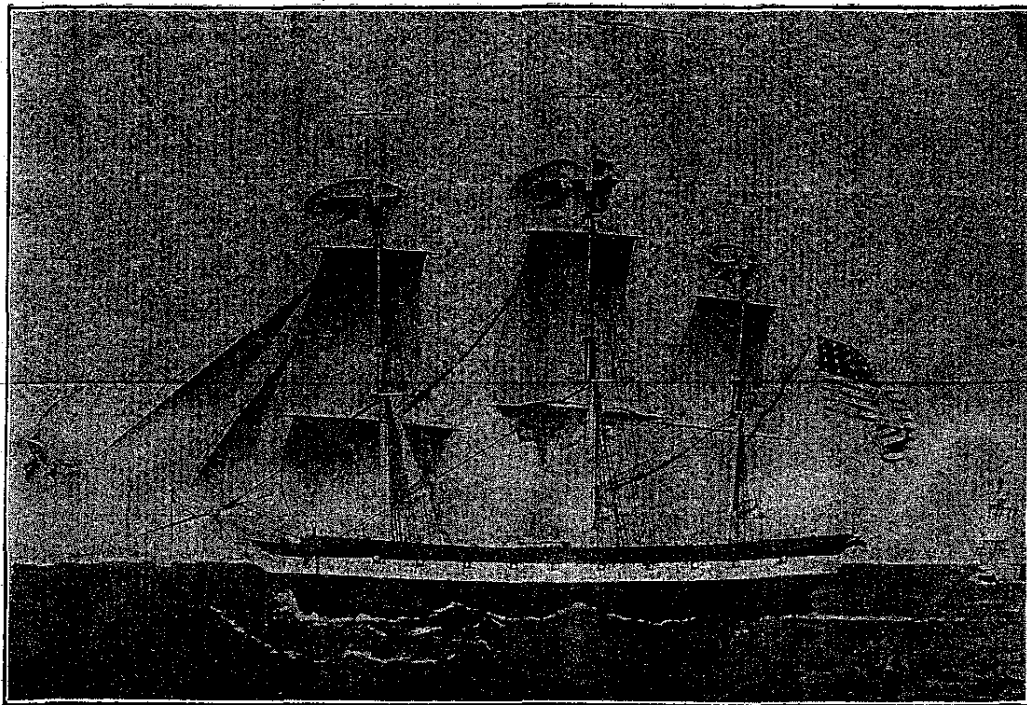


Five Daniels Street  
Salem

Built for  
Capt. Edward Stanley  
shipmaster  
& wife Esther Waters Stanley

c.1805



*Copy of print of Friendship, commanded by Capt. Edward Stanley*

## *House at Five Daniels Street, Salem*

*By Robert Booth for Historic Salem Inc.*

According to available evidence, this house was built for Capt. Edward Stanley, shipmaster, and his wife Esther Waters Stanley, circa 1805.

On June 7, 1805, Joseph Waters, Salem merchant, for \$800 sold to Edward Stanley, Salem mariner, “a piece of land” bounded west 37’ on Daniels Street, north 85’ 6” on land of Silsbee heirs, east 40’ 6” on land of heirs of Palfray, and 85’ on other land (ED 178:159). On this lot, Captain Stanley caused this house to be built. The identity of the contractor is unknown.

Edward Stanley (1780-1849) was born in England;<sup>1</sup> but details of his early life are now obscure. By some means, he came to Salem and was able to rise to the rank of shipmaster—despite great competition—and win command of merchant vessels. The Salem to which he came had become a commercial empire, led by Hasket Derby, the merchant who opened trade with the Orient. More than one hundred tall ships were involved. By the 1790s, the new foreign-trade markets—and the coffee trade, which would be opened in 1798 with Mocha, Arabia—brought great riches to the Salem merchants, and raised the level of wealth throughout the town: new ships were bought and built, more crews were formed with more shipmasters, new shops and stores opened, new partnerships were formed, and new people moved to town. In 1792 Salem’s first bank, the Essex Bank, had been founded, although it “existed in experiment a long time before it was incorporated,” per Rev. William Bentley. From a population of 7921 in 1790, the town would grow by 1500 persons in a decade. At the same time, thanks to the economic policies of Alexander Hamilton, Salem vessels were able to transport foreign cargoes and serve as the neutral carrying fleet for both Britain and France, which were at war with each other.

In the late 1790s, there was agitation in Congress to go to war with France, which was at war with England. After President Adams’

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<sup>1</sup> That he was born in England is noted at the time of his death in 1849 in Salem Vital Records; there were other “Stanleys” in Salem, but they were actually Standleys, descendants of a Beverly man of that name; and occasionally Captain Stanley’s name was written Standley. For a while, there was an Edward Standley in Salem as well as Edward Stanley.

negotiators were rebuffed by the French leaders in 1797, a quasi-war with France began in summer, 1798, much to the horror of Salem's George Crowninshield family (father and five shipmaster sons), which had an extensive trade with the French, and whose ships and cargos in French ports were susceptible to seizure. The quasi-war brought about a political split within the Salem population. Those who favored war with France (and detente with England) aligned themselves with the national Federalist party, led by Hamilton and Salem's Timothy Pickering (the U.S. Secretary of State). These included most of the merchants, led locally by the Derby family. Those who favored peace with republican France were the Anti-Federalists, who later became aligned with Jefferson and his Democratic-Republican party; they were led locally by the Crowninshields. For the first few years of this rivalry, the Federalists prevailed; but after the death of Hasket "King" Derby in 1799 his family's power weakened.

In 1799 the Federalists of Salem clubbed together and built a frigate, the *Essex*, for the federal government, to be used in the war with France. The superintendent was Capt. Joseph Waters of Salem. In that same year, Salem sent out privateers, including the 139-ton armed brigantine *Cicero*, 69' in length, with 6 guns and 12 men, owned by Billy Gray, commanded by Nathaniel Skinner, first mate John Dixey, second mate Edward Standley, who may the ES of this house (EIHC 71:122).

In 1800, Adams negotiated peace with France and fired Pickering for fomenting war. Salem's Federalists merchants erupted in anger, expressed through their newspaper, the *Salem Gazette*. At the same time, British vessels began to harass American shipping. Salem owners bought more cannon and shot, and kept pushing their trade to the farthest ports of the rich East, while also maintaining trade with the Caribbean and Europe. Salem cargos were exceedingly valuable, and Salem was a major center for distribution of merchandise throughout New England: "the streets about the wharves were alive with teams loaded with goods for all parts of the country. It was a busy scene with the coming and going of vehicles, some from long distances, for railroads were then unknown and all transportation must be carried on in wagons and drays. In the taverns could be seen teamsters from all quarters sitting around the open fire in the chilly evenings, discussing the news of the day or making merry over

potations of New England rum, which Salem manufactured in abundance.”<sup>2</sup>

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 by 1808 owned 36 large vessels—15 ships, 7 barks, 13 brigs, and one schooner. Salem was then still a town, and a small one by our standards, with a total population of about 9,500 in 1800.

Its politics were fierce, and polarized everything. The two factions attended separate churches, held separate parades, and supported separate schools, military companies, and newspapers. Salem’s merchants resided mainly on two streets: Washington (which ended in a wharf on the Inner Harbor, and, above Essex, had the Town House in the middle) and Essex (particularly between what are now Hawthorne Boulevard and North Street). The East Parish (Derby Street area) was for the seafaring families, shipmasters, sailors, and fishermen. In the 1790s, Federal Street, known as New Street, had more empty lots than fine houses. Chestnut Street did not exist: its site was a meadow. The Common was not yet Washington Square, and was covered with hillocks, small ponds and swamps, utility buildings, and the alms-house. As the 19<sup>th</sup> century advanced, Salem’s commercial prosperity would sweep almost all of the great downtown houses away (the brick Joshua Ward house, built 1784, is a notable exception).

The town’s merchants were among the wealthiest in the country. 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

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<sup>2</sup> from Hurd’s History of Essex County, 1888, p.65.

Square or in the Federalist “west end” (Chestnut, Federal, and upper Essex Streets). The Adamesque architectural style (often mis-labeled as “Federal”) had been developed by the Adam brothers in England and featured fanlight doorways, palladian windows, elongated pilasters and columns, and large windows. It was introduced to New England by Charles Bulfinch in 1790. The State House in Boston was his first institutional composition; and soon Beacon Hill was being built up with handsome residences in the Bulfinch manner.

Samuel McIntire (1757-1811), who was self-educated and who made his living primarily as a wood-carver and carpenter, was quick to adapt the Bulfinch style to Salem’s larger lots. McIntire’s first local composition, the Jerathmeel Peirce house (on Federal Street), contrasts with his later Adamesque designs. In place of walls of wood paneling, there now appeared plastered expanses painted in bright colors or covered in bold wallpapers. The Adam style put a premium on handsome casings and carvings of central interior features such door-caps and chimney-pieces (McIntire’s specialty). On the exterior, the Adam style included elegant fences; and the houses were often built of brick, with attenuated porticoes and, in the high style, string courses, swagged panels, and even two-story pilasters. The best example of the new style was the Elias Hasket Derby house, co-designed by Bulfinch and McIntire, and built on Essex Street in 1797-8 (demolished in 1815), on the site of today’s Town House Square.

A new bank, the Salem Bank, was formed in 1803, and there were two insurance companies and several societies and associations. The fierce politics and commercial rivalries continued. The ferment of the times is captured in the diary of Rev. William Bentley, bachelor minister of Salem’s East Church and editor of the *Register* newspaper. His diary is full of references to the civic and commercial doings of the town, and to the lives and behaviors of all classes of society. He had high hopes for the future of a republican America, with well educated citizens. He observed and fostered the transition in Salem, and wrote in his diary (2 Dec. 1806), “While Salem was under the greatest aristocracy in New England, few men thought, and the few directed the many. Now the aristocracy is gone and the many govern. It is plain it must require considerable time to give common knowledge to the people.”

Edward Stanley was prospering as a mariner; and by 1802 he was affluent enough to court Esther Waters, the daughter of a well-to-do

merchant residing in the East parish, or Lower End. On June 12, 1803, Edward Stanley and Esther Waters were married.

Esther Waters (1785-1872) was born 31 July 1785, the daughter of Joseph Waters, merchant, and his wife Mary. Her grandfather Benjamin Waters of Boston had moved to Salem as a young man and in 1745 had married Esther Gilbert of Ipswich. They resided along Bridge Street in the old Massey house, per the minister of the East Church (Unitarian), Rev. William Bentley, whose meeting house stood on Essex at Hardy Street in the Lower End. Benjamin was a baker by trade, and an innholder, and kept the ferry to Beverly before 1788 (when the bridge was built) at the end of what is now Bridge Street. This couple had two daughters and one son, Joseph Waters. Old Mrs. Esther Gilbert Waters was still alive in 1803, when her namesake married Captain Stanley.

Esther's father, Capt. Joseph Waters, was a merchant ship-owner. He lived in the Lower End, and attended Bentley's Unitarian church, and so the family is mentioned in Bentley's diary until the minister's death in 1819. Joseph Waters married Mary Dean in 1782, during the Revolutionary War; and they would have ten children, of whom Esther was the first, probably born in 1783 and baptized at the East Church with sister Mary on 31 July 1785.

*Joseph Waters (1758-1833), son of Benjamin Waters & Esther Gilbert, died February 1833, aged 75 years. He m. 2 July 1782 Mary Dean (1759-1798), dtr of Thomas Dean; she died of convulsions, 1 Nov. 1798, aged 39 years. He m/2 Martha \_\_\_\_\_. Issue:*

1. *Esther*, bp. 31 July 1785, m. 1803 Edward Stanley
2. *Mary*, bp 1785
3. *Benjamin*, 1785?, m. 1805 Elizabeth Becket.
4. *Martha*, 1787
5. *Lucia*, 1788?, died May, 1804.
6. *Sarah*, 1789, died young
7. *Charlotte*, 1792, died Sept. 1803.
8. *Sally*, 1792
9. *Caroline*, 1794
10. *Joseph Gilbert*, 1796, m. 1825 Eliza Townsend; had issue.
11. *William Dean*, bp 1810

On Union Street, not far from Bentley's church, on the fourth of July, 1804, was born a boy who would grow up to eclipse all sons of

Salem in the eyes of the world: Nathaniel Hawthorne, whose father would die of fever while on a voyage to the Caribbean in 1808. 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.

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 to create more space for warehouses and ship-berths in 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 fleet found it much harder to operate freely 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.

Within the Waters family, sister Lucia, about sixteen, died at Beverly in late May, 1804, and she was buried from the home of Hon. Nathan Dane, whose wife she had probably served as a mother's helper. Despite the need to observe custom and wait with the mourners for an hour, Bentley found that "the procession was numerous and solemn, and a proper respect was shown to the

deceased.” In general, he stayed away from Beverly, where, he observed, “the spirit of (religious) fanaticism has seized this town”—it was the time of the so-called Second Great Awakening—so that “the extreme ignorance which is general in this place must render them sure victims of their superstition and render it of the most degrading character.” Salem too felt the impact of itinerant preachers, mainly evangelicals, who came to town and held nighttime revival meetings which tended to attract the “primitive and superstitious” members of the working classes, per Bentley, who also observed the doings of new sects like the Methodists, Universalists, and Baptists, all of whom opened meeting houses at this time. Salem also had three Unitarian congregations, and three post-Puritan Trinitarian congregations, as well as an Episcopal church, a Quaker meeting, and informal Catholic gatherings.

In April, 1805, Esther’s father, Capt. Joseph Waters, purchased (for \$4010) the Dean estate on the north side of Derby Street, corner of Turner. The house had long been neglected; in 1783, when Bentley first came to Salem, it had been “the best house as to appearance which was in that part of the town” (Bentley, 9 April 1805). Captain Waters restored it to former grandeur.

On 7 July 1805, in church, Rev. Mr. Bentley received a note from Esther Stanley to commemorate the death of a sister at Ipswich, and to pray for her husband and brother at sea. At that time, Captain Stanley was master of the 170-ton brig *Commerce*, which had cleared in February, 1805, on a voyage to the West Indies, with first mate Robert Pease and crew of eight. Edward Stanley returned safely and next went out in command of the 59-ton schooner *Sally*, to the West Indies, in 1806, with mate Joseph Cook and four-man crew. In May, 1807, he went out again as master of the 136-ton brig *Mary & Allen* for St. Thomas, in the Caribbean, with mate Charles Beck and crew of six.<sup>3</sup>

Old Mrs. Esther Gilbert Waters died at the age of 88 years on Sept. 13, 1807, probably of the influenza.

Salem’s twenty-year boom came to an end with a crash in December, 1807, 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

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<sup>3</sup> Voyages are tracked by records in Salem Crew database of Mystic Seaport; hard copy appended.



futile and nearly ruinous in Salem, where commerce ceased. As a hotbed of Democratic-Republicanism, Salem's East Parish and its seafarers, led by the Crowninshields, loyally supported the Embargo until it was lifted in spring, 1809. Shunned by the other Salem merchants for his support of the Embargo, the eminent Billy Gray took his large fleet of ships—fully one-fourth 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.

In March, 1809, Captain Stanley subscribed \$10 to repair the East Parish meeting house, an effort led by Capt. Joseph White. Shortly after, on March 17, Esther's sister-in-law, Elizabeth Becket Waters, 27, died—a sad story was related by Bentley in his diary. She was the “daughter of my old friend Capt. John Becket. She married a worthless young man (Benjamin Waters) of whom the world had good hopes and who had ample means of being happy. A separation by the consent of all the friends on both sides ensued and he withdrew from the town. She lingered in consumption and died. Her form was excellent, her wit pure and inexhaustible. Her disposition kind and her temper always at command. All were her friends...”

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. During this period, Edward Stanley was often at sea, on voyages to Cuba, to Brazil, and to Russia. In June 1809, he commanded the 92-ton schooner *Betsey*, bound for Havana with mate Joseph Cook, 35, and six men. John Gardner, owner of one of the finest mansions in Salem<sup>4</sup>, liked Captain Stanley's work, and sent him back out in February, 1810, commanding the 281-ton brig *New Hazard*, bound for Rio de Janeiro, with mate Jacob Clarke, 25, and a 13-man crew. His next voyage was undertaken for Peirce & Waite, in command of their fine 342-ton East Indiaman, the *Friendship*, a veteran of 17 voyages, some to the Orient. In April, 1811, Captain Stanley, mate David Thomas, and 17 crewmen cleared away for the Russian port of Archangel. She would never return.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The Gardner-White-Pingree house on Essex Street

<sup>5</sup> Her replica lies at Derby Wharf today, having been commissioned by the federal Department of the Interior and built at Albany, NY, for Salem's Maritime Heritage Park.

Early in 1812 the Waters family experienced another severe loss. Capt. Thomas Dean had married Joseph Waters' sister Lydia in 1784, and they had a family of children. On Feb. 2, 1812 "the worthy Mrs. Lydia Dean" died, leaving two children surviving, Thomas, 25, and Lydia, 21. Bentley noted that Lydia would thenceforward reside with her aunt Esther Waters Stanley. Lydia Dean would marry Capt. James Cheever Jr. in July, 1815, perhaps at this house. Her brother Thomas Dean named one of his sons "Edward Stanley" (baptized 1818), as would her cousin Joseph G. Waters.

Despite many warnings and negotiations, the British refused to alter their policies regarding freedom of the seas. President Madison, pushed hard by the war-hawks of the West, had few choices, and in June, 1812, he and Congress declared against Britain. One consequence was that Captain Stanley, returning from Archangel (and probably unaware of the state of war) was captured by the Royal Navy in September, 1812; and the *Friendship* was condemned at Plymouth as a prize of war in December (see p. 21, G.G. Putnam, set 1, *Salem Vessels & Their Voyages*).

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. On land, the war went poorly for the United States, as the British captured Washington 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.

Edward Stanley, though born in England, was a trusted warrior in the cause against Britain. In 1813 he had raised a company of sea fencibles, and served as their lieutenant commanding, drilling them in the use of artillery and close marching (per Bentley). He also shipped out in privateers, and was captured by the summer of 1813, at which time his minister, Mr. Bentley, was writing on his behalf to the Secretary of State, Madison, to effect an exchange; and by September he was back in town (ibid) and was a co-owner, with Henry White Jr. and Sam Lamson, of the 6-ton privateer boat *Holkar*, only 30' long and 5'6" in beam, carrying 16 men with their muskets—but they took no prizes (EHC 79:155).

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 ultimatums. Nevertheless, it signaled the beginning of the end for the national Federalist party.

At last, in February, 1815, peace was restored. There was jubilation in the streets; and the East Meeting House was beautifully illuminated at night, including two transparencies executed by Captain Stanley and two others: one at the belfry, with a "sun and Glory to God" and one on the porch, with the "arms of the U.S. emblazoned Madison & Peace."

Captain Stanley evidently went to Portsmouth, NH, and sailed the prize ship *Antigua* back to Salem, to go into service in the fleet of Nathaniel West. Captain Stanley was given command of the brig *Neva* bound for St. Petersburg, with mate Nathaniel Cleaves and a crew of eleven. Mr. Bentley gave him a packet of antiquarian papers to deliver to Bentley's great friend, Prof. Ebeling, at Elsinor in Denmark; and the *Neva* sailed at the end of May, 1815 (per Bentley). Captain Stanley was back in Salem a year later and was given command of the ship *Messenger*, bound for Europe with a crew of 16 men. They probably traded at multiple ports.

It seems that this was Capt. Edward Stanley's last voyage, and that he "swallowed the anchor" and went into business as a merchant in 1817.

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.

Salem's general maritime foreign commerce fell off sharply in 1824, as a second major tariff act was passed by Congress, to the benefit of manufacturers and the detriment of importers. Salem imports were supplanted by the goods that were now being produced in great

quantities in America. The town's prosperity began to wane, and many people saw no future locally. The interior of the country was being opened for settlement, and some Salemites moved away. To the north, the falls of the Merrimack River powered large new textile mills (Lowell was founded in 1823); and in general it seemed that the tide of opportunity was ebbing away from Salem. To stem the flow of talent from the town and to harness its potential water power for manufacturing, Salem's merchants and capitalists banded together in 1825 to raise the money to dam the North River for industrial power. Over the course of three years, the effort gained momentum, but ultimately its many investors failed to implement the plan, which caused several leading citizens to move to Boston, the hub of investment in the new economy.

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 a Crowninshield (he killed himself) who had been hired by his friends, Capt. White's own relatives, Capt. Joe Knap and his brother Frank (they would be executed). The murder, and related lurid events, tarnished Salem further, and more families quit the now-notorious town.

The Stanleys, Edward and Esther, continued to reside here, growing older as Salem went into a period of decline. Salem had not prepared for the industrial age, and had few natural advantages. The North River served not to power factories but mainly to flush the waste from the 25 tanneries that had set up along its banks. As the decade wore on, and the new railroads and canals, all running and flowing to Boston from points north, west, and south, diverted both capital and trade away from the coast. Salem's remaining merchants took their equity out of local wharves and warehouses and ships and put it into the stock of manufacturing and transportation companies. Some merchants did not make the transition, and were ruined. Old-line areas of work, like rope-making, sail-making, and ship chandleries, gradually declined and disappeared. Salem slumped badly, but, despite all, the voters decided to charter their town as a city in 1836—the third city to be formed in the state, behind Boston and

Lowell. City Hall was built 1837-8 and the city seal was adopted with an already-anachronistic Latin motto of “to the farthest port of the rich East”—a far cry from “Go West, young man!” The Panic of 1837, a brief, sharp, nationwide economic depression, caused even more Salem families to head west in search of fortune and a better future.

Throughout the 1830s, the leaders of Salem scrambled to re-invent an economy for their fellow citizens, many of whom were mariners without much sea-faring to do. Ingenuity, ambition, and hard work would have to carry the day. One inspiration was the Salem Laboratory, Salem’s first science-based manufacturing enterprise, founded in 1813 to produce chemicals. At the plant built in 1818 in North Salem on the North River, the production of alum and blue vitriol was a specialty; and it proved a very successful business. Salem’s whale-fishery led to the manufacturing of high-quality candles at Stage Point, along with machine oils. The candles proved very popular. Lead-manufacturing began in the 1820s, and grew large after 1830, when Wyman’s gristmills on the Forest River, at the head of Salem Harbor, were retooled for making high-quality white lead and sheet lead. These enterprises were a start toward taking Salem in a new direction. In 1838 the Eastern Rail Road, headquartered in Salem, began operating between Boston and Salem, which gave the local people a direct route to the region’s largest market. The new railroad tracks ran right over the middle of the Mill Pond; the tunnel under Washington Street was built in 1839; and the line was extended to Newburyport in 1840.

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

Although Hawthorne had no interest in describing it, Salem’s transformation did occur in the 1840s, as more industrial methods and machines were introduced, and many new companies in new

lines of business arose. 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.

Capt. Edward Stanley, merchant, died on Jan. 16, 1849, of an internal inflammation, aged 68 years (per Salem Vital Records). He left his wife of 45 years, Esther, 63. She continued to reside here, and would for many years; and by 1855 (if not before) she had a servant (and companion) in the person of Mary Gorman, 28, born in Ireland (see 1855 census, house 265). No doubt she enjoyed the company of her nephew, Judge Joseph Gilbert Waters, from time to time.

Mrs. Esther Waters resided here through the 1850s and 1860s. In 1851, Stephen C. Phillips succeeded in building a railroad line from Salem to Lowell, which meant that the coal that was landed at Phillips Wharf (formerly the Crowninshields' great India Wharf) could be run cheaply out to help fuel the boilers of the mills, whose output of textiles could be sent back to Salem for shipment by water. This innovation, although not long-lived, boosted Salem 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).

As it established a productive economy, 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.

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.

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).

By the spring of 1872, Mrs. Esther Waters Stanley had died, in her 86<sup>th</sup> year. By her will, she devised her property to four Salem charities. In April, 1872, the executors of her will conveyed this house and land to the four charities, which conveyed the same to Roland Smalley of Salem for \$2400 (ED 851:81, 859:288).

The new owner, Roland Smalley, was a long-time neighbor of Mrs. Stanley. He was born in 1822 and resided in Salem by 1855 he was working as a stevedore, married to Susan, 33, a native of Rhode Island, and residing on Daniels Street, in a house (also occupied by John Archer & family) across from this one (1855 state census, house 254). In 1872 Mr. Smalley was fifty, and he and Susan had daughters Evelyn, sixteen, and Susan E., five. Later they would reside at 7 Daniels Street.

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 April, 1881, Roland Smalley sold the homestead for \$2400 to Jane A. Hubon, a widow, of Salem (ED 1056:247). In July, 1885, Mrs. Hubon sold the premises to Mary Ann Wiggin (ED 1155:178). Mrs. Wiggin was the widow of Abner J. Wiggin (per directory 1893/4).

In the 1880s and 1890s, Salem kept building infrastructure; and new businesses arose, and established businesses expanded. Retail stores prospered; horse-drawn trolleys ran every which-way; and machinists, carpenters, millwrights, and other specialists all thrived. In 1880, Salem's manufactured goods were valued at about \$8.4 million, of which leather accounted for nearly half. In the summer of 1886, the Knights of Labor brought a strike against the manufacturers for a ten-hour day and other concessions; but the manufacturers imported labor from Maine and Canada, and kept going. The strikers held out, and there was violence in the streets, and even rioting; but the owners prevailed, and many of the defeated workers lost their jobs and suffered, with their families, through a bitter winter.

By the mid-1880s, Salem's cotton-cloth mills at the Point employed 1400 people who produced about 19 million yards annually, worth about \$1.5 million. The city's large shoe factories stood downtown behind the stone depot and on Dodge and Lafayette Streets. A jute bagging company prospered with plants on Skerry Street and English Street; its products were sent south to be used in cotton-

baling. Salem factories also produced lead, paint, and oil. At the Eastern Railroad yard on Bridge Street, cars were repaired and even built new. In 1887 the streets were first lit with electricity, replacing gas-light. The gas works, which had stood on Northey Street since 1850, was moved to a larger site on Bridge Street in 1888, opposite the Beverly Shore.

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

In 1900 (per census, house 279), this house was occupied by Mrs. Mary A. Wiggins, 65, born in Maine of a Danish father and a Maine-born mother, and (other unit) by Mrs. Anna Upton, 33, a widow, and boarder Charles H. Collins, 40, a widower, born in Vermont, working as a carpenter.

By June, 1902, Mrs. Wiggin had died, and the executor of her will for \$1515 sold the homestead at public auction to Joseph B. Brown of Salem (ED 1770:284). Mr. Brown, an Irishman, soon died. In February, 1905, some of his heirs sold out to another one, Thomas C. Brown of Salem (ED 1770:286).

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 1910 (per census, house 22) this house was occupied as a two-family by (one unit) the owner, Thomas Brown, 42, born in Ireland, working as a truant officer, with wife Maria A., 40, born in Scotland, and children Thomas J., 17, an errand boy, Helen F., 15, Arthur V., 14, and Leo H., 13; and by (other unit) the widow Margaret P. Riley, 47, a nurse, of Irish parentage, and children Josephine, 21, a stenographer, John M., 20, driver of a market wagon, and Mabel F., 20, bakery saleslady.

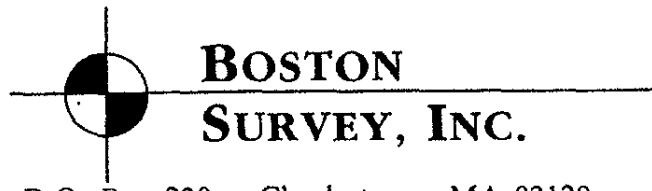
On June 25, 1914, in the morning, in Blubber Hollow (Boston Street opposite Federal) a blaze started in one of Salem's fire-prone wooden tanneries. This fire soon consumed the building and raced out of control, for the west wind was high and the season had been dry. The next building caught fire, and 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 tenements of the factory 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 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, threatening this neighborhood. There, at Herbert 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.

In August, 1915, Thomas C. Brown (wife Marie A.) sold the homestead to Josefa Uszynski, wife of Wladjslaw Uszynski of Salem; and in February, 1916, they conveyed the same to Mary, wife of Bazil Thomasz of Salem; and in October, 1917, they sold to Wojciech Kotulak of Salem (ED 2307:27, 2323:101, 2378:352).

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

The homestead remained in the ownership of the Kotulak family until 1970.

*--Robert Booth, October 30, 2008.*



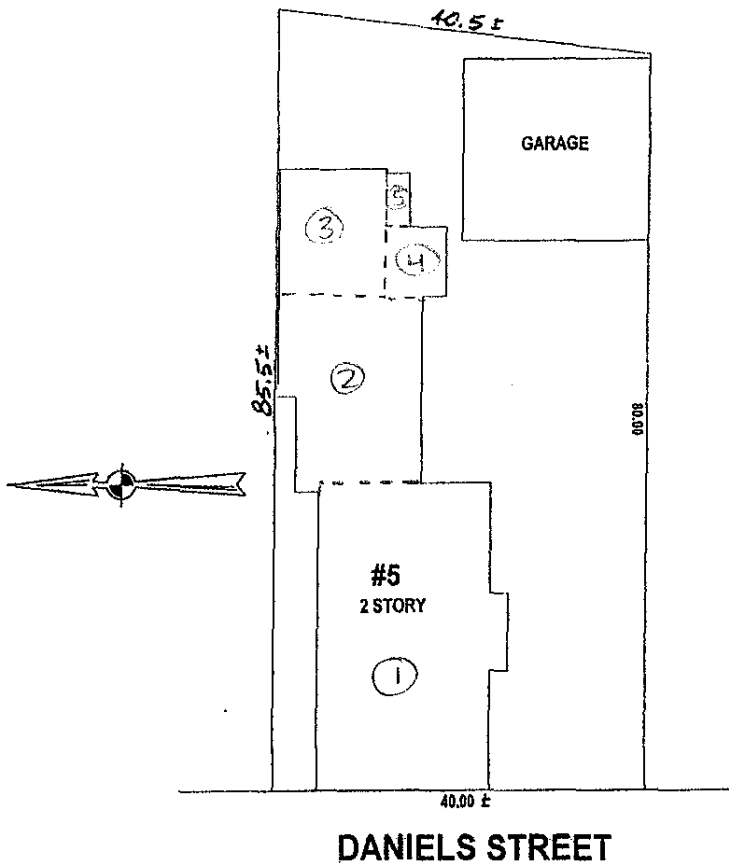
# BOSTON SURVEY, INC.

00-02474

P.O. Box 220 Charlestown, MA 02129  
(617)242-1313 MAIN (617)242-1616 FAX

APPLICANT: WILDEY  
LOCATION: 5 DANIELS STREET  
CITY, STATE: SALEM, MA

DEED/CERT: 16030-594  
PLAN REF:



1. Original (?) Structure over full basement
2. Later (?) addition over crawlspace includes large brick fireplace w beehive oven
3. Later (?) addition over full basement
4. Bump-out with bathrooms (on-grade)
5. First floor clean bump-out (on-grade)

- INSTRUMENT SURVEY RECOMMENDED

We, DOROTHY BABIARZ and STANLEY A. DZIELNIK, both of Peabody, Massachusetts  
~~ADMINISTRATORS of the ESTATE of KATHLEEN B. POKORSKI~~  
~~ADMINISTRATORS of the ESTATE of KATHLEEN B. POKORSKI~~  
KATHLEEN B. POKORSKI late of Salem, Essex County, Massachusetts

by power conferred by License to Sell of the Essex County Probate Court, dated  
May 22, 2000 Docket No. 99P-2159-AD1

and every other power,  
and DOROTHY BABIARZ and STANLEY A. DZIELNIK, individually  
for -----\$186,000.00----- Dollars  
paid, grant to CECELIA WU and ROBERT WILDEY, husband and wife, as tenants by  
the entirety, both of 5 Daniels Street, Salem, MA

~~the~~

05/26/00 3:31 inst. 629  
BK 16365 PG 2

The land with the buildings thereon, #5 Daniels Street in Salem, Essex  
County, Massachusetts, bounded and described as follows:

- WESTERLY by Daniels Street;
- NORTHERLY by land now or late of Russell, 85 feet, six inches;
- EASTERLY by land now or late of Jackson, 40 feet, six inches;
- SOUTHERLY by land now or late of Smalley, about 80 feet.

For our title, see Essex Probate Court Docket No. 99P-2159-AD1.  
See also deed of Isabelle Kotek dated October 26, 1999, recorded in  
Essex Registry of Deeds, Book 16030, Page 594.

Witness our hands and seals this 26th day of May 2000

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

*Dorothy Babiarz*  
Dorothy Babiarz, Administrator  
and Individually  
*Stanley A. Dzielnik*  
Stanley A. Dzielnik, Administrator  
and Individually



The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Essex, ss. May 26, 2000

Then personally appeared the above named Dorothy Babiarz and Stanley A. Dzielnik, as  
Administrators of the Estate of Kathleen B. Pokorski and as individuals

and acknowledged the foregoing instrument to be their free act and deed, before me

*Philip Strome*

Notary Public  
JOHN C. STRONE

My commission expires 3/4/05 19

Property Address: 5 Daniels Street, Salem, MA

RECEIVED  
NOTARY PUBLIC  
ESSEX SOUTH

05/26/00 3:27PM 01  
000000 #7416  
FEE \$848.16  
CASH \$848.16