United States, whether at Nahant or Staten Island, New York, has never been satisfactorily settled. However,

the first tennis tournament in the country was definitely held at Nahant in August 1876 (Dwight 1891:158).[14]

At all New England resorts the summer people who owned or rented cottages established their own exclusive clubs, and the Boston people at Nahant were no exception. Here the Dory Club, golf course, and Nahant Club were organized and maintained for use by the summer people excluding local townspeople who were not of the same social class as the Boston people. The Boston colony persisted throughout the day tripper and hotel phases of the summer activity and remained a tight knit group up to the 1930s (see Boardman 1929:55-70 for an indication of the Boston families that summered in Nahant).[15]

Another phase of the peninsula's resort development began in the 1860s when the first of a series of hotels in the Bass Point area was erected. Two of these hotels, the Relay House and the Bass Point House, were better known than the others since much of the Point's activity centered around them. Among other attractions which brought in thousands of day excursionists each hotel had its own orchestra and bandstand with the orchestras alternating their breaks so as not to compete with one another. With the construction of the Midway, a type of amusement park, and continued steamboat service to Boston, Lynn, and Revere, at the turn of the century Bass Point was an extremely popular amusement spot. The attractions consisted of a roller-coaster, flying-horses, shooting galleries, bowling alleys, and even an ostrich farm. Fishing from the rocks, band concerts,

concession stands, and Nahant's famous fish dinners also promoted Bass Point's fame and attracted more day trippers.

Day trippers had begun to frequent resorts which had once been the realm of the wealthy leisure class. Thus, Saratoga which initially gained its reputation as a watering place through its spring, later became popular for its race track built in 1864 (Barrett 1952[1941]:180) which attracted the general public. Furthermore, the summer cottage colonies often complained that the excursionists disrupted the tranquility of a resort (Barrett 1952[1941]:249-250). A proposed railroad extension in 1881 had been opposed by local residents who feared what might result from the peninsula being too accessible. These feelings are reported in a contemporary newspaper.

> They [Nahant residents] are well satisfied with the present condition of things and do not propose having the peninsula of such easy access that hoodlums and rowdies would choose it as a place for summer wanderings (Lynn City Item December 31, 1881:n.pag.).

In spite of such sentiments, the trolley car line was extended to Nahant in 1906 and coupled with steamboat service brought several thousand people escaping the heat of Boston to the peninsula primarily on Sundays.

Bass Point developed a somewhat unsavory reputation as police were often called to pick up drunks from the extensive crowds. Bass Point also developed its own cottage colony which was very different from the estates of the summer colony on East Point. In contrast to the large houses and estates of the latter, Bass Point's flimsy cottages were crowded into a small

area which promoted the conflagration of 1925 discussed in chapter two. People owning cottages at Bass Point in the early 1900s came mostly from Charlestown and Dorchester, towns on the outskirts of Boston, so that the social makeup of Bass Point with its middle class was different from the upper class East Point society.

In any given summer season three groups of summer visitors were present. The day excursionists came in large groups but only stayed for the day, and Sunday was always the day of the greatest crowds. The hotel and private inn clientele were an important economic asset to the town. They came for anywhere from a few days to several weeks, and many of these people returned to the same hotel year after year. Finally the summer residents who owned or rented houses constituted the group which was most integrated in town affairs as these people had direct contact with townspeople (see Faught 1945:49).

While Nahant developed as a resort with an established summer colony as well as excursionists and hotel clientele, the permanent population of the town grew in response to the resort industry. In the early 1900s, more and more people began living on Nahant on a year-round basis, and as the peninsula declined as a resort, it grew as a year-round community. Many of the summer houses were winterized for permanent occupancy. Some of the factors affecting change from a summer resort to a permanent community will be discussed in detail in chapter four.

Reasons for the decline of particular resort areas are often complex. General factors such as increased taxes and the

death of regular summer residents resulting in the break up of estates have been cited as factors for the decline of resorts (Laswell in Barrett 1952[1941]:xii). The economic environment of the country, changing class structure, improved transportation, and the rise of the recreation industry brought similar changes to all resorts beginning in the late 1800s. Amory in his discussion of Tuxedo Park, New York, begun in 1886 as a hunting and fishing resort, notes some common changes at summer resorts.

> Nowadays, though still clubbable, it [Tuxedo Park] is nothing more or less than a year-round community outside of New York which, like the ancient resort of Nahant outside of Boston still clings to its age-old reputation but which, in the final analysis is really one more on the list of social ghost towns (1952[1948]:79).

Many resorts like Nahant and Tuxedo Park became year-round communities as improved transportation facilitated commuting to urban centers for employment. Consequently, Nahant never developed into the fourth and fifth phases of Amory's concept of resorts in which the "bad" millionaires destroy the simple life of a resort and in the process drive out the "nice" millionaires.

The development of exclusive resorts and the recreation industry in general is tied to the concept of the rural ideal which included the idea of escape from the restraints of the city to the simple and timeless life of the country (Warner 1962: 11-12). In the nineteenth century this ideal was initially acted out by people of wealth in their building a second (summer)

house; however, the ideal was also present in middle class thought (Warner 1962:88). The lure of nature has played a vital role both in the development of resorts and in the mass recreational industry as the idea of man's ativistic need to return to nature has affected the recreational use of land.

The development of the present day recreational industry is directly related to increased leisure. The summer resorts discussed in this chapter represented those leisure activities of the past which were restricted to a small elite class. The era of the elaborate summer home and estate had ended in Nahant by the end of the 1920s; however, more and more people were building and buying second homes for seasonal recreation. Wolfe discusses the status attached to the ownership of an inessential house.

> Summering at the cottage...symbolized, in former times, the exclusion by the elect of those not fortunate enough to own the 'inessential house'; today it symbolizes, in its democratized form, the sense of belonging of the masses (1956:470).

During the resort era of Nahant the cottage changed from belonging solely to the Boston elite to having a wider class distribution, although the Boston colony retained its hold on East Point. The cottage remains as a symbol in North America although it is no longer as attached to specific resorts as it was in the nineteenth century.

It is important to understand Nahant's development as a resort from its early use by picnickers in the 1700s to its growth, in the hotel era of the 1800s and later through the

cottage colony, as a fashionable resort for Boston society. Even though this study is concerned with the summer residents and their impact on Nahant, the day tripper phases, most notably marked by the operation of the Maolis Gardens and the Bass Point Midway, are an integral part of the total resort base of the peninsula. Nahant's general development as a resort is not unique when compared to similar resorts of the nineteenth century; however, each resort has its own particular attractions due to its specific geographical base and the strata of society that frequents it. The resort colony at Nahant influenced the town through social and economic factors as well as through basic land development of the peninsula, and the total impact of the summer colony on the permanent population will be discussed in the following chapters.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

[1] The Eastern Railroad was built between Boston and Salem in 1836, and the Gloucester branch was finished in 1848 (Loring 1932:193).

[2] In the nineteenth century the term colony referred to a specific social resort established by people generally from the same social background and geographical area. The term is used to distinguish between the area of the summer residents and that of the permanent residents of the town. The summer season lasted anywhere from April 1 to October 1 as many summer people claimed legal residence in the place of their summer home so they paid less taxes than they would have in Boston. However, June, July, and August were the peak months at the resorts.

[3] In the nineteenth century it was popular to visit several resorts in a season; therefore, tour books for this purpose were published describing the facilities and advantages of watering places while giving information on how all such areas could be reached. For the study of Nahant the following tour books are of most interest: (Bachelder 1873; Bragdon 1857; The Northern Traveller and Northern Tour with the Routes to the Springs, Niagara, and Quebec, and the Coal Mines of Pennsylvania, also Tour of New England 1830).

[4] The concept of resort hotels became increasingly popular in the nineteenth century (see Dorsey and Devine 1964:239).

[5] One good example of a Coolidge cottage dating from 1827 remains in its original state; the others have been greatly altered. Today fifty-six houses in the town date from 1853 or earlier (see "Nahant, Massachusetts Bicentennial Brochure" 1976). Coolidge built in 1828-29 also on East Point the Nahant House, a hotel to rival the Nahant Hotel. Coolidge's hotel was eventually sold as a private home. The land for the Boston Church was also given by Coolidge.

[6] In her discussion of early building in Nahant, Rogers (1974) contends that Nahant's popularity as a resort declined after 1850.

[7] The importance of builders' design books to nineteenth century resort architecture should be noted. These works included plans and specifications for all types of summer homes including seaside cottages, and they had a pronounced impact on building practices of the time (e.g., see Bullock 1854; Downing 1844; Woodward 1873).

[8] Henry W. Longfellow apparently partly wrote the poem "Hiawatha" in a house owned by the Johnson family, and the poet John Greenleaf Whittier wrote extensively on Nahant referring to the peninsula as "New England's Paradise". Other men and women who added to the literary and intellectual atmosphere of Nahant in the mid 1800s included John Lothrop Motley, Daniel Webster, Robert Winthrop, Nathaniel P. Willis, Judge Prescott, Lydia H. Sigourney, and Professor Agassiz (see Drake 1901:148-156).

[9] As with many of the summer residents, Tudor's eccentricity was the basis for numerous stories. In one instance Tudor tested prospective carpenters by requesting that they shingle a shed by placing the shingles upside down. All but one of the men refused to comply with this unusual request who after shingling the building upside down was then told to shingle it normally. He was finally hired, Tudor having made sure that he had found a workman who would obey his orders (Wilson 1928:68).

[10] The name Maolis came from a reversal of the letters of the name of the Biblical pool of Siloam which was located within the city of Jerusalem (Kraeling 1952:393).

[11] One of these pavillions still remains and is known as the Witch House. The name is apparently derived from the fact that the pavillion housed a statue having an eerie appearance which represented winter. Another interpretation of the name states that there was a cave under the pavillion in which a woman accused of being a witch in the 1692 Salem witch trials hid when she escaped to Nahant (Maolis Club 1914:31-32).

[12] Carriages in Nahant were referred to as "barges", the nomenclature having been initiated by Mrs. Frederic Tudor ca. 1860. She bought a boat sleigh, called Cleopatra's barge, and had it put on wheels to carry people from Lynn to the Maolis Gardens. Horse drawn passenger carriages retained the name into the early 1900s, and the barges were operated by Nahanters ("Origin of the term 'Barge'" n.d.).

[13] These Boston merchants with their interest in exposing their children to the simple life at Nahant fit Amory's third category in his concept of resort development as "nice millionaires".

[14] The first official tennis championship in the United States was held in Newport in 1881 at which Richard D. Sears, who summered at Nahant won the singles (see Whitman 1931:22-23, 54).

[15] The Boston group at Nahant was made up primarily of ld Boston families and included as well those Boston people hose winter residence may have been outside of Massachusetts, .e., Washington, D. C. Other people from socially prominent hiladelphia and New York families who summered in Nahant, lthough not numerous, were incorporated into the summer social ctivities of this Boston group at Nahant.

IV

SOCIAL CHANGE AND STATUS IN THE TOWN

To fully understand social interaction in Nahant in the 1970s and the significance of the local narrative tradition, one must be aware of the gradual change from a resort to a year-round community which was completed by 1950. Stein, in discussing community studies, notes that, "similar social factors are at work in the separate communities" (1960:4-5). Using this principle, this chapter deals with the effects of various processes of social change on Nahant, particularly those recognized as fundamental to social change: industrialization, urbanization, and bureaucratization. The combined effect of these three factors is importannt in understanding interaction in the town today. Nahant's change from a small town to a suburb will be considered as well as the implications such change has for stratification and the narrative tradition. The remainder of the chapter will deal with social status and the factors affecting status determination.

The national trend of industrialization had definite implications for the development of Nahant specifically with respect to accessibility and increased year-round residence. Thus, improved transportation was the major aspect of industrialization to have a local impact. In the early 1900s, most Nahanters did not go to Lynn on any regular basis, and the peninsula remained quiet during the winter months. However,

as previously noted, by 1910 Nahant was easily accessible. Travel from Boston was easier than ever with a train connection in Lynn, trolleys running every few minutes, and steamers running every hour during the summer. Writing in 1932, Mason notes the importance of the trolley in population distribution.

> The introduction of electric traction immediately doubled the radius of feasible daily travel from urban centers and laid the basis for the tremendous growth in population and area which American cities have witnessed during the last 40 years (p.193).

In the early 1900s the trolley brought more and more excursionists to spend a summer's day by the Nahant seashore.

The advent of the automobile meant the decline of the street car business as well as a change in the popularity of Nahant as a resort. Mason notes that motor competition did not have much impact on the trolley business until 1915 but that by 1920 it had adversely affected the streetcar business (1932:7). The peninsula was rapidly losing the isolation which had attracted the Boston summer residents. Furthermore, with the automobile people were no longer tied to public transportation. One Nahanter discusses the affect the automobile had on the town.

> People on foot would sail across from Boston Harbor, later on they had cars...would go further, up in the mountains; everybody has a car so they're not confined to the hotels of Nahant...trying them all out. Changed the country--gave it a big push [Tape 4:2].

The Boston people began to move further along the North Shore which because of the auto had now become more readily accessible but which retained the isolation which Nahant had lost. As

more people began frequenting formerly remote areas, the resort era of large households, estates, and hotels began to fade.

In the early days of the automobile, only summer residents owned private motor vehicles in Nahant. Although local businesses had trucks, very few Nahanters had their own automobiles. Therefore, certain summer residents are remembered for the fancy touring cars they had in the early 1900s which were conspicuous in town.

Industrialization through the factories in Lynn as well as through improved transportation affected development in Nahant. As mentioned in chapter two, at the turn of the twentieth century Lynn led the country in shoe manufacturing. When the shoe industry declined in the twentieth century, General Electric's operation made up for the economic loss. Consequently, Cumbler feels that by 1950 General Electric dominated the city of Lynn in the same way the shoe factories had seventy-five years previously (1974:43). People were attracted to the Lynn area for work and to Nahant for their residence which due to improved transportation was easily accessible. Although there was a gradual decline in the number of Boston summer people in Nahant who employed local people, this was compensated for by employment opportunities in Lynn. With industrialization came increased mobility through better transportation which promoted urbanization, the second major factor of social change.

The national trend towards urbanization coupled with industrialization had a major affect on Nahant. The shift from rural to urban living occurred gradually as cities provided more and more work; however, people working in cities continued to maintain the concept of a rural ideal as discussed in the last chapter. This ideology combined with greater mobility through transportation brought about the rise of the suburb. Warner details the development of the suburban pattern around Boston noting that the street car enabled the middle class to move outside the cities.

> The streetcar suburb brought with it a whole set of new problems. Much of its success or failure centered around the attempt by a mass of people, each with but one small house and lot, to achieve what previously had been the pattern of life of a few rich families with two large houses and ample land (1962:8).

It is apparent that transportation was a major factor in the growth of Nahant.

By 1900, the rise of suburbs had taken place around Boston. In 1850 the city had a radius of two to three miles and a population of 200,000; however, by 1900 the metropolis had spread to a ten mile radius (which included Nahant) and had a population over one million (Warner 1962:153). Commenting on the Boston area in 1900, Warner notes that "a mass suburban metropolis like Boston had never existed before anywhere in the world" (1962:165). Nahant was obviously affected by this early suburban phenomenon as well as by economic and immigration trends of the Boston area. However, as a peninsula on

the periphery of that urban area, the community remained somewhat isolated from surrounding towns.

Bureaucratization promoted further aspects of social change in Nahant. Increased State and Federal intervention made it more difficult for towns to be self-sufficient as the state gradually took over services formerly supplied by the town. In general, this process contributed to a change in the small town atmosphere. Nahant is now incorporated with surrounding towns for its sewer, water, and trash disposal systems. The town no longer has its own court system as this function has been taken over by Lynn. Furthermore, since the early 1970s, the state of Massachusetts has assumed the distribution of Welfare Funds which had previously been handled by the town. Most small towns have gradually lost their autonomy, and although town meeting still continues in its traditional form and serves to appropriate annual funds, State and Federal agencies are now responsible for much of the major financing.

Besides national processes which affected local change there were many other factors which had a more specific impact. The military's takeover of land mentioned earlier had less effect on the town from a social viewpoint than might be expected. The Federal government was self-sufficient in its military operations and employed few local people in building the military instalations. Although there was increased activity in both the First and Second World Wars with numerous ships coming into the wharf, the Army and Navy did not really disrupt the

life style of the town, and relations between townspeople and the military were good.

The influx of several hundred troops during both wars did not change the basic social interaction of the town; however, the war periods are used as reference points by townspeople to demonstrate change in Nahant as a resort. In discussing social functions once held at Nahant, one long-time summer resident refers to the First World War as a significant point in time.

> But the day of real parties was all over by the time--after the First World War. I'm sure after the First World War...Nahant was no longer fashionable [Tape 8:1].

Besides accelerating social trends, the war periods changed the national economy. The following exerpt from a conversation with a Nahanter demonstrates how economic trends generally affected the summer residents:

> And, of course, after the War money gave out, and people [summer people] couldn't afford all that. (Was that the Second World War or the First?) It began in the First and then in the Second it was gone completely. And then the...people came back here to live the year-round, like your family [Tape 13:1].

By the Second World War, Nahant was completely finished as a summer resort even though a few families continued to summer on the peninsula.

Throughout the town's history local people and summer residents alike have been affected by the economic development of New England. In the period post 1900, the Crash of 1929 and the ensuing Depression had a pronounced effect on the town as

well as the entire country. Several Federal Works Progress Administration projects provided some work for local people during the 1930s. These projects included laying curbstone and cutting up the timbers from a barge that ran aground on the peninsula and distributing the resulting firewood around town.[1]

The summer people, many of whom had large stock investments, were severely affected by the Crash. With the economic base changing across the country fewer people could afford two substantial homes. One Nahant summer resident remembers many Bostonians reverting to owning a single house.

> A lot of my friends...they found it was too expensive to have a town house and [a second house]...'cause there was the Depression. So a lot of them out to the country to Dover and Medfield and Needham [towns surrounding Boston] and lived there the year-round [S. P. January 9, 1966].

At this time some estates were broken up, and some large summer houses on Big Nahant were offered for sale and bought by Nahanters. The Depression marked the end of the traditional Boston summer colony.

Another period of national as well as local significance was that of Prohibition. The eighteenth amendment ratified in 1920 and not repealed until 1933 prohibited the manufacture and sale of liquor (Morris 1970:4[illegible]).[2] With the large number of hotels in Nahant which depended to a great extent on the granting of their liquor licenses, one would expect that Prohibition would have had a disastrous effect on their business. However, Nahant, isolated as a peninsula yet close to Boston

Harbor, was in a strategic position for smuggling in Canadian liquor, and in homes people brewed their own. In spite of raids on various private enterprises, there was not much of a problem in obtaining liquor, and these efforts were not overly hindered by officials. One local resident explains his knowledge of official involvement.[3]

> There was a load [liquor] uh taken down at the wharf one night. And the Coast Guard... they were in on it and the local police. And they were using the patrol wagon to transport the liquor (oh, yeah) that they had confiscated at the wharf, over to the Coast Guard Station. So...of course, every time they went by the Police Station the...wagon would slow down and uh getting kind of heavy so they'd have to take a couple of sacks off in payment for police cooperation and... [chuckles]. And that's fact too! [Tape 5:1].

Prohibition was not responsible for the decline of the hotels, rather, they declined as part of the general social process concerning changes in patterns of recreation.

The decline of Nahant as a summer resort and the growth of the permanent population was gradual. Summer people moved along the North Shore from Nahant because as one summer resident contends there were no longer many Boston children of the same age in Nahant, and the various recreational clubs were too spread out.

> There was too many clubs here to belong to. For instance you had to belong to the Nahant Club for tennis. You had to belong to the Dory Club to sail. We had about twenty-one star boats all sailing in the late '20s. And you had to belong to the Golf Club. And people like that moved more to the [North] Shore where there were more...children of their children's ages, and you could do everything at one club for instance [S. P. January 9, 1966].

Change was due to external factors manifested in specific ways

in town, and the following statement reflects one informant's perception of gradual change in small towns.

> (Can you see any one thing that...was a major factor in changing the town?)
>
> No, I think it was just gradual. And I think a sign of the times. I think it was the same everywhere. New ideas came in, new people got into power [Tape 14:1].

Nahant was closely tied to social and economic changes in Boston which was the center of the New England region.

Nahant's development into a year-round community was inevitable, and although the change was gradual, the final phase of the peninsula as a summer resort lasted from about 1925 to 1930. The town was finished as a resort by World War II, in that local summer activities were no longer oriented to summer people, since the summer colony ceased to be a significant economic factor. With many long-time summer residents dying, the orientation of the town was changing in the late 1920s, and winterization of summer homes was not far away. The changing atmosphere of Nahant is discussed in an interview with a summer resident who explains the extensive remodeling of her large summer home to a manageable size after World War II.

> (What made you decide to re-do your house?)
>
> Oh, it was too big dear. Well, after the War, you see maids were too difficult...you couldn't get maids the way you used to. And then it got more expensive. And also we sort of in the back of our mind thought that somebody might want to live in it in the winter too [Tape 8:2].

As it became feasible to commute to Boston and more difficult

to maintain two substantial houses, Bostonians who themselves or whose family had summered in Nahant began to winterize summer houses and to live there all year-round.[4]

As more Boston people came to settle permanently in Nahant, their presence no longer necessitated any special recognition, and they became absorbed into normal town activities. There was no longer the social distance between themselves and townspeople which had promoted many of the narratives which will be discussed later in this paper, especially the personal experience stories related by tradesmen who worked for the summer people.

Many aspects of Nahant as a small town have disappeared because of an increase since World War II of a transient population representative of suburban living (see Dobriner 1958; cf. Whyte 1957). When winter travel across the peninsula to Lynn was difficult, local entertainment provided the primary social outlet. Minstrel shows continued into the early 1900s and are vividly remembered by some old-timers for the local color they included (see Toll 1974; Wittke 1930).[5] Moreover, school productions and local parades were and continue to be popular attractions. The town's annual parade has always been held on Memorial Day, previously known as Decoration Day, whereas many New England towns have their parade on the fourth of July.[6]

The amount of individual involvement in the community has changed over the years as the self-sufficient town shifted to a dormitory community for surrounding centers. The churches

were once the focal point of many social activities; however, church attendance has declined in Nahant. As in all towns, a number of social organizations have come and gone as peoples' interest and enthusiasm develops and fades. However, today there are still viable local organizations such as the Women's Club, the Garden Club, and the American Legion; more recently organized in the early 1970s are the Nahant Historical Society and the Nahant Arts Council. All these organizations provide people of similar interests with a social outlet as well as the opportunity to work for the good of the community.

Some significant aspects of small town life are retained in Nahant today, and paramount among these is the local general store as it demonstrates the concerns of people living in such a society. Although the stores and their location have changed over the years, the present Nahant Village Store serves as the meeting place for local men to exchange news and gossip. Here any news out of the ordinary is of interest and the store provides diversion and a social outlet (e.g., Bauman 1972; Faris 1972:186; West 1962[1945]:99-102).[7]

In terms of interaction Nahant is not small enough for everyone to know what everyone else is doing; however, it is small enough for certain groups of people in town to know what everyone else in that group is doing. Such groups generally depend on church affiliation, involvement with specific social organizations, and political involvement. Certain individuals such as mailmen also serve to circulate local news within the

town.

Important in understanding interaction in the town is the recognition of varying social status. Local status differentiation is contingent on factors of social change particularly the gradual change from a resort community to a year-round community. Throughout the history of the permanent population of the town there has been a definite class structure; however, that has been complicated by the summer residents' involvement in town activities during a small portion of the year. Along with a discussion of the elements used in evaluating one's status, consideration must be given to the factors affecting social stratification in the town.

Relative class distinctions are not specifically voiced by townspeople. Such distinctions become evident through various locally accepted prestige factors.[8] Kahl notes that "prestige grows out of specific evaluated activities" (1953:20); however, people do not always agree on the worth of various activities. Furthermore, socio-economic factors have traditionally been accepted as accounting for prestige differentiation within communities. Nevertheless, it is now evident that factors of kinship, geography, and group membership are also important as discussed in Yankee City:

> While occupation and wealth could and did contribute greatly to the rank-status of an individual, they were but two of many factors which decided a man's ranking in the whole community (Warner et al. 1963[1941-1959]:36).

Townspeople interviewed about the past stratification of

Nahant did not distinguish further breakdowns than the general categories of upper, middle, and lower classes with the middle class as the largest group. The upper class of the permanent population consisted of local businessmen whose occupations as contractors, store owners, etc. were marked by hard work. Their families were established in Nahant, and they belonged to the "proper" organizations. During the period of the 1920s and 30s which marked the end of the Boston summer colony, the local middle class consisted of carpenters, plumbers, and fishermen who, through their hard work but not necessarily high income, were nevertheless granted a certain prestige. The lower class consisted of unskilled workers who were often unemployed.

Continuing immigration of Irish and Italians had a pronounced effect on stratification in that it was continually evolving. Warner contends that approximately a generation was required for a newly arrived immigrant group to establish itself as a middle class population (1962:66). Both the Irish and Italians initially settled in the same area of town though at different times. However, they raised their status when they acquired the financial means to move from Irishtown to other sections of Nahant. This economic move ties in with the findings in Yankee City in which the authors demonstrated that geographical terms are used to describe a person's rank as well as to locate them in geographic space (Warner et al. 1963[1941-1959]:38). People living in Irishtown are generally seen as belonging to the lower class while people from East Point are

generally ranked in the upper class. The Irish and Italians who moved out of Irishtown raised their status by doing so.

In dealing with the importance of occupation in stratification, the work ethic must be taken into account in that whatever a man's occupation, he must demonstrate hard work. Doing one's job well, no matter how menial the job may be, is extremely important. The man who was lamplighter for most of his lifetime, although recognized as being somewhat simple-minded is remembered and respected for his determination in doing his job well. No matter what the weather, Jimmy Killilae always did his rounds lighting the gas lamps. Coupled with this idea of the importance of the work ethic is the concept of self-improvement. Striving towards self-improvement is important in how a person is judged by others (Vidich and Bensman 1958:50).

It is evident that occupation and income are not always the criteria on which status in determined. The local importance of kinship is demonstrated in that certain families, the Johnsons early on and the Wilsons more recently, have dominated town affairs and provided local leadership. The significance of family in determining one's status is demonstrated by Bensman and Rosenberg:

> Other institutions--men's societies, religious societies, war societies, priesthoods--offer closely fixed status positions to the individual. However, membership and status role are most frequently assigned on the basis of family and family position (1963:149).

Certain Nahant families had distinct positions of power and

prestige.

Examples of two specific families will serve to illustrate the achievement of status roles in the town as well as to demonstrate the importance of family position in ascribing status. The Wilson family is descended from J. T. Wilson who came to Nahant from Maine in the 1860s and who worked for the Tudors. He later formed an extremely successful building business which was in charge of much of the new construction along the North Shore of Massachusetts. Wilson's brother ran the local painting business which also contracted business outside of Nahant. The family was prominent in town politics with J. T. Wilson holding several local offices and serving as town moderator at sixty-eight town meetings (Wilson 19[illegible]:308-309). Because of this involvement he was the most powerful man in town at the turn of the twentieth century. The Wilson family business concentrating in the building of elaborate summer houses declined in the early 1900s as there were fewer requests for such specialized work. Today, even though the family business has long since disappeared, descendents of this family are recognized by local people as belonging to an old and important Nahant family. Furthermore, the external recognition of the quality of Wilson's building along the North Shore served to boost the family's prestige in Nahant.

The Roland family represents another example of status achievement as Thomas Roland established a commercial florist business in Nahant where he had worked as a private gardener in

the late 1800s. He extended his business to include greenhouses in Revere as well as those in Nahant. The growth of the enterprise demonstrates a typical rags-to-riches story as considerable wealth was acquired through the business (see Hodges 1964:4-5). The greenhouses brought outside recognition to Nahant, and the Rolands rose in status and respect. However, Thomas Roland's sons did not have the same interest in the florist business as their father, and the enterprise folded in the 1930s. Although the family's past contribution is locally recognized, the second generation's lack of interest in the family business and its consequent failure lower the status of the Rolands.[9]

In addition, the length of time a family has been in Nahant and whether or not an individual was born in town are significant factors in determining status. The old-timers of approximately twenty years ago insisted that a person who had not lived in Nahant all his life was not a real "townie". One Nahanter whose family moved to Nahant when he was less than a year old and who has subsequently lived in town for over seventy years was given a hard time by the old townies. He reflects on this argument: "The old-timers were hard on that...if you wasn't born in Nahant you were no good" [Tape 16:1]. As proportionately fewer and fewer people have lived in town all their life, this debate is not as important as it was a generation earlier. However, the longer an individual has lived in town and contributed to local activities, the higher his status.

A person's status in the community is clearly indicated through his membership in specific social clubs and his participation in church affairs.[10] The higher the status of certain clubs, the more difficult it is to attain membership. Consequently, newcomers to town are scrutinized to determine how they will fit in with local organizations. For example, a Delaware woman who married a local man in the 1930s was invited to join the Nahant Women's Club only after the club members decided that she was acceptable [Field Notes, August 14, 1975]. Such a process of local inspection continues to operate in the 1970s.

Community participation is a vital factor in determining status. In evaluating a person's local status, townspeople may overlook certain adverse character traits to ascribe a higher status than warranted by external factors depending on an individual's contribution to town activities. An outsider would consider the actions of a certain local married woman as scandalous; however, the woman's misconduct is disregarded locally because of her contribution to the church and town organizations as well as her husband's participation in town politics.

Misinterpretation of the ways of raising one's status occasionally results in inappropriate behavior. One example of such behavior involved the name plates on the Protestant church pews which gave the names of Boston summer people who sponsored the church in 1868. Some of these family names are represented by the descendents who have settled in town perman-

ently. A woman who moved to town in the early 1950s thought the name plates stood for current members of the congregation so she had a facsimile plaque made up with her family's name. She did not realize that the prestige attached to having a pew in one's name could not be self-initiated.

Certain seasonal modifications in local stratification occurred throughout the town's history because of the annual influx of the summer residents. Craftsmen, who were independent in the winter, in the summer had to assume a role of serving the summer people. The Boston people often voted in Nahant and took an active role in town government. A prime example of this involvement was Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, a summer resident who was moderator from the early 1900s to 1919. The upper class of Boston society who visited Nahant on a seasonal basis had to be incorporated into the local ranking system. Furthermore, the summer residents brought with them their transferred households consisting of maids, butlers, and coachmen which provided another aspect of a lower class which added a further dimension to the local summer stratification.

When Boston summer people or descendents of summer people settled permanently in Nahant, further modifications in the local stratification system were necessary as social interaction was no longer only on a seasonal basis. The Bostonians who were mostly professional people: businessmen, bankers, doctors, lawyers, and professors were ascribed a higher status than most local people in terms of occupation. However, as Faught notes in his

study of the resort community of Falmouth, Massachusetts, the fact that someone is socially or financially prominent does not necessarily mean he will be accepted by local people (1945: 50). The Boston people's high status was contingent on their participating in the betterment of Nahant even though their businesses were in Boston.[11]

Since World War II the population of the town has doubled (see Appendix B), and a transient population has developed. As a suburb Nahant has attracted more white collar workers and professional people who can afford the high property values.[12] In keeping with the national trend of the breakdown of social classes, distinctions between classes in Nahant are no longer clear (cf. Dobriner 1963:29-60). Nelson, Ramsey, and Vermer discuss this national development.

> The old categories of 'upper' and 'lower' classes and the later ones of 'upper', 'middle', and 'lower' are largely broken up, with a status continuum now characteristic of most American communities (1960:398).

Such a status continuum is evident in Nahant, and people in town are not viewed in terms of an upper, middle, or lower class but as having a higher or lower status than certain other individuals.

Finally, consideration should be given to the appearance in the late 1960s of Boston underworld figures in Nahant to determine how these individuals relate to local social stratification. People with alledged Mafia connections are generally not recognized by local people as being of any worth to the community; but, townspeople realize the importance of staying on their good

side. Even so, local people were infuriated over the preferential treatment from the town's department of Public Works of one man involved in underworld operations in Boston. Aside from their real estate holdings these people do not participate at all in town affairs and do not disrupt social interaction in the town. They are gossiped about, but there is a lack of recognition of their status so they can only be classified as outcasts. Consequently, when the wife of one man prominent in the Boston Mafia operation goes to the local grocery store, no one talks to her. Upon hearing that an underworld figure had bought a house near where liquor was smuggled in during Prohibition, one Nahanter responded: "That's just the place for him" [Tape 13:2].

Although processes such as industrialization, urbanization, and bureaucratization have contributed to major social changes in the town, a suburban life style with "keep up with the Jones!" mentality has not developed. Given its population and area, Nahant is still a small town for Massachusetts, and these factors contributed to the continuation of small town activities and a personal atmosphere. The status continuum of the community which was similar to national trends was incorporated in the transition from summer to permanent residence. The local narrative tradition dealing with the summer residents was affected by this change from seasonal to year-round residence and was contingent on the relationship between the summer residents and townspeople. This relationship is the subject of the following chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

[1] Not all the W. P. A. projects were essential to the town as the money spent putting in curbstones might have been better spent, as one Nahanter points out, in building a new Post Office. Furthermore, men from out of town were hired in at least one instance to work on these projects. Extra men were hired in 1938 to finish laying the curbstone near the Boston Church where F. D. Roosevelt's youngest son married a girl whose family summered at Nahant.

[2] There had been numerous periods of county and state imposed prohibitions throughout the nineteenth century. Their enforcement in Nahant is evidenced by many newspaper accounts of raids on local establishments (e.g., Lynn News July 23, 1852; Lynn Reporter July 7, 1869).

[3] Liquor was transported in pint bottles in burlap sacks.

[4] By 1950 most available land in Nahant had been built on, and in 1953 there were one thousand dwellings compared with sixty-eight in 1853 (Deveney 1953:n.pag.).

[5] An example of the local color incorporated into these shows is the following anecdote once told by the owner of the old village store and recalled by a local resident. [Essential to an appreciation of the following story is the knowldge that opposite Forty Steps Beach is a granite house once owned by the Inches family. This fact was common knowledge to all Nahanters]. "Tommy Kane who was a carpenter went down to Forty Steps [beach] and sat down on the benches. He swallowed a two foot ruler and went and died by Inches [laughter]" [Tape 9:1].

[6] Parades highlighted by floats constructed by local organizations were always part of the various anniversary celebrations of the town. Floats once again formed a prominent part of the 1976 Memorial Day parade due to renewed interest in the history of the town and the U. S. Bicentennial.

[7] The meeting place for local women which parallels the function of the Village Store for men is the local beauty parlor. Going to the hairdresser once a week generally on the same day and time, local women keep informed of the latest gossip in town.

[8] Information about social status was obtained through indirect questioning of numerous individuals concerning community involvement and family position. Data on status was revealed as townspeople ranked individuals in reference to their perception of their own and other individuals' positions in town.

[9] The Roland family moved out of town in the early 1960s.

[10] Religious affiliation whether Protestant or Catholic is not considered by local people as a primary factor in determining status.

[11] Many of the Boston people settled on East Point and winterized summer houses. At the easterly end of the peninsula they are spatially distant from the rest of the town.

[12] For an indication of people's occupations and where they live in town see the Nahant Street Lists (1961-1976) available in the town hall and which list by street name and number the age, occupation, and previous address of all registered voters.

V

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SUMMER RESIDENTS AND TOWNSPEOPLE

As pointed out earlier there were three basic groups of summer people at Nahant during any one summer season: the "trippers", the hotel people, and the summer residents. This chapter like the rest of the study concentrates on the relationship in the early 1900s between two socially and economically distinct groups: the people who rented or owned summer houses and the local residents. The Boston group from socially prominent families had the greatest impact on the town's economic base and general development and was, as well, the most integrated of the three groups of seasonal visitors. Local residents got to know the Boston people who returned to Nahant year after year for a number of weeks, and the continuing interaction was very important to the townspeople. The social and business contacts between townspeople and summer residents will be discussed to determine the impact the Boston summer people had on the town. Individual and collective misunderstandings between the two groups will also be considered. The organizations and clubs of the two distinct groups and the degree of participation by the summer people in town affairs will be considered. Because of their different life style, the summer people provided a diversion for the local people and were in the public eye. Townspeople got to know the personalities of

summer residents, and stories developed out of various forms of interaction.

Nahant's primary industry in the 1800s and early 1900s was the resort industry.[1] The summer people were in town for their leisure, and the townspeople depended on this leisure group for much of their livelihood. Although there was plenty of work in the summer, the winters were slow, as an old-timer explains.

> Most of your men in Nahant, they were gardeners on the estates up here [East Point] so in the winter there was nothing, nothing at all. A few of them hung on, I guess they kept...like James' and Lodges' they kept a few. But then that ended so they just had caretakers, one man [Tape 15:1].

In spite of the fact that various repairs and rennovations to summer homes were done by local people during the winter, the industry was primarily seasonal.

Faught notes that with the smaller summer holdings of the 1920s and '30s local labor was used less than previously (1945: 109). There was external competition for the summer business in Nahant as many of the stores were operated only during the summer and were run by outside interests. These branch stores often had their main establishment in Boston. A Nahanter discusses how such stores benefited from the summer business.

> White and Johnson had a market down on Summer Street where there's a house now--mostly meat. But he had a market in Boston too. And of course the same people that traded with him in Boston, traded with him when they came here in the summer. They did a whale of a business! [Tape 13:2].

Furthermore, while the summer colony prospered, most summer

families brought their own servants, coachmen (later chauffeurs), and sometimes gardeners. Although not part of the transferred household "choremen" often came down from Boston for the summer to do odd jobs for summer people such as shaking down the fire, carrying coal, and sweeping the sidewalk.[2]

The necessary upkeep of the summer houses gave work to local carpenters, painters, plumbers, electricians, caretakers, gardeners, and cleaning women. Even though everyone in town was not employed in the resort industry, most local employment was seasonally affected. Faught, writing in 1945, notes that in Falmouth, Massachusetts "there is not a job in the community, from that of a minister of the gospel to the work of a farm-hand, whose regular employment and incomes are not seasonally affected" (1945:110). All income in Nahant was either directly or indirectly affected on a seasonal basis. The interdependence between the summer and permanent populations is evident, since the local craftsmen and tradesmen depended on the summer trade, and the summer people in turn depended on local people to maintain and protect their property all year-round. When a summer house was sold the local men who worked for the previous tenants were retained by the new owners. One long time summer resident in discussing the work done to her summer house states that there was no change in tradesmen after purchasing the house: "Whoever I had to do these things [maintenance]... were the people that had always done it" [Tape 6:2]. Consequently, houses that changed hands did not disrupt the local

pattern of employment.

From a business point of view it was necessary for townspeople to make sure that Boston people found summering in Nahant comfortable enough to want to return year after year. Speaking of her experience in the 1920s and '30s, one summer resident found Nahant an easy place to keep house as she could depend on local people to look after her property and could do all her shopping by telephone [Tape 8:2]. Certain summer residents were very demanding in their dealings with tradesmen; however, tradesmen could not afford to antagonize their clients no matter how difficult these people were.

Since they depended on the summer trade, local men made sure that establishments in town, especially the numerous operations in the Bass Point area, employed only local tradesmen for property repairs and services. One Nahanter remembers an incident resulting from the hiring of a Lynn company in the Bass Point section.

> I know my grandfather told me a story one time. He and his brother were in the...grocery business. And uh ____ [names great uncle] was kind of uh he could be uh sort of a wild man! So he's over in Bass Point one day, and there's a barrel of flour come off a wagon from an outfit in Lynn, and he happened to see it. So of course he went into Mr. Brann, Gene Brann's office and said 'I saw a barrel of flour go into your kitchen out back'. 'Yeah'... 'If you got any flour to buy, you buy it from me! See? 'You don't buy it from somebody over in Lynn because they don't vote over here' [Tape 9:1].

Obviously local men did not appreciate any outside competition.

The greater number of help the summer people brought with them from Boston meant that much less work for local residents.

Nevertheless, townspeople did benefit from the transferred households. The maids were always housed in the summer house, but choremen, gardeners, and coachmen often rented rooms around town. This fact is demonstrated by a Nahanter in explaining that coachmen came down with families from Boston: "And they'd [summer people] used to get...a place for the coachmen to live. People, townspeople, you know, that had an apartment would rent them always" [Tape 13:1]. Any new house was built with an extra room or two to be rented out to the summer help.

A discussion of the business transactions between the summer people and Nahanters will demonstrate certain aspects of the relationship between the two distinct groups. While Nahant was a fashionable resort, there was not much interaction between the summer and local people outside of business transactions as their social and economic differences precluded much mixing. Faught notes the same occurrence in Falmouth in that "except for commercial intercourse, relatively little opportunity arises for the two groups, residents and nonresidents, to get acquainted" (1945:2). This restriction to business contacts is aptly expressed by a long-time summer resident in the following conversation:

> (How much contact did the summer people have with the townspeople? Was there much contact?)
>
> I would say there wasn't...except for the people that worked for you, you see, they were your friends. The people that worked...your gardener or your lady who came into care...look after the house when...and things. They were your friends. But as far as knowing people in the village, I would say not [Tape 6:2].

In Nahant in the early 1900s transactions with tradesmen

were generally carried out directly by the summer home owners rather than through the servants. Therefore, over the years a certain rapport was established between the tradesmen and their employers. The increasingly relaxed atmosphere in the town along with a de-emphasis of class distinctions which was occurring gradually in the United States made it possible for a Nahant fisherman to visit Henry Cabot Lodge, a prominent summer resident of Nahant, at his home in Washington, D. C. around the turn of the century [Tape 3:1].

In general the local tradesman was independent as he was trusted by summer people to take care of the upkeep of the house and grounds without waiting for orders. There seems to have been a good understanding between craftsman and client which promoted gratitude and loyalty between the groups and which may have alleviated some of the friction arising from the social distinctions. A local plumber speaking of a particular summer house in the 1940s describes the tradesman's former independence: "I'd go down, do whatever I thought was necessary, you know, no orders. Of course, those days are gone now" [Tape 2:1]. Trusting their caretaker to look after their summer houses, the Boston people did not go to Nahant to check their houses even after severe winter storms. They knew that whatever damage was incurred would be repaired automatically.

There were, of course, certain individual and collective misunderstandings between the two groups. An old-time Nahanter

expresses the degree of friction present in the town during the first decades of the twentieth century.

> On the whole, I mean, they got along very well but there was a lot of friction. Maybe it's because of the two different classes that came here and... I don't know that I can cite any but...sometimes we felt that they were more priviledged. And...of course they owned a great deal--part of the town. And people who lived here...gave them services [Tape 3:1].

The summer residents owned the most attractive shore-front property in the town and did not want people trespassing on their land. Local people on the other hand wanted to maintain a public right of way all along the shore of the peninsula so that townspeople could enjoy the natural features of the location. One woman reminisces about the function of the Village Improvement Society in the early 1900s:

> Well they used to look through the town. For one thing they appointed a committee of three women to see...from the different women's clubs--the Women's Club and the Garden Club--to see that the rights of way were open to the seashore and not taken in by the summer residents. There should always be a path even if they owned the land...a path to go through to the Spouting Horn and onto...up to James' estate [East Point]. And a right of way should always be open. They tried to enforce it but didn't always get their way [F. W. February 28, 1965].[3]

This right of way issue promoted friction between the two groups whose priorities did not coincide.

There were numerous instances of misunderstandings and conflict between individuals of the summer and winter populations. For instance, in the early 1900s a summer resident brought a law suit against a local fisherman for operating his fishing boat in the early morning without a muffler [Tape 3:1].[4]

Furthermore, certain summer people did not fully understand or appreciate the time-consuming nature of some of the work in the big old summer houses. For example, before safety valves were invented there was a tremendous amount of piping for the plumbing system in each house which included tanks in the attic, underground cisterns, and in at least one case underground lawn plumbing [Tape 3:2]. Thus, closing such houses in the autumn and ensuring that all the water was out of the pipes was a very time-consuming process.

The collection of payment was no problem as the summer colony was made up of wealthy people who could afford the luxury and upkeep of a large summer home. A woman whose father worked for J T. Wilson notes that there was no arguing over prices:

> I never heard any arguing over prices. I mean you were never...you did the job. That was it. And when the...now if somebody wanted a...a new bathroom or something, well, they had it. And he never asked how much it was going to cost or anything. And eventually...we got along well [Tape 13:1].

Business transactions may not have been as blasé as this statement implies, but there does not seem to have been much feeling that one group was trying to take advantage of the other as far as billing and payment was concerned. However, summer people who were close with their money proved to be something of an enigma to Nahanters as townspeople knew that as a group summer people were wealthy. One local resident remembers transactions with a particular summer person who was known to have inherited a fortune from her father.

> She was...one of the richest single women in the state of Massachusetts. And we used to get a kick out of it when she'd say...oh, she says 'I want you to do the plumbing, I want you to fix this washbowl or I want you to put this in.' But I want you to be very careful of the price because we haven't had any income since Papa died' [laughs]. [Tape 4:1].

Townspeople did not expect the Boston residents to be so careful with their money as they assumed these Boston people could afford any upkeep on their houses no matter what the price. Local people would not have been aware that certain summer people were living on fixed annual incomes from trust funds.

Business transactions were not informal, but they generally ran smoothly. Tradesmen employed in the summer houses became very aware of the character of the people for whom they worked. This knowledge of a client's character is explained by one Nahanter: "As a plumber we get to know their character, what kind of business people they are, whether they're understanding" [Tape 4:1]. Along with the tradesmen who were employed directly by summer people, townspeople, in general, were conscious of how summer people ran their houses; consequently, one summer person is locally remembered for refusing to have the maids' bathroom fixed when it was not working saying that the maids could go bathe in the ocean [Tape 17:1]. Another summer resident is remembered for her anger following the discovery that one of her sheets was used to wrap the corpse of her cook who had burned to death while singeing a chicken [Tape 9:2]. Obviously certain summer residents were easier to get along with than others, and their personality traits influenced

the way they are remembered in Nahant today.

The social distinctions between the summer and permanent residents were apparent through their separate clubs and organizations. The summer people filled their time with leisure activities such as sailing, golf, and tennis. They congregated around clubs whose membership consisted solely of other summer people of similar backgrounds and with similar interests. The separation between this group and local people is expressed by a Nahanter commenting on life in the early twentieth century:

> Well the town was very formal. I mean you can... I mean, with a social high society living here. So that we lived a different life entirely. Our contacts were different, our churches...you know was a local village church [Tape 4:1].

The summer people at Nahant even had their own Protestant church which was built before townspeople had established their church in 1851. Undoubtedly, having two socially and spatially distinct Protestant churches furthered the separation and potential misunderstanding between the two groups if only because it resulted in less contact between the Boston people and the Nahanters. It was not until 1958 when the two congregations of the Protestant churches merged completely that the separation of the two groups finally ended.

The Nahant Club[5], the domain of summer residents, was representative of the social distinctions between the Boston people and local residents. The club maintained the tennis courts and golf course and had rooms which were rented for the

season generally by older Boston men. The clubhouse was the site of many lively parties which were attended by summer people from all along the North Shore. The clientele of the Nahant Club consisted of prominent Bostonians, and the economic discrepancy between Nahanters and this group was great enough for one Nahanter to facetiously state, "There was a millionaire in every room [of the Nahant Club]" [S. P. May 16, 1965].

Although the townies were not allowed to use any of the facilities of the Nahant Club, they did enjoy the Saturday afternoon band concerts held on club property. While discussing these concerts, a local resident notes the acceptance of the social distinctions:

> (Were townspeople ever included in any of the activities of the Nahant Club?)
>
> No, a line right...we weren't allowed to even step foot on the Nahant Club...They used to have lovely band concerts. We used to be on the, on the sidewalk. We weren't allowed to step foot in there, anything going on the Nahant Club. The line was drawn when we were kids. And that's all there was to it. Nobody thought about it, just accepted it. Nobody squawked. Of course as I say, our money, our livelihood depended on those people [Tape 13:1].

Any resentment felt by one group towards the other was generally not verbalized, and with the passage of time and the merging of the groups, it has been mostly forgotten.

The local social, religious, and political organizations were most active during the winter when the townspeople in a sense had their vacation time as the town was quiet. However, these local clubs often took advantage of the presence of the

summer people. For instance, the Ladies' Aid Society of the Independent Methodist Church always held their fair in the summer as one local woman recounts:

> Our Ladies'Aid fair that they used to give would be always a three day performance with the fair. And we'd always have it at the heighth of the season when the summer people were here because they always gave us good checks [F. W. February 28, 1965].

Such indirect influence of these summer people in the early 1900s carried over to the lives of most local people.

What fraternizing there was between the two groups took place at the town wharf. Here the Dory Club served as the summer residents' yacht club, and local boys found work maintaining the boats of the summer people.

> Summers of course they [boys] worked for the summer people. Everybody, all the...wealthy people had boats. And a lot of them [boys] worked for them. There was plenty of work in the summer.[6] They knew, they knew where to get it [Tape 13:2].

Most of the pleasure sailing in Nahant was done by Boston people while the local men who frequented the wharf were generally fishermen. The sailboat races for the children of the summer residents and local people were also separate with the summer residents holding races twice a week. The townies held their informal races for which local youngsters known as "wharf rats" would borrow the star boats of some of the summer children.[7] Many summer residents had fairly large sailboats, and townspeople remember a minister arriving in his big yacht to preach at the Boston Church. A summer resident recalling the same incident concedes that the minister came in his sailboat

but that it was by no means a large yacht [S. P. January 9, 1966]. Certain possessions taken more or less for granted by the summer people were luxuries to townspeople. There were obvious differences between the two groups based on the perception of material wealth.

Although townspeople and summer residents often protected their own separate interests, they worked together on occasion towards a common goal. An early example of summer resident support of the efforts of townspeople to build a church is demonstrated in a circular written in 1850 by two summer people.[8] The circular discusses the importance of the local people to the summer residents in terms of protection of property and recommends that other summer visitors assist townspeople.

> It may be asked whether those who lock up their houses and cottages--coming not again to them until the warm season returns, and the winter storms have blown over--are not somewhat indebted to the permanent residents for the safety and security of their dwellings, 2/3 or 3/4 of the year, when their owners are absent. They leave their houses, and property in them, as the cold comes on, and find them safe on their return [Tudor and Curtis].

The summer people realized the need for a good relationship with townspeople and were willing to help out local people especially in religious endeavors.

The degree of friction between the summer people and the local residents is difficult to reconstruct as such conflict is forgotten with time. Concerning the problem of all the vacant houses in town during the winter, townspeople feel there was little trouble with vandalism except for childish

mischief. Nahant children certainly made use of the open space in town when the summer people left, and one Nahanter recollects her experience:

> The summer people, the Big Bugs, as we called 'em or the natives. And we were the natives. And most of them left around Labor Day and then the town was ours. We played in all the...yards. I knew every house [Tape 13:1].

Children were, of course, curious about vacant property, and Faught contends that such curiousity accounted for many of the reports of "breaking and entering" each winter in Falmouth. He also notes that older juveniles looking for liquor and saleable items are sometimes involved in break-ins (1945:154). The Nahant Police Records which date from 1910 demonstrate that vandalism on summer property was fairly petty although there are numerous reports of children stealing vegetables and breaking windows. Thefts from houses included small items as shown in the report of a dress, night shirt, napkin ring and other small objects taken from a summer cottage (Nahant Police Records September 28, 1910:n.pag.). The 1925 police officer's report of a cottage entered and ransacked in Little Nahant gives evidence of local children's involvement in break-ins: "I believe it is the work of youngsters, as there was a lot of valuable property left in the house" (Nahant Police Records January 17:n.pag.).

On occasion larger items such as furniture were stolen from the summer houses and later sold.[9] One summer resident recalls that things did disappear from her summer house and

feels that more things were probably taken than noticed. She contends that local people would not think the smaller objects would be missed and that summer people could afford to replace whatever was taken anyway [Field Notes August 8, 1975]. Obviously, such incidents did not promote good feelings between the summer and year-round residents. Furthermore, there were reports of strangers living in some of the summer houses during the winter months[10], and although the people who made themselves at home in summer peoples' cottages were not usually Nahanters, such incidents reflected on the local surveillance of vacant property. Vandalism in Nahant was not a major concern in the first few decades of the twentieth century considering the large number of vacant houses and the nature of their contents. Nevertheless, such abuse of property probably promoted friction and misunderstanding between the summer people and the local residents.

In spite of misunderstandings between the summer and permanent populations, various summer people were willing to use their often considerable influence to help townspeople start careers. Boys who caddied for summer residents had an advantage in this respect if they showed promise. One man now in his seventies expresses his previous experience with summer residents.

> (You mentioned that you caddied for some of the summer people. Did many boys caddie for the...)
>
> Oh yeah there was a lot. A lot of 'em went on too because...but they [summer people] got them jobs afterwards...[ennumerates local boys who got jobs in this

> way]...But they'd help you out. All you had to do was ask. Of course, I didn't need anything so I didn't ask. I didn't bother. I didn't want to go to Washington anyway [Tape 16:2].[11]

Some boys found employment with Boston firms or were helped through college. As Faught also notes in Falmouth, the social aspirations of some young people in Nahant were modified and changed due to their contact with the summer people (1945:151), while others did not aspire to careers outside the town.

Summer residents' participation in town activities varied a great deal. One active summer person was a member of the lifesaving crew as well as a call fireman. Another instance of summer people with an interest in the town involved the two Howe sisters who distributed flower and vegetable seeds to grammar school children in the spring and later in the summer gave out awards for the best garden [Field Notes June 12, 1975].

The primary involvement of the summer people occurred at the annual town meeting. Since many of the summer houses were open for at least six months of the year, many summer people were listed as legal residents and voted in Nahant. These Boston people had sizeable tax interests in the town and often showed up at the April town meeting to protect that interest. Furthermore, many summer residents held town offices, an outstanding example being Senator Henry Cabot Lodge who was town moderator for many years. One Nahanter recalls how town meeting was run when Lodge was moderator:

> He'd [H. C. Lodge] get up and he'd practically tell them what was what, and that's the way they voted. But your town was in two factions. To the right was

> the Boston people. And this side [laughs] was the townspeople. And I think all your Boston people was on the Advisory Board them days [laughs]. So things were pretty well taken care of [Tape 15:2].

Since certain summer people held positions of power in town, they could take action on their interest in local affairs. Faught points out that in resort communities frictions often develop between resident and non-resident over highways, zoning, and schools since non-residents have no voice in local government and expenditures (1945:1). However, this was less of a problem as many summer people voted in Nahant, and the two factions solved their differences at town meeting.

On occasion prior to town meeting the two groups did get together on specific issues. For example, in the 1950s such a joint operation succeeded in a petition to rezone East Point, the traditional summer section, into a larger residential area. The Boston people, many of whom had by then settled in Nahant permanently, solicited well-known townspeople to support their case, and the petition won easily [Tape 4:1]. There remain today distinct groups in Nahant with particular interests.[12] However, such interest groups are now generally related to the development of specific locations in the town rather than to strict social distinctions.

This chapter has outlined certain aspects of friction and resentment in the relationship between the Boston summer people and the townspeople. This conflict is typical of most resort towns in which a temporary foreign element establishes itself on a seasonal basis. Nahanters who depended on the summer

business welcomed the annual return of the summer people. It is evident, however, that the resort industry generates various economic and sociological problems. Even so, in Nahant the relationship between the two factions also promoted gratitude on the part of the summer people and loyalty on the part of the residents. As noted in chapter four, today the town is much more socially diversified than it was in the final phase of the resort era in the 1920s. As the town has shifted to a year-round community and has lost its isolation, a group other than the Boston summer people has become the object of local people's complaints. Today, Nahanters resent the daily summer influx of out-of-towners causing traffic jams on the causeway and seeking recreation in Nahant where there are no facilities for non-residents.

The importance of the relationship between the summer people and the townies cited in this chapter is based on the fact that summer residents were better known to Nahanters than Nahanters were to summer people. This difference in awareness results from the fact that most summer residents, unless involved in town affairs, only came in contact with specific tradesmen; whereas, the lives of all Nahanters revolved around the summer business and the people who provided that business. Therefore, as a socially distinct group set apart from the townies, the summer people were in the public eye. Because of their wealth and social position many summer people could afford to be particular in the running of their households and

eccentric in their behavior. Townspeople, through their observation of and interaction with the summer people, were well aware of the character and personalities of these people. These Boston people are remembered in narratives which grew out of the relationship between the two groups and which will be analyzed in the following chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

[1] In reconstructing the summer resort era of Nahant one discovers as did Faught that although the resort industry at Nahant was very important, it was not recognized as such. In other words Nahanters realized that the coming of the summer people meant work but did not recognize this work as a specialized industry (1945:127).

[2] As well as outsiders, local men and boys were employed by the summer residents as choremen.

[3] Part of this path traversing private property on the north side of the peninsula remains open to the public in the 1970s.

[4] There were other complaints registered by various summer residents about the noise of fishing boats in the early morning which disturbed people's sleep (see Nahant Police Records, May 22 and June 24, 1911).

[5] The Nahant Club formed in 1889 took over Frederic Tudor's property on Nahant Road. His stone summer cottage [Figure 17] served as the central part of the clubhouse until 1936.

[6] Enterprising young boys also found employment with the summer population as choreboys and caddies and sold wild mushrooms which they picked around town.

[7] The boys of the two groups mixed more than the girls as the summer girls who were cared for by nurses or governesses led fairly isolated lives at Nahant.

[8] The summer residents had already established their own church by 1850.

[9] The summer homes were left completely furnished throughout the winter. Although such things as silver services would be placed in bank storage, there was a good deal of valuable material left. In certain houses inventory was taken of all household objects each spring and fall so if even a small item was missing it would be noticed.

[10] One story is told of a man who lived in an East Point summer house one winter surviving by eating mussels he collected from the beach [Tape 2:1].

[11] The mention of Washington, D. C. refers to various Boston summer people who were based in Washington either as diplomats or politicians and illustrates the prominent summer people in town.

[12] For all its acclaim as being a pure form of democracy town meeting does not always live up to its reputation as Burns and Peltason note:

> The New England town has often been pointed to as the one place in the United States where no political bosses exist. In fact, however, a recognized group of town leaders often provides leadership. Politics is inevitable--even at a town meeting. This is not to disparage the New England town but to recognize that under conditions of freedom and diversity, groups will be formed and leaders will emerge (1952:769).

There has been the problem in Nahant of the meeting of various factions before the actual town meeting to decide how they would vote on particular issues.

VI

LOCAL NARRATIVE TRADITION CONCERNING THE SUMMER RESIDENTS

This chapter discusses and analyzes narratives told by one group, the Nahanters, about another group, the Boston summer people. Because of their pronounced individuality and eccentric behavior, specific summer residents are described by townspeople through personal experience narratives and anecdotes. As referred to in this study, the personal experience narrative encompasses first hand accounts of experience of the narrator as well as those personal experiences of his family group. Personal experience narratives serve to demonstrate the relationship between the summer leisure group and the townspeople who worked for this group. The narratives express the townspeople's perception of the relationship between two distinct groups, and although contacts were primarily on a business level, the townspeople knew a good deal about the personal lives of the summer people. It is fair to assume that the summer residents had no idea they would be remembered by local people in the way they are, and since the Boston summer colony had ended by World War II, most of the stories told are about people who have long since died.

Initially stories related by both summer people and townspeople about various eccentric and hard to please summer residents will be presented. The functions of these stories as

told by one class about another social class will be analyzed. The remainder of the discussion deals with Charlie Gallery, a local plumber and recognized storyteller. Biographical information on him is given which will serve to show what growing up in a resort community in the early 1900s was like, and analysis of his repertoire and performance will be presented. In the reconstruction of a social period of importance to a community Hymes' distinction between knowing tradition and presenting this tradition becomes apparent (1975:18). Many local people are aware of anecdotes about the old summer residents; they know the stories. However, for various reasons, only one local resident knows how to perform those stories. Charlie Gallery, acknowledged historian and storyteller, includes in his repertoire incidents based on his dealings with the summer residents.

Narratives told by one group about another group demonstrate both esoteric and exoteric factors: esoteric in that only Nahanters know the stories and exoteric in that the Boston people were not aware that such stories were told about them. Jansen comments on folklore material by one group about another group:

> If one is concerned with the fact that only one group knows this folklore, it is to that extent esoteric. If one is concerned with the fact that this folklore is about a group and certainly not accepted by that group, perhaps not even known to that group, it is in that connection exoteric (1965:48).

In addition, Jansen notes three qualities which subject a group to the esoteric-exoteric factor in folklore: isolation, pos-

session of peculiar training or knowledge, and lastly when one group is perceived by another as being particularly admirable or awesome (1965:49-50). Summer residents were isolated as a separate social class as well as geographically on East Point, they were well educated but possessed certain peculiar character traits, and they were admired and held in awe by the Nahanters. Even though Nahanters were in awe of the very different life style of the Boston people, the local people occasionally resented these Bostonians because of their wealth.

Some eccentric summer residents approach the status of local characters. Other summer people are recognized by both townspeople and summer people as just being demanding and hard to please. Charlotte Lowell recollects an incident with another summer person who in the 1930s was noted for buying and subsequently tearing down buildings on East Point.

> Grandma Lowell and he shared the barn--he tore it down, too bad, it was a nice barn, and put up a garage. And that was a kind of a tempest in a teapot because he put up a garage that was too small for Grandma's car to be put in at night! And he was rather a difficult man so nothing was done [Tape 8:2].

Summer people as well as townspeople had to contend with aberrant personalities among the summer colony. Furthermore, the same man who tore down the barn is remembered by local people for having washed off all the gardens and shrubbery from his shore front property and offering to do the same for the summer resident on the promontory facing his own [Tape 1:2]. Obviously such actions were extreme and not representative of the summer colony as a whole; however, it is the unusual incidents which

are most frequently remembered.

Disagreements occurred between summer residents and occasionally resulted in unusual conduct. The results of an argument between two Boston men are remembered by a summer person.

> And Mr. Bangs and Mr. James had a terrific altercation, I don't remember what about. But Mr. James put up a wall so close to Mr. Bang's [house] that he couldn't open and shut the blinds on his windows! [Tape 8:2].

As the preceeding anecdotes demonstrate, summer people of wealth and high social standing could afford to be obstinate and impulsive and were recognized as such by fellow summer residents and townspeople alike.

Stories related by townspeople are based on interaction with the summer people through business rather than social contacts. Since the summer people as a group influenced the town fifty years ago, many people recall the stories their fathers told apropos their experiences working for the summer group. A local man recalls an incident his grandfather related which took place in the late 1800s when he was in charge of Frederic Tudor's sailboat. During the resort era of Nahant it was common for prominent outsiders to visit summer residents.

> So in one occasion he [boatman] was uh at the wharf and Frederic Tudor's daughter came down with a... Russian Count I believe it was. And uh she said 'We'd like to go for a sail' And he said 'Well, it's breezing up' He said 'I think we're going to have a squall and I wouldn't advise we go out now' He said 'Perhaps tomorrow morning'. [clears throat]. And the uh Russian Count said uh 'I don't think that the American sailors are as brave as they are in Russia!' [laughs] and he [boatman] said uh 'Well, I'll tell ya' he says.

> 'I can stay afloat as long as you can. And I'll take you. Alone!' [laughs]. So I guess he [count] decided not to [laughs] [Tape 3:1].

Nahanters would not sacrifice their pride under any circumstances, and this story is related to the tradition of blason populaire as it serves to demonstrate the competence and self-assurance of the local man in comparison to a socially prominent outsider.

It was Tudor who had ordered the carpenter to shingle a shed upside down [see p. 66]. His boatman experienced Tudor's eccentricity in a similar manner as the grandson of the local man relates:

> My grandfather, he'd tell a story that Tudor wanted my grandfather to plant a tree upside down. He [grandfather] said 'It will never grow' 'Well, you know that, I don't. So go ahead and plant it upside down'...It was a characteristic of his [Tudor's] nature, planting the tree upside down [S. P. May 16, 1965].

Tudor was testing the man to determine if he would obey his orders; however, such stories demonstrate personality types which would readily provide subject matter for narratives.

Nahanters did not relate to the summer residents as the important men of business or the women of social importance they were in Boston, but rather as a leisure class exhibiting very human characteristics. The summer people did not particularly care what local people thought of them as they were in a different social class. Local people saw individual summer people when they were angry and swearing and in various stages of inebriation. One Nahanter who caddied for the summer residents on the golf course feels that the only reason the men played golf

was to vent their frustration.

> I think the only reason they [summer people] all played golf was so they could get it out of their system. They used to swear like troopers! (Oh, really) Yeah, and I suppose after golf game was over they were... you know...just didn't swear, that's all [Tape 15:1].

Through such observation Nahanters got to know the true character of the prominent Boston people who summered in the town.

Memorates are sometimes related to prove that the summer people, although in a different social class, were no better than local people. The following story was learned by a Nahanter from her father and concerns a fledgling diplomat who was a guest at a party given by Senator Lodge's daughter around the turn of the century.

> I came in one day reading the paper and I said something about someone, somebody who had just been made ambassador to...from England to the United States. This was a long time ago. And my father, filling his pipe as usual, he says 'I wonder if he remembers the day he sat on the flypaper' And I said 'I'm talking about so-and-so' He says 'So am I' I says 'What do you know about him?' He says 'I'll tell you.'
>
> 'Lodge' he said...in those days...Constance, was that her name?, the daughter, used to have a lot of parties, entertaining. They were having a big party this day and this fellow, he was just an S. S. E. [?] I guess at that time, was the guest of honor. And it was a hot day and those days [laughs] they used to have flypaper over the hamper where they put the napkins right out the window. And he went around back of the piazza where it was nice and cool and sat! He didn't realize what...and then he walked back, and here he is going through all the company with the flypaper on his rear end! [laughs] [Tape 14:1].

In relating this "I knew him when" story, the narrator brings the diplomat down to a common human level and demonstrates that there is little difference between local people and socially prominent summer visitors. Moreover, this story is highly exo-

teric as the diplomat involved undoubtedly had no idea that what was an embarrassing moment for him as a young man would be remembered by local people.

Narratives told about the summer residents by Nahanters have several functions which although not verbalized by townspeople, are important in understanding the relationship between the two groups. They serve as entertainment, but they had more meaning in the past when listeners were familiar with the personalities involved. As already noted such stories portraying summer residents in a human light served to equate the two distinct social classes. Even though townspeople could not interact socially with this group, they could equate themselves with the summer people in narrative form. Furthermore, in reference to the employer-employee realtionship, these narratives served as a release from tension incurred through working with demanding people so that the business relationship could run smoothly. In an era when the economic base of the town was tied to the annual return of the summer residents, tradesman-client friction had to be minimized.

In general, old-timers today are aware that certain summer residents were more difficult to get along with than others. However, as far as specific anecdotes about those people are concerned, only one man in town, Charlie Gallery, makes a point of relating these personal experience narratives. This fact relates directly to Hymes' concept of the difference between knowing a tradition and presenting that same tradition (1975:18).

While other townspeople recall various incidents such as those noted above, it is Charlie Gallery who relates similar incidents in narrative form. He is practically the last person in town to relate memorates dealing with the relationship between local people and the summer residents. Most of the tradesmen involved in the resort industry who had the most contact with the summer people have died, since the final stage of the Boston summer colony was during the 1920s. Born in 1900 Charlie experienced the decline of Nahant as a resort and knew the last summer residents of the Boston group. Charlie's repertoire of personal experience narratives about summer residents is very much a product of his personality.

Locally recognized as a storyteller, Charlie's narrative abilities apparently derive from his father who also told humorous stories and who was a great practical joker. Charlie and his father were employed by the local plumber, P. J. Shaughnessy, who took care of the summer business so that, over a period of years, they worked for many of the same summer people. Both he and his father had encounters with the more demanding summer people which are remembered in narrative form. Charlie heard many such experiences told by his father, and some of these are included in his repertoire of summer resident narratives.

The following narrative explains how Charlie's father handled one summer resident who was known for not being able to keep a maid and with whom Charlie had similarly difficult

dealings at a later date. In this incident the woman was tricked into thinking that her plumbing was broken for a very different reason than it actually was.

> My father used to tell some stories, of course he was with them [summer residents] for years. Speaking about Mrs. Lovering...as one of the girls [maids] with the floor cloth turned the pail up to dump it into a toilet bowl, and the cloth went and plugged up the bowl.
>
> My father went down [to the house]. 'When you find what's in that bowl, I want to see it!' 'Very well Mrs. Lovering.' So he went down to the rubbish barrel, had a couple of cigarette packages. Of course they most all smoked Melacrinos those days. They were the cardboard packages you know. (Oh, yeah) Wet them and dented them up a little bit.
>
> Of course, he got the cloth out of the bowl--he got that. Because the girl...she said 'If she finds that out, I'm going to lose my job.' He said 'I'll take care of it.'
>
> So he took the [chuckles] two packages in a newspaper and took them down to Mrs. Lovering. He said 'Probably one of the boys [her sons] inadvertantly or mistakenly, you know, maybe a little accidentally...' [dropped the cigarette packages into toilet]. 'Oh yeah they're very careless, aren't they?'! [Tape 2:2].

Had the floor cloth been produced as the object responsible for plugging up the toilet, the maid would have lost her job since this summer resident would not tolerate mistakes. Nahanters were sympathetic to the servants, most of whom were Irish, since many local tradesmen were also of Irish descent, and these tradesmen were cognizant of the difficult nature of people who employed the help. The story indicates the type of person needed to handle difficult personalities and certain harmless deceptions involved in the relationship between the tradesmen and the summer people. The humor of the story lies in the fact that the tradesman got the better of the summer person by placing the blame on her own family.

Because of their extremely humorous content, some of Charlie's stories are fairly well-known in town. One such example is the following story relating an unusual encounter in the early 1900s between Charlie's father and another summer resident.

> Well, Mrs. Mifflin...that's a low studded house. You get upstairs in the old house and where her bathroom was it was so low studded and of course they didn't have these low down affairs, the W. C.s. In those days everything was high tanks. And the tank that serviced the W. C. in her bathroom was out on the roof, and the supply pipe and flush pipe went up through. And of course in the fall of the year it was disconnected and taken in and so forth for protection.
>
> And my father was making a repair on the tank, and easiest way to get out on the roof was through the bathroom window. And it seems, I don't know, he... I was quite surprised because usually you'd announce yourself and so forth.
>
> But anyway he was out on the roof and he made the repair. And [chuckles] he's coming back, backing himself in through the window and...her...what'll I call her...the Queen [chuckles] she was on the throne. 'Well' he said 'She raised Cain.' 'I'll report you to your father!' She thought Shaughnessy was his father. But anyway that went by the board [Tape 9:2].

Although the tradesman unintentionally caught this summer resident in a compromising position, no matter how severe the repercussions from this incident, the tradesman benefited as he had something to relate to other townspeople about this woman. Her position as a social matriarch meant little to local people as they only knew her through the way she ran her household. Both of the preceeding stories are narratives connected with a specific occupation in that the incidents depicted would probably only happen to a plumber.

Charlie's own experiences with the summer residents span

his lifetime, and he has had the maximum amount of contact with this group of anyone in town. These memorates fall into two basic groups: those narratives relating his early experiences caddying for summer people, selling mushrooms to them, and working as a choreboy; and those narratives relating incidents which happened while working as a plumber. His experience with the summer people and houses as an adult was extensive as he had access to all the summer houses on a regular basis when they were opened and closed. His narratives demonstrate the various levels of interaction between the townspeople and the summer people, and the eventual gossip and entertainment the summer residents unwittingly provided through their actions.

Much of Charlie's information about summer people consists of very brief anecdotes centered on certain people's appearance or character traits. For instance, in discussing the history of the town noting who lived where, Charlie describes one summer person as follows: "Massy Homes. He smoked nice Melacrino cigarettes because he used to play golf too. He used to smoke 'em half way down, you know" [i.e., Charlie would salvage the half smoked cigarettes] [Tape 2:1]. Charlie made it his business to know all he could about the prestigious summer people. That he was aware of individual traits is evident in the following description of two long-time summer residents:

> Sam, he had a red bandana. He always had it tied to the back of his trousers or his belt. (Oh yeah?) If his hands got sweaty he'd...'sted of rubbing them on hi-

> trousers, the white flannel trouser? (Mmm) He'd have the bandana there. He could rub them on the bandana. He had a lot of ideas. He had more ideas than the average person.
>
> Of course, his brother Mason had ideas too! Mason's exercise was, he had a golf ball will a screw eye in it, tied to the screw eye was a fishing cord [laughs]. He'd tee the ball up, hit it, sit down in the chair he had there and pull the...[both laugh]. That was his exercise [Tape 2:2].

Charlie knew and discussed everything that was going on in town, and since he was intrigued by the life style of the summer leisure group, he observed them closely.

Charlie began interacting with the summer people as a young boy. In the following memorate he describes caddying for the summer people and his experience with the usual bonus of finding a golf ball and getting a rebate for it.

> I have a diary in my possession upstairs back to 19...in 1912 I believe. All the names of all the persons I caddied for that summer. (Oh really) And how much money I got. Sometimes you'd make 30¢ a day! (Oh yeah?) Oh, sure! Very productive [laughs, clears throat].
>
> Admiral Southerland, Mrs. Louis Bacon's, Mary Bacon's father...he lived at the Edge Hill [Inn]. He was retired Rear Admiral of the Navy. Lived in Washington [D.C.] in the winter.
>
> I was caddying for him one day and I picked up a golf ball. I says this is where I get 15¢. I said 'Admiral, I just found this ball. It's in pretty good shape too' 'Well by God' he says 'If it isn't the one I lost yesterday' [both laugh] [Tape 2:1].

Through caddying, the young boys knew which summer people were generous or tight with their money. Furthermore, they knew what kind of golf players these people were as Charlie relates.

> But old E. C. Johnson, I caddied for him for several years. Never lost a golf ball. (really?) Couldn't hit one far enough to lose it! [both laugh] [Tape 2:1].

These early encounters with and observation of the summer resi-

dents proyided Charlie with material which he later related as humorous anecdotes.

During his early years Charlie was especially interested in the Boston people because they provided him with pocket money. In addition to caddying, Charlie, along with other enterprising young boys, picked mushrooms around town and sold them to the summer people. Charlie describes his profitable boyhood as it centered around the summer business.

> One of the best houses in town that I used to know when I used to sell mushrooms for one dollar a pound was Mrs. Gardner Hammond who lived in where Henry Perry is now, in the Duncan house. I'd go in there and there was a cook and the kitchen girl--a Scandinavian cook. She seemed to like me very much. And Mrs. Hammond seemed to like the mushrooms because they'd take them and put them on the dumbwaiter and up the dumbwaiter to Bradley who was the butler. And he'd take them up to Mrs. Hammond and then they'd come back with two crisp one dollar bills. And then I'd sit down and eat all the cake and drink all the milk that I wanted. Then off on my bicycle down to the golf course where I caddied, and retrieved golf balls and such. That golf course used to be quite a place for the young boys., A place to work and keep your mind and time occupied [J. L. January 30, 1965].

Early in his life Charlie was in the summer houses and familiar with how the summer people lived and acted. He was exposed to a much more formal life style than was practiced by the townspeople.

His mushroom business had its drawbacks when in one instance Charlie was caught trespassing on Senator Lodge's estate where he went to collect mushrooms in the early morning.

> I used to go down there [Lodge's estate] picking mushrooms, (oh, yeah) in my younger days, early in the morning and they were, they were a different type mushroom than down here at the golf links. These down here [golf links] were beautiful. They were a larger mush-

> room. So I was out there [at Lodge's] and I heard this [claps his hands four times] and I look up. Of course every year Dr. Bigelow who was a classmate of Henry Cabot Lodge used to come down and spend about a month down here.
>
> I looked up on the piazza and Dr. Bigelow had whiskers. I knew him [chuckles]. He knew it was a little out of the ordinary for somebody to be out there. And he didn't recog...he didn't know me, of course. 'What are you doing?' 'I'm picking mushrooms.' 'Does Mr. Lodge allow you to pick mushrooms?' And I said 'Well, I understand that they run over them with the lawnmowers and they don't pick them here so I thought I'd pick them and'...so he asked me who I was, what my name was. Of course, I didn't...gave him a phoney [name], you know [chuckles]. But I never went back there again for mushrooms [Tape 5:1].

Giving a false name is in keeping with Charlie's quick mind, and it heightens the humor of the narratives. Since all the local boys were expected to earn their own pocket money, Charlie's father had suggested that he try picking mushrooms at Lodge's since those at the golf course were quickly depleted. The summer people were very concerned about local children trespassing on their grounds as this story demonstrates. There was a definite distance between local people and the Boston summer people which could not be breeched on an employer-employee basis and which continued throughout Charlie's life.

Another form of Charlie's business interaction occurred during the early 1900s when he was employed by a few summer people as a choreboy. Working in this capacity in his early teens, Charlie had a confrontation with his employer over the way he was polishing shoes.

> Tom lived at 300 Nahant Road, and I was his choreman. He nailed me right in front of the police station. 'You my choreboy?' I said 'Yes sir.' And I'm looking up at him. Oh, he's a way up there [re man's height]. 'Look at those shoes!' [laughs] I was polishing the brown and

> the black shoes with the same brush. The brown shoes were turning black [both laugh]. I look at them, 'Don't look too bad to me' I said, 'You only have one brush, one shoe brush. You should have one for different shoes.' 'Well' he said 'Go and get one. Buy it and charge it to me.'
>
> That was around I'd say 1913 or 14 [Tape 2:1].

The summer people were accustomed to good service and expected the same in Nahant, and Charlie was in awe of these outsiders who lived in comparative luxury. Here, although the incident itself is humorous, it is Charlie's delivery which makes the story memorable. The way he raises his eyes in a frightened glance at the man much taller than himself, and the way he distinguishes between the self-assured, exasperated voice of the summer resident and the cautious non-commital voice of the boy are features of storytelling which cannot be conveyed on paper. This story along with others describing Charlie's early contacts with the Boston people demonstrate that early in his life he learned that townspeople, including young boys, earned their living from the summer people.

In terms of his contact with summer people as a plumber, Charlie had some experiences with the same people for whom his father had worked. As a plumber Charlie knew the details of all the houses as well as the personalities of the inhabitants. Certain narratives steming from interaction with these summer home owners come to his mind more frequently than others. The summer people involved had peculiar character traits which made interaction with them different from other relationships. Some of the Boston people were eccentric and particular; however,

Charlie could handle situations in a diplomatic way and, consequently, got along with these people better than his boss, Shaughnessy. Charlie's diplomacy is illustrated in a personal experience narrative concerning the same woman Charlie's father tricked with the cigarette packages.

> I went with Shaughnessy...that's right down opposite your house there where Arthur Fay's cottage is...down with him one day to see her. You had to go to the front door and announce yourself [that done]. 'Okay, go to the back door.' So we went down to the... there were two doors, one on the side and another one directly in the back. The back door entered right into the laundry. Well, we were at that side door waiting for her. And Shaughnessy says, 'Where in Hell is she' and...so I went around to the other door, and she's waiting at that door. 'Where were you?' 'Well' Of course I was sort of diplomatic, you know [chuckles] 'I told you to meet me at the back door.' 'Well, I thought that the other door was the back door, Mrs....' 'This is the back door!'
>
> In the meantime Shaughnessy had come around and she started [going into a tirade]. Shaughnessy says, 'You better take care of her.' He walked off and left me! So she said, 'What's wrong with him.' I said, 'You know, Mrs. Lovering, I don't think he's feeling well.' 'He shouldn't. He's too fat anyway.' [Tape 9:2].

The large size of several summer homes led to certain misunderstandings which intensified conflicting personalities; however, direct confrontations had to be avoided for business purposes. Charlie enjoyed playing the arbitrator in such instances since, through such action, he was able to develop better rapport with certain summer people than, for example, his boss. He felt it was necessary to humor such difficult people in order to get along with them.

Charlie's recollection of his first meeting with the same woman who his father encountered in the bathroom demonstrates

how tradesmen were scrutinized in their work:

> But the first time I remember her or [corrects self] met her, Molly, was, I think, probably in 1920. And that would be what...56, 57 years ago. I was helping my father in the house. And down in the laundry she had this large pressing table, a padded table. And 'Hi' [says hello to person walking by] uh there were three-part trays down there similar to those trays that are in your house but much larger, and each tub had four faucets. There were two hot and cold street water, and two hot and cold cistern water. That was the soft water come from the...used to catch it off the roofs, you know, go down to a cistern then it'd be pumped back. It didn't contain the salts of the earth. It was a...that was another ritual--the soft cistern water.
>
> But she came down...we were getting the house ready, and I was working down there in the laundry, and I was of course not a greenhorn, but I was new at the business. And I laid a wrench on the corner of that pressing table while I was working. Table was quite close to the wash [?] and she came down...my father should've tipped me off. And...'Who put that wrench on that table?' I looked at her [chuckles] I said, 'I did.' 'Don't you ever put a thing on that table again.'
>
> See that's the way she was [Tape 9:2].

As Charlie notes, his father should have warned him about the demanding nature of the personality involved in this incident. Stories about dealings with the summer people serve to illustrate the life style of the Boston people as well as to describe early aspects of the plumbing trade. The summer residents were very particular in how their households were run, and any workers in the house whether in the basement or upstairs had to comply with strict standards. However, this type of conflict situation is turned into a humorous memorate by Charlie's use of voice imitations.

Charlie remembers the 1938 Roosevelt wedding in Nahant better than most Nahanters because he was one of the few local people who attended the reception. Invited by a summer resi-

dent in gratitude for an emergency nighttime plumbing call. Charlie explains the circumstances of the invitation in the following personal experience narrative.

> But I was invited...late...day before the wedding or the night before, down at the old wharf cottage [East Point]. John Fay lived down there, Dr. Fay. And somebody's out there with an automobile, and they had a few hydrants so-called, waterpipes coming up. Somebody back into one. Broke it off.
>
> So, of course they...called me. And it was, oh, one o'clock in the morning. So I went down and... told me or John told me what the trouble was. Well, I brought a shovel with me and a spotlight whatever I thought needed for equipment. Carleton Pike was there. He married...there were two Curtis sisters: Penelope and Margaret. Margaret was married to Buff Bolan. Carleton Pike...no and Buff Bolan died! And then Carleton Pike married Penel...uh no, Margaret, married Margaret. That was it. And he was there. There were others. They were staying, staying there as house guests. And there was a pretty good game being pitched there. They were going into extra innings [drinking]. (Oh yeah).
>
> So I landed down there. And of course to shut the water off is up near Ned Johnson's, where Ned's house is now. That was the stable [Figure 20]. There was a manhole there, and I got down in and I shut the water off. Then I went down and I dug...now the water main wasn't too deep. So I think it was Pike came out. I didn't announce myself to anybody [coughs]. Pike came out, and I had the hole dug and I,'m...of course, the pipe was broken off in this branch, and I had to...saw the little piece out that was left in there to get a plug in it. He said, uh 'You act...you move pretty fast. We only called you five minutes ago.' Oh, it was more than five minutes, but anyway he came...they came...he came from Lubeck [seaport in northwest Germany]. They were quite a family down there in the fishing industry, I guess, sardines and so on. And I think he since died.
>
> So I was trying to get this piece...I had it... had it sawed and collapsed a little and I was trying to get it out. And Dr. Fay came out...feeling no pain! And I was trying to get it out. 'Let me put my medical fingers on that.' 'Okay' I wasn't going to argue. And he lost it! It went into the pipe! So I said, 'Well, we'll forget that.' So I put a plug in the branch and... there was a hydrant right along side of the house quite a big valve, inch and a half valve that Ellerton James had put there for fire purposes.
>
> So I...told Dr. Fay...I said 'I'm gonna...' I was thinking about that piece of pipe, that little piece.

> I was afraid it would get into the house and get into a faucet. I said 'I'm gonna open this valve wide, and I'll hold a, you hold a, a ash barrel, a rubbish barrel over it. I'll go up and turn the water on. And...when you think it's pretty well blown out you can close the valve and that'll be it.' So I went up, turned the water on and I turned it on fast. I could hear the water hitting that ash barrel [chuckles]. And the conductor pipe come down [chuckles]...hit him on the head [both laugh](Oh, no!). So anyway...but I did get the piece of pipe out. It was in the barrel [Tape 9:2].

This story with a humorous ending portrays these summer people in the height of their incompetence fouling the plumber's attempted repair. Charlie, having retrieved the piece of pipe, was subsequently invited by these same summer people to the fancy wedding reception at the Nahant Club the following day--his reward for unusual service. Charlie's use of inference and innuendo is evident in the story in his way of referring to drinking: "There was a pretty good game being pitched there. They were going into extra innings". Furthermore, the narrative demonstrates his knowledge of family histories which permeate his stories.

Over the years Charlie's familiarity with the summer people grew as he served them continuously as a plumber. He knew their personalities and, although their life styles were very different from his own, he related to some of them on a fairly personal basis. He was very loyal to the summer residents for whom he had worked for years and because of this loyalty was occasionally employed by them in capacities other than as a plumber. His account of chauffeuring one elderly summer resident to a birthday party given in the mid 1900s by another

Nahant summer person follows.

Anyway, I went down and got Teresa. Brought her down to Warren's birthday party. Pulled up to the door. Helped her out. 'Charles' 'Yes' 'I'm going right in and I'm going to turn around and I'm coming uh right out again.' [chuckles] I said 'Now look,' I said, 'you go in and enjoy yourself. Have a couple of cocktails and have a good time' I said. 'No hurry' I said, I'll be waiting.'

So I pulled a way in and went up by the garage. So it was kind of...it was chilly, it was early in the spring. So I went in the back door, in to see Ellen Gary. She'd been there for one hundred years as Warren's maid, you know. I...go in to say hello to her. And [chuckles] then I came out again. And so about, oh, I don't know, it was after nine, nine-thirty they were... I figured no more cars coming in so I pulled down to the front door. And I know it was pretty near time to get Teresa back to the stable.

So...Uncle Warren come out on the piazza. And I went up to see him. He had a little table there, and they had been, each one coming to the party had brought him a little gift or something and...I said 'How are you getting along?' 'Oh, it's you Charlie.' 'Yes.' And...he was getting along alright [drinking]. 'Why do they do this?' I said 'Why do they do what?' I knew what he meant, bringing these gifts. 'Well' I said 'on an occasion such as this, your birthday party and your throwing a party, including the lamb stew [chuckles] [he had sampled this in the kitchen with the maid], I don't see why they shouldn't ...bring you a little something and, of course, you'll accept it.' 'But why do they do it? Will you help me in with them.' 'Sure.'

So I helped him in the house. He had a waiter from the Somerset [hotel in Boston] there, I believe. And he had a table set up as a bar. 'Now, Charlie, will you have a little drink?' [chuckles] 'Oh,' I said, 'Well it is a little cool out.' He said, 'Well, we have...' Oh, he used to emphasize everything, you know. 'very fine bourbon, very fine scotch, nice rye, gin.' Well, I knew what the bourbon was because it was...the same thing had been out in the pantry [that he had sampled already]. So [chuckles] I said 'Bourbon will be alright.' But he said 'Wait a minute! Wait a Minute! You're driving Teresa(w).' [clears throat] I said 'Yes, that's true. That's right, I am.' So he went over to the dining... [chuckles] 'Teresa, Charlie is driving you! I was going [noon horn blows] going to buy him a drink.' Teresa says, 'Buy him all he wants.'

So anyway that terminated that, but then Teresa decided she, she'd depart. She was looking for her cloak, her shawl or something. Couldn't find it. She accused

> the waiter of grabbing it. So then they came to me. 'Teresa can't find her cloak or shawl.' I said 'She neither had a cloak or shawl or anything. She was under bare poles [shoulders].' She didn't have any... so anyway I got Teresa...[Tape 10:1].

Charlie's imitation of the distinctive voice of this long-time summer resident who was well-known in town and the decision of what to drink when he had been imbibing in the kitchen give the story its humor. The story illustrates the definite distinctions betweeen the life of the leisure class summer people and the working class townspeople who identified more with the summer help than their employers. Moreover, the type of parties given by the Boston people although less formal after the 1920s did not approach the informality of local parties. As noted in the previous personal experience story Charlie continually refers to the summer people by their first names and sometimes nicknames even though no matter how long he worked for them, as a tradesman he was not on a first name basis with them. Moreover, he certainly would not have said to anyone at that party that Teresa Merriam was under "bare poles" as he, along with all the townspeople, was very circumspect in his dealings with the summer residents.

Charlie's repertoire includes many references to liquor, and he makes a point of citing specific parties at which champagne was served which, because of the money involved, were generally those given by summer people. The following story which presupposes a knowledge of the watering cart operator story Charle tells (in which the worker is invited in for a drink by Birdee Otis, a well-known summer resident [Field Notes

June 12, 1975]) demonstrates Charlie's manipulation of a summer resident and shows the gradual breakdown in social classes which made this type of incident possible.

> My wife's brother, Lawrence Larkin, who was in the Black Watch [World War II] with young Parker... (Oh, Frank Parker?) Yeah (Yeah) He was digging for me down where Dick Fay lives now--Mike Garfield, their sewer was plugged up. I knew Mike was on vacation so I said to Lawrence I said 'I'll bet you a dollar' I said 'If Mike comes out I can get you a drink or a beer or something.' 'You think so?' I said 'Well, I think so.'
>
> So Mike came out and I talked to him awhile. 'It's pretty hot today, Mike.' 'Yeah' And I told him the story about Roger and watering the street in front of Birdie Otis' house [after which Roger was invited in for a drink]. And Mike thought it was interesting, got into his car, went off shopping. And he came back with several bundles. Of course Lawrence Larkin says to me 'Well you didn't get very far with that one, did you?' I said 'Well, wait. The day isn't over yet.' [laughter] So Mike came back, and he went into the house with all the bundles and pretty soon he came out with three beers--one for himself and one for Lawrence and one for me. And when he handed me mine he said 'You know Charlie' he said, 'that story you told didn't have anything to do with this, you know' [laughter] [J. L. January 30, 1965].

As well as demonstrating Charlie's cleverness, this story is significant in that it portrays interaction with a summer resident on a personal basis. Obviously it was easier for tradesmen to be on familiar terms with the man of the house than the woman of the house with whom they normally dealt since the running of the household was the woman's job.

One final story will serve to show the full cycle of Charlie's relationship with the Boston summer people which began when he was a boy. In addition, it shows the mutual understanding which developed between employer-employee over years of seasonal social interaction. The narrative concerns the summer resident who gave the birthday party in the story

noted above and who died in his eighties in the late 1960s.

> The American Legion started in 1920, maybe 1919. And Warren Motley was its first commander. Not the last year he was gone [died] but the year before that he was up in his [chuckles] bedroom packing. And...it's a breezy day. And Warren is puttering around. He's got a small suitcase, so-called, case, leather case on his bed and he's putting his shaving gear in it and other things. [aside: Breeze is nice isn't it?] (Mmm) And I looked out the window...this is the day he's moving [back to Boston for the winter]...I said 'Nice breeze out there today!' 'Yeah, yeah' I said 'If you only had that star boat of yours out there today... you'd be taking blue water over the bow.' 'Yeah, yeah... yeah.' I [chuckles] used to get his goat. And I said somethin' else. 'Charlie' 'Yes sir' 'You know I can't pack and talk too.' [both laugh] I said "Very well, conversation ceases is at an end.' I patted him on the back. I said 'I'll see you later.' [Tape 10:1].

After working for certain summer people for several decades, Charlie could relate to them on a more personal basis that he could earlier in his life and the figures in the story represent two men growing old together. With changing class distinctions and the decline of the summer colony at Nahant, relationships between Boston people and townspeople were less formal.

Certain aspects of Charlie's ability as a storyteller are apparent from the preceeding narratives. Since he was involved with the summer people throughout his life, a biographical sketch will preceed an analysis of his performance style. The biographical information will serve to demonstrate what growing up in a resort community with its seasonal increase in population was like for a local boy.

A kind and generous man, Charlie Gallery, is still avidly interested in anything to do with the lives of townspeople and

the history of Nahant. His personal appearance is not overbearing as he is five feet nine inches tall and weighs approximately one hundred and seventy five pounds. He has a very pale complexion, a round face, and is almost completely bald. He continues to wear khaki work shirts and pants although the amount of time he works now is small. He moves very slowly as he suffers from arthritis, and it is difficult for him to get in and out of chairs. However, he still manages to drive to the Village Store every morning for his newspaper where he keeps up with local news. He is aware of everything that goes on in town and enjoys listening to his son's police radio to pick up any mention of activities in Nahant. In good weather he spends much time sitting on his front porch or "piazza" participating in the interaction of the neighborhood where he knows everyone's daily routines. On the piazza he keeps a night stick [billy club] by his side for protection although it is more of a conversation piece than anything else since it is highly unlikely that he would ever have to use it.

Charlie delights in talking about the old days of Nahant using his remarkable memory and acquired knowledge of some of the little known facts and stories about the town's history and its summer residents. He remembers primarily the good old days when the town was seasonally changed and annually took on new life and excitement for the three summer months. He tends to dwell on the dying off of the "old school" of summer people as well as the passing on of local old-timers. He is,

however, very loyal to the people for whom he has worked for years and even remembers the birthdays of the few remaining summer people by sending these people gifts. When going through material in his plumbing shed, he always keeps the interests of various other people in mind. Although he complains of ill health, he maintains his sense of humor. As a result of his humorous nature which permeates all his narratives, he has gone back through the Nahant Police Records and made notes of all the misdemeanors for which he was picked up as a boy. His patriotism and public spirit will become clear in the following biographical sketch.

Of Irish decent Charlie Gallery was born in Nahant on June 2, 1900 in the section known as Short Beach Village or Irishtown. Only one of his two sisters is still living, and Charlie is now 76 years old. His father moved to Nahant in the late 1800s and was employed as a plumber doing a good deal of work for the summer residents. Charlie's mother's family, also Irish Roman Catholic, was already established in town, his mother having been born in Irishtown as well; and Charlie's grandfather ran a grocery store across from Short Beach. Charlie went to grammar school at the Valley Road School where he recalls the Howe sisters distributing flower seeds [see p.105] and inviting children to their summer house to observe the constellations through a telescope. He claims to remember the day the first trolley car came across the beach to Nahant in 1906.

As boys growing up in Nahant, Charlie and his friends took advantage of all the summer activity as part of their entertainment. Charlie remembers that the summer residents' coachmen who all the boys knew were friendly except when they were driving their employers at which time they became very businesslike and did not acknowledge that they knew the boys. For instance, Charlie tells of Dan Mooney, the coachman for Mrs. Gardner Hammond who had the last pair of horses in Nahant: "He'd be goin' by and...'Hey Dan.' He wouldn't look one way or the other, you know" [Tape 10:1].

Charlie got into a fair amount of mischief as a boy and along with his friends was picked up and reprimanded by the chief of police for certain instances of vandalism. He enjoys recounting personal experience narratives concerning petty thefts which he refers to as "procuring" certain merchandise, primarily fruits and vegetables, or "tapping" [stealing from] various tradesmen. He and his friends spent some time "procuring" fruit and vegetables from the large well kept orchards and gardens of various summer people, testing each fruit to make sure it was ripe. He remembers "tapping" the candy man who came to Nahant regularly when dozens of concessions were operating at Bass Point:

> The candy man named Widrow [?]...and the last stop he'd make would be down there at my grandfather's store after he made the town and Bass Point. And as I remember him I think, I didn't know then but I suppose I did, too...that he was about half stewed [drunk] when he got down there. And he didn't know [was not aware]--Oh, a box of hershey bars, chewing gum. And up into the cemetery there was a hole up

> there where the new part of the cemetery is now that was all sort of, you know, wild. That was the hole we'd go up into and have our candy [J. L. January 30, 1965].

The baker whose horse-drawn wagon stopped at houses and stores in Nahant was similarly beset:

> He stopped at my grandfather's store and I have done it and we have done it with a bicycle...headed after him, bicycle past the Coast Guard and get him when the horse stopped to go up that grade at Little Nahant. Get off the bike, run after him. And we knew which drawer the pies were in, the cakes...the bread was in that deep drawer in the bottom. We didn't want that! [laughter] Then load up. And there was a white... down at the corner behind the 400 Club [restaurant] now on the back part of their yard over in that corner toward the ball field there was a white barn. And that was our club house.
>
> And we had at one time so many jelly rolls, pies, cakes, cookies [laughter] I remember one time we were out on the ball field we decided we'd have to...they [the cakes, etc.] were getting a little old. We were out there rolling them out--jelly rolls, pies, and everything else [laughter] [J. L. January 30, 1965].

Charlie and his friends took advantage of normal activity in a small town as well as the bulk merchandise and increased deliveries in the summertime.

While growing up, Charlie belonged to the Irishtown gang as opposed to the Bass Point and Little Nahant gangs. These groups based on geographic divisions were not tough gangs but did team up against groups from out of town. For instance, when the Lynn gang came over in the fall to gather apples, apple fights ensued as the Nahant boys did not appreciate outsiders in their territory.

Besides making their own amusement, Charlie remembers local entertainment which was attended by the whole town since

the peninsula was still fairly isolated in the early 1900s. He recalls that the man who ran the local store, Al Johnson, was quite a character at the minstrel shows.

> He uh he went over to New York one time. He had, he had his little dog with him, as he says. And the dog's name was Enza. Well, he was checking out of the hotel and he forgot his bag. He's out on the street and in flew Enza [influenza] and got the grip. [both laugh] [Tape 9:1].

Another popular form of local entertainment was the annual parade. Charlie recollects that all the local boys used to follow the Memorial Day parade up to East Point to Mary Russell's summer house where she gave out candy including Black Jack and Gibraltars to all the children.[2]

Local children made their own entertainment whereas the summer children had their recreation in the form of sailing, swimming and tennis organized for them through various private clubs. The only contact Charlie had with the summer children was at the town wharf. He remembers sailboat races with other "wharf rats" when town boys borrowed the summer children's sailboats [see p.101]. However, as a boy Charlie had a good deal of contact with the older Boston people since, as noted earlier, he worked for them as a caddie and a choreboy and also earned pocket money by selling them mushrooms.

Charlie commuted to high school in Lynn by trolley, and in the fall after school he spent his time gunning for ducks off Short Beach. When he was seventeen, he and a friend decided to join the United States Navy in the First World War to see the world. Since he was under age, Charlie forged his parents'

signatures and lied about his age in order to be accepted. Following his return from the war, Charlie apprenticed to a Lynn plumber who was working in Nahant. He later went to work for P. J. Shaughnessy who had started as a plumber in Nahant in 1884 and for whom his father also worked. Shaughnessy was the main plumber in town and took care of the remaining summer business for which a large part of the work was the opening and closing of the houses. Beginning in 1919 Charlie had his first business contacts as an adult with the summer people for whom he continued to work most of his life.

Prohibition, as noted earlier, was a time of great activity in the town, and during this period Charlie served on the Federal Grand Jury in Boston with a Nahant summer resident who, according to Charlie, was not an "ardent dry" [i.e., not a tee-totaller]. Consequently, he and Charlie, who also drank, while trying cases of trafficking and illegal possession of liquor, knew just where to go to get a drink on their lunch break from jury duty [Tape 5:1]. Charlie was very aware of the goings on in town during Prohibition and took part in some of the shore front activity in which loads of liquor were landed.

Although Charlie continued to work as a plumber, when work was slow during the Depression, he found employment with a W. P. A. project distributing around town the cut wood from a shipwreck [see p. 74]. By the time of the Second War Shaughnessy's plumbing business had passed into Charlie's hands. He served with the Navy again in the Second World War and was

stationed in the South Pacific. During this time he arranged with another local plumber to handle his business.[3] He was elected as one of the three town selectmen for a term from 1939 to 1942 but was away at war for the last part of his term.[4]

Following his return from the War he married Patricia Larkin whose father was chief of police for many years and who had reprimanded Charlie for misdemeanors as a youngster. The Gallerys live in the old Larkin home, a two storey yellow frame house with a front porch or "piazza", which located on Pond Street was built by J. T. Wilson in 1898. They have one son, Tom, aged 33 who is unmarried and lives with his parents but who is in the process of remodeling the attic of Charlie's shop into an apartment. Not as interested in the plumbing trade as his father, Tom, nevertheless, does much of Charlie's remaining business. Tom works as a special policeman with the Nahant Police Department and appears to find more satisfaction from that than from plumbing. Charlie's wife works part-time in the Nahant Public Library.

Through the plumbing trade, Charlie served the last of the summer people which accounts for his precise knowledge of their character and details of the houses. As these same houses became winterized, Charlie was retained as plumber on a year-round basis and consequently is aware of all the modifications which have been made. With the exception of his years in the Navy, Charlie has spent all his life in Nahant, and through his occupation, was familiar with the last of the Boston people to summer in the community. Now semi-retired from his

plumbing business, he has accepted the appointment as town plumbing inspector. Furthermore, he remains as caretaker for one of the last large East Point summer homes which has now been winterized.

Since 1919 Charlie has worked out of the same shop which is located directly across the street from his house. The building was moved there from Nahant Road in 1896 and constitutes the oldest place of business in Nahant. Charlie's plumbing shop is full of memorabilia of Nahant and tools of the plumbing trade. There are old photographs, postcards, diaries, bottles, and wooden shop signs which Charlie has collected throughout the years. He has given duplicate postcards to an old summer resident who also collects these. He has saved various pieces of plumbing equipment such as a smoke machine which has not been used in the trade for decades. In addition, the back room of his house contains an array of old toilet pulls all from Nahant houses strung on a piece of wire. These Charlie did not consciously collect but saved them as he did everyting else, and now he regards them as antiques.

In regard to his role in the community, Charlie is recognized by townspeople as a historian since he possesses a wealth of information about the town. Everyone I talked to asked me if I had spoken with Charlie, and local perception of his role is indicated by a fellow Nahanter discussing the fact that much memorabilia has been discarded over the years.

> The [laughs] only one who ever saved anything in Nahant was Gallery, I guess. You talk to Gallery yet?

(Yeah I talked to him a couple of times).

Well, he's got quite a line...he's about the best. He's a real historian' [Tape 15:1].

Besides having read everything he can find on Nahant, Charlie is generally well read. On occasion during our interviews, he would recite a few lines of poetry from famous writers who had spent time in Nahant, such as Longfellow, and expect me to complete the stanza. His memory for names and dates is remarkable, and whenever anyone has a question about an incident or the history of a specific house, they consult Charlie. Local recognition of the value of his information is evident by the fact that he was recorded by individuals interested in local history on two separate occasions in 1965, once alone and once with two other Nahanters.

Charlie is considered by many people to be a local character, and he promotes this view of himself. One Nahanter states her perception of his role in the town: "I suppose every town has its local character and Charlie is Nahant's town character" [Field Notes August 4, 1975]. In keeping with this position as a character, Charlie will play the dupe to get a laugh. For example, when lightening struck the old billiard hall[5] containing a small copy of the famous armless statue of Venus de Milo, Charlie, always on the spot whenever anything out of the ordinary occurs, said, "Oh, my God! The lightening took an arm off the statue! [chuckles]" [Tape 5:1]. He knew very well that the statue had no arms; however, he fits his humorous response to the situation at hand. Furthermore,

as was his father, he is something of a practical joker which is an extension of his humorous nature. For example, he found an old fire hose nozzle in his shop, polished it up, stamped on the initials T. H. L. and made his sister-in-law believe it was her father's personal nozzle from the days when most men in town were call firemen.

Charlie is also known in town as a good storyteller although due to the humorous content and delivery of his stories many people do not take him seriously. An appreciation of his repertoire is tied to understanding his aesthetic which as Glassie notes is generally not verbalized.

> The folk aesthetic can rarely be elicited directly; analysis of artifacts, behavioral observation, and ethnoscientific questioning are the means for its determination...The lack of an aesthetic vocabulary does not prevent aesthetic operation [1972:268].

Through his fieldwork Tallman found that his storyteller defined a good storyteller as one who could create a visual image.

> A good storyteller is one who can create vivid, humorous imagery, who facilitates the listener's appreciation of the story by allowing him to picture scenes in the story as it progresses [1974:127].

In the same way Charlie realizes he must convey the visual picture he has of an incident to the audience for his stories to be effective and appreciated. In relating personal experience narratives, he often interjects the phrase "I can see her now" as he relives the incident.

Charlie views his position in the town quite differently from the way others do as he puts on an air of being very busy and does not want people to think he is at their disposal. He

does not think that local people properly appreciate his accounts of the old days. This point is analogous to Szwed's findings with the Newfoundland songmaker Paul E. Hall who felt that his skill was wasted on local listeners and who was not at all surprised that the collector was interested in his songs [1972:157]. While Charlie's competence as a historian is recognized, people do not take his narratives seriously. Consequently, he talks of writing a book about all the houses in town which he serviced as a plumber and has produced a few pages. Since he feels this information can be put down much faster on tape, he was very willing to be recorded. Charlie has less contact with people than formerly as he is semi-retired from his plumbing business. The only reason he has not officially retired is because he wants to stay informed and hear first hand from people what is happening in town. However, he has slowed down over the past several years and does not tend to his business as he should. People have gotten tired of having to telephone him repeatedly to fix their plumbing and of having to wait several days for him to come when they know he is not working and spends his time stopping at the Village Store a few times a day. As a result, within the past few years people who have used Charlie as a plumber for years have called in other more dependable plumbing outfits which upsets him although he does not talk about it.

Charlie because he is long-winded and complains excessively of ill health[6] now has difficulty finding an audience for his

stories. During one of the interviews Charlie, in reference to his deteriorating health, cited the following analogy: "What was it Shakespeare said? 'Sans eyes, sans nose, sans teeth, sans everything" [Field Notes August 12, 1975].[7] Charlie's long-winded nature carries over to his business as he takes the opportunity while doing repairs in someone's house to talk about the old days of Nahant as well as to expound on the history of that particular house. One Nahanter recalls that Charlie would be at their house doing some work and "you'd be standing on one foot and then another while he'd talk on" [Field Notes August 10, 1975]. Once he began talking he was hard to stop, and his total time spent at a house was usually reflected in his bill. Due to his long-winded nature people began avoiding him on a personal as well as a business level.

As more of the old-timers die off Charlie's stories have meaning for fewer people. Some of his narratives are highly esoteric and interesting primarily to himself as their significance is lost on the listener who is too young to remember the characters involved. However, Charlie anticipates situations within which he can relate certain stories to specific individuals. When Charlie heard that an old-time summer resident was to be in town for the Nahant Public Library open house in the summer of 1975, he anticipated seeing him. "I was down there [at the library] looking for him 'cause I wanted to tell him a couple of sea stories. But he didn't show up" [Tape 5:1]. He was disappointed that this member of the "old school" failed

to appear. Charlie made a point of meeting with the old-timers, townspeople and summer people alike to exchange anecdotes with them. This is analogous to the idea that story-tellers who do not have listeners actively seek out an audience (Dégh 1969:80).

Charlie loves to be in the limelight, and certain town functions give him this opportunity. For instance, the Memorial Day parade is an event in which he is "in his element" as he rides in the American Legion car with one or two other senior veterans and waves to everyone he knows along the parade route. Furthermore, with the 1974 founding of the Nahant Historical Society, Charlie discovered a new outlet and audience for his interests, and he has donated to the society some of his Nahant memorabilia as well as display cabinets which he had in his shop.

In the past Charlie told stories at any male social gathering although in his business it was generally housewives to whom he related narratives. Over the years I had heard him tell my mother stories while repairing our plumbing about old summer residents who lived in our section of town. His audience never consisted of more than a few people at a time and generally was made up of just one or two individuals. However, he reached a much larger local audience through the playing of the 1965 tapes in the school auditorium. Charlie tells stories anywhere--at the Village Store, in front of the post office, at his home, in his shop, and in other peoples'

homes. The interviews I had with him took place at his home; however, during the period of my research he also related anecdotes and personal experience narratives to me outside the Village Store whenever we accidentally met there. During the interviews I was the only person present as Charlie insisted on interview times when we would be alone in the house so that we could talk undisturbed. Apparently Charlie's wife and son do not share his interest in the old days and have probably heard him repeat the same anecdotes several times. His family does not seem to be able to relate to his role as a historian-storyteller or take him as seriously in such a capacity as he takes himself.

An analysis of the total performance context is important in understanding narrative. The emphasis in narrative scholarship has shifted from textual analysis to studying storytelling events as complex communicative events (Georges 1969:317). The patterning of performance in an event (Bauman 1975:290) is of interest to folklorists as well as the degree of performance to be expected from an individual (Jansen 1965:112). More specifically the performance of narratives within the context of normal conversation which has generally been neglected by folklorists will be considered here. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett discusses the application of narratives to the conversational context in her study of parables.

> Scholars have tended to neglect the type of narrative performance in which a narrator embeds a tale in a stretch of non-narrative discourse. In such cases, the raconteur will usually take considerable care to fit the particular tale to the immediate social context (1975:107).

Charlie's personal experience narratives and anecdotes stem from everyday conversation and relate specifically to this "immediate social context". The following conversation was preceeded by a discussion of Charlie's recent appointment as town plumbing inspector. He then asked me what I thought of his house and related anecdotes about a summer resident who he was reminded of by a picture on the wall.

C. G. So...how do you like this shanty?

M. L. Oh, this place is great.

C. G. That [points to picture on wall--woman with wide brim Victorian hat] looks like Mrs. Curtis Guild. She used to wear hats like that.

M. L. Oh really?

C. G. Quite a girl, Mrs. Curtis Guild. She lived up, as I said, up on Tudor Road in Alec Lincoln's house.

M. L. Mmmm.

C. G. Hired [rented] it. I was up there with the Colonel and good friend Frank Converse one time. She had a get-together up there. Champagne, too!.

M. L. Oh really?

C. G. Mmm but...she was quite the girl. And I think Cardinal O'Connell converted her! I think he did. I think she was converted because...she lived then at 298 Nahant Road. She also lived in the house before 298. As I say, she and others, they'd rent houses. There was quite a, there was quite a colony here [Tape 2:1].

In this case a visual image triggered off Charlie's memory.

Charlie finds it difficult to talk in generalities; consequently, he answers all questions specifically usually in anecdote form. The following anecdote placed within a discussion of working for the summer residents is typical of

Charlie's manner of delivery.

> M. L. Did any of the summer people come down in the winter to check on their houses?
>
> C. G. No, very seldom. Spring of the year, yes--before they were opened. Like Warren Motley would call me up. Telephone would ring in the evening you know. 'Charlie' 'Yes sir' 'Warren Motley' I said, 'Yes, I know'. 'We better get started down there [opening the summer house, turning on the water]' [laughs] I said, 'We've already started.' I'd go down, do whatever I thought was necessary, you know--no orders. Of course those days are gone now.

Charlie is very conscious of fitting his experiences into the flow of conversations. Such a pattern is similar to Small's findings that personal experience narratives function to substantiate conversation which immediately preceeds the narrative (1971:148).

Charlie's stories are oriented around histories of the old houses and their occupants. There is an easy interchange between historical information and personal experience narrative as the following tape transcription indicates:

> But as I say now, George Abbott James [summer resident] he had a butler, Pat Rice. And that James house--there was a fire going in that all winter, furnace fire. Unoccupied and no water in it but... (What was the point of keeping the furnace going?) Well, it was a granite house, of course, and to keep the dampness out. (Oh I see, yeah) And George Abbott James was very...he was very particular, and he was quite the man, a little different. He had one child--Ellerton was, oh, big husky man. He had whiskers [laughs].
>
> My old boss' house up here [Pond Street], Shaughnessy...my father and I were putting a new heater in. Took out the old hot air furnace so boss wanted a good foundation so we had to get some stones to fill that hole up. And we had a small Ford truck then. My father said 'Go over to Willow Beach' you know, where you go to Tony Conig's [Conigliaro's nightclub] there? (Mmm, right). [coughs] All you got to do is throw them [stones] in, no carrying. But he [father] said 'If anybody asks you where you're getting them, tell them, tell them you're

> getting them from Mr. Shaughnessy's beach down. Short Beach.' Because he [Shaughnessy] owned those houses in there, and he did claim the beach. Whether he did own it or not I don't know.
>
> But he said...the original...Alonzo Lewis did some surveying for the town. The town didn't have any monies to pay him so they gave him that piece of property in lieu of money. (Oh yeah?) For the work that he did. Shaughnessy told me his father bought the property from Lewis. Now Lewis had a deed from the town of Nahant so that made it sacred, I guess.
>
> But I had the truck backed up to the door up there [at Shaughnessy's] and who came along but Ellerton James and his coachman, Eagen in a democrat wagon. Ellerton was driving. He was going that way [points west towards out of town]. Pulled up the horse. Of course, they were all round beach stones, you know. And I'm just trying to bring out how particular they [summer people] were in those days. And...'Where are you getting those stones, those beach stones, sonny?' he said to me. I said, 'Down Mr. Shaughnessy's beach down there, Short Beach' [although he had gotten them off Willow Beach]. 'Oh, oh, alright. Giddyup'.
>
> If my father hadn't tipped me off, I would've told him [both laugh] because it's a Bye Law, you know. You're not supposed to take stones off the beach [Tape 2:1].

In this story Charlie begins with a discussion of a summer resident and the particulars of his house, then switches to a personal experience narrative involving the deception of the same summer resident. Besides relating such specific incidents concerning summer people, Charlie knows all the details of their households, their occupations, and even the circumstances of their death although most of them did not die in Nahant.

Along with placing a narrative in a suitable social context so that the transition from conversation to narrative is smooth, Charlie is also aware of what is appropriate to tell depending on the setting and the audience. This point is analogous to Hymes' concept of the Acceptable or Appropriate as a dimension of performance as he notes that "the relation between

the possible and contextually doable is itself specific to a community" (1975:16). Charlie not only fits his narratives to the context of the conversation but, as with storytellers in general, also to the mores of the community. Therefore, he would not relate any of his off-color stories to me as a female. He adjusts his repertoire to the audience depending on their age, sex, and relationship to him.

Like most creative storytellers Charlie embellishes his narratives. One Nahanter remarked about his insistence on exaggerating things, "If it sounds better to say they were all drunk, then he'll say it" [Field Notes June 30, 1975]. This idea of exaggeration ties in with Cothran's discussion of pragmatic truth in oral history which deals with how people narrate and shape their history rather than whether or not what informants relate really did happen (1972:3-4). However, Charlie is to a degree conscious of his exaggerations as he alternates from the role of historian to storyteller, but he is serious about the history of the town. He also deliberately exaggerates certain points for dramatic effect and incidental humor [see p.130 "She'd been there for one hundred years as Warren's maid"]. Following our second interview he said he could tell me "fairy tales" but that what he was telling me was "the truth--100%" [Field Notes June 30, 1975]. Even so, Charlie easily alternates between pragmatic truth and historic fact in his speech. A further point in his performance style which combines his roles as historian and narrator is his

unelicited spelling of peoples' surnames. This practice is in keeping with his insistence on facts and detail from a historic viewpoint.

Another aspect of his performance style is Charlie's use of gesture and facial expressions which are of vital importance to the narratives and to the listeners' appreciation of these. He uses explanatory and imitative gestures to demonstrate what is happening in the story and to make it more immediate to the audience (e.g., see Dégh 1969:184; Delargy 1945:16; Sandor 1964:526). He often puts himself in the part of a character in a local legend. During the encapsulated retelling of the following story concerning a summer resident who lived off his wife's income, Charlie pantomimed the action.

> And I think I told you about George Abbott [James]. When he needed a little money he'd put the red shawl over him and start to shiver [laughs] and get Mrs. in uh good humor. [so she would take pity on him and give him some money] [Tape 5:1].

Charlie, while relating this story, was sitting in a rocking chair which had an afgan over the back, and as he talked about the red shawl, he pulled at the afgan to reinforce the mental picture. He makes use of characteristic gestures of the personalities in his narratives, and this mimicry enhances the humor of the story.

Nodding and winking serve to further emphasize and explain certain points in the story. For instance, in telling the story about tapping the candy man [see p. 136], Charlie, when he came to the part about the candy man being half stewed, said instead that the man was "pretty tired [wink]" [Tape 9:2].

Any local person was expected to know the significance of that wink, and Charlie did not feel that it would be proper to tell me directly that the man was drunk or even "stewed". It is important to study the total performance event rather than just the text of a narrative to determine its relationship to the locale.

Along with his use of gestures, Charlie's voice imitations and intonation patterns are an integral part of his narratives. He does not always introduce exchanges of conversation in stories with "He said" or "I said", but the difference in the voices makes it clear which personality is speaking. The voice imitations add a great deal to the humor of the stories as Charlie excellently mimics the particular accent of specific Boston summer people [see p.130 "Wait a minute! Wait a minute! Your're driving Teresa(w)"]. Instead of speaking in his own words, Charlie frequently uses single sentence quotes of people long since dead to express his feelings. Thus, when the telephone rang during one of our interviews Charlie in getting up to answer the phone remarked, "As Agnus McGrath would say, 'My stockbroker's calling me'". [Tape 5:2]. This technique along with his choice of words adds tremendously to the humorous affect of the story. In relating a story about an argument which developed between his boss and a local woman when Shaughnessy moved his plumbing shop very close to the woman's house, Charlie stated, "To speak in the vernacular, she blew her top" [Field Notes June

12, 1975]. Another apt phrase was included in the story of Charlie's father encountering a summer resident in the bathroom [p. 120]. Instead of simply stating that she was sitting on the toilet, Charlie said, "The Queen was on the throne" having consciously contemplated how he could best get the point across.

Charlie's anecdotes and personal experience narratives generally stem from normal conversation, and the actual performance event needs to be understood as well as the performance style already noted. As Charlie talks about the history of the town alternating between details of the old homes, his personal experiences, and short anecdotes, his attitude toward the audience changes as he assumes the pose of performer in the narratives (see Jansen 1965:112-113). He talks very slowly and interrupts his narrative to make sure that the audience is familiar with the geographic and physical setting [see p. 137]. His phrases in describing action are curt. In relating a personal experience story, Charlie is transported back through time, and he relives the incident. Picturing events in his mind, his enjoyment of reliving the episode is transferred to the listener as he gets a twinkle in his eye in a flash of memory.

The humor in his narratives is evident from the start and centers on his narrative performance of fairly mundane tasks of a tradesman and his interaction with employers. The following personal experience story dealing with a summer resident will serve to point out many aspects of his performance style as

well as hint at the total performance event.

> Oh, she was a tartar [stubborn personality]. I was putting a new furnace in down there one time--she couldn't keep a maid, you know. (Oh no?) Oh, they were coming and going all the time. (She was too particular?) Oh, no mops--couldn't use a mop in the house. Had to be a floor cloth. The girls [maids] had to get down on their hands and knees. That was a ritual. So...new furnace, all connected, smoke pipe and everything. Brand new furnace. Of course, in those days I, like all of them, I smoked you know, cigarettes. And I'm right in front of the furnace and every time I'd draw I'd blow the smoke into the, into the furnace knowing [how particular woman was]...and I had a helper with me. I could tell by the steps upstairs. I said, 'I think Mrs. Lovering is coming down to see me!. So I ducked [threw away] the cigarette butt. I had a candle lighted. She came to the furnace room door. She said, 'Somebody's smoking down here.' I said, 'You must smell this candle Mrs. Lovering.' She said, 'I smell cigarette smoke and I don't want any more of it.' I said, 'Very well' [laughs]. So she went away. But she and I get along. The boss couldn't get along with her [Tape 2:1].

Here a demanding personality promotes a humorous experience narrative which demonstrates the narrator's easy handling of the situation. Charlie initiates the humor of the performance by stating that the summer resident was a "tartar" his term for particularly stubborn and difficult people. He continues to set the humorous context of the story by stating that the maids worked as floor cloths. As well as creating this humorous imagery the analogy is apt as it demonstrates the strenous work of the summer help. Charlie was foiled in his attempt to outsmart this woman by blowing the smoke from his cigarette into the new furnace and then telling her that she must smell the burning candle, but he delights in reliving the event. As the event becomes immediate to the listener one anticipates

Mrs. Lovering coming down into the basement. Charlie's imitation of the angry, precise, and no nonsense voice of this woman is the climax of the story.

Besides stories concerning the summer residents, Charlie's repertoire centers around topics such as local characters, the sea, Prohibition, and incidents which occurred outside of Nahant. Except for stories told about his navy days, Charlie's repertoire focuses on local events, and as a locally recognized storyteller, he is best known for his personal experience narratives and anecdotes. There are many set pieces in his repertoire, and some of these are known by plot outline to other people in town. There is little variation between the versions of Charlie's narratives collected in 1965 and those I collected in 1975 although some of the earlier stories have moved from his active to inactive repertoire. Related to this point is Goldstein's observation that "at any particular time in the life of a tradition bearer..., some of the items in his repertory are active and others are inactive" (1971:63).

In addition to those stories dealing with his experiences with the summer residents, a few examples from Charlie's repertoire are included to illustrate his performance style. While discussing local characters, Charlie describes the somewhat simple-minded lamplighter, Jimmy Killilae.

> As Al Johnson used to call him--Jimmy Swift. He could walk faster'n he could run [both laugh]. He used to peddle along [on his bicycle] with the ladder you know, to light the street lamps--Jimmy Swift [Tape 10:2].

Local characters provided excellent material for humorous narra-

tives, and Charlie makes good use of such stories in his repertoire as demonstrated in another story concerning the lamplighter.

> P. J. O'Connor was waked down in his house in Spring Road just above the garage. He was road surveyor here and...took care of the ash removal and...P. J. was Patrick J. O'Connor. He originally was caretaker up at the Club [Nahant Club] grounds years ago.
>
> So, Jimmy came in...and of course, he was indoctrinated at home what to do when he went into the, into the room where P. J. was laid out. Go over and 'Jimmy', I suppose they tell him 'kneel down and say a prayer and'...so I was talking to Mart O'Connor, one of the sons. And Jimmy came in [chuckles] and Jimmy walked over to the piano, knelt down in front of the piano. And I said to Mart--this is actual fact!--I said, 'Look at Jimmy over there'. He knelt down in front of the piano...Mart went over to him and he said, 'Jimmy' he says 'this is the piano.' 'By dang it is, ain't it!' [chuckles]
>
> They were characters! [Tape 10:2].[8]

Charlie begins the narrative by giving background information on the characters and anticipates the humorous episode by chuckling to himself. In stating that the incident is "actual fact", he feels the story merits attention. Along with the personal experience narratives similar to the one cited above, Charlie relates legends about local characters. For instance, he tells stories about one man whose relatives had the only bathroom in town and who after taking his bath would climb a tree to dry off. Charlie notes that this same local man is said on hot days to have baked oatmeal cookies on the sidewalk [Field Notes June 12, 1975]. Another example of Charlie's stories involving a local character was that of the watering cart operator [see p. 131].

Charlie has many recollections, most of them humorous, of illegal activities in town during Prohibition. Since the summer people owned much of the shore front property, it was on their land that many of the shipments were unloaded. In one instance when Charlie heard of a load deliberately dumped off East Point by a speed boat being pursued by the Coast Guard, he and his friends used grapnels to try to retrieve the liquor which was transported in burlap sacks [Tape 5:1]. Charlie relates the following incident about telephone wires to a summer house being cut so that the cleaning woman living in the house could not alert authorities in case she saw the smuggled liquor being unloaded at the wharf nearby.

> There was a woman cleaning Dudley Fay's house at the time. Of course, the only thing they do in that...there was a load [liquor] coming in down in Ned John--where Ned Johnson is now. Of course, the only thing to do was to cut the telephone wires in case this woman--this was late at night--in case she wanted to report the activity, she couldn't very well without a telephone. And...
> But the government uh thought that all that liquor they brought in was fit for beverage purposes [Tape 10:2].

Charlie's final statement noting an official position regarding liquor, though humorous, also serves to condone his own involvement in obtaining liquor during Prohibition. The summer residents seem to have been completely unaware that their shore front property was being used and sometimes abused during this period.

Charlie also tells legends of shipwrecks as well as personal experience stories of wrecks which came ashore during

his own lifetime. The following anecdotes concern two schooners which were wrecked on Nahant in the early 1900s.

> J. L. Do you know of any shipwrecks or famous events on the waterfront?
>
> C. G. Well, I remember the Francis A. Rice that landed on Saunders ledge--I think that was a two-masted schooner...that landed there and was out there for a long time. And two of the local boys, John Butler and Dick Walton decided it was there long enough. And after they had retrieved everything that was worth retrieving they took five gallons of gasoline out there and saturated it and were very fortunate in getting off the boat themselves after touching the Francis A. Rice off.
>
> Then there was another, I recall. Royal Wilson will remember this. John Taylor down on Groves Point. I've forgotten the name of the boat. We got in the dory, Saturday afternoon and we used to float down, you know. We got over there [to the wreck] and we decided we'd take a look at that wreck...got up onto the beach with the dory, got out of the dory, and we're looking the wreck over. Just to look it over. We weren't there to salvage anything but there was a watchman down there watching that ship. And he saw us, we were getting down toward the dory and he came running down with a pistol. He got down to the dory and we had I think a rifle and two shotguns [for gunning]. We didn't have anything from the wreck so I guess he decided we weren't stealing anything [J. L. January 30, 1965].

Charlie is not the only person in town who tells legends of shipwrecks or bad storms; however, he is one of the last as the two men mentioned in the previous story have both died.

A final aspect of Charlie's repertoire which will be mentioned only in passing is his suggestive or off-color stories. As noted in chapter one, I was not able to collect these narratives directly from Charlie; but a few had been recorded in 1965, and I had heard some from my father. Even so, none of his stories in this category are explicitly bawdy. As with

much of his other material, he infers a great deal leaving the listener to exercise his imagination.

> I remember in recent years, well I'd say within twenty-five years [ca. 1945], I remember one day I was up by the post office and the ambulance come down by the...the old ambulance--George Cole was driving. And I thought there was something interesting so I followed it. And down Lodge's cove somebody had brought a body in. I thought it was might [?] in a net, but it was pretty well decomposed. And Penelope Curtis and her sister Margaret--this was in the summer, you know--and two or three more of the summer group were there. It was either Penelope or Margaret Curtis who said to George Cole, 'Is it a man or a woman?' And George says, 'It's a man.' Well, it was pretty well decomposed, you know. 'How can you tell?' 'Oh', George says, 'Various ways. Various ways [laughter]...various ways, various ways'[laughter] [S. P. May 16, 1965].

This particular story indicates certain aspects of Charlie's personality and style of narration. For instance, his curiosity leads him into situations of which most people would not be aware. This is part of the reason why he always knows what is going on around town. It is not surprising that he followed the ambulance to find out first hand what was happening. His inference to the identification of the sex of the corpse leaves the listeners imagination free to think whatever they want. Moreover, the final repetition "various ways, various ways" is in response to the laughter the story prompted which demonstrates that the story was well performed and received.

Another of Charlie's off-color stories which I heard secondhand involved the night activity of digging a hole to repair some underground pipes. Using a candle to see what he was doing, Charlie had almost finished the job when he dropped the candle down into the ditch where it lay still lit and out

of his reach. He did not feel that he could let it burn itself out so making sure that no one was around, he solved the problem by urinating on the candle. In telling the story, Charlie stressed his resourcefulness [Field Notes June 12, 1975].

Finally the psychological importance of the narratives to the narrator must be considered especially because of the personal satisfaction Charlie gets from relating memorates. On a general basis he feels that there was no friction between the summer people and the townspeople even though incidents he relates constitute bases of conflict. Because of the humorous content and exceptional performance style, his stories tend to negate any social difference or any tradesman-client difficulties and promote the impression that the two groups interacted informally which in fact was not generally the case. Through his lifetime involvement with the summer people Charlie was well aware of discrepancies between his life style and that of the Boston people. To compensate for this fact his stories function to portray him as equal in status to the summer people, an unrealistic position. Charlie bemoans the passing of the "old school" or the "old guard" as he refers to the summer group as well as the passing of the "good old Jeffersonian days". In speaking about some of the old summer residents, Charlie says, "They were quite the group, quite the group...as I remember them. And I remember them all." [Tape 6:1].

Hymes distinguishes between those who assume the responsibility for knowing a tradition and those who assume the respon-

sibility for performing that tradition (1975:69). Charlie Gallery belongs in the latter group as he is practically the last active bearer of narrative tradition based on the summer resort phase of the town. Because of his age, memory, and powers of observation he can provide material which no one else in town can (cf. Carey 1970:87). That part of his repertoire dealing with stories about the summer people demonstrate aspects of the relationship between the townspeople and summer people. Charlie's narrative style and historic knowledge have gained him local recognition as both a storyteller and historian; however, in order to appreciate and fully understand his stories, one must witness them being performed. As well as functioning as entertainment and substantiating conversation, these particular esoteric-exoteric personal experience narratives serve as a means of releasing tension of the permanent population and of equating what local people realize as two socially distinct groups.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

[1] This was in the time when the Boston people continued the custom of closing the blinds in the heat of the day, and one of the maids in the household would be responsible for this daily ritual.

[2] The parade always went to Mary Russell's house because she gave an annual check to the fire department's relief fund in gratitude for their having saved her house in the fire of 1896 which destroyed six summer houses near her own. The parade route changed in the 1930s to incorporate a ceremony at the cemetery since the diminished size of Mary Russell's checks no longer warranted routing the whole parade up to East Point.

[3] This plumber took over Charlie's business as his own during the war which led to hard feelings between the two men, and these feelings persist today.

[4] Among the town offices he held, Charlie served as call fireman, a position of pride and responsibility.

[5] The billiard hall was the only building of the Nahant Hotel left standing into the 1900s, and it was used by Lodge as a library.

[6] Charlie's complaints include arthritis, ulcers which he has had for years, and cataracts in both eyes which prevent him from reading as much as he would like.

[7] This quote is Charlie's version of the final line of Jaques' seven ages of man speech in As You Like It II:vii where the final stage of life is that of an old man "Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything"(Latham 1975:57).

[8] cf. Baughman J1772.15.1*. Crated parlor organ is thought to be coffin containing husband and father who has gone to city for an operation. They bury it at funeral, dig it up again when he returns from city.

CONCLUSION

In investigating a resort community such as Nahant, one is aware that the history of the permanent community and the resort era are interrelated. A resort almost as long as it has been a place of permanent residence, Nahant changed gradually from a fashionable summer resort to strictly a year-round community. The permanent population grew consistently and reflected regional immigration. The town's resort development went full circle beginning as a healthful resort in the 1700s, peaking as a fashionable watering place in the mid 1800s, establishing itself as a resident summer colony for Boston people, and finally declining in the 1920s as estates were broken up and the summer houses winterized. Because of its proximity to Boston Nahant was one of the earliest east coast summer resorts; however, its development was similar in many ways to other prominent United States resorts of the late 1800s.

Townspeople depended on the seasonal economic base of the resort industry but were fortunate in having an industrial center next door in Lynn where increasing numbers of local people became involved in the early 1900s as Nahant, with improved transportation, lost its former isolation. Through its summer residents the town has been closely associated with Boston and is now within that city's metropolitan area. The primary historic, social, and economic factors which affected

Boston and all New England were the same ones which were manifested in various ways in Nahant. Because of the increased number of variables, factors of social change and status in a resort community are complex.

Such general processes of social change as industrialization, urbanization, and bureaucratization were evident in Nahant and promoted the transition from small town to suburb. It is evident that factors such as family position and community involvement are more important in Nahant in determining status than factors of occupation and income. Local social stratification was discussed, and it was shown how Boston people who settled permanently in the town were incorporated into that system.

Since this study dealt primarily with the reconstruction of the period before 1950, a few factors contributing to the current make-up of the town should be considered. Today fewer people are as active as previously in town affairs as the town is no longer a close-knit community. Town meeting, once so important in the social as well as political life of the town, has lost much of its vitality. Most local people no longer depend on the town to provide both their occupations and recreation and, consequently, take advantage of the proximity of urban centers. Although Nahant retains many aspects of a small town, it is primarily a dormitory community for Boston and the surrounding area.

In reconstructing the end of the Boston summer colony as

a period in the town's social development, I had to contend with informants remembering only the good old days. Concerning the relationship between the summer people and Nahanters, close questioning was essential in order to determine each individual's perception and degree of distortion of the period before the Second World War. Social interaction was demonstrated through business and informal relationships. The tradesman-client relationships specifically document the differing life styles of the summer residents and the townspeople. It became apparent through my fieldwork that whatever friction resulted from the interaction of the two distinct groups was in part compensated for through anecdotes and personal experience narratives about dealings with the summer residents. Over a fifty year period most feelings of tension and resentment between the two groups were forgotten.

The narrative section of this study dealt with the experiences of Nahanters with summer people of wealth and prestige who were often eccentric and hard to please. Only certain creative individuals in the town can relate such experiences in narrative form. Furthermore, as the Boston summer colony had ended by World War II, only a very few people involved in the summer business are still living. The summer resident subject matter in such narratives denotes additional implications of this study notably the need for further investigation of the impact of seasonal populations on local narrative tradition. Such studies would take into account changes in the

total life style of communities which depend to a large degree on seasonal industries. Other communicative forms such as jokes about vacationers could be profitably studied in terms of esoteric-exoteric factors in folklore.

The era of resort hotels, estates, large summer homes, and servants has passed, and Nahant's resort era is not typical of contemporary summer resorts in which the small lake-side cottage predominates. However, the continued importance of a seasonal economic base to year-round communities remains and is evident throughout New England.

In reference to my main informant, mention should be made of the importance of studying the role of an individual in the community both as the individual perceives this and as he or she is assessed by fellow townspeople. Had I not elicited information about Charlie Gallery from other Nahanters, I might have accepted his perception of himself as a busy and still important individual in the town. Although he is recognized as a storyteller and respected for his historical knowledge, he is not taken seriously by most local people and has only a small audience for his narratives. Along with studying his position in town, it is clear that locally accepted interaction and the total social context must be examined.

Folklorists need to study in depth personal experience narratives in terms of performance and communication. Personal experience stories as they develop out of normal conversation are vitally important in understanding social interaction.

They function as entertainment and as a means of substantiating conversation as well as fulfillment of certain psychological needs of the narrator. The personal experience narrative explains a great deal about the narrator as well as the culture; however, the culture and region must also be understood in order to determine the significance of the genre. Therefore, it is imperative that the total social context and the historical development of that context be studied in order to understand influences affecting the performance of the personal experience narrative.

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ca. 1912 Hotels. Manuscript in Nahant Public Library Collection.

Nahant, Massachusetts Bi-Centennial Brochure
1976 Early Houses of Nahant. Pamphlet by Nahant Bi-Centennial Commission.

Nahant Police Records
1910-1939 Nahant Police Department.

Nahant Street Lists
1961-1976 Registered Voters of the Town of Nahant. Town of Nahant.

Nahant Village Church Records
1831-1958 From the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections.

Nahant Women's Club
1906 Nahant: Well Known Men Who Have Lived There. Collection of four papers. In Nahant Public Library Collection.

Notebook of Cornelius Coolidge
ca. 1820 Notebook indicating Range Lands in Nahant. In Nahant Public Library Collection.

Origin of the Term 'Barge'
n.d. Booklet produced by Kibbey's Stable, Nahant.

Small, Lawrence G.
1971 Patterns in Personal Experience Narratives: Storytelling at Cod Harbour, A Newfoundland Fishing Community. M.A. thesis, Folklore Department, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Tudor, Frederic and Thomas P. Curtis
1850 Circular written in support of Nahant residents' efforts to establish a Protestant church. In Nahant Public Library Collection.

Wolfe, Roy L.
1956 Recreational Land Use in Ontario. Ph.D. dissertation, Geography Department, University of Toronto.

APPENDIX A

Chronological Table of Local Events*

1004 The Viking, Thorwald, supposed to have visited Nahant.

1614 Captain John Smith at Nahant.

1638 First division of commonland (including Nahant) among Lynn residents.

1657 Thomas Dexter bought Nahant from Sagamore Indian, Black Will.

1688 Edward Randolph petitioned for grant of peninsula of Nahant

1692 Salem Witch trials.

1706 Second division of commonland among Lynn inhabitants.

1800 Three houses on Nahant.

1803 First hotel built at Nahant--The Castle, Bass Point.

1817 Sea serpent sighted off Long Beach.

" First summer cottage built on Nahant (Perkins).

" Summer steamboat service Boston to Nahant begun.

1819 William Wood established library in Nahant.

1821 Ram Pasture, East Point bought by Perkins and Payne.

1823 Nahant Hotel on East Point opened.

1824 Cornelius Coolidge building in Nahant.

1825 First Lynn newspaper published--The Weekly Mirror.

1832 First Boston Church built on Cliff Street--land given by Coolidge.

* This historic data is compiled from Lewis and Newhall (1865) and Wilson (1928). It is intended to corroborate and supplement the information given in chapters two and three.

1838 Eastern Railroad Boston to Salem open.

1845 First open yacht race in Massachusetts held off Nahant.

1847 Nahant petitioned to become separate town--refused by Lynn.

" Post office established in Nahant Hotel.

" First attempt to build road across Long Beach.

1850 Lynn adopts City form of government.

1851 Village Church Built.

1853 Nahant incorporated as independent town.

1856 Cemetery land purchased by town of Nahant.

" Egg Rock light shown for first time.

1858 Lobstering begun at Nahant.

" Launching of first schooner built at Nahant.

1859 Last season Nahant Hotel opened.

1860 Frederic Tudor's Maolis Gardens opened.

1861 Nahant Hotel burned.

1868 Second Boston Church built.

" J. T. Wilson building business founded.

" First town hall built.

1869 Nahant Police department established.

1870 Nahant Fire department established.

1872 Catholic Church built.

1876 First tennis tournament in country held at Nahant.

1892 Maolis Gardens dismantled.

1894 Present library built.

1896 Great fire--East Point.

1900 Fort Ruckman established--Bass Point.

1905 Valley Road School built.

1906 Trolley service begun to Nahant.

1912 Present town hall built.

1914 Nahant high school discontinued.

1916 Steamboats to Nahant discontinued.

1925 Bass Point fire.

1928 Egg Rock light abandoned and dismantled.

1930 Trolley service to Nahant discontinued.

1936 J. T. Wilson school built.

1938 F. D. R.'s son married at Boston Church.

APPENDIX B

Population Trends for Nahant and Lynn: 1890-1975*

	Nahant	Lynn
1890	880	55,727
1900	1,152	68,513
1910	1,184	89,336
1920	1,318	99,148
1930	1,654	102,320
1940	1,835	98,123
1950	2,679	99,738
1960	3,960	94,478
1970	4,119	90,294
1975	4,200	----

* These figures are compiled from the United States Census of Population 12-19 (1901-1971). Note that the 1960 population of Nahant represents a 47.8% increase over that of 1950.

APPENDIX C

Illustrations

The photographs in this section are arranged by general geographical area with the emphasis place on Big Nahant. Contemporary views of the town as well as photographs indicating aspects of the resort era of Nahant are included. Along with examples of local architectural styles, there are photographs of public buildings. All photographs were taken during the summer of 1975 with the exception of Figures 4, 14, 20, 21, and 22 which are courtesy of Don Hodges.

Figure 1: Boston Metropolitan area showing Nahant's geographical position in relation to Boston and surrounding towns. 1970 Geological Survey map of Boston Metropolitan area; scale 1:500,000 (National Atlas of the United States of America 1970:49).

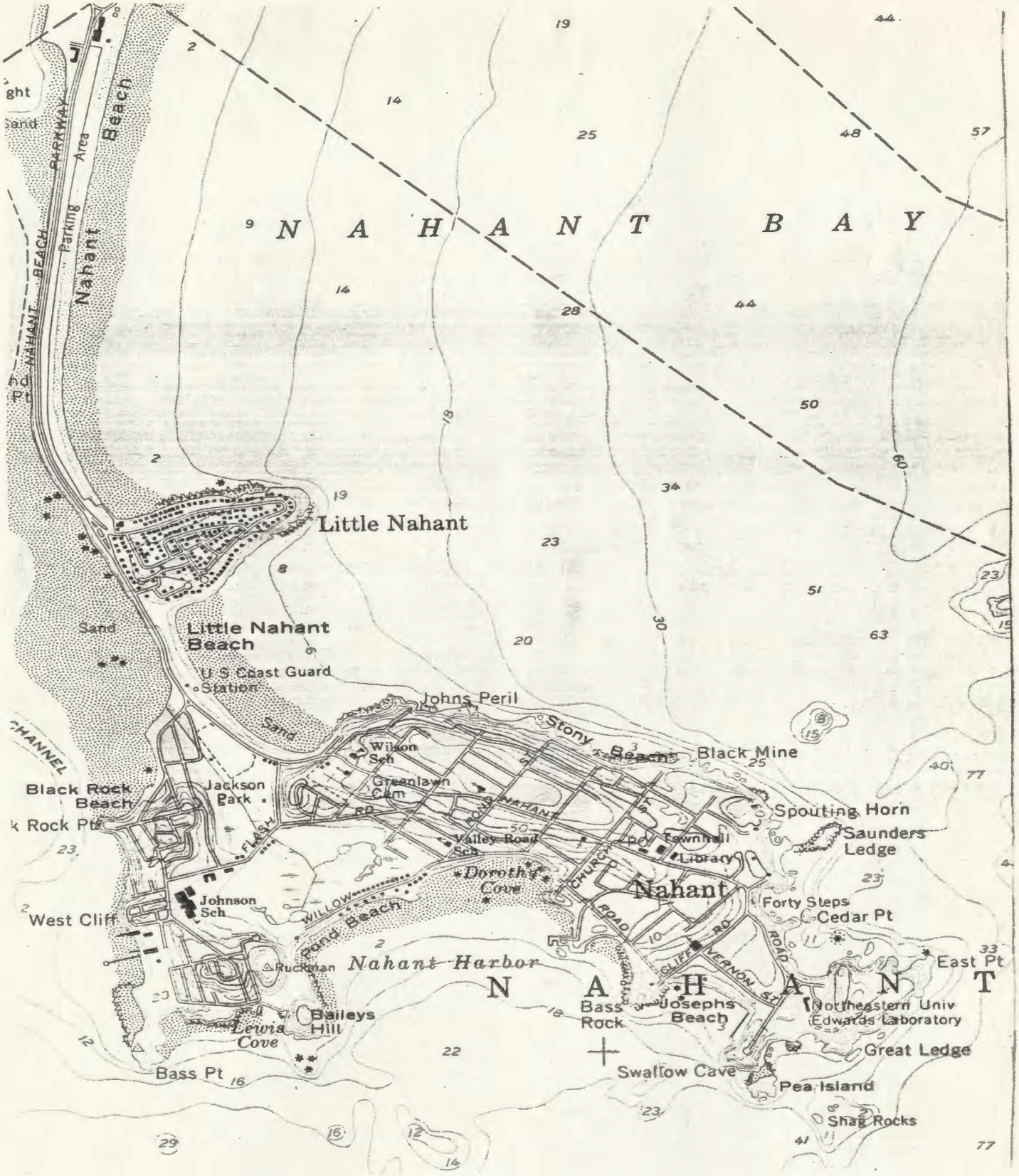

Figure 2: Nahant, Massachusetts from the 1970 Geological Survey Map of the Lynn Quadrangle of Massachusetts; scale 1:24,000 (Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Public Works).

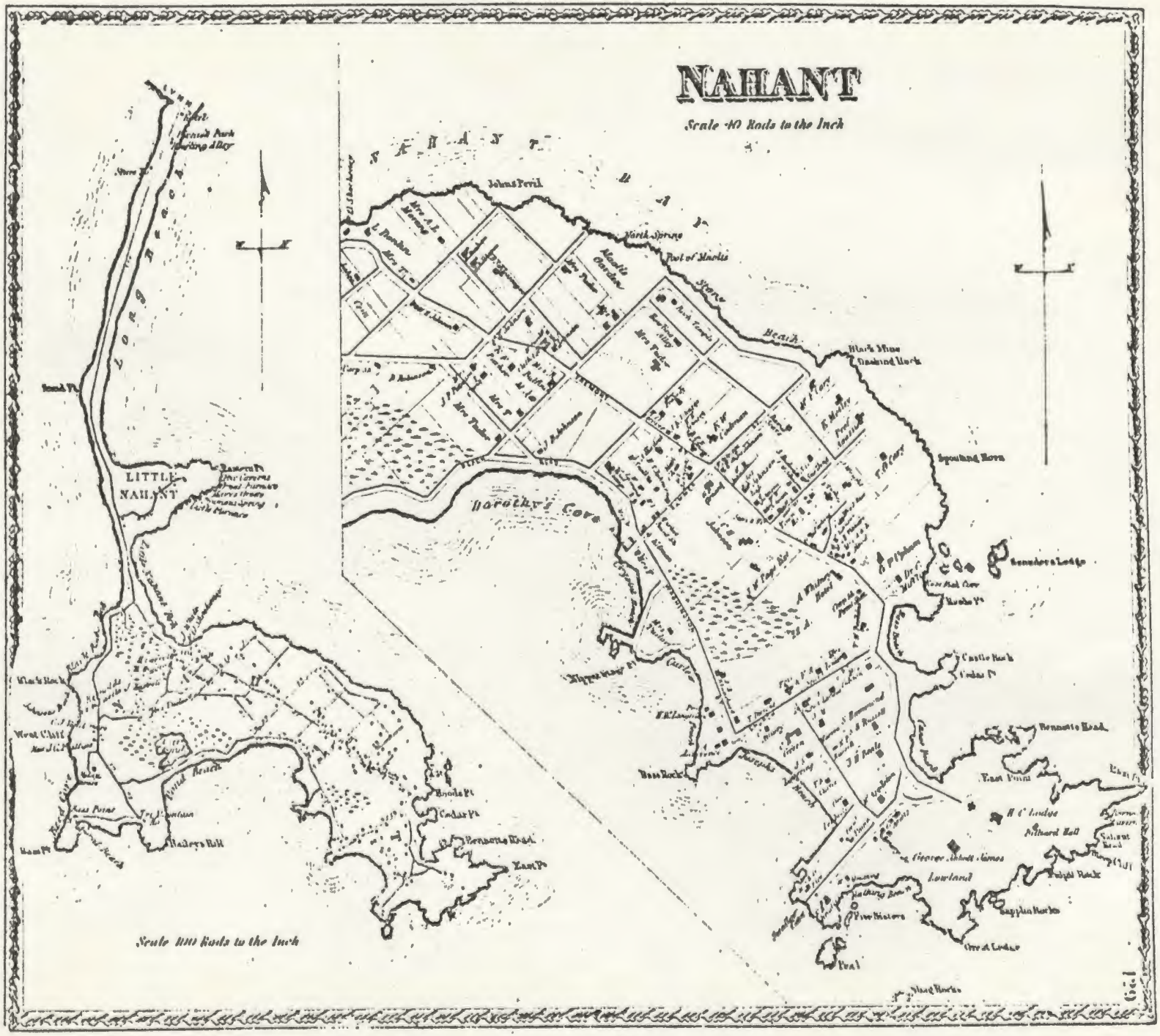

Figure 3: Nahant in 1872 showing the distribution of houses and the resort development of the eastern end of the peninsula (reduction of map from Atlas of Essex County 1872; courtesy of the Nahant Historical Society).

Figure 4: Aerial view of the peninsula of Nahant looking west. East Point in foreground showing area of missile base. Bass Point is at left rear of photo with Little Nahant and causeway to right rear (photo taken 1966 by Saugus Press, courtesy of Don Hodges).

Figure 5: The Town Wharf on the south side of the peninsula was built by Mrs. Frederic Tudor and given to the town after her death in 1884. Today the wharf is the focal point for most boating activites.

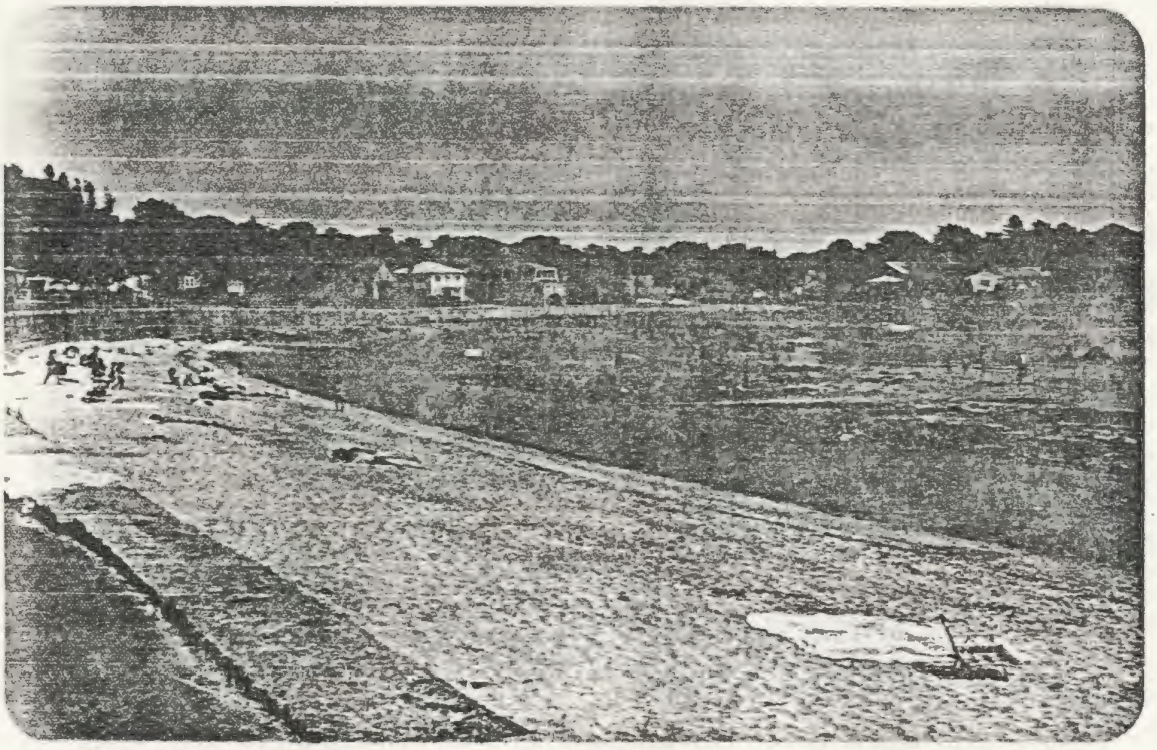

Figure 6: Tudor Beach at low tide (marked as Dorothy Cove in Figure 2).

Figure 7: Nahant Town Hall, Nahant Road, built in 1912. This building houses the town offices and is where the annual April town meeting is held.

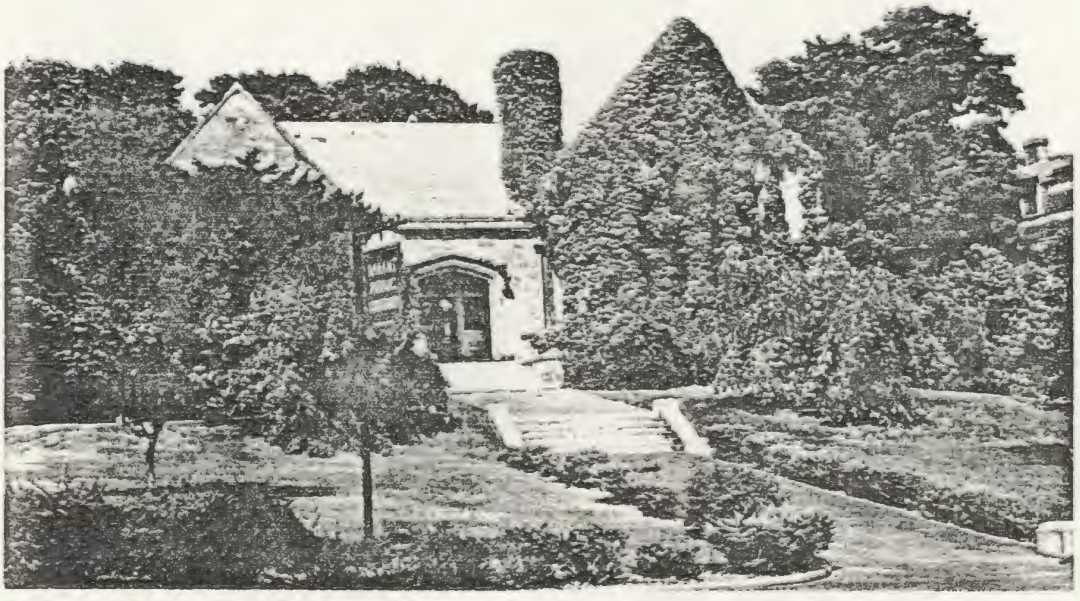

Figure 8: Nahant Public Library, Nahant Road, built in 1894. Nahant claims the third oldest public library in the State of Massachusetts as it was founded by William Wood in 1819.

Figure 9: Nahant Post Office and Village Store, Nahant Road just west of the town hall. This section of town is the morning meeting place for local residents.

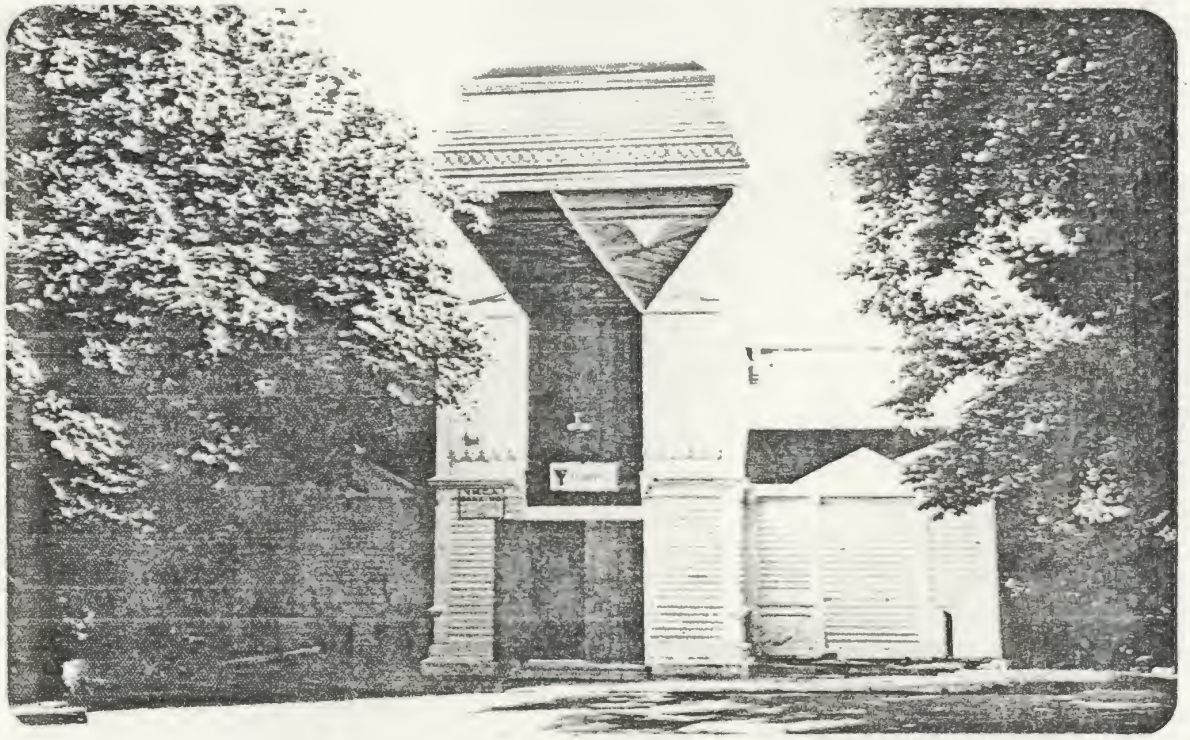

Figure 10: Y.M.C.A., Nahant Road. Built in 1851 this structure was formerly the Independent Methodist Church. It was given to the Y.M.C.A. when this village church merged with the Boston Church in 1968.

Figure 11: Nahant Village Church, Cliff Street. Formerly the Boston Church this Gothic structure was built in 1868 by the Boston summer residents.

Figure 12: Greenlawn Cemetery looking towards J.T. Wilson School (1936), Nahant Road. Photo shows new section of cemetery. The older part of the cemetery includes seven small headstones marked "Unknown" for unnamed sailors who drowned when their ship was wrecked on Nahant in the 1800s.

Figure 13: The Witch House, Marginal Road, the last remaining pavillion and vestige of the once popular Maolis Gardens operating in the late 1800s.

Figure 14: The Midway, Bass Point, photo taken ca. 1910. Photograph shows some of the many concession stands operating at the time which reflect the popularity of Bass Point in the early 1900s (photo courtesy of Don Hodges).

Figure 15: Whitney Homestead, Nahant Road, built ca. 1717. This structure is the oldest in Nahant and was used as an inn from 1819 to 1936.

Figure 16: Edge Hill Inn, Nahant Road, built ca. 1850. This is the central building of a group which forms the inn which has recently been converted to apartments.

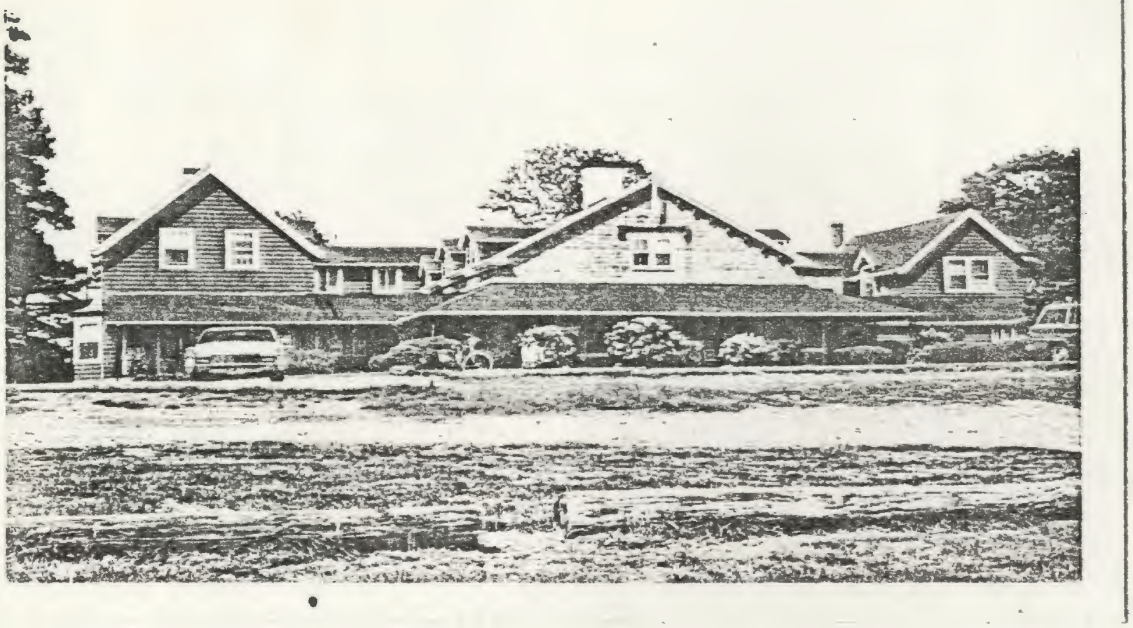

Figure 17: The Nahant Country Club, Nahant Road, formerly the Nahant Club maintained by the summer people now a club for all local residents. The central stone building was Frederic Tudor's summer cottage built in 1825.

Figure 18: Pleasant Street, a summer house built in the late 1800s which has been converted for winter occupancy. The building reflects the architectural style of the period and the typical size of the old summer houses.

Figure 19: Cliff Street, East Point looking east across Joe Beach Harbor. The two concrete towers visible in photo were built by the Navy and the Coast Guard in World War II on the property of a Boston summer resident.

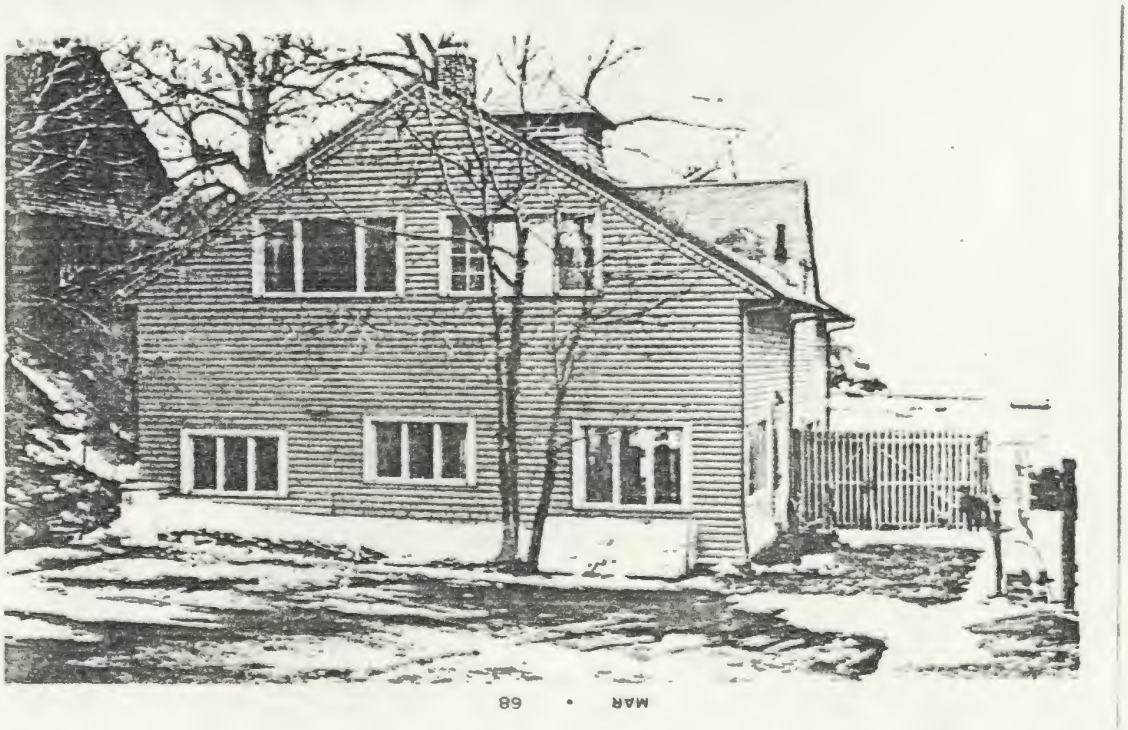

Figure 20: East Point stable built in the late 1800s and remodelled in the 1970s for year-round use. Typical of how former outbuildings are now used for permanent dwellings. Structure to the left is the laundry cottage of an old summer house (photo March 1968 courtesy of Don Hodges).

Figure 21: East Point, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge's summer house built in the late 1860s. The house was torn down pre World War II when the land was taken over by the government for a missile base. Other summer houses are visible in rear. Photo taken ca. 1920 (courtesy of Don Hodges).

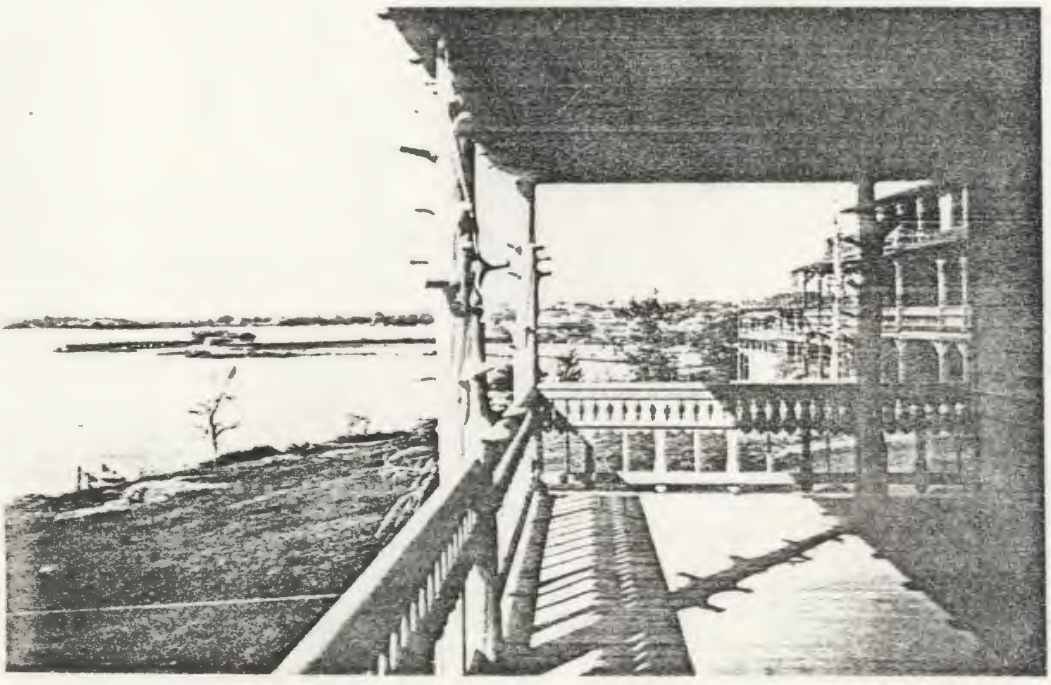

Figure 22: Summer houses looking west toward Town Wharf. House at rear that of H. W. Longfellow in which the 1896 East Point fire began. The rustic cedar posts were typical of local summer houses. Photo ca. 1879 (courtesy of Don Hodges).

Figure 23: A Cornelius Coolidge summer house built in 1829, Nahant Road, East Point. The top storey was added in 1859, and the house is typical of resort architecture of the mid nineteenth century.

Figure 24: House at Irishtown, Spring Road, built in the late 1800s

Figure 25: Bass Point from Bailey's Hill. Military installations from World War I form part of area now a public park.

Figure 26: Bass Point from Bailey's Hill looking west. The apartment buildings in photo are located where the Midway once stood.

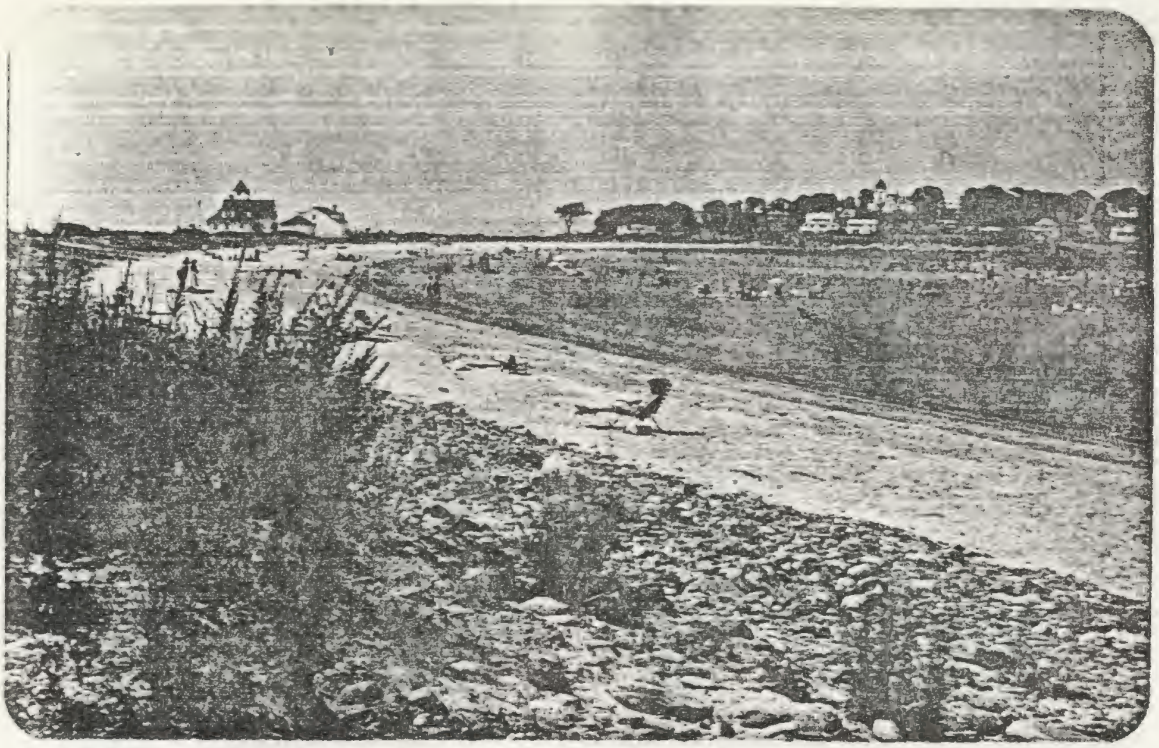

Figure 27: Short Beach and east side of Little Nahant. The United States Coast Guard station built in 1898 is to the left, and to the right the house with the tower was one of the two houses on Little Nahant in 1900; since that time all the land has been developed.

Figure 28: Houses on the east side of Little Nahant all built ca. 1920.