

Life in the Hollow: Historic and Archaeological Research at Dixon Hollow, Hemlock, New York

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This paper presents the results of archaeological and historic research conducted at the Dixon Hollow Site, in Hemlock, New York. The archaeological excavations and analysis were conducted from 2003 through 2010 by St. John Fisher College and SUNY College at Geneseo field school students, under the direction of the author. Historic research was conducted at the Livingston County Historian's office, the Livingston County Surrogate Court, the Livingston County Clerk's office, and the Rare Books, Special Collection, and Preservation department at the Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester.

The History of Dixon Hollow and the Canadice Outlet

Dixon Hollow was a small, rural hamlet located on the eastern border of Livingston and Ontario Counties. Situated along the Canadice Outlet, which flows through the valley between Bald Hill and Canadice Mountain, Dixon Hollow has been abandoned for nearly one hundred years. The outlet descends at a steep grade from Canadice Lake to Hemlock Lake, and, in areas where it receives mountain streams, creates rushing waters in an "immense mountain spring" (Waite 1883, as quoted in Leonard and Isler 2004:3). Because of the high-energy water source that the outlet provided, this area was an ideal place to set up additional mills connected with the nearby town of Hemlock. Dixon Hollow was occupied for a relatively short period of time, beginning in the late 1820s. After completion of a pipeline in 1875, the City of Rochester diverted water from the lakes to be used as drinking water for its growing population. Concerned about contamination of the water supply, the City of Rochester completed its purchase of the properties located within the immediate vicinity of the lakes and the surrounding watershed by 1920. Although nearly forgotten by most residents of Hemlock, it is through the contributions of oral history, historic documents, photographs, and the archaeological record that the important history of Dixon Hollow and the surrounding outlet has been learned.

The history of the Canadice Outlet begins with the Native American groups who first inhabited its hills and valleys, including the most recent occupants, the Seneca Iroquois (Deats n.d.). Native Americans, and European Americans later, were attracted to the beautiful waters and abundant resources. D. Byron Waite, the first resident to

publish an account of Hemlock's history (1883:23), remarked that "whoever has passed the shore or over the surface of this body of water, could not fail to be [favorably] and permanently impressed with its numerous indentations or coves...." An early resident of Hemlock, W. H. C. Hosmer (Deats n.d.), passed on the oral tradition of the conflict between the Munsee and Mengwe tribes who lived in the area between A.D. 1350 and 1375. One night, the Mengwe attacked the Munsee, killing everyone except Onnolee, the daughter of a prominent leader, who was taken as a Mengwe captive. According to the story, "Mickinac, the Mengwe leader, tied Onnolee to his belt before she followed the war party to their home. As the group stopped to rest, Onnolee stole her captor's knife, cut herself free, and thrust the weapon into Mickinac's side. With arrows racing by, she fled to the shores of Canadice Lake, and threw herself into the waters below to meet a watery grave" (Leonard and Isler 2004:3). A local legend tells of the ghost of Onnolee who haunts the lake, "As moonbeams stole glances to kiss the tiny waters of the lake, the sainted form of the once beautiful Onnolee could be seen to rise from its watery home, and either vanish in upper arm or return again to the bosom of the deep" (Waite 1883:15). The Native American presence in the area was greatly diminished by the time of General Sullivan's Campaign against the Iroquois in the summer of 1779 (Deats n.d.).

For most of the nineteenth century, the area around Hemlock Lake was officially connected to the town of Livonia, located just northwest of the lake and first settled in 1789. In 1795, Philip Short settled in Hemlock Lake as the hamlets of Hemlock and Dixon Hollow were then called. Hemlock did not receive its own post office and name until 1895 (Unknown author 1989). "Dixon Hollow" seems to be a colloquial name; the only document found where this name is used is a deed dated to 1890, wherein a road (Dixon Hollow Road) is described as "leading through what is known as Dixon Hollow to the Village of Hemlock Lake" (Livingston County Clerk, Grantors and Grantees Deeds 1890). Letters written to Dixon Hollow residents were addressed to "Hemlock Lake" and referred to the residents as "the folks in the hollow."

Early settlers moved to Dixon Hollow as a result of the growing mill industry of Hemlock. The lake itself was a great commercial lumber "highway," providing an "interme-

diate link between the pine and hemlock lands of the south, and the harder varieties of timber at the north, and the breadstuffs of the north finding a ready market in the southern woods" (Waite 1883:23). Logs were transported across the lake by floating in the summer and by rolling across the ice in the winter. On May 6, 1815, after several mills were erected at both ends of Hemlock Lake, a public highway (now Route 15A) was created (Waite 1883), which connected Hemlock to Rochester economically and socially. Later, flat boats called "scows" were used to transport lumber more safely and efficiently (Deats n.d.; Leonard and Isler 2004). As noted by an observer of the day, "The whole foot of the lake in my recollection was piled up with lumber for sale. Teams from all parts of the country were there every hour of the day loading up with lumber" (Waite 1883: 23). Brickmakers, blacksmiths, and cobblers also came into the area, largely as a result of the milling industry (Leonard and Isler 2004).

A man by the name of Higby erected the first sawmill, near the foot of Hemlock Lake in 1795, and Thomas Morris built the first grist mill, located at the bottom of the outlet in 1800. The Dixson family, namesake of Dixon Hollow, erected two mills alongside the Canadice outlet around 1840 (Canadice Chronicle 1993). It is around one of these mills that the Dixon Hollow settlement arose. There is an evident archaeological residue associated with Dixon Hollow, including old roadbeds that are overgrown with trees and other vegetation, and foundations. One of these roadbeds represents what is left of Dixon Hollow Road, built by the Spencer family, which ran alongside the outlet (Figure 1). A second road, which was closed by 1910, ran from Canadice Lake Road down to the outlet (Figure 1). Dixon Hollow was home to a general store and three mills, as well as numerous milling and farming families. These families cultivated timothy, wheat, corn, beans, potatoes, oats, apple orchards and berry patches (New York State Census Records: Agricultural Statistics 1890).

By the 1870s tourism was the second most important economic draw to Hemlock, next to milling. In the summer months, people came from Rochester and other regions across New York State to relax at hotels like The Port House, The St. James, and the three-storied Jacques Hotel (Deats n.d.) The first steamboat on the lake, called the "Seth Green," was capable of carrying forty passengers from one end of the lake to the other to attend hotel dances and visit the numerous cottages. Other boats followed, including H. J. Wemett's "Corra Belle." From Rochester, tourists could take a train into Hemlock, near the north end of the lake. In addition to the cool waters of the lake, people came to Hemlock to attend the "Little World's Fair," home of the first Ferris Wheel in the United States. The Hemlock Fair still draws

people from all over the Rochester area and the fairground itself was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2000.

Despite the success of the milling industry and the tourism of Hemlock Lake, the growing population in Rochester and the need for safe drinking water led the city to purchase the lakes and surrounding land. The city began negotiations to purchase Hemlock and Canadice Lakes as early as 1858, and pipeline conduits of water flowed into the city by 1875 (Deats n.d.). This pipeline was a relatively cheap method of obtaining clean drinking water, because the lower elevation of Rochester allowed the water to flow via gravity rather than with pumps (Don Root, personal communication). Between 1912 and 1918, a conduit from Canadice to Hemlock Lake was built. It had a carrying capacity of 42 million gallons of water per day by 1918.

By 1885, after numerous typhoid outbreaks in other states, the State Board of Health became concerned about the quality of the water from Hemlock and Canadice Lakes and surrounding watershed. In an 1885 editorial from a Rochester newspaper, it was reported that the State Board of Health found "most of the nearly one hundred cottages and hotels are located within a hundred feet of the water" and that "in many places the privy vaults are in the sub-soil water, so that their contents are dissolved and carried into the lake through the gravel, which has little or no filtering power, so far as infective material is concerned" (Union and Advertiser 1885). The editorial also went on to admonish Livingston County officials who may protest measures taken to protect the water supply, going so far as to say that "should an epidemic be produced in Rochester, by pollution of Hemlock Lake, Mr. Kidder, M. Scott, his petty magistrate, and the polluters of the water, would soon feel the vengeance of an outraged people" (Union and Advertiser 1885). The properties directly adjacent to the lakes were purchased first; and by 1920 the properties located along the outlet in Dixon Hollow were sold to the City of Rochester and abandoned.

The Folks in the Hollow

There were many families living in Dixon Hollow from the early part of the nineteenth century through 1920. This paper focuses on the families that are associated with the major occupations of the structures that have been excavated by this point in time. All of the families are listed in Table 1, while the structures located in Dixon Hollow are shown in Figure 1. In some cases, the maps (Figures 2-5) are not comprehensive in that structures that are known to have existed are not shown. The Mather, Dixson, and Adams families are discussed in detail below.

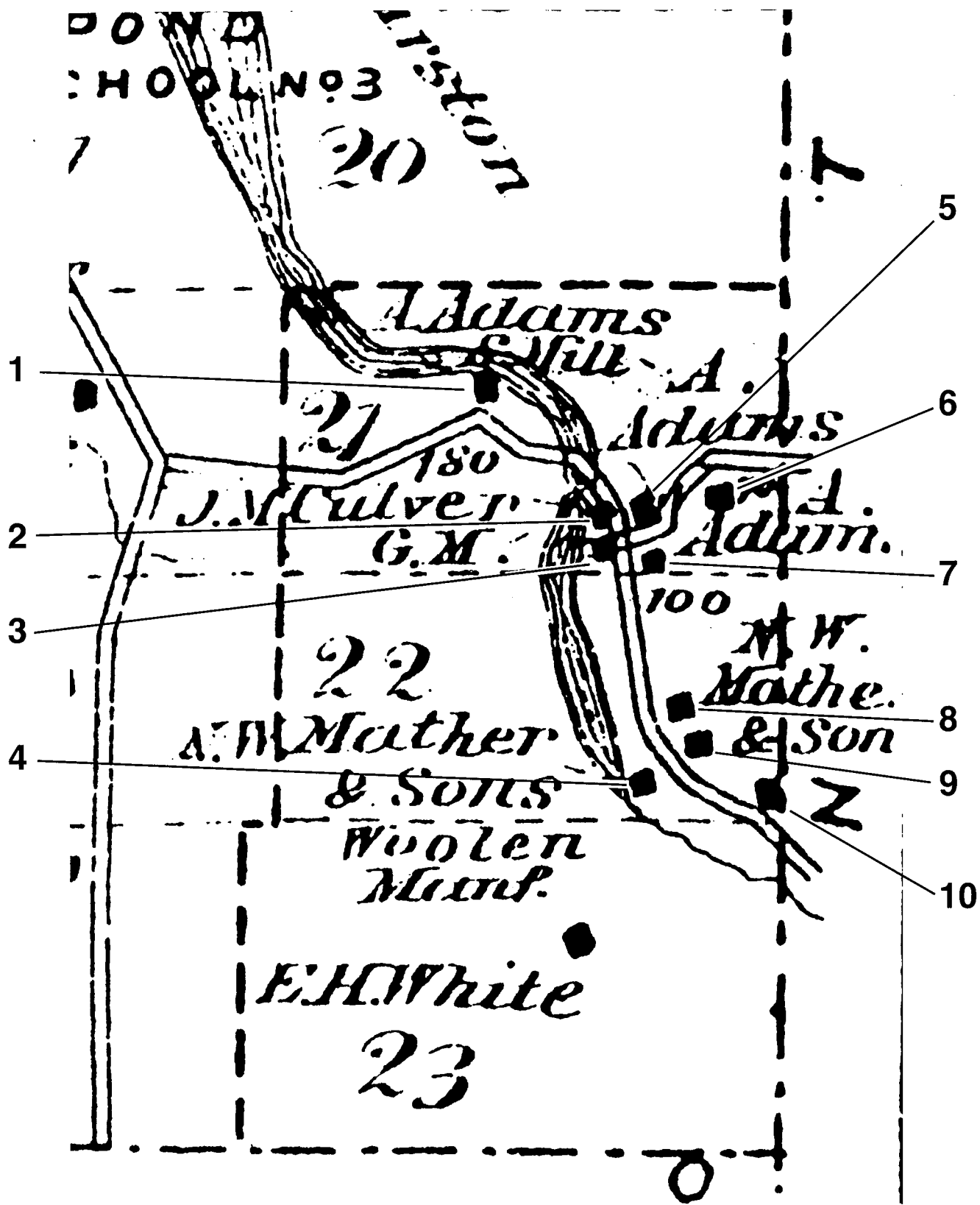


Figure 1. Portion of 1872 map (southeast corner) showing the structures at Dixon Hollow. 1. Albert Adams Saw Mill; 2. Dixon Grist Mill; 3. Unknown Structure; 4. Mather Mill; 5. Dixon House; 6. Albert Adams House; 7. Amos Dixon House; 8. Grove & Phyla Mather House; 9. Norman & Nancy Mather House (later Olin & Gladys Mather House); 10. Old Mather House; Dixon Hollow Road running from Old Bald Hill Road to Canadice Lake Road; West-East Road leading from Dixon Hollow Road to Canadice Lake Road.

Table 1. Occupants of Dixon Hollow listed on maps.

1852	<i>Maps of Livingston County, New York.</i> Philadelphia: Smith & Gillette Publishers.	Grist Mill Amos Dixson Norman W. Mather Wool factory
1858	<i>Gillette's Map of Livingston County, New York.</i> Philadelphia: Jno. E. Gillette, Publisher.	W. Potter (William) Amos Dixson Estate Norman W. Mather (2 houses) Wool factory H.K. Steele (old Mather house) Mrs. Wiburn (Judith)
1872	<i>Atlas of Livingston County, New York.</i> New York: Beers & Company.	A. Adams S. Mill A. Adams (Albert and Azel) J.M. Culver Grist Mill Norman W. Mather & Son (2 houses and wool factory) E. H. White (Edward)
1902	<i>New Century Atlas of Livingston County, New York.</i> Philadelphia: Century Map Company.	E. Sellinger (Edward Salinger) M. Woodruff (Mary) Grove Mather Tub Factory G. E. Daniels (George)
1910-11	<i>Survey in Four Consecutive Parts of Territory Between Hemlock and Canadice Lakes and Along Canadice Outlet For Devising Betterments in Rochester Water Works Supply System.</i> Made for City of Rochester Dept. of Engineering 1910-1911, by C.N. Munger.	Mrs. Lucy Salinger Mrs. Grace Welch Mather City of Rochester (area along outlet b/t bridge and Mather mill)

The Mather Family

Norman Wells Mather was one of the first residents to settle in Dixon Hollow. His wool factory and his first house in Dixon Hollow (Figure 1: structures 4 and 10, respectively) are both listed on the 1852 map. It is likely that Norman Mather settled in the Livonia area sometime around 1827, as a young man of about 23 years (Table 2). However, the earliest deed for Norman Mather shows that he bought the property where the house is located in 1832. Norman Mather was born in 1804 to Eusebius Mather and Susannah Wells. He sometimes listed his place of birth as Richmond, Ontario County (the area just east of Hemlock Lake) on different censuses, but more often listed Saratoga County, New York, as his place of birth. His parents were born in Connecticut and likely moved west into New York as part of the influx of settlers from the northeast states. Norman's father died when

Norman was only seven years old and his mother when he was fifteen. His brothers, David and John, also settled in Livingston County.

It is unclear when Norman first married, but the first wife found on the Federal Census Records is Jane Ashley, who Norman married in 1830. Norman and Jane had at least five children together. The oldest, Emeline, was born in 1832, and was followed by Grove, Ashley, John, and Jane (also known as Jennie). Grove, born in 1834, grew up to work with his father in the wool factory and will be discussed later. Tragedy struck Norman and his family several times during these early years. The first such documented tragedy was the loss of Norman and Jane's two year old son, Ashley, in 1839. Perhaps even more devastating to the family, however, was the death of Norman's wife, Jane, in August of 1842. Jane died just four days after giving birth to daughter Jennie, so it is likely that she died from compli-

Table 2. United States Federal and New York State Census Records—Norman Mather Family.

Census	Household Members	Notes
1830-US Federal	Norman Mather (head) 2 males 20-30 yrs 1 female 20-30 yrs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other male likely to be one of Norman's brothers. • Female is likely to be Norman's wife Jane Ashley.
1840-US Federal	Norman Mather (head) 1 male 30-40 yrs 1 female 30-40 yrs 1 male 15-20 yrs 1 female 5-10 yrs 1 male 5-10 yrs 1 male under 5 yrs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 15-20 yr old male unknown. • Children are likely to be Emeline (8), Grove (6) and John (less than 1 yr). • Ashley b. 1837, d. 1839.
1850-US Federal	Norman Mather (head) 45 Nancy Mather 25 Emeline (Emma) 18 Grove 16 John 10 Jane (Jennie) 7 Amelia 2 William (less than 1 yr) Abigail Goodrich 19 Cordelia Phillips 19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nancy is Norman's new wife—Jane died shortly after daughter Jane's birth, August 1842. • Abigail and Cordelia unknown- maybe friends of Emma?
1855-NY State	Norman W. Mather 50 Nancy C. 31 Grove W. 20 John C. 15 Jane A. (Jennie) 12 Mary (Amelia) 7 William B. 5 Franklin D. 3	
1860-US Federal	Norman W. 55 Nancy C. 35 Grove 25 John C. 20 M. Amelia 12 William B. 10 Frank D. 8 Ellen J. 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jennie married Oscar Sisson in 1858 and left household.
1865-NY State	N.W. Mather 60 Cornelia N. (Nancy) 41 John C. 25 Mary A. (Amelia) 17 Willie B. (William) 15	

Table 2 (continued). United States Federal and New York State Census Records- Norman Mather Family.

Census	Household Members	Notes
1865-NY State (continued)	Frank G. 13 Ellen J. 7	
1870-US Federal	N.W. (Norman) 65 N.C. (Nancy) 46 Willie B. (William) 20 Irene 13 (Ida) May Blowen 12 R. Doty 64	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Willie is listed as working in woolen mill. • Irene unkown- probably Ellen from 1860 census. • Ida May Blowen was adopted daughter? • Doty listed as farmer.
1875-NY State	N.W. Mather 70 Nancy C. 51 Franklin D. 23 Ellen J. 18 Charles Wilder 10 Ida M. (May) Blowers 17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ida May Blowen is listed as a daughter and Charles Wilder is listed as a son.
1880-US Federal	N.W. Mather 75 Nancy 56 David 70 Stevenson, Josiah 20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • David is Norman's brother- listed as a farmer. • Stevenson is listed as a school teacher and boarder.

cations associated with childbirth. Norman noted on the 1865 New York State Census that he had been married three times, which means that he was married either before Jane or between the death of Jane and his final marriage. Since divorces were uncommon in those days, it is likely that Norman was widowed a second time. Norman may have lost additional children with his other wife, because he also notes on the 1865 New York State Census that he had a total of eleven children, two of whom were not found on any records and were not likely to have been his last wife's children.

After Jane's death, Norman married Nancy Cornelia Van Fossen, a young woman twenty years younger than he was. It is unclear when they married, but the first child who shows up on the census records is Mary Amelia (usually referred to as Amelia), born in 1848. Amelia was followed by William, Franklin, and Ellen Irene. Nancy would have been in her early thirties when she had her last child, which is unusual for the time, but Norman would have been in his early fifties. Norman and Nancy also adopted two children: Ida May Blowers sometime between 1865 and 1870, and Charles Wilder between 1870 and 1875.

Norman and Nancy built another house across from the mill sometime between 1852 and 1858 (Figure 1: structure

9). This time period also falls between the births of their last two children, Frank and Ellen. The 1855 New York State Census shows that six children were living with Norman and Nancy. Grove, however, may have built a house for himself close to this time period, because two houses across from the mill show up on the 1858 map. There is an H. K. Steele listed next to the Mathers on the 1858 map and is likely to be associated with the old Mather house. An 1857 deed shows that Norman and Nancy sold $\frac{3}{4}$ of an acre of land to Hilpa Steele, the wife of Hiram Steele, who is described as a wool dealer on the 1850 Federal Census. Hiram and Hilpa had a large family of eight children ranging in age from 9 to 25 living with them in 1855, and it is likely that at least five of those children moved with them to the old Mather house.

The next available map dates to 1872 and lists the mill as "N.W. Mather & Sons Woolen Manf." and the houses are listed as belonging to "N.W. Mather and Son" By this time Grove, John and William were working with their father in the mill and Grove likely lived in the house next door with his young family (Figure 1: Structure 8). Sadly, Grove's married life, like his father's, began with tragedy. Grove married Ellen Doolittle in March or April of 1861, and had a baby son named Norman D. Mather in early 1862. The

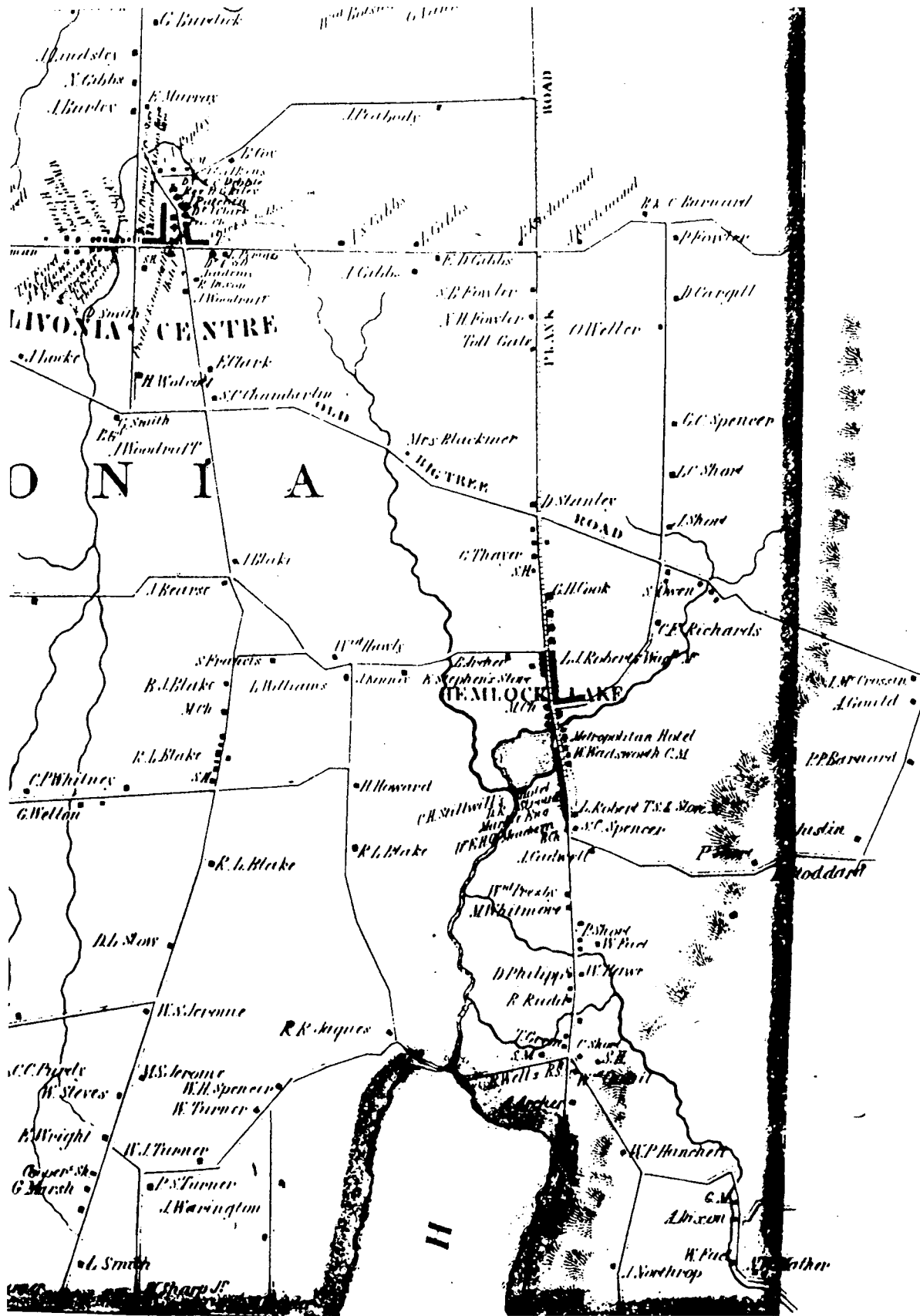


Figure 2. Atlas of Livingston County, New York, 1852. Dixon Hollow is located in the far southeast corner of the map.

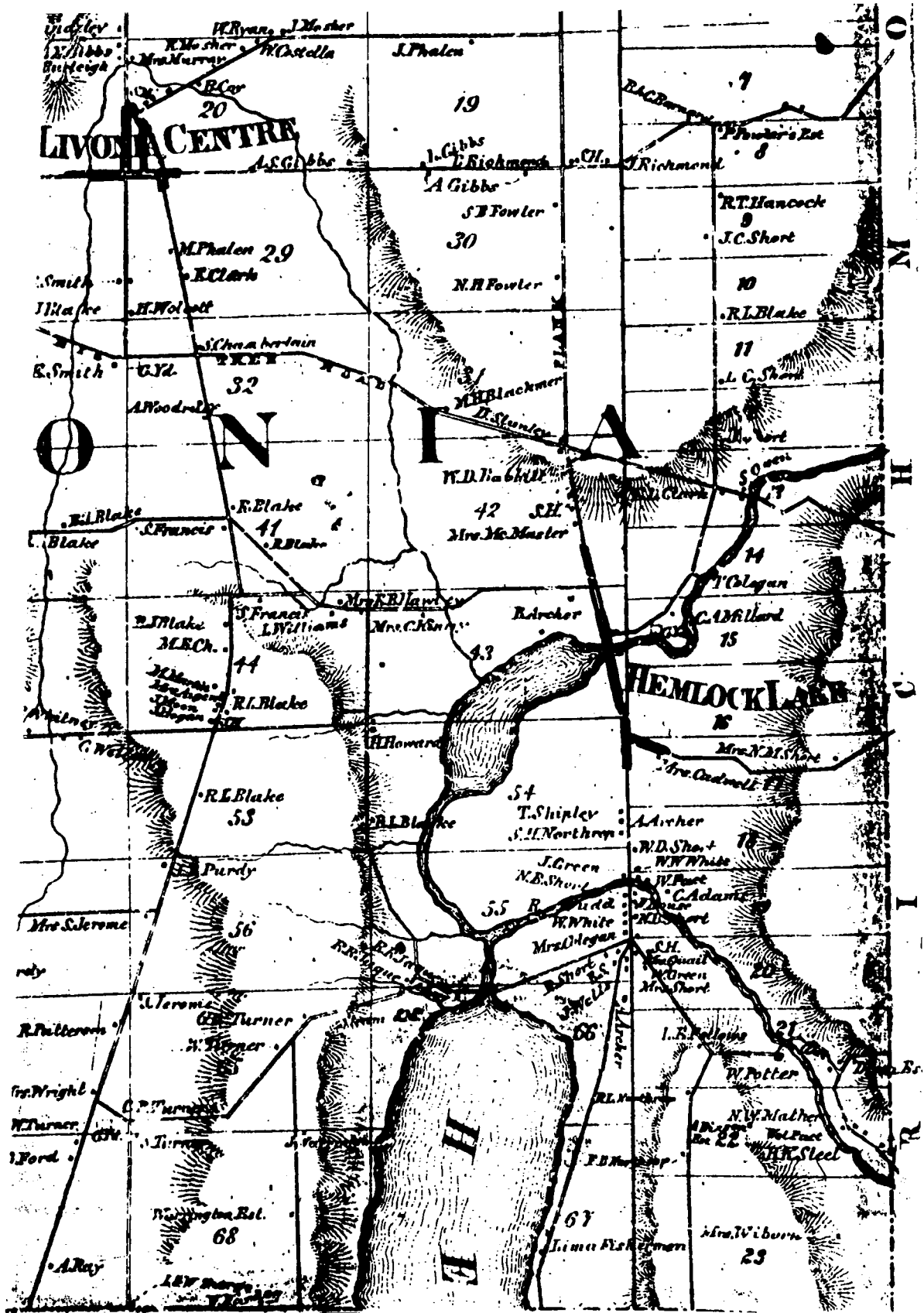


Figure 3. Gillette's Map of Livingston County, New York, 1858. Dixon Hollow is located in the far southeast corner of the map.

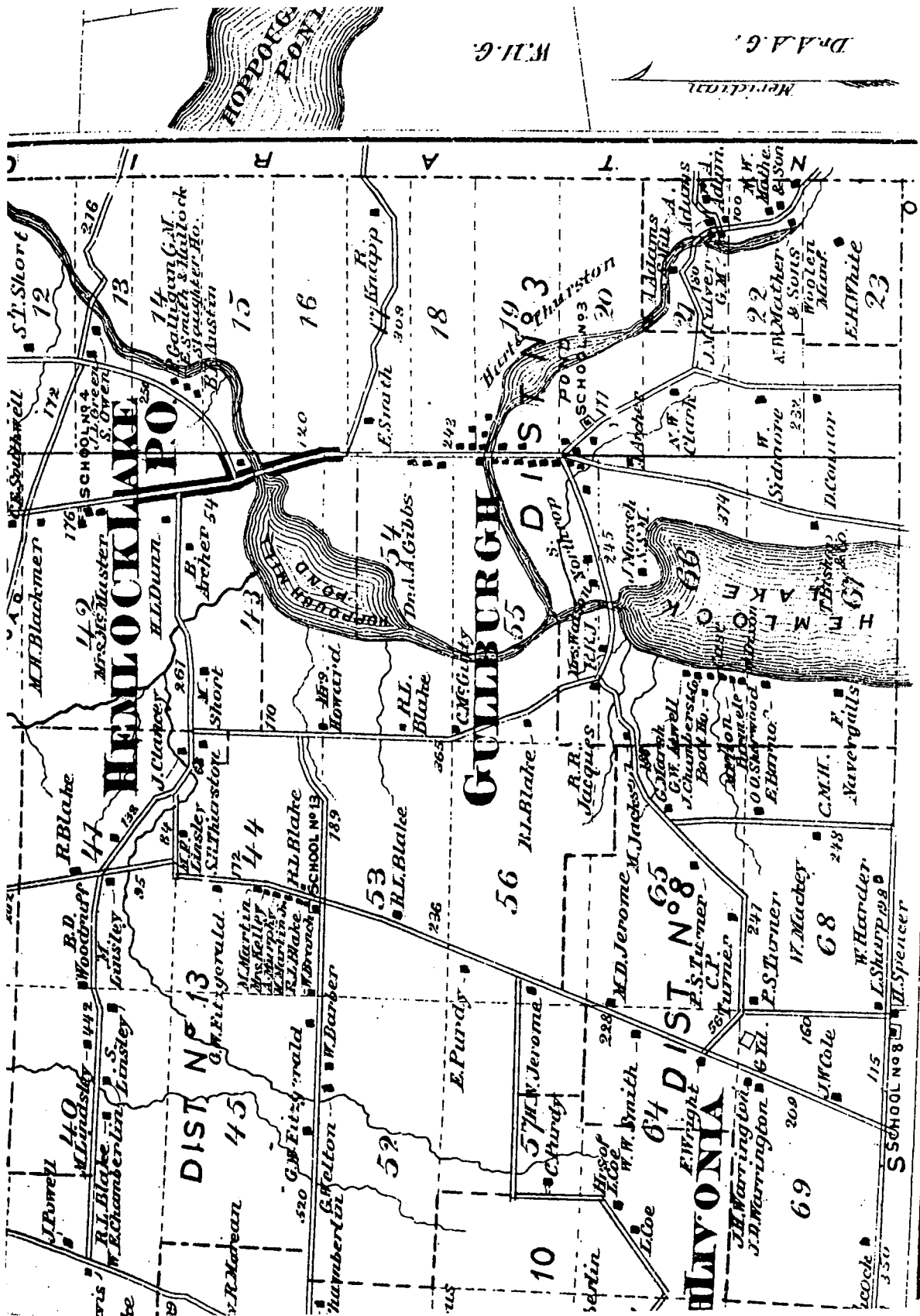


Figure 4. F. W. Beers & Co. Map of Livingston County, New York, 1872. Dixon Hollow is located in the far southeast corner of the map.

Table 3. United States Federal and New York State Census Records—Grove Mather Family.

Census	Household Members	Notes
1865-NY State	Grove Mather 31 Phyla 22	
1870-US Federal	G.W. Mather (Grove) 35 Phyla (Phyla) 26 Ellen 4 Ida (9 mos) A. Owen 33 Emma Ford 18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grove was married to Phyla's sister, Ellen, in 1861 and had a child in 1862- both died in 1862. • Grove married Phyla in 1863. • A. Owen worked in the mill. • Emma Ford is listed as a domestic servant.
1875-NY State	Grove W. Mather 40 Phyla M. 31 Ellen J. 9 Ida S. 5 Persis 1	
1880-US Federal	Grove 45 Phyla 37 Ellen 14 Ida 10 Persis 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Daughter Ruth born in 1875 and died in 1876.
1890-US Federal	Not available	
1900-US Federal	Grove 65 Phyla 57 Olin 15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Olin was born in 1885. • Ida died in 1895 (26 yrs).
1910-US Federal	Grove 75 Phyla 67 Olin 25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Olin married Gladys Richardson shortly after census (Aug 1910). • By 1920 census Grove had died and Phyla sold property and moved in with daughter.

baby lived only five weeks and then, tragically, Ellen died of diphtheria on October 20, 1862 (Mather n.d.). The next year, in November 1863, Grove got remarried to Ellen's younger sister, Phylana (Phyla) Doolittle (Table 3). Grove and Phyla had five children, beginning with Ellen Jane in 1865, and followed by Ida, Persis, Ruth, and Olin. Ruth died just before her first birthday, in 1876, and Ida died as a young woman of 26 in 1895. Olin, born in 1885, took over running the mill and farm from Grove as a young man.

Phylana Doolittle also came from a large family. Her father, Willard, was a physician and a farmer living in Richmond, Ontario County. He also lost a young wife, Emeline Bernard, sometime after the birth of their daughter,

Persis, in 1831. With his second wife, Lorana Bishop, Willard had eight additional children, including Mary, Clarissa, Ellen, Willard Jr., Phylana, Asa, Truman, and Jennie. Sadly, Jennie died of diphtheria in November of 1862, just a couple of weeks after her sister Ellen succumbed to the same disease (Mather n.d.). Dr. Doolittle also lost his oldest son and namesake, Willard Jr., to diphtheria when Willard Jr. was forty years old (Mather 1939). Willard Doolittle Sr. was remembered in a 1920s' era newspaper article as one of the few doctors available to the residents of Hemlock Lake (Livonia Gazette n.d.). Apparently, Hemlock Lake did not have a doctor, so the residents went to two doctors in Livonia Center and to Dr. Doolittle, "over on the

Richmond hills;" these doctors "were called to help our people into and out of the world through heroic practice" (Livonia Gazette n.d.). Like the Mathers, the Doolittles came from Connecticut. Willard's father, Asa, died when Willard was young but spent the last seven years of his life in Richmond, Ontario County. Willard died in 1875 after being thrown from his buggy while on route home from seeing a patient. He is remembered in his obituary as "an old and highly respected physician of the town of Richmond" (Ontario County Journal 1875).

John Mather, Norman's second oldest son, is listed on the 1870 Federal Census with his wife, Jerusha Green, and their one month-old baby, Mary. It is unclear, however, exactly where John and his wife lived. They appear on the census in close proximity to the other families listed on the map as residing in Dixon Hollow, and deed records show that he owned property in Dixon Hollow. It is possible that they were living in the old Mather house, since that structure does not have a specific name associated with it (by 1872, the Steele family seems to no longer live in Dixon Hollow). In 1872 John and Jerusha sold three tracts of land in Dixon Hollow, totaling about 24 acres in area, back to Norman and Grove. In 1875, John sold a small transect of land to the City of Rochester for laying an iron pipeline, including the area for the conduit itself and 35 ft of land on each side. It is likely that this tract of land was in the center of Hemlock proper and that this was where he and Jerusha lived and farmed after 1872.

Norman and Grove are listed right next to each other on the 1880 Federal census which lists the occupations of both men as pail manufacturers. Sometime between 1870 and 1880 there seems to have been a shift from wool to pails in the focus of the products manufactured at the Mather mill. In fact, the 1875 New York State Census listed Norman and Grove as "butter tub manufacturers." Interestingly, an advertisement in The Livonia Gazette from Friday, April 9, 1886, notes that "his (G.W. Mather) white oak tubs are considered to be the best for preserving butter." Norman and Nancy sold what appears to be most of their Dixon Hollow land, 26 acres in total, to Phyla, in July of 1878; interestingly, Grove was not involved in this transaction as his name does not appear on the deed. Phyla paid Norman and Nancy \$5,000, of which \$2,000 was mortgaged (Livingston County Clerk, Grantors and Grantees Deeds 1878). At this time, Norman's brother, David, listed as a farmer, was living with Norman and Nancy. Both Norman and David were in their 70s at that time. John is also found on the 1880 Federal census, living with Jerusha, their two children, Mary and Eudora, and Jerusha's parents, Joseph and Lydia Green, though likely in the center of Hemlock proper.

Norman W. Mather died on December 31, 1884, at the

age of eighty years. An obituary refers to him as "Col. N. W. Mather" and "one of the best known residents of Livonia" (Livonia Gazette 1885). After mentioning that he had been sick for a few weeks and informing about funeral arrangements, the obituary goes on to say that "the deceased was one of the most highly respected citizens of the community and his death is a positive lost to it." Nancy died in 1895, and it is likely that she continued to live in the house, adjacent to that of Grove and Phyla, until her death. It is unclear who was living in the house after Nancy's death.

By 1900, Grove and Phyla were living with only their youngest child, Olin, who was then 15 years old. Interestingly, the mill was either not in operation at this time, or was rented out to someone else, because Grove's occupation is now listed as a farmer. Olin was still too young to take over running the mill and was, at this time, at school. On the 1910 Federal census, Grove's occupation is listed as "own income," which infers that he was living on savings. Olin's occupation, at 25 years old, is also listed as a farmer, so the Mathers appear to have not been running the mill at this time either. Grove died in 1915 at the age of 81 years. He was the longest resident of Dixon Hollow, having lived there his entire life. Phyla outlived Grove by thirteen years and had to deal with negotiating the sale to the city on her own. Phyla was the last resident of Dixon Hollow to sell her land to the city. She did this in June 1918, for the sum of \$8,000 which reportedly made her the wealthiest woman in Hemlock. According to the original deed, Phyla was permitted to continue living in the house until the first of January of the following year and during that time was also permitted to move the mill and any contents "provided it's moved to a point not less than one mile from Canadice Outlet" (Livingston County Clerk, Grantors and Grantees Deeds 1918, 201:239). Sadly, it is also reported through family stories that the bank where Phyla deposited her money folded the very next day. Phyla lost all of her money and supposedly had an emotional breakdown, requiring her to move to Minnesota to live with family.

Olin married Gladys Richardson in August of 1910 after a courtship that took him, each day, up Dixon Hollow Road and over the hill toward Honeoye. Olin and Gladys lived in the house that had likely belonged to his grandparents, Norman and Nancy. They lived there less than ten years before Phyla sold the mill, house and property to the city. They did have their young girls, Olive and Beryl and their son, Grove, while still in the house (Table 4). The mill was taken apart and hauled by horse and cart down to the town of Hemlock. Olin and Gladys moved their family to Hemlock where Olin continued to manufacture cider in the original mill and the couple had another son, George. The mill is still standing today in Hemlock (Figure 6). It is

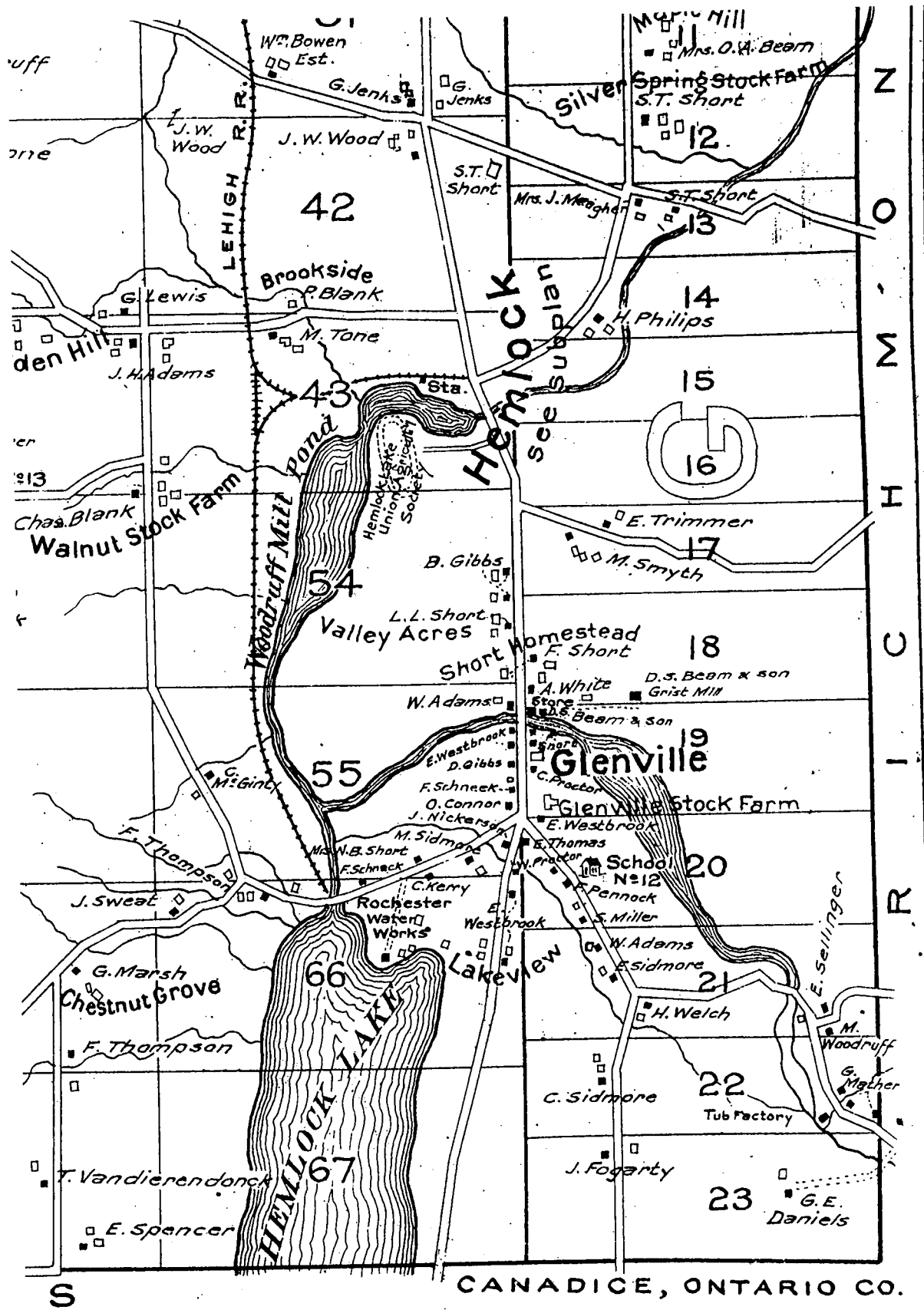


Figure 5. New Century Atlas of Livingston County, New York, 1902. Dixon Hollow is located in the far southeast corner of the map.

Table 4. United States Federal Census Records—Olin Mather Family.

Census	Household Members	Notes
1920-US Federal	Olin 34 Gladys 36 Olive 6 Beryl 5 Grove 1 yr 11 mos George 6 mos George Richardson 66	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This census was probably taken after Olin moved his family out of Dixon Hollow. • George Richardson is Gladys' father

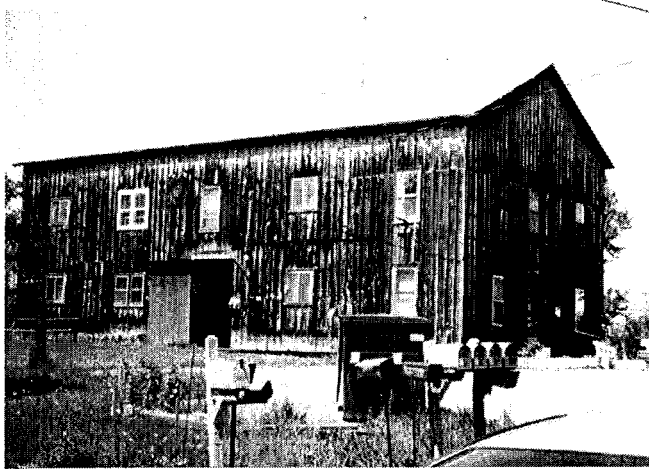


Figure 6. Former Mather Mill, now apartment complex, standing on Clay Street in Hemlock.

located on Clay Street, where it has functioned for the past thirty years as an apartment complex

The Dixson Family

Amos Dixson was one of the first residents of Dixon Hollow and is part of the family for whom the hamlet is named. His name is associated with a structure on the 1852 map, probably his residence, along with a gristmill (Figure 1: structure 2) located just north of the house, along the outlet. It was apparent after spending much time trying to track down the "A. Dixon" listed on the map, that the Dixsons actually spelled their name with an "s," thereby rendering the colloquial name for the hamlet, Dixon Hollow, a misspelling. One account names Henry Dixson as the founder (Waite 1883), while another account names Ezra Dixson (Canadice Chronicle 1993). Henry, and probably Ezra as well, were brothers of Amos.

Amos was born in Connecticut into a family of ten children. His father moved to a farm in Utica, New York, probably in the late eighteenth century. At least five of these brothers, including Amos, John, Robert, Henry, and Ezra,

moved to Richmond, New York as young men to pursue milling and mercantile trade. Amos' brother, John, is described in a lengthy obituary in the Ontario County Times as "one of the pioneers of this county" who was:

engaged in the manufacture of potash...and purchased in New York a stock of dry goods and groceries, going thence as far as Albany on horseback, and bringing his goods from that city by teams, until the completion of the Erie Canal in 1821 furnished a more expeditious means of conveyance [Ontario County Times, April 9, 1879].

By 1837 John owned three mills and had an interest in eight or ten different stores. One of these stores may have been the one located in Dixon Hollow, as discussed later.

Amos Dixson is first found in the 1830 Federal Census, listed next to N.W. Mather (Table 5). Unfortunately, the early Federal Censuses, up to 1840, did not list individuals residing in the households other than the head of household. Consequently, the identities of the other occupants, three males and two females, are unknown. On the 1850 Federal Census, Amos, now 67 years old, is listed as a miller. Roxana Griffin, a woman 11 years younger than Amos, was living in his household at this time and by 1855 they were living in the house alone. On the 1855 New York State Census, Roxana's relationship to Amos is, unfortunately, difficult to read but she describes herself as a widow. It is possible that she was a domestic servant, but Amos bequeathed the household furniture and bedding to her in his will, which seems unusual if she were a servant. It is possible that Roxana is the woman listed with Amos on earlier censuses, but they do not appear to have been married. It seems that Amos did not have any children living at the time of his death because he only listed his nieces and nephews as heirs in his will (in addition to Roxana). He also left the boxes noting whether an individual was married or widowed blank on the 1855 New York State Census and is buried alone in Union Cemetery, Livonia. The ages of the

Table 5. United States Federal and New York State Census Records- Amos Dixson Family

Census	Household Members	Notes
1830-US Federal	Amos Dixson (head) 1 female 30-40 1 female 10-15 3 males 20-30 1 male 40-50	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The 40-50 yr old male is probably Amos. • The younger males could be his brothers.
1840-US Federal	Amos Dixson (head) 2 males 20-30 1 male 50-60 1 female 20-30 1 female 30-40	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The older female in both the 1830 and 1840 censuses could be Roxana Griffin. • The younger males could be Cyrus and Robert.
1850-US Federal	Cyrus Dixson 29 Emily 25 Robert 31 Amos 67 Roxana Gifford (Griffin) 50	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cyrus and Robert are nephews. • Unclear regarding Roxana's relationship to Amos. • Roxana's age is incorrect- she was born in 1794 (she was 56).
1855-NY State	Amos Dixson 72 Roxana Griffin 61	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roxana's name and age are different compared to previous census- she is listed as a widow and a housekeeper for occupation.

other individuals listed on the 1830 and 1840 census indicate that they could be children but, again, it is unclear whether Amos was even married. Roxana is buried in the cemetery in Hemlock with William and Elizabeth Potter (living in Dixon Hollow on the 1858 map). Elizabeth referred to Roxana as her mother in her will (she left her mother Roxana's jewelry to her daughter and also asked that a gravestone be erected for her mother) (Livingston County Surrogate Court, Wills and Probate Records 1880, x2136). Although her relationship to Amos is unclear, Roxana Griffin connects the Potter family with Amos Dixson.

Also on the 1850 Federal census, two sons of Amos' brother, John, reside with Amos. Cyrus Adams, 29 years old, is listed as head of household and a miller by occupation, while Robert, 31 years of age, is listed as a merchant. It is likely that Amos and Cyrus ran the gristmill, located near the house. It is interesting that Robert is listed as a merchant because historical accounts of the area, including the recollections of Olin Mather's daughter, Beryl, say that there was a store in Dixon Hollow in the area near the house listed on Gillette's 1858 map as A. Dixon. In fact, on an 1896 deed, the premises were described using "the old stone building formerly known as the Dixson Store" as a landmark. The fact that Robert is listed as a merchant suggests that the store

was likely in operation in 1850. It is likely that the larger house near the mill, the Dixson family house (Figure 1: structure 5), was built to accommodate these nephews and their families and may have also housed the store. Both nephews left Dixon Hollow by 1855.

Amos Dixson died in 1858 at the age of 75 years. A later deed dated to 1928 referred to "the residence in which his (Amos') death occurred," which is the smaller house at the intersection of Dixon Hollow Road and the old east-west road (Figure 1: structure 7). It is likely that this is the first house that Amos built and the one that he lived in during his time in Dixon Hollow. Norman Mather was listed as one of the appraisers for Amos' estate, which provided additional evidence that Amos Dixson is the "A. Dixson" listed on the 1852 map. In May of 1860, Robert and Henry Dixson, administrators of his estate, filed a petition to sell all of the land in Dixon Hollow which was owned by Amos in order to pay an outstanding debt of \$2,870 from his estate. The total land area owned by Amos was 75 acres, comprising the entire eastern portion of lot #21, from the Fellows land on the west to the county line on the east (see 1858 map). By the time the 1872 map was drawn, the Dixsons were completely gone from Dixon Hollow. Cyrus and his wife, Emily, were found on the 1870 Federal Census, living in

Table 6. United States Federal and New York State Census Records—Albert Adams Family.

Census	Household Members	Notes
1865	Albert Adams 36 Cynthia 32 Selinda Quail (Quayle) 72 George McCrossen 32 Jane McCrossen 28 Franklin McCrossen 12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Selinda is Cynthia's widowed mother- she and Cynthia lived close to DH in 1840 (Cynthia's maiden name is Payne). • 6 yr old son, Eugene, died in 1863. • George is a soldier—his wife and child may have boarded there during the war.
1870-US Federal	Albert Adams 41 Cynthia 36 Albert (I.) 5	
1875-NY State	Cynthia W. Adams 41 Bertie (Albert I.) Adams 10 Eliza A. Belia 48	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Albert senior died in 1872. • Eliza is also a widow, but relationship to Cynthia is unclear.

Table 7. United States Federal and New York State Census Records—Azal Adams Family.

Census	Household Members
1865-NY State	Azal B. 34 Sarah E. 28 Wilbur 9
1870-US Federal	Azal Adams 39 Sarah 34 Wilber 14 JW 5 Frances 2

Canandaigua. They probably moved there to be close to Cyrus' sister, Mary Jewitt, and his father, John. Both Henry and Robert Dixson lived to be very old men and were fondly remembered by residents of Hemlock and Livonia.

The Adams Family

The Adams name, noted as "A. Adams," first appears in Dixon Hollow on the 1872 map. The "A. Adams" refers to Albert Adams, who owned a considerable amount of property both on the west and east sides of the outlet. In May of 1860, Albert Adams purchased the 75 acres of land, comprising the eastern half of lot number 21 that had belonged to Amos Dixson. The proceeds derived from this transaction, as mentioned earlier, were intended to settle the debts still owed by the estate of Amos Dixson. On the 1872 map there were at least three houses owned by Albert Adams, including the Dixson family house and Amos

Dixson's house (where Amos Dixson lived and died), located at the intersection of Dixon Hollow Road and the road that ran west-east up a steep incline to what is today Canadice Lake Road. Up the hill from these houses and along the west-east road, was a homestead that included a house (Figure 1: structure 6) and a barn. Also on the 1872 map were two mills, including the grist mill formerly owned by Amos Dixson, and a sawmill (Figure 1: structure 1) located on the west side of the outlet. Albert Adams likely built and ran the sawmill. On the 1870 census, Albert's brother, Azal Adams, also lived in Dixon Hollow, although there is no evidence that he owned property there. Albert and Azal's father, Willis, lived in Amos Dixson's house and also occupied a barn and garden area just southeast of the bridge. Albert is listed as a carpenter and not a mill owner or manufacturer; however, it is clear from the probate records associated with his estate (and since the mill was a sawmill) that Albert Adams ran the mill and likely built it. Both Azal and Willis Adams are listed as farmers, so it is possible that they helped to farm the property northeast of the outlet. Interestingly, the grist mill and a nine-acre lot surrounding it, including the bigger Dixson family house and (possibly) store, were sold to various individuals during the time that the Adams' owned the larger parcel of land described above.

Albert and Azal Adams show up on the 1850 Federal Census with their parents, Willis and Emily, and their four siblings, Lucretia, John, Isaac, and Willis. They were the two oldest sons of the family, living in Canadice, a small community southeast of Dixon Hollow. Albert Adams was 41 years old when the 1870 census was taken. He had a wife, Cynthia, and a young son, Albert (Table 6). Albert and Cynthia's other son, Eugene, died in 1863 at the age of six years. It was puzzling that both Albert and Azal disappear



Figure 7. Berry picking in the hollow sometime around 1913, shortly before Grove's death. Grove Mather is standing in the back left; Olin Mather, Beryl's father, is standing in the back right holding Olive Mather. Photo courtesy of the late Beryl Mather.

from the census records by 1880, until cemetery records show that Albert died in 1872. Azel, 39 years old, was living with his wife, Sarah, and three children when the 1870 census was taken. However, they are also missing from the 1880 Federal Census (Table 7). It is unclear what happened to Azel and his family, although deed records show that Azel later bought land in the town of Springwater, near the southern end of Hemlock Lake. Albert willed "the house, garden and barn" described above to his father, Willis.

Albert died a young man of 43 years of age, leaving behind his young wife and four year old son, Albert I. (the middle initial likely stands for "Isaac," Albert's brother). Thankfully, extensive probate records (Livingston County Surrogate Court, Wills and Probate Records, 1858-1908, Albert Adams) detail the sale of items associated with the mill and his personal estate, transactions for the rental of the sawmill, and more personal matters regarding the guardianship of young Albert. These probate records indicate that the sawmill was rented out for several years following Albert's death, including to N. W. Mather & Son for an undisclosed period of time at a cost of \$40.77. The farmland was also rented to various individuals during those years, all of which resulted in income for his estate. Both Cynthia and young Albert were listed as beneficiaries in his will, each receiving one-half of his estate after other debts and obligations were met. Between 1875 and 1879, Cynthia received an annual income of about \$216. She also received \$104 per year for the boarding and care of Albert as well as additional funds for his clothing and shoes.

Especially interesting in the probate records of Albert Adams' estate is a petition that was filed by Cynthia in 1879 to the Surrogate Court of Livingston County. In the petition, Cynthia appealed to the court to overturn guardianship of young Albert from Charles Coykendall, who Albert senior appointed as guardian of Albert and his interest in his father's estate. Cynthia seems to be especially distressed, because Coykendall, apparently against her wishes, decided to put young Albert into service with a local family. Cynthia maintains that her son is, in fact, "a boy of delicate health and constitution, subject to periods of illness and unable to endure severe manual labor" and that "there is no necessity of his being put to such labor; that his best interests demand that he should have an opportunity of attending school and receiving a good education." Cynthia goes on to assert that she is wary of the way in which Coykendall has overseen estate funds and that he "is in the habit of using vulgar and profane language and that he has frequently used such language in the presence of the said boy." Coykendall answered this petition, maintaining that he was only doing what Cynthia had asked of him, which was to "take said Adams from her possession and custody or put him in

custody of some other person who could control and govern him claiming that she was unable to do so" especially "if he could get said Adams cared for and provided for at a less sum than he is paying petitioner." Coykendall goes on to deny that he is an "impulsive and passionate man" who "when angry...is in the habit of using vulgar and profane language." In fact, Coykendall maintains that the situation that he found for Albert, to be taken into a local family, would allow him to apprentice in "the art of farming."

Cynthia and her son Albert sold their land to Isaacher Salinger, who later sold the land to his wife, Lucy Salinger. According to census and deed records, Albert eventually moved to Seattle, Washington, administering the sale of the land from that location. It is clear that Albert was able to get the education for which his mother petitioned, because he opened a practice as a land attorney in 1900. In 1893, he married a woman from Missouri named Lily, and had a son in 1896. Sadly, Albert died in 1906 at the age of 40, a young man like his father. Never remarrying, Cynthia died in 1908 at the age of 74 years. In her will, she left her entire estate to her niece, having outlived both her husband and son.

Ethnohistory and Family Archives

Much more information is known about the Mather family, as compared to the other families who lived in Dixon Hollow. This is owed in great part to the interest of Beryl Mather, the younger of two daughters of Olin and Gladys Mather (Figures 7-8), who remembered moving from Dixon Hollow as a five-year old child. Beryl offered insight and memories regarding the life of her family in Dixon Hollow through participation in an ethnohistorical documentary project. She also hiked down to the site on several occasions



Figure 8. Olin Mather playing with Olive. Beryl is in the buggy in the background. Grove Mather's house is in the background and to the left. Photo courtesy of the late Beryl Mather.

so that she could speak more pointedly regarding her memories of living in Dixon Hollow (not an easy task for a woman in her late eighties). Beryl recalled the location of the stable, berry patch, and store. She also spoke about her parents' interest in music; her father played the coronet and her mother was an accomplished pianist and composer. Beryl recalled how, on summer evenings, music could be heard down the hollow. The picture of the Mather family that emerged from her interview was that of a cultured family. Beryl recalled that the picture of her dad, Olin, sister, Olive, and herself, was taken with a disposable Kodak camera shortly before moving away from Dixon Hollow.

Also important to preserving the history of the Mather family is a collection of letters written to Grove and Phyla Mather from several family members and friends. This collection was donated to the Rare Books, Special Collection, and Preservation Department at the Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester, and is comprised of twenty-two letters dating between 1863 and 1879 (see Mather Family Papers). Most of the authors have been identified as family members, especially sisters of both Grove and Phyla. Many of these letters were written to Grove and Phyla during the Civil War and offer important personal accounts of the history of the war.

One of the central themes in the Civil War era letters is the hardship that the wives of soldiers were forced to endure. Phyla's sister, Mary, was married to a man named George Morgan and was living in Rockton, Illinois during the war. While her husband was away fighting, Mary was left alone with her four children. During a period around 1864, Grove and Phyla were taking care of her older children, Frank, Willard, and Clara, ages 7, 5, and 3, respectively. Although the circumstances under which Phyla and Grove took custody of Mary's children are unknown, the separation clearly caused Mary sadness:

I miss my little ones that are there but that is no more than I expected, I sometimes wake when the nights are cold & wonder if they are kept covered, still I think they will have all the care they require, I do not have the fear and anxiety about them that I do about George...I know my little ones are just as safe there as if with me, still it would be a privilege to take care of them if I could have them with me & it sometimes seems hard to burden our friends with them when it would be such a privilege to do it [Mather Family Papers, Letter from Mary Morgan to Grove and Phyla Mather, April 7, 1864, p. 2].

Mary mentions that she is teaching, so that may be the reason why she left her children with Grove and Phyla. She

kept her youngest son, Grove, who would have been about 14 months old at the time of the letter. She mentions that:

Little Grove grows fast. I have weaned him & think he is less trouble than he was before He has had gatherings in his ears, & a some mouth since we have him here [Mather Family Papers, Letter from Mary Morgan to Grove and Phyla Mather, April 7, 1864, p. 3].

Mary included her letter to Grove and Phyla in an envelope with another letter to a sibling "to make the most of postage." Although the recipient of the other letter is unknown because the first page is missing, Mary ends the letter by saying, "Now don't forget to write to your lonely sister." Misspellings and other errors are in the original letter. Mary also writes about the difficulty of having her husband off at war:

I seldom attempt to describe what is in my heart for there is a weight there which I can not be expressed or can not be understood by the inexperienced [Mather Family Papers, Letter from Mary Morgan to Grove and Phyla Mather, April 7, 1864, p. 2].

She is concerned that George may not be granted a furlough, even though he is due for one soon,

Phyla I expect Geo will come on a furlough to before long, notwithstanding borrowed trouble & I shall be glad to see him you must know, there has been some of his reg. here ever since I came back, they have not granted furlough's to them that were well until quite lately...[Mather Family Papers, Letter from Mary Morgan to Grove and Phyla Mather, April 7, 1864, p. 4].

Mary notes that a Sargeant Cole, who served with her husband, told her about the requirements placed on men when they enlisted in the army,

...he said they were entitled to 4 months furlough during the 3 years & if they did not have it would be discharged so much sooner or be paid for the time, said they had made up their minds they would have to serve 3 years out, if the fighting should be finished sooner there would be need of a standing army there for some time [Mather Family Papers, Letter from Mary Morgan to Grove and Phyla Mather, April 7, 1864, p. 5].

An interesting aspect to this correspondence is the sentiment felt by her husband's friend that the war would end quickly, a common assumption among those from both the north and south in the early days of the war.

Another interesting set of letters that portrays the difficulties that soldiers' wives endured comes from those written to Phyla from her sister-in-law, Emma. Emma, whose full name was Emeline, was Grove's sister and married to William Congdon of Bergen, Genesee County. Emma and Will (as he calls himself) were married in December 1863, and had a young son, Henry. Emma writes to Grove and Phyla while she is at her husband's family farm in Bergen as well as from Chattanooga, Tennessee, where her husband was stationed at the end of the war. Emma was clearly unhappy while home alone without Will, but also endured much physical hardship while staying with him at the Quarter Masters Department in Chattanooga. Will writes, "Emma has been quite ill since she came down here. I am persuaded that this climate is not suited to her constitution" [Mather Family Papers, Letter from William Congdon to Grove Mather, November 3, 1865, p 1]. He also describes their living conditions as somewhat impoverished with "bare floors, small allowance of dishes...no change of plates for pie, when we have pie..." (Mather Family Papers, Letter from William Congdon to Grove Mather, November 3, 1865, p 2).

In addition to personal accounts of his experiences while on active duty, Will also describes the conditions around him. These accounts tell much regarding both the historical events of the time as well as the sentiments of Will as a person. Will mentioned that many of the transport and gunboats were for sale and that:

There remains nothing but colored troops and I understand there are some to be withdrawn so by degrees things are assuming a peaceful appearance again but these darkies I don't know what is to become of the poor creatures when governmental work is stopped. You and all of us will hear of much suffering among them [Mather Family Papers, Letter from William Congdon to Grove Mather, November 3, 1865, p. 3].

Obviously, the language itself would be inexcusable today, but the concern that post-slavery and post-war life for African Americans was going to be extremely difficult says much about Will's character. In an earlier letter written from Atlanta, Will, who is clearly homesick, writes,

I miss the loved ones at Home and I fear that should I conclude to remain here it may be some time ere I

see them again. Genl. Sherman has issued a strict order prohibiting citizens or females coming to this place [Mather Family Papers, Letter from William Congdon to Grove Mather, September 17, 1864, p. 2].

Another important theme that runs through the letters is the importance of family and home. Much of this sentiment comes from Will, who wrote many of the letters. In several letters, he refers to Dixon Hollow and, specifically, the homes of Grove and Norman as "Home Vale." In one such letter, he writes to Grove, "Give much love to Phyla & all at Home Vale & upon the Canadice Mountain" (Mather Family Papers, Letter from William Congdon to Grove Mather, September 17, 1864, p. 3). In another letter, clearly distraught at not having received letters, he writes to Emma's brother, John, "Seems as though I was almost forgotten and am sure I know but little how 'folks in the Hollow' are prospering except as I hear from home" (Mather Family Papers, Letter from William Congdon to John Mather, October 11, 1863, p. 2). Emma asks Phyla to give her "love to all in the valley" (Mather Family Papers, Letter from Emma Congdon to Phyla Mather, May 4, 1865, p. 1). There are also affectionate references to Norman and Nancy, where letters are to be passed to "the next house" along with "a great deal of love." Phyla's sister, Mary, asked to give her love to "Father M's family." Will also inquires after the work being done at the factory, asking in an 1863 letter if they are working in the factory that winter and how their "business was affected by the high price of cotton goods" (Mather Family Papers, Letter from William Congdon to John Mather, October 11, 1863, p. 2). Will writes to Nancy Mather, "Judging from the quantity of material that you have on hand, the work up in the Factory I conclude that no idle hands will be for sometime found in the valley" (Mather Family Papers, Letter from William Congdon to Nancy Mather, July 16, 1865, p. 3)

Archaeological Excavations in Dixon Hollow

The goals of the archaeological excavations at Dixon Hollow were to determine the approximate construction periods associated with the structures and to gain an understanding of the socioeconomic status of the individuals who lived there. The Dixon Hollow project area runs along the outlet, on both the west and east sides of the old steel bridge, from Old Bald Hill Road to Canadice Lake Road. This area consists of at least six house foundations and three mill foundations. Archaeological excavations were conducted by St. John Fisher College (2003-2008, 2010) and SUNY College at Geneseo (2004 and 2009) field school students

under the direction of the author (2003-2010) and Dr. Paul J. Pacheco (2004). Of these structures, the six house foundations, called Amos Dixson House, Dixson Family House, Mather Area (including Grove Mather and Norman Mather's houses), Old Mather House, and Adams House were the primary focus of the excavations. Excavation was also conducted around the foundation of Adams' Mill. Table 8 also shows the occupants of the houses that were excavated in Dixon Hollow. It is important to note that multiple families and multiple generations of the same family lived in many of the structures.

Adams' Mill Area

Excavation of Albert Adams' sawmill was conducted in the summer of 2003. What is left of the sawmill are foundation stones on either side of a small mill run located on the south side of the outlet and northwest of the bridge (Figure 9). An attempt was made to locate a possible residence associated with the mill, although such a residence was not apparent from the results of a reconnaissance survey done prior to excavation.

Table 8. Occupants of houses at Dixon Hollow.

Old Mather House	Norman W. Mather Hiram K. Steel John C. Mather
Dixson Family House	Amos Dixson M.D.F. and Elizabeth Hoppaugh William N. Smith McClave Family Edward Salinger Lloyd Salinger and Family
Amos Dixson House	Amos Dixson Willis Adams Lucretia Rouse Mary Woodruff Grace and John Welch
Olin Mather House	Norman W. Mather Olin Mather
Grove Mather House	Grove and Phyla Mather
Adams House	Albert and Cynthia Adams Azel Adams? Lucy Salinger

The goal of this excavation was to ascertain the dimensions of the mill and to locate the residence associated with the mill. In order to determine the dimensions of the mill, three 1 m by 1 m test units were placed in the area just above the south end of the foundation and run (Figure 10). These test units were excavated until a shale bedrock layer was uncovered, averaging about 30 cm in depth. These units were sterile of cultural features and artifacts. Two additional test units were placed on the outlet side of the foundation and mill run on what is a small island (lying between outlet and run). The only artifact found was a large structural bolt and no cultural features were found. A handful of sherds and brick fragments were found at the end of the run, along the water's edge.

A shovel test survey was also conducted in the area between the mill and the road in order to locate additional structures like the Adams' residence. A total of 20 shovel tests, 50 cm in diameter by 50 cm deep were placed up the slope at 50 ft intervals throughout the survey area from the foundation, on the flatter terrace above the foundation, and adjacent to the road (Figure 11). All shovel test units were sterile of cultural features and artifacts.

A small foundation was discovered just up the road from the shovel test area (to the west), which is not shown on any of the early maps. It is possible that this foundation is associated with the mill. Neither structure is shown on the 1902 map and is noted only as "former mill" on the 1910 map. Due to time constraints, excavation of the house foundation was not conducted. This is, however, an interesting area that deserves further exploration.

Dixson Family House Area

The structure that gets its name from the Dixson family is located just northeast of the junction of Dixon Hollow Road and the old road that ran east from Dixon Hollow Road on the east side of the outlet. This house was likely inhabited by Amos Dixson's nephews, and may also have been used as a store (see the historical section above). The house and a nine-acre lot which included both the grist mill and the water rights went through a series of owners between 1860 and 1911. Albert and Cynthia Adams co-owned the property with M. D. F. and Elizabeth Hoppaugh until 1868, when they sold the property to William N. Smith. Even though deed records show a succession of owners during that time, the only family that appears in the Federal Census records is that of Michael H. McClave, his wife, Eliza, and their five children in 1880. This large family, which included daughters Pheobe, Alida, Isadora, and Carrie and son, Charles, owned the grist mill and surrounding property from 1873 to 1888.

The foundation of the house consists of a basement lined with large boulders and is approximately 41 by 26 ft in

size (Figure 12). It is important to note that the actual size of the basement foundation may not represent the true size of the house itself, since additions were often added without extending the basement. Orientation of the house was achieved by lining the view of the foundation along an anonymous photograph of the house taken in 1912 (Figure 13). One by one meter test units were placed both within and outside the house foundation according to the presence of features and artifacts scattered on the surface. A unit located near chimney remains held a large number of artifacts, as did a unit alongside the remnants of a retaining wall near the front steps to the house. Two associated foundations are located near the house; the closest foundation, which is about 33 by 14 ft in size, is located across the road and toward the outlet from the house (Figure 1: structure 3). The other foundation is located to the north of the house (Figure 14) and may have been the location of the barn that Albert Adams willed to his father, Willis. The functions of these structures, however, remain unknown.

Amos Dixson House Area

The Amos Dixson house foundation (Figure 15) is located just south of the Dixson family house. This house, which was likely built by Amos Dixson, is clearly marked first on the 1872 map (although it appears to be shown also on the 1858 map) and is likely the house where Amos Dixson died (as mentioned earlier). At the time that the 1872 map was drawn, the entire portion of the lot was owned by Albert Adams, and Albert's father, Willis, lived in the house. Albert Adams willed the house to his father and then Willis sold the property back to Cynthia for one dollar in 1880. Cynthia then sold the property to Lucretia Rouse in 1891 who then sold the property to Mary Woodruff by 1902. Mary, who is associated with the house on the 1902 map, sold the property to Edward Welch in 1906. By 1910, Grace Welch, Edward's daughter-in-law, owned the land on the entire west side of the outlet and lived in the house with her husband, John. She



Figure 9. View of Adams' Mill foundation, view looking north and toward the outlet.



Figure 10. Test unit on slope just above and south of the Adams' Mill foundation.



Figure 11. Looking up the slope from the Adams' Mill foundation showing placement of shovel tests.



Figure 12. Dixson House foundation, c. 2004, looking toward north side of house after clearing.

...sold her land and, presumably, the house, to the City of Rochester in 1911.

The house foundation is small, approximately 20 by 13 ft in size, and includes a basement lined with boulders (again, the original house may have been larger). One by one meter test units were also placed within and around the foundation during the 2004 and 2010 field seasons.



Figure 13. Dixon House, c. 1912. Photo courtesy of the late Beryl Mather.

Mather Area

The foundations representing the Mather residences (those belonging to Grove and Norman and, later, Olin Mather) and the Mather Mill are located about a quarter mile southeast of the Dixon foundations, also along Dixon Hollow Road (Figures 16 and 17) where a small creek flows into the outlet. Initial clearing of extremely thick vegetation revealed a house foundation (without stones) and well on the south side of the creek which ran through the Mather property, between the houses. The map showed that Grove and Phyla's house was located across the creek from Norman's house, but no foundation was visible. In order to determine the original size and orientation of the house, 1 by 1 m units and a 10 by 1 m trench were placed inside the Olin Mather foundation (see Figure 18), and 1 by 1 m units were also placed just outside the foundation.

To determine whether Grove's house actually stood in the area opposite Norman's house, 1 by 1 m test units were placed in systematic intervals with the hope that one of these would show evidence of a structure. Upon excavation, a stone wall, which represented the original house foundation, was visible. The foundation wall representing the front of



Figure 14. View looking south along the remnants of a possible barn foundation. Dixon House is located to the south.



Figure 15. Amos Dixson House foundation, view looking north.



Figure 16. View of Grove Mather House c. 1912 from Dixon Hollow Road, view looking east. Photo courtesy of the late Beryl Mather.



Figure 17. View of Norman/Olin Mather House c. 1912 from Dixon Hollow Road, view looking east. Photo courtesy of the late Beryl Mather.



Figure 18. Norman/Olin Mather House foundation, view looking west and toward Dixon Hollow Road. A 1 x 10 m trench unit was excavated to determine the orientation of the foundation.



Figure 19. Grove Mather House foundation, view looking north.



Figure 20. The Mather Mill c. 1912 from Dixon Hollow Road, view looking southwest. Photo courtesy of the late Beryl Mather.



Figure 23. Adams House foundation. The intact wall in the back of the photograph is the west side of the house. The front of the house is located along the crumbled foundation on the right side of the photograph.



Figure 21. Old Mather foundation, view looking west and toward Dixon Hollow Road.



Figure 22. Foundation to unknown structure on terrace above Old Mather foundation.



Figure 24. View looking south from the southwest corner of the Adams House foundation. The corner of the main foundation is located in the foreground and the remaining foundation stones for the addition are running south from the corner.

The house ran from an adjacent hill to just before the creek. A side wall connected to this (what was originally thought to be a retaining wall) ran to the back of the house (Figure 19). It was evident from the units located within the foundation walls that the house never had a dug out basement like Norman's house. The units also showed signs of burning (e.g., reddish brown soil, burned glass and ceramics). The Mather Mill, which stood directly across from the houses has not yet been excavated due to time constraints and wet conditions (Figure 20). A surface collection, however, was conducted in the area around and inside the mill foundation.

The Old Mather House Area

The most obvious structure in this area is the remnant of a house foundation for what was likely the first house built by Norman Mather—one of the first houses in Dixon Hollow. This stone foundation, sitting against a steep slope alongside a side creek, was readily visible without much clearing (Figure 21). Test units (1 by 1 m) were placed both inside the foundation and just outside the foundation in order to look for traces of the basement floor and artifacts associated with the occupancy of the house. Surveying was conducted on a level terrace just above (and southeast of) where the house stood. The map showed a structure in that area but its exact location and the nature of the structure itself were unclear. A metal detector survey was conducted in this area and then a series of 50 by 50 cm test pits were dug in places where the metal detector indicated subsurface artifacts. Remnants of a stone foundation were found along the hill leading down to the creek and in the eastern portion of the area (Figure 22). The function of the structure remains unknown.

Adams House Area

The area named after the Adams family is located along the west-east road (unnamed) that ran uphill from Dixon Hollow Road to Canadice Lake Road. This area sits up on a hill, just east of the juncture of the two roads and where the Dixon house foundations lie. The area consists of a house foundation, located on the south side of the road and what appears to be a barn foundation located on the north side of the road. This house appears first on the 1872 map and may have been built around 1860 when Albert Adams bought the property from the Amos Dixon's estate. Since Albert's brother, Azel, also lived for a period of at least five years on or near Albert's land, it is possible or even likely that other members of the Adams family lived in this house.

Excavation of the Adams House area began in the fall of 2006 and continued through spring 2010. Only preliminary excavation of the barn area has been conducted, but compar-

ison of the artifact assemblage with the house, including a high density of nails and other metal artifacts and a very low density of ceramics and other household artifacts, clearly shows that this was a barn. In total, twelve 1 by 1 m test units have been excavated to depths of between 30 and 60 cm. The east to west side of the house is approximately 11.5 m long and the north to south side of the house is approximately 6.5 m long (Figure 23). The house was oriented so that the front faced north and toward the road (and the barn across the road). There is also a nicely preserved well, still open, located about 8 m from the southeast corner of the house. There is clear evidence from a break in the foundation that the cellar door was located in the southeast corner of the foundation. The highest density of artifacts also came from the test units located just outside of where the door would have been. There is also evidence from the maps and intact foundation stones that an addition was located in the southeast corner of the house (Figure 24).

Archaeologically Dating the Structures

While the deeds are extremely helpful for identifying the dates, locations and costs involved with land transfers, they are not helpful for discovering the dates of construction and occupancy for each house. The older maps are also of limited value, because they may not have been accurate and often lack detail. Also, there are long time gaps between the maps, so that many occupants of the houses would not be shown. Consequently, the archaeological record provides important comparative data for understanding, at least in a general sense, when the excavated Dixon Hollow structures were occupied.

Window Glass

Window glass can give an indication of when a structure was originally built and remodeled as well as the length of occupation. These analyses are based on the idea that window glass increased in thickness throughout the nineteenth century and numerous formulae have been derived which calculate construction periods based on the mean thickness of window glass recovered from sites. The formula used for this analysis comes from Moir (1987). According to Moir, this type of analysis is useful when good sample sizes are taken from different parts of a site, when the length of occupation of a site is less than sixty years and when the structures are those associated with middle or lower class dwellings (which are less likely to have window glass replaced). Each of these criteria were met concerning the structures excavated at Dixon Hollow.

Listed below is the chronological order of households, beginning with the earliest, based on the calculations of dates by using the Glass Manufacture Formula (Glass Manufacture Date = $84.22 \times [\text{Glass Thickness in mm}] + 1712.7$) and expressed as a range using one standard deviation of + 7 years:

Old Mather House	— 1823
Amos Dixson House	— 1826
Dixson Family House	— 1837
Norman/Olin Mather House	— 1863
Grove Mather House	— 1866
Adams House	— 1850

The 1852 map, the earliest available, shows the Old Mather foundation (N.W. Mather), the Mather Mill (which was a woolen factory at the time), the grist mill and a structure that may be either of the Dixson houses, but it is unknown how early they were actually built. By the time the 1872 map was made, both of the Dixson houses are clearly present. The window glass dates for both structures correspond to early occupation dates in Dixon Hollow, but the Amos Dixson house is older. It is probable that this smaller house was built and occupied first by Amos Dixson and then the larger Dixson house was built a short time later. The Grove and Norman Mather residences, across from the wool mill, both appear first on the 1858 map and so the glass dates fall within or very close to the expected range. The later range of dates for these structures as compared with those of the Adams house, are likely due to the fact that the Mather houses across from the mill were occupied until close to 1920 and were more likely to have glass replaced.

Ceramic Assemblage

The average dates for the ceramic assemblages associated with most of the houses are lower than those calculated using window glass. However, it is common for ceramic objects such as tableware and food storage vessels to be curated over long periods of time. Norman and his earlier wife, Jane, would likely have brought dishes and other ceramics with them to their first residence in Dixon Hollow (Old Mather house) which would predate the structure. When he and his third wife, Nancy, moved to their new house across from the mill, they would have taken the dishes and crockery currently in use with them. When Grove moved into his house, likely with his first wife, Ellen, they would likely have also brought older ceramic pieces with them. Both of these events would cause the earlier ceramic dates to be earlier than the construction of the houses. The upper end of the dates for some wares from the Dixson

houses and the Mather houses across from the mill date to the late nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century, close to the time when the houses were abandoned. The average ceramic date ranges are as follows:

Old Mather House	—(1785-1830)
Amos Dixson House	—(1825-1841)
Dixson Family House	—(1822-1850)
Norman Mather House	—(1820-1850)
Grove Mather House	—(1820-1855)

The data from the window glass and ceramic analysis clearly support the historic evidence that Dixon Hollow was mainly occupied from the early nineteenth century through the early twentieth century. Obviously the historic records contribute valuably to the dating of the occupations, but because the deeds and census records do not refer specifically to structures, it is still difficult to know exactly when structures were built and the duration of occupancy. In this regard, the archaeological evidence is very important, because it shows that the earliest structures likely predate the earliest known map by at least twenty years. The use of archaeological evidence alone would predict the general construction dates for the structures at Dixon Hollow.

Socioeconomic Comparison

Historic Records

Socioeconomic comparison of the households at Dixon Hollow can be viewed from a number of different sources, including census records which sometimes list the value of the real estate owned and/or personal estate, probate records, and wills. Evidence from the ceramics assemblage can also be used, although it may be impossible to separate the Dixson assemblage from the other family assemblages recovered from the Dixson house structure. Another potential problem with comparison of the ceramic assemblages is that there were likely renters in some of the structures at Dixon Hollow and also other owners. Additionally, the Dixson, Mather and Adams families were both mill owners and farmers, so it is also impossible to compare the socioeconomic status of farmers versus mill owners, at least within the Dixon Hollow artifact assemblage (Table 9).

Historic records suggest that the Dixson family was prominent in the Livonia area community. In addition to accolades in the obituaries of the various Dixson family members, they are mentioned, alongside other family names, as being one of the "old families of excellent stock...who, with considerable culture, that naturally comes with easy circumstances, rather looked down on the plod-

Table 9. United States Federal and New York State Census—occupations of Dixon Hollow residents.

Name	Census	Occupation
Norman Mather	1850-US Federal	Manufacturer
	1855-NY State	Wool Manufacturing
	1860-US Federal	Cloth Manufacturer
	1865-NY State	Manufacturing Wool Cloth
	1870-US Federal	Manufacturer and Farmer
	1875-NY State	Butter Tub Maker
Grove Mather	1880-US Federal	Pail Manufacturer
	1850-US Federal	Manufacturer
	1855-NY State	Manufacturer
	1860-US Federal	Cloth Manufacturer
	1865-NY State	Manufacturing Cloth
	1870-US Federal	Manufacturer and Farmer
	1880-US Federal	Pail Manufacturer
1900-US Federal	Farmer	
1910-US Federal	Own Income	
Olfin Mather	1910-US Federal	Farmer
	1915-NY State	Farmer
	1920-US Federal	Manufacturing (cider mill) and Trucking
Amos Dixon	1850-US Federal	Miller
	1855-NY State	Farmer
Albert Adams	1860-US Federal	Miller
	1865-NY State	Farmer and Miller
	1870-US Federal	Carpenter
Azal Adams	1865-NY State	Farmer
	1870-US Federal	Farmer

...denizens of 'Slab City'..." (Livonia Gazette n.d.). "Slab City" was the name given to Hemlock because of its active sawmill and was used by "loud fellows of the baser sort...when they at any time wished to be notably offensive" (Livonia Gazette n.d.). It is also noted that these families, including the Dixsons, lived in Livonia Center (just north of Hemlock) and brought their grist to the mill at Hemlock. This recollection may have been from a time before the Dixsons operated their own mill and shows the prominence that these early families had within the hamlets surrounding Livonia. It also demonstrates the differences in social prestige associated with farmers and millers.

The census records indicate that many of the residents of Dixon Hollow were able to send their children to school. Although it is unclear where most of these children attended school, they are listed on the census records as being "away

at school." Amelia Mather, Norman and Nancy's daughter, was sent away to a school in Lima, a town about ten miles north of Hemlock, sometime during the Civil War years, as is referenced in one of the family letters. It is unclear if the older children were also educated away from home, but they were kept in school until the age of 17. The 1860 census notes that John, Jennie, Amelia, Willie, and Frank (ages 20-8) all attended school within the previous year. Education was clearly important to the residents of Dixon Hollow and, as census records indicate, all of the residents of Dixon Hollow could read and write.

Another important piece of evidence regarding the socioeconomic status of the residents of Dixon Hollow lies within the Federal Census and New York State Census records which, for some years, lists the value of the real estate and/or personal estate of each head of household

Table 10. United States Federal and New York State Census Records—real estate, personal estate, and dwelling values.

Resident	Census	Real Estate Value	Personal Estate Value	Dwelling Value
Norman Mather	1850	5,500	-----	-----
	1860	2,000	1,000	-----
	1865	-----	-----	500
	1870	9,000	10,000	-----
	1875	-----	-----	700
Grove Mather	1860	Not listed	Not listed	-----
	1865	-----	-----	1100
	1870	Not listed	Not listed	-----
	1875	-----	-----	800
Amos Dixson	1850	6,600	-----	-----
Albert Adams	1860	1,000	1,000	-----
	1865	-----	-----	700
	1870	4,000	1,000	-----
Cynthia	1875	-----	-----	500
Azal Adams	1865	-----	-----	300
	1870	240	1,125	-----

Data taken from Federal Census (1850, 1860, 1870) and New York State Census (1865, 1875) records. Dashed lines indicate where census did not ask information. The 1855 New York State Census and 1880-1910 Federal Censuses did not ask about such values.

(Table 10). These values vary between years, but clearly Norman Mather was doing very well around the year 1870, when his real estate and personal estate values peak at \$9,000 and \$10,000, respectively. This is the highest value recorded in Dixon Hollow. It is important to note, however, that Norman and Nancy sold their real estate to Phyla in 1878 for \$5,000. The deed only mentions the land that was sold, and does not mention the mill and other structures. If he and Nancy lived on this money until his death in 1884, he did not have much of it left. The appraisal of his estate at the time of his death was only \$223.90. Likewise, Amos Dixson listed his highest real estate value, as \$6,600 in 1850 and by 1860, two years after his death, his estate was liquidated to pay a \$2,870 debt. By contrast, in 1870, two years before his death, Albert Adams listed his real estate value at \$4,000 and his personal estate at \$1,000. When he died in 1872, his estate was worth over \$3,000 which did not count the value of his land. His estate continued to expand through the 1870s as the mills and farmland were rented out and provided a steady income to his widow, Cynthia, and son, Albert (as discussed earlier).

Ceramic Analysis

The ceramic pricing index created by Miller (1991) can give at least a very general idea of relative socioeconomic status, despite the lack of stratified deposits and problems with multiple occupancies. The ceramic assemblages demonstrate that the Dixsons, Mathers, Adams and likely other families in Dixon Hollow had a very good standard of living. Much of the ceramic assemblages in these areas are represented by more expensive wares, including whiteware, pearlware and ironstone decorated with transfer prints of various patterns and colors and painted designs (Figures 25-28). Most of these ceramics were concentrated in the Dixson house, Olin Mather, and Adams' house assemblages. The Amos Dixson house assemblage had proportionately more undecorated wares and edged wares that were cheaper to purchase. The older portion of the Old Mather house assemblage was also dominated by cheaper wares such as those with annular designs, but later portions of the assemblage contained transfer printed designs in a variety of colors. Similarly, the Adams' house assemblage contains a



Figure 25. Whiteware mocha teacup fragment with blue transfer print from Dixon House.

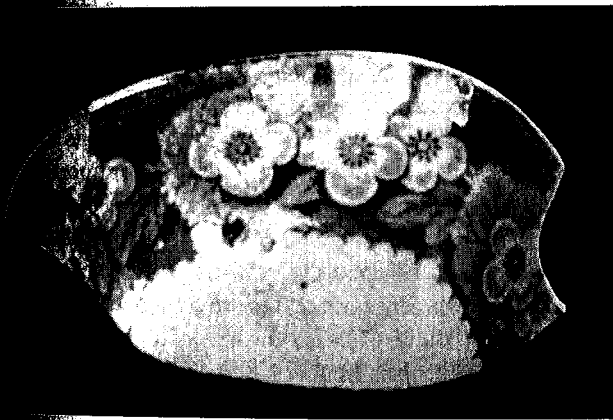


Figure 26. Relish dish rim with blue transfer print from the Dixon House.

variety of different ceramic types, ranging from cheaper earthenware, edged and painted designs to transfer print whiteware and porcelain. Unfortunately, much of the ceramic assemblage for the Grove Mather house was burned and cannot be used for analysis. This area, consequently, is not represented with respect to ceramics that can be analyzed. Porcelain, the most expensive type of pottery, was found in all of the assemblages, including one cup shard from the Olin Mather house, three vessels from the Grove Mather house, and six vessels from the Dixon Family



Figure 27. Staffordshire Whiteware sherd from Norman/Olin Mather House.



Figure 28. Pearlware rimsherd with molded edge from Amos Dixon House.

house. A fragment from the neck of a porcelain perfume bottle was found in the Amos Dixon house and a porcelain doll fragment was found in the Dixon Family house assemblages.

Despite the problems mentioned earlier with respect to linking portions of the ceramic assemblages to particular families or generations, it is helpful to use the ceramic types present in the houses to generally say something about socioeconomic status among the residents of Dixon Hollow. Even though they were all primarily millers, farming was also an important means of income (New York State Census

Records: Population and Agricultural Statistics). This multifaceted approach to making a living seemed to provide the families of Dixon Hollow with the expendable income necessary to purchase nice dishes. The Dixons likely owned and operated the store and would have purchased goods such as pottery wholesale, which would have been cheaper than if the Mathers had purchased the same pottery from their store.

Other Artifacts of Interest

Even though letters are not available for the Adams family, material culture and other historic documents link Albert and his family to the Civil War. A Confederate Infantry button was found just outside of the Adams' house foundation. There are no records indicating that Albert or Azel Adams were enlisted in the army, but a soldier named George McCrossen and his family lived with Albert and Cynthia in the summer of 1865. George fought for the Union Army in the 188th New York Infantry and may have brought the button home from the war as a souvenir. George's wife, Jane, and son, Franklin, may have lived with the Adams during the war. Their relationship to Albert and Cynthia, however, is unclear.

Another interesting artifact found in the Adams house area was a portion of a bottle which once contained Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound. This medicine was manufactured by Lydia E. Pinkham, a devoted suffragette and abolitionist, beginning in 1875 and continuing well into the twentieth century (Unknown author, n.d. "Lydia Pinkham" article). The concoction is believed to have contained licorice, chamomile, pleurisy root, Jamaica dogwood, black cohosh, life plant, fenugreek seed and dandelion root and was marketed for women's complaints, especially those associated with menopause (Linden n.d.). It has also been noted that Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound was used by women as an abortative (Wilkie 2003). The use of the compound as an abortative may have come from the inclusion of black cohosh, which has been used in native folk medicine to induce contractions during childbirth. Since the medicine was manufactured after 1875, this places its use within the context of Cynthia Adams' occupation of the house as well as that of Lucy Salinger.

Conclusion

It is easy to become engrossed in thinking about what life was like for the people of Dixon Hollow, especially with respect to community, family, and loss. An important pattern that emerged when poring over census records was the common occurrence of maternal, infant and childhood mortality; most of the families in Dixon Hollow experienced

the loss of a child, and premature loss of parents and spouses. Infectious disease was a common cause of early death; diphtheria, in particular, often took numerous family members within short periods of time. It is difficult to imagine living at a time when parents had so much worry. Another prominent theme, however, that emerged from the research was the importance of community and the interconnectedness of the people at Dixon Hollow. It is clear from the probate records that they relied on one another for acquiring the necessities of nineteenth century life. The Mather letters, especially, speak of love, family, and community.

The combination of historic documentation, ethnohistorical accounts, and archaeological evidence has created a colorful and dynamic picture of life in Dixon Hollow. In addition to conducting archaeological excavations in Dixon Hollow for the past eight years, recent historic research has added greater depth to the understanding of life there. The people themselves have a greater voice in telling their own narrative.

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