

### *328 Essex Street, Salem*

According to available evidence, this house was built for William Pickman (1774-1857), merchant, in 1823. The contractor for its construction was Daniel Bancroft, housewright. It stands on the site of an earlier house, built in 1733 for Dr. Bezaleel Toppan, physician, who was Mr. Pickman's grandfather.

Mr. Pickman, a bachelor, would live here with his sister Love Rawlins Pickman, who was 37 in 1823, for more than thirty years.

On 23 Oct. 1821 William Pickman Esq., Salem, purchased, for \$2800, four of the five rights of his fellow heirs in the old house and land lately occupied by their father, Benjamin Pickman Esq., deceased, and owned by their late mother, Mary Toppan Pickman, deceased (ED 227:287; 229:66-67). Mr. Pickman and his sister Love Rawlins Pickman, both unmarried, resided in the house for about a year before Mr. Pickman decided to have a new house built on the site. The old house, in which they resided together, was evidently the one built for their grandfather, Dr. Bezaleel Toppan (1705-1762), and therefore the childhood home of their mother, Mary ("Polly") Toppan. Polly married Benjamin Pickman Jr. in 1762 and within two years they had gone to live in a large new brick mansion, built for them by Benjamin's father, Col. Benjamin Pickman, on Washington Street (corner of Lynde). Then, in 1773, the Pickmans had taken up residence in the late Colonel's mansion in Essex Street near Liberty, on a site now covered by the Peabody Essex Museum complex. When they grew old, Benjamin and Polly retired to the Toppan house, and resided here in their last years. After Benjamin's death in 1819, his heirs in 1821 conveyed the premises to their brother William, as noted above.

When removal of the Toppan house was done and new construction began, William and Rawlins (as she was known) resided on Chestnut Street: writing in 1884, John H. Nichols recalled that the house at 34 Chestnut Street was first occupied "by my uncle, Charles Saunders, then (by) William Pickman and his sister L. Rawlins, while their house on Essex Street was being built by Daniel Bancroft, who was subsequently partner of Oliver Thayer in the lumber business. The next tenant was Frederick Howes..." (EIHC 81:180).

The Salem valuations show that William Pickman, who had been living in Boston for most of his adulthood, returned to Salem in 1819, the year in which his father died (on May 19<sup>th</sup>). The record-keeper in that year, for

ward four, recorded that William had no real estate but \$25,000 in personal estate (including \$600 in income)—this was the first time William's name appeared in the Salem valuations. It should be noted that he had an uncle William Pickman, deceased by 1820, whose son Dudley L. Pickman was a very successful Salem merchant. William occupied his late father's house (per 1820 census, p. 100). In 1822 he was taxed on a house & house lot, worth \$4,000; and he had personal estate of \$38,000 and income of \$2,000. In 1823, he was taxed on "house an unfinished house and land," worth \$6,000; and his personalty came to \$36,000 and income to \$2,000. In 1824 and thereafter he was taxed on "house and land" worth \$5,000 and personal estate worth \$40,000 (through 1827). By 1830 the homestead was valued at \$10,000 and personalty at \$74,000; and in 1835 at \$10k and at \$70k. From this, it is evident that a new house was built in 1823 and completed in or by 1824.

William Pickman spared no expense in building his mansion. The contractor, Daniel Bancroft, was one of the best builders in Salem, and had built similar mansions on Chestnut Street. This new house was the product of excellent design and the talents of Salem's superb corps of housewrights, joiners, and carpenters; and its overall appearance, and the high level of its finish and elegance, were no doubt a joint effort of Mr. Pickman and Mr. Bancroft (note: Samuel McIntire, the father of fine architectural design in Salem and the transformer of the town's appearance beginning in the 1780s, had died in 1811).

#### The Bezaleel Toppan House.

The house-lot here was owned in 1700 by William Hirst Esq., a wealthy merchant who used it as an orchard. He died owning the parcel in 1717. It was eventually set off to one of his heirs, Mrs. Elizabeth Price, and from her it went to her four children, who sold the orchard in 1733 to Bezaleel Toppan, Salem physician (ED 62:61, 63:243-245). Dr. Toppan probably proceeded to build a very fine house on the lot right away, in 1733.

Bezaleel Toppan (1705-1762) grew up in Newbury, the son of a minister; and he was sent to Harvard, class of 1725, to prepare to become a clergyman too. He tried out the ministry, and almost became a parson at Topsfield, but he found that he had other interests, and by 1730 or so he had settled at Salem as a doctor of medicine. He was good at this, and in 1734 married Mary Barton, of a prominent family. He practiced medicine exclusively until about 1745, when he set up an apothecary shop, purchased

large interests in a couple of vessels, and became something of a merchant. He inherited some lands in Maine as well.

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 between Liberty and Washington, dominated Salem's society, and the Brownes were leading merchants of the early 1700s, followed by Benjamin Pickman Sr. (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.

Bezaleel Toppan was a successful merchant, and became a rich man; but his life was blighted by the early deaths of his children. He and his wife had sons Willoughby and Thomas, both of whom would die in their twenties. Thomas was a Harvard graduate and a very promising young man. Of their daughters, Sarah, Mary, and Anna, Sarah died at nineteen in 1759, and Anna died young. Only "Polly" (Mary) would survive to marry and have children. She was beautiful and very self-possessed, and married, at seventeen, Benjamin Pickman Jr., in April, 1762. In August her father died, having survived four of his five children. Polly inherited everything, including the homestead.

At that time, the merchant class in Salem, to which Benjamin and Polly belonged, was beginning to face serious challenges to its status. 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. Now the Americans were forced to see themselves as misbehaving colonials, and to realize that they were not free. They did not like this picture, and the result was bitter public opposition and more street violence in Boston. The Boston Massacre took place in March, 1770; in short order, all of Massachusetts turned openly against the British, and the clouds of war gathered on the horizon.

Pre-revolutionary Salem had more than its share of Tories; but the Sons of Liberty were in the majority. Wealthy scions of families like the Curwens, Pickmans (Benjamin included), and Brownes, stayed loyal to the King, as did many others who had married into the merchant families. In 1773, Benjamin Pickman's father died and he came into a very large inheritance, and moved his family into the Pickman mansion (site of Peabody Essex Museum). 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 Benjamin Pickman's sister. 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, a rebel. 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. Benjamin Pickman had seen enough: he put his children and property in charge of his wife Polly, and sailed away to England to wait things out—for a very long time, as it turned out. If it came to war, he did not wish to fight for either side. His brother William (uncle of the future builder of this house), also a Harvard man (class of 1766), remained in Salem and took the rebel side, and protected his brother's interests and family. William married Elizabeth Leavitt in 1776, and they and their three children resided here in the

Toppan house, probably during the revolutionary years, 1775-1783, and certainly by 1790 (per 1790 census).

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 1779, William Pickman resided here in ward four, and was taxed on the house (\$7k), part of distill house \$2k, 9 acres and commonage right, part of a warehouse, all valued at \$22,000, with ¼ of the schooner Lark, 1/8 of a another vessel & cargo, and a horse, chaise, cow stock, and faculty, all worth \$20,000. (p.551). This was the flood tide of privateering, and William was doing well. By 1785, it was a different story: the war was over, he had suffered losses, money had been revalued, and William was taxed on half a house, \$350, and personal property worth \$200. He had been a selectman in the 1770s, and a representative to the legislature in 1788-9. He went broke in the mercantile business but was appointed Naval Officer of the port (until 1803).

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.). With Salem prospering, Benjamin Pickman returned to

Salem in 1785, and found that he was welcome. He must have been very happy to have been reunited with family, and especially with his remarkable wife, Polly Toppan Pickman, who had preserved all of the property, grown their net worth, and raised the children to fine young ladies and gentlemen.

One of those children was William, born in 1774 just before his father had left and so without any memory of the man who suddenly appeared in 1785 when William was almost eleven. One imagines that Benjamin Pickman did his best to be a good father to his children. William, like the other boys, was guided toward the career of a merchant, for Salem was a boom-town, and its ships returned with the riches of the Orient in their holds. By the 1790s, the new foreign-trade markets—and the coffee trade, which would be opened in 1798 with Mocha, Arabia—raised the level of wealth throughout the town: new ships were bought and built, more crews were formed with more shipmasters, new shops and stores opened, new partnerships were formed, and new people moved to town. In 1792 Salem's first bank, the Essex Bank, was founded, although it "existed in experiment a long time before it was incorporated," per Rev. William Bentley. From a population of 7921 in 1790, the town would grow by 1500 persons in a decade.

In the late 1790s, there was agitation in Congress to go to war with France, which was at war with England. After Pres. Adams' negotiators were rebuffed by the French leaders in 1797, a quasi-war with France began in summer, 1798, much to the horror of Salem's George Crowninshield family (father and five shipmaster sons), which had an extensive trade with the French, and whose ships and cargos in French ports were susceptible to seizure. The quasi-war brought about a split within the Salem population. Those who favored war with France (and detente with England) aligned themselves with the national Federalist party, led by Hamilton and Salem's Timothy Pickering (the U.S. Secretary of State). These included most of the merchants, led locally by the Derby family. Those who favored peace with republican France were the Anti-Federalists, who later became aligned with Pres. Jefferson and his Democratic-Republican party; they were led locally by the Crowninshields. For the first few years of this rivalry, the Federalists prevailed; but after the death of Hasket "King" Derby in 1799 his family's power weakened. At this time, 1798, William Pickman Jr., son of the William Pickman who had lived here with his family, died at sea at the age of twenty-one, leaving his parents a sister, Elizabeth, and a brother, Dudley.

In 1800 or before, Benjamin and Polly Pickman moved into the Toppan house here (see census), while William Pickman and family moved into a

house on Brown Street. In that year, Pres. Adams negotiated peace with France and fired Pickering, his oppositional Secretary of State. Salem's Federalists merchants erupted in anger, expressed through their newspaper, the *Salem Gazette*. At the same time, British vessels began to harass American shipping. Salem owners bought more cannon and shot, and kept pushing their trade to the farthest ports of the rich East, while also maintaining trade with the Caribbean and Europe. Salem cargos were exceedingly valuable, and Salem was a major center for distribution of merchandise throughout New England: "the streets about the wharves were alive with teams loaded with goods for all parts of the country. It was a busy scene with the coming and going of vehicles, some from long distances, for railroads were then unknown and all transportation must be carried on in wagons and drays. In the taverns could be seen teamsters from all quarters sitting around the open fire in the chilly evenings, discussing the news of the day or making merry over potations of New England rum, which Salem manufactured in abundance." (from Hurd's *History of Essex County*, 1888, p.65).

William Pickman (son of Ben & Polly), a well-trained young merchant, decided to seek his fortune in Boston. The rest of his family remained in Salem, but he found the opportunities of the capital irresistible. He set up as a merchant there, probably as a partner with others (at first), and he prospered.

In Salem, 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 a 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. From the wharves were carted all manner of strange fruits and blue and red patterned china and piles of gorgeous silks and figured cloths. The greatest of the Salem merchants at this time was William "Billy" Gray, who owned 36 large vessels—15 ships, 7 barks, 13 brigs, 1 schooner—by 1808. Salem was then still a town, and a small one by our standards, with a total population of about 9,500 in 1800. Its politics were fierce, and polarized everything. The two factions attended separate churches, held separate parades, and supported separate schools, military companies, and newspapers. Salem's merchants resided mainly on two streets: Washington (which ended in a wharf on the Inner Harbor, and, above Essex, had the Town House in the middle) and Essex (particularly between what are now Hawthorne Boulevard and North Street). The East Parish (Derby Street area) was for the seafaring families, shipmasters, sailors, and fishermen. In the 1790s, Federal Street, known as New Street,



had more empty lots than fine houses. Chestnut Street did not exist: its site was a meadow. The Common was not yet Washington Square, and was covered with hillocks, small ponds and swamps, utility buildings, and the alms-house. As the 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, and, in Samuel McIntire, they had a local architect who could help them realize their desires for large and beautiful homes in the latest style. While a few of the many new houses went up in the old Essex-Washington Street axis, most were erected on or near Washington Square or in the Federalist "west end" (Chestnut, Federal, and upper Essex Streets). The architectural style (called "Federal" today) had been developed by the Adam brothers in England and featured fanlight doorways, palladian windows, elongated pilasters and columns, and large windows. It was introduced to New England by Charles Bulfinch in 1790. The State House in Boston was his first institutional composition; and soon Beacon Hill was being built up with handsome residences in the Bulfinch manner.

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

A new bank, the Salem Bank, was formed in 1803, and there were two insurance companies and several societies and associations. The fierce politics and commercial rivalries continued. The ferment of the times is captured in the diary of Rev. William Bentley, bachelor minister of Salem's East Church and editor of the *Register* newspaper. His diary is full of references to the civic and commercial doings of the town, and to the lives and behaviors of all classes of society. He had high hopes for the future of a republican America, with well educated citizens. He observed and fostered the transition in Salem, and wrote in his diary (2 Dec. 1806), "While Salem

was under the greatest aristocracy in New England, few men thought, and the few directed the many. Now the aristocracy is gone and the many govern. It is plain it must require considerable time to give common knowledge to the people.” On Union Street, not far from Bentley’s church, on the fourth of July, 1804, was born a boy who would grow up to eclipse all sons of Salem in the eyes of the world: Nathaniel Hawthorne, whose father would die of fever while on a voyage to the Caribbean in 1808. This kind of untimely death was all too typical of Salem’s young seafarers, who fell prey to malaria and other diseases of the Caribbean and Pacific tropics.

In 1806 the Derbys extended their wharf far out into the harbor, tripling its previous length. This they did to create more space for warehouses and ship-berths in the deeper water, at just about the time that the Crowninshields had built their great India Wharf at the foot of now-Webb Street. The other important wharves were Forrester’s (now Central, just west of Derby Wharf), and Union Wharf at the foot of Union Street; and then, farther to the west, a number of smaller wharves extended into the South River (filled in during the late 1800s), 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.

Salem’s boom came to an end with a crash in January, 1808, when Jefferson and the Congress imposed an embargo on all shipping in hopes of forestalling war with Britain. The Embargo, which was widely opposed in New England, proved futile and nearly ruinous in Salem, where commerce ceased. As a hotbed of Democratic-Republicanism, Salem’s East Parish and its seafarers, led by the Crowninshields, loyally supported the Embargo until it was lifted in spring, 1809. Shunned by the other Salem merchants for his support of the Embargo, the eminent Billy Gray took his large fleet of ships—fully one-third of Salem’s tonnage—and moved to Boston, whose commerce was thereby much augmented. Gray’s removal eliminated a huge amount of Salem wealth, shipping, import-export cargos, and local employment. Gray soon switched from the Federalist party, and was elected Lt. Governor under Gov. Elbridge Gerry, a native of Marblehead.

Salem resumed its seafaring commerce for three years, but still the British preyed on American shipping; and in June, 1812, war was declared against Britain. Although the merchants had tried to prevent the war, when it came, Salem swiftly fitted out 40 privateers manned by Marblehead and Salem crews, who also served on U.S. Navy vessels, including the frigate *Constitution*. Many more local vessels could have been sent against the British, but some of the Federalist merchants held them back. In addition, Salem fielded companies of infantry and artillery. Salem and Marblehead privateers were largely successful in making prizes of British supply vessels. While many of the town's men were wounded in engagements, and some were killed, the possible riches of privateering kept the men returning to sea as often as possible. The first prizes were captured by a 30-ton converted fishing schooner, the *Fame*, and by a 14-ton luxury yacht fitted with one gun, the *Jefferson*. Of all Salem privateers, the Crowninshields' 350-ton ship *America* was most successful: she captured 30-plus prizes worth more than \$1,100,000.

Salem erected forts and batteries on its Neck, to discourage the British warships that cruised these waters. On land, the war went poorly for the United States, as the British captured Washington, DC, and burned the Capitol and the White House. Along the western frontier, U.S. forces were successful against the weak English forces; and, as predicted by many, the western expansionists had their day. At sea, as time wore on, Salem vessels were captured, and its men imprisoned or killed. After almost three years, the war was bleeding the town dry. Hundreds of Salem men and boys were in British prison-ships and at Dartmoor Prison in England. At the Hartford Convention in 1814, New England Federalist delegates met to consider what they could do to bring the war to a close and to restore the region's commerce. Sen. Timothy Pickering of Salem led the extreme Federalists in proposing a series of demands which, if not met by the federal government, could lead to New England's seceding from the United States; but the Pickering faction was countered by Harrison G. Otis of Boston and the moderate Federalists, who prevailed in sending a moderate message to Congress.

At last, in February, 1815, peace was restored. In November, 1815, William Pickman, uncle of the William Pickman in Boston, and former resident in the Toppan house, died at the age of sixty-eight.

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).

William Pickman, in Boston, was, no doubt, a frequent visitor in Salem, and much attached to his family. He had never married, but he had amassed an impressive fortune. In 1813 and before, his office was situated at 48 India Wharf, Boston (per directories); and soon after the War of 1812 he was joined (by 1816) on the wharf (but not in his business) by Benjamin T. Pickman, his nephew, who was in business with John W. Rogers (also originally of Salem) as Pickman & Rogers, which soon became Pickman, Rogers & Co. (William Lander was a new partner). William Pickman evidently closed his Boston business in 1819, and retired to Salem to enjoy the many attractions and the interesting society of his home town.

Pickman's father, Benjamin, died on 12 May 1819. Later in the year, he was followed into the grave by Rev. William Bentley, keen observer and active citizen during Salem's time of greatest prosperity and fiercest political divisions. In that year, too, 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.

The William Pickman House, built 1823.

As has been mentioned, William Pickman resided in the old house here (#328) after the death of his father Benjamin. His mother, Polly, had died in 1817, owning this property. The 1820 census (p. 100) shows that William Pickman, 46, resided here (in the old Toppan mansion) in a household that included himself, two young men, two young women (perhaps servants), and two women aged 26-45, one of whom was likely his sister Rawlins.

William Pickman had the new house built, in the highest style, in 1823, and moved in with his sister and their servants in 1824. He was welcome everywhere in Salem: a sensible, wealthy, intelligent fellow, modest and pleasant, he was recruited to serve on the boards of banks and insurance companies and charitable organizations. He did not actively participate in business, and did not have to, for he had made himself independently wealthy while in business in Boston.

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. 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, but the effort failed, 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. Terrified, the people of Salem locked their doors and kept on guard against murderous thugs; but the killer turned out to be a Crowninshield (a son of one of the five brothers) hired by Capt. White's own relatives, Capt. Joe Knapp and his brother Frank, who had hoped to inherit his money. Crowninshield killed himself in jail, and the Knapp brothers were executed. The results of the investigation and trial uncovered much that was lurid, and more respectable families quit the now-notorious town. William Pickman, far removed from all of this, remained here. In 1831 his homestead was valued at \$10,000 and his personal property at \$75,000 (see 1831 valuations). The back lot of his homestead, fronting northerly on Federal Street, he leased out to Henry K. Oliver, who evidently built his school-house thereupon, and conducted one of Salem's notable private schools there for at least ten years (see Wm Pickman papers, PEM, Box 2).

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.

In 1836, William Pickman served as a director of the Salem Turnpike & Chelsea Bridge Corporation and of the Salem Iron Factory Company, among other enterprises and institutions (see 1837 directory). He was a member of the North Church, whose meeting house stood at North and Lynde Streets. In the summer of 1834 the proprietors decided to buy a new site and have a new church built. William Pickman, one of the largest share-holders with ten shares (worth \$1000)—Joseph Peabody, the eminent merchant, held 25 shares—and his sister, Rawlins (who held two shares), agreed with the rest, and a new lot was purchased nearby on Essex Street, to the east of the Ropes house (ED 291:248); and a new meeting house, in tone Gothic style, was erected for their society, which afterward merged with the society of the First Church.

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 mean-spirited “introductory section” to **The Scarlet Letter**, which he began while working in the Custom House.

Although Hawthorne had no interest in describing it, Salem’s transformation did occur in the 1840s, as more industrial methods and machines were introduced, and many new companies in new lines of business arose. The Gothic symbol of Salem’s new industrial economy was the large twin-towered granite train station—the “stone depot”—smoking and growling with idling locomotives. It stood on filled-in land at the foot of Washington Street, where the merchants’ wharves had been; and from it the trains carried many valuable products as well as passengers. The tanning and curing of leather was very important in Salem by the mid-1800s. On and near Boston Street, along the upper North River, there were 41 tanneries in 1844, and 85 in 1850, employing 550 hands. The leather business would continue to grow in importance throughout the 1800s. In 1846 the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company completed the construction at Stage Point of the largest factory building in the United States, 60’ wide by 400’ long. It was an immediate success, and hundreds of people found employment there, many of them living in tenements built nearby. It too benefited from the Zanzibar and Africa trade, as it produced light cotton cloth for use in the tropics. Also in the 1840s, a new method was introduced to make possible high-volume industrial shoe production. In Lynn, the factory system was perfected, and that city became the nation’s leading shoe producer. Salem had shoe factories too, and attracted shoe workers from outlying towns and the countryside. Even the population began to transform, as hundreds of Irish families, fleeing the Famine in Ireland, settled in Salem and gave the industrialists a big pool of cheap labor.

In the 1840s, William and Rawlins Pickman resided here, with servants and others to keep house. In 1844, Charles Stone, 23, a laborer, was the chief hired man residing here and working for the Pickmans (see 1844 Street Book); he would move to lower Essex Street by 1845 (see 1846 Directory). By 1847 the other man living here with the Pickmans was John Walch (see 1848 Street Book, 328 Essex Street). Mr. “Walch” was, perhaps, the same John Walsh who was a noted schoolmaster in Salem for some years, and the son of Michael Walsh, a graduate of Trinity College in Ireland who had come to Salem in the 1780s, taught school, and moved on to Newburyport, where, among other achievements, he wrote a famous book on commercial accounting and mathematics.

In 1850 (per census), the household here consisted of Wm Pickman, 75, merchant (\$31,200), L. Rawlins Pickman, 65 (\$400), and their employees,

Michael Gleason, 30, Eliza Ryan, 25, and Willifred Burke, 25, all born in Ireland (1850 census, w4, h.522). The years passed, and Mr. Pickman grew very old. He was visited frequently by relatives. By 1856, his niece, the daughter of a deceased brother (Dr. Thomas Pickman, who died in 1816), Mary, had married George B. Loring, who had been appointed postmaster; and the Lorings lived in a house at 314 Essex with Mrs. Loring's mother, the widow Mrs. Sophia Palmer Pickman. Mr. Pickman managed his investments astutely, and was a rentier of some buildings inherited from his father, located on Charter Street, Fish Street, and a lot on Pleasant Street (see Wm. Pickman papers, PEM, Box 2)

At some point, evidently, Mr. Pickman transferred ownership of the house and land here to his sister, Miss Rawlins Pickman, subject to devises in his will.

William Pickman died on May 1, 1857, in his 83rd year. Various obituaries were written about his sterling qualities. The Essex Institute published a notice: "William Pickman, son of Benjamin Pickman & Mary Toppan, born 25 June 1774. In early life he was a merchant in Boston—for many years he has lived in his native place, not immediately engaged in the active duties of life. He was an upright merchant, abounding in commercial integrity, an eminent citizen, though of modest pretensions, and faithful in all his duties. He died on Friday morning, May 1, 1857." (EIHC 2:178).

In a newspaper, this notice ran: "The venerable William Pickman, Esq., who died on May 1 at the age of 82, was a man of wealth and rare intrinsic worth: an honorable merchant, of an honorable race, upright and benevolent, abounding in commercial information and various knowledge with clear and enlightened views of public affairs and the great interests of the country. An eminent citizen, though of modest pretensions, faithful in all his duties and relations to society, civil, social, and religious, and as deeply interested in the public welfare as he was strongly attached to private life... His memory, so blest, cannot fail to console those who are most severely bereaved by his death." (Salem *Observer*, 9 May 1857).

William Pickman's will was put through probate; and his personal property was found to total \$127,578.71 (#50225, 2 June 1857, testate, will 419:141, inventory 214:373). His sister, the new owner, invited the Lorings and Mrs. Sophia Pickman to come live with her, and they did, buy 1858 (see 1859 directory).

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).

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

By 1860, with the election of Abraham Lincoln, it was clear that the Southern states would secede from the union; and Salem, which had done so much to win the independence of the nation, was ready to go to war to force others to remain a part of it. In that year (census)...

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; a million men were dead; the union was preserved and the South was under martial rule. Salem, with many wounded soldiers and grieving families, welcomed the coming of peace.

Through the 1860s, Salem pursued manufacturing, especially of leather and shoes and textiles. The managers and capitalists tended to build their new, grand houses along Lafayette Street (these houses may still be seen, south of Roslyn Street; many are in the French Second Empire style, with mansard roofs). A third factory building for the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company was built in 1865.

By then, the Loring were the owners of the Pickman homestead. In August, 1861, for \$6000, some of the devisees in William Pickman's will sold to trustees (of Mrs. Mary. T. Loring) their right in the homestead (ED 627:119). Mary's mother, Mrs. Sophia Pickman, died in 1863 (probate 50224, 6 Jan. 1863); and Miss Love Rawlins Pickman, the residual owner, died on Nov. 1, 1863 (probate 50222, 5 Jan. 1864, 50222, will 423:17, inventory 237:695, \$15,400 r.e. and \$79,117 p.e.)

George B. Loring (1817-1891) and wife Mary T. Pickman (they wed on 6 Nov. 1851) lived here with their daughter Sallie (a daughter Mary died young). Dr. Loring's long and distinguished career may be traced in the appended materials (one article is less than just to him, in its focus on his dealings regarding property rather than his many public contributions). He was the son of Sally Pickman (Osgood) Loring, and himself a great-grandson of Col. Benjamin Pickman. A physician at first in Boston, then a post-master in Salem (1853-1858), he was a strong Democrat and served as state representative and state senator (president of the Senate) from Salem, founded the New England Agricultural Society, and served as a Congressman (1876-1879), federal agricultural commissioner, and ambassador to Portugal (his cousin Charlotte Osgood was married to Moses T. Stevens, also a Congressman). He had many talents, and was an author and journalist (see sample article attached) and a prominent agriculturalist who operated the Pickman Farm, toward Swampscott, as something of a model farm (Loring Avenue is named for him). He enlarged this house (probably added the port-cochere etc., and back rooms), remodeled some parts of the interior and introduced modern appliances and bathrooms, but in general he showed admirable restraint and preserved the beautiful original features from the days of William Pickman.

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.

By 1880 (per census, ward four, house 177) the household here consisted of George B. Loring, 62, Member of Congress, daughter Sallie P., 20; servants Michael Daly & Honora Daly, 49 & 50, both born in Ireland (and illiterate) and Annie Hallahan, 27. After the death of his wife Mary he married, second, Mrs. Anna (Smith) Hildreth.

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, was moved to a larger site on Bridge Street in 1888, opposite the Beverly Shore.

On Sept. 14, 1891, George B. Loring died. He had been one of the great men of his day in Salem, and was honored by his fellow citizens. He no longer owned this house at the time, for in May, 1885, he had sold the premises to Mrs. Mary Jane ("Jennie M.") (Bertram) Emmerton, wife of George R. Emmerton (ED 1149:140,140). The sale price was \$15,000. The lot fronted 97' on Essex Street, and ran back about 300' to land of Shreve.

Mr. Emmerton, a prominent businessman and bank president served as a city alderman. He and Mrs. Emmerton resided here, and had two daughters, Mrs. George B. Shattuck and Miss Caroline O. Emmerton, the philanthropist and founder of the House of Seven Gables Settlement House and historic-buildings complex. Right away, in 1885, the Emmertons hired Arthur Little (1852-1925) as their architect, to remodel the Pickman-Loring house. He did so, adding columns and rooms in back, and remodeling some of the interiors, without intruding unduly on the beautiful work done for William Pickman. He evidently designed the port-cochere at the side entrance; and he remodeled the front entrance with new fanlight and sidelights (see John V. Goff, *Salem As Architectural Mecca*, pp. 196-7, in the book *Salem: Place, Myth, and Memory*, 2004).

The Emmertons resided here for many years, and made many contributions to the life of Salem. George predeceased Jennie, who died while on a visit to Petersham, NH, aged 75 years, on August 15, 1912 (see appended obituary). The ownership of the house descended to their daughters, and Miss Caroline Emmerton resided here.

Salem continued as a manufacturing center past the turn of the century. More factories and more people required more space for buildings, more roads, and more storage areas. This space was created by filling in rivers, harbors, and ponds. The once-broad North River was filled from both shores, and became a canal along Bridge Street above the North Bridge.

The large and beautiful Mill Pond, which occupied the whole area between the present Jefferson Avenue, Canal Street, and Loring Avenue, finally vanished beneath streets, storage areas, junk-yards, rail-yards, and parking lots. The South River, too, with its epicenter at Central Street (that's why there was a Custom House built there in 1805) disappeared under the pavement of Riley Plaza and New Derby Street, and some of its old wharves were joined together with much in-fill and turned into coal-yards and lumber-yards. Only a canal was left, running in from Derby and Central Wharves to Lafayette Street.

Salem kept growing. The Canadians were followed in the early 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.

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 (no doubt Miss Caroline Emmerton was a major contributor of charitable relief to those who were displaced). It was one of the greatest urban disasters in the history of the United States, and the people of Salem

would take years to recover from it. Eventually, they did, and many of the former houses and businesses were rebuilt; and several urban-renewal projects (including Hawthorne Boulevard, which involved removing old houses and widening old streets) were put into effect.

By the 1920s, Salem was once again a thriving city; and its tercentenary in 1926 was a time of great celebration. The Depression hit in 1929, and continued through the 1930s. Salem, the county seat and regional retail center, gradually rebounded, and prospered after World War II through the 1950s and into the 1960s. 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, and mill-operatives are all honored as a large part of what makes Salem different from any other place.

—Robert Booth for Historic Salem, Inc., 11 March 2005

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## Glossary & Sources

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

--Robert Booth





long to do something that may be Serviceable to others; You know I have always had full Employ, I abhor Idleness, I wish that a Door may be open'd that I may lay out the small Talents God has bestow'd upon me in His Service — I beg the Favor of you to inquire of the Members of the Congress, if they know of any Town that is destitute of a School Master, you know that I am capable of Instructing Youth not only in the Languages but also in Writing & Arithmetick etc. I must as soon as possible do something to Support my Family, the small matter in Money I had by me will soon be gone. . . . If there is any thing you can think of, that I can do if never so mean an Office, Im quite willing to do it.<sup>4</sup>

Sweetser was distressed at the prospect of laying his bones elsewhere than in his beloved Charlestown and he returned to the ruined village as soon as circumstances permitted. There his neighbors "looked up to him for advice and assistance, as did the Jews to Nehemiah after their return from captivity."<sup>5</sup> According to family tradition he died sitting comfortably in his accustomed chair on January 15, 1778.<sup>6</sup>

Seth Sweetser had "a mind naturally strong . . . with a large stock of ancient and modern learning" and "a remarkable faculty of communicating his ideas." His success as a teacher was attested "by the many shining characters, both in church and state . . . formed under his tuition."

With an heart susceptible of all the warmth and tenderness of friendship, he possessed an openness of temper which demanded esteem and confidence upon the first acquaintance; having had large opportunities of acquiring anecdotes concerning first characters upon the ancient and modern stage, joined to an extensive knowledge of books and of the human heart; his conversation was agreeable to all, and the hours spent by his friends in his company, were esteemed among the most pleasant and profitable of their lives. Inoffensive and benevolent in his disposition, prudent and circumspect in his conversation, Master Sweetser . . . never had an enemy. His sacred regard to the religion of the Redeemer rendered him careful to perform with exactness, punctuality, and cheerfulness, every duty incumbent upon him.<sup>7</sup>

His estate, other than the Pemaquid property, which was of very doubtful value, came to only £665.<sup>8</sup> His widow lived until September 21, 1800.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Frothingham Mss. (M. H. S.), July 4, 1775.

<sup>5</sup> *Boston Gazette*, Feb. 23, 1778.

<sup>6</sup> J. L. Sibley, Ms. Colls. (H. U. A.); <sup>7</sup> *Boston Gazette*, Feb. 23, 1778.

<sup>8</sup> Middlesex Probate Records, LVIII, 428-9; LIX, 243-4.

<sup>9</sup> For the children, see Thomas B. Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown* (Boston, 1879).

## BEZALEEL TOPPAN

BEZALEEL TOPPAN, a Salem physician, was born at Newbury on March 7, 1704/5, the third son of the Reverend Christopher (A.B. 1691) and Sarah (Angier) Toppan. At college he waited on the fellows' table and joined heartily in the riot with which his class celebrated the end of their four years. In 1725 he returned to take his second degree, presenting an argument to the effect that "Omnes Comminationes sunt Conditionales."

In the spring of 1726 Toppan participated in the founding of Penacook, now Concord, New Hampshire. Tradition relates that under a great tree he preached the first sermon to the gathered settlers. Despite his investment as a proprietor of Penacook, he either did not receive or did not accept a call to the ministry there. In the fall of 1727 he was an unsuccessful candidate at Topsfield. When the successful competitor, Benjamin Bradstreet (A.B. 1725), finally decided not to accept, the church and town united in giving Toppan a call, but "notwithstanding the Last vote the Town for some Reasons Did Decline sending a Committee to the said Mr Tappan." After some dickering with Jacob Eliot (A.B. 1720) the town, in May, 1728, called Toppan by "a great Majority of votes"; but again nothing came of it.

Having reached the age of twenty-three, Toppan knew that his chances of obtaining a good church were gone, so he settled in Salem as a physician. On June 27, 1734, he married Mary, daughter of Colonel Thomas and Mary (Willoughby) Barton. After some fifteen years in the practice of medicine Toppan began to engage in "mercantile pursuits" as a method of investing his savings. He owned a small shop which carried apothecary's goods and everything else from wine to soap, and he owned the greater part of the brigantine *Sally*, which was engaged in the West Indies trade. By inheritance he acquired the family quarrel with his classmate William Vaughan over Damariscotta lands, which, with other legal disputes, kept him in court much of the time. His Boston apothecary testified in one of these cases that Toppan was "the Greatest Rogue upon Earth."<sup>2</sup> If so, that distinction passed to someone else

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Coll. Topsfield*, XVII, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Early Files in the Office of the Clerk of the Suffolk Supreme Court, 51,009.

on August 9, 1762. The estate inventoried over £2500, including long lists of bad notes. In the list of the goods in "the Warehouse on the Wharf" "a Negro Man Called Peter" appears with the brandy and Fyal.<sup>3</sup>

The Toppans had five children: (1) Willoughby, bp. Nov. 9, 1735; bur. May 10, 1760. (2) Thomas, bp. July 18, 1738; A.B. 1757; bur. Apr. 25, 1758. (3) Sarah, bp. July 20, 1740; d. Oct. 17, 1759. (4) Mary, bp. Aug. 12, 1744; m. Benjamin Pickman (A.B. 1759), Apr. 22, 1762; d. Apr. 28, 1817. (5) Anna, bp. Nov. 20, 1757.

### WILLIAM VAUGHAN

CAPTAIN WILLIAM VAUGHAN of Louisbourg fame was born at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on September 12, 1703, the oldest son of Lieutenant Governor George (A.B. 1696) and Elizabeth (Elliot) Vaughan. When he went up to Cambridge he carried a 27s tip for Tutor Flynt, but he hardly needed a friend at court, for he was a quiet lad for one of his social position. In view of his place in the New Hampshire oligarchy it is interesting that the *Quaestio* which he presented for his M.A. was an argument to the effect that the will of the people is the basis of civil law. He was unable to appear in person at that Commencement, but the Corporation decided that his absence was unavoidable and voted him his degree anyway.<sup>1</sup>

Probably Vaughan was busy settling his father's estate, which included Portsmouth land willed to "son William and to his heirs forever,"<sup>2</sup> an unfortunate clause which caused the family a great deal of difficulty for many years. A contemporary observed that the Lieutenant Governor, "poor Gentleman, was Led into the Scrape by Mr. William Vaughan & hath paid dearly for it."<sup>3</sup> Whatever the

There are many references to Toppam, none of them of any consequence, in the court files and the state archives.

<sup>3</sup> Essex Probate Records, CCCXL, 32-5.

<sup>1</sup> According to Vaughan's biographer he "was entitled to the prefix of Mr. to his name, an honor which six of his class were not considered entitled to." *Coll. Maine Hist. Soc.* VIII, 296. "Mr." in the old college catalogue is only the equivalent of "M. A."

<sup>2</sup> *Probate Records of New Hampshire (Provincial Papers Series)*, II, 243.

<sup>3</sup> *Provincial Papers*, V, 161.

origin and purpose of the clause, it made trouble when William tried to sell some of the land for building lots. He appealed to the legislature to break the entail, arguing that his father had not intended to apply it to the land which he wished to sell. However, Jonathan Belcher (A.B. 1699), who became Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire in 1730, was a brother of George Vaughan's first wife and was of a different political complexion from that of the would-be purchaser, so the matter was hung up for years.

William Vaughan first settled in Portsmouth as a merchant but devoted an increasing amount of time and energy to his interests at Matinicus Island, off Penobscot Bay. In 1727 the Indians killed some of his livestock there<sup>4</sup> and were required at the Peace of Falmouth, in 1732, to pay him, through the province, a bundle of beaver skins by way of indemnity.<sup>5</sup> In 1728 he built a house and stages on the island from which he sent his employees in small vessels to the Newfoundland banks. On one occasion when he and his little fleet were at Portsmouth, the day set for sailing to Matinicus was so stormy that sailors protested that such small vessels could not carry sail. With characteristic obstinate courage he boarded one and ordered the others to follow him to sea. One was wrecked.<sup>6</sup>

By 1732 Vaughan had begun to shift his interests from fishing to lumbering. Whereas most of the magnates in that business followed a policy of plundering the naval reserve, cutting the royal mast trees into staves or selling them to the King of Spain, Vaughan made some sort of coöperative agreement with David Dunbar, the Surveyor General of the King's woods. From Dunbar, Adam Winthrop (A.B. 1694), Benning Wentworth (A.B. 1715), and others he acquired title to most of the lands now covered by the towns of Bristol, Bremen, Damariscotta, Nobleboro, Newcastle, Jefferson, and Waldoboro. This involved him in long and bitter lawsuits with Christopher Toppam (A.B. 1691) and Tutor Flynt which, had he lost, would have completely ruined him. The cost of fighting some of these through to the General Court of Massachusetts, at that time the supreme judicial court, and the amount of money in-

<sup>4</sup> *Coll. Maine Hist. Soc.* X, 257-60.

<sup>5</sup> Executive Records of the Province Council, IX, 582.

<sup>6</sup> Jeremy Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, II (1791), pp. 197-8.

near the year 1824. When removed the two sections were so placed as to leave room for the hall between them, and the third story was added over the whole. The expense of removal and refitting, together with the additions probably amounted to as much as a new brick house would have cost. The first occupant was my uncle Charles Sanders, then William Pickman and his sister L. Rawlins, while their house on Essex Street was being built by Daniel Bancroft, who was subsequently partner of Oliver Thayer, in the lumber business. The next tenant was Frederick Howes, (father of Mrs. Cabot, Miss Elizabeth and William B. Howes). The land on which this house and that next westerly stood was purchased by Mr. West of the Rev. Brown Emerson and the widow Sarah Holmes, grandmother of Mrs. John Bertram.

The history of most of the other estates on the northerly side of Chestnut Street, you are probably familiar with, but if any information is desired, which I can furnish, it will afford me pleasure to give it, on hearing from you.

As respects the dinners to distinguished persons, given in Hamilton Hall, I now recollect only those to Dr. Bowditch, at the time he left Salem, and to the Marquis Lafayette, in the autumn of 1824, at which my grandfather, Ichabod Nichols, was present, and on being introduced as a Revolutionary soldier he was affectionately embraced by the Marquis. Of assemblies, as they were called, balls, receptions and important fairs, held in the Hall, your mother can doubtless give a much better account than I could. The two prominent dancing masters within my recollection were Mr. Parks, whose school in the supper room I attended, and Mr. Lorenzo Papanti.

When a boy I was given the following account of the original laying out of Chestnut Street. At the time it was proposed to open the street, the owners of land on one side were unwilling to contribute their proportion and it was then made of half its present width by those on the opposite side, who left a narrow strip, with a wall standing upon it, so that the recusant abutters should not be benefited by the new street. When, however, at a later period the latter were willing to part with a portion of their land as first contemplated their proposition was rejected,

and they then made another street of the same width, leaving the wall in the center. On the erection of some house, Captain Phillips', I think, each of the workmen employed received a certain stipulated sum for carrying away a stone from the wall every time he left work, until the whole were removed, and thus the street became double the width originally designed. Whether this account be true or merely a legend you may perhaps be able to ascertain, but the fact that the building situated easterly of Hamilton Hall, when occupied by Moses Smith, stood considerably farther north than the present house, may give some plausibility to the story.

Your very truly,  
John H. Nichols.

have hereunto set our hands and seals this twenty third day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty one.

Isaac Esgood - - - seal

signed sealed and delivered in presence of us  
W. B. the word "Pickman" being first blotted out  
and "Esgood" interlined

Mary Esgood - - - seal

Essex ss. December third 1821. Then the above  
named Isaac Esgood and Mary Esgood  
his wife appeared and acknowledged the above

G. P. Esgood Isaac Esgood jun.

instrument to be their free act and deed. before me Hobart Clark Just. Peace

Essex ss. Received December 31. 1821. recorded and examined by Amos Choate Regr -

Love R. Pickman

Know all Men by these Presents that I Love R. Pickman of Salem in the County of Essex singlewoman, in consideration of the sum of seven hundred dollars to me paid by William Pickman of Salem aforesaid Esquire, the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge do hereby give grant sell and convey unto the said William Pickman and his heirs and assigns forever one undivided fifth part of a dwelling house and parcel of land under and adjoining situate in Salem aforesaid and bounded as follows to wit southerly on Essex street about ninety seven feet westerly on land of Jacob Ashton and others of John Dalanus of the widow Morgan and of James Cook about four hundred and seventy three feet in the whole, northerly on Federal street about one hundred and twelve feet and easterly on land of William Roberts of Ebenezer Dodge of Jonathan P. Felt and of the widow of the late Nathaniel Popes about four hundred and eighty feet in the whole or however otherwise the said estate may be bounded it being the messuage lately occupied by Benjamin Pickman late of said Salem deceased my father and the said undivided fifth part thereof having descended to me from my late mother Mary wife of the said Benjamin deceased. To have and to hold the granted premises with the appurtenances to the said William Pickman his heirs and assigns to his and their use and benefit forever. And I the said Love R. Pickman for myself my heirs executors and administrators do hereby covenant with the said William Pickman his heirs and assigns that I am lawfully seized in fee of the premises that they are free of all incumbrances that I have good right to sell and convey the same to the said William and that I will and my heirs executors and administrators shall warrant and defend the same to the said William Pickman his heirs and assigns forever against the lawful claims and demands of any persons. In WITNESS whereof I the said Love R. Pickman have hereunto set my hand and seal this twenty third day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty one

to

William Pickman

229:67

23 Oct. 1821

signed sealed and delivered

L. Rowland Pickman - - - seal

in presence of us

Leverett Saltonstall

Dudley S. Pickman

Essex ss. Salem October 23. A. D. 1821. Then the  
above named Love R. Pickman personally  
appeared and acknowledged the above in-

strument to be her free act and deed before me Leverett Saltonstall Just. Peace

Essex ss. Received December 31. 1821. recorded and examined by Amos Choate Regr

The Salem Observer

SATURDAY, MAY 9, 1857.

THE MORMON QUESTION

Our leading politicians are severely exercised in their minds concerning the Mormons in Utah and whether they shall admit that interesting colony of fanatics into the Union as equals with their polygamy and all kindred abominations. The Squatter Sovereignty doctrine invented by pro-slavery politicians to take the place of the constitution and the declaration of our National and Human Rights, says that the Mormons must be admitted, just as they are, wives, theocracy, Danite band, and all. Because, says the doctrine, the people of a territory, the squatters who manage first to scramble into a territory, have a sovereign right to decide upon and definitely fix the institutions thereof, not only for themselves, but for all posterity. They may do just as they choose. They may vote away human rights if they see fit, declare the Declaration of Independence a humbug and Jefferson a fool for writing it, set up just such institutions, adopt such laws and regulations, as they prefer, and all this is nobody's business. This doctrine was invented for the benefit of Slavery, which being unable to get into the new territories under sanction of the Constitution, must be forced in in spite of it, and it is now very naturally seized upon by the Mormons to strengthen their claim to admission into the Union.

Mormons being as shrewd as those who have a worldly sort of religion always are, have happily combined the slavery question with their own in a common interest. The Mormons believe in Slavery, and hold a few slaves, and will be happy to make an arrangement with our Southern brethren to perpetuate Slavery in Utah as a consideration for admittance into the Union with their spiritual harems. This will be a fair trade, and as both parties will profit by it, it will be all right. And the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty will justify and sanctify the whole proceeding. Nor do we see why the slave holding states should object to this nice little arrangement. The South has polygamy already in its midst, as a necessary incident of Slavery. Virginia, which raises slaves for the market, practices polygamy, not upon religious principle, as the Mormons pretend to do, but for the mere vulgar purpose of pecuniary gain. Slavery, being as the great Wesley said, "the sum of all villainies," includes the villainy of polygamy in its own aggregated enormity.

Our countrymen, or rather our pro-slavery masters, have abandoned the ancient principles of their Fathers at an unfortunate time. They have denied the enlightened and liberal principles of the great Declaration, just in season to favor the purposes of the Mormons. God always entraps the wicked in their own snares in just this way. The Mormons can be kept out of the Union only by adherence to the original principles of the founders of the government, unmodified by such absurdities as "squatter sovereignty."

The "enlightened" republicans of the country based their "enlightened" republicanism upon the enlightenedness of civilized mankind. They did not appeal to the examples of the past, but confided in the growth of the future. They declared human rights to be inalienable. They did not condescend to argue them, but simply asserted them. The Mormons and their apologists claim that the right of religious freedom is involved in polygamy. They have made

THE LOBSTER TRADE IN SALEM

The lobstermen are just now as busy as bees in prosecuting their laborious and sometimes hazardous business. Many of our readers may not know how extensively and successfully this business is carried on in this place. There are four different establishments now in operation where lobsters are boiled by the quantity daily for our own consumption and the supply of the interior trade. These establishments are those of Messrs John N. Martin, Dudley B. Davis, Jacob Wilson, and Edward Tucker. They are all situated in the vicinity of Bridge street, that part of the city being convenient to the fishing-grounds and affording facilities for carrying on the business.

At the present time some 42 men are employed in the business, and 18 dories are in daily use. The present month is the best in the year for the lobster trade. They are now abundant. The season commences in March, when only the small fry are caught, and continues until the first of July, after which time it is considered to be pretty much over. The month of May is the height of the season. The average catch per day at this season is estimated at nearly 3000. The Lobsters are taken chiefly from the vicinity of Tinker's Island, at present, but pretty soon they will scatter more, and the traps will need to be often removed to new grounds.

Each lobster boat when it goes down the harbor to the traps, is manned by two men, one of whom rows the boat from buoy to buoy, while the other raises the traps, takes out the lobsters if any have been caught, and puts in new bait of flounders, cod, or scallops. Each boat takes care of about 60 traps. These are made, as is well known, of laths, hoops, and cord, and are sunk to the bottom by heavy stones. They are valued at about \$1 apiece. There are probably about a thousand now in use by our lobstermen. During the recent great storm a great many of them were destroyed, to the hindrance as well as the loss of the owners. The men who go in the boats are paid \$1 a hundred or three cents apiece for the lobsters they catch, when they find their own boats and traps. During this busy season they usually haul twice a day.

Not only is our own city thus supplied, but also a large inland trade. Crates of fresh lobsters, newly caught, and "smoking hot," are daily forwarded to Lawrence, Lowell, Manchester, Nashua, and other interior places. It is estimated that our fishermen took about 150,000 lobsters last year, which were sold in the market. This looks a good deal like enterprise, in a branch of business which seems at first sight not to offer much opportunity for increase.

The natural history of the lobster is but imperfectly known. Their habits are curious. In the cold season they strike off into deep water. They burrow in holes among the rocks and sea-weeds like woodchucks, and during spawning time while the female attends to that matter in her snug retreat, the male stands guard at the entrance. Early in the spring the small lobsters are the first to appear, and many are then taken and sold, which now that the large ones are abundant would be thrown away as too small. The age which the lobster attains is unknown. In size they are sometimes found so large as to weigh 25 pounds. The fisherman says that lobsters are occasionally found that have cast off their old shell and are so soft and yielding that they can be squeezed in the hand like India rubber. When a lobster loses a claw, or any of its parts, nature very readily and promptly causes a new one to grow in the place.

THE NATIONAL HOTEL DISEASE still remains unexplained, and even uninvestigated. The

OBITUARY NOTICES

We copy from the Gazette the following notice of two of our most respected citizens, just deceased:

"The venerable (Wm. Thomas, Esq., who died on Friday last inst. at the age of 82, was a man of wealth and of a rare intrinsic worth;—an honorable merchant, of an honorable race; upright and benevolent, abounding in commercial information and various knowledge, with clear and enlightened views of public affairs and the great interests of the country; An eminent citizen, though of modest pretensions, faithful in all his duties and relations to society, civil, social, and religious, and as deeply interested in the public welfare as he was strongly attached to private life.—A true christian gentleman, alike remarkable for his politeness and his liberality, for his candor and his independence, for his kind disposition and his sound judgment, for the delicacy of his feelings and the firmness of his principles; of whom it might be emphatically said that he never had an enemy and never lost a friend, being universally esteemed throughout his long earthly career for his beneficent virtues and his pure and excellent character. His memory, so blest, cannot fail to console those who are most severely bereaved by his death.

On Saturday last, 2d inst, Capt. JAMES W. CHEVER died in his bed, very suddenly, of an apoplectic attack, having retired to rest at his usual hour, apparently in perfect health.

In early life Capt Chever had been distinguished for a spirit of bold adventure, and at the opening of his manhood was commander of the famous and successful privateer America, in the war of 1812. He has passed through all the contaminating influence of a seaman's life, at home and abroad, in peace and in war, but they had left no stain upon his mind or manners. He had all the masculine virtues which are developed by the noble calling of seamanship, without the rough and coarse qualities which sometimes grow up side by side with them. There was no asperity in his nature. His frank, cheerful, guileless countenance was a true index of his disposition. In an acquaintance of many years we never heard him utter an ill-natured word in reference to any person. His faithfulness to duty was unswerving. His integrity without a stain. His life was a continued round of activity and usefulness to the last conscious moment of existence. His genial, friendly, nature made every one his friend, and he will long be missed and mourned from our active haunts of business.

SALEM FIVE CENTS SAVINGS BANK. The second annual report of the Treasurer of this flourishing and useful institution, dated May 7, 1857, is published, from which we copy the following items:

The figures below as compared with the First Annual Report, will show its increased prosperity.	
By the First Annual Report the number of Depositors, was	1,111
At the close of business this day there are	1,806
Showing an increase of	695
By the first annual Report, there was on Deposit.	\$11,775 31
The amount on deposit to-day is	122,284 86
Showing an increase of	\$77,509 55
The state of the Bank at the close of business this day, is as follows:	
On deposit by 1,806 depositors	\$122,284 86
Profits on hand	2,511 63
	\$125,096 49

The Treasurer states, that the present loan is so abundantly secured that under no ordinary circumstances can any losses arise.

REV. THOMAS T. STONE'S LECTURES, upon English Literature, closed on Thursday evening.

They have been admirable and excellent, and have delighted those who have had the opportunity to hear them. We doubt if ever a course of lectures was given in Salem which so entirely pleased and satisfied the audience. The topics were: 1. the Written Word and the Tale; 2. the Drama; 3. the Allegory; 4. the Song; 5. the Essay; 6. the Sermon. These covered nearly the whole field of English literature, and the topics were treated in such an original, profound, unobscure, eloquent, and truly

SUPREME JUDICIAL COURT

The Court has been in session during the week since Tuesday. Chief Justice Shaw will on the bench. Most of the time was occupied in the trial of the case of

CHASE & CO. vs. DANIEL M. BREED

This was an action on a bond, given to the plaintiff by the defendant and one Josiah Clark since deceased. The bond was given August 14th, 1837, and was in the penal sum of twenty thousand dollars. The condition recited that Chase & Co. were accommodation endorsers for Henry A. Breed on various notes, then in the Nahant Bank, and provided that the defendant and Clark should save the plaintiff harmless from said endorsements, (in case the collateral security held by the Bank should not be sufficient,) on all notes endorsed by Chase & Co. for the accommodation of H. A. Breed, then in the Bank, or which had been previously discounted by the Bank. The next year the Bank failed, Henry A. Breed having failed before. The plaintiffs failed and compromised with the Receivers of the Bank by the payment of about fourteen per cent, on all their liabilities, including such as answered the description in the bond. The defendants denied that the bond ever became a valid and subsisting instrument, by a proper delivery, and also claimed that the plaintiffs had proved any breach of the condition. It seemed that the bond was signed in a counting room in Boston, occupied by Clark & Chase. The plaintiffs claimed that after execution it was placed in the hands of one Jackson, a clerk of Clark, to be kept for the obligees, until the amount to be paid by Chase & Co. should be ascertained. The defendant claimed that it was left in Clark's possession, with the distinct agreement and understanding that it was not to be delivered until it was ascertained whether he and the defendant should realize anything from an assignment made to them from Henry A. Breed for the benefit of his creditors, from which they in fact realized nothing. In fact the bond was kept in Clark's safe, after Jackson left him, and until his death in 1845. After his death, Mr. Chase obtained it from his wife. The Jury found a verdict for the defendant, upon the ground of a want of delivery. N. W. Harmon & J. W. Perry for plfs.—Ours P. Lord for the def.

Yesterday, Judge Shaw adjourned the Court over till Monday at 11 o'clock, when Judge Thomas will come in, and sit during next week. The case of *Her. George R. Jewett vs. Concord Railroad* is specially assigned for Tuesday and will probably occupy considerable time. Rufus Choate and O. P. Lord appear for the plaintiff, and B. F. Butler of Lowell, and Judge Upham of New Hampshire, for the defendants.

HARVARD COLLEGE. The corner stone of the new chapel for Harvard College, to be built with the fund left by the late Samuel Appleton, was laid on Saturday.

The May Exhibition at the College, took place on Tuesday forenoon: Parts were assigned to the following students from Essex County:—Thorndike D. Hodges and Henry W. Foote, of Salem, and Edwin Grover of Lawrence.

The annual Dialectic Lecture will be delivered in the College Chapel on Wednesday afternoon next week, by Rev. Rollin H. Neale, D. D., of Boston.

The Festival of the Alumni of Harvard will be celebrated on Thursday, July 16. Edward Everett is to deliver the Oration, and Robert C. Winthrop will preside at the Dinner, assisted by Vice Presidents Charles Francis Adams and Oliver Wendell Holmes. Capt. George T. Lyman, of the New England Guards, is to be the Chief Marshal.

## Loring

ment he had helped to launch. He has sometimes been confused with his distant kinsman, Edward Greely Loring, United States commissioner, who was attacked by the abolitionists for the rendition of Burns, a fugitive slave.

[W. P. and F. J. Garrison, *Wm. Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1875* (4 vols., 1885-89), vols. I-III; A. H. Grimké, *Wm. Lloyd Garrison* (1891); Lindsay Swift, *Wm. Lloyd Garrison* (1911); W. H. Channing, *The Life of Wm. Ellery Channing, D.D.* (1880); Henry Wilson, *Hist. of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, vol. I (1872); C. H. Pope and K. P. Loring, *Loring General* (1917); the *Liberator*, May 28, June 4, 18, 1858; *Boston Transcript*, May 25, 1858.]

C.F.

**LORING, FREDERICK WADSWORTH** (Dec. 12, 1848-Nov. 5, 1871), author, journalist, was born in Boston, Mass., the first of three sons of David Loring, a cabinet maker, and Mary Hall Stodder, a native New Englander. The first Loring in America was Deacon Thomas Loring who came from Devonshire, England, and joined the Hingham colony in Massachusetts in 1634. Under the guidance of his mother, Frederick read and absorbed English literature and was well versed in Shakespeare at the age of seven. Though she died when he was eleven years old, she left an indelible mark upon her devoted son who inherited her sympathetic sensitiveness and intelligence. He was sent to Phillips Academy at Andover, Mass., and entered Harvard in 1866. Here he abhorred the exact sciences and used his pen to extravagance in ridiculing mathematical formulas. Only his unusual promise kept him within the pale. After the death of his friend Prof. Elbridge J. Cutler, which was the second great grief of his life, he was befriended by James Russell Lowell. He was a regular contributor to the *Harvard Advocate* and while at college showed a passion for the drama. He made friends of actors and dramatists. Miss Mazie Mitchel, dramatist, permitted him to revise an act of her play and had the play produced. During these years also, to assist a friend, he wrote *Wild Rose*, which was produced with success in Boston by George Selwyn.

After his graduation in 1870, Loring became assistant editor of the *Boston Saturday Evening Gazette*. Later he was connected with the *Boston Daily Advertiser* and *Every Saturday*, "a journal of choice reading." Meanwhile he contributed short stories as well as short poems to the *Atlantic Monthly*, *New York Independent*, *New York World*, and *Appletons' Journal*. A serial story, "Two College Friends," which appeared in *Old and New* (April, July 1871), was published in book form later in 1871. His best-known poem, "In the Church Yard at Fred-

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ericksburg," first appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* for September 1870. *The Boston Dip, and Other Verses* was published a year later. The publisher's advertisement quotes the *New York Tribune* as saying the poems were noticeable as "celebrating young love with a tenderness, flavored with a certain cool humor which might have been done by Thackeray in that fresh, earnest, enthusiastic stage of his literary career which he depicts in Arthur Pendennis."

In 1871 Loring was sent with the Wheeler Expedition as correspondent for *Appletons' Journal*. His reports, written always in a light and humorous vein, were interesting. Apparently safe from the many dangers he had experienced Loring took the Wickenburg and La Paz (Arizona) stage on his way home. The stage was attacked by Apaches and he was one of those killed.

[C. H. Pope and K. P. Loring, *Loring General* (1917); *Triennial Report of the Secretary of the Class of 1870 of Harvard Coll.* (1873); H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. of the Pacific States of North America*, vol. XII (1888), "Arizona and New Mexico"; T. E. Farish, *Hist. of Ariz.*, vol. VIII (1918); *Appletons' Jour.*, Dec. 9, 1871; the *Weekly Ariz. Miner*, Nov. 11, 1871; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 14, 16, 1871; information from the Division of Vital Statistics for the state of Mass.]

F. W. S.

**LORING, GEORGE BAILEY** (Nov. 8, 1817-Sept. 14, 1891), physician, agriculturist, political leader, was born at North Andover, Mass., the son of Bailey and Sally Pickman Osgood Loring and a descendant of Thomas Loring who emigrated to Hingham, Mass., in 1634. He attended Franklin Academy at North Andover and graduated from Harvard College in 1838, a classmate of James Russell Lowell. Four years later the Harvard Medical School awarded him the degree of M.D. After a few months of practice in his ancestral village he became a surgeon at the Marine Hospital at Chelsea, Mass. During his seven years of service in that institution he made an impression sufficient to win an appointment as commissioner to revise the marine hospital system of the United States. He left the hospital, however, in 1850, removed in 1851 to Salem, Mass., and thereafter devoted himself to agriculture and politics. He developed a stock farm which became widely known as "Loring Manor." He speedily made himself sufficiently useful in the Democratic party to receive the postmastership of Salem from the Pierce administration and held the office from 1853 to 1857. After this first step he skilfully made his two new interests play complementary rôles in furthering his personal advancement.

In 1856 Loring attended the National Democratic Convention as a member of the Massachu-

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setts delegation. After 1861 he allied himself with the War Democrats. In a Fourth of July oration at Salem in 1862 he rejoiced that "all our desire is manifested in the Flag which we still call our own, and from which no star has been stricken by hand of ours." After this speech he steadily developed into a popular orator. His tall robust figure, his handsome face, and his dignified manner made him a notable figure at public gatherings. His oratory, as over-decorated as a Victorian interior, pleased the New England taste of his day. He never championed unpopular causes, and his orations—which he was careful to have printed—reflected the religious and political conservatism of his times. In 1864, chafing, perhaps, under the disadvantages of being a Northern Democrat in the changed situation brought about by the war, he publicly renounced his allegiance to his old party and became a Republican. The change of standards proved almost immediately advantageous. He served in 1866-67 as a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. He was chairman of the Republican state committee (1869-76) and was a delegate to the national conventions of that party in 1868, 1872, and 1876. He was president of the state Senate from 1873 to 1876 and representative in Congress for the next four years. When his constituency recalled him from Washington in the election of 1880, President Garfield saved his political fortunes by selecting him in 1881 for commissioner of agriculture, a post which he held until the inauguration of Cleveland.

Garfield's choice was excellent. Loring was sincerely interested in agriculture and was an intelligent leader in the contemporary efforts to improve husbandry, taking care, however, that his activities should aid in making him conspicuous. From 1860 to 1877 he represented the Essex Agricultural Society on the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture and served on the same board by appointment of the governor in the years 1883-90. In this capacity he did much to further the interests of the recently established Massachusetts Agricultural College and lectured on stock-farming in that institution from 1869 to 1872. In 1864 he founded the New England Agricultural Society and served as its president until 1889. He published in 1876 *The Farm-Yard Club of Jotham*, a curious volume intended to popularize discussions of agricultural subjects. The book is in part a loose narrative characterized by a somewhat sugary sentimentality and gives a romanticized picture of the rural life that Loring knew. The story is constantly interrupted by sensible essays on many aspects of hus-

## Loring

bandry presented in the guise of paper read before the Farm-Yard Club. Late in life Loring disclosed even more intimately than in the volume of 1876 his attitude toward agriculture. He remarked of his former friend, Ralph Waldo Emerson: "His aesthetic love of nature, which made him rejoice in a bare hillside with stump and briars . . . was in me a practical reality which moved me as it did him, but with the addition of a farmer's consideration of the value of the scenes he loved. Nature to him meant God to me it meant also the rule God gave man over the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field" (*A Year in Portugal*, p. 160). Such an outlook helps to explain why Loring, like his good friend Louis Agassiz, rejected Darwinism with "scorn and contempt."

In his latter years Loring's mind ranged over a variety of subjects. He wrote, among other things, *A Vindication of General Samuel Holden Parsons against Charges of Treasonable Correspondence During the Revolutionary War* (1888). In 1889-90 he tried his hand at diplomacy when he served as minister to Portugal under appointment by President Benjamin Harrison. His rambling travelogue, *A Year in Portugal*, was published in the year of his death 1891. He died on Sept. 14 from heart disease following an acute attack of dysentery. He was twice married: on Nov. 6, 1851, to Mary Toppan Pickman, who died in 1878; and on June 10, 1880, to Anna (Smith) Hildreth, the widow of Charles H. Hildreth.

[L. H. Bailey, *Cyc. of Agric.*, vol. IV (1909); *Biol. Dir. Am. Cong.* (1928); C. H. Pope and K. P. Loring, *Loring Geneal.* (1917); the *Critic*, Sept. 19, 1891; *Boston Transcript*, Sept. 14, 1891; *N. Y. Times*, Sept. 15, 1891.]

R. H. G.

LORING, JOSHUA (Aug. 3, 1716-October 1781), naval officer, Loyalist, was born in Boston, the son of Joshua and Hannah (Jackson) Loring and the descendant of Thomas and Jan (Newton) Loring, who emigrated from Axminster, Devonshire, England, to Dorchester, Mass. about 1634 and, later, settled in Hingham, Mass. In his youth he learned the tanner's trade, being apprenticed to James Mears of Roxbury. About 1740 he married Mary Curtis, daughter of Samuel Curtis of Roxbury. When continual warfare between England and France made privateering attractive to many New Englanders, he became commander of a brigantine privateer, which was captured by two French men-of-war in August 1744. The next few months he spent as a prisoner in the Fortress of Louisburg. The outbreak of the French and Indian War again found him in the naval service. On Dec. 19, 1757, he was

LORING, George Bailey, a Representative from Massachusetts; born in North Andover, Essex County, Mass., November 8, 1817; attended Franklin Academy at Andover; taught school; was graduated from Harvard University in 1838 and from the medical department in 1842; practiced medicine for a short time in North Andover; surgeon of the marine hospital at Chelsea, Mass., 1843-1850; surgeon of the Seventh Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, 1842-1844; appointed commissioner to revise the United States marine hospital system in 1849; moved to Salem, Mass., in 1851; appointed postmaster of Salem on May 4, 1853, and served until his successor was appointed on February 16, 1858; member of the State house of representatives in 1866 and 1867; chairman of the Massachusetts State Republican committee 1869-1876; served in the State senate 1873-1876 and was also president of that body; delegate to the Republican National Conventions in 1868, 1872, and 1876; appointed United States centennial commissioner for the State of Massachusetts in 1872; elected as a Republican to the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses (March 4, 1877-March 3, 1881); unsuccessful candidate for renomination in 1880; United States Commissioner of Agriculture 1881-1885; appointed United States Minister to Portugal, in 1889 and served until his resignation in 1890; died in Salem, Mass., on September 14, 1891; interment in Harmony Grove Cemetery.



fr. The North American Review, June 1881.

by G. B. Loring

## THE PATRICIAN ELEMENT IN AMERICAN SOCIETY.

THE desire to look back upon an ancestry and forward to a family is universally found, wherever man has organized any form of state and society, however high or however low it may be. The inheritance and transmission of a name form a large share of the pride and the ambition of life; and if wealth and power go with the name the sum of human happiness is considered nearly complete. To secure this, strong governments are organized, strong constitutions are adopted, strong laws are enacted, great classes are built up and built upon as a firm foundation. As a present possession it is nourished and cherished; as a lost possession its blessed memory is always held dear,—so dear that even the beggar is proud to turn to the gilded palaces of his ancestors, and patient to wait for the returning tide of prosperity and greatness. The legitimist accepts it as the corner-stone of his position and power; the republican offers it as a boon to all ranks and orders of men, a right which neither usurpation nor law can overthrow. The idea of family purity, strength, wisdom, prudence, success, ambition, goes with it, and has gone with it from the days when the patriarchs secured and transmitted their power, down to our own time when all men are struggling for honors and prosperity for themselves and their children. Upon the combination of the ancient families of Fabii, Romilii, Voltinii, was founded the Roman state; and from the legal relations of the social and civil circle thus formed sprang the burgesses of Rome—the *Patricii*, so called because they were recognized as the sons of fathers, the only fathers known to Roman law. In this class there was entire social and civil equality, and from this class the ruler was chosen, whose command was all-powerful when his authority had been properly conferred, and the fidelity and obedience of the community had

been invoked and secured. The same principles and the same classification lay at the foundation of the Greek republics. And when the Roman society in Gaul was destroyed by the German invasion, and all social organization both of conqueror and conquered was dissolved, the patrician element was the first to reestablish itself in a form corresponding with new necessities and obligations and designs. England, too, whether as part of the Roman empire, or under the Saxon kings, or parceled out by William the Conqueror among his followers, was subject to the same social element, and has, through all its years of conquest, wealth, and power, encouraged, supported, and leaned upon this proud and undying vital force. Wherever imperialism has advanced, the *Patricii* have been found in the forefront, contending, asserting, controlling, and building up the great institutions which are man's pride and glory, and which mark his divine power on the earth.

The commanding spirit which has always and under all circumstances established the patrician element in society, is not more striking than the conservative wisdom and foresight with which it has endeavored to lay for itself firm and enduring foundations. The original qualification of the Roman *Patricii* was in landed property; and the conversion of this qualification into personal property and money-rating is considered one of the revolutionary movements which threatened to overthrow the whole social and civil fabric, the modification of which by Quintus Fabius is counted as a fair offset to his startling introduction of the sons of freedmen into the senate, and his reckless and audacious expenditure of public moneys without senatorial sanction. The landlords and their dependents constituted a large mass of the people, and, in the relations established between them, the former reserved to themselves unlimited right of possession, and established a great landed nobility. And we are told that "the landlords, occupying a comparatively elevated and free position, supplied the community with its natural leaders and rulers,"—the patriciate upon whose energy and intelligence the state was supposed to be founded. This social condition the Romans carried with them wherever they went. They carried it into Gaul and preserved it there so long as their rule continued, fixing it so firmly that it outlived even the German invasion, and converted the invading hordes from wandering tribes into landed proprietors and finally into a great territorial aristocracy, arro-

gating to themselves the spirit of individual liberty and the passion for independence and individuality which the Germans brought into this part of the Roman world. In England, moreover, whose constitution, Montesquieu tells us, came from the forests of Germany, whence came also the original doctrines of human equality and civil right, the history of the feudal tenure, as the foundation of a powerful privileged class, is interesting and significant. Originally Great Britain was occupied by agrarian communities similar to those in Germany. These communities were nearly destroyed by the Saxon kings, and what they left unmolested the Norman conquest wholly obliterated. The statutes as early as the thirteenth century forbade all complaints of the tenant against the lord of the manor. And step by step it has been brought about that, of the noble stock of free tenants that has given so marked a stamp to the English character, and has established so much freedom in the English constitution,—the free men and proprietors of the Saxon times,—hardly any now remains, until England has become the only civilized nation where property in land has been entirely taken from the hands of those who cultivate it. A legal system based on "the principle of inalienability from the feudal lien," and in the interest of great landed families and the establishment of peasant proprietorship with absolute dependence, has given the landed aristocracy of England their vast and imposing power, and has created a patriciate unequalled for strength and grandeur in any age or any country. According to M. Marriott: "The destruction of small property is still going on, no longer, however, by encroachment, but by purchase. Whenever land comes into the market, it is bought by some rich capitalist, because the expenses of legal inquiry are too great for a small investment. Thus large properties are consolidated, and fall, so to speak, into mortmain, in consequence of the law of primogeniture and entail. In the fifteenth century, according to Chancellor Fortescue, England was quoted throughout Europe for the number of its proprietors and the comfort of its inhabitants. In 1688, Gregory King estimates that there were 180,000 proprietors, exclusive of 16,560 proprietors of noble rank. In 1786, there were 250,000 proprietors in England. According to the 'Domesday Book' of 1876, there were 170,000 rural proprietors in England, owning above an acre; 21,000 in Ireland, and 8000 in Scotland. A fifth part of the entire country is in the hands of 523 persons. 'Are you

aware,' said Mr. Bright in a speech delivered at Birmingham, August 27, 1866, 'that one-half of the soil of Scotland belongs to ten or twelve persons? Are you aware of the fact that the monopoly of landed property is continually increasing, and becoming more and more exclusive?'"

The power of a patriciate thus founded is imposing; its conflicts are intense; its fate the most profoundly interesting political problem of our day.

It is not, however, on the material foundations of the patrician element in society that the mind dwells with the most interest. The influence of social and civil institutions upon man's intellectual and moral nature, the effects of luxury and ease, of poverty and hardship, the operation of laws of heredity—all combine to make the individual man what he is, and to establish controlling national characteristics. It is not until man surrounds himself with fortunate circumstances, with prosperity, comfort, opportunities for the exercise of his best faculties, that he is developed to that standard in the scale of being required for great endeavor and high accomplishment. The marks produced by centuries of oppression, poverty, wrong, starvation, upon a people possessing originally great human beauty and strength, both mentally and physically, are well known to every student of the history of the race. The heavy countenances, rude features, low, misshapen forms of the generations of sufferers, are the painful record which long-continued misfortune always makes. Man, like the higher orders of vegetable growth, requires genial influences for his development; not always prosperity and wealth, but always a life in which his faculties are not dwarfed. Precisely what influences affect him, it is difficult to say. There is a form of prosperity in which his finer faculties may be wholly destroyed from generation to generation; and there are forms of apparent adversity in which all that is noble in him is quickened and developed. In the transmission of mere physical faculties, he seems to rise superior to the laws which control the lower animal kingdom, and to defy them all. He is not physically powerful, it is true, but he is physically enduring; and, through the agency of his spirit, physically triumphant over space and time. At a certain point he leaves the animal economy and soars into the regions of a diviner power; lives and works in spite of disease; implants upon his race, through the agency of his soul, faculties, moral and intellectual, which be-

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come at last a part of his physical organization; and proclaims everywhere and in every way that he is not a beast; and we reverently and devoutly recognize the Divine power which manifested itself, not so much when it made the earth and the sea, as when it breathed into man an immortal spirit. There is no doubt that man's moral character and mental power, his tastes, modes of thought, impulse, and inspiration, his peculiarities and his physical organization even, are due not only to the qualities transmitted to him by many generations of ancestors, but also to the modifying influences of associations, interests, habits of thought and life, occupations, affections which surrounded him and his fathers before they began to draw the breath of life. Man's spiritual impressions are a law unto his body, and, as he steps forth into life, he carries not only his ancestral shape and feature, but those higher powers which mold his form, give light to his countenance, and receive their existence from the Divine hand which, because it is spiritual, has made and ruled the material world from the dawn of creation. Indeed, the subtle and delicate forces which combine to work out human characteristics come not with observation in all cases, and exert an influence as great as, perhaps greater than, manifest and well-known physical laws. We may study with the utmost care and audacity the natural history of man, his relations to other animals, his antiquity on the globe, and the primitive state of the human species, but we cannot escape from the overwhelming evidence of the influences exerted upon his character and structure by the circumstances which have surrounded the generations to which he belongs. Hence the well-known qualities of the patrician element in every society; and hence the well-known qualities of the oppressed, and unfortunate, and subservient. The difference which exists in form and feature, and mind and heart, the difference in the proportion in which the attractive and effective, and the unattractive and inefficient, are mingled in each, are too well known to require description.

Now, the foundation and strength, the origin and extent, of the patrician element in American society, indeed, the question whether or not it has an existence distinctly defined here, constitute an interesting and important problem in modern sociology. The structure of American society has not materially changed since the settlement of the colonies. "Nothing came from Europe but a free people," says the enthusiastic historian, as he

contemplates the character of those who laid the foundation of state and society on these shores, and whom one less sympathetic and admiring has described as a stock "plebeian though ingenious." They came here from every walk in life,—the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlearned, the patrician and the plebeian,—all either inspired by, or compelled to accept, or ready to acquiesce in, the doctrines of free government and social equality. Whatever may have been the condition or the nationality of these people at home, they seem to have adopted, through necessity or choice, the constitutional principles of the Germans, whose independence and individuality found free scope in these remote, unsettled regions. There was colonial diversity enough, it is true,—the colonies in New England and New York and Virginia and the Carolinas differing, in many points, almost as much as they would have done had they been different nationalities. But everywhere the largest civil liberty took possession of the popular mind and prevailed. The strongest element of society here was the liberal and protesting and non-conforming element, and to it all others surrendered. There may have been a conservative claim for classification, caste, and legitimacy; but it was the weaker element which laid the claim. That vital force which manifested the most power in the beginning, and which endured even unto the end, was never stronger than it was when the Declaration of Independence laid down the maxim that "all men are created equal." It was not the politico-ecclesiastical government of John Endicott, or the Puritan-modified liberality of John Winthrop, or the constitution of John Locke in the Carolinas, or the social distinctions of Virginia, or the easy, compromising adjustment of the Dutch colonies in New York, which laid the eternal foundations of the American Government, and gave American society its enduring characteristics. All these colonies had their purpose; but, so far as the problem of government was concerned, they were acquiescent, and, through the force of circumstances, they accepted the broad, liberal, humane theories laid down for them by those who, at Plymouth, organized a government on the consent of the governed, and recognized personal merit in their selection of magistrates. To this ascendancy of the best republican thought throughout the general colonial life, we may undoubtedly attribute that amazing vitality which the American Government manifestly possesses, and that ready capacity to meet great civil emergencies which

the American people have thus far shown. As a stream rises never higher than its fountain, so a nation, in all its dominant characteristics, however glittering and attractive may be its accidents, seldom loses the elements of its infant life; and that people is most fortunate which finds necessity and occasion, as time goes on, to develop its original and fundamental principles, and in its progress can turn back with the proud satisfaction that it has everything to do and nothing to undo in the line laid down for it in the beginning. Is it a question of civil rights—the law and the doctrine can be found in the system of government planted at Plymouth. Is it a question of religious toleration, or of a voice in the government, or of the division of landed property, or of social equality—the reply may be found in the principles and practice applied at Plymouth. In congratulating themselves on the national strength which this fortunate outset has secured, the American people should not forget that it has modified and shaped all their social and civil institutions, and made them peculiarly their own. It would be impossible to plant the territorial aristocracy of Rome, or the landed proprietorship of England, on soil cultivated by the American colonists, with any hope or prospect of success; nor do we find there any social classification applicable to the United States. Whatever social and civil conditions, therefore, are here provided for the prosperous and the unprosperous, for the rich and the poor, for the idle and the industrious, for the producers and the non-producers, they are all provided in accordance with that unchanged and apparently unchangeable law on which the American Government is founded. And whenever, through temptation or trial, this law is broken, and the republic wanders in search of other systems of state and society, and the faith and practice of the fathers are forgotten, the decay, or a change worse than decay, will manifestly begin.

In considering the patrician element in American society, we cannot forget the strong roots which these free republican principles have sent down into American soil. That there was a controlling element in the early colonial life, no one can deny,—an element which exists in one form or another to-day. It was an element which, without establishing a social class, did establish a national reputation and give direction to the national character. Diffused through the entire mass of the people, it came at once into possession of all the forces which, in other

lands and in other times, had created those great social distinctions, which decrees, and constitutions, and laws had confirmed and strengthened. The business of building up and increasing national power, which had especially belonged to a recognized patriciate elsewhere, was taken up by the American colonists as a popular duty, and was pursued with the solemn conviction that every man living under a government had a right to a voice in its conduct and to a share of its benefit and protection. The power and duty which had hitherto devolved upon the few at the expense of the many, now fell into the hands of the great body politic, without distinction of person. There were no conquerors to reward, no retainers to be provided for, no vanquished to be despoiled, no warriors to be enriched. They had an abundance of land and of good blood,—the corner-stones of all patriciates; and they proceeded to erect a social fabric, in which the controlling element became the property of the people, and passed from hand to hand, from man to man, from family to family, until it became impossible to designate or limit its possessors short of the great body of the community. Magistrates were found in every house, and were summoned into the service of the state from every profession and calling. Property was placed within the reach of all the industrious and thrifty; labor was the common lot; popular education was recognized as a duty. There was a constant appeal to the capacity and worth of those upon whom the responsibilities of the state were laid; and neither the social position of royal governors nor the edicts of the home government succeeded in destroying the social equality or suppressing the popular judgment. The possession of landed property, which had been deemed essential to the power of the ruling classes elsewhere, was so universal that it constituted the natural foundation of a free state, in which all became in the end citizen-proprietors, and it developed into that general division and subdivision of land, and that economical and easy transfer of real estate, upon which De Tocqueville declared that the perpetuity and power of the American republic were established. Land-holding, it is true, varied in the several colonies. In the Plymouth colony, it was the establishment of small farms. In Massachusetts Bay, it was a division of corporation lands and individual proprietorships. In New York, it was a mingling of modified entail and homestead occupation. In Virginia and the Carolinas, it was the organizing of great plantations. But as

time went on, the system of the Pilgrims prevailed more and more, and spread over the vast territory now occupied by the great agricultural States west of the Alleghanias, whether the titles have been conferred by the Government or by corporations. The land-grants were small, even in the early colonial days. In Pennsylvania, for instance, one hundred acres to Jan Schoeten, three hundred acres to Hans Moens, two hundred acres to John Boon, and like amounts to their numerous associates; and now, from the land of the patroon to the land of the planter, the system of small holdings prevails, known everywhere as the American system of land-holding. Fundamentally, the patriciate opportunity was open to all.

And so it was and has always been with regard to the incidents and accidents of life. The honorable career of many early families is not yet forgotten, whose labors began in almost every walk in life, and who have reached a distinction which has entitled them to the respect and esteem of the generations who have followed them. Farmers, merchants, lawyers, clergymen, magistrates, by their public service and private worth, created a family record which for true merit cannot be surpassed. In the older States can be seen to this day isolated farm-houses, made famous by the sons who have gone forth from them into most distinguished and valuable labor. Turn to the histories of the early towns, and there may be found the names of the founders of our schools, the creators of our constitutions, the lawgivers and the reformers who laid the foundation of our national greatness. The colonial clergy were not more distinguished for their sound theological exegesis, and their magisterial control of the communities where they had a life-settlement over their Puritan parishes, than for the multitude of well-bred, well-taught, strong-minded, brave-hearted sons whom they sent into the busy world about them. At the close of the Revolutionary war, almost every town had its battle-scarred hero, who, under an imperial government, would have been loaded with largesses and titles, and who were content with the respect with which they were regarded, and the offices in the meeting-house and the school-district to which they were called. In the older counties still stand the mansions erected by the prosperous merchants who returned, after a successful commercial career, to adorn the spot on which they were born. And the pride and wealth of many a city is due to the wise and untiring exertions of these undaunted youths who started

from their humble homes on foot, to meet the dangers, and resist the temptations, and secure the successes, of an untried world. For these sons of farmers and clergymen, America furnished no patrician class, no legitimacy supported by the arm of the Government, but added the result of their lives to the grand aggregate which constitutes the pride and power of the republic. With their opportunity they were content. But we cannot forget that from the clergymen and cloth-makers and graziers and country gentlemen of the Old World have sprung the long and fortunate lines of Barings and Osbornes, and Spencers and Grenvilles, whose sagacity and courage and patriotism and thrift have been rewarded as kings alone can reward their subjects. There are those who know a solitary and secluded spot, where stands a marble shaft, on which it is recorded of the ancient owner of that deserted farm that he was a "Revolutionary soldier." That he had command, and was a prosperous citizen, may be added to that honorable record. But his country was too wide and his people too free to give him a title; and so he belongs to that widely diffused patriciate whose doors are open to every worthy and prosperous son. Dr. Johnson said, in his day, that a merchant was "a new species of a gentleman." Had he lived in ours, he would have discovered that republicanism, well founded and well organized, has created a people whose tone and standard entitle them to a place by the side of the controlling classes of any country on earth—a people who absorb every kindred and nation and tongue under heaven, and whose purpose it is, by education and culture, and recognition and all refining and ennobling influences, to establish a citizenship as proud and powerful as a peerage.

The more recent history of our country shows us that the patrician element means simply the strongest popular element, and that it is constantly receiving new strength from the great mass of the people,—the strongest popular element being that portion of the people engaged in developing the mental, moral, and material growth of the republic. This power is confined to no condition and no section, and depends not on race or genealogy. Family authority amounts to but little in a country where no provision is made for the perpetuation of a family name or family possessions. But it often occurs that a fortunate conjunction of qualities, partly inherited and partly developed by surrounding circumstances, will produce a force which will

make itself felt, and will be recognized by all men. It is not an accident that one community distinguishes itself above all others. The power which does this can be traced through many ages, and the faculties which accomplish it can be discovered through many, perhaps inconspicuous, generations. A group of district scholars separates in an unknown village, goes out into the world, their ways parted apparently forever, and suddenly they find each other in high and important positions, places of honor and responsibility,—one, it may be, in the Executive mansion of our Federal Government; one holding foremost rank in the army; one associated with the Supreme Bench; one making laws in the lower house of Congress. Can it be supposed for a moment that this is accidental? Trace that group back to its origin, and it will be found that many generations of heroic endeavor lie behind it, and that many streams of good red blood have centered there. And when another generation comes upon the stage, it will turn to that village with respect and reverence, and will accord to that group an honorable place in history, and to its descendants a title to national regard and consideration. This is the origin of American vigor, and this the only title the American people can bestow. The heroes of a great war take their places at its close among the people from whose ranks they stepped forth to their greatness, and perform their part of the toil and drudgery of the world around them. They may hold no prominent position in the community, but whenever the events in which they were engaged are brought to conspicuous public attention, they become heroes at once, the country is at their feet once more, and their descendants are recognized as the heirs of an enviable possession—the untitled nobility of a great free republic. And, while the world pauses to admire the accumulations of great wealth, and recognizes the powerful combination of faculties which develops great enterprises, it reserves a warm place in its heart and a sacred place in its memory for those who, by the exercise of heroic faculties, have performed deeds which would be entitled to great eminence and substantial rewards in those lands where recognized station and power are counted as the highest tribute the government and a grateful people can bestow.

To this view of the patrician element in American society it may be objected that it makes no provision for the perpetuation of those faculties and qualities which all the world admires, and

on which the perpetuity and power of a nation are supposed to depend. But how is this? Unlike the patriarchal democracies of India, and Greece, and Asia, whose primitive equality always disappeared, and upon whose decay aristocracies always sprang up, to be followed by feudalism and royal power, the democracy of America wanders farther and farther away from all social classification, and trusts to its own forces for the production and development of those lofty characteristics which control the institutions and constitute the power of every great nationality. Will the generations to come inherit mental and physical qualities which will fit them for the responsibilities belonging to the conservators of state and society—qualities as necessary to preserve republican institutions in their full force, as are the powers developed and transmitted by a recognized patrician class for its own strength and perpetuation? In both cases, the external and internal, the material and spiritual, influences operate under the same law. If by association and surrounding influence a patrician type can be established, does it not follow that in the same way social and civil institutions, the mental and moral operations, the modes of education, and the duties and obligations of a republic may establish a high type of citizenship which will be sensitive with regard to its rights, and quick and bold to maintain them? Ribot says: "In a people the sum of psychical characteristics which is found throughout its whole history, in all its institutions, and at every period, is called the national character. The successes and reverses of a people do not depend on their form of government, but are the effect of their institutions. Their institutions are the effect of their manners and their creeds; their manners and creeds are the effect of their character. Nor can it be seriously doubted that character itself is also an effect. It is extremely probable that every character, individual or national, is the very complex result of physiological and psychological laws." That heredity plays as important a part in the formation of national as of individual character, there can be no doubt. Having recognized the influence of physical environment, and of those "latent silent sensations" also, "which do not come into consciousness, but still are ever thronging the nerves of sense" upon the individual, we can properly recognize their influence upon the nation. The effect of these laws has undoubtedly given the American heredity its high standard.

Huxley noticed that the American physical development has not declined. Even the most careless observer must notice that the American moral and intellectual development has not declined. The love of freedom, the mental activity, the chivalrous courage, the devotion to a principle, the intense feeling, the keen and quick sentiment, the self-assertion and ambition, which characterized the fathers who colonized, freed, and established the American nationality, have descended to their sons in measure proportionate to the demands and exigencies of the times. Soil, climate, institutions, have all made up the American, who possesses as a national characteristic the proud self-reliance which in other ages and on other soils has established a powerful social class, and has hedged it about with supreme rights and privileges. It is the advocates and promoters of education, the religious teachers, the lawgivers, the press, the authors, the founders and builders of great enterprises, the active, industrious, intelligent mass, drawn from every walk in life, who constitute in any way the patrician element of American society—the lovers of art, and science, and literature, the natural allies of all those who in any country believe in the capacity of the people to advance to the farthest verge of social and civil progress, and who believe also in mental and moral elevation. From this mass come the "fathers' children," the heirs of the only nobility which cannot die out, the only titles which depend not on wealth and power. This vital force of the republic is as fixed here as are our republican institutions, and is our national inheritance. Said Bentham to the Americans of his day: "Beware of an hereditary nobility. The patrimony of merit soon comes to be one of birth. Bestow honor, erect statues, confer titles, but let these distinctions be personal. Preserve all the force and all the purity of honors in the state, and never part with this precious capital in favor of any proud class that would quickly turn their advantages against you": a warning which has not been forgotten, and the observance of which has given the American republic a more permanent and powerful social organization than has ever been built up on classification and legitimacy in their proudest and most prosperous days.

GEORGE B. LORING.

ment post was United States minister to Portugal (1889–1890). He returned to Salem and died in the following year.

Loring is a good example of a bright young man who was skeptical at first about the increasingly notorious former Unitarian minister, Ralph Waldo Emerson, but who was quickly won over by Emerson and soon developed a case of hero worship. Although there is no evidence that the Emerson-Loring relationship was a particularly close one, Emerson seems to have been an important influence at a couple of crucial points in Loring's life. Loring apparently had doubts about Emerson's doctrines and judgment during his college years; he accepted the explanation circulated in Salem that Emerson was responsible for the poet Jones Very's insanity. Writing to James Russell Lowell, his closest friend during these years, Loring reported, "I learnt in Salem that Jones Very has become insane—and imagines he is another Christ divinely commissioned. Now I can easily conceive of all this; but then that he should be thus blown up by Emerson, as one and it, is too strange. Perhaps between them they have put the standard of perfection found in Christ so low that one if not both think they have reached it or think he has reached it.—The latter is preferable." Emerson's "Divinity School Address," which was delivered in the summer following Loring's graduation from Harvard, also served to focus Loring's attention on Emerson. Although Loring did not hear the address, he wrote to Lowell that a "Salem cousin" of his had "sat down to Emerson's address a devoted admirer of the man and rose up filled with gall and wormwood." Loring determined, however, not to rely on his cousin's word, but to satisfy his own conscience by reading the address and coming to his own conclusions: "I don't know whether to believe the man or not—and yet it is time that my mind should be settled—One must read both sides—for I would as soon espouse one doctrine as another—if the choice were to be made without examination."<sup>30</sup> Within the next two weeks he had made good this intention and had delved even further into Emerson, as he wrote to Lowell again: "I have read with delight Emerson's Oration which I found in the office a week ago and eagerly perused—I got 'Nature' when in Boston and where the author is not too much in the mist

30. George B. Loring to James Russell Lowell, North Andover, 19 September 1838, James Russell Lowell Papers, MH.

enjoyed it. I read it to Maynard (concealing the name of the book & author) and was highly amused with his speculations."<sup>31</sup> Thus the skeptical young scholar was converted.

Some ten years later, Loring and Emerson were in Europe at the same time and apparently in close touch, for Emerson, who was in London in April 1848, sent a letter to Margaret Fuller in Rome in the care of Loring. When Emerson took passage in July on the *Europa* for his return voyage, Loring was a part of the "good company" which Emerson mentioned aboard the ship. The acquaintance continued; in 1850 Emerson included Loring in a list of members of the Town and Country Club in his journal. A year later Loring wrote to Emerson asking him for advice on reading.<sup>32</sup> At about this same time Loring ceased to practice medicine.

In 1852 Loring, on behalf of the Salem Lyceum, confirmed by letter the dates of Emerson's forthcoming lectures before that group (8 and 9 March); he had been requested, he wrote, to suggest Emerson's lecture on Fate "as one the people would be glad to hear." Loring continued that he was happy to hear that Emerson had not forgotten "your letter to me," possibly a reference to the reading list which he had earlier requested, and assured him that he would "await its arrival anxiously." Loring was not able to attend the lectures, however, being, as he wrote to his friend, unexpectedly detained on a business trip to Washington; he added a word of encouragement: "I trust your audience will be good for I know you have good friends in Salem."<sup>33</sup>

When Emerson lectured again before the Salem Lyceum in the following year (the lecture "American Character" was delivered on 29 November 1853 and repeated the next evening<sup>34</sup>), Loring invited

31. George B. Loring to James Russell Lowell, North Andover, 5 October 1838, James Russell Lowell Papers, MH.

32. Ralph Waldo Emerson to Margaret Fuller, London, 25 April 1848, in *Letters*, 4:61–64; Ralph Waldo Emerson to Margaret Fuller, Paris, 31 May 1848, in *Letters*, 4:79; Ralph Waldo Emerson to William Emerson, on board the *Europa*, 26? July 1848, in *Letters*, 4:101; *JMN*, 11 237–38; George Bailey Loring to Ralph Waldo Emerson, Salem, 20 September 1851, Emerson Family Papers, MH.

33. George B. Loring to Ralph Waldo Emerson, Salem, 24 February 1852, Emerson Family Papers, MH; George Bailey Loring to Ralph Waldo Emerson, Washington, D.C., 6 March 1852, Emerson Family Papers, MH.

34. William Charvat, *Emerson's American Lecture Engagements: A Chronological List* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1961), 28.



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## LORING, George Bailey, 1817-1891

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Casey vs. Reed, May 9, 1885, 5 mi. past 9 A.M. Rec. 4th day

Shardlopps. Ref.

Now all men by these presents that whereas George B. Scoring and John A. Scoring have hitherto held the estate herein-after described in trust under the will of William Pickeman late of Salem in the County of Essex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which was duly proved and allowed in the Probate Court of said County, June 30th 1857, and under a deed of F. W. Pickeman and others to J. Bouditch & al. Trustee recorded in the Essex South District Registry of Deeds, Book 627, leaf 119, (said George B. Scoring having been appointed trustee under said will and deed to fill a vacancy, by decree of said Probate Court dated July 21st 1869, and May 2d 1871 respectively) for the benefit of Mary T. Scoring (formerly Mary T. Pickeman) for life, with remainder subject to a power of testamentary appointment by her, or in default thereof to her surviving issue, as by aforesaid and other instruments will more fully appear, and whereas said Mary T. Scoring has died leaving a will duly proved and allowed in said Court January 6th 1879, and a husband the said George B. Scoring named as executor in said will, and as her only surviving issue and heir at-law, a daughter Sally B. Scoring, and whereas the said George B. Scoring and Sally B. Scoring being the only parties now beneficially interested and entitled in and to said estate under all or any of said wills or deed, have by deed of even date herewith, and by virtue and in execution of each and every right, title, power, and authority in them or either of them existing under or by virtue of any or all of the wills or the deed aforesaid, and for valuable consideration to them paid by Jennie M. Emmerton wife of George B. Emmerton of said Salem, sold conveyed and assigned to her the said Jennie M. Emmerton trustee hereinafter described and all the right and interest of them or either of them therein, whether legal or equitable, vested or contingent, in possession, remainder or reversion, as by reference to said last-named deed will more fully appear. Now therefore we the said George B. Scoring and John A. Scoring, as we are trustees under the said will of William Pickeman and the said deed of F. W. Pickeman & others, and in consideration of the premises, and for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of all said wills and deeds and the intention of the parties now beneficially interested thereunder as manifested by their said conveyance, and of ratifying and confirming their said conveyance by this further conveyance of the legal title of said estate, if still in us as trustees as aforesaid, and in consideration of the sum of one dollar to us paid by

G. B. Scoring  
at the City  
of M. Emmerton  
(w. G. B. Scoring)

1149:140

1885

the said Jennie M. Emmerton, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, do hereby convey to her, the said Jennie M. Emmerton all that estate in said Salem which is bounded southerly by Essex Street ninety seven feet, westerly by lands of Price, Jolly and Tanch three hundred and eight and one half feet; northerly by land of Shreve ninety six and one half feet; and easterly by lands of Felt and Popes two hundred and seventy seven feet. To have and to hold the granted premises with all the privileges and appurtenances thereto belonging to the said Jennie M. Emmerton and her heirs and assigns, to their own use and behoof forever. In Witness Whereof we the said George B. Loring and John A. Loring, Trustees as aforesaid, hereto set our hands and seals this eighth day of May in the year eighteen hundred and eighty five.

Geo. B. Loring Trustee seal  
 In presence of John A. Loring Trustee seal  
 Thomas Sanders. } Commonwealth of Massachusetts Essex ss.

May 11. A. D. 1885. Personally appeared the above named John A. Loring and acknowledged the foregoing instrument to be his free act and deed, before me, Andrew Fitzg., Justice of the Peace.  
 Essex ss. Rockbury 11. 1885. 5 m. past 11 o'clock A. M. Rev. J. J. Shaslow, R. J.

G. B. Loring  
 to et al  
 J. M. Emmerton  
 (vs G. B. L.)

Know all men by these Presents that I George B. Loring of Salem, in the County of Essex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in my own right and as executor of the will of Mary T. Loring late of said Salem deceased, which will was duly proved and allowed in the Probate Court for said County, January 6<sup>th</sup> 1879, and by virtue and in execution of all the powers to me by said will given, and of every other power and authority me heretofore enabling, and in consideration of the sum of fifteen thousand dollars to me paid by Jennie M. Emmerton, wife of George P. Emmerton of said Salem the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, do hereby give, grant, bargain, sell and convey to the said Jennie M. Emmerton all that estate in said Salem which is bounded southerly by Essex Street ninety seven feet; westerly by lands of Price, Jolly, and Tanch three hundred and eight and one half feet; northerly by land of Shreve ninety six and one half feet, and easterly by lands of Felt and Popes two hundred and seventy seven feet. And for the consideration aforesaid I, Sally B. Loring, only surviving child and heir of said Mary T. Loring do hereby convey, release and forever quit claim to the said Jennie M. Emmerton all my right and interest in said estate whether legal or equitable, vested or contingent, in possession, remainder, or reversion

either under the said will of Henry T. Loring, or under the will of William Pickman, which was proved and allowed in said Probate Court June 30<sup>th</sup> 1857, or under a deed of F.W. Pickman and others to J. S. Bowditch and another Trustees, recorded with Essex So. District Deeds. Book 627 leaf 119 or otherwise. To have and to hold the granted premises with all the privileges and appurtenances thereto belonging, to the said Jennie M. Sumner, and her heirs and assigns, to their own use and behoof forever. And we do hereby, for ourselves and our heirs, executors, and administrators covenant with the said grantee and her heirs and assigns that the granted premises are free from all incumbrances, except the taxes for the present year, which the grantee hereby assumes and agrees to pay in addition to the consideration before named, that we have good right to sell and convey the same in fee as aforesaid, and that we will and our heirs, executors, and administrators shall warrant and defend the same to the said grantee and her heirs and assigns forever against the lawful claims and demands of all persons except as aforesaid. In witness whereof we the said George B. Loring and Sally P. Loring hereto set our hands and seals the eighth day of May in the year eighteen hundred and eighty-five.

In presence of  
 Thomas Sanders, to S. B. D. }  
 John E. Beall as to G. B. D. } District of Columbia City and County  
 John A. Loring to S. P. D. } of Washington ss. J. John E. Beall  
 a Commissioner of Deeds for the State

of Massachusetts in and for the District of Columbia residing in Washington D.C. do certify that on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of May A.D. 1885 the above named George B. Loring personally appeared before me at Washington D.C. and acknowledged the foregoing instrument by him signed, to be his free act and deed, In witness whereof I have hereto set my hand and official seal at Washington D.C. May 8. 1885 John E. Beall a Commissioner of Deeds for the State of Massachusetts, in and for the District of Columbia.

Essex. ss. Recd May 11. 1885. 5m. post 11 AM Recd by ~~Charles Wood~~ R. J.

Whereas Benjamin Dennis of Marblehead in the County of Essex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, did by mortgage deed dated January sixteenth 1882 and recorded in Essex So. Dist. Registry of Deeds, libro 1074, folio 242, convey the premises hereinafter described to Charles H. Adams and Charles W. Fernald, both of Boston, in the County of Suffolk and Commonwealth aforesaid, Trust-

B. Dennis  
 to by atty  
 J. H. Channing  
 See following

**Savings Department**  
 Any interest in this department,  
 paid quarterly.

**Savings National Bank**  
 Best Banking Institution in Salem.  
 255-257 ESSEX STREET.

WE ISSUE TRAVELLERS' CHECKS AND LETTERS OF CREDIT FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE WHILE AWAY, AND TAKE SAFE CARE OF YOUR VALUABLES UNTIL YOUR RETURN.

**KEAG TRUST CO.**  
**SAFE DEPOSIT & TRUST CO.**

SURPLUS \$100,000.  
 President, GEORGE C. VAUGHAN.  
 Vice Presidents, CHAS. SANDERS and WM. H. GOVE.  
 Treasurer, WM. S. NICHOLS.

Five Cents Savings Bank Building.  
 Banking and Trust Company Business Transacted.  
 Interest allowed on Deposits subject to check.  
 Special Rates on Time Deposits.

LEST WE FORGET  
 DEPOSITS MADE IN THE  
**Five Cents Savings Bank**  
 PEABODY,  
 BEFORE WEDNESDAY, AUG. 21, 1912,  
 LAW INTEREST FROM THAT DATE.  
 PER CENT. IS THE RATE

A. H. MERRILL, Treas.

WE ARE EXCLUSIVE SALEM AGENTS FOR  
**"Old Essex Linen"**  
 (Trade Mark)  
 A fabric finished writing paper of sterling quality, fit for any correspondence, and equal in quality to any writing paper sold by Boston Stationers at 60c a pound.  
 Our Price 25c.

**R. S. BAUER**  
 STATIONER AND BOOKSELLER  
 172 ESSEX STREET, SALEM.

abolition of the pension agencies, "is expected to go through at once. In view of the senate's acquiescence in the abolition of the agencies. A perfunctory attempt to pass the wool and steel bills over the president's veto was scheduled for the senate today. That it would fail was admitted by Democratic leaders.

The cotton bill, only slightly amended by the senate, was on the speaker's

**MRS. EMMERTON DIED EARLY TODAY**  
 Lady of Many Benefactions Passed Away at Petersham This Morning; Death of Dr. F. C. Merrill, a Salemite.

Mrs. Jennie M., widow of ex-Alderman George R. Emmerton of this city, died in Petersham this morning. She went to Petersham a week ago last Tuesday, and last Saturday she suffered a severe shock, from which she did not rally.

Mrs. Emmerton was born in Salem, the daughter of the late Capt. John Bertram, and was 75 years of age. She was the richest woman in Salem, and was well known for her charitable disposition, and one ever ready to extend a helping hand to those who were desirous of helping themselves, and to those who were unable to help themselves. Every good and worthy cause enlisted her sympathy and aid. She was connected with many of the benevolent societies of Salem, and there she also gave of her means.

With others of her father's family she joined in giving the old Bertram homestead on Essex street to the city of Salem for a public library. She was a life member of the Society for the Higher Education of Women, and a member of the board of managers of the Old Ladies' Home. Mrs. Emmerton leaves two daughters, Mrs. George H. Shattuck and Miss Caroline O. Emmerton, several grandchildren, and a sister, Mrs. William G. Webb.

Dr. Fred C. Merrill, Dental professor at Tufts Dental college, died at his home in Quincy yesterday afternoon. He was born in Salem, the son of Samuel and Elizabeth Merrill, and was 55 years of age. Graduating from the schools of Salem he entered Tufts college and was graduated from the Dental college in 1883. He opened an office in Lynn and in 1886 he went to Europe and practiced his profession in Switzerland, Germany and Italy for 12 years.

When Dr. Merrill returned to this country in 1898, he settled in Wollaston. The year he went to Wollaston he was appointed a professor at Tufts Dental college and continued to hold that position until incapacitated by illness. Dr. Merrill was an enthusiastic yachtsman, being a member of the Wollaston Yacht club. He was always one of the leading spirits in the organization of the minstrel shows that used to be winter features of this yacht club.

Dr. Merrill is survived by a widow and three sons, Dr. John L. Merrill, Robert Merrill and Dr. Ernest Merrill.

Mrs. Jennie E. Sanderson, Mrs. Jennie E., widow of John A. Sanderson, died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Frederick A. Coker, 37 March street, last night. She was born in Salem, and was the daughter of the late Richard H. and Jane E. (Woodman) Batchelder, and was in her 68th year. She leaves two sons, James A. and Percy C. Smith, a daughter, Mrs. Coker, and three grandchildren.

Rev. William H. Bolster, D. D., who occupied the pulpit of the South church, Salem, during the month of July, died while on a visit to his brother in South Paris, Me., Tuesday. He was formerly of Nashua, N. H.

Joseph F. Higgins.

\$50,000,000 annually for such co-operative building.

A number of minor measures are expected to be passed through both houses before suspension of rules, permitting their expedition. Leaders are finding it increasingly difficult to hold a quorum here in Washington, and the sentiment at both ends of the capital, favors a speedy wind-up.

**PROSECUTION OF INDIVIDUALS**

**Senator Pomerene's Resolution in Standard Oil and Tobacco Cases Caused Hot Debate in the Senate.**

Washington, Aug. 15.—Senator Pomerene's resolution directing the attorney general, criminally to prosecute the individual defendants in the Standard Oil and tobacco cases, created a hot debate in the senate this afternoon.

The Ohio senator demanded passage of his motion to take the resolution from its pigeon hole in committee and consider it on the floor. Passage of the resolution itself he declared, "was necessary to perpetuate respect among the people for the law and its enforcement."

Quoting from Atty. Gen. Wickersham's writings, Pomerene asserted that that officer had declared for strict enforcement of the anti-trust statute. Senator Sutherland of Utah bitterly criticized the resolution, declaring it "one of the most astounding propositions ever put up to congress."

"It is absolutely insane," Sutherland asserted. "It means nothing; it accomplishes nothing. It can be nothing but a slur on the attorney general and that is not a proper function of congress. Its adoption would be an invasion by congress of the rights of another branch of government."

Senator Kenyon, former "official trust buster" of the department of justice, said he favored criminal prosecution of the oil and tobacco magnates, but he disapproved of the resolution. He lauded Wickersham for "diligent and faithful performance of his duty."

Criminal suits now would be a "farce," Kenyon declared, because the law limits punishment to fines, and imprisonment would be impossible. He hoped the Sherman act would be amended and penal sentences substituted for fines. The resolution went over without action.

**BIG TRIO MAY SPEAK SAME DAY**

Atlantic City, Aug. 15.—What may be the most unique campaign happening in the history of American politics became a possibility today when it was learned that Woodrow Wilson, President Taft and Col. Roosevelt may speak from the same platform on the Steel pier here on Sept. 10.

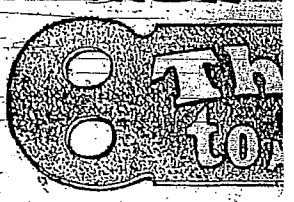
The annual national encampment of the United Spanish War Veterans will be held here from Sept. 7 to 14 and invitations for Sept. 10 were extended to the Republican, Democratic and bull moose presidential candidates. Gov. Wilson accepted unconditionally. Pres. Taft sent a tentative acceptance and Col. Roosevelt expressed a desire to mingle with his war associates from Oklahoma and elsewhere.

WEATHER REPORT, 12 M.  
 Washington, Aug. 15.—New England: Fair tonight and Friday; cooler tonight, moderate northwest winds.

Whenever you think you need castor oil take **Castorilay**—it's factalase

**YOUR BANK**

**MERCANTILE**  
 W. L. Hyde, Pres.



is thrifty. Be thrifty and find it so difficult to save. 1 cent of 4 per cent will prove dollars with us. It is a plea as we appreciate upon the success of its deposit and expeditious handling of all your account and can do.

**Salem Five**  
 210 E  
 Open 8.45 to 1.15 daily and SATURDAY  
 OVER 26,000 DEPOSITORS.

**BIG ENGAGEMENT GAME**

Newton, Conn., Aug. 15.—was no battle today between the Red and Blue armies, but the big engagement of the week will come off tomorrow morning. The Red and the Blue, the day perfecting their line of battle with now and then a skirmish between small scouting parties. In order to be near the scene of the battle, General Bliss moved his headquarters to this place from Stratford. The aviation section was split into two planes being with each army for headquarters' use. The beginning of the flight, however, will be from Stratford as in the past day the aviators in automobiles scoured the country over which big battle will be fought and possible landing places.

"If I build again I shall come to you for building materials."  
 That is what a man said to the other day—it has been true as before.  
 "There's a reason" that shows on the surface of everything—make and furnish—easy for to prove—just as easy for you to convince yourself.

**Pitman & Brown Co.**  
 "Everything from the lumber to the paint."

**\$5 Free**  
 Discount allowed off on all purchases of \$15 or over, either cash or easy terms of purchase.

eighteenth century, however, the Great Seal has had an eagle with its head turned to its right, the side prescribed by heraldic rules.<sup>4</sup>

Whether Hawthorne ever remarked the differences between the figure beneath which he entered the Custom House each morning and the eagle of the seal on the many documents that daily crossed his office desk will most likely never be known. But one notes a strange disingenuousness together with inexplicable inaccuracies in the description of Joseph True's reworking of the national symbol given in "The Custom-House." Using the very tentative phrase "if I recall aright," Hawthorne suggests he writes from distant memory although his residence in 1849 was at 14 Mall Street and a bare few minutes' walk from the Custom House. Whether Hawthorne simply failed to recheck his memory against True's carving or deliberately misdescribed it, the authorial pretense to imperfect recollection served his subordination of fact to satire. The eagle clutches no "bunch of intermingled thunderbolts," and rather than bearing "barbed arrows in each claw," the carved bird holds them only in its left. Strangely, Hawthorne misses the one novelty of True's figure that might have served his angry caricature: the Salem artisan's departure from the pattern of the Great Seal and coat of arms in averting the eagle's attention from the olive branch of peace in its right claw's talons and toward the arrows of anger in its left claw. Whether from inattention or by design, Hawthorne's eagle is a creature of his own contrivance, one never seen above the Salem Custom House he purports so faithfully to describe.

4. The histories of the Great Seal and coat of arms of the United States are the subject of an extensive study published by the Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, the Department of State: Richard S. Patterson and Richardson Dougall, *The Eagle and the Shield: A History of the Great Seal of the United States* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978).

EMHC vol 122 (1986)

## George Bailey Loring: A Matter of Trust—s

By JOAN M. MALONEY\*

ON an early fall day in 1891 an overflow crowd of Salem's prosperous and not-so-prosperous citizens gathered to mourn the passing of Dr. George Bailey Loring, recognized as the city's "most prominent and best known resident . . . its 'first citizen.'"<sup>1</sup> The choir of the North Unitarian Church intoned his favorite hymn, "Jerusalem—My Happy Home," and Loring's close friend, the Reverend Edward Everett Hale, took the pulpit. Praising the physician as an unfailing gentleman on the right side of every good cause and as a man of temperance and active charity, Hale emphasized that Loring's religiosity was a matter of "birth inheritance, early training and confirmed habit."<sup>2</sup> Loring's widow and daughter stood side by side to watch the oak casket borne by an impressive honor guard of the Knights Templar down Essex Street to Harmony Grove Cemetery. It was to be the last instance of their mutual toleration.

There are only a few abbreviated accounts of the career of Dr. Loring, and they invariably laud his many professional contributions.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, there was a darker side to the gentle physician which is revealed in the musty records of the Essex County registry of deeds and probate court and in the papers of the Pickman family carefully preserved in the Essex Institute. These suggest that Loring

\* Joan M. Maloney is a professor of history at Salem State College, and she is grateful to that institution for awarding her a research grant. A graduate of Trinity College, she received her master's and doctorate from Georgetown University. She has authored numerous articles on modern China and is coauthor, with Peter S. H. Tang, of *Communist China: The Domestic Scene 1949-67*, published by Seton Hall University in 1967.

1. *Boston Herald*, 15 September 1891.

2. *Salem Gazette*, 18 September 1891.

3. See, for example, Russell L. Jackson, *The Physicians of Essex County* (Salem: Essex Institute, 1948), 75-76; Dumas Malone (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Scribners, 1933), vol. 11, 417-18.



abused his first wife's fortune, cheated his only surviving child of her inheritance, and left as his true legacy bad debts and tarnished promises. The man so admired by his contemporaries was, in fact, a splendid example of the venality of our Gilded Age.

Although George Loring's political career is not the focus of this study, reference must be made to it to appreciate his strengths and weaknesses. In politics he proved to be astute, ambitious, and occasionally amoral. The eldest son of a minister and grandson of a tavern keeper, he seemed to inherit the veneer of the former and the drive for financial gain of the latter.

Born in 1817 in North-Andover, George Loring taught school for a time before and after his graduation from Harvard in 1838. In 1842, having studied with the illustrious Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes in Boston, Loring was awarded a medical degree by Harvard. A year later he was appointed surgeon to the Marine Hospital in Chelsea, where he served with distinction until 1850. Based in part on his pioneering efforts to stem the spread of the deadly outbreak of an epidemic of pleuropneumonia, in 1849 the young physician was commissioned to revise the entire U.S. marine hospital system.<sup>4</sup>

The practice of medicine did not long hold Loring's interest.<sup>5</sup> A man of imposing stature, nearly six feet tall, Loring had courtly manners, impressive oratorical skills, and a fascination for a wide and disparate number of subjects from literature to animal husbandry.<sup>6</sup> Physical and mental gifts propelled him into the realm of politics.

For George Loring, politics initially meant the party of Jefferson and Jackson in which he had been raised. By the early 1850s he gave up his practice when his services to the Democratic party were rewarded by an appointment from President Franklin Pierce as post-

4. *New York Times*, 15 September 1891.

5. In 1858 Loring ran as a Democrat for the 6th Massachusetts seat to the House. He vigorously denied opposition charges that the real reason he had stopped practicing medicine was because of "some surgical cruelty said to have been committed many years ago." George B. Loring, *Speech Delivered at Lynn, Massachusetts* (Salem: Salem Advocate, 1858).

6. For a glimpse of Loring's literary interests see Ralph Waldo Emerson to George B. Loring, 27 November 1833 in the Pickman Papers, Essex Institute; and *Salem Observer*, 12 March 1887, which reprinted an article from the *Washington Star* concerning a lecture Loring gave on his schooldays correspondence with James Russell Lowell. Loring wrote a number of his own articles. He was a founder and the first president of the New England Agricultural Society and had an abiding interest in the breeding of Ayrshire cattle.

master of Salem. In 1856 Loring served as a delegate to the Democratic national convention meeting in Baltimore. For the first time he associated with prominent national leaders, and was deeply impressed with Jefferson Davis, continuing a correspondence with the senator into 1859. As one of the prime organizers of the 1 April 1859 Jefferson Day gala in Salem's Hamilton Hall, Loring reiterated the philosophy of Davis, warning that "the welfare of five million blacks will sacrifice the peace and happiness of twenty-five million whites."<sup>7</sup>

With the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, Loring faced the reality that no Democrat was apt to win elective office in Massachusetts. In 1864 he formally broke with the Democrats and became an articulate, if somewhat suspect, Republican.<sup>8</sup> Loring was accepted by his new party's leaders, and by the voters. From 1866-1868 he represented the second Essex district in the general court. In 1872 he was elected to the Massachusetts senate: the following year he was chosen as that body's president with only a single dissenting vote, and he held this position through the sessions of 1874 to 1876. In 1876 Loring captured the Essex seat to the Congress from its Democratic incumbent by some 1,200 votes. Although his two terms in Congress were hardly outstanding, he did make influential friends. An early and ardent booster of James G. Blaine of Maine, Loring was not forgotten by the senator when he failed to be renominated in 1880. Although Blaine too had failed in his ambition to win the Republican presidential nomination, the victor, James G. Garfield, had appointed him secretary of state in the interests of healing party wounds. As secretary, Blaine used his influence to have the president, only a day before he was shot, appoint Loring commissioner of agriculture.<sup>9</sup> Loring was well suited to this post because of his long interest in horticulture and animal husbandry, and he served it well until 1885, when Cleveland's presidential victory swept out the

7. Pickman Papers, Box 8, Folder 10; hereafter referred to as PP with appropriate box and folder number.

8. D. Hamilton Hurd, *History of Essex County, Massachusetts With Biographical Sketches*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Lewis, 1888), 2:16.

9. James G. Blaine to George B. Loring, undated, Pickman Papers. This is on the letterhead of the secretary of state and marked "Very Confidential." It notes, "I wished and tried to make it much higher, but it will be made higher in good season. . . . I could not control."

Republican appointees. In 1888 the Republicans regained the White House. Although Loring hoped that Blaine's repeated good offices would result in a Cabinet appointment, the new president, Benjamin Harrison, countered "I put my foot down on that pretty quick."<sup>10</sup> Instead Harrison offered Loring the less-prestigious ministry to Portugal, a post he held for a year.

Despite Loring's political triumphs, he was frequently the object of suspicion among his confreres. His early admiration for Jefferson Davis was to haunt him, as did stories that he had publicly dined with Preston Brooks after the latter's horrible attack on Charles Sumner on the floor of the Senate. According to rumors, Loring had declared that the beloved senior senator from Massachusetts had only gotten what he deserved and had secretly raised funds for Gen. George McClellan in 1864 in an attempt to oust Lincoln.<sup>11</sup> These accusations must be weighed against the fact that the state Republican leadership, Sumner included, endorsed most of Loring's political aspirations while occasionally reining in his ambitions. For example, in 1871 Loring was bypassed in his run for his party's endorsement as governor, probably because of rumors about offering a secret deal.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, in 1879 the Forty-Sixth Congress considered allegations that Loring had engaged in vote-fixing in his district.<sup>13</sup>

Without doubt, Loring's most controversial political association was with Benjamin Butler. "Beast Butler," so labeled for his contentious actions as military governor in Reconstruction Louisiana, represented Essex County for three terms in the Congress.<sup>14</sup> The association between Butler and Loring dated back at least to 1862, when they worked together to arrange shipping for military goods on a commission basis, and Loring early worked for Butler's elec-

10. George Frisbie Hoar. *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, 2 vols. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935), 2:215-16.

11. Broadside. "To The Senators Elect of Massachusetts," December 1872, in the collection of the Essex Institute.

12. Dale Baum. *The Civil War Party System: The Case of Massachusetts, 1848-1876* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1984), 138.

13. *Brief for Contestant in Contested Election, 6th Congressional District, Massachusetts 46th Cong., 2nd sess., 1879.* (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1880).

14. Butler actually resided in Lowell, but rather than race the incumbent, he declared a summer home in Gloucester to be his residence and ran from Essex County.

tion to Congress. In 1871 the two men collaborated in a scheme to have Loring inherit Butler's Congressional seat in exchange for Loring's efforts to elect Butler governor. Whatever loyalties existed between the two, they had vanished by 1878, when Butler endorsed E. Moody Boynton of Gloucester, Democratic candidate for Loring's seat, and then served as legal counsel in the actions brought before the Congress charging Loring with electioneering irregularities.<sup>15</sup>

If George Loring courted political power, he most assuredly also craved money. With the talents and training to make a fortune through his medical practice, the man found a quicker way to riches by marriage into the Pickman family of Salem. Several generations of Pickmans had already built a family financial empire on the basis of shipping, merchandising, real estate, and astute investment when George came to Salem in 1851 to marry his cousin, Mary Toppan Pickman.<sup>16</sup>

Mary Toppan Pickman's heritage, by blood and property, was impressive. To be born a Pickman in early nineteenth-century Salem was to enjoy wealth and respect, built up by the family since early colonial times. Mary's most illustrious ancestor, Col. Benjamin Pickman, son of a prosperous ship owner, in 1762 married Mary Toppan, the daughter of a wealthy Newbury physician. Benjamin, after graduation from both Harvard and Yale, entered upon a highly successful mercantile career. In 1770 he was appointed colonel of the Essex Regiment, and as divisions widened between crown and colony, the colonel remained loyal to his king. In 1775 he left for what would be a ten-year stay in England, hoping by this maneuver to preserve his property from the revolutionaries by turning it over to his wife. The first Mary Toppan proved more than equal to the task of raising their five children and protecting their inheritance.

In later years Colonel Pickman had little enthusiasm for business, but he made sure that his eldest and youngest sons, Benjamin, Jr., and William, would acquire all the skills essential to commercial success. In 1790 the boys were apprenticed to the firm of Elias

15. *Brief for Contestant . . . . op. cit.*

16. George's maternal grandfather, Clark Gayton Pickman, and Mary's paternal grandfather, Benjamin Pickman, were brothers.

Hasket Derby. Derby, foremost of the wealthy ship owners of Salem,<sup>17</sup> oversaw their training for the next six years. Benjamin, Jr., gradually drifted away from the business world to pursue political interests; William went to Boston to further his career. Meanwhile, the alliance between these two powerful families was cemented by Benjamin's marriage to Derby's youngest daughter, Anstiss.

Colonel Pickman's middle son, Thomas, was chosen to follow his maternal grandfather's profession of medicine. Thomas graduated from Harvard in 1791. In 1802 he married Polly Haraden, who lived only four more years and died childless. Thomas was then married again, to Sophia Palmer, whose father had been a participant in the Boston Tea Party. The young physician was never strong and depended upon his family for much of his support.<sup>18</sup> In 1817, at the age of forty-four, Thomas died after a long illness, predeceasing his father by two years. With the exception of small legacies to his mother-in-law and his infant daughter, he left all his worldly goods to his young widow. They were barely adequate to permit her to raise their child.<sup>19</sup>

Although she never knew her father and her mother was burdened by financial pressures, Mary Toppan Pickman's childhood was a happy one surrounded by loving relatives. Sophia carefully nurtured the child's small inheritance. In 1821, having petitioned the court to be named legal guardian for the five-year-old, she sold at public auction Mary's one-fifth interest in the Pickman family mansion at 328 Essex Street. After the colonel's death, this home was occupied by William and his unmarried sister, Love Rawlins Pickman. Although it is puzzling that William should allow this public auction, he was the highest bidder, at \$800, and bore no ill will toward his relatively impoverished sister-in-law.<sup>20</sup>

17. Derby was a rich man before the American Revolution began. Wartime privateering and his decision in 1785 to launch the first New England ship directly to China made him extraordinarily wealthy and Salem, for a time, the richest city in New England.

18. In 1786 Thomas's parents deeded him property on Ferry Lane to the North River to fulfill the wishes of his maternal grandmother. Essex County Registry of Deeds (Salem). Book 145, Leaf 247. There is also a copy of this deed in PP 10:4.

19. Sophia died 22 December 1862, leaving no real estate and only \$1,500 in personal property. Essex County Probate Court (Salem). Case 50224. Since she had received \$1,000 from William Pickman's estate, she obviously lived in modest circumstances.

20. Registry of Deeds. Book 227, Leaf 288.

Sophia was determined that Mary not forget the influence of her father. At what point did she give the child her most cherished remembrance from Thomas? While she had been in labor, her husband was confined to his sickbed in the next room. "My dearest love," he wrote to her, "I have ever thought that it was the duty of Christians to observe the ordinances of the Supper . . . and I will carefully unite with you in requesting an admission into Mr. Abbot's church—humbly imploring the divine favour to keep and direct me in the right way."<sup>21</sup>

Sophia carefully preserved this note, applying a cloth backing and folding it so that it could be worn on her person. It not only reveals the bond between husband and wife, but also between mother and daughter, for when she gave it to Mary, Sophia added: "My dear child . . . this will be the only line of his writing you will have containing a precept to guide your conduct, let it be your rule upon the most important subject."<sup>22</sup>

When she was fourteen, in 1831, Mary began keeping a diary. Its entries reconstruct the loving relationships she had with her Uncle William and Aunt Love Rawlins. Seldom did a day pass without her visiting with them, taking walks, and having tea. From her mother she was learning the value of thrift—carefully noting the expenditure of five cents for leads and fifty cents for "follies"—as well as the importance of religious values. The girl's outlook was wholesome and her study not inconsiderable. In 1839 Mary purchased a home at 312 Essex Street in her own name, yet another sign of her deepening maturity.

The Pickmans were not entirely pleased when, in 1851 at the age of thirty-five, Mary determined to marry George Loring. Immediately before the ceremony began, William and his friend John King presided over the conclusion of a prenuptial contract. It dictated that all of Mary's assets were to be placed in a trust administered by her cousin by marriage, Samuel Walcott, "for the sole and separate benefit of said Mary during her life . . . without the interference therein or control over the same of any husband she may marry and

21. Sophia also gave Mary a copy of her Father's last words as recorded by his friend Everett Saltonstall, who had kept the death watch. Thomas died praying the "God will sustain me." PP 10:4.

22. PP 10:4.

upon the decease of said Mary . . . said trust shall pay said income and annual interest to Mrs. Sophia Pickman . . . and after the decease of said Sophia . . . pay and convey all the principal of said trust fund to George Bailey Loring."<sup>23</sup>

The assets to which Loring waived control were very substantial. Through her father Mary owned or stood to inherit a fifth of lands and buildings in Salem on the Lynn Road and Pleasant, Bridge, Boston, Lafayette, Essex, and Charter Streets, as well as shares in six banks, three railroads, hefty annuities, and stocks. It is not surprising that after the wedding, Loring moved into his bride's home and gave up his practice of medicine.

Despite William Pickman's wariness, George Loring quickly found ways to enter into the family's fiscal affairs. In this he had a willing and adroit ally in his younger brother John, a Boston attorney. When Walcott died in 1855, the brothers Loring successfully petitioned the court to be named coadministrators of Mary's trust.<sup>24</sup> Their services were paid from the trust, sometimes at excessive rates. For example, in 1858 they pocketed a fourth of the price of a parcel of land they sold on Derby Street from the trust.<sup>25</sup>

In September of 1851, only two months before his niece's marriage, William Pickman made his will, naming as executors and trustees Samuel Walcott, John King, J. Ingersoll Bowditch, and John Loring. King declined and Walcott had to be removed because of failing health. Since he had never married, William regarded Mary virtually as his own, and was especially generous in his provisions for her. The mansion on Essex Street that he had built in 1818 (on the site of the earlier home purchased by Dr. Bezaleel Toppan in 1762 and given to his daughter, Colonel Pickman's bride) was one of the finest examples of Federalist homes in a neighborhood known for its beautiful dwellings.<sup>26</sup> A three-story brick home with hipped

23. Registry of Deeds, Book 517, Leaf 181.

24. Probate Court, 21 July 1869; Deeds, Book 1149, Leaf 140.

25. The trustees, including the Lorings, sold this land for \$700 and retained a fourth of the sales price. Several months later the land was reconveyed to George Loring, who eventually resold it.

26. *Salem Register*, 20 August 1885; "Some Accounts of Houses and Other Buildings in Salem from a Manuscript of the Late Colonel Benjamin Pickman Communicated by George Bailey Loring," *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* 6(1864): 95. Salem Historical District Study Committee, *Report*, vol. 1.

roof and four tall chimneys, it was to be Love's home for her lifetime. After her death, William provided that the home be awarded half to the offspring of his brother Benjamin, and half to Mary, with Mary alone to enjoy occupancy and the benefits of any income for her lifetime. Once more William indicated his cautious attitude toward George Loring: 328 Essex Street was to be for "her sole and separate use and without the control or interference therein of any husband . . . and it is expressly made part of this trust that she may make such a will with or without the consent or knowledge of her husband."<sup>27</sup>

It was also William's desire that Mary get possession of the Pickman farm in South Salem. This great estate of 424 acres at the juncture with Marblehead on the Lynn Road came into the family in separate purchases and grants, going back to 1754 when Colonel Pickman had far-sightedly bought land adjacent to the Great Pastures and constructed a farmhouse and outbuildings. According to the 1771 tax lists, the farm was then worked by two slaves who cared for thirty-three cows and a horse, cutting the salt hay in the area of the farm that abuts Forrest River.<sup>28</sup> The colonel had left the farm in equal shares to his surviving sons and daughters and to Mary as her father's interest. Benjamin, Jr., had only a limited concern about the farm, and eventually sold his fifth to William, and Mary Osgood left her share to Mary Toppan Pickman.

The farm was a money-maker. It was consistently rented to reliable tenants under stringent provisions for its upkeep. Typical of these leases is the agreement negotiated in May 1823 with Erastus Ware and then renewed for the next ten years. Ware agreed to pay rent of \$1,080 annually as well as all taxes and "to leave on the farm all manure made there . . . cause the oxen and horses to be carefully kept . . . carefully preserve the trees . . . from being injured by the cattle." The Pickmans reserved the rights to use several rooms in the farmhouse, and all parties agreed to an evaluation of \$1,228 on the farm's then inventory.<sup>29</sup> In 1833 the farm was leased to a new tenant, Benjamin G. Metcalf. Its inventory had grown to \$2,558.<sup>27</sup>, so the

27. Registry of Deeds, Book 545, Leaf 124.

28. Bettye H. Pruitt (ed.), *Massachusetts Tax Valuation List of 1771* (Boston: Hall, 1978), 134.

29. PP 9:12.

rent was adjusted up to \$1,176.76.<sup>30</sup> Prior to her marriage, Mary Pickman received her share of the rents directly; afterwards they were placed in the trust fund.

When William decided that Mary should inherit the three-fifth shares that he and Love had to the farm, he drafted a deed selling these interests to her for \$500, including all buildings, rights, and privileges, "forever in trust." Shortly thereafter, William, who was then in his eighty-third year, became bedridden and required constant nursing care. Less than three months later he was dead, missed by all for his honesty, sound judgment, warm-heartedness, and moral rectitude.

William died on 1 May 1857; he was by any contemporary standard a very wealthy man. In 1855, according to his account books, he was worth \$186,702.16; by 1856 this had grown to \$193,325.01. The inventory of his estate totaled \$41,300 in real estate and \$124,839.61 in personal property, most of which was shrewdly invested in stocks and bonds, banks, railroads, and other profitable businesses. The Loring could anticipate that their share would be very substantial. Until Bowditch resigned his directorship in 1867, this second trust was paying out healthy amounts five times a year. For example, in 1867 Mary received \$1,461 in January, \$676.56 in April, \$557.63 in July, \$852.15 in October, and \$691.33 in December. Moreover, the principal in the ten years from 1857 to 1867 grew by over \$16,600. These sums were relatively huge for their day, and they enabled the Loring to build a new mansion at the farm in 1860.<sup>31</sup>

In 1869 George Loring successfully petitioned the court to replace Bowditch as director of the trust created by William. Now the brothers Loring not only controlled the principal, but were also awarded annual fees for their services. At this point it is well to stress three facts. First, William clearly never intended George to get control of his wife's money. Second, the courts ignored William's intent, probably due to George's persuasiveness and political connections. Finally, after the Loring took over sole administration of the trust, no further accountings were made to the court.

30. PP 9:12.

31. Probate, Case 50225. Tax records simply indicate "new house."

After the death of her brother in 1857, Love Pickman continued to occupy the Essex Street mansion. But she was aging and lonely, and she doted on Mary's new baby, insisting that she must revise her will to provide for "the dear."<sup>32</sup> Consequently, in 1858 the Loring moved into the Pickman mansion. Baby Mary Pickman had arrived the previous December, and Sally was born in September of 1859. Raising two active daughters must have helped them overcome the grief at losing a day-old son in 1853.<sup>33</sup> Tragedy struck again when Mary died at the age of six in 1864. Thus, Sally grew up in conditions not unlike her mother's—an only child surrounded by adoring adults.

Meanwhile, Love was becoming more and more dependent upon the Loring. In March of 1859 she conferred a power of attorney on George. John Loring was her personal attorney and executor of her will. It was probably John, however, who convinced Love to negotiate a cash settlement with Benjamin, Jr.'s, offspring, so that Mary's interest in the mansion house would be clear. In the summer of 1861 Love sent a note to the cashier of the Salem Bank, authorizing John to examine and/or remove her papers "as he may see fit." The same day the note was sent, John removed from the bank a black leather trunk, bearing a brass tag with William's name.<sup>34</sup> Love obviously no longer shared William's original cautions, signing her letters to John "your affectionate aunt." In very frail handwriting, Love wrote John requesting that he redraft her will to provide that should Mary die first, and Sally before the age of twenty-one, then George should receive half of \$18,000, the remainder to be divided among her heirs at law.<sup>35</sup> In yet another note to John, the old woman insisted that her legacy to Mary was to be placed in trust, but if Mary died first the income on the principal was to go to George, with all assets to be divided among their children at his death.<sup>36</sup>

Love died on 13 November 1863, in her seventy-eighth year.

32. Love Rawlins Pickman to John A. Loring, 17 January 1854. PP 10:3.

33. The Pickman family Bible was passed down from Colonel Benjamin to Love and from her to Mary, and then to Sally, and Sally's son. After his death it went to a grandson of Benjamin Pickman, Jr.

34. Love Pickman to John Loring, 28 August 1861, and bank receipt of same date. PP 10:3.

35. Love Rawlins Pickman to John A. Loring, undated. PP 10:3.

36. PP 10:3.

William Endicott, William Roger, and J. Osgood Loring were retained to appraise her estate. According to their inventory, she left \$15,400 in real estate and \$79,116.99 in personal property, the latter including a library of 1,200 volumes and the Pickman silver, as well as investments. Again the Loring brothers filled dual roles as executors for Love's estate and as managers of Mary's trust.

Considering Mary's substantial resources and her failing health, it is surprising that she did not draft a will until October of 1877. Indeed, her poor health and the fact that she had long been removed from any direct control of her assets may explain this indifference. In her last will, other than a \$5,000 sum to be given Sally directly, Mary provided that everything was to go to her husband "to have the income of the same so long as he shall live . . . and at his decease I give devise and bequeath the said principal and any accumulated income to my daughter Sally . . . and her heirs forever, free from any trusts."<sup>37</sup>

Although Mary's provisions were consistent with her prenuptial agreement, her forceful declaration that Sally, then only eighteen, be spared the necessity of a trust indicates dissatisfaction with her own arrangements.

On 15 August 1878, only months before her death, Mary "signed" a codicil: "I give . . . to my said husband and to his heirs and assigns forever and free from any and all trusts all those lands situated in South Salem so-called, known as and called the Pickman Farm. . . . As to that portion of my estate of which by my said will my said husband is given the use and income, I wish no trustee to be appointed it being my desire that my said husband shall have the personal management. . . ."<sup>38</sup>

This codicil raises several questions. It stands in sharp contrast to her decisions of the previous year and certainly goes against the intentions of William and Love when they sold her their interest in the farm. More important, Mary's quavery signature is either that of a dying woman, or is perhaps imitated. In either case it suggests that she may not have been fully aware of what she was doing. Also suspicious is the fact that the witnesses to the codicil were two family

37. Probate Case 45598.

38. Probate Case 45598.

domestics, Lizzie Fisher and Annie Hallahan, and her attending physician, Dr. William Mack, who was a friend of George's. It should be added that no questions were raised when George submitted her will for probate in January of 1879 and posted a required \$200,000 bond, nor was the court concerned when he failed to file the requisite papers within the required three-month period.

Having been brought back to Salem in the early summer in rapidly failing health, Mary died in the Pickman mansion at ten o'clock on a Sunday evening in the first week of December 1878. It was perhaps a blessed release after a long and painful illness. Along with Sally, then nineteen, the community felt the loss of "a leading and very estimable character of high culture," a "kind and gentle spirit" who "thought nothing but good thoughts and did nothing but good deeds." Mary had "won the close confidence and sincere gratitude of the poor" for her benevolence and sympathy.<sup>39</sup>

George had left the spring session of the House early, attended for only two days in the fall, and in January 1879 was still referring to his unspeakable physical and mental anguish.<sup>40</sup> A year and a half later, on 10 June 1880, he married Anna Smith Hildreth in New York. She was the widow of Charles Hildreth and mother of a then-minor son, Loring Hildreth. George would soon be immersed in a whirlwind of congenial activities related to being named commissioner of agriculture. Although he and his extended family returned to Salem periodically for vacations, Loring's main interest now was in Washington.

During most of his Salem visits, Loring preferred to stay at the farm; the mansion on Essex Street was largely unoccupied from the time of Mary's death. Thus in 1885, when Loring planned to acquire a sumptuous residence in Washington and needed \$25,000 cash, he determined to sell the mansion house. John Loring was drafted to arrange the sale, and Dr. George R. Emmerton agreed to a price of \$15,000. John was apparently also able to satisfy Andrew Fitz, who had been retained by the Emmertons to search the title, that George Loring was the sole owner. In May John brought the deed to Wash-

39. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 3 December 1878; *Salem Semi-Weekly Gazette*, 3 December 1878.

40. *Congressional Record*, 45th Cong., 2d sess., 1878, 2488 ff.; 3d sess., 1879, 410.



The Loring Farm

ington. In the presence of his brother and John E. Beall, commissioner of deeds for Massachusetts, George Loring certified that he was giving a quitclaim "in my own right and as executor of Mary Toppan Pickman's will."<sup>41</sup>

Emmertons's check, which arrived four days later, was immediately put toward the purchase price of a residence at 1521-23 K Street. This marked the end to the Lorings' use of the mansion house. Certainly George Loring knew that this contravened the wishes of William and Love Pickman and his own wife, so he was careful to have Sally countersign the deed to the Emmertons: "I do release all claims under Mary's or William's wills."<sup>42</sup>

Having returned to Salem for the summer, Loring drafted several agreements and had them witnessed by Thomas Savage, a justice of the peace in Suffolk County, on Saturday, 20 June 1885. The most important of these provided that some 340 working acres of the farm were to be "sold" to Otis Shaw, John Loring's law clerk, who would

41. Deeds, Book 1149, Leaf 140.  
42. Deeds, Book 1149, Leaf 140.

then reconvey the property to Anna for the sum of one dollar. Anna readily signed this paper transaction since she stood to gain most of the farm and its revenues. As this was hardly favorable to Sally, Loring provided in other documents that she was to inherit all of the contents of his residences in Washington and at the farm. Sally, of course, was not informed of any of these provisions.

On the following Monday, 22 June, knowing that his brother was out of town, George Loring visited John's Boston law office and required Otis Shaw to certify the documents of 20 June and draft yet another agreement. By the latter George conveyed the remaining some 90 acres of the farm and its house to John "for one dollar."<sup>43</sup> John was to hold this in trust for Anna and Sally, each of whom would have a lifetime half share in the farm as tenants in common. Upon the death of either, that share was to be conveyed to that party's heirs or could be disposed of by will. If both assented, the property could be sold. "I am lawfully seized in fee simple of the granted premises," George added, and "I have a good right to sell and convey the same." This document was also signed by Anna, who added "I release all right to both dower and homestead in the granted premises."<sup>44</sup> George personally filed the new trust with the Essex County Registry of Deeds on the same day it was drafted. If there was to be a victim in this plot, it had to be Sally.

The day following George's preparation of the trust, John Loring discovered its existence from his clerk. Shaw immediately thought better of his participation in the various exchanges; he cancelled out the provision for dividing the farm with the bulk going to Anna by returning the paper to George. Since the trust had already been filed, John Loring drafted a refutation. For a dollar given back to George he gave quitclaim to the farm, "to annul and cancel the aforesaid conveyance and all trusts, if any . . . the same never having been assented to by me."<sup>45</sup> John made sure that both Sally and Anna signed their assent to his declaration before he went to the courthouse.

Between 1885, when he was replaced as commissioner of agricul-

43. Deeds, Book 1152, Leaf 248.

44. Deeds, Book 1152, Leaf 248.

45. Deeds, Book 1152, Leaf 248: John Loring's deed is incorrectly dated 22 June.

ture, and 1889 when he was named minister to Lisbon, George Loring was unsalaried and unsuccessful in his endeavors to have the Congress grant him a special pension. His principal sources of income were rents and stock dividends. On the advice of a former Congressional colleague who had earlier been solicitor for the Philadelphia Company, Loring bought considerable stock in this corporation. Its production of natural gas enabled payment of high dividends. The farm lease continued to be Loring's most reliable source of income. Nevertheless, he was often pressed for money and eager for a new government appointment. The Lisbon mission was hardly his preference, but he accepted it readily in the hopes of accumulating some savings.

The Lorings' departure for Europe was facilitated by borrowing ready cash from John. John also agreed to oversee George's entire financial interests and to watch over Sally. Sally was to get \$100 a month from the trusts left her by Love Pickman and Mary Loring to cover her expenses for boarding around with friends. John also agreed to retain his brother's will. For a time all these arrangements were amicable. Soon enough George's expenses began outrunning his income, and he was demanding that John send him "what money you have as soon as you can."<sup>46</sup> Sally was demanding a more equitable share of her assets. Even more troublesome was the fact that the stocks of the Philadelphia Company began to fluctuate wildly. Loss of this income, as George put it, "would embarrass me seriously."<sup>47</sup>

Coupled with his financial worries, George Loring was also becoming increasingly frustrated by his professional inactivity. Lisbon was hardly a demanding diplomatic assignment. As the king lingered near death most of the activities of the court ceased. For a man like Loring, used to a wide circle of friends and admirers, the social isolation was cloying. As he confessed to his brother, at times he was reduced to "drinking toddies with the red-nosed superintendent" for want of other companionship.<sup>48</sup> Small wonder, then, that he was increasingly given to recollecting earlier and happier days in Salem.

46. George B. Loring to John A. Loring, 18 December 1889; in the George B. Loring Papers 1857-1890, Essex Institute; hereafter referred to as LP with date.

47. LP, 10 October 1889.

48. LP, 5 September 1889.



George B. Loring



Loring's memories induced a deep and lingering state of depression. The loss of loved ones and recollections of how he had never appreciated them properly led to a point where "all this memory nearly kills me." Professional achievements no longer consoled him. Summing up his whole life he concluded "what a tragedy it has all been."<sup>49</sup> His melancholia made him more and more dependent on Anna. Able to converse fluently in French and much taken with her introduction to European society, Anna Loring was thoroughly enjoying herself and making many friends. Given the situation, it was probably inevitable that George Loring began to think of his obligations to provide more adequately for Anna's future. In these considerations the disposition of the farm loomed very large.

Loring's experiences proved to him that Anna had little head for finances. She also told him several times that, should anything happen to him, she would never live at the farm. Meanwhile, Sally Loring was no more than a paying boarder, with no real home of her own. Trying to reconcile all these factors, Loring decided to draft further instructions. He requested John to accept administration of a joint trust for Anna and Sally. According to its terms Sally would occupy the homestead and pay rent to Anna. Sally would also inherit most of his personal effects. Anna, however, was to be awarded 60 percent of all income from the property. Not surprisingly, John was enjoined to "say nothing to Sally about this matter."<sup>50</sup>

Just in case something should happen to these instructions in transit, Loring also drafted a will himself and had it witnessed locally. As the weeks dragged on, he repeatedly revised his instructions. Anna was to inherit an 80 percent interest in the farm and Sally 20 percent, curiously justified by his contention that Mary had originally given him the farm "to provide for Anna and Loring."<sup>51</sup>

John Loring questioned this distribution as being capricious, even mean. George then agreed to a 75:25 division, but beyond this he would not budge. John reminded him that this was still unfair to Sally and actually contravened Mary's intentions expressed in her will. George retorted that he was in fact honoring Mary's wishes. As

49. LP, 4 August and 10 October 1889.

50. LP, 10 October 1889.

51. LP, 21 November 1889.



Anna Smith Hildreth Loring

he recalled, she had told him "I am going to give you the farm so you can educate Loring if necessary." He similarly insisted that all his property be divided by the same ratio. Sally was to be compensated for the inequity of the real estate division by being awarded more of his cash assets. With his usual optimism returning, Loring insisted that by all this, "Sally will have an abundance."<sup>52</sup>

The Loring returned from Portugal in June of 1890 for what they intended to be an extended visit. A reporter visiting the farm only a day after their return observed that George Loring appeared to be "very much at ease and eager to converse before a comfortable fire in the library."<sup>53</sup> When the Department of State rejected his request to extend his home leave, probably because Harrison was being dunned for the ministry by another office-seeker, Loring resigned his commission and took up the life of a gentleman farmer.<sup>54</sup> He also began work on a book relating his experiences in Portugal. Dedicated to Sally, the book was published in 1891 by Putnam. It was reviewed favorably for its solid understanding of Portuguese history. It did not, however, fulfill Loring's intent that it be a moneymaker.

On 1 September 1891 George Loring enjoyed a visit to Boston. Shortly thereafter he contracted a severe case of diarrhea and became bedridden for over a week. On 13 September he felt well enough to walk about the farm, but late that night he developed respiratory problems, and died suddenly about midnight. John Loring assumed the responsibility of handling his deceased brother's final affairs. Despite the proliferation of wills George Loring had drafted, John informed the probate court that his brother had died intestate. Since he filed with the court in Newburyport, not Salem, it is likely that John sought to avoid publicity about his brother's estate as much as possible.

According to the appraisal prepared by Arthur Huntington, J. Frank Dalton, and William L. Hyde, George left only \$25 worth of real estate—a house lot in Boxford, and personal effects valued at but \$8,251.<sup>24</sup> and largely consisting of the contents and animals at

52. LP, 2 May 1890.

53. *Boston Journal*, 16 June 1890.

54. George Batcheller, then assistant secretary of the Treasury, cultivated a diplomatic assignment; the president submitted his name to the Senate the same day Loring resigned. *New York Times*, 2 October 1890.

the farm.<sup>55</sup> Since no will was presented, the farm was awarded according to the provisions of George Loring's controversial June 1885 trust: that is, Anna and Sally were given equal shares in the property. Despite her earlier protestations, Anna Loring decided to reside on the farm and manage her own financial affairs with the help of a Salem attorney, Arthur Huntington. Sally's share was added to the trust administered for her by a reliable family friend, Thomas Sanders.

One may speculate over what George Loring had done with the fortune that had passed through his hands. Two years after his death, Anna was confronted with suits, back taxes, and other debts left by Loring as his ultimate legacy. In 1893, with Sally's consent, she was obliged to sell a parcel of land to the town of Marblehead for \$5,000 to pay the back taxes and satisfy her husband's other debts of \$1,133.

In 1894 Anna had to approach Thomas Sanders, a director of Sally's trust, to request permission to float a mortgage on the farm sufficient to pay legal bills due to him, Arthur Huntington, and John Loring. John, then representing Sally by power of attorney, raised the question that the sum Anna sought, \$6,300, was inflated compared to the worth of the farm. (This caveat was hardly valid, since at the time the property had an assessed tax value of over \$38,000.) With Sander's approval, Anna then obtained the mortgage from the Salem Five Cents Savings Bank. In exchange she had to consent to another series of legal restrictions.

Since there were still ambiguities concerning Loring's final trust, Anna and Sally agreed to another paper transaction. They conveyed the farm to Huntington, who then immediately returned it to them in a new form of trust. By this the lawyers were able to add specific restrictions. Anna was pledged use of the farm, and in turn had to agree that she would pay all taxes and upkeep, maintain insurance, provide a regular accounting of rents and income, and meet the expenses of Sally's trustee as his bills were submitted. Furthermore, she could not make any lease for a period to exceed five years without Sally's explicit consent, and was forbidden to place any further encumbrances on the property. Sally was under no obligation to repay any part of the mortgage unless the property were sold.

55. Probate Case 71342.

The \$6,300 was only a stopgap to Anna's continuing financial problems. In July of 1895 a more permanent solution appeared in an offer from Henry W. Whitney of Brookline to purchase the property outright. Whitney, who was affiliated with the New England Trust Company, offered to pay \$85,000 cash—\$78,000 directly to Anna and \$7,000 in escrow to clear any existing claims—by November 15. Anna was to retain use of the property until 1 April 1896, when the current farm lease expired. The sale was contingent upon a clear title.

The sale was voided. Sally, then aged thirty-six, was making wedding plans. In August Huntington and his law partner, Andrew Fitz, informed her that her father's trust had been filed incorrectly. More important, it was unconstitutional because George Loring had given Sally and Anna only lifetime possession, with the property then to pass to their lawful heirs. Anna's son, Loring Hildreth, was still a minor: Sally assumedly would eventually have children of her own. Since a trust can be annulled only with the consent of *all* involved parties, neither a minor child nor "heirs unborn" could give assent. The attorneys, then representing Anna, suggested that recourse be sought through the general court. On the first of November, only weeks before the planned closing, Sally wed Theodore F. Dwight in Boston, taking up residence on Mt. Vernon Street. Whitney's counsel voided the sales offer on the basis of lack of clear title, because of the existence of the trust.

The question of rights of the unborn drifted into the court. Largely at Anna's instigation, action was brought against Whitney for voiding the sale. He argued that, while Anna and Sally had undisputed lifetime rights to the property, they could not cancel a trust without the consent of all parties—a patent impossibility under the circumstances.<sup>56</sup> On 6 November 1896 Sally delivered a son, Lawrence. Meanwhile the suit against Whitney had been thrown out of court.

In 1897 the general court passed a statute that seemingly removed the impediment concerning protecting rights of the unborn. Anna, with Sally's grudging approval, lost no time in filing a new suit



Sally Loring

56. Loring vs. Whitney, Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court (Essex), 167 Massachusetts 550, 1897.

against Whitney which was to make its way to the state's supreme judicial court. *Anna S. Loring et al. vs. Loring Hildreth* was an attempt to break George Loring's trust agreement and have title to the farm revert to direct ownership by his widow and daughter. Loring Hildreth had now reached the age of legal maturity and was living in New York. He waived any interest in his mother's claim and was unrepresented. The court did appoint a guardian to protect the rights of Sally's son, Lawrence Dwight. Attorney R. D. Weston-Smith of Boston argued for the boy that the trust was binding since it had been filed correctly, no improprieties had been proven, and the document clearly showed George Loring's intentions. Moreover, Anna herself had signed it, even though neither she nor Sally had been given copies. None of the parties questioned George's right, under the will of Mary Loring, to dispose of the property.

In February 1897 the court ruled that the existence of George Loring's trust was sufficient grounds for Mr. Whitney to void his sales agreement. This was a temporary victory for Sally. As Huntington wrote to Theodore Dwight, the judge's decision was "favorable to us at all points."<sup>57</sup>

In 1898 Whitney, who had moved to Cohasset, renewed his interest in the Pickman farm. This was due in part to John Loring's efforts. By now, Sally rejected any contact with Anna, refusing to respond to letters and telegrams. A serious rift had also developed between Sally and the director of her trust, Thomas Sanders. Since Sanders favored selling the farm, which would require temporary collaboration with Anna, Sally tried to dismiss him as her trustee. In a letter to her written 20 February Sanders admonished Sally that she should welcome his efforts to conclude a sale at some five times the appraised value of the farm.<sup>58</sup> In a letter to him written on 21 February she noted that she could not imagine why he would be anything but relieved to be removed of the burden of managing the trust.<sup>59</sup>

More and more lawyers entered the dispute. Increasing pressures were exerted on Sally. She was accused of making trouble in protesting that Anna had altered the property by erection of a stone wall;

57. Huntington to Dwight, 28 July 1898. PP 11:3.

58. Sanders's figures are grossly inflated.

59. Sally retained Blake's services until the sale was completed. PP 11:3.

she was also informed that the time for sale was opportune since the rising Forrester River had flooded pasture land, and she was reminded that, in any case, the sale could take place without her consent. Sanders alone had the legal authority to dispose of her interests.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, Sally continued to fight to retain the Pickman legacy for her small son, vainly accusing Anna of "double-dealing."<sup>61</sup>

On 21 April 1898 the title to the Pickman farm passed to Whitney for the original negotiated price of \$85,000. Although he had preferred to pay cash and even offered to invest the proceeds in his company at a fair rate of return, Anna insisted on taking back a mortgage. Whitney agreed to pay \$36,000 over a five-year period, and in the interim to meet all expenses related to the property. The attorneys then presented their fees.<sup>62</sup>

Sally Loring Dwight eventually received her share of the sale: \$39,278 was deposited in trust in the Old Colony Trust Company. Again she was denied direct control of her assets.<sup>63</sup> In March 1904 Theodore Dwight was commissioned as consular agent to Hevey, Switzerland, by Secretary of State John Hay. Sally's financial interests continued to be represented by Robert Gardiner. In 1912 she sold the last of the Pickman property in Salem—the land and buildings on Charter and Central streets. In August 1913 Sally died in Switzerland. Her husband returned to Boston, and died there in February 1917. Their son, for whom she had struggled to preserve his Pickman inheritance, graduated from West Point in 1917. Commissioned a second lieutenant, he was immediately assigned to a trench mortar battalion with the American Expeditionary Forces in France. On 2 February 1918 he died in the U.S. Naval Hospital in Brest.

Adjacent headstones in Salem's Harmony Grove Cemetery mark the final resting places of William, Love, and Sophia Pickman, and George and Mary Loring.<sup>64</sup> It is appropriate that Lawrence Dwight

60. Huntington to Dwight, 18 February 1898. PP 11:3.

61. Sally Dwight to Sanders, 21 February 1898. PP 11:3.

62. These were considerable. For example, Huntington charged \$1,022 and Weston-Smith \$728. The attorneys had to threaten suit to get Anna to pay their fees.

63. Sanders resigned as soon as the sale was completed, and was replaced by Robert Gardiner.

64. Sometime in the early 1890s Sally had the remains of her mother and sister and the Pickmans removed from the Broad St. Cemetery to Harmony Grove.

lies in a cemetery in France, for the position he should have enjoyed as a descendant of the Pickmans had been denied him. Other than George's daughter Sally and his grandson Lawrence (who died unmarried), Loring had no descendants, but his fame continues to be marked in the city where he always said he had been happiest. Loring Avenue in South Salem runs past the old Pickman farm. The conduct of the private man must be weighed against the honors accorded the public figure. Loring's ambitions had been the single most important factor in destroying the Pickman legacy. Through his repeated intervention in the Pickman trusts, ineffectual business dealings, and disregard for the rights of his daughter, George Bailey Loring displayed a private side of his character which was at odds with his public demeanor and his many professional accomplishments.

## The Masconomo Statue

By HERBERT A. KENNY\*

ON a rather ornate pedestal in a corner on the first floor of the Manchester, Massachusetts, Town Hall stands a twenty-six-inch bronze statue under which is a brass plate with the inscription:

Masconomo

This statue of Masconomo, sagamore of the Agawam tribe, was presented to the town by a group of interested citizens who wished to honor his memory.

The statue represents the figure of a man naked from the waist up, the lower half of his body covered by a drape that runs to the ground. A fold of it is around his forearms, which are crossed on his midriff. His long neck rises from broad shoulders. The head is proportionately small, with a high forehead and eyes that are closed as if in meditation. Long braids flank either side of his head and hang to his breast. Another similar braid hangs down his back. The face is strong, with a large mouth and wide nose. The general style is art deco. The figure, of course, is an idealization, since no portrait of any sort of Masconomo survives.

The drive to raise money to buy the statue began in the summer of 1983 and was quickly oversubscribed. I was asked by my fellow townsmen to prepare a brief history of Masconomo and his statue which could be presented to each subscriber. The essay was printed in the form of a pamphlet with a cover photo of the statue by Richard Towle.

A sense of history is built into us all. We are moved by our historical past and we are ourselves becoming the historical past. The sense of history is more lively in the residents of Manchester

\* Herbert A. Kenny is a former newspaperman and Manchester town official. An active historian and author, he was largely responsible for the formation of the committee to purchase, cast, and donate the Masconomo statue to the town.











