History of House and Occupants at 91 Essex Street, Salem

By Robert A. Booth, Jr., 11 June 2006

According to available evidence, this house as it now appears was built in 1868 by Moses T. Upton, housewright. It encompasses earlier buildings: on the east, the house built for Daniel Curtis, shipwright, c.1731; on the west, a store, perhaps built c.1790 for Capt. Thomas Ashby.

This report addresses the history in two parts: the store at old #91 Essex (so called because that was the number of the store that stood to the west of the house) and the house at old #89 Essex. The 1851 McIntire atlas of Salem (copy appended) clearly shows that, on the footprint of the current house, there was a house (#89) and a store (#91). Another store to the west of #91 was perhaps not within the boundaries of the current lot.

#91 Essex Street.

In August, 1805, Mrs. Esther Ashby, widow, for $100 sold off the land surrounding her corner homestead (her own lot fronted about 29' on Essex Street) (ED 176:206). The sold-off land fronted 22' on Essex Street and ran back about 128', and then ran easterly and fronted on Curtis Street, starting at a point about 55' southerly of the corner of Essex Street and running 57' down Curtis Street. The new owners were the heirs of Lydia (Stileman) Batten (1737-1802). Lydia's grandfather, shipwright Daniel Curtis, had built the house that Mrs. Ashby owned; and he had been given some adjoining land by his own father, William Curtis.

In September, 1806, the Batten heirs subdivided the land they had bought from Mrs. Ashby. To Hannah (Batten) Austin, widow of Francestown, NH, went a piece of land fronting 22' on Essex Street, 47' westerly on Patterson land, southerly 20' on Rand land, and 41' easterly (on three courses) on Ashby's corner lot (ED 185:251). On Mrs. Austin's lot was a building, and she received its one-half of a chimney too. This building was, evidently, a shop; and it may have been a grocery store used by Esther's then-husband, Capt. Thomas Ashby, in the 1790s before he moved to the bigger White house. The shop was perhaps connected to the house in which Mrs. Ashby lived, with which it evidently shared a chimney.

Mrs. Hannah (Batten) Austin (1763-1849), of Francestown, rented out her Salem property, which was confirmed to her in June, 1830, by the Court of Common Pleas. Because it was not a dwelling, it is hard to know who occupied it; however, it is evident that it was used as a provisions store (meats and groceries) over the years.

In 1836, the building here at #91 was the grocery store of Samuel Cloon Pitman, who resided at 74 Boston Street (per 1837 Directory). By 1841 he was not running a store here (per 1842 directory).

In September, 1840, Mrs. Austin purchased from her nephew, Richard Batten, Salem baker, owner of the house to the east, a small piece of land at the rear (south) of her lot (ED 327:71). In 1845 (per 1846 directory), the man who kept the store here (#91) was John Felt, 31, "grocer," who resided at then-118 Derby Street. It should be noted that Israel Ward, of 4 Becket Street, had a hairdresser's shop at #93 Essex in 1845. John Felt (1814-1855), the ninth and last child of Benjamin Felt and Sarah Ward, grew up in the old Felt house, then at the corner of Curtis and Derby Streets, where his father worked as a pump-and-block-maker. John Felt became a sailor in the 1830s, and later a storekeeper. He did not keep his grocery here for very long; and in 1849 he went to California in the Gold Rush, never to return. He died in Crescent City, California, on 27 Dec. 1855 (per Sidney Perley's *History of Salem to 1716*, III:228).

Mrs. Hannah Austin died in August, 1849, in Lowell. The store went to her grandson, Enoch S. Dickerman, of Peterborough, N.H.; and in November, 1849, for $550 he sold his right in the premises to David W. Grimes of Lowell (ED 420:44). In August, 1851, Mr. Grimes purchased a sliver of land from Mr. Hodges of #95 Essex (ED 450:114).

In 1849 and 1850 Mr. Grimes leased the store to Levi Wiggin, a provision-dealer of then-26 Howard Street (per 1851 Salem Directory). In the 1860s, he had a provision business in Market Square. In 1854 (per 1855 directory) the store here was leased to Israel J. Perry, provisions; he resided at 15 Elm (now Hawthorne Boulevard). Across from the store, at #94, resided Capt. Jesse F. Potter, shipmaster, and family.

By 1858 (per 1859 Directory, p. 110), the building had become a combination store and dwelling, for Asa Hayford resided here, and had a grocery store here too (provisions, 91 Essex Street). William B. Hayford, 36, of Turner Street, formerly a shipwright, clerked here at the store for about a year. Asa Hayford took out a display ad in the 1859 directory (appended), which shows him to have been a dealer in meats, beef, pork,

mutton, lamb, ham, poultry, etc. About 1860 Asa Hayford married Sarah E. Plumer, and they soon moved to Haverhill (see Plumer family article, EIHC). William B. Hayford remained in Salem, residing on Broad Street.

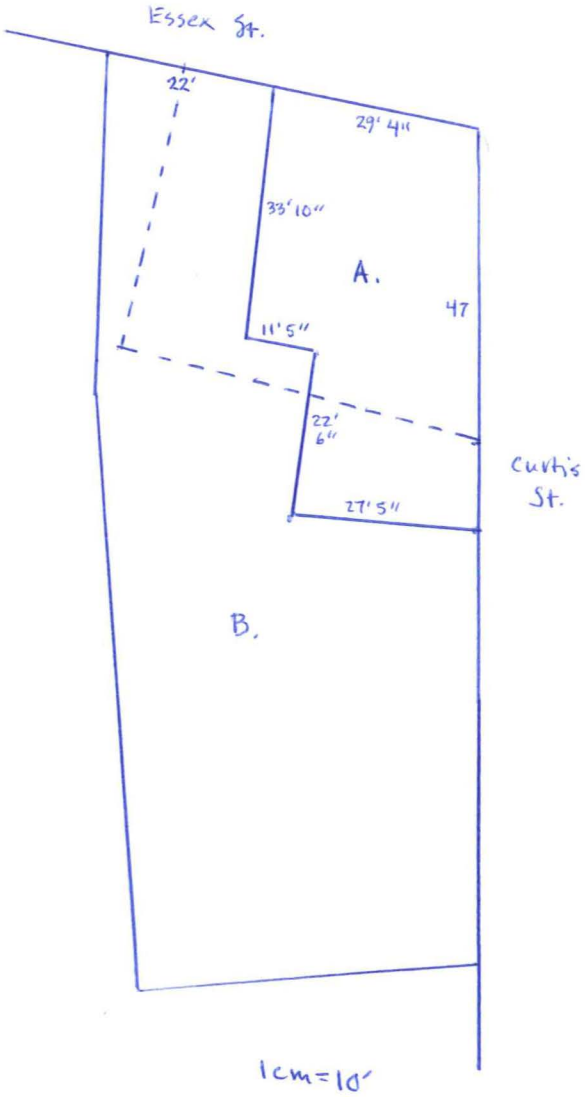
In 1860 (house 1104, ward one), the premises were occupied by Robert H. Carey, 27, a provision dealer, his wife Elizabeth H., 23, and children Lizzie A., two, and Josephine, an infant, along with Mary E. Kewinn, 18, a cigar maker born in Nova Scotia. They stayed here for about two years.

The Civil War began in April, 1861, and many men from Salem enlisted to defeat the Confederates and force them back into the union. Of the men associated with this building (the store-house), both Robert Carey and William Hayford served their country in the armed forces.

Robert H. Carey (who moved with his family to Howard Street by 1863) was in the Navy, enlisting in 1861and serving as an officer: first as acting master's mate, and then (1863) as Acting Ensign, on board the ***Ohio*** (receiving ship), and the warships ***W.G. Anderson, Memphis***, and ***Jamestown***. He served through 1868, well beyond the war's end (MSSMCW 7:437). William B. Hayford, 40, a Salem cook, enlisted in August, 1862, and served in the Mugford Guards (mainly from Marblehead), Company G of the First Regiment, Mass. Volunteer Heavy Artillery. This regiment was engaged in repairing forts and defending Washington for nearly two years. Then, on May 14, 1864, came the fateful order to join the Army of the Potomac, which was engaged in heavy fighting on its way toward Richmond. On the 17th the First occupied a position near the Spottsylvania Court House, opposite the Rebel lines. Two days later, the First fought fiercely in the Battle of Harris Farm, and sustained terrible losses. Its major, Rolfe, was killed, with 54 of his men; 27 were missing; and 312 officers and men were wounded, including Mr. Hayford. It is not known whether he participated in the First's subsequent bloody battles; and he was mustered out of the army in July, 1864, a year early, probably to enable him to recover from his wounds (MSSMCW 5:554-5, 611, also the history of the Regiment, p. 427).

In January, 1863, William Brown, of Salem and Vermont, used the store to sell provisions (see 1864 Directory and reference at ED 663:93). In December, 1863, the owners, Mr. Grimes' heirs, for $500 sold the property here to John Pearson of Lowell (ED 660:211). On 11 March 1864 for $600 Mr. Pearson sold the same to Moses T. Upton, Salem carpenter (ED 663:93).

By 1868 Mr. Upton took down the store evidently; and on its site, reusing some of its underpinning, he built the newer part of the house that is there today.



A. retained by Esther Ashby 1805

B. sold by Esther Ashby 3 Aug. 1805 to Batten, Austin, Rand, ED 176:206

Dotted lines show outline of 1731 lot bought by Daniel Curtis, 40' (2 poles 7') on Essex St, 42' on Curtis St.

#89 Essex Street (later 1 Curtis Street, and later still 2 Curtis Street)

On 30 April 1731 Daniel Curtis, shipwright, bought from his father, William Curtis, sawyer, for 5 li, the corner lot, fronting 42' on Vealey's Lane (Curtis Street) and 40' on the main street (Essex Street) (ED 52:256). Presumably Daniel Curtis built a house on this lot soon after. William Curtis (1662-1741), a blacksmith and wood-sawyer, owned a fairly large lot hereabouts in 1700, having purchased his father's interest. He and his wife Judith Needham had six children before Judith's death c.1700. He had married, second, Lydia (nee Locker?), and by her had two surviving children: Lydia, born in 1702, and Daniel, born c.1704.

Daniel Curtis (1704-1760+) was apprenticed to a shipwright and grew up in that trade. He probably worked in shipyards in this neighborhood, along the Harbor; and in 1729 he married Rebecca Farrington of Lynn. In the 1700s, most merchant vessels were small, under 60 tons. Salem's inner harbor, known as the South river, came in all the way to the present Post Office; and in this secure deep-water harbor were most of the wharves and warehouses, although some wharves were built along the North River too. Before the Revolution, the Browne family, whose houses stood on Essex Street between Liberty and Washington, dominated Salem's society, and they were the leading merchants and owners of the ships that Daniel Curtis built, followed by Benjamin Pickman (1708-1773), Samuel Gardner, Timothy Orne, and, by the 1750s, Richard Derby (1712-1783). Salem's colonial commerce was active but the imperial authorities limited it to trade with designated British possessions. Salem merchants broke the rules by smuggling and trading with un-approved partners, and they made good profits.

Salem's main export was salt cod, which was caught far offshore by Salem and Marblehead fishermen. They made long, lonely trips into the fog of the Grand Banks, off Newfoundland, and there, a thousand miles at sea, in small six-man schooners, they handlined for codfish, sometimes for months at a time. Dories were not used until many years later; all the fishing was done from the deck of the vessel, whose master was called the "skipper," not a "captain," which was a term used only for merchant-vessel shipmasters. When the fishermen had "wet their salt"—caught enough fish to use up the salt that was used as a preservative—they headed homeward to Salem Bay. The fishing business was hazardous, and hard on the fishermen, who were equal to the risks and difficulties, and made several voyages to the fishing grounds each year, in all seasons

except for wintertime. They brought back their fish to the local fishyards, where it was "cured" on fish-flakes until it was hard and dry and could be shipped long distances. This was a staple food in Catholic Europe (Spain and Portugal especially) and also in the Caribbean, where it fed the slaves. To Europe went the fish that was "merchantable" (high-grade), and to the Caribbean went the "refuse" (low quality). Either sort, put into a pot of boiling water, would turn into nutritious food. Lumber, horses, cattle, and foodstuffs were also sent to the Caribbean, whence came molasses, sugar, cotton, and mahogany. From Europe came back finished goods (made in India and England), iron, wine, fruit, feathers, and leather. There was also some trade between Salem and the Chesapeake Bay area, which provided corn, wheat, and tobacco, while South Carolina provided rice.

In 1739 Daniel's mother, Mrs. Lydia Curtis, died; and Daniel and his sister Lydia, now Mrs. Isaac Stileman (a leather-dresser), conveyed to their father William Curtis, blacksmith, a one-acre piece of land in the West Field, that had likely belonged to their mother (ED 78:262).

William Curtis died by October, 1741, aged 79 years; by his will of November, 1740, he devised his homestead here to his two youngest children, Mrs. Lydia (Curtis) Patterson-Stileman and Daniel Curtis. To Lydia he gave his house and the westerly half of the homestead land, with a small piece for a barn at the southeast corner on Vealey's Lane (old name of Curtis Street); to Daniel he gave the easterly half of the homestead land. Since Daniel already owned the piece of land (as of 1731, with his own house) at the corner, this bequest enlarged the size of the lot for Daniel's homestead. Mrs. Lydia Stileman's property will be considered below.

Daniel Curtis kept at his business of building ships. In February, 1749, he served as a straw in the conveyance of the house and land of Joseph Mascoll, a shipwright, which was located on the waterfront and probably was used as a shipyard (ED 93:41). Perhaps Daniel Curtis worked for Joseph Mascoll, or with him. By this time, Daniel and Rebecca had a daughter, Rebecca Curtis, born c.1745, their only surviving child.

Daniel Curtis and his wife and daughter resided here in the corner house for many years. In 1759 and 1760 Daniel purchased rights from his relatives in a five-acre parcel that his father had owned in the South Fields (South Salem) (ED 107:75,217).

In the 1760s, after Canada and the Ohio Valley were taken from the French, the English government decided to squeeze tax revenues out of

the colonials' trade in order to pay for the costs of war and of sustaining an American administrative bureaucracy. Although they had been under royal governors for two generations, the Americans had been self-governing by town meetings at the local level and, at the provincial level, through an elected legislature. They regarded themselves as a free people, and not as dependents of a far-away mother country. Merchants and mariners had always traded with the Spanish and Dutch in Europe and the various islands of the Caribbean, regardless of their national affiliations; and they deeply resented the British crack-down on this trade, accompanied by privateering against American vessels by both the French and the British.

In 1761, a group of Salem and Boston merchants sued to prevent the use of search warrants ("writs of assistance") by the Customs officials who were trying to inspect their vessels and warehouses. In the courtroom, attorney James Otis Jr. electrified the audience with his attack on British arrogance and his argument for American rights and liberties—an event that John Adams later identified as the birth of "the child independence." Later in the decade, Salemites were roused against the Stamp Act, and applied tar and feathers to a couple of men who disagreed. In Boston, the opposition was even larger and more determined, as mobs attacked the royal officials' houses and beat up their flunkies. The British authorities were surprised at the Americans' resistance to their policies, and feared an insurrection. In 1768, they sent over a small army of occupation and installed it in Boston. Now the Americans were forced to see themselves as misbehaving colonials, and to realize that they were not free. They did not like this picture, and the result was bitter public opposition and more street violence in Boston.

Daniel Curtis and his wife Rebecca died in the 1760s evidently, leaving Rebecca as their only heir. Rebecca Curtis grew up and in 1769 married William Hill, a mariner; and the Hills resided here in the Curtis house. Rebecca's first child was a daughter, whom they named Rebecca, born in 1770; and the Hills had no other surviving children.

The Boston Massacre took place in March, 1770; in short order, all of Massachusetts turned openly against the British, and the clouds of war gathered on the horizon. Pre-revolutionary Salem had more than its share of Tories; but the Sons of Liberty were in the majority. Wealthy scions of families like the Curwens, Pickmans, and Brownes, stayed loyal to the King, as did many others who had married into the merchant families. In 1774, military rule was imposed from England as Gen. Thomas Gage became governor of Massachusetts and the port of Boston was shut down

in punishment for the Tea Party of December, 1773. On June 2, 1774, Salem became the new capital of Massachusetts, as a reward for its supposed loyalty. Governor Gage and his officials relocated to the North Shore, and the Customs operation was conducted from Marblehead, while Salem became the major seaport of New England, handling virtually all of the commercial business that Boston had done. Hundreds of new people moved to Salem, and the legislature met in Salem's Court House. In short order that legislature, led by Sam Adams, turned into a rebel body, and voted to ignore British laws and to send delegates to a continental congress. Gage tried to shut it down, but it was too late: he had lost control of Massachusetts to the rebel assembly gathered in Salem. The town still had a powerful and outspoken group of loyalists, led by Peter Frye, a prominent merchant and magistrate whose wife was a Pickman. One night in October, Judge Frye learned just how far the rebels were willing to go: his fine house on Essex Street was burned down and his family barely escaped with their lives as half a block of houses and stores and a church all went up in smoke. Next day, the rebel assembly met again and voted to move their proceedings to Concord. Gage and his officials moved to Boston, and many of the loyalists followed. Outside of Boston, all of Massachusetts was under the control of the rebels.

By January, 1775, loyalists had been purged from the Salem militia regiment, and Col. William Browne was replaced by Col. Timothy Pickering, who was writing a book on military drill. One Sunday in February, 1775, the Revolutionary War almost began in Salem. When everyone was in church, Col. Leslie's redcoats marched overland from Marblehead and arrived in downtown Salem, hoping to seize cannon and munitions in North Salem. They came to a sudden halt at the North Bridge—the Salem men, alerted by a Marblehead rider, had pulled up the draw of the bridge. Rev. Thomas Barnard Jr., of the North Church, engaged Col. Leslie in discussion; and Capt. John Felt warned Leslie that blood would flow if he did not turn back. Negotiations followed, and agreement was reached: the draw went down, Leslie's men advanced a short distance into North Salem, faced about, and marched back through Salem's South Fields and Marblehead, whose own regiment, led by Col. Jeremiah Lee, could have slaughtered them. Instead, the Marbleheaders fell in behind them, marching in mockery of Leslie's Retreat as the British made their way back to the beach and boarded their whaleboats to return to the transport vessel.

With the battle at Lexington & Concord, April 19th, 1775, 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 Salem man and boy gave himself over to the cause. Salem's regiment participated in the siege of Boston, as George Washington took command of the army in Cambridge. The British left Boston in March, 1776, never to return. Washington's army was pushed southward from Long Island in a series of defeats, during which Salem's Col. Timothy Pickering became one of the General's most trusted officers, and Quartermaster General of the army. Washington's first victory was the Battle of Trenton, on Christmas Day, 1776, made possible by the Marblehead regiment of Gen. John Glover. Eventually most of the Salem men came home and sailed in privateers for the duration of the war.

At some point between 1769 and 1778, William Hill died, leaving his wife and daughter. Daniel Curtis, his father-in-law, was still alive in 1773, when he sold some Southfield property to Richard Batten, mariner (ED 122:259). Mr. Curtis was deceased by 1779. In early March, 1779, sick and weak, Mrs. Rebecca (Curtis) Hill, a widow, aged about 34, made her will, which she signed with an X. She devised to her daughter Rebecca, aged nine, the "house and land where I now live in, together with all the furniture, and all other estates whether real or personal." She named Joseph Smith as guardian of Rebecca, "requesting him to keep her at school, so long as my executor shall think best." Capt. William Patterson, her cousin and neighbor, was named executor. Mrs. Hill died within two months of making the will.

An inventory of Mrs. Hill's estate, including the furnishings of the house, was taken on 14 May 1779, by her neighbors Abraham Watson, David Phippen, and Jonathan Andrew (copy appended). The house and barn with about 26 poles of land were valued at 3000 li, inflated wartime currency. Her furnishings included 17 chairs, a case with drawers, five tables, three looking glasses (mirrors), beds, a hat box, etc. Her apparel included a riding hood, a Russell (russet?) gown, a crape gown, and a black gown; and she owned her husband's and father's clothing. She also glass, china, and depth ware, kitchen furniture, two barrels, a coffee mill, gold, silver, Spanish dollars, a few tools, many other things, and two anchor stocks, probably left over from her father's work.

The house was rented out for the next six years, at 17.10.0 per year. Captain Patterson, the executor, kept the place in repair, paid off debts (including one to the estate of Daniel Curtis, Mrs. Hill's father), and paid (in cash and furnishings) Joseph Smith for his upkeep of young Rebecca Hill, "only child of said testatrix." That money went to boarding Rebecca through February, 1786. At that time, evidently, Rebecca Hill, aged

sixteen, chose to go live elsewhere, and probably began work as a mother's helper or domestic servant. She had received nine months of schooling after her mother's death, and had a gown and a pair of shoes; and a small fee had been paid to "Mrs. Ross to redeem a ring left with her as a pledge."

In July, 1786, regarding Rebecca Hill and her mother's estate, Captain Patterson, the executor, and Joseph Smith, the guardian, filed their accounts of administration with the Probate Court. Rebecca, in July, 1786, received about 12 li in money and the house and land of her mother and grandfather, which she no doubt continued to rent out.

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 virtue of 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.).

Once again, Salem was a boom-town, fueling much new construction... In 1788 Rebecca, eighteen, was courted by Capt. Thomas Ashby, 27, a Salem shipmaster with good prospects. The couple married on February 3, 1789, and resided here. Capt. Thomas Ashby sailed for the merchant prince William (Billy) Gray, as master of the schooner ***Hawk***, 69 tons burthen, on a voyage probably to the West Indies, starting in December, 1789 (see *Ship Registers of Salem & Beverly*, EIHC). In his absence, Rebecca Hill Ashby fell terribly ill with consumption (tuberculosis). By January, 1790, she was dying; and her minister, William Bentley, noted on the 17th that on that Sunday he had received a note for prayers for Rebecca Ashby, "very sick, and for husband at sea." On the 18th he reported, "attended the drawing of a deed by which Mrs Ashby shows her intention of vesting the property she has in her house and land in her husband, for his repairs, etc." On that day she sold her homestead to her brother-in-law, John Ashby, shipwright (see ED 162:269).

Mrs. Rebecca Hill Ashby died on January 20, 1790, aged nineteen. She left no children.

John Ashby, the new owner of the premises (house and 26 poles of land) sold the same in June, 1790, to his brother, Thomas Ashby, mariner, for 150 li (ED 162:269). The tenant here, with Captain Ashby, in 1790 was Mrs. Hannah Ross (1749-1812), the same to whom a ring was given as a pledge. She was the recent widow of Capt. William Ross (1742-1790), whom she, as Miss Hannah Young, had married in 1774. Captain Ross had joined the Essex Lodge of Freemasons in 1779. During the Revolution he was a privateer, and a commander of privateers. In December, 1779, he was made commander of George Dodge Jr.'s Salem privateer snow (a sort of brig), ***Rival***, 8 guns and 25 men (p. 265, Gardner W. Allen, *Mass. Privateers of the Revolution*, MHS 1927). He was agent of privateer ***Disdain***, 20 guns, 110 men; and in May, 1782, he sailed in command of the privateer brigantine ***Active***, 11 guns and 50 men (ibid p.66). After the war, in 1784, he commanded the ship ***Jupiter*** and perhaps others. He died at sea 1790 (some information from *Essex Lodge* history, ed. H.P. Hadley, p.84). In 1809 his widow, Hannah Ross, would reside at Williams Street with her stepmother, Margaret (Abbott) Silsbee-Young, who died in March, aged 90 years. Mrs. Hannah Young Ross would die on 31 Oct. 1812, aged 63 years (some info from Bentley's book of East Parish Deaths).

Within a few months of the death Rebecca, the widower Thomas Ashby set his sights on his neighbor, Miss Mary White, who had, perhaps, provided help and consolation over the course of Rebecca's demise. Mary resided in a large house next door, on the opposite corner of Curtis and Essex Streets. She was twenty-six, the daughter of Capt. John White. During their courtship, an unusual incident occurred in this house (#89), noted by Mr. Bentley on March 19th, in the year 1791. "Curious proof of the force of superstition. A child, educated in superstition, was left to keep the house while Captain Ashby went into the next house, to pay his addresses to a young woman. He tarried later than usual, in which time the child fell asleep. Recovering herself, and finding it to be after ten o'clock in the evening, she determined to go to bed. Lodging in the room in which her friend, the former Mrs. Ashby, died, she went in to go to bed. She suddenly screamed out and fell down senseless. When she was recovered, she said that *Mrs. Ashby appeared to her*, nor could she, upon any consideration, be induced to tarry in the house. The house was accordingly evacuated, till this imagination is in some measure forgotten. Thus superstition injures property as well as the enjoyment of life."

Mary White and Thomas Ashby were wed in 1791. Their first child, Mary, was born in July, 1792, followed by a second, whom they named Rebecca in honor of Thomas's first wife. The Ashbys probably resided here in the Curtis-Hill house. Captain Ashby sailed for E. Hasket Derby in command of his 63-ton schooner ***Dolphin*** on a voyage, likely to the West Indies, commencing in May, 1793. This vessel was sold to Moses Townsend and Benjamin Crowninshield in 1794 (see *Ship Registers of Salem & Beverly*, EIHC).

In April, 1794 (per ED 157:235), the Ashbys acquired the Capt. John White house, a large, fine residence that had probably been built in the 1750s or 1760s (it is still standing, moved around from its original spot and now fronting Curtis Street). (note: another "Hill" house on the opposite side of Curtis Street was demolished in 1796-7 and a new one built by the Richardsons in its place, per Sidney Perley in Essex Antiquarian, *Part of Salem*). The Ashby family moved into the White house, and rented out this house to tenants. By 1798, if not before, this (the Curtis-Hill house) was the home of Capt. Joseph Strout and family, who resided here through 1804 at least.

By the 1790s, the new foreign-trade markets—and the coffee trade, which would be opened in 1798 with Mocha, Arabia—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. In 1792 Salem's first bank, the Essex Bank, was founded, 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 tax-free and essentially to serve as the neutral carrying fleet for both Britain and France, which were at war with each other.

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 Anti-Federalists, who later became aligned with Pres. Jefferson and his Democratic-Republican 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 April, 1800, Thomas Ashby sailed in command of the bark ***Galen***, 141 tons burthen, owned by him, Joseph Waters, and Clifford Crowninshield (see *Ship Registers of Salem & Beverly*, EIHC). On Dec. 13, 1801, after ten years of marriage and the births of six children, Mary White Ashby died of "debility", aged 36 years. She was survived by children Mary, Rebecca, Fanny, and Thomas W. Her husband, now twice a widower, retired from the sea and became a full-time trader, or grocer, operating (perhaps) from a store here at the site of #91 (note: the house at #85 had a warehouse on its property, but it is not certain that Captain Ashby had the use of it).

Capt. Thomas Ashby (1760-1804), bp 3 Feb. 1760, s/o George Ashby, mariner (1727-1790?), and Nancy Jarvis; he died 29 Dec. 1804. He m/1 3 Feb. 1789 Rebecca Hill (1770-1790), d/o William Hill & Rebecca Curtis, died of consumption 20 Jan. 1790. He m/2 14 March 1791 Mary White (1765-1801), d/o Capt. John White & Abigail Bailey; died 13 Dec. 1801. He m/3 13 March 1803 Esther Ashby, bp. 1 Feb. 1778, d/o John Ashby, shipwright, and Esther McIntire. She m/2 1806 Daniel Floyd of Warner, NH. Known issue, surname Ashby:

1. ***Mary, 23 July 1792, m. John Fabens (1790-1875), privateer, constable; d. 14 March 1881; issue John W. (1820), Rebecca (1824), Lucy (1828-1836), per Fabens genealogy.***
2. ***Rebecca, 1792?***
3. ***William Scott, died young.***
4. ***Fanny, 1796, m. 1818 Samuel Carlton***
5. ***Thomas White, 21 Feb. 1797, m. 1819 Margaret Fabens (1801-1879), sister of John Fabens above; 7 children.***
6. ***Benjamin, 1800,***
7. ***Charlotte, bp 13 May 1804***

His children needed a mother, and he a wife: on March 13, 1803, Thomas Ashby, forty-two, married Esther Ashby, twenty-five. Esther was the daughter of John Ashby, shipwright, and therefore was Thomas' niece, which caused controversy; but their minister, William Bentley of the East

Church, approved of it as a love match. In March, 1804, Esther gave birth to a daughter, whom they named Caroline. Captain Ashby did not have long to enjoy the company of his baby or his wife or other children, for he died of "debility" at the end of December, 1804, aged forty-four.

Esther Ashby was thus left a widow after about two years of marriage. Evidently relatives took guardianship of the other Ashby children, who were the owners of the big White-Ashby house. By his will of Dec. 27, 1804, Captain Ashby, trader, had devised to his wife Esther his house and its furnishings, for her own use, with reversion to their daughter Caroline if Esther did not sell it. To his other four children he had left the rest of his estate, meaning his interest in the White house, which, in July, 1805, was sold, with store, to John Watson, who got a bargain (ED 176:29).

In 1800, 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 streets 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, and they purchased several vessels between 1800 and 1803. Their bailiwick, the Derby Street district, seemed almost to be itself imported from some 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 and Caribbean molasses. From the wharves were carted all manner of strange fruits, and crates of patterned china in red and blue, and piles of gorgeous silks and figured cloths, English leather goods, and hundreds of barrels of miscellaneous objects drawn from all of the ports and workshops of the world. 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 19th 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, 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.

Samuel McIntire (1757-1811), who was self-educated and who made his living primarily as a wood-carver and carpenter, was quick to adapt the Bulfinch style to Salem's larger lots. McIntire's first local composition, the Jerathmeel Peirce house (on Federal Street), contrasts with his later Adamesque designs. In place of walls of wood paneling, there now appeared plastered expanses painted in bright colors or covered in bold wallpapers. The Adam style put a premium on handsome casings and carvings of central interior features such door-caps and chimney-pieces (McIntire's specialty). On the exterior, the Adam style included elegant fences; and the houses were often built of brick, with attenuated porticoes and, in the high style, string courses, swagged panels, and even two-story pilasters. The best example of the new style was the Elias Hasket Derby

house, co-designed by Bulfinch and McIntire, and built on Essex Street in 1797-8 (demolished in 1815), on the site of today's Town House Square.

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. He had high hopes for the future of a republican America, with well educated citizens. He observed and fostered the transition in Salem, and wrote in his diary (2 Dec. 1806), "While Salem was under the greatest aristocracy in New England, few men thought, and the few directed the many. Now the aristocracy is gone and the many govern. It is plain it must require considerable time to give common knowledge to the people." On Union Street, not far from Bentley's church, on the fourth of July, 1804, was born a boy who would grow up to eclipse all sons of Salem in the eyes of the world: Nathaniel Hawthorne, whose father would die of fever while on a voyage to the Caribbean four years later. This kind of untimely death was all too common among Salem's young seafarers, who fell prey to malaria and other diseases of the Caribbean and Pacific tropics.

Esther and Caroline got Thomas Ashby's property in 1804; but his estate was insolvent (more debts than personal property; see appended inventory of his estate, which shows the furnishings, then in the White house). Esther was hard-pressed to hold onto the real estate; nonetheless, she moved into this house, the former homestead of her husband and his first wife Rebecca Hill Ashby. Presumably she kept some of her husband's furnishings. To reduce her debts and confirm her title, Esther Ashby, in August, 1805, for $100 sold off the land surrounding her house and its immediate grounds on the corner. The new owners of the surrounding land were the heirs of Lydia (Stileman) Batten (1737-1802), who had died in Francestown, N.H., where she lived with her husband Richard Batten (1737-1822), also a native of Salem. Lydia was the granddaughter of Daniel Curtis and the daughter of Lydia Curtis Patterson-Stileman by her second husband, Isaac Stileman. The Stileman-Batten heirs, for their part, on 29 July 1805 released to Esther Ashby all of their interest in the house and land at the corner, bounded 29' 4" on Essex Street, 47' on Curtis Street, 27' 5" on the south, and on three courses to the west (ED 176:209). A few days later, Mrs. Ashby made an indenture with one of the heirs, John Batten, then of Francestown, N.H., that she would give her house and land here to her daughter Caroline (then 17 months old) when

she turned twenty-one (ED 176:207). It would appear that Caroline died young.

Esther Ashby did not remain a widow for long. In 1806 she married Daniel Floyd of Warner, New Hampshire; and she and Caroline went away to live with him, never to reside in Salem again. Mrs. Esther Ashby Floyd would continue to own this house for many years, renting it to tenants. It may be that Captain Joseph Strout remained the tenant, and used it as the home of his family. He was one of Salem's most remarkable characters, a man who would command privateers in both the Revolution and the War of 1812, and who survived at least two shipwrecks, a battle with a frigate, imprisonment by the British, and all the perils of fifty years of seafaring.

Capt. Joseph Strout (1750-1830) was a native of the district of Maine, having grown up near Portland. Sometime before the Revolution he came to Salem to work as a seaman; and he rose to the rank of master mariner. When the war came, he spent some time taking provisions to the garrison at Machias , Maine (see MSSRW), and then settled into privateering out of Salem, probably as a prize master for privateer commanders. In the fall of 1779 Joseph Strout was made third lieutenant on board the letter-of-marque (privateer) ***General Pickering***, Capt. Jonathan Haraden, 16 guns and 147 men. Like his earlier command, ***Tyrannicide***, Captain Haraden commanded this vessel with incredible skill and boldness. After their privateering voyage ended in 1779, Lt. Strout (in December) was accepted into the Essex Lodge of Freemasons. Then the ***Pickering*** made a trading trip to the West Indies, returning safely, and then, in April, they made another such voyage to Bilbao. This voyage included the capture of a large British privateer, and an epochal battle with the British privateer ***Achilles***, which had twice as many cannon, in the Bay of Biscay, in full view of the people of Bilbao. Capt. Haraden, Lt. Strout, and their men won the fight, and entered the city in triumph. In 1780, returned to Salem, Joseph Strout filed intentions to marry Polly Giddings. If the marriage took place, it did not last long, for Polly must have died by 1783.

At the very end of the war—more than a year after Cornwallis had surrendered his army at Yorktown—Joseph Strout was commissioned as commander of the Salem privateer schooner ***Cutter***, with six long guns and thirty men, on Sept. 27, 1782. She was owned by Samuel Page and others (MSSRW 15:203). Presumably the ***Cutter*** sailed soon after. I do not know whether their cruise was successful. In the spring of 1783, the war came to an end, and the United States of America were free to try to form themselves into a lasting nation.

On Dec. 15, 1784, Captain Strout married a young widow of the east parish, Margaret (Batton) Dorrell, who had a son, Benjamin Dorrell, four, the namesake of her first husband, who may have come from Marblehad. The Strout family resided (1785) on Essex Street at the Neck Gate (near present Webb Street) and attended the nearby East Church, of which William Bentley was pastor (per Bentley) and a friend of Mrs. Strout's father, the Salem Frenchman Capt. John Batton, often spelled Battoon. Captain Strout, having proved his seamanship during the war, was given command of merchant vessels, mainly engaged in the Caribbean trade. He was successful as a shipmaster, and was constantly employed at sea throughout the 1780s.

In May, 1783, Captain Strout cleared Salem in command of the brig ***Medford***, bound for South Carolina. This short trip completed, he put in the same vessel, bound for London, England, in November, 1783, and returned in June, 1784. After a voyage to the West Indies in 1784, he took command of the schooner ***Turn of the Times***, bound for North Carolina in January, 1786, and returning in November. He would remain in command of this vessel into 1789; and he made voyages in her to the West Indies, Saint Eustatia, and again to the West Indies (1787), then three voyages, to Demarara and Boraine and St. Eustatia, in 1788; then to Demarara, returning in April, 1789. In October, 1789, he cleared for the West Indies in command of the large schooner ***Polly***, 149 tons burthen (see EIHC 75, 76). He returned from this voyage on March 6, 1790, arriving at Boston. He went right to Salem to see his wife and babies, and left the vessel with the mate at Nantasket Road, waiting for a favorable wind to proceed down Boston Harbor. A storm came up, the ***Polly***'s cable parted, and the mate had to put out to sea to save her, which he did, arriving safely at Cape Ann.

Captain Strout's next known command was the schooner ***Rose***, 67 tons burthen, owned by the merchant prince E. Hasket Derby. In December, 1790, she cleared for the West Indies, under Captain Strout with John Forbes as his mate. When they arrived at Virginia, John Forbes was replaced, per Mr. Derby's orders, because of Forbes's intemperance—Derby could not afford to have a drunk in charge if anything should happen to Captain Strout. Forbes was disconsolate. In February, 1791, John Forbes drowned himself in a river, leaving his clothes on the bank, with his shoes, on which he had written, "bury me, I have left enough" meaning that the costs of burial would be paid for. Forbes left a widow and young children, whom Mr. Bentley, the minister, helped to educate.

In August, 1790, while Captain Strout was at sea, his little daughter Margaret died, aged 15 months, of fever from measles.

In August, 1791, Joseph Strout was at home; and on the 18th, after dinner, he got up a party and made a trip in Mr. Derby's boat, with Mr.Bentley, out to see Cat Island (Children's Island), off Marblehead. Soon after, he went to work for the merchant John Fisk of Neptune Street, a great friend of Mr. Bentley; and Captain Strout went to his native Maine to oversee the building of a new vessel for Mr. Fisk, returning in June in the brigantine *Sally*, 165 tons burthen. Soon after, he departed on a trading voyage.

Next, Captain Strout had command of the 84-ton sloop ***Three Friends***, owned by Alex Story and bound on a voyage, probably to the Caribbean, in January, 1794.

Joseph Strout (1750-1780), born in Maine in 1750, died in Salem on 5 October 1830 of "old age", aet 80 years, at the Alms House. He m/1 1780 (perhaps) Polly Giddings (she died young?). He m/2 15 Dec. 1784 Margaret ("Peggy") (nee Batton) Dorrell (1756-1826), b. 1756 in Salem, d/o John Batton & Elizabeth Slade, died 17 July 1826, paralysis, aet 70. By her first husband (m'd October 1779), she had a son Benjamin Dorrell in 1780 who died in 1800 on a voyage). Known issue, baptized at East Church, surname Strout:

1. ***Joseph, bp 1787, m. 1816 Anna Burrill (died 1817); he, shipmaster, married again and had children.***
2. ***Margaret, bp 1789, died 12 Aug 1790, fever, measles, aet 15 mos.***
3. ***Joshua, bp 1794, perhaps died young.***
4. ***Henry, bp 1796, died 3 Nov. 1803 of quinsy, aet 7 years.***
5. ***Charles, bp 1798, died 1821 on voyage, at Batavia (Jakarta), ship Hercules, Capt. James King Jr.***
6. ***Margaret, 1800, died 30 Jan 1801, throat distemper, aet 10 mos.***

During French war—an undeclared naval war with France, 1798-9—Joseph Strout entered the service of the U.S. Navy with the officer's rank of Lieutenant on board the US sloop-of-war ***Herald***, 24 guns. He served in the same capacity on board the sloop-of-war ***Warren***, patrolling the Caribbean; and he served as her commander when the captain died and she had to be sailed home from Havana. It is certain that Captain Strout and family resided in this house at that time, for the 1798 federal direct tax indicates that Thomas Ashby leased out the house, valued at $600 (versus $1600 value of the White house next door), to Captain Strout.

The Strouts, in 1800, had five surviving young children of their own, ranging from a newborn to 12-year-old Joseph Strout Jr., who was just about to begin his career at sea as a cabin boy. Also living with them was Mrs. Strout's son, Benjamin Dorrell Jr., nineteen, a fine mariner who, late in 1799, had gone on a voyage to the West Indies with Captain Derby. On January 24, 1800, they received the news in Salem that Benjamin had died of fever on the homeward trip from Port au Paix (probably Haiti). The grief of his family and friends may be imagined.

Captain Strout's next known command was the schooner ***Saint Patrick***, a 100 tons burthen, which he sailed in 1803 for owners Jonathan Mason and John Fairfield. His next command, name unknown, he may have lost by shipwreck, judging from bentley's comments (below). In early July, 1806, Captain Strout sailed for the West Indies with a load of lumber on board the schooner ***Union***, 109 tons burthen, owned by Moses Townsend, Ben Crowninshield, Joseph Lambert, and James Cheever. On 22 August 1806 Bentley reported the news that Captain Strout "has again been lost upon his passage through the Keys on his voyage to the West Indies. Inexplicable." The explanation, in the Salem *Register* for 25 August 1806, came from the mate and five of the crew, who had arrived at New Haven. The ***Union*** had been cast away at North East Reef, Turks Island, on July 25th. The vessel was a total loss, but part of the cargo was saved.

It was at just this time (1806) that the British changed their policy toward American shipping, and no longer respected American-flagged vessels as neutral carriers. This disastrous change came just as the Derbys extended their wharf far out into the harbor, tripling its previous length to create more space for warehouses and ship-berths in the deeper water. The Crowninshields had recently built their great India Wharf at the foot of now-Webb Street. The other important wharves were White's, Forrester's (now Central, just west of Derby Wharf), and Union Wharf at the foot of Union Street. Farther to the west, smaller wharves extended into the South River, 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.

In 1807, Salem's commerce with the world was repeatedly interrupted by the British navy, which intercepted neutral trading vessels and often impressed American sailors into their service. France, at war with Britain, countered with its own adverse policy toward American shipping; and virtually overnight Salem's shipping fleet lost its status as neutral shippers for the European nations. Salem and other American ports continued to push their trade into the oceans of the worlds, but now with the expectation that they would have to fight their way across the seas and into and out of foreign ports.

Salem's twenty-year boom came to an end 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, which was widely opposed in New England, proved futile and nearly ruinous in Salem, where commerce ceased. As a hotbed of Democratic-Republicanism, 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 on a ticket with Gov. Elbridge Gerry, a native of Marblehead.

Despite many warnings and negotiations, the British kept preying on American shipping and sailors and refused to alter their policies, an intransigence that pushed President Madison into a position where he had few options. 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***. Capt. Joseph Strout, although now in his sixties, bravely shipped out as a privateer, partly out of his anger at the fate of his son, Joseph Strout Jr., a merchant sailor, 25, on board the Crowninshields' Salem brig ***Diomede***, returning from the Orient when war was declared. She had been captured by the British, who imprisoned all of her men. In September, 1812, Capt. Joseph Strout sailed in command of the brig ***Ceres***, 200 tons burthen, which had just been captured from the British (EIHC 79:163-4). She was owned by Gamaliel Hodges of 95 Essex Street. This voyage was perhaps made in the conduct of high-risk commerce rather than warfare.

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 30-ton 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.

In February, 1813, Capt. Joseph Strout was named commander of the splendid privateer brig ***Montgomery***, 167 tons burthen, mounting 12 long guns and crewed by 90 men. She had been out against the British since July, 1812, under Capt. Holten Breed on one cruise, and under Capt. Benjamin Upton on the next. She had made many captures; and in December of 1812 had engaged in a bloody battle with a heavily armed British brig off Surinam. The battle was a draw, but five Salem men were killed and several more were badly wounded, including Captain Upton. On her cruise under Captain Strout, the ***Montgomery*** took the ship ***William*** and the brig ***Carlotta***. On May 5th, however, boldly cruising in waters near the English Channel, Captain Strout and his men were overtaken by a large English frigate and, after an ill-advised battle, were captured; and the ***Montgomery*** was burned up. After some prison time in Halifax, Captain Strout and his men were sent home; and his subsequent efforts to have himself exchanged as a prisoner in place of his son were thwarted (EIHC 79). On March 2, 1814, he sat down with his minister, Mr. Bentley, and spent an evening discoursing "on the subject of his cruises" (see Bentley's diary).

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, the leader of the extreme Federalists, did not attend; and the Convention refrained by from issuing any ultimatums. Nevertheless, it seemed almost treasonous to have convened it; and it signaled the beginning of the end for the national Federalist party.

At last, in February, 1815, peace was restored. Joseph Strout Jr. returned to Salem, and in 1816 married Anna Burrill, who soon died. He became a shipmaster; and he remarried and raised a family.

Post-war, America was flooded with British manufactured goods, especially factory-made knock-offs of the beautiful Indian textiles that had been the specialty of Salem importers for 30 years. Britain, dominant in India, had forced the Indians to become cotton-growers rather than cloth-producers; and the cheap Indian cotton was shipped to the English industrial ports and turned into mass-produced cloth. American national policy-makers reacted, in 1816, by passing a high tariff on cheap imported textiles, in order to protect and encourage America's own budding manufacturing capacity. The net result was to diminish what had been the most abundant and lucrative area of Salem's pre-war trade. Nevertheless, maritime commerce was Salem's business, and its merchants rebuilt their fleets and resumed their worldwide commerce, without a full understanding of how difficult the new international conditions had become. For a few years, there efforts were rewarded with reasonable profits, and it seemed that Salem was once again in the ascendant, with almost 200 vessels sailing to Europe, the Orient, the Caribbean and South America, and the southern ports.

The winter of 1817 was very cold, and the harbor and part of the bay froze over. On February 17 Captain Strout walked all the way out to "the Haste" (Great Haste) an island below Salem, on the ice (per Bentley's diary). He or, more likely, his son, was first mate of the ***Cleopatra's Barge***, George Crowninshield's large yacht, for a voyage of pleasure to Europe. They sailed on March 30th, 1817, on this famous and somewhat ridiculous voyage, from which Captain Crowninshield and his companion, Samuel Curwen Ward, survived only long enough to die shortly after their return to Salem.

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 on the site of the George Crowninshield mansion, at the head of Derby Wharf. Into the 1820s 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 long-standing trade that Salem would dominate; and its vessels thus gained access to all of the east African ports.

In 1820, the Strouts, Joseph and Peggy, resided in this neighborhood, possibly on upper Orange Street (see census, p. 32). At that time, Captain Strout was seventy and Peggy was 64 and the household included two men aged 16-26 in addition, probably their sons Joseph and Charles, mariners. Charles Strout, 22, soon sailed on a voyage to the Orient as a seaman on the ship ***Hercules***, Capt. James King Jr.; and he died at Batavia (Jakarta) in 1821.

Salem's general maritime foreign commerce fell off sharply in 1824, as a second major tariff act was passed by Congress, to the benefit of manufacturers and the detriment of importers. Salem imports were supplanted by the goods that were now being produced in great quantities in America. The town's prosperity began to wane, and many people saw no future locally. 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); and in general it seemed that the tide of opportunity was ebbing away from Salem. 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 1825 to raise the money to dam the North River for industrial power. Over the course of three years, the effort gained momentum, but ultimately its many investors failed to implement the plan, which caused several leading citizens to move to Boston, the hub of investment in the new economy.

It is impossible to be sure about the identity of the tenants of the house from 1805 to 1830. No doubt th Strouts resided here for some time after 1804, but for how long is unknown. Per the 1820 census, it would seem that Charles Leavitt and Benjamin Brown, and their families, might have been the occupants (see 1820 census, p. 31).

Whoever was living here in early April, 1830, was in for a terrible surprise, for on the night of April 6th occurred a crime that brought

disgrace to Salem. Old Capt. Joseph White, a rich merchant, now retired, resided in a mansion on Essex Street. His wealth was legendary in Salem, not least among the denizens of the nearby Salem Jail, where plots had long been hatched to break in and steal the Captain's putative treasure chest. One night, intruders did break in; and they bludgeoned him to death in his sleep. All of Salem buzzed with rumors; but within a few months it was discovered that the murderer was a Crowninshield (he killed himself) who had been hired by his friends, Capt. White's own relatives, Capt. Joe Knapp, 21, and his brother Frank, 20 (they would be executed). The murder, and related lurid events, tarnished Salem further, and more families quit the now-notorious town. One wonders what Mrs. Esther Ashby Floyd must have thought, when she heard that the Knapp brothers, who lived in her former home (the White house), had been the plotters of Captain White's death.

It should be noted that Capt. Joseph Strout died on October 5, 1830, aged eighty years. He was remembered in the newspaper as formerly a Lieutenant in the Navy. His funeral was held from the house of John Watson, corner of Derby and Turner Streets.

In 1831, Mrs. Floyd's house here (#89) was occupied by Edward Dalton, then a minor (per 1831 valuation, which lists Daniel Floyd of Warner, N.H., as owner). Edward was probably about twenty, perhaps the son of Edward and Mary (Collins) Dalton.

On 29 April 1836 for $550 Mrs. Esther Ashby Floyd, 58, of Warner, N.H., and her husband Daniel sold to Richard Batten, Salem baker, the dwelling house, outbuildings, and corner lot here (ED 289:68).
Mr. Batten, the new owner, may already have been residing here as the tenant. He was a son of John Batten (1765-1844), and a grandson of the Richard Batten (1737-1822) who had married Lydia Stileman, granddaughter of Daniel Curtis, for whom the house had been built. He was no relation to Mrs. Margaret (Batton) Strout.

Richard Batten had grown up in Francestown, NH, but his parents, John & Procinda, had moved their family to Salem by 1817. John Batten, born in Salem in 1765, had moved with his parents, Richard & Lydia (Stileman) Batten in 1780 to Francestown, but had kept ties to Salem, and had worked as a sailor here. John apprenticed his son Richard to a baker; and Richard entered into the baking trade on his own about 1820, while residing in his parents' home on upper Curtis Street. Richard married Betsy Yell in 1822.

Richard Batten (1797-1876), born 8 May 1797, Francestown, NH, son of John Batten & Procinda Thorp, died 3 Feb. 1876, New Boston, NH. He m/1 1822 Elizabeth ("Betsy") Yell of Salem, bp 13 May 1798, North Chh, d/o Moses Yell & Abigail Moses. He m/2 c.1832 Abigail Yell of Salem, bp 25 May 1806, North Chh, d/o Moses Yell & Abigail Moses. Known issue (those named in 1880 lived in the same household in New Boston, NH):

1. ***Mary C., 1823***
2. ***Procinda, 1825, single 1880, tailoress***
3. ***Martha A., 1827, single 1880, tailoress***
4. ***Louise W., 1837, single 1880, tailoress***
5. ***Abba F., 1840, single 1880, tailoress***
6. ***Harriet W., 1841***
7. ***Richard, 1844, single 1880, farmer***
8. ***Kate, 1846***

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 wore on, and 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 1850 (census, house 293, ward one) the Richard Batten family resided here, Richard, 53, and Abigail, 44, and seven daughters and one son; also, in another unit of the house, resided Oliver Pettigrew, 56, shoemaker, born in Maine, and Elizabeth Page, 49, born in New Hampshire. In the 1850s Richard Batten moved to New Boston, New Hampshire, with his wife Abigail and most of his children. They did not return to reside in Salem. The house was rented out to tenants, most of them bakers—men with whom Richard Batten had worked.

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. 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.

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, and carried elsewhere by Salem ships. This innovation, although not destined to last long, was a much-needed boost to Salem's economy and continued importance as a port and transportation center. 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, 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).

In 1854 (per 1855 directory), William T. Porter, baker, had his bakery at 89 Essex and also resided here. In the next year (per 1855 census), the house was a two-family occupied by George Lee, a saloon-keeper, and William A. Berry, a baker, and their families.

William A. Berry, baker & trader, here 1855 only

In 1854 (1855 dir), William A. Berry, baker, resided at 16 Dow Street, but in 1855 (per census) the Berrys lived here in one unit (W.A. Berry, 40, trader, wife Pamela S., 39, children Sarah E., 19, William T., 8.), the George Lees in the other unit. The Berrys moved away by 1856.

George Lee, saloon-keeper in Derby Square, here 1854-1858+

In 1849 (1850 directory) George Lee was an upholsterer, residing at 8 Church Street. By 1854 he was residing in a unit of this house (per1855 directory "89 Essex"). In 1855 (per census), the Berrys were in one unit and in the other George Lee, 46, saloon, b. Mass., Rhoda A., 40, b. NH, child Delia E. Lee, 14, b. Mass. Other listings: George Lee 1856 and 1858 (1857 and 1859 directories): house #89 Essex, saloon 14½ Derby Square. In 1863 (per1864 dir.) George Lee boarded at 5 Creek Street, working as a porter at 26 Washington Street.

Benjamin F. Turell (b. 1818), baker, here 1856-1858+.

He resided here in the late 1850s. In 1849 (1850 dir.) and 1854 (per 1855 dir), B.F. Turell, 35, was a baker at 53 Derby, with a house at 55 Derby, and same in 1855 per census (w1, **153:288).** In 1856, he, 37, baked at 89 Essex (per 1857 dir), and resided here with his wife Mary P., 41, and two Millward children. George Lee & family lived here too. In 1858, Mr. Turell resided and baked at 89 Essex (per 1857 dir), and George Lee lived here too.

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 1860 (house 1105, ward one) the

house was a two-family, occupied by (one unit) John D. Bramble, 48, a master mariner born in Pennsylvania, wife Angelina L., 38, born in Vermont, and daughter Mary E., eight, and by (other unit) Benjamin F. Turell, 40, baker, wife Mary P., 44, Benjamin Millward, 14, and Charlotte Davis, 13.

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.

Of those connected to this house, Benjamin F. Turell served in the Navy. He enlisted in February, 1863, aged 44, as a cook and steward, for one year. He then served on the receiving ship ***Ohio*** and the naval warships ***Western World***, the ***Perry***, and the ***Potamska***, from which he left the service in march, 1864, as Officer's Cook (MSSMCW 8:788). His family resided at then-54 Forrester (now Bridge Street).

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 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.

On 16 March 1864 Richard Batten sold the homestead for $1600 to Moses T. and Sarah E. Upton of Salem (ED 664:43). The old house was then more than 130 years old, but probably in decent repair. The land fronted 27' on Essex Street, and ran back 52' on Curtis Street, and made an 81' ell toward the west. Five days earlier, Mr. Upton had purchased the smaller lot (22' on Essex Street), with the store (ED 663:93).

The new owner, Moses Townsend Upton (1822-1870), was a prominent builder and contractor. He had grown up nearby, the son of Capt. John

Upton, who had been a privateer commander in the War of 1812 (brother of Capt. Benjamin Upton, an earlier commander of the ***Montgomery*** commanded in 1813 by Joseph Strout). Capt. John Upton married Mercy Townsend (1792-1855) in December, 1812, and then had gone to war as commander of the privateer schooners ***Cossack*** and ***Helen***. While master of the ship ***Maine*** on a trading voyage to the Orient, he had died at Batavia in August, 1824. He left his wife Mercy and three children, John P., eight, Eliza M., four, and Moses T., born on Jan. 7, 1822 and so only two years old. Moses was named in honor of Mercy's father, the captain and merchant Moses Townsend, who had been a co-owner of one of Joseph Strout's privateer commands

Moses Upton grew up in a house on Essex Street, several doors to the east of this one. He was apprenticed to a housewright, and mastered his trade. He began as a contractor in the 1840s, and built a house on family land set back from Essex Street, then numbered 67½; and he resided there with his wife Sarah A. Jackson. She died, and he married, second, Sarah Ellen Jackson, perhaps a cousin of his first wife. In 1855 (per census ward 1 fam. 509), he, 33, a carpenter, resided on Essex Street in a home that included his wife Sarah E., 30, her mother, Mary Jackson, 71, and his sister, Eliza Upton, 35.

Moses Townsend Upton (1822-1870), born January 1822, died 11 Sept. 1870. He m/1 1845 Sarah A. Jackson, d/o James & Mary Jackson. He m/2 c. 1854 Sarah Ellen Jackson, died 5 April 1914. Known issue:

1. ***Catherine J., 1850, died young.***
2. ***Moses T, 1852-1852.***
3. ***Catherine J., 1856, m. 1878 Thomas Fenno of Boston.***
4. ***Edmund T., 1862, m. 1888 Mary Downes, grocer, d. 7 May 1899.***

Mr. Upton kept at his construction business, with a shop at Liberty Street and later at 7 Walnut Street (now Hawthorne Boulevard) and in the 1860s moved his family to a house at #2 Curtis Street, which, at that time, was the next house in from Essex Street (per 1866 directory). There were two children, Catherine and Edmund. The account book of the Uptons' household expenses in 1864, with those of Isaac P. Foster, still exists in the collections of the Peabody Essex Museum (see Library manuscript catalog). Moses T. Upton was an active and useful citizen, and served as a member of the City Council and an Assistant Assessor, as well as a Sunday school teacher.

It is likely that Mr. Upton had purchased the combined lots of #89 and #91 Essex Street with the thought of building a new house. In 1868 he did so. He removed the store that had been standing at #91 (see research section above), and he retained most or all of the old Curtis-Hill-Ashby-Strout-Batten house on the corner. He put his construction team to work, with a thorough renovation of the old house and a complete new building of the other side of the house on the site of the store (old #91). When he was finished, he had a fine new double house, which was renumbered #1 Curtis and #91 Essex, which the Uptons occupied.

Tragically, Mr. Upton began to suffer from mental problems; and in December 1869 he was declared insane and placed under his wife's guardianship (see probate records #56005). In the 1870 census, the house was listed as occupied by M.T. Upton, 48, and family (wife Sarah, 45, Catherine, 13, Edmund, eight, Eliza M. Upton, 50, seamstress), and by Charlotte Mailey, 30, nurse, all in the #91 Essex unit; and in the #1 Curtis Street unit were Daniel F. Staten, 34, a gas fitter and widower, and family (three little girls) with boarders. In 1870 Mr. Upton fell very ill, and he died on Sept. 11, 1870, in his 49th year. He left his wife, Sarah Ellen, and their two young children. His real estate was valued at $9,000 and his personal estate came to $5,583 (#56006).

The Daniel Staten family remained the tenants in the #1 Curtis unit (per 1870 census, Daniel, 34, children Lizzie, 7, Lucy F., 5, Edna S., 1, also John Kittredge, 63, a washing machine manufacturer born in New Hampshire, his wife Elizabeth K., 58, and Harriet Feeler, 30, a domestic; house 354).

In 1870 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).

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.

On 18 November 1879 Mrs. Sarah E. Upton sold the homestead here for $4850 (subject to $3000 mortgage) to Arthur Feenan, a Salem grocer (ED 1026:236). The premises fronted 50' on Essex Street and 52' 6" on Curtis Street (see also appended copy of 1874 atlas).

Arthur Feenan (1843-1935) was born in Armagh, Ireland, in 1843, the son of John Feenan and Rose Toner, and came to America with his parents as a boy, settling in Baltimore (this and other info from his obituary). He came to Salem by 1868, when he entered the shoe business in South Salem, and then started a grocery business with his brother, Bernard, on Harbor Street, which they operated for more than fifty years. Mr. Feenan was also a partner in J.J. Harrigan & Co., coal dealers; and at one point he had a shoe store on Harbor Street too. He purchased this house (#1-#91) for rental income, and resided elsewhere with his family until about 1890, when they moved in here at #91.

In 1880, the house was a two-family occupied by the Perkins and Potter families. In #91 lived Fitz W. Perkins, 35, traveling agent, Hattie F., 34, and Charles F., ten. Mr. Perkins was a co-owner of Philbrick & Perkins,

30 Central Street, dealers in paper and paper bags. In #1 lived Elizabeth Potter, 54, widow, daughter Lizzie, 25, son Jesse W., 23, bookkeeper at a shoe factory, daughter Susan, 21, working in a shoe factory, daughter Rebecca, 18, a house keeper, and boarders Henry H. Allen, 26, machinist, Frank J. Mooney, 25, junk dealer, Rogers Sturt, a shoemaker, and Charles A. Neaggan, 27, a laborer. The Potters were the widow and children of Capt. Jesse F. Potter, a former shipmaster in the foreign trade, who had resided at 94 Essex Street and had served in later years as the city liquor agent and had died in 1870. It would seem that these same two families resided here well into the 1880s. The Feenans moved into #91 about 1890, and continued to rent out #1, which later was numbered #2 Curtis.

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 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.

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 was occupied by the Feenans and by the Howarths. Arthur Feenan, fifty, grocer, lived here with his wife Margaret A. (nee Shaw), 44 (born in America of Irish parents), whose brother was a priest in Lowell. Their children were Mary A., 17, Rose A., 14, Arthur M., ten, and Anna M., seven. In the other unit were Austin Howarth, 52, a train announcer on the railroad, wife Miriam, 50, dressmaker, boarder Caroline Howarth, 23, dressmaker, and lodger Catherine A. Cook, 47, a dressmaker (1900 cnsus, ED 447, house 33-34).

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. In 1910, the Feenans resided here at #91 and at #2 lived Oliver R. Stone, 58, an engineer at the cotton mills, with his wife, Sarah, 65, and niece Luella, 45, and her husband William T. Fowler, 49, a bookkeeper for the railroad. (1910 census SD 119, ED 455).

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. The Feenans continued to live here. Mrs. Margaret Feenan died here on March 5, 1933, at an advanced age. Her husband, Arthur Feenan, died here on the evening of Feb. 5, 1935, in his 94^{th} year.

Salem, the county seat and regional retail center, gradually rebounded from the Depression, 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, shipwrights, bakers, and mill-operatives are all honored as a large part of what makes Salem different from any other place.

The Bowditch House
9 North Street
Post Office Box 865
Salem, Massachusetts 01970
Telephone: (978) 745-0799

2006 PLAQUE PROGRAM

TO: **Bob Leonard, Ould Colony Artisans**
FAX: **207-779-0707**

FROM: **Dick Thompson, Historic Salem, Inc.**

DATE: **February 12, 2007**

New Plaque order as follows:

Built by
Moses T. Upton, Housewright
1868
On the east - Built for
Daniel Curtis, Shipwright
c. 1731

Please ship to:
Janice Kostopulos
c/o Coldwell Banker
7½ Church Street
Salem, MA 01970

Historic Salem incorporated

P.O. Box 865, Salem, MA 01970
(978) 745-0799
Contact Us!

Historic House Plaque Application

If interested in commissioning a written history of your Salem house and having a plaque to identify its construction date and early owner(s), please fill in the blanks below.

The fee for a professionally prepared house history and plaque is $400.00. Please send a check for that amount, made out to Historic Salem, Inc., with this application, to the above address.

Name: Janice Kostopoulos
Coldwell Banker / Salem Ma

Name of Owner (if different from above):
George and Ellen Brandenburg

Contact Information:

~~Home~~ Cell **Phone:** 617-365-6316 (Janice)

Coldwell Banker **Work Phone:** 978-~~6~~ 741-4404 (Janice)

e-mail: janice.kostopoulos@nemoves.com

Street Address: 91 Essex Street, Salem, Ma
& 2 Curtis Street

Date Purchased & From Whom:
Jan. 19, 2006 from Doug & Jean Karam

Helpful Information about the Building (append copies if necessary):
Moses Upton Condominium

JANICE C. KOSTOPOULOS
2 ANDREWS LN.
MARBLEHEAD, MA 01945

5-137 110
9469079483

245

DATE March 27, 2006

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Historic Salem, Inc $ 400.00

Four Hundred and 00/100 DOLLARS

Security Features Included Details on Back

Fleet
88380
www.fleet.com
Marblehead-Pleasant St. Office
Marblehead, Massachusetts 01945

MEMO _____

Janice C. Kostopoulos

⑆011000138⑆ 94690 79423⑈ 0245