

*39 Washington Square North
Salem, Mass.*

Built by

William Roberts

Mason

1826

History of House & Occupants 39 Washington Square North, Salem

by Robert Booth, Nov. 2009

This house was built in 1826 by William Roberts, mason. He was succeeded by owners William Treadwell, Stephen W. Shepard, and Nehemiah Brown. From 1847 onward, it was owned by Capt. Francis Brown and family for many years.

On 7 October 1825 William Fairfield Gardner, a Salem merchant of Essex Street, for \$7000 sold to William Roberts, a Salem stone mason, the buildings and land that Gardner's father Jonathan had purchased in 1792 (other than strips taken for street widening), running southerly 197' 6" on Winter Street, running east 222' 2" on Brown Street, running north 171' 2" on Pleasant Street, and running west 250' 6" on land of David Robbins and Samuel Roberts.¹

On the westernmost part of this parcel, Mr. Roberts, an ambitious Salem mason, proceeded to build a large brick house.

William Roberts (1783-1870) was born in Danvers just after the close of the Revolutionary War, the son of William Roberts (1759-1784), a mariner, and Rebecca Goldthwait. His father came from Martha's Vineyard and fought in the Revolutionary War as a privateer. In 1782 he became a member of the Essex Lodge of Freemasons. He was first mate on a Salem vessel commanded by Capt. Jacob Wilds (also originally from Martha's Vineyard); and they were on their passage from the Vineyard to Salem when vessel and all hands were lost at sea in 1784. William's widow Rebecca married, second, John Osborn (1763-1819), of South Danvers (now Peabody). Mr. Osborn was William's stepfather and may have taught him the trade of stone-mason, plasterer, and brick-layer. He was apprenticed to learn his trade in 1797 or so, aged about fourteen; and he became a journeyman circa 1803. He was attracted to the prosperous seaport of Salem, where ship-owners were sending their vessels 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

¹ Essex South Deeds, book 238, leaf 241.

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.”²

The Crowninshields, led by brother Jacob, were especially successful, as their holdings rose from three vessels in 1800 to several in 1803. Their bailiwick, the Derby Street district, seemed almost to be 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. The West End was still under development: before 1800 Federal Street, known as New Street, had more empty lots than fine houses; and 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 almshouse. As the 19th century advanced, Salem’s commercial prosperity would sweep away almost all of the great downtown houses (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

² See D. Hurd’s *History of Essex County*, 1888, p.65

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 known 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 shipmaster father would die of fever while on a voyage to the Caribbean. 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.

William Roberts was in Salem with a promising career; and by the end of 1804 he had become engaged to marry Sally Sanderson, the daughter of Deacon Elijah Sanderson (1752-1825) of Federal Street, a prominent cabinet-maker (furniture-maker) who had come to Salem about

1783 from Lexington. William and Sally married on June 16, 1805; and William Sanderson Roberts was born in 1806, the first of seven children.

William Roberts, mason, for \$284 purchased in December, 1805, from Jonathan Buffum, a lot in Northfields on Buffum Street; and he sold the same in January, 1807, for \$425.³ In November, 1806, for \$700 he purchased a parcel of land on a court off Federal Street, on which he built a house as a residence. It was a good time for master bricklayers in Salem, for many new and grand houses, as well as business blocks, were being built in brick, some of them to the designs of Samuel McIntire.

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 policy 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.

Beginning late in 1806, 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-

³ ED 178:62

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.

From 1809 through 1811 William Roberts probably had his share of work in a resurgent Salem. By 1810 William was called a "gentleman" when he took out a \$500 loan from Mrs. Rebecca Cabot (ED 191:34). A gentleman was the term for someone who did not work with his hands, but employed others. By 1812 he was affluent enough to loan money as a private banker (ED 195:298).

Salem's commerce with the world was repeatedly interrupted by the British, which intercepted neutral trading vessels and often impressed American sailors into their navy. Despite many warnings and negotiations, the British refused to alter their policies, and pushed President Madison into a position where he had few choices other than hostilities. In June, 1812, war was declared against Britain.

Although the merchants had tried to prevent the war, when it came, Salem swiftly fitted out 40 privateers manned by Marblehead and Salem crews, who also served on U.S. Navy vessels, including the frigate *Constitution*. Many more local vessels could have been sent against the British, but some of the Federalist merchants held them back. In addition, Salem fielded companies of infantry and artillery. Salem and Marblehead privateers were largely successful in making prizes of British supply vessels. While many of the town's men were wounded in engagements, and some were killed, the possible riches of privateering kept the men returning to sea as often as possible. The first prizes were captured by a 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. In 1814 Mr. Roberts for just \$120 bought a five-acre parcel in North Salem (ED 203:176).

On land, the war went poorly for the United States, as the British captured Washington, DC, and burned the Capitol and the White House. Along the western frontier, U.S. forces were successful against the weak English forces; and, as predicted by many, the western expansionists had their day. At sea, as time wore on, Salem vessels were captured, and its

men imprisoned or killed. After almost three years, the war was bleeding the town dry. Hundreds of Salem men and boys were in British prison-ships and at Dartmoor Prison in England. At the Hartford Convention in 1814, New England Federalist delegates met to consider what they could do to bring the war to a close and to restore the region's commerce. Sen. Timothy Pickering of Salem, the leader of the extreme Federalists, did not attend; and the Convention refrained 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.

In 1817 William Roberts was a charter member of the Salem Charitable Mechanics Association. That was a busy year for him: he made loans and bought lots on Mall Street and Federal Street, and acquired a small wharf near Burying Point (per land records). He and Sally had a family of five children, and soon would have two more.

William Roberts (1783-1870), born Danvers, s/o Wm. Roberts & Rebecca Goldthwait, died in Salem 1870. He m. 16 June 1805 Sarah Sanderson ("Sally"), dtr. of Elijah & Elizabeth Sanderson. Known issue:

1. *William S., 1806, m. 1829 Susan E. Cook*
2. *Sarah R., 1808, m. 1833 John B. Runnels*
3. *Benjamin Peele, 1811, died 1837.*
4. *Mary E., 1814, m. 1840 Edward W. Morse*
5. *Faustina M., 1816, m. 1839 Nathan Milliken*
6. *Susan Symonds, 1818, m. 1845 Wm. S. Colby*
7. *Elijah S., 1820, died 10 Oct. 1823.*

In October, 1819, Mr. Roberts acquired half of a North Salem tract (ED 222:278). In the next month occurred the death of William's stepfather, John Osborne.

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, their 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 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. William Roberts added to his Federal Street house-lot in January, 1824. On July 30 William’s mother died: the widow Mrs. Rebecca (Goldthwait) Roberts-Osborne evidently left him as her sole heir.

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.

As has been mentioned, in October, 1825, for \$7000 Mr. Roberts purchased the large parcel fronting on then-Brown Street, overlooking the Common.

In 1825 his father-in-law Elijah Sanderson died.

Here on Washington Square, William Roberts commenced to build the large brick double house on the west side of the lot. Unfortunately, the sinking fortunes of Salem hit him very hard in the next few months; and he suffered grave financial reverses. The expenses involved in putting up the houses were more than he could afford, and he was forced to assign his property to trustees in the summer of 1826.

On 7 August 1826 an advertisement in the *Salem Gazette* was placed by the trustees of the creditors of William Roberts, offering for sale the

block of two four-story brick dwelling houses and vacant land staked out for eight house lots, all bounded at “the foot of the Mall” corner of Brown, Winter, and Pleasant Streets. Various buyers came forward, looking for a bargain.

On 25 Nov. 1826 the trustees of the creditors of William Roberts for \$3020 sold to William Treadwell, wood wharfinger, the western tenement in a certain block of brick buildings, with the land bounded 33’ on Brown Street, west 100’ on Winter Street, north 28’ 6” on a new street, and east and northeast 100’ on the buildings and lot adjoining (ED 245:27). At the same time, Mr. Roberts’ children purchased his Federal Street homestead.

William Roberts, his wife Sally, and some of their children moved away to New York to start over, like many another Salem family at that time. He was evidently successful, and within a few years he returned and resumed his work as a bricklayer. In 1831 he resided on Federal Street in a house owned by his mother-in-law (per 1831 valuations). He never attempted another large development like the large double house on Brown Street.

William Treadwell (1781-1844).

William Treadwell, the new owner, was a native of Ipswich, where he was born in 1781, the son of a farmer, Elisha Treadwell, and Lydia Crocker. He came to Salem as a housewright, and married Elizabeth Bancroft in May, 1803. She was the daughter of Daniel Bancroft, a master carpenter who may have employed Mr. Treadwell. Sadly, she died in November, 1804 (evidently leaving a daughter Elizabeth); and he married, second, in 1805, her young widowed sister, Hannah (Bancroft) Parker. They had a daughter Hannah in 1806, then John C., then Mary I., then Lydia A. in 1813, then Charles W. (1816-1888), who would go on to graduate from Amherst College and become a minister in New York and Iowa.⁴ By 1826 William Treadwell was a ship-owner as well as the proprietor of a wharf-based lumber yard, or wood-wharfinger.

Like William Roberts, William Treadwell did not prosper in Salem’s faltering economy; and he became insolvent.⁵ In February, 1830, for \$4110 Treadwell and his assignees sold to merchant Stephen W. Shepard the western tenement in a certain block of brick buildings, etc (ED 254:278).

⁴ Hannah Treadwell died of consumption on 23 May 1819, aged 13 years; Lydia died of typhus fever on 18 Dec. 1835, aged 22 years.

⁵ William Treadwell’s wife Hannah died on 25 May 1833, aged 57 years. He m/3 21 Jan. 1835 Eliza Mansfield (1788-1847), a native of Norwich, Conn. He predeceased her, and died of apoplexy on 22 Aug. 1844, aged 63 years, in Salem

Stephen Webb Shepard (1790-1856).

Mr. Shepard resided here in 1831, with his homestead valued at \$3500 and personal estate at a thin \$1500 (p. 45, 1831 valuation). Compared with his neighbors, Mr. Shepard was overextended and likely had to rely on credit to maintain his mercantile enterprises

He was born in 1790, the son of Capt. Jeremiah Shepard and Eliza Webb, of Salem. Stephen's father, Jeremiah, was a hatter and grocer with a grocery store on the north side of the Common and a hat shop on Essex Street at the corner of Walnut (now Hawthorne Boulevard). One of his older brothers, Michael Shepard (b. 1786) led the way for Stephen in many of the activities of the town. In 1808 Stephen joined the Salem Light Infantry; like Michael, he was a Republican (Jeffersonian) in politics, and participated in the War of 1812 as a part-owner of privateers, including the *Fanny* and the Whites' *Grand Turk*. In 1813 he married Eliza Rea, probably the daughter of Archelaus Rea and Mary Cook of Danvers. She had children with Stephen (Stephen O., Sarah R., Edward W.) and died in February, 1820, aged 27 years. He married, second, in April, 1821, Elizabeth T. Mansfield. She ("Betsey") was the daughter of Daniel H. Mansfield and Martha Tucker; and her brother Daniel married Stephen's sister Sarah (see *Jacobs Family*, EHC vol. 1). In 1822 Mrs. Shepard gave birth to a son, whom they named Daniel M.; he would grow up to become a portrait painter and muralist. They would have at least four more children, Elizabeth (c.1823), Ruth (b. 1825), Martha (b. 1827), and Michael (b. 1831).

Over the years, Stephen W. Shepard would own shares in the following Salem merchant vessels:

- 132-ton brig *Albert* (1827, with Edward Stanley of Daniels Street),
Cepheus,
- 105-ton schooner *Fanny* (captured in War of 1812, co-owned 1815 and 1816 with Archelaus Rea and others),
Hope (in trade with Sumatra),
- 167-ton brig *Jeremiah*, (1827, with W.P. Endicott, David Pingree, and John Day),
- 211-ton brig *Midas* (1826, with Charles Hart—sold 1827),
New Priscilla (see below),
- 151-ton brig *Pamelia* (1834, with T.P. Pingree and Nathan Smith),
- 112-ton schooner *Penguin* (1825, with Ebenezer Symonds Jr.),
- 178-ton brig *Rebecca* (1832, with David Pingree and others),
- 135-ton brig *Sally Ann* (1828, with Anthony D. Caulfield, her master), and

141-ton brig *Sally Barker*, Capt. Thomas Palfray (1827, with William Treadwell, Wm. Brown, and others).

Stephen Webb Shepard (1790-1856), s/o Jeremiah Shepard & Elizabeth Webb, died 6 Dec. 1856. He m. 5 Sept. 1813 Elizabeth Rea (1792-1820), d/o Archelaus Rea & Mary Cook, died February, 1820. He m/2 12 April 1821 Elizabeth Tucker Mansfield (1799-1873), d/o Daniel Mansfield & Martha Tucker, died 31 Dec. 1873. Known issue, surname Shepard:
by *Elizabeth Rea:*

1. *Stephen Osgood, 14 Aug. 1816, m. 1847 Lucinda Harris; lawyer of Albany, NY.*
2. *Sarah Rea, m. Daniel H. Mansfield*
3. *Edward Wheelock, died at 26.*

by *Elizabeth Mansfield:*

4. *Daniel Mansfield, 1822, artist.*
5. *Elizabeth Tucker, 1823?, died at 16.*
6. *Ruth Webb, 1825*
7. *Martha Tucker, 1827*
8. *Michael, 1831*

Stephen W. Shepard was a ship-owner and merchant, and he prospered through the 1820s. In 1823 he was an importer of pepper on board the Barrs' ship *Hope*, from Sumatra (see G.G. Putnam). In 1825 he was a co-owner of the schooner *Penguin*, with Eben Symonds Jr. and the master, Charles Hart; she sailed in May, 1825, and was cast away near Maranhao, Brazil, but Hart and the crew survived (see *Salem and Beverly Ship Registers*). S. W. Shepard had a counting house at which he employed various clerks, including the boy Charles H. Allen, fifteen, who did not like ledger work, and was allowed to ship out on Mr. Shepard's brig *Midas* in 1826 (see G.G. Putnam's write-up of C.H. Allen). In 1827, Stephen Shepard was co-owner of several vessels. One of his partners was Capt. Charles Hart, with whom in 1825 he had owned the *Penguin* and in 1826 the brig *Midas*, which they sold in New York in 1827, having purchased the 125-ton brig *New Priscilla*, built at Scituate in 1822, 75 feet long, 22' beam.

Charles Hart was a native of Malden who had come to Salem by the age of sixteen, when he sailed in 1804 as a seaman on board the White-owned brig *Hannah*, Capt. C.C. Byrne, for the Orient. He advanced to the rank of mate, probably sailed as a privateer in the War of 1812, and was a first mate in 1815, when he married Frances Wellington, 24, the daughter of a Salem tanner; and they would have children Frances (b. 1816), Charles Jr. (b. 1822, who became a prominent lawyer in providence), and Edward

A. (b. 1827). Charles was an East India shipmaster by 1818 (per Bentley).⁶ By 1821 he, 33, was master of the *Minerva*. In October, 1827, the *New Priscilla* sailed for the West Indies under Captain Hart, with John Waters 3rd as mate and a crew of six. Her next voyage, to West Indies in May, was a brief one—three of the crewmen deserted at Havana.



Capt. Charles Hart (from Francis Bradlee's article, Suppression of Piracy...)

Captain Hart was back in Salem with the *New Priscilla* by September. He took on Thomas Standley, 25, of Beverly, as his mate, and hired a crew of four Salem men—James Kittredge, 38, Charles Harris, 23, Joseph Lee, 26, and Joseph Wellington, 26, probably Hart's brother-in-law, and a boy, William P. Welsh, 15, a native of Damariscotta, Maine. Captain Hart and his crew sailed for the West Indies on Oct. 2, 1828, on a voyage to continue to Sumatra. It was recalled that "the specie (gold and silver) for this voyage was driven down from the banks in Essex Street in several four-horse stages and delivered at the wharf, so that it need not be on deposit overnight. Upon receiving it, the (crew of the) brig made sail." She touched at Matanzas, and went on to Havana, arriving about Oct. 20th. Thence she went to Charleston, SC, from which Captain Hart and crew made two passages to the West Indies. They arrived at Charleston on January 22, 1829, and sailed shortly after (evidently two crewmen had decided not to go on, spooked by the howling of a big black dog on the Charleston nighttime waterfront). Nothing was heard until a letter arrived from Havana, written by Capt. John Corregan, a New York shipmaster at Matanzas. He recounted that on February 14th, entering the Keysal Bank in sight of the Dog Keys, he saw a hermaphrodite brig and schooner together,

⁶ Charles & Frances Hart had a daughter, Caroline, born in 1818, who died on 27 April 1827, aged eight years, of a disease of the ear.

lying to the wind. As he approached them, they both filled away, then tacked for about 15 minutes; then the schooner sailed away from the brig. Coming up with her, Captain Corregan and men found that she was "The New Priscilla, of Salem," and had been deserted, with her boat gone and not a soul on board. They concluded that the men had been murdered and that the schooner had been manned by pirates.⁷

In January, 1829, Stephen Shepard was an incorporator of the Salem Federal Street Brewery (see state legislature records); and he was a director of the Mercantile Bank and a member of the Salem Marine Society. In that year too he became involved in an incident at the Salem Grammar School, a public prep school instructed by Theodore Eames. Teachers in those days used the ferule on their students for minor transgressions, and Eames was no different; but the school committee had suggested that corporal punishment be discontinued. Eames used the ferule on Shepard's son (Stephen or Edward), and Shepard objected; Eames was censured (and resigned), and Shepard joined the school committee in 1830 (see appended material, EIHC 91:60).

Salem was floundering economically; prospects were grim. 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.

In 1830 occurred a horrifying 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 stabbed him to death in his sleep. All of Salem buzzed with rumors; but within a few months it was discovered that the murderer was the nephew of a Senator and Congressman, Dick Crowninshield (he killed himself, and was found dead in his cell by the jail-keeper, Nehemiah Brown). He had been hired by his friends, Capt. White's own relatives, the young shipmasters Joe and Frank Knapp (they would be executed). The murder, and related lurid events, tarnished Salem further, and more families quit the now-notorious town.

⁷ See Francis B.C. Bradlee, *The Suppression of Piracy in the West Indies, 1820-1832*, EIHC; see also Corregan's Feb. 26 statement, printed in the Philadelphia Gazette and copied elsewhere, including *The Bee* (New Orleans) for 1 April 1829.

Stephen W. Shepard remained active in Salem business. In March, 1831, he was an incorporator of the Naumkeag Bank (see legislative records of state legislature). By 1836 he was the treasurer of the Salem Bible Translation & Foreign Mission Society, a Baptist enterprise.⁸ 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. Stephen W. Shepard served ward two on the first City Council (see 1837 Directory); and at that time he was a merchant with counting rooms at 21 Union Wharf (*ibid*). 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.

It did not happen soon enough for Stephen W. Shepard and his family. He became insolvent; and in July, 1837, his assignees for \$2402 sold to Susannah, the wife of Nehemiah Brown, Esq., this homestead,

⁸ See *Triennial Baptist Report*, No. 2, 1836

subject to a mortgage to John S. Felton (ED 299:150; see dower right conveyed, 1840, for \$200, ED 320:178). In 1841 the S.W. Shepards resided at then-30 Bridge Street (per 1842 Directory). In 1844 (Street Books, ward four) and 1845 they resided at then-4 North Street, near the corner of Essex, as did Daniel M. Shepard, portrait painter with studio at Lynde Place (per 1846 Directory); ditto in 1848 per Street Books (Daniel M. Shepard listed as aged 26). In 1845 D.M. Shepard painted the walls of a remodeled First Congregational church in Bolton, Mass., in fresco.⁹

By 1849, Stephen W. Shepard was the wharfinger at Central Wharf, Central Wharf being the headquarters of Stephen's brother Michael Shepard, a successful merchant (per 1850 Directory). The Stephen W. Shepard homestead in the spring of 1850 consisted of himself, sixty, merchant, his wife Elizabeth, 49, and their offspring, Daniel M., 27, artist, Ruth W., 24, Martha T., 22, and Michael, 19, commission merchant (per 1850 census, ward 4, house #460).

By 1854 Stephen held that same job but was residing at then-25 Brown Street (see 1855 Directory). He would die on December 6, 1856, survived by his widow and children.

The new owner of this house (#39), Mr. Brown, was the city jailkeeper; his eldest son Nehemiah Brown Jr. was a lawyer. The two Brown families resided here. Nehemiah Brown was born in Ipswich, a son of Nehemiah Brown & Mary Choate; his brother Ammi Brown had also been the Salem jailkeeper, by 1815. Nehemiah Brown Jr. married Susannah Smith in Ipswich in 1819.

There was a remarkable connection between the Baker sisters and Brown brothers of Ipswich and Salem: Mary Baker married Michael Brown (1802); Dorcas Baker married Capt. William Brown (1810; parents of Edward); Hannah Baker married Ammi Brown (1814); and Anna Baker married Capt. William Brown as his second wife (he died at sea, 1833, master of the ship *Nile*). All of them moved to Salem and prospered. In addition, one of the Baker sisters' brothers, Asa Baker (1795-1865), was a Salem mariner.

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

In the face of these changes, some members of Salem's waning merchant class continued to pursue their sea-borne businesses into the

⁹ see p.139, *The Monthly Religious Magazine*, volume II, Boston 1845, re D.M. Shepard, "a young but highly promising artist."

1840s; but it was an ebb tide, with strong headwinds. 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.

On 5 November 1847 Nehemiah Brown Esq. and wife Susannah for \$3500 sold the premises to Michael Shepard; and for the same amount he sold them to Salem mariner, Francis Brown, the nephew of the previous owners (ED 390:263, 391:31)

Francis Brown was born in Salem on August 5, 1815, the son of the jail-keeper, Ammi Brown, and his wife Hannah (Baker) Brown. The Ammi Brown family resided on Prison Lane (Saint Peter Street) in the new brick jail-keeper's house, which doubled as a prison. Ammi Brown was born in 1776 in Ipswich, a son of Nehemiah Brown & Mary Choate. He remained jail-keeper until his death, of a lumbar abscess, on Oct. 4, 1827, aged 51 years. Francis was then only twelve. Within two years or so Francis was

apprenticed to a shipmaster and began his seafaring career as a cabin boy. He proved to be a talented mariner. In September, 1831, he sailed as a 16-year-old seaman on board the brig *Neptune*, Capt. William Osgood, bound for the Orient (see Mystic Seaport crew lists; he stood 5' 5" tall, with light complexion and dark hair). No doubt he had a very interesting time in the East Indies. By 1835 or so he was evidently a first mate on merchant vessels; and he was affluent enough to be a part-owner (with his cousin Edward Brown, Michael Shepard, and others) of the new bark *Star*, 212 tons burthen, Capt. Benjamin Conant (EIHC 41:371). By 1836 he was a young merchant, in partnership with Ebenezer Seccomb as Seccomb & Brown, Merchants, at Forrester's Wharf, then-117 Derby Street; he resided at then-11 Oliver Street with his widowed mother Hannah Baker Brown, brother William H. (mariner) and Hannah's widowed sister Anna Brown and Anna's two children, a daughter and a son Edward, a mariner (per Salem Directory, 1837). In 1838 Francis Brown was an owner of the bark *Star*, 212 tons burthen, Capt. Benjamin Conant (see EIHC 41:371)

On March 5, 1840, Francis Brown, 24, married Ellen Maria Appleton, 23, of Salem, a daughter of Nathaniel Appleton, cabinetmaker of Northey Street, and Susannah Stone. They had a daughter Ellen A. in 1841 and a son Francis A. in November, 1843 (he died at the age of one month); and they would have other children. In 1841, they resided with Francis' mother at then-11 Oliver Street (per Directory). Francis was a mariner, no longer in business with Eben Seccomb. As Capt. Francis Brown he sailed in 1841 in command of the Salem bark *Brazil*, 250 tons burthen, on a voyage to the Pepper Coast of Sumatra, leaving Muki on June 19 and returning on Nov. 11, 1842 with a cargo of pepper for J.F. Andrew and others, paying a duty of \$4607. Captain Brown reported very heavy weather in the North Atlantic, as hard gales forced him to cross the Gulf Stream three different times before reaching Massachusetts Bay (see EIHC 58:178).

By 1843 Capt. Francis Brown was master of the Salem ship *Carolina*, 395 tons burthen, owned by himself and Isaac Cushing of Salem (see EIHC 40:52). Francis was also a part-owner in 1843 of the bark *Brazil*, 250 tons burthen, Capt. Nathaniel Andrew (EIHC 39:208). Next year, in May, 1844, he was master of the same vessel, bound for India, with first mate William B. Davis, 29, and second mate Michael Brown, 23, probably his cousin, and a crew of 13 hands (see Mystic Seaport records). In 1845 the Francis Brown family resided at the other end of Brown Street at then-30 (#39 Washington Square was then #5 Brown Street; per Directory).

As mentioned, Capt. Francis Brown bought this homestead in 1847. In the 1848 Street Books, Francis Brown resides at then-25 Winter Street (ward two), which was this house; and in 1849 he, "captain," resided at the same address (per 1850 Directory). In 1849 he was a part-owner of the bark

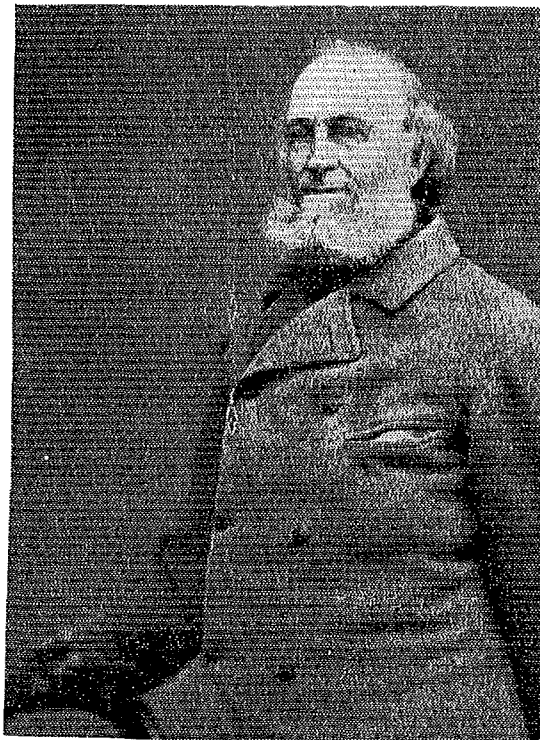
Lucia Maria, 222 tons burthen, Capt. Lewis F. Miller. He evidently sailed as master on voyages to the Orient, but from Boston and not from Salem.

In 1850 the census taker recorded the inhabitants of this house (#249, ward two, 1850 census) as follows: Francis Brown, 35, mariner, Ellen M., 34, Ellen A., nine, Susan W., five, Anna B., three, Sarah H., one; and maid Mary Leary, 19, born in Ireland. In 1851 Francis was part-owner of the bark *Arthur Pickering*, 254 tons burthen, commanded by his cousin Capt. Edward Brown (EIHC 39:197). Capt. Francis Brown continued to go to sea, sometimes all the way to China, where he traded from Macao (EIHC 86, 87). In 1854, this house was again being identified as #5 Brown Street (residence of Capt. Francis Brown, per 1855 Salem Directory).

Francis Brown (1815-1880), son of Ammi Brown & Hannah Baker, died Salem 16 Nov. 1880. He m. 1840 Ellen M. Appleton (b. 1816), dtr. of Nathaniel Appleton & Susannah Stone. Known issue:

1. *Ellen Appleton, 1841*
2. *Frank A., 1843, died Dec. 1843.*
3. *Susan Woodbury, 1845*
4. *Anna Baker, 1847*
5. *Sarah Hale, 1849*
6. *Frank A., 1852*
7. *Arthur H., 1857*
8. *Henry S., 1859*

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' India Wharf) could be run cheaply out to Lowell to help fuel the boilers of the mills, whose output of textiles could be freighted easily to Salem for shipment by water. This innovation, although not long-lived, was a much-needed boost to Salem's economy as a port and transportation center. Salem's growth continued through the 1850s, as business and industries expanded, the population swelled, 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).



Capt. Francis Brown (1815-1880), from EIHC 58 (G.G. Putnam article)

Among the new businesses in Salem was the Salem Gaslight Company, founded in 1850 and based at the end of Northey Street, which supplied the gas for lighting Salem at night. The gas was piped down the streets, and cost \$3.50 per 1000 cubic feet. Francis Brown was an investor in this company, and made his living primarily as its Treasurer and Superintendent by 1856 (see 1857 Directory, also description of business on p. 236 of 1859 Directory). In the 1850s the Browns would add three boys to their family: Frank, Arthur, and Henry.

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

By 1860, with the election of Abraham Lincoln, it was clear that the Southern states would secede from the union; and Salem, which had done so much to win the independence of the nation, was ready to go to war to force others to remain a part of it. In that year the census-taker listed at this house (#1758, ward two, 1860 census) the following: Francis Brown, 44, agent of gas company, Ellen, 44, Ellen A., 19, Susan W., 15, Anna B., 13, Sarah H., 11, Frank A., 7, Arthur H., 3, Henry S., one; and maid Mary Sullivan, born Ireland.

The Civil War began in April, 1861, and went on for four years, during which hundreds of Salem men served in the army and navy, and many were killed or died of disease or abusive treatment while imprisoned.

Hundreds more suffered wounds, or broken health. The people of Salem contributed greatly to efforts to alleviate the suffering of the soldiers, sailors, and their families; and there was great celebration when the war finally ended in the spring of 1865, just as President Lincoln was assassinated. The four years of bloodshed and warfare were over; the slaves were free; 800,000 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.

In 1863 or so, an addition was built onto the rear of the house; and a wooden barn stood against the passageway at the back of the lot. In January, 1864, Capt. Francis Brown conveyed his homestead to his wife, Ellen (ED 661:233). In this deed he refers to the wooden barn and the “new two story brick addition to the main house.”

In 1866 Francis Brown was an owner of the whaling bark *William H. Shailer*, 243 tons burthen, Capt. George A. Marshall; in 1867 he was an owner of the bark *Said Bin Sultan*, 302 tons burthen, Capt. James W. Holmes; and in 1868 he was an owner of the brig *Star*, 314 tons burthen, Capt. Samuel Sparrow (see EHC 41, 42). 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.

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.

Francis Brown died on November 16, 1880, aged 65 years. His homestead would remain in the family until 1944.¹⁰

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

¹⁰ In March, 1944, Francis Brown and Mrs. Edith D. Abbot of Salem sold the place to Mary Louise Field of Salem, ED 3365:1.

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.

Salem kept growing. The Canadians were followed in the early 20th century by large numbers of Polish and Ukrainian families, who settled primarily in the Derby Street neighborhood. By the eve of World War One, Salem was a bustling, polyglot city that supported large department stores and large factories of every description. People from the surrounding towns, and Marblehead in particular, came to Salem to do their shopping; and its handsome government buildings, as befit the county seat, were busy with conveyances of land, lawsuits, and probate proceedings. The city's politics were lively, and its economy was strong.

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

received much support and generous donations from all over the country and the world. It was one of the greatest urban disasters in the history of the United States, and the people of Salem would take years to recover from it. Eventually, they did, and many of the former houses and businesses were rebuilt; and several urban-renewal projects (including Hawthorne Boulevard, which involved removing old houses and widening old streets) were put into effect.

By the 1920s, Salem was once again a thriving city; and its tercentenary in 1926 was a time of great celebration. The Depression hit in 1929, and continued through the 1930s. Salem, the county seat and regional retail center, gradually rebounded, and prospered after World War II through the 1950s and into the 1960s. Sylvania, Parker Brothers, Pequot Mills (formerly Naumkeag Steam Cotton Co.), Almy's department store, various other large 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 masons, merchants, wharfingers, mariners, and mill-operatives are all honored as a large part of what makes Salem different from any other place.

Glossary & Sources

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

--Robert Booth

