## History of owners and some occupants

 16 River Street, SalemBy Robert Booth, July 2017

According to available evidence, this house was built for Robert Wallis, cabinet maker, in 1787. It was later the home of William Knight, cordwainer, and family; Joseph N. Smith, cordwainer, and family; Alice (Poor) Ross, widow; William Phelps Jr., joiner, and family; and Michael Little, laborer, and family and descendants.

In July, 1787, for 50 li Robert Wallis, cabinet maker, bought from John Woodbury, housewright, a piece of land and buildings at the lower end of thenBeckford's Lane (now River Street) (ED 148:106). In those days, the topography was different here: this was a head of land that projected into the North River, which was a wide tidal sheet of water, navigable at high tide. The lot fronted about 47' on the street and included the flats (shore) of the North River and the use of a nearby well. It was described as comprising $14 \frac{1}{4}$ poles of land, bounded south 2 poles 14' on the street, west 5 poles (about 83') on Stephen Driver's homestead, north on the river 3 poles $1^{\prime} 9^{\prime \prime}$, and east on land of Joseph Saul 4 poles 14 '. Likely the "buildings" were sheds. It was the same lot that Mr. Woodbury had bought of the Beckfords in October, 1784, the same having been set off to Edward Southwick in October, 1783, per the deed to Mr. Wallis. Several years later, in December, 1796, Mrs. Lydia Bickford claimed a dower right in the same land and Robert Wallis paid her $\$ 40$ to clear the title (ED 162:54).

Robert Wallis (1764-1824) was born in Ipswich, one of the three sons of a prosperous farmer, Robert Wallis, and Eunice Brown. The other boys were Moses and William. As a boy circa 1778 (the Revolutionary War was under way), Robert was apprenticed to learn the trade of a cabinet maker (maker of furniture), probably in Ipswich. After the war, he came to the seaport of Salem and began work as a journeyman cabinet maker. He was a good singer, and joined the singing school of the East Church (Rev. William Bentley) in 1785. He was a member of the North Singing School too (per Bentley). There may be sources relating to the style and quality of Mr. Wallis's furniture output. He is mentioned in Luke Beckerdite's American Furniture (p. 198).

Robert Wallis (1764-1824), son of Robert Wallis \& Eunice Brown of Ipswich, died 2 Oct. 1824, of dysentery, in Salem. He m. 13 Dec. 1787 Mary (Polly) Aveson (1766-1823), daughter of Richard Aveson \& Hannah Punchard of Salem, died 20 March 1823, of consumption. He perhaps m/2 26 Aug. 1824 Rebecca Hovey (1781-1833). Known issue:

1. Robert, 1788, died 1 April 1850, of palsy; insane
2. Eunice, 1794, died 1 Nov. 1866, of opium overdose.

In some places, the post-war loss of the former colonial connections and trade routes was devastating, for Americans were prohibited from trading with most British possessions; but in Salem, the merchants and mariners were ready to push their ships and cargoes into all parts of the known world. They did so with astonishing success. For a period of about 25 years, Salem was a famous center of commercial enterprise: by competing fiercely, pioneering new routes, and opening and dominating new markets, Salem won a high place in the world. Hasket Derby, William Gray, Eben Beckford, and Joseph Peabody were the town's commercial leaders. In 1784, Derby began trade with Russia; and in 1784 and 1785 he dispatched trading vessels to Africa and China, respectively. Voyages to India soon followed, and to the Spice Islands and Pepper Islands (Sumatra, Java, Malaya, etc.).

Salem was a boom-town, in which widespread prosperity fueled much new construction and high demand for new goods and fine furnishings.

Robert Wallis was no doubt prospering, perhaps in partnership with other cabinet makers; when just 23 he purchased a lot on River Street for 50 li ; and there he had a modest house built as the family residence. "Cape Driver", as this locale was known, was not a prestigious neighborhood. In the 1700s most of the land here was owned by the Beckford family; Stephen Driver in 1777 built a house on the point here, overlooking the North River; and Benjamin Goodhue Esq. laid out Lynn Street and perhaps some of the other roads between Federal Street and the river. The lots were sold mainly to people of modest means or to those who built houses for tenant income.

Robert Wallis hired a contractor to build his house and perhaps moved in that same year, 1787. This was among the first houses built hereabouts.

In August, 1788 , for 34 li Mr. Wallis bought a lot on the main street (now upper Essex), but he flipped the lot for a 16 li profit in July, 1789 (ED 147:275, 148:138). In June, 1788, he bought from Edward Southwick, Danvers tanner, for 10.10.0 a corner lot, probably at now-Lynn and now-Andover streets (ED 153:253). In February, 1792, he sold the same for 11.8.0 to Joseph Ross, housewright (ED 155:151). Mr. Ross built a house thereon.

By the 1790s, the new foreign-trade markets brought great riches to the Salem merchants, and raised the level of wealth throughout the town: new ships were
bought and built, more crews were formed with more shipmasters, new shops and stores opened, new partnerships were formed, and new people moved to town. There was quite an influx from Ipswich, like Robert and his brother Moses, a trader who would become a merchant.

In 1792 a group of merchants founded Salem's first bank, the Essex Bank, although it "existed in experiment a long time before it was incorporated," per Rev. William Bentley. From a population of 7921 in 1790, the town would grow by 1500 persons in a decade. At the same time, thanks to the economic policies of Alexander Hamilton, Salem vessels were able to transport foreign cargoes taxfree and essentially to serve as the neutral carrying fleet for both Britain and France, which were at war with each other.

In 1790 (per the census, p. 580, col. one), the Wallises resided here (\#16). The house is listed between the houses of Stephen Driver and William Ferguson. Soon they moved to a new house on the main street (now 355 Essex Street site). In June, 1789 , for 61.5 .0 li , Robert had purchased from a Boston family a quarter share in the old Edward Kitchen Turner homestead; and Mr. Wallis had a house built fronting on the street. His land became extremely valuable when, in 1798, Chestnut Street was put through along its base line; and Mr. Wallis soon opened a way now known as Hamilton Street. The Wallis family would reside for many years in the new house on now-Essex Street.

In the late 1790s, there was agitation in Congress to go to war with France, which was at war with England. After President Adams' negotiators were rebuffed by the French leaders in 1797, a quasi-war with France began in summer, 1798, much to the horror of Salem's George Crowninshield family (father and five shipmaster sons), which had an extensive trade with the French, and whose ships and cargos in French ports were susceptible to seizure. The quasi-war brought about a political split within the Salem population. Those who favored war with France (and detente with England) aligned themselves with the national Federalist party, led by Hamilton and Salem's Timothy Pickering (the U.S. Secretary of State). These included most of the merchants, led locally by the Derby family. Those who favored peace with republican France were the AntiFederalists, who later became aligned with Pres. Jefferson and his DemocraticRepublican party; they were led locally by the Crowninshields. For the first few years of this rivalry, the Federalists prevailed; but after the death of Hasket "King" Derby in 1799 his family's power weakened.

In 1800, a tenant occupied this house, probably with a family. In that year, Adams negotiated peace with France and fired Pickering, his oppositional Secretary of State. Salem's Federalists merchants erupted in anger, expressed through their newspaper, the Salem Gazette. At the same time, British vessels began to harass American shipping. Salem owners bought more cannon and shot, and kept pushing their trade to the farthest ports of the rich East, while also maintaining trade with the Caribbean and Europe. Salem cargos were exceedingly
valuable, and Salem was a major center for distribution of merchandise throughout New England: "the strcets about the wharves were alive with teams loaded with goods for all parts of the country. It was a busy scene with the coming and going of vehicles, some from long distances, for railroads were then unknown and all transportation must be carried on in wagons and drays. In the taverns could be seen teamsters from all quarters sitting around the open fire in the chilly evenings, discussing the news of the day or making merry over potations of New England rum, which Salem manufactured in abundance" (from Hurd's History of Essex County, 1888, p. 65).

The Crowninshields, led by brother Jacob, were especially successful, as their holdings rose from three vessels in 1800 to several in 1803. Their bailiwick, the Derby Street district, seemed almost to be a foreign country: in the stores, parrots chattered and monkeys cavorted, and from the warehouses wafted the exotic aromas of Sumatran spices and Arabian coffee beans. From the wharves were carted all manner of strange fruits and blue and red patterned china and piles of gorgeous silks and figured cloths. The greatest of the Salem merchants at this time was William "Billy" Gray, who owned 36 large vessels-- 15 ships, 7 barks, 13 brigs, 1 schooner--by 1808. Salem was then still a town, and a small one by our standards, with a total population of about 9,500 in 1800. Its politics were fierce, and polarized everything. The two factions attended separate churches, held separate parades, and supported separate schools, military companies, and newspapers. Salem's merchants resided mainly on two streets: Washington (which ended in a wharf on the Inner Harbor, and, above Essex, had the Town House in the middle) and Essex (particularly between what are now Hawthorne Boulevard and North Street). The East Parish (Derby Street area) was for the seafaring families, shipmasters, sailors, and fishermen. In the 1790s, Federal Street, known as New Street, had more empty lots than fine houses. Chestnut Street did not exist: its site was a meadow. The Common was not yet Washington Square, and was covered with hillocks, small ponds and swamps, utility buildings, and the alms-house. As the $19^{\text {th }}$ century advanced, Salem's commercial prosperity would sweep almost all of the great downtown houses away (the brick Joshua Ward house, built 1784, is a notable exception).

The town's merchants were among the wealthiest in the country, and, in Samuel McIntire (1757-1811), they had a local architect who could help them realize their desires for large and beautiful homes in the latest style. While a few of the many new houses went up in the old Essex-Washington Street axis, most were erected on or near Washington Square or in the Federalist "west end" (Chestnut, Federal, and upper Essex Streets). The architectural style (called "Federal" today) had been developed by the Adam brothers in England and featured fanlight doorways, palladian windows, elongated pilasters and columns, and large windows. It was introduced to New England by Charles Bulfinch in
1790. The State House in Boston was his first institutional composition; and soon Beacon Hill was being built up with handsome residences in the Bulfinch manner.

A new bank, the Salem Bank, was formed in 1803, and there were two insurance companies and several societies and associations. The fierce politics and commercial rivalries continued. The ferment of the times is captured in the diary of Rev. William Bentley, bachelor minister of Salem's East Church and editor of the Register newspaper. His diary is full of references to the civic and commercial doings of the town, and to the lives and behaviors of all classes of society. On Union Street, not far from Bentley's church, on the fourth of July, 1804, was born Nathaniel Hawthorne, whose father would die of fever with most of his crew while on a voyage to the Caribbean in 1808. This kind of untimely death was all too typical of Salem's young seafarers, who fell prey to malaria and other diseases of the Caribbean and Pacific tropics.

In 1806 the Derbys extended their wharf far out into the harbor, tripling its previous length. This they did to create more space for warehouses and shipberths in the deeper water, at just about the time that the Crowninshields had built their great India Wharf at the foot of now-Webb Street. The other important wharves were Forrester's (now Central, just west of Derby Wharf), and Union Wharf at the foot of Union Street; and then, father to the west, a number of smaller wharves extended into the South River (filled in during the late 1800s), all the way to the foot of Washington Street. Each had a warehouse or two, and shops for artisans (coopers, blockmakers, joiners, etc.). The waterfront between Union Street and Washington Street also had lumber yards and several ship chandleries and distilleries, with a Market House at the foot of Central Street, below the Custom House. The wharves and streets were crowded with shoppers, gawkers, hawkers, sailors, artisans ("mechanics"), storekeepers, and teamsters; and just across the way, on Stage Point along the south bank of the South River, wooden barks and brigs and ships were being built in the shipyards.

Salem's boom ended with a crash in January, 1808, when Jefferson and the Congress imposed an embargo on all shipping in hopes of forestalling war with Britain. The Embargo, widely reviled in New England, proved futile and nearly ruinous in Salem, where commerce ceased. As a hotbed of DemocraticRepublicanism, Salem's East Parish and its seafarers, led by the Crowninshields, loyally supported the Embargo until it was lifted in spring, 1809. Shunned by the other Salem merchants for his support of the Embargo, the eminent Billy Gray took his large fleet of ships-fully one-third of Salem's tonnage-and moved to Boston, whose commerce was thereby much augmented. Gray's removal eliminated a huge amount of Salem wealth, shipping, import-export cargos, and local employment. Gray soon switched from the Federalist party, and was elected Lt. Governor under Gov. Elbridge Gerry, a native of Marblehead.

On July 6, 1810, Robert Wallis for $\$ 600$ sold this house and land (\#16) to William Knight, a cordwainer (shoemaker), who may already have been the tenant here (ED 192:41). Mr. Knight for $\$ 500$ mortgaged the same to Mr. Wallis, who would discharge the loan in 1816 (ED 119:171). The lot was described as containing $141 / 4$ poles, as before. William Knight's wife Abigail (Punchard) Knight was a cousin of Mrs. Polly (Aveson) Wallis, whose mother was a Punchard. Abigail's step-mother was Mrs. Alice (Oaks) Poor-Punchard, whose daughter Alice (Poor) Ross would someday own this house. The homestead would continue to be owned by Punchard-connected relatives into the 1870s.

## The Wallis Family after 1810

The Wallises had only a brief occupancy of this house (\#16) but their subsequent history is worth noting. The family's personal life was blighted when Robert and Polly's only son, Robert Jr., became insane by 1816, when he was consigned to the bridewell of the Salem Alms House. He was totally mad, and unable to care for himself (declaration of non compos, 31 Dec. 1816, \#28872). Their other child, daughter Eunice, then 22, resided with her parents.

By 1812 Mr. Wallis had become a yeoman (crop farmer), like his father, who resided on a large farm in Ipswich. Robert's brother Moses had moved to Salem and become a merchant; their brother William, a cabinet maker, resided at Montreal. In 1812 and 1814 Robert purchased a couple of rights in the Great Pasture, off Boston Street, which he may have used for grazing sheep or cattle (ED 223:187). He continued to develop his land along the west side of Hamilton Street. In addition to his own house at the corner of Essex Street, he built two other houses there and allowed Samuel Field McIntire, carver and joiner (son of Samuel McIntire the architect and carver), to build a modest house on the Wallis land. Mr. McIntire died and his widow Elizabeth and children continued there. After her death, Robert Wallis, yeoman, in August, 1820, bought the McIntire house which already stood on his land (ED 225:100). It was two stories in height and had a footprint of 24 ' by 16 ' with a pantry of 12 ' by 9 ' attached. In March, 1823, Mrs. Polly (Aveson) Wallis died of consumption (tuberculosis), leaving her husband, son, and daughter. In April, 1824, Robert's father Robert Wallis of Ipswich died at 87, making Robert an heir of a valuable Ipswich estate, including much farmland. In April, 1824, Robert was again described as a cabinet maker, when, for \$91, he and his brother William, Montreal cabinet maker, purchased a piece of salt marsh in Ipswich from their father's estate (ED 235:138). Their brother Moses, Salem merchant, had died years before.

A Robert Wallis married Rebecca Hovey (1786-1833) in August, 1824, in Salem.

On Oct. 2, 1824, Robert Wallis died, aged sixty, of the effects of dysentery. To his two children he left a very valuable estate, including much land in Danvers and Ipswich, as well as the houses and land on Hamilton Street, Salem. Robert's daughter Eunice Wallis, thirty, continued to reside in the house on Essex Street, as she would for the rest of her life evidently. She never married. Her mother's cousin, John Punchard Esq. (1763-1857), the town clerk and a judge, took on the responsibility of the insane Robert Wallis Jr., and faithfully and astutely managed his property for 26 years, until Robert's death, from palsy, on April 1, 1850, in the 62d year of a tragic life.

Eunice Wallis, of no known occupation, rented out rooms in her house and leased the houses on Hamilton Street to tenants. In the 1830 census (p. 455), we find her in her Essex Street house with two other women, one in her 20s and one in her 30s. In 1846 she was listed in the Salem Directory as residing at 2 Hamilton Street. She had a cousin, Miss Eunice Wells Wallis (1804-1853) who lived nearby in 1851 (at then-368 Essex Street).

In 1850 (per census, house 349) Eunice, 54, shared her house with the family of James Harron, 60, a shoemaker with four children.

Eunice Wallis was 72 years old when she died in November, 1866, in sensational fashion. The cause of her demise was an overdose of opium.

William Knight, the new owner of this house (\#16) as of 1810, was a native of Manchester, Mass. He was apprenticed to a cordwainer (shoemaker), and had come to Salem by April, 1807, when he married Abigail Punchard, the daughter of a mariner, Samuel Punchard. They would live here (evidently) for about 12 years.

William Knight (b. Dec. 1783, Manchester, Mass., son of John Knight and Susannah Allen, died Salem March 6, 1865, 82 nd year. He m. 14 April 1807 Abigail Punchard, daughter of Samuel Punchard. He m/2 3 Oct. 1848 Mary Ford (born c.1778). Known issue:

1. William, married and had sons William and Henry.
2. Philinda, m. Nathaniel W. Sanders
3. Abigail, m. John D. Winn
4. Mary
5. Susan, m. William H. Dwyer
6. Elizabeth, m. Ezra Woodbury
7. Martha, m. Dean C. Symonds
8. Harriet, 1826, m. P. Derby
9. James, 1829

Salem resumed its seafaring commerce for three years, but still the British preyed on American shipping; and in June, 1812, war was declared against Britain.

Although the merchants had tried to prevent the war, when it came, Salem swiftly fitted out 40 privateers manned by Marblehead and Salem crews, who also served on U.S. Navy vessels, including the frigate Constitution. Many more local vessels could have been sent against the British, but some of the Federalist merchants held them back. In addition, Salem fielded companies of infantry and artillery. Salem and Marblehead privateers were largely successful in making prizes of British supply vessels. While many of the town's men were wounded in engagements, and some were killed, the possible riches of privateering kept the men returning to sea as often as possible. The first prizes were captured by a 30ton converted fishing schooner, the Fame, and by a 14 -ton luxury yacht fitted with one gun, the Jefferson. Of all Salem privateers, the Crowninshields' 350 -ton ship America was most successful: she captured 30-plus prizes worth more than $\$ 1,100,000$.

Salem erected forts and batteries on its Neck, to discourage the British warships that cruised these waters. On land, the war went poorly for the United States, as the British captured Washington, DC, and burned the Capitol and the White House. Along the western frontier, U.S. forces were successful against the weak English forces; and, as predicted by many, the western expansionists had their day. At sea, as time wore on, Salem vessels were captured, and its men imprisoned or killed. After almost three years, the war was bleeding the town dry. Hundreds of Salem men and boys were in British prison-ships and at Dartmoor Prison in England. At the Hartford Convention in 1814, New England Federalist delegates met to consider what they could do to bring the war to a close and to restore the region's commerce. Sen. Timothy Pickering of Salem led the extreme Federalists in proposing a series of demands which, if not met by the federal government, could lead to New England's seceding from the United States; but the Pickering faction was countered by Harrison G. Otis of Boston and the moderate Federalists, who prevailed in sending a moderate message to Congress.

At last, in February, 1815, peace was restored. Post-war, the Salem merchants rebuilt their fleets and resumed their worldwide trade, slowly at first, and then to great effect. Many new partnerships were formed. The pre-war partisan politics of the town were not resumed post-war, as the middle-class "mechanics" (artisans) became more powerful and brought about civic harmony, largely through the Salem Charitable Mechanic Association (founded 1817). Rev. William Bentley, keen observer and active citizen during Salem's time of greatest
prosperity and fiercest political divisions, died in 1819 , the year in which a new U.S. Custom House was built in 1819, on the site of the George Crowninshield mansion, at the head of Derby Wharf. Into the 1820 s foreign trade continued prosperous; and new markets were opened with Madagascar (1820), which supplied tallow and ivory, and Zanzibar (1825), whence came coffee, ivory, and gum copal, used to make varnish. This opened a huge and lucrative trade in which Salem dominated, and its vessels thus gained access to all of the east African ports.

Salem's general maritime foreign commerce fell off sharply in the late 1820 s . Imports in Salem ships were supplanted by the goods that were now being produced in great quantities in America. The interior of the country was being opened for settlement, and some Salemites moved away. To the north, the falls of the Merrimack River powered large new textile mills (Lowell was founded in 1823), which created great wealth for their investors; and in general it seemed that the tide of opportunity was ebbing away from Salem. In an ingenious attempt to stem the flow of talent from the town and to harness its potential water power for manufacturing, Salem's merchants and capitalists banded together in 1826 to raise the money to dam the North River for industrial power. The project, which began with much promise, was suspended in 1827, which demoralized the town even more, and caused several leading citizens to move to Boston, the hub of investment in the new economy.

In February, 1818, for $\$ 1075$, William Knight purchased a house to the east on River Street and probably moved to that address (now \#6); and he retained this house (\#16) for rental income for a while. On 28 March 1822 William Knight sold this (\#16) homestead for $\$ 350$ to cordwainer Joseph Newhall Smith, to whom Mr. Knight gave back a mortgage for the full amount (ED 229:173). Joseph N. Smith (1798-1878) was a native of Danvers, born in 1798. He married Harriet Bryant of Salem and evidently they resided on Federal Street in 1820 (per census, p. 105).

Joseph Newhall Smith (1798-1878), born Danvers 1798, son of John Smith and Susanna Newhall, died April 1878, Boston. He m/1 21 Jan. 1820 (Salem) Harriet Bryant (1800-1848), died Charlestown, consumption, 29 March 1848. He m/2 1849 Mary P. Batchelder, by whom he had more children. Known issue by

## Harriet:

1. Joseph N., bp. 8 May 1825
2. Frederick Nathan, 1839-1877.
3. Harriet A., 1844-1895.
4. others?

Things did not work out with the mortgage, and Mr. Knight foreclosed. In April, 1825, Mr. Smith reconveyed to Mr. Knight his right in the homestead for $\$ 10$ (ED 239:2). Subsequently the Smiths removed to Charlestown and he became a prison officer. His wife Harriet would die in 1848; and he married, second, Mary Batchelder, with whom he would have more children.

William Knight, again the owner, rented out the house for income to tenants. In February, 1828, for $\$ 450$, he sold the place to a widow, "Alsy" Ross (ED 249:22). Mr. Knight would continue as a cordwainer for many years. His first wife Abigail Punchard died, and he married, second, in 1848, Mary Ford. By 1850 he, 66, was residing on Federal Street, with wife Mary, 72, and his children James, 21, a mariner, and Harriet, 24 (house 567). In 1860 William Knight, 77, was residing on River Street and working as a boat builder (house 2095). He would die on March 5, 1865, in his $82^{\text {nd }}$ year. At that time he owned \#6 and \#8 River Street.

Alsy Ross (1778-1860) was Mrs. Alice (Poor) Ross, the widow of Joseph Ross (1770-1825), of this neighborhood. The census of 1830 (p. 384) lists Alsy Ross and son Joseph Ross (1802-1872) residing hereabouts, probably in this house (\#16).

Alice/Alsy Poor, born in 1778, was the daughter of Henry Poor and Sally Oaks (1753-1836). Her father died before Alice was ten; and her mother married, second, 1788, Samuel Punchard, mariner, of this neighborhood. Alsy married 1794 Joseph Ross Jr., a housewright; they had several children and resided on Lynn Street in a house built by Joseph's father on land that had been owned by Robert Wallis. They sold the house for $\$ 600$ in 1823; and Joseph would die in 1825, leaving Alice with the job of raising the children; Henry, Sally F., Joseph, Abigail, Nathaniel, William, Hannah, Philinda C., David, and Alice/Alse Jr. Alse's daughter Sally died in 1826, aged 24 years, and Alice P. (who probably resided here 1828-1830) would die in April, 1833, aged 14 years. The son David Ross (1818-1844) worked as a wheelwright and married Harriet B. before his untimely death. Alsy's son Joseph Ross married 1830 Martha Derby Parnell. Mrs. Alsy/Alice (Poor) Ross would die on 22 Nov. 1840, aged 62 years.

In January, 1830, Mrs. Alice Ross sold the homestead for $\$ 313$ to joiner William Phelps (ED 255:159). Mr. Phelps mortgaged the same for $\$ 168$ to the former owner, cordwainer William Knight. William Phelps was the founder of a sash and blind manufacturing business which he conducted with his sons. He was four-times married, first to Hannah Holt (1781), next to Sally Punchard (1792), next to Betsy Richardson of Beverly (1804), and finally to Elizabeth Bowen (1822). He had at least one son, John Punchard Phelps, by Sally Punchard, through whom he was connected to both Robert Wallis and William Knight. William Phelps Sr. probably did not reside here, for in October, 1830 , for $\$ 600$ he
sold the same to his son, William Phelps Jr., joiner (ED 258:251). The house would be occupied by William Phelps Jr. and family for the next 43 years. William Jr.'s older half-brother John P. Phelps would (1835) marry Lucy C. Phelps, the sister of William Jr.'s wife Sally.

In 1830 occurred a horrifying crime that brought disgrace to Salem. Old Capt. Joseph White, a wealthy merchant, resided in the house now called the GardnerPingree house, on Essex Street. One night, intruders broke into his mansion and stabbed him to death. All of Salem buzzed with the news of murderous thugs; but the killer was a Crowninshield (a fallen son of one of the five brothers; after he was put in jail he killed himself). He had been hired by his friends, Capt. White's own relatives, Capt. Joseph Knapp and his brother Frank (they would be executed). The results of the investigation and trial having uncovered much that was lurid, more of the respectable families quit the now-notorious town.

As the decade wore on, Salem's remaining merchants had to take their equity out of wharves and warehouses and ships and put it into manufacturing and transportation, as the advent of railroads and canals diverted both capital and trade away from the coast. Some merchants did not make the transition, and were ruined. Old-line areas of work, like rope-making, sail-making, and ship chandleries, gradually declined and disappeared. Salem slumped badly, but, despite all, the voters decided to charter their town as a city in 1836-the third city to be formed in the state, behind Boston and Lowell. City Hall was built 1837-8 and the city seal was adopted with an already-anachronistic Latin motto of "to the farthest port of the rich East"-a far cry from "Go West, young man!" The Panic of 1837, a brief, sharp, nationwide economic depression, caused even more Salem families to head west in search of fortune and a better future.

Salem had not prepared for the industrial age, and had few natural advantages. The North River served not to power factories but mainly to flush the waste from the 25 tanneries that had set up along its banks. Throughout the 1830s, the leaders of Salem scrambled to re-invent an economy for their fellow citizens, many of whom were mariners without much sea-faring to do. Ingenuity, ambition, and hard work would have to carry the day.

One inspiration was the Salem Laboratory, Salem's first science-based manufacturing enterprise, founded in 1813 to produce chemicals. At the plant built in 1818 in North Salem on the North River, the production of alum and blue vitriol was a specialty; and it proved a very successful business. Salem's whalefishery, active for many years in the early 1800 s, led, in the 1830 s, to the manufacturing of high-quality candles at Stage Point, along with machine oils. The candles proved very popular. Lead-manufacturing began in the 1820s, and grew large after 1830, when Wyman's gristmills on the Forest River were retooled for making high-quality white lead and sheet lead (the approach to

Marblehead is still called Lead Mills Hill, although the empty mill buildings burned down in 1960s).

These enterprises were a start in a new direction for Salem. In 1838 the Eastern Rail Road, headquartered in Salem, began operating between Boston and Salem, which gave the local people a route to the region's largest market. The new tracks ran over the middle of the Mill Pond; the tunnel under Washington Street was built in 1839; the line was extended to Newburyport in 1840.

In 1840 (per census, p. 300), the house was listed as occupied by William Phelps Jr. and family. William Knight was still residing as now-6 River Street; the neighbors preceding Mr. Phelps in the listing were S. Healy and Mrs. H. Currier; those after were E. Walsh and Mrs. Skerry.

William Phelps Jr. (1813-1873), son of William \& Betsy Phelps, died 23 May 1873. He m. 1 Nov. 1831 (Glouc.) Hannah Dane Phelps of Gloucester, b. 11 Jan. 1809, dtr. of Henry Phelps Esq. \& Mary Forbes Coffin. Known issue:

1. Mary Forbes, 1836, m. Addison Center of Gloucester.
2. William Henry, 1839, moved to California.
3. Eliza Innis, 1841, never married.
4. Charles S., 1845, died young.
5. others?

In the 1840s, as more industrial methods and machines were introduced, new companies in new lines of business arose in Salem. The tanning and curing of leather was very important by the mid-1800s. On and near Boston Street, along the upper North River, there were 41 tanneries in 1844, and 85 in 1850, employing 550 hands. The leather business would continue to grow in importance throughout the 1800s. In 1846 the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company completed the construction at Stage Point of the largest factory building in the United States, $60^{\prime}$ wide by $400^{\prime}$ long. It was an immediate success, and hundreds of people found employment there, many of them living in tenements built nearby. Also in the 1840s, a new method was introduced to make possible highvolume industrial shoe production. In Lynn, the factory system was perfected, and that city became the nation's leading shoe producer. Salem had shoe factories too, and attracted shoe workers from outlying towns and the countryside. Even the population changed, as hundreds of Irish families, fleeing the Famine in Ireland, settled in Salem and gave the industrialists a big pool of cheap labor.

The Gothic symbol of Salem's new industrial economy was the large twintowered granite train station-the "stone depot"-smoking and growling with
idling locomotives, standing on filled-in land at the foot of Washington Street, where before had been the merchants' wharves. In the face of all this change, some members of Salem's waning merchant class continued to pursue their seaborne businesses; but even the conditions of shipping changed, and Salem was left on the ebb tide. In the late 1840s, giant clipper ships replaced the smaller vessels that Salem men had sailed around the world; and the clippers, with their deep drafts and large holds, were usually too large for Salem and its harbor. The town's shipping soon consisted of little more than Zanzibar-trade vessels and visits from Down East coasters with cargoes of fuel wood and building timber. By 1850 Salem was about finished as a working port. A picture of Salem's sleepy waterfront is given by Hawthorne in his mean-spirited "introductory section" to The Scarlet Letter, which he began while working in the Custom House.

In the 1855 census (house 136), we find William Phelps Jr., 42, sash \& blind maker, Hannah D., 40, Mary, 18, William, 15, and Eliza, 13.

Salem's growth continued through the 1850s, as business and industries expanded, the population swelled, new churches (e.g. Immaculate Conception, 1857) were started, new working-class neighborhoods were developed (especially in North Salem and South Salem, off Boston Street, and along the Mill Pond behind the Broad Street graveyard), and new schools, factories, and stores were built. A second, larger, factory building for the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company was added in 1859 , down at Stage Point, where a new Methodist Church went up, and many neat homes, boarding-houses, and stores were erected along the streets between Lafayette and Congress. The tanning business continued to boom, as better and larger tanneries were built along Boston Street and Mason Street; and subsidiary industries sprang up as well, most notably the J.M. Anderson glue-works on the Turnpike (Highland Avenue).

As it re-established itself as an economic powerhouse, Salem took a strong interest in national politics. It was primarily Republican, and strongly antislavery, with its share of outspoken abolitionists, led by Charles Remond, a passionate speaker who came from one of the city's notable black families. At its Lyceum (on Church Street) and in other venues, plays and shows were put on, but cultural lectures and political speeches were given too.

In 1860 (per census, house 2085) this house was occupied by William Phelps, 51 , sash and blind maker, $\$ 1400$, $\$ 500$, wife Hannah D., and children Mary F., 21, Eliza J., 18, and William, 12. Next door (\#14) were the Staffords. At \#6 were old William Knight, 77, a boatbuilder now, and wife Mary, 82; he had owned this house (\#16) starting back in 1810.

By 1860, with the election of Abraham Lincoln, it was clear that the Southern states would secede from the union; and Salem, which had done so
much to win the independence of the nation, was ready to go to war to force others to remain a part of it.

The Civil War began in April, 1861, and went on for four years, during which hundreds of Salem men served in the army and navy, and many were killed or died of disease or abusive treatment while imprisoned. Hundreds more suffered wounds, or broken health. The people of Salem contributed greatly to efforts to alleviate the suffering of the soldiers, sailors, and their families; and there was great celebration when the war finally ended in the spring of 1865.

Through the 1860 s , Salem pursued manufacturing, especially of leather and shoes and textiles. The managers and capitalists tended to build their new, grand houses along Lafayette Street (these houses may still be seen, south of Roslyn Street; many are in the French Second Empire style, with mansard roofs). A third factory building for the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company was built in 1865.

In 1870 Salem received its last cargo from Zanzibar, thus ending a onceimportant trade. By then, a new Salem \& New York freight steamboat line was in operation. Seven years later, with the arrival of a vessel from Cayenne, Salem's foreign trade came to an end. After that, "the merchandise warehouses on the wharves no longer contained silks from India, tea from China, pepper from Sumatra, coffee from Arabia, spices from Batavia, gum-copal from Zanzibar, hides from Africa, and the various other products of far-away countries. The boys have ceased to watch on the Neck for the incoming vessels, hoping to earn a reward by being the first to announce to the expectant merchant the safe return of his looked-for vessel. The foreign commerce of Salem, once her pride and glory, has spread its white wings and sailed away forever" (Rev. George Bachelder in History of Essex County, II: 65).

In 1870 (per census, house 150) this house was occupied by William Phelps Jr., 61, sash \& blind maker, $\$ 1500$, wife Hannah Phelps, 59, keeping house, Eliza J., 24, teacher, and Sarah, 47, no occupation. Sarah was perhaps a younger sister of William.

Salem was now so densely built-up that a general conflagration was always a possibility, as in Boston, when, on Nov. 9, 1872, the financial and manufacturing district of the city burned up. Salem continued to prosper in the 1870s, carried forward by the leather-making business. In 1874 the city was visited by a tornado and shaken by a minor earthquake. In the following year, the large Pennsylvania Pier (site of the present coal-fired harborside electrical generating plant) was completed to begin receiving large shipments of coal. Beyond it, at Juniper Point, a new owner began subdividing the old Allen farmlands into a new development called Salem Willows and Juniper Point. In the U.S. centennial year, 1876, A.G. Bell of Salem announced that he had discovered a way to transmit voices over telegraph wires.

On May 23, 1873, William Phelps (Jr.), the owner, died, aged sixty years. His children conveyed the homestead to their mother, Mrs. Hannahy D. (Phelps) Phelps; and on November 6,1873 , for $\$ 1500$ she sold the same to Ann, the wife of Michael Little (ED 889:294, 892:221). Mrs. Little mortgaged it back to Mrs. Phelps for $\$ 1000$ (ED 892:221)

Michael Little (1836-1917) was from Galway, Ireland, and arrived in the U. S. through the port of New York on Feb. 26, 1853 (per his 1876 citizenship papers). He was in Salem by 1855, working as a currier in the booming leather industry. In 1855 he resided in this neighborhood, in a boarding house run by Patrick "Keith" (sic; Keefe); Michael Little, 20, born Ireland, currier, resided there with, among others, James O'Neill, 30, currier, and Henry Crowley, 26, currier. In 1856 he married Anastasia Collins, born in Ireland; she was known as Ann. They had children Thomas, John, and Mary in quick succession; and in 1860 (per census, house 2086). they were residing in a three-family house very close to \#16. The Littles were also caring for a baby named Martin Finnegan; and they had pet dogs.

In 1865 Michael Little, 30, laborer, was listed with wife Ann, 30, as parents of five children, living in a four-family house in this neighborhood, not far from the family of John Little, born Ireland, 35, currier, perhaps Michael's brother (house 426).

Michel Little (1836-1917), born 9 Feb. 1836, Galway, Ireland, died 13 Feb. 1917, Salem. He m. 1856 Anastasia Collins (1835-1898, b. Ireland), died 28 March 1898. Known issue:

1. Thomas F., 1857
2. John H., 1859
3. Mary A., 1860
4. Katy, 1862
5. Delia, 1865
6. Margaret, 1868
7. Ellen, 1870, m. Michael Harkens
8. Sarah J., 1872, m. John J. McLaughlin.
9. Michael, Jan. 1874, m. Florence E.
10. Martin, 1876

In this decade, French-Canadian families began coming to work in Salem's mills and factories, and more houses and tenements were built. The better-off workers bought portions of older houses or built small homes for their families in the outlying sections of the city; and by 1879 the Naumkeag Steam

Cotton mills would employ 1200 people and produce annually nearly 15 million yards of cloth. Shoe-manufacturing businesses expanded in the 1870s, and 40 shoe factories were employing 600 -plus operatives. Tanning, in both Salem and Peabody, remained a very important industry, and employed hundreds of breadwinners. On Boston Street in 1879, the Arnold tannery caught fire and burned down.

In the 1880s and 1890s, Salem kept building infrastructure; and new businesses arose, and established businesses expanded. Retail stores prospered; horse-drawn trolleys ran every which-way; and machinists, carpenters, millwrights, and other specialists all thrived. In 1880, Salem's manufactured goods were valued at about $\$ 8.4$ million, of which leather accounted for nearly half. In the summer of 1886, the Knights of Labor brought a strike against the manufacturers for a ten-hour day and other concessions; but the manufacturers imported labor from Maine and Canada, and kept going. The strikers held out, and there was violence in the streets, and even rioting; but the owners prevailed, and many of the defeated workers lost their jobs and suffered, with their families, through a bitter winter.

By the mid-1880s, Salem's cotton-cloth mills at the Point employed 1400 people who produced about 19 million yards annually, worth about $\$ 1.5$ million. The city's large shoe factories stood downtown behind the stone depot and on Dodge and Lafayette Streets. A jute bagging company prospered with plants on Skerry Street and English Street; its products were sent south to be used in cottonbaling. Salem factories also produced lead, paint, and oil. At the Eastern Railroad yard on Bridge Street, cars were repaired and even built new. In 1887 the streets were first lit with electricity, replacing gas-light. The gas works, which had stood on Northey Street since 1850, was moved to a larger site on Bridge Street in 1888, opposite the Beverly Shore.

More factories and more people required more space for buildings, more roads, and more storage areas. This space was created by filling in rivers, harbors, and ponds. The once-broad North River was filled from both shores, and became a canal along Bridge Street above the North Bridge. In 1883, the city of Salem took by eminent domain the shoreline of the North River, which was being filled in; the taking included the northerly part of the Littles' homestead land (ED 1113:279). The large and beautiful Mill Pond, which occupied the whole area between the present Jefferson Avenue, Canal Street, and Loring Avenue, finally vanished beneath streets, storage areas, junk-yards, rail-yards, and parking lots. The South River, too, with its epicenter at Central Street (that's why there was a Custom House built there in 1805) disappeared under the pavement of Riley Plaza and New Derby Street, and some of its old wharves were joined together with much in-fill and turned into coal-yards and lumber-yards. Only a canal was left, running in from Derby and Central Wharves to Lafayette Street.

Mrs. Anastasia (Collins) Little died in March, 1898, aged 64, leaving her husband Michael, currier, and many children and grandchildren. He would survive her by almost twenty years.

Salem kept growing. The Canadians were followed in the early $20^{\text {th }}$ century by large numbers of Polish and Ukrainian families, who settled primarily in the Derby Street neighborhood.

In 1910 (per census, house 76), this house was occupied by Michael Little, 76, and by John McLaughlin, 38, a shoe factory worker, his wife (Mr. Little's daughter) Sadie, 34, and their three children, Frank, 12, Annie C., 7, and Alice, 3. Frank McLaughlin would become a stenographer by 1920; Alice would become a supervisor at N.E. Tel \& Tel.

By the eve of World War One, Salem was a bustling, polyglot city that supported large department stores and large factories of every description. People from the surrounding towns, and Marblehead in particular, came to Salem to do their shopping; and its handsome government buildings, as befit the county seat, were busy with conveyances of land, lawsuits, and probate proceedings. The city's politics were lively, and its economy was strong.

On June 25, 1914, in the morning, in Blubber Hollow (Boston Street opposite Federal), a fire started in one of Salem's fire-prone wooden tanneries. This fire soon consumed the building and raced out of control, for the west wind was high and the season had been dry. The next building caught fire, and the next, and out of Blubber Hollow the fire roared easterly, a monstrous front of flame and smoke, wiping out the houses of Boston Street, Essex Street, and upper Broad Street, and then sweeping through Hathorne, Winthrop, Endicott, and other residential streets. Men and machines could not stop it: the enormous fire crossed over into South Salem and destroyed the neighborhoods west of Lafayette Street, then devoured the mansions of Lafayette Street itself, and raged onward into the tenement district. Despite the combined efforts of heroic fire crews from many towns and cities, the fire overwhelmed everything in its path: it smashed into the large factory buildings of the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company (Congress Street), which exploded in an inferno; and it rolled down Lafayette Street and across the water to Derby Street. There, just beyond Union Street, after a 13-hour rampage, the monster died, having consumed 250 acres, 1600 houses, and 41 factories, and leaving three dead and thousands homeless. Some people had insurance, some did not; all received much support and generous donations from all over the country and the world. It was one of the greatest urban disasters in the history of the United States, and the people of Salem would take years to recover from it. Eventually, they did, and many of the former houses and businesses were rebuilt; and several urban-renewal projects (including Hawthorne Boulevard, which involved removing old houses and widening old streets) were put into effect.

Michael Little celebrated his $83^{\text {rd }}$ birthday on Friday, Feb. 9, 1917. He died at home four days later on the $13^{\text {th }}$. In his obituary he was remembered as "an old and well known citizen... He was a currier by trade and worked at that occupation for years. He was a noted dog fancier. He was a life-long member of the Young Men's Catholic Temperance Society." He left four sons and six daughters, 17 grandchildren, and 3 great-grandchildren. The funeral was held from the home of his daughter, Mrs. Michael Harkins of 120 North Street. ${ }^{1}$

In September, 1917, the homestead was sold (by order of Probate Court) for $\$ 900$ to this same Ellen F. (Little) Harkins, wife of Michael F. (ED 2374:251). On 22 July 1922 Mrs. Harkins granted the same to her nephew, J. Frank McLaughlin; and on Sept. 6, 1922, Mr. McLaughlin sold the place to his parents Mrs. John J. (Sarah C.) McLaughlin (ED 2522:195, 2528:111). The homestead remained in the McLaughlin family, descendants of Michael \& Anastasia Little, for many years.

In the 1920s, Salem was once again a thriving city; and its tercentenary in 1926 was a time of great celebration. The Depression hit in 1929, and continued through the 1930s. Salem, the county seat and regional retail center, gradually rebounded, and prospered after World War II through the 1950s and into the 1960s. General Electric, Sylvania, Parker Brothers, Pequot Mills (formerly Naumkeag Steam Cotton Co.), Almy's department store, various other large-scale retailers, and Beverly's United Shoe Machinery Company were all major local employers.

In 1952, Mrs. Sarah C. McLaughlin received assistance from the city of Salem but retained ownership of this house (ED 3891:270). After her death, the property descended to her daughter Miss Alice L. McLaughlin who resided here for many years. In October, 1993, she sold the same to herself and Eastern Bank \& Trust Co. (ED 12187:405).

Alice McLaughlin died on October 21, 2001. Thereafter, the homestead was sold for $\$ 220,000$ to Kevin W. and Melissa Hankens, who reside there (ED 29222:64).

[^0]A figure like (ED 123:45) refers to book 123, page 45, Essex South registry of Deeds, Federal Street, Salem.

A figure like (\#12345) refers to Essex Probate case 12345, on file at the Essex Probate Court, Federal Street, Salem, or on microfilm at Mass. Archives, Boston, or at the Peabody Essex Museum's Phillips Library, Salem.

MSSRW refers to the multi-volume compendium, Mass. Soldiers \& Sailors in the Revolutionary War, available at the Salem Public Library among other places.

MSSCRW refers to the multi-volume compendium, Mass. Soldiers, Sailors, \& Marines in the Civil War, available at the Salem Public Library among other places.

EIHC refers to the Essex Institute Historical Collections (discontinued), a multivolume set (first volume published in 1859) of data and articles about Essex County. The indices of the EIHC have been consulted regarding many of the people associated with this house.

The six-volume published Salem Vital records (marriages, births, and deaths through 1849) have been consulted, as have the Salem Directory and later Naumkeag Directory, which have information about residents and their addresses, etc.

Sidney Perley's three-volume History of Salem, 1626-1716 has been consulted, as has the four-volume William Bentley's Diary, J. Duncan Phillips' books, some newspaper obituaries, and other sources.

Salem real estate valuations, and, where applicable, Salem Street Books, have also been consulted, as have genealogies.

There is much more material available about Salem and its history; and the reader is encouraged to make his or her own discoveries.
--Robert Booth


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©Minora must be so designated. If any party bs tarried woman, her husband's name mast be given. Next of kia may be dotermined by reference to Chapters 91 and of of the General Statutes.]

To the Honorable the Judge of the Probate Court in and for the County of Essex:
Respectrulit represents 8 benezer Baciodel
of Secern in the county of Essex that william Pluefo, juerior who last divert in Salcon. in said county of Essex, Sash robliwnmaker died on the $23^{\circ}$ day of May in the your of our Lord eighteen hundred and seventy Venue intestate, possessed of goods and estate administered, leaving $a$ widow, whose name is Hannale $\mathcal{D}$. Pleffs and as h is only next of kin the persons whose names, residence, and relationship to the deceased are as follows, viz.:

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Wherefore your petitioner prays that he may be appointed Administrate on of the estate of said deceased.

Dated this Rifleectite
day of Selitenber
A. D. 1873 .


The undersigned being all the persons interested in the foregoing Petition, desire the same may be granted without further notice.


Pursuant to the forcigong order, to us directed, we have appraised said estate as follows; to wit, -

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\text { Amount of leal Estate, as per schedule exhibited, } & \$ 3033.33 / 3 \\
\text { Amount of Personal Estate, as per schedule exhibited, } & \$ 199.00 .
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oath that the foregoing is a trace and perfect Inventory of all the estate of said deceased that has come to in is possession or knowledge.
Before me,
$\square$
$\qquad$ Justice or the Peace.




[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Issue of 13 Feb. 1917, Salem Evening News, "Recent Deaths And Funerals".

