History of House & Occupants, 23 Lemon Street, Salem

By Robert Booth, for Historic Salem Inc.

According to available evidence, this house was built for Lydia King, a gentlewoman originally from Marblehead, in 1839. The front part of the house is probably earlier and probably moved to this site; and the chimney and rear parts were added (certain because she paid Mary Carroll for the masons and carpenters work, which was likely done on-site).

An inspection of the house shows that much of the underpinning is pretty old, not cut dimensional stock, and likely pre-dates the 1830s. There are one chimney, four fireplaces, both rear fireplaces (up and down) having keeping ovens and cooking fireplaces. In the attic, one can see the original roofline of the rear (now a leanto), which was symmetrical for a very small house, maybe only 14' deep. The front room downstairs has a cornice molding and other trim that feels Georgian—windows, mopboards, cornerposts. A new chair-rail has been installed.

In October 1838, Lydia King, Salem singlewoman, for $175 purchased from Ezra Northey & wife a lot of land on Lemon Street, fronting 43' and running back about 90' (ED 309:67). Miss King proceeded to have this house built thereon, probably in 1839; and it is likely that the house was built as the result of moving a very small house onto the site and adding a chimney and a back half thereto. Certainly Miss King paid for a great deal of mason and carpenter work in connection with the house by 1843 (see reference at ED, 337:158, King to Carroll).

Lydia King (1770-1855) was a native of Marblehead. She was born Oct. 9, 1770, the daughter of Capt. Thomas King and Betty Paramore, of 13 Green Street (a gambrel-roofed house that still stands, as the southwest half of a double house; it is situated not far from the intersection of Pond, Elm, and Green Streets). Her father, described in deeds as a "gentleman," was evidently a militia captain and an investor. His wife, Betty, was the daughter of Capt. Robert Paramore, a prominent merchant who had come to Marblehead, perhaps from England, and had married Jane Calley, the daughter of a rich merchant, Capt. John Calley. Betty was the only surviving child of the Paramore marriage. She married, first, in 1757, her cousin James Calley, and had a daughter Sarah Calley. James soon died. In 1760, Betty married, second, Capt. Thomas King. The Kings had five children, of whom only Jane (b. 1763) and Lydia (b. 1770) survived. Lydia was the last; a child

of that same name, born to the Kings in 1768, had died in 1770 shortly before the second Lydia was born.

Among Lydia's earliest memories were the town's preparations for war. The Marblehead militia regiment, led by Col. Jeremiah Lee and Lt. Cols Azor Orne and John Glover, drilled frequently under Timothy Pickering of Salem in the early 1770s—his own regiment was headed and officered by Tories through 1774. In October, 1774, at Salem, the provincial legislature declared itself independent of the British empire, and adjourned to Concord to form a government and to choose representatives to send to the new Continental Congress. Elbridge Gerry, thirty, agreed to attend the Congress (in 1776 he would sign the Declaration of Independence). At the same time, Jeremiah Lee was chosen chairman of the Essex County rebel congress. Colonel Lee and Capt. Richard Derby & Sons of Salem imported the powder, cannon, guns, and ammunition (from Holland and France) that were needed to fight the war that seemed inevitable.

When a British column landed in Marblehead one Sunday in February, 1775, everyone was in church; Colonel Leslie's redcoats marched briskly on to Salem, where they hoped to seize munitions. At the North Bridge, they found the draw up and the way blocked by townspeople. Eventually, the British column faced about and marched back through Marblehead, whose own regiment, drawn up along Lafayette Street, could have slaughtered them. Instead, the Marbleheaders fell in behind them, marching in mockery on Leslie's Retreat as the redcoats made their way to Devereux Beach and boarded the longboats that went to their transport.

By mid-March, 1775, most Marblehead men were at sea in their fleet for Spring Fare fishing, and so they missed the Concord Fight in April, 1775. Not their colonel, though: Lee was nearly captured at the Black Horse Tavern in Arlington. He escaped into a field with Elbridge Gerry and Azor Orne, but the shock led to illness, and then to pneumonia, from which Jeremiah Lee died at Newbury on May 10, 1775, aged 54 years. Thus ended the life of Marblehead's greatest merchant, largest employer, and foremost rebel leader; and thus did John Glover become the leader of the Marblehead regiment.

With Lexington & Concord, the die was cast. Of course no one knew how the war would end, and there was little to indicate that the colonials could actually defeat the King's army and navy, but virtually every able-bodied Marblehead man and boy signed up. Glover's regiment had ten companies; and there were two companies of gunners at Fort Sewall as well. Marblehead artillery-men under Capt. S.R. Trevett fought at Bunker Hill in June, 1775; and Glover and his men participated in the siege of Boston, as George

Washington took command of the army in Cambridge. Many Marbleheaders, however, sailed in Washington's Navy, a fleet of five Marblehead schooners converted to armed predators.

Marbleheaders threw themselves into the rebel cause, and paid a terrible price. Without the fishery to support the town, and without Col. Jeremiah Lee to hold things together—and with the merchants Robert Hooper and John Pedrick taking the Tory side—Marblehead rapidly deteriorated into poverty. By the fall of 1775, the town's situation was grim, and would worsen throughout the war. A Philadelphia soldier, visiting in October, 1775, made the following observations (EIHC 83:144-5). "We passed over a stony road to Marblehead, which is a dirty disagreeable place at present. They are here in great distress as the town is built amongst the rocks and stones, where is no land to cultivate. Marblehead and the people in general are fishermen or concerned in that way, which source of support is now at an end many of he men are in the army and the rest are out of employ and almost every house swarms with children of these hardy, temperate men. Their situation is miserable. The streets and roads are filled (with) the poor little boys and girls who are forced to beg of all they see. The women are lazy and of consequence dirty creatures. There are about 400 houses here and 4 or 5 of them large neat houses. They have a small battery in a point here to try to keep off the men of war. One remarkable object of charity here was a little boy whose left arm was shriveled up and dead and his legs were contracted and folded like a tailor's, and of no strength. This emaciated creature would move in an odd manner with the assistance of his right hand into the middle of the road before your horse and would beg in a most moving manner, and you must give him something or drive over him. I do not want ever to see such another place."

The British left Boston in March, 1776, never to return. The Marblehead regiment marched to Long Island, and participated notably in several battles there and in the vicinity of New York City. The Marbleheaders saved Washington's army by ferrying it over Long Island Sound; later, the Marbleheaders ferried the army across the Delaware River and participated in Washington's first victory at the Battle of Trenton, on Christmas Day, 1776. Colonel Glover eventually became General Glover, and served for years as one of Washington's most dependable commanders. Most of the surviving townsmen came home by 1777, and went a privateering, mainly on Salem vessels.

Capt. Thomas King died in March, 1777, when Lydia was just six. He left his wife Betty, stepdaughter Sarah Calley, 19, and daughters Jane, 13, and Lydia. Betty and her girls continued to occupy the Paramore-King house at 13

Green Street, a rather grand estate that had been built in 1725 for Rev. David Mossom, the first rector of Saint Michael's Church, Episcopal (he moved to Virginia and remained a prominent clergyman; in 1759 he performed the wedding ceremony of Martha Custis and George Washington). Betty was advised and assisted by her old friend Robert "King" Hooper, the richest man in Marblehead.

Most Marblehead men sailed in privateers for the duration of the war, which continued at sea until 1783. Hundreds of local men were captured, and hundreds died in prison or were killed in action.

As John Pedrick (born 1774) put it, "Previous to the war of the revolution, Marblehead was the second town in the state, and it numbered 10,000 inhabitants and furnished a full regiment commanded by a native of that place (Col. Jeremiah Lee). Great numbers of seamen flocked as volunteers to the navy and to privateers, furnishing a much larger quota than any town in the state, while Massachusetts exceeded any other of the thirteen states in the union, so that at the close of the war 500 were left widows. A near town (Salem) employed a great proportion of our seamen in their private armed ships and letters-of-marque-and-reprisal, so that they (in Salem) were far in advance in property of those (of Marblehead) who furnished the men for laying the foundation of their future growth and prosperity."

After the Revolution, the hard times continued. Marblehead's fishery was destroyed, as was its merchant fleet. Many of the leading citizens from the 1760s were dead, and most of the family fortunes had vanished. There were more than 400 widows with fatherless children; and scores of men were handicapped by their wounds or worn out from long service.

Once among the richest places in colonial America, Marblehead was among the poorest in the new republic. The fishing was poor in the 1780s, and Marbleheaders suffered other losses, a sample of which was reported in the Salem ***Mercury*** for Jan. 20, 1787: "We have the affecting intelligence, by the arrival of Capt. Conway at Marblehead, that the schooner ***Betsey***, Capt. William Blackler, of that place, on her return from a fishing voyage, foundered on the 17th of November, and every soul on board perished. By this stroke, one family is bereaved of seven of its members."

In 1787, Jane King married John Carroll of Marblehead; and they soon began to have a family of children. At the time, Lydia King, seventeen, and half-sister Sarah Calley, thirty, resided with their mother, Mrs. Betty Paramore King, 51.

John Carroll (d. by 1800 evidently) m. 1787 Jane King (1762-1836), died 20 Jan. 1836, 74th year. Known issue:

1. ***Mary, 1788, died in Salem, of consumption, 1846.***
2. ***Elizabeth, 1790, m. 1811 Jonathan Brown of Salem.***
3. ***John Nichols, 1792, m. 1818 Tabitha Power***
4. ***Jane Paramore, 1794, m. 1828 Thomas Nicholson***
5. ***Sarah Calley, 1796***

By 1789 the King family was out of money. When George Washington came to Marblehead in that year, he was feted at the Lee Mansion; but his diary shows that he was appalled at the poverty of the town. Mrs. King was required to make over the title to her homestead to King Hooper, who allowed them to continue to live there as his tenants. He died in the next year, 1790; and his estate, too, was found to be insolvent. In 1790, the state organized a lottery to relieve the desperate Marbleheaders. In 1795 the Paramore-King house was bought by Thomas Upton, and the Kings probably moved to a different house in Marblehead.

From 1798 to 1800, there was an undeclared war at sea with France, followed by a similar conflict with Britain. Merchant shipping faced new dangers from these enemies, but the Marblehead owners and masters armed their ships with cannon and aggressively expanded their trade, following in the wake of Salem, whose vessels were now voyaging to the Baltic to trade with Russia and all the way to India and China. Marblehead's foreign trade improved and expanded.

In 1800, Jane "Carryll" (Carroll) resided on Lee Street (census, p.484); this indicates that her husband John had died, leaving her with a large family of small children, of whom the youngest, Sarah, was four. In 1802, Sarah Calley, 45, Lydia's half-sister, married Richard Besom, a well-to-do carter and farmer of 8 Elm Street. Possibly Lydia and her mother went to live in the Besom house.

Eventually, new leaders arose in Marblehead, new capital was formed, and fishing and foreign commerce were resumed; but as late as 1797 a manufacturer came scouting for a place to build a mill where he knew that people would put their children to work for low wages. He wrote of Marblehead, "This is a place very disagreeably suited, being very rocky, and the inhabitants appear to be poor, their homes very much on the decline. I apprehend it might be a very good place for a cotton manufactory, children appearing very plenty." (see p. 15, Dunwell's ***The Run of the Mill***)

With increasing prosperity, new businesses arose, including the

Marblehead Insurance Co., incorporated in March, 1803, with Robert Hooper president and John Bond secretary. The town's fishery and commerce continued to gather strength during the next few years. Marblehead's come-back was not strong or soon enough to retain some of its most able citizens, including Elbridge Gerry and the Sewalls, who moved to Boston and Cambridge. Of the ambitious young men, the most able, Joseph Story, a graduate of Harvard in 1798, studied law under Samuel Sewall in Marblehead, but then moved to Salem, where he studied under Samuel Putnam. Salem was then one of the largest, richest cities in America. Early a democrat in politics, he became the first lawyer in Essex County to align himself with the Democratic-Republican national party of Jefferson, which, in Salem, was championed by the powerful Crowninshield family of merchants. Story became their lawyer and political strategist, and moved to Salem, followed by most of his very talented brothers and sisters: Harriet and Eliza married Stephen and Joseph White Jr. of Salem, brothers and leading Republican merchants; and within a few years the Story-White faction had come to challenge the Crowninshields for control of the party in Salem. There, the voters were about split between the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans, but Marblehead was solidly Democratic-Republican.

Through 1806, Marblehead's commerce expanded rapidly. Although it lacked the capital to compete with Salem, Newburyport, or Boston, it began to prosper in trade and freighting, and its merchants acquired ever-larger merchant vessels in which to send their cargos and crews to Europe, the Caribbean, and even the Orient. Marblehad sailors also shipped out in Salem's large merchant fleet. As England and France fought their war and preyed on each other's shipping, both nations and their allies recognized American vessels as neutral ships, and used our vessels as their freighters, carrying Europe's cargos from port to port in a very profitable new business. This came to an end in 1806-7, as England and then France changed their policies and began attacking American ships. Jefferson was unable to negotiate an end to this, and so, in January, 1808, the Congress imposed an Embargo on all American shipping in hopes of forestalling war. It proved futile and nearly ruinous in Marblehead, whose commerce and fishing ceased. The Marbleheaders, about 5800 in number, were reduced nearly to starvation but loyally supported the Embargo until it was lifted in spring, 1809, partly through the efforts of Joseph Story, who had become a Congressman. There was an immediate burst of commercial activity, with ships resuming their trade routes, and fishermen heading out to the Banks. The Marblehead Social Insurance Co. was incorporated in June, 1809, with Nicholas Bartlett as president and John Sparhawk Jr. as secretary. Elbridge

Gerry, formerly of Marblehead, was elected Governor of Massachusetts in 1810 and re-elected in 1811.

Three years of shipping and fishing followed, but still the British harassed American shipping, Marblehead's included; and in June, 1812, war was declared.

Most of New England opposed the war as potentially ruinous and for the benefit only of the western war-hawk states. Not Marblehead, which went to war eagerly. Four privateers were immediately fitted out in town, as were forty in Salem, largely manned by Marbleheaders. Marblehead men also served on U.S. Navy vessels, including the ***Constitution***; and they comprised a Light Infantry Company, under the command of Joshua O. Bowden.

In August, 1812, the ***Constitution***, with many Marbleheaders in the crew, defeated the British frigate ***Guerriere*** on the western edge of the Grand Bank. Marblehead and Salem privateers manned by Marbleheaders made prizes of British supply vessels. While many of the town's men were wounded in engagements, and some were killed, the adventure and possible riches of privateering kept them returning to sea as often as possible.

In 1812 Madison was re-elected President, with his new Vice President, Elbridge Gerry, 68, who would serve for only two years, and die in Washington on Nov. 23, 1814, of a lung hemorrhage.

In June, 1813, off Marblehead Neck, the British frigate ***Shannon*** defeated the badly under-manned U.S. Navy frigate ***Chesapeake***, Capt. James Lawrence, whose last words were the famous "Don't give up the ship!" followed by the less-famous "Blow her up!"

In 1813, Richard Besom died, having willed his homestead for life to his wife Sarah Calley. If her mother and sister Lydia King had not already resided there, it may be that they did so beginning in 1813.

Marblehead feared attack from British vessels, and erected small forts and batteries on the Neck, Bailey's Head, Goodwin's Head, and Skinner's Head. A company of Seacoast Guards, under Capt. John Bailey, manned Fort Sewall and its cannon. British prisoners were held at Fort Sewall, to the dismay of the townspeople. Sentries were posted at night along the waterfront and elsewhere, and two Marbleheaders (including Charles Francis, 85, in 1814) were accidentally killed by them, at the Town House and at Lovis Cove.

On the 3rd of April, 1814, the Seacoast Guards at Fort Sewall noticed three sails on the horizon, heading in; as the day wore on, these vessels proved to be the mighty ***Constitution*** in the lead, pursued by the smaller British frigates ***Tenedos*** and ***Endymion***. The breeze was light, and the enemy gained, but Old Ironsides, piloted by a Marbleheader, Samuel H. Green, made her way safely under the guns of the Fort and into Marblehead Harbor, to the cheers of thousands.

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, Marblehead's vessels often were captured, and its men captured or killed. After almost three years, the war was bleeding the town dry, and the men-folk were disappearing. More than 700 Marblehead men and boys were imprisoned in British prison-ships and at Dartmoor Prison in England.

At last, in February, 1815, the governments agreed to resume peaceful relations. This was no consolation to the 500-plus Marbleheaders still imprisoned at Dartmoor. In April, the guards there opened fire on the defenseless prisoners, killing 7 and wounding 60, including two Marbleheaders. A few days later, all were released.

Post-war, Marblehead was in trouble. In 1812, there had been 120-plus vessels employed in the fishery; in 1815, there were just 48. The men and boys were not inclined to jump back into fishing, having developed the "jackpot" mentality of the privateer. It took years to re-establish a thriving fishery, and to resume a large commerce with Europe and the Caribbean. By April, 1818, Rev. William Bentley of Salem noted in his diary that "Marblehead now begins to look up again. A few years' success in the fishery sets them up again and they multiply beyond example. I met a woman today who exultingly told me, 'Marblehead is rising again and rising fast.' Their industry is great." Among other things, they were shipping their salt fish to Ohio and points west, through Albany.

On August 9, 1819, Mrs. Elizabeth (Paramore) King died in her 85th year, one of the oldest people in Marblehead. Her daughter Lydia was then 48 years old.

The fishery and foreign trade carried Marblehead forward in the 1820s, with a large and profitable fishing fleet, and fewer trading vessels. Capt. Nicholson Broughton was the leader of Marblehead's dwindling merchant community; for more than a decade he kept up the town commerce with the

world from his wharf west of State Street landing. Among other goods, he imported the salt for the fishing fleet, and much of the fishing gear and the provisions for the men to take to sea. Among other notable events of the 1820s, the aged Marquis de Lafayette visited in the summer of 1824, the year that formal names were given to the town's streets. In 1825, the new stone church was built on lower Washington Street for the First Religious Society, replacing the old meeting house which had stood nearby at the head of Franklin Street. In 1829 a town fire department was established.

The fishermen had always been wintertime shoemakers, as a way of earning money in the off-season; and so shoemaking was a familiar craft in Marblehead, which found a ready market and supplier in Lynn, which was the dominant shoemaking center in the area. Most shoemaking in Marblehead was done in the houses or in small backyard and side-street buildings known as ten-footers, where a few men would cobble shoes by hand, using a beach rock for a lapstone, wooden lasts, and large pieces of leather from which were cut the soles, uppers, and lowers. It was all hand-work. By the 1820s, some locals took an interest in the mass-production of shoes. In 1825, the Orne brothers, Adoniram and John, were the first to engage in shoe manufacturing, and their initial success—it did not last for them—was soon replicated by Ebenezer Martin, who manufactured shoes for the southern trade (see Salem *Gazette*, 4 April 1861).

As good highways and big canals were built in the newer states in the 1820s and 1830s, and as steamboats proliferated, both capital and trade were diverted inland, away from the coast. American goods were now being produced in such quantities that imports—the cargoes of Marblehead merchant vessels—were not so much needed as in the past. The interior of the country was being continuously opened for settlement. People moved west, including some Marbleheaders, and the economic attention of the merchants turned westward with them.

In 1832, the proprietors of the Marblehead *Gazette* launched the town's first newspaper. It lasted about two years. The Methodists, after holding services in houses and rented halls for many years, put up their own meeting house on Summer Street in 1833 (in the 1960s the building was sold and turned into apartments), and a Second Congregational Church (mid-town) and a Baptist Church (Pleasant Street) were dedicated too; and a Universalist Church opened its doors in 1837. President Jackson visited Marblehead in 1833, and fueled political partisanship to the point that on July 4th, 1834, two rival celebrations were held, one Whig and one Democrat.

Shoe manufacturing continued to gain ground as a source of local employment. Thomas Garney began as a shoe manufacturer in 1833, and Samuel Sparhawk the following year. At that time, only very cheap shoes ("roan shoes") were made in town, using the lowest grade of sheepskin. In 1837 Jonathan Brown, a fish dealer—evidently the Salem transplant who had married Lydia King's niece Elizabeth Carroll in 1811—began manufacturing shoes on a large scale; and William T. Haskell followed suit in about 1840 (see Salem *Gazette*, 4 April 1861). In 1838 the Eastern Railroad opened its line between Boston and Salem; and in December, 1839, the line was opened from Salem to Marblehead, whose depot was located on Pleasant Street, near School Street, in the old brickyard field. The railroad, of course, gave an impetus to shoe manufacturing, since raw leather and finished shoes could be easily transported thereby.

Mrs. Jane (King) Carroll died in Marblehead in January, 1836, in her 74th year, having survived her husband by more than 35 years. She left four daughters and one son, as well as her half-sister Mrs. Sarah C. Besom (who would die in her eighties on July 19, 1842) and her sister Miss Lydia King. It may have been at that time that Lydia moved to Salem, which was then on the rise as a newly incorporated city. In 1836, Lydia King resided in a house "near Northey Street" (per 1837 Salem Directory). As has been noted, Lydia King purchased the Lemon Street lot in 1838 and by 1839 was living in a "small house" thereon (per 1839 valuations, which is the only valuation in the 1830s and 1840s that mentions Lydia King by name).

Salem had been a leading international seaport through the early 1820s, when its foreign trade fell off sharply. American tariffs on imports, coupled with the conversion of India from a producer of textiles to a supplier of raw cotton, severely damaged Salem's maritime trade, at one time among the most lucrative in the world. 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. As the decade of the 1830s wore on, the new railroads and canals, all running and flowing to Boston from points north, west, and south, diverted both capital and trade away from the coast. Salem's remaining merchants took their equity out of local wharves and warehouses and ships and put it into the stock of manufacturing and transportation companies. 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.

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 whale-fishery led 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, at the head of Salem Harbor, were retooled for making high-quality white lead and sheet lead. These enterprises were a start toward taking Salem in a new direction. In 1838 the Eastern Rail Road, headquartered in Salem, began operating between Boston and Salem, which gave the local people a direct route to the region's largest market. The new railroad tracks ran right over the middle of the Mill Pond; the tunnel under Washington Street was built in 1839; and the line was extended to Newburyport in 1840.

In the face of these changes, some members of Salem's waning merchant class continued to pursue their sea-borne businesses into the 1840s; but it was an ebb tide, with unfavorable winds. Boston, transformed into a modern mega-port with efficient railroad and highway distribution to all markets, had subsumed virtually all foreign trade other than Salem's continuing commerce with Zanzibar. The sleepy waterfront at Derby Wharf, with an occasional arrival from Africa and regular visits from schooners carrying wood from Nova Scotia, is depicted in 1850 by Hawthorne in his cranky "introductory section" to **The Scarlet Letter**, which he began while working in the Custom House.

Although Hawthorne had no interest in describing it, Salem's transformation did occur in the 1840s, as more industrial methods and machines were introduced, and many new companies in new lines of business arose. In some way that is not now apparent, Lydia King plugged into the resurgent economy of Salem, and in it made a remunerative place for herself.

Having moved into her house in 1839, she may have added to a small old moved-in house in that year, or she may have enlarged it within a few years. On 2 June 1843 Lydia King, Salem singlewoman, for $367 sold to Mary

Carroll, of Salem (in consideration of work done by carpenters and masons on the house mentioned in the deed), one-half of the Lemon Street lot, with dwelling house and all other buildings (ED 337:158). Mary, 55, was one of her nieces, the daughter of the late Jane King Carroll. Mary, who evidently had paid for much of the construction work reflected in the deed price, resided at the house with her aunt Lydia.

Valuation, street-book, directory, and census records. The following is a summary of records that relate to this house. It is not clear, in each instance, who was residing there—Lydia King and Mary Carroll probably were even when not named; and they had tenants.

1839 Lemon St: between #15 and #17, it is pencilled in that Lydia King is assessed for a "small house".

1840 census: (p.259): J. Tiplady (boy u5, man 20s, woman 20s) seems the most likely occupant listed.

1841 (from 1842 dir.): #17 Miss Mary Carroll

1843 valuation: #15 Dudley Phipps

1844 street book: #15 Thomas F. Laskey, Dudley Phipps

1845 (from 1846 directory): #15 Lydia King, Mary Carroll, Dudley Phipps, lobster catcher; Edmund Ray, laborer (only the latter two in the 1845 valuation).

Dudley Phipps, a native of Gloucester evidently, died on Nov. 29, 1846, aged 32 years, of typhus fever. He was predeceased by a small son, William W., who had died in December, 1843, aged six months; and he was survived by his wife Mehitable and a baby son, William D., who would die in June, 1849, aged four years.

1846 valuation: #15 Edmund Rea.

Mary Carroll died 11 Oct. 1846, aged 58 years, of consumption (tuberculosis) "formerly of Marblehead," per the Salem *Gazette*. Her estate was probated in 1847 (#34690), with John Carroll, blockmaker, as administrator, with sureties trader Thomas Nicholson and shoe manufacturer Jonathan Brown, all of Marblehead. These were her brother and brothers-in-law.

1848 street book: #15 Edward Rea and Edward H. Rea, aged 20

1849 (PER 1850 Dir): #17: Lydia King, Edward Rea, clerk, Edward H. Rea, tailor, Isaac N. Knapp, shoemaker.

The Gothic symbol of Salem's new industrial economy was the large twin-towered granite train station—the "stone depot"—smoking and growling with idling locomotives. It stood on filled-in land at the foot of Washington Street, where the merchants' wharves had been; and from it the trains carried many valuable products as well as passengers. The tanning and curing of leather was very important in Salem 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' wide by 400' long. It was an immediate success, and hundreds of people found employment there, many of them living in tenements built nearby. It too benefited from the Zanzibar and Africa trade, as it produced light cotton cloth for use in the tropics. Also in the 1840s, a new method was introduced to make possible high-volume 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 began to transform, as hundreds of Irish families, fleeing the Famine in Ireland, settled in Salem and gave the industrialists a big pool of cheap labor.

Per the 1850 census (ward 2, house 42-68) this house was occupied as a two-family, as follows: one unit: Isaac N. Knapp, 35, shoemaker, Hannah P., 35, Rhoderic N., 8; other unit: Lydia King, 79, $300 in real estate. The Reas had moved next door.

In 1851, Stephen C. Phillips succeeded in building a railroad line from Salem to Lowell, which meant that the coal that was landed at Phillips Wharf (formerly the Crowninshields' great India Wharf) could be run cheaply out to Lowell to help fuel the boilers of the mills, whose output of textiles could be freighted easily to Salem for shipment by water. This innovation, although not long-lived, was a much-needed boost to Salem's economy as a port and transportation center. Salem's growth continued through the 1850s, as business and industries expanded, the population swelled.

Lydia King died on the 12th of March, 1855, aged 84 years, in Salem, presumably at this house. By her will, dated 7 December 1853, she devised

her part of the property to her niece Sally C. Carroll (#44506). The inventory of her estate, taken on Oct. 2, 1855, listed "one undivided half of house and land on Lemon Street," worth $250, also personal property worth $30.40 (see appended inventory).

In 1855 the heirs of Lydia King and Mary Carroll sold the homestead to Bartholomew Shaw, of Salem (ED 533:214).

Bartholomew Shaw was an Irish immigrant, aged 45 in 1855. In the late 1830s, he and his wife Ellen (nee Gleason) had moved from Ireland to England, and there, about 1840, they had become the parents of a daughter, whom they named Catherine, and, evidently, of a son John. In the 1855 census, the Shaws are listed here, recorded as house 78, ward two: Bartho. Shaw, 39, laborer, born Ireland, Ellen, 45, b. Ireland, Catharine, 15, born England.

In the directories for 1857 and 1859, Bartholomew Shaw, working "at gas works", is listed at 17 Lemon Street. The gas works were then located on Northey Street, near the bluff overlooking the North River; the works manufactured the gas by which streets and homes were then lighted in Salem.

In the 1840s, Ireland, a very poor country then under English rule, was hit with an epidemic of fungus that ruined the potato crop. More than half the population was dependent on potatoes as the staple of their diet as well as their main cash crop. The poorest people soon found themselves without money and with little to eat. The English government was slow to respond to the crisis, which soon became a widespread famine; and people died by the hundreds and then the thousands. Country people flooded into the cities to get relief, and the overcrowding caused diseases and death. Among other places, Massachusetts sent over shiploads of free food to the starving people; but still they died. Among the country people and the poorer working people, America loomed as the promised land: if they could only get passage on a ship to the New World, they and their families would survive. By the thousands, Irish families sold off their possessions and booked passage for America. Boston, a main port of entry, was overrun with immigrants. Some moved on to places like Salem, Lowell, and other industrial towns and cities where they might find work. Being country people, few of them had skills that were useful in the cities, so most men worked as common laborers rather than factory operatives.

Some of the Irish families had settled in Salem in the late 1840s. By 1848, there were about 200 recently arrived Irishmen in Salem, some of them heads of families. Salem was probably of interest to them because there was a

Roman Catholic church, located at the foot of Mall Street; and there were a few Irish families who had settled in Salem in the 1820s and 1830s, of whom Martin Connell, a trunk-maker of Williams Street (off the Common, near the church), was among the most notable.

In 1820-1, Salem's Catholics had built a large church building at the foot of Mall Street, on Bridge Street, near the waters of the North River, which, at that time, came right in there as a big cove. In 1826, several families came from Ireland and settled in Salem, and over the years their numbers grew (the above information from Louis S. Walsh, *Origin of the Catholic Church in Salem,* Boston, 1890, especially pages 24-27, 30-32).

In 1846 Rev. James Conway became the new pastor of St. Mary's Church, and resided at 5 Mall Street from 1846 to 1848, when he moved to Winter Street. During these years, the famine-fleeing Irish families began to arrive in Salem; and most of them, if not all, became members of this congregation. After years of diligent service, Fr. James Conway would die of heart disease on 24 May 1857, much lamented. The Shaw family were probably among his parishioners.

The Salem Irish quickly formed neighborhoods in the Union-Water Street area (the men probably worked on the wharves and around the mills); High Street area (formerly Knocker's Hole, in the vicinity of the present US Post Office); and Harbor Street and environs. A few Irish families lived on upper Boston Street and Aborn Street; probably more lived across the boundary in South Danvers (Peabody). While most of the men worked as laborers, some worked as skilled curriers in Salem's booming leather industry. In general, the native Salem residents seem to have welcomed, or at least tolerated, the newly arrived Irish; however, at least two Salemites specified, in land records, that their houses must never be sold to Irish people.

The men did not find much work in the huge new Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company factory that began operations in 1846 at Stage Point, employing mainly young women who were recruited from country towns, on the model of the "Lowell mill-girls." A few Irishmen landed laboring jobs there, probably in the nature of loading and unloading shipments, and moving the cotton bales and finished cloth from place to place, as well as construction labor.

In the 1850s 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, 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 anti-slavery, 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.

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. In that year, per the census (house 1900, ward two), this was a two-family, occupied in one unit by the Shaws (Bartholomew, 50, Ellen, 45, and Catherine, 20) and in the other by Isaac Atwell, 30, a rope-maker born in New Hampshire, his wife Abby, 28, born in Ireland, and their children Martha J., 7, Abby, 3, and David, one. Their nearest neighbors were a Canadian family and an African-American family. By 1863, Catherine F. Shaw was working as a teacher at St. Mary's School (per 1864 directory).

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, just as President Lincoln was assassinated. The four years of bloodshed and warfare were over; the slaves were free; a million men were dead; the union was preserved and the South was under martial rule. Salem, with many wounded soldiers and grieving families, welcomed the coming of peace.

Through the 1860s, 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 Holly 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, this house (per census, ward two, house 142) was occupied by Bartholomew Shaw, laborer, 60, owner of real estate worth $1000, wife Ellen, 56, and daughter Catherine F., 26, school teacher. In that year Salem received its last cargo from Zanzibar, thus ending a once-important 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 Batchelor in ***History of Essex County***, II: 65).

In 1871, Bartholomew Shaw died, of consumption, on November 12th. He was listed as the son of John & Mary, and was buried in the Catholic Cemetery, Lot Five. By his will of October, 1870, he left all of his property to his wife, Ellen. He did not mention his children, one of whom was Catherine, the school-teacher; evidently there was a son, John, also born in England, who had come to Massachusetts separately, and John had had at least two children, Ellen and William Shaw. Mrs. Ellen Shaw and her daughter, Catherine, continued to reside here for many years.

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.

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 1880 (per census, SD 60, ED 232, p.15), the house, then-17 Lemon Street, was listed in the census as occupied by Josepha (sic) Shaw, 65, keeping house, daughter Kate, 30, a dressmaker, and grandson William, 16, born in Mass. and going to school. Ellen had evidently taken the name Josepha (temporarily), and Catherine was apparently no longer teaching.

In the 1880s 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 cotton-baling. 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.

On Sept. 16, 1889, Mrs. Ellen Gleason Shaw died.

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. 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.

In 1900, the house (at last numbered #23) was occupied by Catherine Shaw, 51, and by her niece Ellen A. Shaw (Nellie), 23, employed at a crayon factory (per census). Nellie was the daughter of John Shaw and Ellen H. Splaine, and had been born in Boston. Catherine died on Dec. 8, 1904, of dementia, here at home, and was buried at St. Mary's cemetery. Nellie was her heir, and continued to reside here, as she would for many more years into the 1940s (she would die on July 7, 1947).

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

By 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. Then the arrival of suburban shopping malls and the relocation of manufacturing businesses took their toll, as they have with many other cities. More than most, Salem has navigated its way forward into the present with success, trading on its share of notoriety arising from the witch trials, but also from its history as a great seaport and as the home of Bowditch, McIntire, Bentley, Story, and Hawthorne. Most of all, it remains a city where the homes of the old-time merchants, mariners, and mill-operatives are all honored as a large part of what makes Salem different from any other place.

--Aug. 30, 2006