## One Cambridge Street Salem

Built 1795 for Daniel Wright Merchant

Subsequently home of
Capt. Daniel Peirce, merchant
Dr. Edward Barnard, apothecary
Capt. Edward Barnard, shipmaster

One Cambridge Street Salem

According to available evidence, this house was built in 1795 for Daniel Wright, merchant; c.1904 its original hip roof was supplanted by a gambrel roof. It stands on the site of the westerly part of an older house built for Samuel Wakefield, a tailor, in 1680.

Please note: This house has mistakenly been identified in print, by B. Tolles and others, as the Capt. Thomas Mason house, but Capt. Mason resided on Essex Street near Central Street, and never owned this building or its land, although he did own a mortgage on the eastern half of the old Pike house and land.

In July, 1794, the western part of the old Wakefield-Bullock-Pike house, with a piece of land under and adjoining, was sold to Daniel Wright, a merchant (ED 157:252,253). Mr. Wright bought the property in two ways: at public auction, from the estate of Richard Pike, for a high bid of 212 li, and from Margaret Pike, daughter of the deceased, for 28.16.0. Mr. Pike had been a blacksmith by trade. The lot fronted 22'5" on main street (Essex Street) and bounded westerly 115' 4" on meeting house lane (Cambridge Street), southerly 32' on land of Lawrence, and easterly 124' on dower land set off to Mrs. Mary Pike.

Possibly Mr. Wright had been occupying the old, run-down westerly part of the Pike house at the time that he purchased it. In 1794, the house where he resided was valued at \$350; whereas in the 1795 Salem valuation his house was valued at \$1200 (in, 1796, at \$1000; in 1797, at \$1400; in 1798 at \$1600, etc.). There is little doubt, from the evidence of the valuation records, that he had a new house built on this site late in 1794 or in the year 1795. In the Direct Tax of 1798, Daniel Wright's house was valued at \$1500. It had a hip roof in those days.

Mr. Wright was from Scotland, and was likely a master mariner as well as a dry-goods merchant. Very little is known of Daniel; and it is highly likely that (being Scotch) his name was Donald, which was always rendered as Daniel in New England. From the reminiscences of Benjamin F. Browne in 1869, we know that Donald/Daniel and his brother James came from Scotland, and that James was a baker, married Miss Giles of Beverly (in 1790), and resided on the northwest side of the common. "His brother

Daniel had a dry goods shop on the corner of Essex and Cambridge Streets, the shop lately occupied by George Bennet as a saddlery," says Browne (EIHC 4:13).

Mr. Wright probably came to Salem in the 1780s, after the close of the Revolutionary War. As early as 1789, he had a stock (supply of wares) worth \$1000, and faculty (income) of \$500; and he resided in a house & store valued at \$400 (in ward 4, meaning in this neighborhood), per the 1789 Salem valuation. His business, per Mr. Browne, was dry goods, meaning textiles (cloth, blankets, etc.).

In 1790, his household consisted of himself and two females, perhaps a wife and daughter (1790 published Salem census, p. 93 col. 1). By 1800 (census, p. 364) his household consisted of himself, 45+, and a female 45+ (likely his wife). He may have used the front room (on Essex Street) as his dry-goods store.

A "False War" with France lasted from 1798 to 1800, and then an undeclared war with Britain began. Merchant shipping faced new dangers from these enemies, but the Salem owners and masters aggressively expanded their trade to the farthest ports of the rich East.

Salem at the turn of the century was growing and thriving. The town's merchants were among the wealthiest in the country. In Samuel McIntire, they had a local architect who could help them realize their desires for large and beautiful homes built and decorated in the Adamesque style. This style (called "Federal" today) had been developed years before 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 upon his return from England 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, a talented joiner and draftsman of Salem, picked up on the style, and adapted it to Salem's larger lots, as on Chestnut Street, Federal Street, and Washington Square. McIntire's first local composition, the Jerathmeel Peirce house (on Federal Street, near North), contrasts greatly with his Adamesque compositions of just a few years later. The interiors of this Adam ("Federal") style differed from the "Georgian" and Post-Colonial

by eschewing walls of wood paneling in favor of plastered expanses painted in bright colors or, more commonly, covered in bold wallpapers. In vernacular (less high-style) houses, the "wallpaper" effect was achieved by painted walls with an overlay of stenciled designs. 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 houses that were often built of brick, and, sometimes, attenuated porticoes and, in the high style, string courses, swagged panels, and even two-story pilasters. This house, built in 1795, has original Post-Colonial woodwork and embodies the tastes of the years immediately preceding McIntire's adopting Bulfinch's Adam style and introducing it into all high-style Salem houses.

Salem's foreign commerce was booming in the first decade of the nineteenth century, as was the commerce of Newburyport and even Marblehead. Salem vessels sailed to the Caribbean and Europe—including Russia--as before, but were opening trade to the East as well, sailing to the far side of the globe to trade with the merchants of the Spice Islands, India, and Malaya. Salem cargoes were exceedingly valuable.

All of this commerce created great wealth, which in turn attracted many newcomers to Salem, from outlying towns and even other states and countries (like the Wrights). The ferment of the times is captured in the diary of Rev. William Bentley, bachelor minister of Salem's East Church (it stood on Essex Street, near Washington Square). Mr. Bentley's diary is full of references to the civic and commercial life of the town, and to the personalities of the leading families, and the doings of the families who made up the main part of the populace. Not far from Mr. 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, a mariner, would die of fever while on a voyage to the Caribbean in 1808. This kind of untimely death was all too typical of Salem's young seafarers, who fell prey to malaria and other diseases of the Caribbean and Pacific tropics.

In the opening years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as Salem experienced an extraordinary boom, akin to that of Newburyport, Daniel Wright may have been attracted to the latter town, for in December, 1804, a Daniel Wright is registered as shipmaster of the 138-ton brig *Traveller*, out of Newburyport, with at least one Salem owner (*Ship Registers of Newburyport*, 1789-1870,

p. 269). Real estate values in Salem had risen dramatically, and Mr. Wright, an astute trader, chose to cash in. On the 7<sup>th</sup> of May, 1805, for \$5000 he sold to Salem merchant Daniel Peirce the "house, barn, and outbuildings," together with the same land he had purchased of the Pikes (ED 176:190). The boundaries and abuttors were given exactly as in the 1794 deeds. His wife, Catharine, also signed off on the deed. It would appear that Mr. & Mrs. Wright moved away, since there is no further record of him, and an X was placed next to his name in the 1805 valuations, which usually means "gone away" (or deceased).

The new owner, merchant Daniel Peirce (1750-1835), was born in Portsmouth, NH, in 1750, and came to Salem at the age of 14, shipping as a cabin boy and, over the years, working his way up to the rank of shipmaster (see B.F. Browne, EIHC 4:265). He married Elizabeth ("Betsy") Mansfield (1762-1823), daughter of Matthew Mansfield, in Salem on 14 January 1781. In 1790 (per census, p. 94, col. 3) he resided somewhere in this general neighborhood and was head of a household that included two boys, his wife, and three other females. He was described as a Salem merchant as early as 1806, when his wife Betsy, a granddaughter of blacksmith Thorndike Procter, sold an interest in some property on Boston Street (ED 182:287). In 1808 he sold his share in the Great Pasture (ED 183:248).

Capt. Peirce was probably an importer of wines. He probably owned an interest in a merchant vessel, and purchased cargoes to send overseas in exchange for the wine. In 1807 his "part house" was valued at \$1400, his stock at \$2500, and his income at \$300. In that same year he mortgaged his homestead here for \$1300 to Benjamin Crowninshield (ED 181:81). The Embargo evidently hit him hard. After it, in 1810, he mortgaged his homestead here (the house "I now occupy and improve" (the word "improve" in those days meant "make use of") twice more, once for \$229 to the Union Marine Insurance Company of Salem, and once for \$400 to Joshua Dodge & Jonathan Neal (ED 190:86,272).

With war approaching, Capt. Peirce was in trouble. He may have suffered a business reverse (it could have been anything from having a wine shipment intercepted to loss of credit); and on 1 January 1812 Daniel Peirce, Salem merchant, for love and affection, and \$100, sold his right in the homestead here at the corner of Essex and Cambridge Streets, bounded as before (ED 196:304), to his daughter Harriet Peirce (one-half), and (other half) to "Eliza Peirce, otherwise called Eliza Foster," who may have been another daughter.

Harriet Peirce married Dr. Jacob Kittredge in November, 1813; his daughter Elizabeth Peirce married Richard Gardner.

The War of 1812 evidently finished off Capt. Peirce's shaky business. He could not re-pay John Blandy, a merchant of Funchal, Madeira, who won a lawsuit against Mr. Peirce for \$2,040 damages in 1815. Capt.. Peirce gave up trying to hold onto the homestead, and allowed the Sheriff to take possession of the house and his equity in it. On 13 January 1816 Capt. Peirce's right in the homestead was sold at auction for \$750 to Pickering Dodge, a wealthy Salem merchant of Chestnut Street (ED 207:273). Capt. Peirce, his wife, and perhaps other family members (evidently Jacob & Harriet Kittredege went) moved west, to Gallipolis, Gallia County, Ohio. In March, 1817, from Ohio, he sold out (for \$33) his final interest in the premises to Mr. Dodge (ED 212:302). The family remained in Ohio for some time. Mrs. Eliza Perice died there on 8 September 1823, aged 61. Capt. Peirce survived her by 12 years and died at Utica, new York, in September, 1835, aged 85 years (see Benjamin F. Browne's reminiscences at EIHC 4:135).

Pickering Dodge used the premises for rental income. In March, 1817, Mr. Dodge, for \$950 sold his interest to Dr. Edward Barnard, Salem apothecary (ED 212:303). Dr. Barnard then paid off the mortgages to Mr. Crowninshield and Messrs. J. Dodge & J. Neal (ED 212:303-4). The other mortgage, to the Union Marine Insurance Co., had been paid in 1812. This gave clear title and full ownership to Dr. Edward Barnard, 61.

Edward Barnard (1755-1822) was born in Haverhill, a son of Rev. Edward Barnard. Like his father, he went to Harvard, and graduated in 1774, just before the Revolution. He returned to Haverhill, organized a rebel artillery battery, and then decided to pursue a medical career. In October, 1775, with the war under way, he moved to Salem and apprenticed himself to the renowned physician Edward A. Holyoke. He finished his medical studies in 1777, took his Master's degree, and set up shop as an apothecary (druggist and physician) in Salem. In 1781 he married Judith Herbert of Salem who was then residing in Wenham; and in November, 1781, they had their only child, a healthy boy whom they named Edward Barnard Jr. The Barnards attended the North Church, whose minister was the Doctor's cousin, Rev. Thomas Barnard (In his diary, Rev. William Bentley alludes frequently to "Dr. Barnard/Bernard, meaning Rev. Thomas Barnard).

Mrs. Judith (Herbert) Barnard was born in 1755 in Salem, the daughter of Capt. Benjamin Herbert and his wife Elizabeth Fowler Herbert. Her father died when she was but five, and her mother married, second, Capt. John Gardner of Salem. Judith's sister Susannah married John Hathorne, sister Mary married John Norris (of Federal Street), and sister Abigail married Ellis Mansfield.

The Barnards' only child, Edward Jr., like most Salem boys, felt the lure of the sea and could not be made to take an interest in the family professions, medicine or theology. He became a mariner, and a good one, and before long he was a shipmaster. He married Elizabeth Martin in 1806, when he was 23, and they would have several children. Capt. Barnard & family lived in South Salem at first (ED 184:8).

Salem's boom came to an end with crash, when, in January, 1808, Pres. Jefferson and the Congress imposed an embargo on all American shipping in hopes of forestalling war. The Embargo proved futile and nearly ruinous in Salem, whose commerce ceased. As a hotbed of Democratic-Republicanism, the seafarers of the Derby Street area, led by the Crowninshield family, loyally supported the Embargo until it was lifted in spring, 1809. Salem, out of patience with Jefferson, furiously resumed its seafaring commerce, but still the British preyed on American shipping, Salem's included; and in June, 1812, war was declared against Britain.

Most of the New England towns opposed the war as being potentially ruinous and for the benefit only of the western war-hawk states. Not Salem and Marblehead, which went to war eagerly. Forty privateers were immediately fitted out in Salem, manned by Marblehead and Salem crews, who also served on U.S. Navy vessels, including the *Constitution*. 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 adventure and possible riches of privateering kept the men returning to sea as often as possible. Salem feared attack from British vessels, and erected forts and batteries on the Neck. In June, 1813, off Marblehead Neck, the British frigate *Shannon* engaged the U.S. Navy frigate *Chesapeake*, Capt. James Lawrence. Lawrence was defeated, and mortally wounded; his last words were the famous "Don't give

up the ship!" followed by the less-famous "Blow her up!" Almost a year later, in April, 1814, the people of Salem gathered along the shores of the Neck as three sails appeared on the horizon and came sailing on for Salem Bay. As the day wore on, these vessels proved to be the mighty *Constitution* in the lead, pursued by the smaller British frigates *Tenedos* and *Endymion*. The breeze was light, and the British vessels gained, but Old Ironsides made it safely into Marblehead Harbor, to the cheers of thousands.

On land, the war went poorly for the United States, as the British captured Washington, DC, and burned the Capitol and the White House. Along the western frontier, U.S. forces were successful against the weak English forces; and, as predicted by many, the western expansionists had their day. At sea, Salem's vessels often were captured, and its men captured or killed. After almost three years, the war was bleeding the town dry, and the menfolk were disappearing. Hundreds of Salem men and boys were imprisoned in British prison-ships and at Dartmoor Prison in England.

At last, in February, 1815, peace was restored.

Dr. Barnard had a thriving practice in Salem, with his shop on Market Street (downtown) and \$6000 worth of personal estate in 1813 (see 1813 Salem valuation). In the spring of 1808 he was described as a "distiller" (ED 184:67), so he evidently owned an interest in a distillery as well. He may have set up his apothecary shop in this house when he moved here in 1817. By the spring of 1821 he was gravely ill with urinary disease, and went to his mentor, old Dr. Holyoke, "to be electrified." The cure may have been worse than the disease; and he died on Dec. 14, 1822, aged 67 years.

An inventory of his estate was taken on 11 January 1823. The homestead here was valued at \$2800. Its contents included the shop and the residential furnishings. The shop's stock was listed first in the inventory (appended to this report) and included drugs and medicinal compounds, combs, tooth brushes, soap, honey, wax, indigo, pepper, oatmeal, blackballs, and whiteskins, as well as furniture, mortars, vials, scales, etc. He owned various shares in insurance companies and the Salem Turnpike, and had plenty of cash on hand. His survivors were his wife Judith, 67, and his son, Capt. Edward Barnard, 41. For more about Dr. Barnard, see the appended profile from Shipton's *Harvard Graduates*.

In April, 1823, Capt. Barnard granted to his mother a life estate in the homestead here (ED 233:83). Also in 1823, she purchased the property next door (to the east), which re-united the two pieces of the old Richard Pike house-lot. Capt. Barnard and his family resided here with his mother from this point forward.

Among his maritime activities were the following. He was master of the 102-ton schooner *Mercury*, owned by the Wests. He may have participated as a privateer in the War of 1812, which ended in 1815. In 1816 he purchased an interest in the ship *Palladium*, intended for a packet to Liverpool. In 1816 and 1817 he commanded the sloop *Stork*, and in 1821 he was master of the schooner *Mary Jane*, in which he owned an interest. He was a member of the Salem Marine Society and was active in its affairs. The Society (now the Peabody Essex Museum) owned his oil portrait, done when he was a young man; in it, notable features are bushy eyebrows, blue eyes, and dark brown hair with sideburns (EIHC 75:56; also, see EIHC references and others for more information about Capt. Barnard's seafaring career).

Salem merchants resumed their worldwide trade, to great effect. A new custom house was built in 1819, at the head of Derby Wharf. Through the 1820s the foreign trade continued prosperous; but at the end of that decade, Salem's maritime commerce began to sink rapidly.

With the advent of railroads and canals in the 1830s diverted both capital and trade away from the coast. American goods were now being produced at a level where imports were not so much needed as in the past, and the interior of the country was being opened for settlement. People moved west, including some from Salem, and the economic attention of the merchants turned westward with them. Manufacturing and the railroads now attracted Salem's capital, and many of the more notable merchants moved to Boston, the center of investment in these non-maritime industries. The Eastern Rail Road (a Salem-based enterprise) began operating between Salem and Boston in 1838; the tracks ran right over the middle of the Mill Pond. Salem did engage in some manufacturing—leather, shoes, textiles--but not on the scale of the factory towns of Lowell, Lawrence, and Haverhill, with their mills driven by the powerful waters of the Merrimack.

Somewhat stubbornly, Salem's waning merchant class pursued their business on the sea; but as the years went by the conditions of shipping changed, and Salem was left on the ebb tide. In the late 1840s, giant clipper

ships replaced the smaller ships that Salem men had sailed around the world; and the clippers, with their deep drafts and large holds, were usually too large for Salem and its harbor. The town's shipping soon consisted of little more than visits from Down East coasters with cargoes of fuel wood and building timber. By 1850 Salem was finished as a working port; and its glory days were over. An excellent picture of Salem's waterfront, during its period of decline from glory, is given by Hawthorne in his "introductory section" (really a sketch of Salem) to **The Scarlet Letter**, which he began while working in the Custom House and complete at home on Mall Street.

Edward and Elizabeth (Martin) Barnard had sons Edward and Thomas, both of whom had moved to Tallahassee, Florida, in the 1830s (Edward Jr. was in New York City by 1867). Mrs. Elizabeth Barnard died of dropsy on 28 March, 1843, aged 57 years. After her death, Capt. Barnard married, in April, 1845, Julia (Ryan) Ames, only 23, born in New York and the mother of a young daughter, Julia. On 31 July 1845, Capt. Barnard's mother, Mrs. Judith Barnard, died of apoplexy at the age of ninety. By her will of 1838 she gave everything to her son Edward, who thus inherited this property as sole owner.

Capt. Barnard, 63 in 1845, had children with his new wife Julia: Benjamin Herbert Barnard in 1845 and Elizabeth Barnard in 1848. He also adopted Julia's daughter, Julia, born in 1843, who thus became Julia Barnard (Jr.). He had long retired from the sea, and was living off his investments, which he placed primarily in mortgages. During the 1840s, he was known as a "gentleman," and was working as a private banker of sorts. In 1850 (per census, house 335) he was described as 68, a master mariner with \$2000 in real estate; Julia was 28, and they resided here with their three young children.

Capt. Barnard died here on 12 December 1858, aged 77 years. By his will of January, 1856, he devised all of his property (except \$10 each to his grown sons in Florida) to his wife Julia, with the three younger children as her legatees. His real estate was valued at \$3000 and his personal estate at \$1783.80.

Mrs. Julia Barnard did not long remain in Salem. She was still here in 1861 when the Civil War began; but by 1866, she resided with her children in South Bend, Indiana. During the 1860s the front room on Essex Street (then numbered 321) was rented out to George W. Bennett, a harness-maker, as

his shop (Salem Directory, 1861, 1864). In April, 1867, Mrs. Barnard sold her interest in this homestead to Joseph B.F. Osgood (ED 722:79). She had already sold the easterly portion to Mr. Osgood in 1866, and she had cleared the title to this house with her stepson Edward Barnard (ED 703:203, 722:77). At the same time (April, 1867), two of her children sold their interests, and the third sold hers in 1869 (ED 722:79-80).

Thus the new owner, with clear title, was Joseph B.F. Osgood, an attorney and counselor at law. He resided across the street, and rented out this house.

Salem re-tooled as an industrial center, with good success; the symbol of its new economy was the large twin-towered granite train station, which stood at the foot of Washington Street, where it had joined the inner harbor. Beginning in the 1840s, the Salem capitalists built factories that soon filled with Irish immigrant workers as well as the native-born. Salem's water-oriented downtown area remained intact, or nearly so, for most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, although no more were square-rigged ships pulled up to wharves along the inner harbor (from Derby Wharf to where the Post Office now is), and the railroad had been built across the middle of the beautiful Mill Pond, which extended from the inner harbor all the way to Loring Avenue, in a broad sheet of water between what are now called Canal Street and Jefferson Avenue. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, both of these ancient bodies of water would vanish, as they were filled in and buried beneath streets, storage areas, junk-yards, rail-yards, and parking lots.

About 1904 the present gambrel roof was raised in place of the original hip roof, per Cousins & Riley in *The Colonial Architecture of Salem* (1919), wherein (p. 37) it was noted that "Mrs. Cook's house at 1 Cambridge Street ... presents a fine example of modern carpenter work executed about 15 years ago when the former hipped roof was replaced by the present perfect gambrel."

In 1907-8 the occupant here was Arthur F. Benson, and Georgianna Benson, boarder (see 1908 Salem Directory). Mr. Osgood was then a counselor-at-law, with an office at One Central and his residence at 312 Essex Street, where also resided a widow, Mrs. Henry A. (Elizabeth C.) Cook. Mr. Benson was still here in 1910.

On 25 July 1911 Mr. Osgood sold much real estate to Mrs. Cook, including this property, which was by then combined with the property to the east (ED

2096:87). The new tenants here (and through 1915 at least, per Salem Directory) were The Jenny Brooks Company, an embroidery shop run by Jenny Brooks of 60 Ocean Avenue, and resident Francis M. Heagney, a janitor employed at 161 Essex Street. Mrs. Cook, the owner, had moved to Marblehead, evidently in 1913.

The great Salem Fire on June 25, 1914, came up out of Blubber Hollow (Boston Street at Federal Street) and spread southeasterly, attacking South Salem and ending after a 13-hour rampage. It had consumed 250 acres, 1600 houses, and 41 factories, leaving three killed and up to 15,000 people homeless. The Fire had crossed Essex Street at Broad Street and never directly threatened this house, although its residents were doubtless terrorized.

The premises evidently remained in the ownership of the Cook family into the 1990s.

--Robert Booth for Historic Salem Inc., 19 Nov. 2000

## Glossary

#1234 refers to probate case 1234, Essex County probate
ED 123:45 refers to book 123, page 45, Essex South Registry of Deeds
Salem Directory refers to the published Salem resident directories
Census refers to census records, taken house-by-house with occupants listed.
EIHC refers to Essex Institute Historical Collections

382

## EDWARD BARNARD

Dr. Edward Barnard, an apothecary in Salem, was born in the South Parish of Haverhill on September 28, 1755, the son of the Reverence Edward (A.B. 1736) and Sarah (Cary) Barnard. After local schooling he prepared for Harvard at Dummer Academy in Byfield,2 where he was one of ten boys who would journey to Cambridge to join the Class of 1774. Harvard was not at its most rigorous during the year immediately before the Revolution, but surely Barnard learned moras an undergraduate than the aphorisms he inserted with the financia accounts in his almanac-diary for 1773: "When we speak of dead men we should tread softly over their graves" and "An honest man's th noblest work of God."3

Barnard's father had been something of a child prodigy at Harvard and in fact the younger Edward's student career was noteworthy fo the number of scholarships he was awarded. He received support fron the income of Thomas Hollis's grant in 1772 and 1773, from Dr. Se wall's gift in 1772, from Capt. Ephraim Flynt's gift in 1773, and fron Mr. Brattle's gift in 1774.4 He also taught in Bradford when class wa not in session during the winter of his junior year.5 Edward was probably the Barnard who shared Hollis 16 with John Tucker, '74, during the 1771-1772 academic year.6 He took his master's degree in course in 1777.

In addition to his father, the Barnard family had produced man other clergymen, but the new graduate did not have the same calling After college he went home to Haverhill, where in September 1774 h helped to organize the town's militia company, an artillery battery, then in October 1775 he traveled north to Salem, where he studied medicine with Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke (A.B. 1746), one of the

<sup>2</sup> Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Dummer Academy (Salem, 1844), 12.

4 Corporation Records, 2:364, 372, 383, 391, 398, Harvard University Archives.

Barnard, Almanac-Diary, Feb. 9, 1773.

Faculty Records, Original, 1771-1772, Harvard University Archives. 7 In May 1775, Barnard was elected the company's clerk with the rank of sergeant George Wingate Chase, The History of Haverhill, Massachusetts (Haverhill, 1861), 374-375.

most respected practitioners of the day. The bond Barnard built with the Holyoke family was a close one. He lived in the Holyoke household for part of the time he studied with the doctor,9 and Mary Holyoke, the mistress of the house, was still recording his comings and goings in her diary in 1780.10

Medical training could be expensive, but after the death of Barnard's father in January 1774 his widowed mother and his brothers Samuel and John contributed to his support." When he needed to buy a set of medical instruments in 1776, a cousin loaned him twenty pounds, lawful money, an amount he repaid within three weeks.<sup>12</sup>

Smallpox posed a constant threat to anyone offering medical care, and in the spring of 1776 Sarah Barnard gave her son £12.2 to pay for an inoculation. On May 25, Barnard set out from his mother's home in Haverhill to Plantation No. 5, present-day Cummington in Hampshire County, where Dr. James Bradish maintained a smallpox hospital. Bradish inoculated him on June 1, and for the next three weeks Barnard subsisted on a diet of fresh pudding, skimmed milk, and roasted potatoes in the hospital while he waited out the effects of the treatment. The first day after the inoculation, he perceived "no alteration in my arm," but after another day there were signs of "a slight inflammation." There was even more redness and swelling at the site of the inoculation by June 5, and his arm was "very sore." The next day, he "was worse," moved his bowels sixteen times, and felt "very weak all day." On June 10, "twenty or thirty [pox] appear[ed]." After eleven more days he left the hospital.<sup>13</sup> By the spring of 1777, Barnard was assisting Holyoke in a smallpox hospital in Salem.<sup>14</sup>

The close of Barnard's medical studies in 1777 corresponded with the third anniversary of his graduation. At about the same time that he took his master's degree, for which he paid five dollars, 15 he was entrolling

Barnard, Almanac-Diary, Sept. 18, 1776.

"Barnard, Almanac-Diary, 1776. Barnard, Almanac-Diary, Mar. 30, Apr. 18, 1776.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Faculty Records, 3:170, Harvard University Archives; Sibley's Harvard Graduate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Edward Barnard, Almanac-Diary, 1773, Mar. 20, June [n.d.], 1773, Phillips Library Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.

Barnard, Almanac-Diary, Oct. 18, 1775.

George Francis Dow, ed., The Holyoke Diaries, 1709-1856 (Salem, 1911), 102, 103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Barnard, Almanac-Diary, May 25-June 21, 1776. Barnard moved his bowels so often because in conjunction with inoculations doctors administered a cathartic. On 18th-century inoculations, see J. Worth Estes, Hall Jackson and the Purple Foxglove: Medical Practice and Research in Revolutionary America, 1760-1820 (Hanover, 1979), 16-29, esp. 21-23.

Barnard, Almanac-Diary, May 22-June 2, 1777. <sup>15</sup> Barnard, Almanac-Diary, July 8, 1777.

ready to go out on his own. Barnard's training with Holyoke in pharmacy appealed to him, and when he filled his medicine chest in 1778, he did not forget to compile a detailed pamphlet instructing himself in the uses of the emetics, purges, salts, and salves he had learned about during his years of apprenticeship.16 Another set of notes, compiled in 1778, described five interesting cases he observed that year, including one patient with cholera and another with throat distemper. 7

Barnard quickly settled down to a routine as an apothecary. His professional life revolved around his shop; during the 1810s, his annual rent on it amounted to between \$55.00 and \$60.00.18 He made occasional excursions outside of Salem—usually to somewhere else within Essex County. When he traveled any distance, he invariably went by rented horse and chaise.19

On January 7, 1781, Barnard married Judith Herbert of Wenham.2c Their only child, a son also named Edward, was born the following November 6. This Edward became a mariner in 1802, and thereafter the father maintained a close watch on his son's voyages, praying in his journals that "the Almighty preserve him & return him to us in safety in his own due time."21

Such invocations reflected the graduate's firm religious faith, as befitted the son of a preacher. Barnard attended Salem's North Church, where for many years the pastor was a cousin, the Reverend Thomas Barnard (A.B. 1766). Cousin Thomas inclined toward Arminianism, and John Emery Abbot, who succeeded to the North Church's pulpit following Pastor Barnard's death in 1814, was regarded as one of the most promising Unitarian clergymen of his generation before his own untimely death in 1819. When Barnard celebrated July 4 in 1818, it was in the company of another parishioner of Abbot, Leverett Saltonstall (A.B. 1802).<sup>22</sup>

384 CLASS OF 1774

Dr. Barnard's affiliation with the liberal North Church is a clear indication of his religious leanings; Salem in his day offered the full spectrum of Protestant religious societies to be found in New England. Barnard's Unitarianism is confirmed by the accounts he kept: from 1819 to 1822 he was a regular subscriber to the Christian Disciple, a Unitarian periodical.<sup>23</sup> He was also a subscriber to the Salem Marine Bible Society.<sup>24</sup> When Eliphalet Pearson (A.B. 1773) began to reconsider his own religious beliefs late in life, an exercise that ended in the conversion to liberal Christianity of one of New England's most abrasive proponents of Calvinist orthodoxy, Barnard loaned Pearson twenty manuscript sermons by his father.25

Barnard may already have been suffering from the urinary disease that eventually ended his life when he visited Dr. Holyoke "to be electrified" on April 4, 1821.26 Such therapy was rudimentary, though, and if it helped Barnard the benefits did not last for long. He died of dysuria in Salem on December 14, 1822. Barnard's estate, valued at nearly \$5,200, included his house at the corner of Essex and Cambridge streets in Salem, a pew in the North Meeting House, and an inventory of drugs and other medical compounds as well as shares in three insurance companies and one turnpike and bridge corporation. His widow, Judith, survived him until July 31, 1845.27

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Edward Barnard, Lists of Medicines, Descriptions of Patients' Illnesses, 1778, Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Barnard, List of Medicines, Descriptions of Patients Illnesses, 1778.

<sup>18</sup> Barnard, Almanac-Diary, 1815.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> For an example, see Barnard, Almanac-Diary, Aug. 8, 1816.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Dow, Hooke Diaries, 105.

<sup>21</sup> Barna Imanac-Diary, Oct. 8, 1802, Apr. 22, 1803.

<sup>22</sup> Leverere caltonstall to John E. Abbot, July 7, 1818, in Robert E. Moody, ed., The Papers of Leverett Saltonstall, 1816-1845 (Boston, 1978-1992), 1:60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Barnard, Almanac-Diary, Nov. 16, 1819, Dec. 14, 1821, July 29, 1822.

<sup>24</sup> Barnard, Almanac-Diary, Aug. 28, 1821. 25 Barnard, Almanac-Diary, May 24, 1819.

<sup>15. 26</sup> Dow, Holyoke Diaries, 172. <sup>27</sup> Vital Records of Salem, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849 (Salem, 1916-1925), 5:68, 69; Essex County Probate File #1737.





To all people I Mary like of Salom in the Country of York widow and Administrations of the Estate of Richard Dike late of said Salem Blacksmith deceased intestate send gre whereas the Justices of the court of Common Piers held at newbury part for and willian said bus on the first sucreary of telecor 1. A 17.93 did improver me losell and make and execut. good and sufficient Deeds to convey somuch of the real Istate of said Deceased a sum of three hundred and thirty seven hounds for the paymond ofhis fust dotts and incidental charges Southway that by wirtue of the power gin aforesaid and in consideration on the sum of ten hundred and twelve pounds tryppais me by Daniel Wright ofinid Salow more land the receipt whereof I do horoby achor ge have sold and do hereby sett and convey grant & languin to said Daniel ape and situate in said dalow bounded as follows to wit veginning at the norteastiones thereof krunning westering wounding northerly on main street twenty two feet five in cher and one quarter of in inch thence running southorly bounding wortorly one Moth how land one hundred and fifteen fect and four inches themerunning bounding thirty two feet on land of Lawrance thence running northerly bounding easterly on the part of aid deceased i helate sett offence as my dower thorein in a line parallel to so meeting house land ninely five feet and eight incher from thome runding in a stra worty right feet and four inches bounding casterly on my said down land to the first mentioned bounds together with that part of the dwelling house over said piece of land & The barre & out houses thereon and all the priviledges and approximances belong to the promises being all the estate of said Richard situate in said main trect weig That part set of a my dower To have & to hoto the granted promises (subject howover to margret Pikeb lung in said dwelling house while she continues unman the will of Hisa with The deceased and all the priviledges and opportonances that to said Daniel and his hein & a frigues forever and I do cover int with raid D aid Intestate died seized of the granted premises that I am duly authorised to sell the in my mid capacity that I have observed the directions of Law for the sale ofreal Istates by administrators & that in my said Capacity I will warrant & defend the granted for mises to said Daniel again it the lawful dains and domands of all persons claus ne by from or under me or as liver or heirs of said Intestate but against the clair of no other-person In witness whereof Their hereinto set my hand and seal the fourteenth days buly in the year of our Lord Seventeen hundred and ninety four. Hary Fike the presente of there for September 6. 1794- Then Many The achieve ledged this Instru-Richard Hard Justice of the peace John Vickering Regn Spex for Reid Cet. 14.179 4 trecorded & examily Smow all men that I Margaret Pilico Walem in the Country of Speek single woom in consideration of the Jum of twenty eight pounds dixteen shillings ling, paid me by and which I acknowledge to never received o- Danichwight of said Salem morchant do by These presents grant sell conveyapige let over and forevor quitelaim to said Daniel Title interest priviledge eldin and estate of in and to that price of land vituate in wildale and the part of a divitting house standing thereon ( being the western half part latelybelon to the lotate of Aichard Pile of said Salon Blacksmith dee Intestate and by his adm istratrix sold by order of Court at publick auction & Conglet at that auction bysaid riel To have and to hold the same to said Daniel and his hairs and a feigns to his - use forever and I said Margaret do for myself my hein accentors administrators afrigues covenant with said Daniel his heirs executors administrators & afrigue tha \* they shall quietly hold & proceably enjoy the granted promises free from the claims molistation let or hindrance of the said Illargaset and of all & overy person claim the same by from or under me Inwitnes who go I said margaret have her went with hand and seal the nuncticenthe day of July in the year of our Lord seventeen hundred Hargard The Ha Scal we of Thex fo System Ber - 6th 1794 Then margaret The acknowledged this They for September - 1779 - doed water and Wind furties of the pread for

interest (et corest of party strains to	1 0
An inventory of the estate of Edward Barnard, late of Sale	in in the country of Es-
sex apolhecary, decrased, appraised upon oalle by us the subserve	ben, duly appointed to
that service by the honble Daniel A. White esquire, judge of swobald	s of wills the for said county, viz.
Real estate.	
Heal estate. The homestead of said deceased, situated on the corner of Cassen and learnbridge streets, in Salem	7
leambridge streets, in Salem	
One pewing the mostly meeting house no. 74	_180·- ×2980:_
Versonal estate.	
Drugs and medicinal compounds	
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dot of boxes the \$3:88_ lot of glass furniture \$40:65_	4453
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Not of wax Ali chairs Or Ali lot ground logwood & I	0 145
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and the second s	Ä
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8 le brass lamps to. \$1:33 hamper, mile to 15c.	. 2.18
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I pair blankets #1- copperplate bed curtains \$200	7.00
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At A Colon January 11th 1823 Seth, Low	/"**********
Dated at Salem, January 11th, 1823. Seth Low, 111m Hathorn	ve. Cappraisers.
Julik Barnard, administratrix. Mark Pitme	en,
Essex, ss. At a court of probate holden at Salem in and for so	ud county on the first
Tuesday in April, AD. 1823 Judith Barnard, administr	atrix, presents the
aforewritten, and makes oath, that it contains a trick and perfe	et inventory of the
estate of Edward Bownard, late of Salem in said county, apo	thecary, deceased,
intestate, so far as has come to her hands or knowledge, and the	et, if any thing fur-
ther shall hereafter appear, she will cause it to be of vecord	herewith in the pro-
as the distance of the the same has account	id allowed and ve-
corded.  Recorded from the original, and examined by North Le	A. White, Phob.
Dill He is a faminal hartifeth	
flecorded from the original, and examined by	ording register.

## 23 Jan. 1856 will of Copt. Edward Barnard.

The Edward Bransward of Salum, in the country of Esser, ship master being now in pay usual health and of sound and disposing mind and memory do make this present writing to be my last will and testament as follows were.

I order my executive hereinsifter manuel to pay all my just debts and reasonable; funcral charges out of my personal estate as soon as conveniently may be after my disease.

my dicease :

First . As a token of my affectionale remembrance . I give to each of my two sous Edward and Thomas the seun of len dollars believing that they need less the small property I am possessed of them others who are dependent upon mo:

Second. And after the payments aforesaid. I give all the rost, oresidue and remainder of my estate and property. real and personal, unto my beloved wife, Julia Barnard. during her natural life; preaming that she shall expend the income and any part of the principal which she may find, pecessary to the income. and any part of the principal which she may find, pecessary to the income. and any part of the principal which she may find, pecessary to the mointenance of horself and children. now prembers of my family: and at her decease. what remains of my said estate and property shall be equally divided among Julia Barnard, my wife's child, and my adopted child, and my own children Barjanian to Barnard, and Elizabeth Barnard, to them, their hairs, executors, administrators and assigns forever, in equal shares, to whom Inow give devise and bequeath the same after the decease of my said wife, as aforesaid.

And I appoint my said wife to be the executive of this will , and horsby , revoke all formore wills .

In withines whereof I the said Edward Barnard have herewite set my hand and said the twenty third day of January AD our thousand, eight hundred and fifty six