

## **Two Broad Street Salem**

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as a warehouse

Converted to a residence in 1834 for  
Benjamin Cox, merchant

Home of Albert G. Browne,  
ropemaker, ship chandler, merchant, politician, and abolitionist



(Albert G. Browne, 1805-1885, from Masonic photograph)

## **Two Broad Street, Salem**

According to available evidence, this house was built for Capt. Thomas Eden, shipmaster, as a warehouse (store and storage building) c. 1762. It remained a warehouse for more than 70 years, and in 1834 was converted to a residence by Benjamin Cox, merchant. For many years it was the home of Cox's son-in-law, Albert G. Browne (1805-1885), rope-maker, ship chandler, merchant, abolitionist, and member of the Governor's Council.

Thomas Eden (1723-1768) was a Marbleheader, the son of Thomas Eden and Jane Majory of that town. He was raised as a sailor-lad in the 1730s and in the late 1740s got command of local vessels. In 1751 he married Mary West, the widow of John Beadle, of Salem. They would have four children, two boys and two girls: Thomas Jr., Jonathan, Sally (Sarah), and Hitty (Mehitable). Capt. Eden moved to Salem in the late 1750s and rose to the front rank of Salem merchant shipmasters.

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

Most merchant vessels were small, under 60 tons. The salt water came in as the South River along Derby Street and all the way to the present Post Office; and in this secure deep-water inner harbor were most of the wharves and warehouses, although some wharves were built along the North River too. The Browne family, whose houses stood on Essex Street downtown, dominated Salem's society, and the Brownes were leading merchants of the early 1700s, followed by Benjamin Pickman (1708-1773), Samuel Gardner, Timothy Orne, and, by the 1750s, Richard Derby (1712-1783). Salem's colonial commerce was active but the imperial authorities limited the Salem merchants to trade with designated British possessions. To the extent that the Salem merchants broke the rules by smuggling and trading with un-approved partners, they made good profits.

During the 1750s, Capt. Eden was almost constantly at sea, at first on voyages to the southern colonies and the Caribbean, and then, starting in 1755, in command of the 100-ton snow (brig) *Bilbao*, making five transatlantic voyages to Spain by 1759 (EIHC 62:308,315). He sailed as a shipmaster in the West Indies for a couple of years more, avoiding French privateers and making good money (EIHC 68:349, 48:90). In April, 1761, for 66.13.4 he purchased from Jonathan Neal, husbandman, the corner lot, bounded 3 poles 18 links (about 61') easterly on the highway leading from the main street to the work house, and southerly 6 poles 12 links (107') on the highway between the premises and the said work house (ED 110:40). In 1762 he "came ashore" and set up as a merchant and ship-owner, probably in partnership with his brother-in-law William West. In 1762 he built a fine house on "the road to Marblehead" (Summer Street), at the corner of Broad Street. At that time or shortly after, he built a large warehouse for the storage and sale of imports and exports. The waterfront was then only a block away, down Mill Street. The warehouse probably had retail stores downstairs and storage upstairs. Salt fish and salt were among the goods stored, for Capt. Eden owned a fishing schooner, the *Thomas* (probably named for his son) in 1765.

In the 1760s, after Canada and the Ohio Valley were taken from the French, the English decided to pay for the costs of war and of sustaining an American administrative bureaucracy by squeezing tax revenues out of the colonials' trade. Although they had been under royal governors for two generations, the Americans had been self-governing by town meetings at the local level and, at the provincial level, through an elected legislature. They regarded themselves as a free people, and not as dependents of a far-away mother country. Merchants and mariners had always traded with the Spanish and Dutch in Europe and the various islands of the Caribbean, regardless of their national affiliations; and they deeply resented the British crack-down on this trade, accompanied by privateering against American vessels by both the French and the British.

In 1761, a group of Salem and Boston merchants sued to prevent the use of search warrants ("writs of assistance") by the Customs officials who were trying to inspect their vessels and warehouses. In the courtroom, attorney James Otis Jr. electrified the audience with his attack on British arrogance and his argument for American rights and liberties—an event that John Adams later identified as the birth of "the child independence." Later in the decade, Salemites were roused against the Stamp Act, and applied tar and feathers to a couple of men who disagreed. In Boston, the opposition was even larger and more determined, as mobs attacked the royal officials' houses and beat up their flunkies. The British authorities were surprised at the Americans' resistance to their policies, and feared an insurrection. In 1768, they sent over a small army of occupation and installed it in Boston.

At this time, at the height of his success, Capt. Eden died, aged 44 years, on July 1, 1768. His death must have come as a profound shock to his wife and family of four little children, one of them just two years old. Fortunately, he left them in comfortable circumstances, with property including two schooners (*Nancy* and *Three Sisters*) and his homestead, consisting of dwelling house, land, and “a warehouse belonging to the same” (#8568). The inventory of property, taken in January, 1769 (appended) lists, on its third page, items that were stored and sold in the warehouse, including cordage, nails, iron, axes, augers, barrels of fish, barrels of pitch, four cannons, 25 ½ hogsheads (large barrels) of salt, 25 water barrels, etc. The warehouse, or part of it, also served as a barn, and he had a cow and a large horse. He also ran a fish-fence and fish-house (where landings of codfish were cured into salt cod), had a share in a fire-engine, and was owed 15.12.0 by John Derby. Mrs. Mary (West) Eden did not re-marry.

In Salem, as in Boston, most people began to think in terms of independence. A new Salem newspaper, the *Essex Gazette*, was strongly pro-liberty, and helped people to stay abreast of the independence movement that was gathering force throughout the colonies. In Boston, there was bitter public opposition to the British redcoats and more street violence, climaxing in the Boston Massacre in March, 1770. All of Massachusetts turned openly against the British, and the clouds of war gathered on the horizon.

Pre-revolutionary Salem had more than its share of Tories; but the Sons of Liberty were in the majority. Wealthy scions of families like the Curwens, Pickmans, and Brownes, stayed loyal to the King, as did many others who had married into the merchant families. In 1774, military rule was imposed from England as Gen. Thomas Gage became governor of Massachusetts and the port of Boston was shut down in punishment for the Tea Party of December, 1773. On June 2, 1774, Salem became the new capital of Massachusetts, as a reward for its supposed loyalty. Governor Gage and his officials relocated to the North Shore, and the Customs operation was conducted from Marblehead, while Salem became the major seaport of New England, handling virtually all of the commercial business that Boston had done. Hundreds of new people moved to Salem, and the legislature met in Salem’s Court House. In short order that legislature, led by Sam Adams, turned into a rebel body, and voted to ignore British laws and to send delegates to a continental congress. Gage tried to shut it down, but it was too late: he had lost control of Massachusetts to the rebel assembly gathered in Salem. The town still had a powerful and outspoken group of loyalists, led by Peter Frye, a prominent merchant and magistrate whose wife was a Pickman. One night in October, Judge Frye learned just how far the rebels were willing to go: his fine house on Essex Street was burned down and his family barely escaped with their lives as half a block of houses and stores and a church all went up in smoke. Next day, the rebel assembly met again and voted to move their proceedings to

Concord. Gage and his officials moved to Boston, and many of the loyalists followed. Outside of Boston, all of Massachusetts was under the control of the rebels.

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

With the battle at Lexington & Concord, April 19<sup>th</sup>, 1775, the die was cast. Of course no one knew how the war would end, and there was little to indicate that the colonials could actually defeat the King's army and navy, but virtually every able-bodied Salem man and boy gave himself over to the cause. Salem's regiment participated in the siege of Boston, as George Washington took command of the army in Cambridge. The British left Boston in March, 1776, never to return. Washington's army was pushed southward from Long Island in a series of defeats, during which Salem's Col. Timothy Pickering became one of the General's most trusted officers, and Quartermaster General of the army. Washington's first victory was the Battle of Trenton, on Christmas Day, 1776, made possible by the Marblehead regiment of Gen. John Glover. Eventually most of the Salem men came home and sailed in privateers for the duration of the war, which continued at sea until 1783.

In some places, the post-war loss of the former colonial connections and trade routes was devastating, for Americans were prohibited from trading with most British possessions; but in Salem, the merchants and mariners were ready to push their ships and cargoes into all parts of the known world. They did so with astonishing success. For a period of about 25 years, Salem was a famous center of commercial enterprise: by virtue of competing fiercely, pioneering new routes, and opening and dominating new markets, Salem won a high place in the world. Hasket Derby, William Gray, Eben Beckford, and Joseph Peabody were the

town's commercial leaders. In 1784, Derby began trade with Russia; and in 1784 and 1785 he dispatched trading vessels to Africa and China, respectively. Voyages to India soon followed, and to the Spice Islands and Pepper Islands (Sumatra, Java, Malaya, etc.). Once again, Salem was a boom-town.

Capt. Eden's property remained in the family as his children grew to adulthood. Thomas Eden Jr. was in the fish business as a "shoreman," meaning that he owned a fishing vessel and operated a fishyard in which the catches of fish were cured for shipment overseas as "salt cod." He and his wife Dorcas had three sons, but he died in 1780, not yet thirty. The inventory of his property, taken in June, 1782, shows that he owned two chambers in the Eden house, a piece of land, and "one half of the barn or warehouse."

In the division of the real estate of Capt. Thomas Eden, completed on 3 July 1782, the "half of the store or barn at the eastern end with the land it stands on, and a piece of land in the garden on the north side", with other property, were awarded to Hitty (Mehitable) Eden and Sally (Sarah) Very, daughter of Capt. Thomas Eden (see Probate Book). Shortly after, Hitty Eden married Capt. Jonathan Neal.

Evidently Mrs. Very and Mrs. Neal conveyed their interests in the easterly end of the warehouse to their mother, Mrs. Mary West Eden; and in 1784 Mrs. Eden she sold the easterly half, with its land, to her son-in-law, Capt. Jonathan Neal, husband of Hitty Eden (ED 164:183). He owned the easterly warehouse for many years. In May, 1801, he purchased another 1/8 interest from other family members, the Edward Smiths (ED 169:56). This gave Jonathan Neal five-eighths of the overall warehouse premises by October, 1801, when he sold it and a share in the mansion house to Capt. George Eden, a son of the late Thomas Eden Jr. (ED 170:54). When Capt. George Eden died, his real estate was valued (1803) at \$800 (#8565); and it included, evidently, 5/8 of the warehouse and its land. The building remained a commercial structure, owned within the family, for another thirty years, with occasional conveyances related to it. In June, 1818, William Kelly, mariner (son of Dorcas, the widow of George Eden, by a second marriage), sold to Edward Smith, mariner, "all I own in the warehouse and the land under the same, supposed to be about 22 inches of the land and the building thereon" (ED 217:199). This was obviously a very small piece of the property and it is not clear how he acquired his title to this sliver.

Capt. Edward Smith died in 1829, leaving children and widow Sarah Eden Smith. In July, 1829, the Smith daughters (Mrs. Benjamin Cox, Mrs. Jesse Smith, Miss Mary E. Smith) conveyed to their mother Mrs. Sarah Smith the dwelling house, barn, and "outbuilding," being the whole former Thomas Eden estate (minus the small part belonging to Mary, widow of William Kelly, being a room in the house and a small piece of land), bounded easterly on Summer Street, southerly on

Broad Street, westerly on land of Morse, and northerly on land of Stone (ED 253:246).

Mrs. Sarah Smith, widow, died in 1833. Her estate was probated on 2 July 1833 (#27763). On 16 Sept. 1833 the estate of Mrs. Sarah Smith was sold for \$1600 to her son-in-law, Benjamin Cox, Salem merchant; it included all her buildings and land fronting on Summer Street and 100' on Broad Street (ED 274:6). Mr. Cox resided nearby, at then-19 Norman Street, as did his son Dr. Benjamin Cox Jr.

### ***Benjamin Cox (1779-1863)***

Benjamin Cox was a prominent merchant in his day. He owned vessels, shares in vessels, and consigned cargoes on other ships. He traded with merchants in ports in South America, the West Indies, Europe, India, the East Indies, Fiji, and Canton, China. As time went by, he had a specialty business in the importing of hides, which proved very lucrative. He resided for most of his life on a house, now gone, on Norman Street, near the inner harbor, where he had a wharf (the inner harbor came in as far as the present Post office as a navigable shipping channel). He was an original proprietor of the South Meeting house (Chestnut Street, built 1804) and of the Universalist Church (Ash Street, built 1808). He and his wife Sally Smith had several children, who all proved to be solid citizens.

By the 1830s, Mr. Cox had put some of his profits into real estate, and was renting out apartments in buildings on Summer Street, Derby Street, the Turnpike, and elsewhere. He was a good landlord, kept up his properties, and received top dollar for his rentals. Among other buildings, he owned the brick building formerly the Hasket Derby house, still standing in the Salem Maritime Park near the Custom house. There is an excellent portrait of him in the Pickering House, 18 Broad Street.

Benjamin Cox knew what he wanted to do with the old Eden warehouse once he acquired it in 1833. He hired a contractor and had a team of carpenters remodel the building into a two-unit residence, which he then leased out to tenants. The interior finish was in an elegant late-federal style, with a glyph cornice in the front room upstairs and plain dado throughout. His rental account-books are still in existence at the PEM. In the westerly half (#4 Broad Street) the first tenant was Rev. Lemuel Willis, who leased it for \$100 per year beginning in October, 1834. At the same time, Two Broad Street was leased for the same rate to John Chamberlain, who sublet some of the rooms to Capt. Benjamin Conant, a mariner who worked as a shipmaster and first mate. John Chamberlain, who kept a grocery store nearby at 3 Norman Street, lived here with his wife Mary (Silver)

Chamberlain and their children. Sketches of Capt. Conant and Mr. Chamberlain are given below.

***Capt. Benjamin Conant (1802-1839).***

Benjamin Conant was born in 1802 in Beverly, the fourth of the five children of John Conant, of Beverly, and his wife Sarah W. Fisk, originally of Topsfield. Benjamin had an older brother, John, and three sisters (p. 355, *Conant Genealogy*). Benjamin did not care to become a farmer like his father and other family members; instead, he was apprenticed to follow the sea as a mariner, of Beverly. He made it through his twenties without marrying, and probably had many interesting adventures on the ocean and in foreign places. In August, 1832, for \$150 he sold his interest in his mother's property to his father, John Conant Esq. of Beverly (ED 297:100). Soon after, evidently, he moved to Salem and was employed by the merchant house of N.L. Rogers Bros. to command the 106-ton schooner *Lady Sarah*, a 7-year-old Baltimore clipper in the Madagascar-Zanzibar trade. He sailed for Africa on August, 1832 (for info about vessels, see *Ship Registers of District of Salem & Beverly*, EIHC vol. 39).

After returning from that voyage, he probably made another (perhaps a coasting trip) and in 1834 he moved in at Two Broad Street in the just-converted house owned by Benjamin Cox. He sublet a room or two from the main tenant, John Chamberlain, grocer, and his wife Mary Silver. It may be that Benjamin was already engaged to Mary's sister, Sophia. In 1834, probably, Benjamin Conant was the first mate on board the large 268-ton bark *Malay*, which was owned by the Salem firm of Silsbee, Pickman & Stone and which sailed in June, 1834, under Capt. William Giddings. Benjamin returned to Salem by early spring, 1835, for on April 15<sup>th</sup> he married Sophia Silver, the daughter of Benjamin Silver and Polly Bullock of Salem. Thus the Silver sisters, Mary and Sophia, lived here with their husbands.

In 1835, at least for a while, the Benjamin Conants resided on Conant Street, off Bridge Street; and they also lived here (see 1835 valuations). In 1837 Benjamin was master of a vessel, per the valuations, and resided here with Sophia at Two Broad Street. In 1838 he became a one-sixth owner in the brand new 212-ton bark (or brig) *Star*, built at Scituate for a syndicate that also included Michael and Thomas P. Shepard, I. Cushing, and Edward & Francis Brown (there is a painting of the *Star* in the collection of the Peabody Museum, per SRDSB p.371). Capt. Benjamin Conant and his crew would be making a voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, Africa, then on to India, then to Madagascar, then to Zanzibar, and then away for home. The voyage would take more than a year; and the outbound cargo consisted of bales and cases of "domestics" (textiles evidently), boxes of soap,



barrels of resin, barrels of flour, boxes of spermaceti candles, kegs and boxes of tobacco, and boxes of chairs, all worth \$31,860; and Captain Conant also had two bags of specie (trading cash). They set sail at Salem on July 24, 1838 (the log-book, kept by Francis Brown, is in the Peabody Essex Museum collection; see appended pages). The *Star* had a safe voyage, and by July 13<sup>th</sup> was on its way from Bombay, India, to Madagascar. On the 14<sup>th</sup>, Captain Conant was “very sick,” probably from a fever contracted in India. On the 15<sup>th</sup>, they dropped anchor at Majunga, in Madagascar, but Conant was a marked man: on July 16<sup>th</sup> Francis Brown recorded in the log “Capt. Conant failing very fast,” and on the 17<sup>th</sup> “Capt. Conant breathed his last (at noon). At 3:30 PM took his remains on shore and buried them in the strangers’ burial ground with funeral services.” The *Star* arrived in Salem on Nov. 26, 1839, with the terrible tidings of Benjamin Conant’s death. He was thirty-seven years old. The impact of this news on his wife Sophia, and relatives and friends, can only be imagined.

An inventory of the property of Capt. Benjamin Conant was taken late in 1839. From it, we learn that he owned one-sixth of the bark *Star* (his share worth \$1333.83), two pictures (one of Napoleon, one of the brig *Malay*, on which he had sailed as an officer), and many nice furnishings, including a Bombay writing desk, a globe lantern, a box of ostrich feathers, some silk, two tea caddies, 106 pounds of dates, and several items relating to his seafaring: a book of charts, a chronometer for finding latitude (worth \$200!), a sextant (\$50), a case of charts, a spy glass, a Hosburg, a Bowditch’s Navigator & Shipmaster’s Assistant (\$3), 15 other books, two pair of pistols, etc. (#6150, 3 Dec. 1839; see inventory appended, from probate book 111:103).

In 1841 his widow, Mrs. Sophia (Silver) Conant was residing at 1 High Street, owned by Samuel Chamberlain; and she was still therein 1845 (see 1842, 1846 directories).

### ***John Chamberlain***

John Chamberlain was born in 1801 in Salem, evidently the son of Samuel Chamberlain and Mary Boardman. He had an older brother Samuel (b. 1799), a younger brother James (b. 1803), and a sister Mary (b. 1813) and perhaps other siblings.

John Chamberlain was a grocer by trade, and married Mary Silver in 1824. By the 1830s he had a grocery store at 3 Norman Street. His older brother, Samuel, married Nancy Derby in 1823 and had a grocery store on Front Street (which fronted on the inner harbor in those days); and his brother James married Elizabeth

S. Gray in 1829 and worked with Samuel on Front Street. John & Mary Chamberlain resided at Two Broad Street in 1834, 1835, and 1836 (see valuations and 1837 Salem Directory with data from 1836); then, in 1837, the couple evidently moved next door to Four Broad Street, the westerly half of the overall structure. They remained there for a while and did not move back to #2.

### *Albert G. Browne (1805-1885)*

Albert G. Browne married Sally Smith Cox, daughter of Benjamin Cox, in April, 1834. At first the couple lived on Essex Street (then-#78) near Orange. Then they and their children moved in here at #2 Broad Street, which they leased beginning on 1 Oct. 1839 for \$140 per year (per Mr. Cox's rent books)

Albert Gallatin Browne was born in Salem on Dec. 8, 1805, the son of James Browne and Lydia (Vincent) Browne. He was named for Jefferson's Secretary of State, Albert Gallatin, so we may conclude that his parents were firm Jeffersonians, and followed the local political lead of the Crowninshield family. Albert's father, James Browne (1759-1827) was a true son of the East parish, being the son of William Browne (1734-1812), a noted tailor and tanner and the deacon of the East Religious Society. The eldest of nine, James became a ship chandler, and married Sarah Masury in 1784; and, after her 1797 death, he married (1801) Lydia Vincent (1772-1853), the daughter of Joseph Vincent (1738-1832), a prominent ropemaker who had come to Salem from Kittery before the Revolution. Lydia's brother, Joseph Vincent Jr., was the husband of James' sister Hannah. By his second wife, Lydia Vincent Browne, James had several children: Albert G., J. Vincent, George, Charles A., and John W. Like his father, James Browne was chosen deacon of the East Religious Society, and as such worked closely with Rev. William Bentley (1759-1819). He later became a weigher and gauger at the federal Custom House.

Albert grew up in his grandfather and uncle Vincent's business of rope-making: in the long, low buildings known as ropewalks, men made all sorts of cordage and rope, primarily for ship-rigging and hawsers. Rope-making had long been conducted in the "lower end" of town. The Vincent ropewalk ran down what is now Briggs Street and extended on an open platform on a wharf, into the water of Collins Cove (in those days, there was no Webb Street but a big marsh where the Cove met the lowlands east of the Common). There was another ropewalk, Briggs', just north of the Vincent ropewalk, and running parallel to it (EIHC 49:291-2).

During Albert's boyhood, the war of 1812 was fought. Many of his close relatives sailed on Salem privateers, and some probably lost their lives. The town had

hundreds of its men in British prisons when peace finally came in 1815. Post-war, the Salem merchants rebuilt their fleets and resumed their worldwide trade, slowly at first, and then to great effect. Many new partnerships were formed. The pre-war partisan politics of the town were not resumed post-war, as the middle-class "mechanics" (artisans) became more powerful and brought about civic harmony, largely through the Salem Charitable Mechanic Association (founded 1817). Rev. William Bentley, keen observer and active citizen during Salem's time of greatest prosperity and fiercest political divisions, died in 1819, the year in which a new U.S. Custom House was built, 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 huge and lucrative trade in which Salem dominated, and its vessels thus gained access to all of the east African ports.

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

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

Albert Browne, twenty-five in 1830, was industrious and intelligent, and had already established himself in the rope-making business by the time in 1833 that he and his brothers inherited their father's homestead (ED 253:246). At that time,

his brothers Vincent, George, and Charles were Boston merchants, while he and John resided in Salem. In 1833, too, Albert Browne and Sally Cox became engaged to marry. He lived on Pleasant Street at that time, perhaps in the house of his uncle and partner, Joseph Vincent. The wedding took place on 10 April 1834 as Albert G. Browne, twenty-eight, married Sarah Smith Cox, twenty three. Her father, the merchant Benjamin Cox, was well-to-do, and owned several houses in Salem, including some former Derby property in the East parish. Sally's mother, Mrs. Sarah (Smith) Cox, was the daughter of Capt. Edward Smith and Sarah (Eden) Smith, and granddaughter of Capt. Thomas Eden (1723-1768) for whom the warehouse on Broad Street had been built. It happened that at just that time Mr. Cox had converted the Eden warehouse into a residence.

Albert Browne and his partner, Joseph Vincent, conducted the rope-making business in a ropewalk on Pleasant Street, at Briggs Street. Doing business as Vincent & Browne, they manufactured various kinds of cordage using four horses as their main source of power, and employing several men to make the rope. The size of the cordage was determined by the power with which the rope-strands could be twined together; the greater the power, the heavier the cordage that could be manufactured. By the 1830s, Vincent & Browne were facing the same challenges as many other manufacturers in traditional handicraft businesses: industrial methods had been applied, mainly in Boston and other large cities, to producing higher volumes and greater varieties of goods. Four horses turning a wheel, and a few rope-makers twining the rope, was not a good formula for future business success by 1835. Those who ran traditional ropewalks would not be able to compete; but Vincent & Browne were determined to modernize. They studied the new industrial methods, and in 1835 purchased engines and boilers from John Goulding, a Boston machine manufacturer. The four horses were led away, and the new equipment was installed in the ropewalk, with the assistance of William Caban, the foreman at the ropewalk. From the start, it was evident that the engines were poorly made, especially in the valves and valve-boxes. Mr. Browne ordered further work on the engines, but they under-performed until he had a new valve-cog cast at Boston and more work done by the Salem machinists Benjamin Trask and Increase S. Hill (Albert's cousin, who had advertised, as early as 1834, his abilities to produce improved rope-making machinery). The engines, first installed with tubular boilers, were rated at 12 horsepower, a claim that Mr. Caban, the ropemaker, scoffed at: he told Goulding, the manufacturer, that they did not even rate 7 horse-power. Goulding asked him how he knew that, and Caban replied that they didn't work any better than the four actual horses had done. Goulding scoffed back, made an adjustment to the boiler valves to increase the power output, whereupon the boilers exploded. In January, 1836, new cylindrical boilers were installed. Still the engines did not perform well. Mr. Caban decided to move to Cincinnati in September, 1836, saying "I don't intend to return as a resident of Salem, if I can do better." Vincent & Browne sued John Goulding for costs of the

malfunctioning equipment and the losses to them in their business, which had been shut down several times (Book of Executions & Depositions #7: page 8 etc.). As it happened, Mr. Caban returned to Salem after a brief adventure “out west.”

Despite these problems, the firm of Vincent & Browne made the transition to the industrial age, and kept manufacturing cordage in Salem for some years. Mr. Browne in 1836 also co-owned a ship chandlery, with Francis Cox 3<sup>rd</sup>, his brother-in-law, at then-110 Derby Street. He was civic-minded, and would remain so for decades to come. In 1836 he sat on the city School Committee and was a director of the Salem Charitable Mechanic Association and a member of the executive committee of the Salem Young Men’s Temperance Society (see back of 1837 Directory). Presumably he was a reader of the Salem *Gazette* newspaper, which then was publishing occasional stories by an obscure writer named Nathaniel Hawthorne.

The Brownes resided at 78 Essex Street and attended church farther uptown: in September, 1837, Mr. Browne for \$75 purchased from Jonathan Hodges’ heirs pew 76 in the Independent Congregational Church (ED 308:48). This Unitarian Church had one of the richest congregations in the city. In May, 1838, the Hodges heirs sold to Mr. Browne, ropemaker, for \$1155, a lot of land on Essex Street, backing against Bath Street (now Washington Square South) (ED 308:48). This lot was very near the house where the Brownes lived. Perhaps they had thought to build a house on it; however, Sally’s father, Mr. Cox, made a better offer and in 1839 the couple and their little children moved into the house at Two Broad Street (see 1839 valuations, ward three; also, 1840 census). At the same time, James Chamberlain (brother of John) occupied a unit in the same house, while John Chamberlain was residing on the westerly side, #4. Thus began the occupancy of the Albert G. Browne family, which would continue for many years.

During the 1830s, as the new railroads and canals 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. Salem slumped badly, but, despite all, the voters decided to charter their town as a city in 1836—the third city to be formed in the state, behind Boston and Lowell. City Hall was built 1837-8 and the city seal was adopted with an already-anachronistic Latin motto of “to the farthest port of the rich East”—a far cry from “Go West, young man!” The Panic of 1837, a brief, sharp, nationwide economic depression, caused even more Salem families to head west in search of fortune and a better future.

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

One inspiration was the Salem Laboratory, Salem's first science-based manufacturing enterprise, founded in 1813 to produce chemicals. At the plant built in 1818 in North Salem on the North River, the production of alum and blue vitriol was a specialty; and it proved a very successful business. Salem's whale-fishery, active for many years in the early 1800s, led, in the 1830s, to the manufacturing of high-quality candles at Stage Point, along with machine oils. The candles proved very popular. Lead-manufacturing began in the 1820s, and grew large after 1830, when Wyman's gristmills on the Forest River were retooled for making high-quality white lead and sheet lead (the approach to Marblehead is still called Lead Mills Hill, although the empty mill buildings burned down in 1960s).

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

In May, 1841, Mr. Browne sold his Essex Street lot for \$1500 to the City of Salem, which built a school-house thereon (ED 324:213).

In October, 1841, A.G. Browne and Joseph Vincent, ropemakers, bought from Joshua Raymond a house and 14 poles of land on Briggs Street, adjoining their ropewalk (ED 327:237); and in August, 1843 for \$400 Mr. Browne sold to Mr. Vincent his interest in the place (ED 338:272).

In the 1840s, as industrial methods and machines were introduced, many new companies in new lines of business arose in Salem. 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 mid-century. On and near Boston Street, along the upper North River, there were 41 tanneries in 1844, and 85 in 1850, employing 550 hands. The leather business would continue to

grow in importance throughout the 1800s. In 1846 the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company completed the construction at Stage Point of the largest factory building in the United States, 60' wide by 400' long. It was an immediate success, and hundreds of people found employment there, many of them living in tenements built nearby. It too benefited from the Zanzibar and Africa trade, as it produced light cotton cloth for use in the tropics. Also in the 1840s, a new method was introduced to make possible high-volume industrial shoe production.

In Lynn, the factory system was perfected, and that city became the nation's leading shoe producer. Salem had shoe factories too, and attracted shoe workers from outlying towns and the countryside. Even the population began to transform, as hundreds of Irish families, fleeing the Famine in Ireland, settled in Salem and gave the industrialists a big pool of cheap labor. In the face of all of this change, some members of Salem's waning merchant class continued to pursue their sea-borne businesses; but it was an ebb tide, with unfavorable winds. In the late 1840s, giant clipper ships replaced the smaller vessels that Salem men had sailed around the world; and the clippers, with their deep drafts and large holds, were usually too large for Salem and its harbor. The town's shipping soon consisted of little more than Zanzibar-trade vessels and visits from Down East coasters with cargoes of fuel wood and building timber. By 1850 Salem was about finished as a working port. A picture of Salem's sleepy waterfront is given by Hawthorne in his mean-spirited "introductory section" to **The Scarlet Letter**, which he began while working in the Custom House.

Albert G. Browne, always busy and resourceful, was not caught on the ebb tide of Salem's maritime commerce. He was a lieutenant in the Salem Cadets, a private military organization, and a leader of the Active Fire Club, as was his former partner Francis Cox (EHC 39:11). In 1844 he was elected to the City Council from ward three. He gave up his own ship chandlery and rope-making businesses, and by 1849 took a position as agent of the Boston Hemp Company, selling the cordage of this Boston manufacturer to local ship-owners (per Salem Directory 1850). He probably continued to sit on city boards; and he rose high as an officer in the Salem Charitable Mechanics Association, an organization with which he had long been associated. It represented the interests of the artisan ("mechanic") class of men, who had traditionally produced virtually everything useful, from chairs to wagons to houses. The Mechanics Hall, a large building used for lectures, theatrical performances, and public events, stood on the corner of Essex and Crombie Streets. Mr. Browne was elected president in 1848, and soon he had everyone thinking about holding a large exhibit in the Hall. It was a risky proposition, but Mr. Browne and his colleagues believed there was great interest in the inventions, products, and machinery of that time. In the fall of 1849, the first and only Mechanics Fair was held at Salem, in the Mechanics Hall. It was a success, as 8,000 tickets were sold, and people came to see all kinds of new

gadgets, engines, textiles, and other products of local skill and ingenuity. The judges awarded 44 silver medals and 52 diplomas. Power for the engines was provided by a steam locomotive that was parked on Crombie Street (see EIHC 42, article by Wm. D. Dennis, 1906).

In addition to his other activities, Mr. Browne was a very prominent abolitionist and public speaker on the subject of slavery. In this, he was a close associate of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, John Greenleaf Whittier, and other leaders in this area. In 1850 Mr. Browne was invited to Washington, DC, where he addressed the U.S. House of Representatives on the admission of New Mexico and California as states and the need for slavery to be prevented there and abolished elsewhere. His eldest son, Albert Jr., was then enrolled at Harvard (Class of 1853). In 1850 the household consisted of Albert G. Browne, 44, commission agent, Sarah L., 39, Albert Jr., 15, Sarah E., nine, and Alice, seven; also Ellen and Susan Fennell, 16 and 18, both born England (house 486, ward three); and in an apartment in the house, evidently, also resided George C. Hill, a dry goods dealer, and family (house 487, listed as 2 ½ Broad Street in Salem valuations, 1848).

Two years later, in 1852, Mr. Browne was elected to the state Governor's Council and thus was recognized as one of the state's political leaders.

Salem's growth continued through the 1850s, as business and industries expanded, the population swelled, new churches (e.g. Immaculate Conception, 1857) were started, new working-class neighborhoods were developed (especially in North Salem and South Salem, off Boston Street, and along the Mill Pond behind the Broad Street graveyard), and new schools, factories, and stores were built. A second, larger, factory building for the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company was added in 1859, down at Stage Point, where a new Methodist Church went up, and many neat homes, boarding-houses, and stores were erected along the streets between Lafayette and Congress. The tanning business continued to boom, as better and larger tanneries were built along Boston Street and Mason Street; and subsidiary industries sprang up as well, most notably the J.M. Anderson glue-works on the Turnpike (Highland Avenue). Shipping was revived, and in January, 1859, Albert G. Browne was the owner of the 199-ton bark *Gem*, Nicholas Johnson, master; and he sold this vessel by 1860 to the Chestnut Street merchant Charles Hoffman (*Ship Registers of the District of Salem & Beverly 1789-1900*, p.197). During the 1850s, the A.G. Browne family moved next door, into the house at the corner of Summer Street.

As Salem re-established itself as an economic powerhouse, its people took a strong interest in national politics. They were primarily Republican, and strongly anti-slavery, with some outspoken abolitionists, like Mr. Browne and Charles Remond, a passionate speaker who came from one of the city's notable black



families. At the Lyceum (on Church Street), the Mechanics Hall, and in other venues, plays and lectures and political speeches were given. Mr. Browne was one of the city's leading abolitionists, and took a major public part in this burning issue during the 1850s. He was a close advisor of John A. Andrew, one of the state's Republican leaders. In a debate at the House of Representatives in the State House in Boston, at the time of the removal of Judge Loring for sending back a fugitive slave to the South, Mr. Browne urged Mr. Andrew to take the floor to rebut a speech in favor of Judge Loring. Mr. Andrew did so, and gave one of the great anti-slavery speeches ever heard in Massachusetts—enough to earn him the nomination as Governor. He won the election, and would soon serve as the state's beloved leader in the hard times ahead.

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 this house (#2 Broad) was occupied by William C. Nichols, 38, a music dealer, and his family: wife Mary, 34, children William T., Mary, eight, and Caroline, six, along with servant Mary Ryan, sixteen, born in Ireland (1860 census ward 3, house 2929). The Albert G. Browne family resided in the Eden house facing Summer Street. The Brownes were Albert, 54, rope maker, with \$5000 in real estate and \$10,000 in personal property, wife Sarah, 49, and children Albert Jr., 25, lawyer, Ellen, 19, 7-year-old twins Alice and Edward C., along with servant Kate Landergan, 28, born in Ireland (1860 census wd 3 h. 2930). Note: in the 1861 Salem Directory, Mr. Browne is listed as a merchant with offices at 33 Commercial Street, Boston

The Brownes evidently did not return to Two Broad Street; however, their subsequent careers are sketched here. Mr. Browne's son, Albert Jr., who had received a doctorate at Heidelberg in Germany after graduating from Harvard, had become a lawyer and in 1861, with the outbreak of war, became Governor Andrew's private secretary and then his military secretary for the next four years. Mr. Browne himself was appointed to a federal position in Georgia toward the end of the war, and worked in Savannah as a Treasury Agent, in charge of all captured and abandoned property in that area. From this work, he later became involved in some famous cotton-related lawsuits; and in 1867 he sued to get a percentage of the sales of the captured property. His son Albert Jr. helped Mr. Browne in Savannah for a year (during which Mr. Browne was quite ill) and then continued a distinguished career, first as the law partner of former Gov. J.A. Andrew, and then as a journalist in New York, where he eventually became managing editor of the *New York Telegram* and a close advisor to the press baron James G. Bennett. Mr. Browne Jr. wrote one book, *The Life of Governor Andrew*, and a memoir of his uncle, John W. Browne (1810-1860), a Harvard graduate (Class of 1830) who had studied law under Rufus Choate and Leverett Saltonstall in Salem, and who

practiced in Lynn and Boston, having declined the nomination of the Whig party as state senator in 1838. Mr. A.G. Browne lived on for many years more, serving in public office and taking part in local politics. He was a good friend of the poet Whittier, and a frequent guest at his estate in Danvers, Oak Knoll (see EIHC 44). Mr. Albert G. Browne died on Oct. 9, 1885, aged eighty. He left a will (#62704) and was survived by his wife Sally and their children Albert, Ellen, Alice, and Edward.

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.

William C. Nichols, who resided at Two Broad at the outbreak of the war, enlisted in September, 1861, in the 24<sup>th</sup> regiment, in which he served in the band, under the renowned Patrick Gilmore. They were sent to Annapolis, Maryland, and on to North Carolina in January, 1862. they went into battle at Roanoke Island on Feb. 8<sup>th</sup>, and on March 14 fought at Newbern and sustained severe losses. In June, at Tranter's Creek, five men were killed and nine wounded from this regiment. On October 3<sup>rd</sup> the band members were mustered out, and Mr. Nichols returned to Salem (MSSMCW II:777). He did not long reside at Two Broad Street after his return.

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. The United States was vastly changed, as slavery was abolished and black men had the same civil rights as white men—although women still had none, and would not for many years more.

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 mills was built in 1865. By that time, this house was occupied by Charles H. Pinkham, an apothecary who had his shop at then-288 Essex Street. Mr. Pinkham had come to Salem by 1845, when he worked as a clerk and resided at 28 Williams Street with Isaac Pinkham, stage driver (per 1846 directory). By 1849, Charles was running his apothecary shop at 288 Essex Street and still living at 28 Williams Street; and by 1856 he resided at 12 North Street. In 1862 he served at Fort Warren, in Boston harbor, as a sergeant in the Salem Cadets Volunteer Militia (MSSMCW V:321). By 1863 he resided here at Two Broad Street, with

his family; and in 1870 the family was listed here in the census: Charles H. Pinkham, 44, druggist, with \$1000 in personal estate, wife Julia M., 40, Charles Jr., 19, clerk in a broker's office, Benjamin B., 15, Fanny J., 12, William O., ten, Annie L., eight, Emily M., four, and a servant, Margaret Ryan, thirty, born in Ireland (1870 census, ward 3, house 128). The Pinkhams would continue to reside here through 1878 (per directories).

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 Bachelder 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. In that year, the long-time tenants at Two Broad, the Charles H. Pinkham family, moved away. Mr. Pinkham would remain in Salem until 1897, when he moved to Lynn.

In 1880, this was the home of Andrew A. Chipman, 42, a foreman at the car shop of the Eastern Railroad, and his family, which consisted of his six sisters and a brother-in-law. The youngest sister was Alberta P. Chipman, fifteen, then Maria L., 27, who suffered from consumption (tuberculosis), Sarah E., 32, the house-keeper, Mary A., 36, and husband Charles P. Chase, 36, a butcher, Harriet M., 39, and Eliza E. Chipman, 46, a nurse (1880 census, ward three, house 47, #2 Broad).

For the next two decades, the Chipman family would reside here. Mr. Chipman had been a very brave soldier during the Civil War, and had risen through the ranks to serve as an officer. His career in the Civil War is worth reviewing. He was a 25-year-old tin-worker when he enlisted as a corporal in the Twelfth Regiment, Mass. Volunteer Infantry, in June, 1861, soon after the war began. This regiment was commanded by Col. Fletcher Webster, son of the great Daniel Webster and husband of a Salem woman, Miss White. The unit did guard duty near Harper's Ferry and other spots in Maryland; and in spring, 1862, the men were posted at spots in northern Virginia. On August 9<sup>th</sup> it was bloodied at Cedar Mountain, and on August 30<sup>th</sup> went into a pitched battle at Second Bull Run. The men engaged in fierce fighting, and lost their Colonel as well as 25 others killed or wounded. Corp. Andrew Chipman and his fellows moved west, and on Sept. 17, 1862, entered the Bloody Cornfield at the Battle of Antietam. Many of the men of the 12<sup>th</sup> fell in the battle: 74 were killed, and 150 wounded. Andrew Chipman survived unscathed; and participated in December in the terrible battle at Fredericksburg, Virginia. The regiment campaigned onward to Gettysburg, and there participated in the largest battle of the war, fighting near Oak Hill with the First Corps and losing many men. Corp. Chipman was shot and fell wounded, but survived. He re-enlisted as First Sergeant on Jan. 1, 1864, and fought in the battle of the Wilderness on May 5<sup>th</sup>, when he was wounded again. He survived, and recovered, and in June was transferred to Co. G of the 39<sup>th</sup> M.V. Infantry. On Aug. 18-19, this unit was engaged heavily near Weldon Railroad, Virginia, and lost ten killed and 32 wounded, and 245 taken prisoner—most of the fighting force. Sgt. Chipman escaped to fight another day. He joined the Fourth Regiment of Mass. Volunteer Heavy Artillery in August, 1864, and was commissioned First Lieutenant at that time (see MSSMCW IV:84, VI:62). This unit defended Washington, DC, for the duration; and in June, 1865, Lt. Chipman had returned to Salem, a true hero of the Union. He soon found work as a builder and repairer of railroad cars for the Eastern Railroad, which was based in Salem.

In the 1880s, Salem kept building infrastructure; and new businesses arose, and established businesses expanded. Retail stores prospered; horse-drawn trolleys ran every which-way; and machinists, carpenters, millwrights, and other specialists all

thrived. In 1880, Salem's manufactured goods were valued at about \$8.4 million, of which leather accounted for nearly half.

In the summer of 1886, the Knights of Labor went on 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.

In 1889 various Cox heirs, including Albert G. Browne (Mattie G., wife), of New York City, sold to their kinsmen (Albert's younger siblings) Edward C. Browne and Alice Browne, the twins, their interest in this part of the Benjamin Cox estate, fronting 63' on Summer Street and 100' on Broad Street (ED 1251:102). His fellow grantors were his kinsmen Francis Cox, Edward S. Cox, Benjamin F. Cox, Sarah S. Cox, and John Pickering and his sisters Sarah W. and Mary O. Pickering. It is likely that the new owners renovated the house, remodeling the middle rooms in the Colonial Revival style and perhaps adding a rear wing with a then-modern kitchen.

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

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

In 1897, the house was still the home of the Chipman family, including Andrew, tinsmith, and Augustus, clerk at 25 Front Street. Miss Eliza E. Chipman, the nurse, eldest of the family, had died on 25 Feb. 1895. On the other side, at #4, resided Mrs. John M. (Mary A.) Chipman, a widow, whose late husband was a cousin of the Chipmans at #2. In 1898 Andrew A. Chipman moved to 154 Bridge Street; and he died on 1 March 1898.

In 1900, as in 1899 (per Directory 1899-1900), the house was occupied by a lawyer, Henry S. Stearns, 41, and his family. Mr. Stearns and his wife Mary, 35, had resided in Connecticut for some years, and had moved to Massachusetts in the 1890s. They had two children, Stuart, nine, and Henry P., one (1900 census, Sup. District 115, ED 448). Around the corner in part of the Eden house lived Alice Browne, 47, and her brother, Edward Browne, 47, civil engineer, his wife Charlotte, 32, and children Theodore, seven, and Sarah, six, Charlotte's sister Rebecca Crowninshield, 24, a teacher, along with a servant, Kate McCormack, 26, born in Ireland.

The Stearnses moved out, and in 1901 Charles H. Parker moved in (per Salem Directory 1901-2). Mr. Parker and his inventive brother, George S. Parker, were in business together as Parker Brothers, "publishers of games," with a factory at then-190 Bridge Street. The company's most popular game then was "Ping Pong" ("Monopoly" was not issued until 1935). George Parker had been publishing games since 1882, when he was sixteen. George opened a toy store in the Franklin Building (site of Hawthorne Hotel) and sold his own games and others. Charles, who was an oil man by trade, joined his brother in 1888 and handled the company's finances so that George could spend full-time inventing and selling. A third brother, Edward, was in charge of production as of 1893. By 1901 Charles favored selling out to a bigger New York company, but George insisted on independence. Parker Brothers was incorporated at the end of 1901, with Charles as a director but not an officer (see John J. Fox, *Parker Pride*, EIHC 123:150-155, 1987). Charles H Parker did not long reside here. In 1903 he went off to Europe, and in 1904 he resided at the Essex House hotel. In 1905 he was boarding at 9 Cambridge Street (per directories). His place at #2 was taken by 1903 by William B. Cowen and family, who would remain here for ten years.

Salem kept growing. The Canadians were followed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by large numbers of Polish and Ukrainian families, who settled primarily in the Derby Street neighborhood. By the eve of World War One, Salem was a bustling, polyglot city that supported large department stores and large factories of every description. People from the surrounding towns, and Marblehead in particular, came to Salem to do their shopping; and its handsome government buildings, as

befit the county seat, were busy with conveyances of land, lawsuits, and probate proceedings. The city's politics were lively, and its economy was strong.

In the years 1910-1912 and perhaps earlier, the occupants of the house were William B. Cowen, an advertising agent who worked in Boston, and his family (see directories and 1910 census). In 1910 he was forty and he and his wife Albie, also forty, had children Katharine, eleven, and William B. Jr., three, and lived here with servants Katie Welch, 25, and Hannah Daley, thirty. In 1913, the Cowens were succeeded here by David B. Coffin, a vice president of the Naumkeag Trust bank, and his family.

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. In 1921, this was the home of Robert W. Osgood, Asst. Register of Deeds, along with his wife Laura and sons Robert Jr. and Stuart, a clerk in Boston. Mr. Osgood was a son of the noted portrait painter, Charles Osgood of Salem. The Osgoods were gone by 1925, when the house was temporarily vacant. In 1926, Salem's tercentenary was a time of great celebration.

After a long history of unified ownership under Benjamin Cox and then under Edward and Alice Browne, the property had descended to Edward's widow, Charlotte Crowninshield Browne.

The Depression hit in 1929, and continued through the 1930s. In 1933, Sidney W. Felton, a lawyer in Boston, resided here with wife Zosia and whatever family they may have had (per directory). In May, 1938, Mrs. Charlotte Browne, of Cambridge, sold the premises at Two Broad Street to Edith Ives Cogan of Peabody (ED 3146:455). The property had been in the ownership of direct descendants of Capt. Thomas Eden, or their spouses, ever since 1762.

Salem, the county seat and regional retail center, gradually rebounded, and prospered after World War II through the 1950s and into the 1960s. General Electric, Sylvania, Parker Brothers, Pequot Mills (formerly Naumkeag Steam Cotton Co.), Almy's department store, various other large-scale retailers, and Beverly's United Shoe Machinery Company were all major local employers. Then the arrival of suburban shopping malls and the relocation of manufacturing businesses took their toll, as they have with many other cities. More than most, Salem has navigated its way forward into the present with success, trading on its share of notoriety arising from the witch trials, but also from its history as a great seaport and as the home of Bowditch, McIntire, Bentley, Story, and Hawthorne. Most of all, it remains a city where the homes of the old-time merchants, mariners, rope-makers, and mill-operatives are all honored as a large part of what makes Salem different from any other place.

--18 June 2004, Robert Booth for Historic Salem Inc.

P.S. Albert G. Browne (1805-1885) was a Mason and a member of the Essex Lodge of Salem, which his grandfather, Joseph Vincent, had joined in 1780. Mr. Browne joined the Lodge on 1 May 1827, and held various offices through 1833. His portrait photograph was printed in W.S. Hadley's book about the Essex Lodge and its members.