

History of House & Occupants, 26 Winter Street, Salem

By Robert Booth for Historic Salem Inc., 23 Oct. 2006

According to available evidence, this house was built in 1811 for Joseph Story, lawyer, politician, and judge of the United States Supreme Court. Judge Story (1779-1845) resided here until 1829, when he moved to Cambridge in order to pursue his work at the new Harvard Law School. Presumably the house was rented to a well-to-do tenant (a Silsbee perhaps) in 1829-1831; and in 1831 Story sold the premises to Robert Upton (1788-1863), a self-made merchant heavily engaged in the trade with South America. Robert Upton and his shipmaster sons, some of whom also resided here, were among the most important men in Salem in the 1830s-1850s, for they were able to maintain a successful foreign commerce, and keep ships and men employed, at a time when Salem was otherwise fading as a seaport. Capt. Charles Upton owned the house from 1863 to his death in 1865. In 1866, the house was purchased by Dr. Amos H. Johnson (1831-1896), a much-esteemed physician, who resided here with his family for more than thirty years. In 1899 his widow sold the homestead to George C. Vaughan, a manufacturer.

On August 31, 1810, for \$1200, Joseph Story Esq. purchased from Joseph White Jr., merchant, a lot of land that fronted on Winter Street (ED 190:204). On this parcel of land—its view of the Common was blocked by the Cheever house to the south—Story, who was then Speaker of the House of Massachusetts, proceeded to have a three-story brick house begun; and by the time it was finished he had been appointed by President Madison to the bench of the United States Supreme Court.

Joseph Story (1779-1845) was born in Marblehead during the Revolutionary War and was christened on Sept. 26, 1779, at the Second Church, Congregational, of which his uncle Isaac Story was pastor. He was the first child of Mehitable Pedrick Story, then twenty-one, the second wife of Dr. Elisha Story (1743-1805), who had married her on November 29, 1778. The Doctor's first wife, Ruth (nee Ruddock) Story, had died in March, leaving several surviving children. Mehitable and Elisha would have nine children, all of whom survived childhood.

In the 1770s Dr. Elisha Story had a healthy medical practice in Marblehead and was a leading public man, serving in the town's civic offices and revolutionary councils. Elisha Story, a Bostonian, came to Marblehead, probably at the urging of his brother, Rev. Isaac Story, at

about the time that Boston became a Tory stronghold under General Gage, in 1774-5. Many of the rebel families left the city at that time; and Doctor Story, a firm Son of Liberty and a participant in the Boston Tea Party (December, 1773), wanted a new home in a rebel town. Under the leadership of Col. Jeremiah Lee, Elbridge Gerry (later Vice President of the United States), John and Jonathan Glover, Azor Orne, and others, Marblehead was such a place.

Through much of the 1760s, Marbleheaders had maintained a large fishing fleet a thousand miles at sea on the Grand Bank, with dozens of larger vessels trading to Europe and the Caribbean and a few even to Africa. Some Marblehead merchants accumulated great wealth, and displayed it in their lifestyles and their homes, as with the massive new mansion built for Jeremiah Lee in 1766. Marblehead, at that time, had a larger population than Salem; and its top merchants were richer than Salem's.

After the costly war against the French, the British government, now ruler of Canada and operator of a new bureaucracy in North America, enforced a policy of extracting duties and revenues from the colonies. The Stamp Act roused such opposition in Boston that mobs attacked the royal officials' houses and beat up their employees. Surprised at the Americans' resistance, and fearing an insurrection, the British sent over a small army of occupation and installed it in Boston in 1768. Now the Americans were forced to see themselves as misbehaving colonials, and to realize that they were not free. The result was bitter public opposition and more street violence in Boston, Salem, and elsewhere.

In Marblehead, most men were away at sea, pursuing their fishing and trading voyages. British naval vessels stopped Marblehead schooners and brigs and impressed men into the Navy, a policy that was sure to cause fierce resentment. In April, 1769, a trading vessel owned by Robert "King" Hooper, the *Pitt Packet*, Capt. Thomas Power, was intercepted and boarded. In resisting impressment, the crewmen killed a British lieutenant. Such incidents helped to prepare the town for open resistance. 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.

In the early 1770s the Marblehead militia regiment, led by Col. Jeremiah Lee and Lt. Cols. Azor Orne and John Glover, drilled frequently under Timothy Pickering of Salem. In October, 1774, at Salem, the provincial legislature declared itself independent, and adjourned to Concord to form

a government and to choose representatives to a Continental Congress that would discuss forming a revolutionary government. Elbridge Gerry, thirty, a Marblehead protégé of Sam Adams of Boston, agreed to attend the Congress; and in 1776 he would sign the Declaration of Independence. At the same time, Marblehead's Jeremiah Lee was chosen chairman of the Essex County rebel congress. Colonel Lee and Richard Derby & Sons of Salem imported the powder, cannon, guns, and ammunition (from Holland and France) needed to fight the war that seemed inevitable.

By mid-March, 1775, most Marblehead men were in their fleet for Spring Fare fishing, so they missed the Concord Fight in April, 1775. Not their colonel, though: Lee was in Arlington, on the battle road, and was nearly captured there at the Black Horse Tavern. He escaped into a field with Elbridge Gerry and Azor Orne, but the shock led to illness, and then to pneumonia, from which Jeremiah Lee died at Newbury on May 10, 1775, aged 54 years. Thus ended the life of Marblehead's greatest merchant, largest employer, and foremost rebel leader; and thus did John Glover become the leader of the Marblehead regiment. Glover's regiment had ten companies. Marblehead artillery-men under Capt. S.R. Trevett fought at Bunker Hill in June, 1775; and Glover and his men participated in the siege of Boston, as George Washington took command of the army. Many Marbleheaders sailed in Washington's Navy, a fleet of five Marblehead schooners converted to warships.

Marbleheaders threw themselves into the rebel cause, and paid a terrible price. Without the fishery to support the town, and without Col. Jeremiah Lee to hold things together—and with the merchants King Hooper and John Pedrick taking the Tory side—Marblehead fell into poverty almost instantly. By the fall of 1775, the town's situation was already grim. A visitor in October, 1775, reported that (EIHC 83), "We passed over a stony road to Marblehead, which is a dirty disagreeable place at present. They are here in great distress as the town is built amongst the rocks and stones, where is no land to cultivate. Marblehead and the people in general are fishermen or concerned in that way, which source of support is now at an end. Many of the men are in the army and the rest are out of employ, and almost every house swarms with children of these hardy, temperate men. Their situation is miserable. The streets and roads are filled (with) the poor little boys and girls who are forced to beg of all they see. The women are lazy and of consequence dirty creatures. There are about 400 houses here and 4 or 5 of them large neat houses. They have a small battery in a point here to try to keep off the men-of-war. One remarkable object of charity here was a little boy whose left arm was

shriveled up and dead and his legs were contracted and folded like a tailor's, and of no strength. This emaciated creature would move in an odd manner with the assistance of his right hand into the middle of the road before your horse and would beg in a most moving manner, and you must give him something or drive over him. I do not want ever to see such another place." It would only get worse over the next seven years. After 1777, most of the men returned from the army and went a-privateering, mainly on Salem vessels, for the duration of the war, which continued at sea until 1783. Hundreds of local men were captured, and hundreds died in prison or were killed in action.

As Joseph Story's cousin John Pedrick (born in 1774) put it, "Previous to the war of the revolution, Marblehead was the second town in the state (behind only Boston), and it numbered 10,000 inhabitants and furnished a full regiment commanded by a native of that place (Col. Jeremiah Lee). Great numbers of seamen flocked as volunteers to the navy and to privateers, furnishing a much larger quota than any town in the state, while Massachusetts exceeded any other of the thirteen states in the union, so that at the close of the war 500 were left widows. A near town (Salem) employed a great proportion of our seamen in their private armed ships and letters-of-marque-and-reprisal, so that they (in Salem) were far in advance in property of those (of Marblehead) who furnished the men for laying the foundation of their future growth and prosperity."

After the Revolution, Marblehead continued to endure hard times. Its fishery was destroyed, as was its merchant fleet. Many of the leading citizens from the 1760s were dead, and most of the family fortunes had vanished. There were many widows with fatherless children; and scores of men were handicapped by their wounds or worn out from long service. Once among the richest places in colonial America, Marblehead was among the poorest in the new republic—a fact not lost on young Joseph Story. Unfortunately, fish were not plentiful during much of the 1780s, and the Marbleheaders remained susceptible to sudden losses at sea. When George Washington came to Marblehead in 1789, he was feted at the Lee Mansion; but his diary shows that he was appalled at the town's poverty. In 1790, the state organized a lottery to relieve the desperate Marbleheaders, who had endured 15 years of loss and suffering.

During the 1790s, new leaders arose, new capital was formed, and fishing and foreign commerce were resumed at profitable levels. Presumably Dr. Elisha Story was able to make an honorable living; and he sent his son Joseph off to Harvard in 1795—the only one of his many sons who would attend college.

Story graduated second in his class in 1798 and returned to Marblehead to study law under Samuel Sewall (1757-1814), then a Congressman, later Chief Justice of the state Supreme Court. From 1798 to 1800, there was an undeclared war at sea with France, followed by a similar conflict with Britain. Merchant mariners faced danger from these enemies, but the Marblehead owners and masters armed their ships with cannon and aggressively expanded their trade, following in the wake of Salem, whose vessels were now voyaging to the Baltic to trade with Russia and all the way to India and China. Story, a true intellectual, was not tempted to make a career in trade but wished to pursue a life of the mind. With the much-absent Sewall's books as his instructor, he secluded himself in the office and studied 12-14 hours each day. In 1800, to complete his education, Story went to Salem to read law under Judge Samuel Putnam, one of the leaders of the Essex Bar. From that point forward, Story would make his career in the splendid seaport of Salem.

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In some places in the 1780s, 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 trading with Russia; and in 1784 and 1785 he dispatched vessels to Africa and China, respectively. Voyages to India soon followed, and to the Spice Islands and Pepper Islands (Sumatra, Java, Malaya, etc.).

By the 1790s, the new foreign-trade markets—and the coffee trade, which would be opened in 1798 with Mocha in Arabia—brought great riches to the Salem merchants, and raised the level of wealth throughout the town: more ships were built and purchased, more crews and captains were hired, 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. At the same time, thanks to the economic policies of Alexander Hamilton, Salem

vessels were able to transport foreign cargoes tax-free and essentially to serve as the neutral carrying fleet for both Britain and France, which were at war with each other. Hasket Derby led the way in all things pertaining to maritime commerce.

King Derby's reign was largely peaceful and prosperous, as the town's world-wide commerce kept growing and its economic base widened. More and more shipmasters made small fortunes and joined the ranks of the merchants who ran Salem's trading empire from their taverns and counting-houses. Salem had money to spend on civitas as well as commerce: the poor and unfortunate were assisted, and charities and improvement associations were begun. Public schools were set up in all parts of town, for boys and for girls, to encourage the notion that everyone had potential, and that a republic should benefit all people, and that merit and energy and intelligence would have their reward. This was as the in the salty lower end of town, the East Parish of the seafaring families, as it was elsewhere.

The orientation of the East Church merchants, like that of their up-town counterparts, was toward the sailing of ships and the getting of profit; but Mr. Bentley insisted on setting other priorities, reminding men that money and titles had their place, but that "wealth with honor" was the only proper way to be rich in a republic. The merchants were duty-bound to be as charitable as they were stylish, to spend money on beautiful things and to share it with the less fortunate, to keep some of it at interest but to invest more of it in local employment—construction, fishing, seafaring, transportation, handicrafts—to make public benefactions, and, most important, to place it where it became part of society itself, in charitable institutions permanently devoted to providing assistance to the needy.

Late in the 1790s, there was agitation in Congress to go to war with France, then at war with England. After President Adams' negotiators were rebuffed by the French leaders in 1797, America entered into a quasi-war with France in summer, 1798, much to the horror of the George Crowninshield & Co. (father and five shipmaster sons), an East Parish family firm which had an extensive trade with the French, and whose ships and cargoes in French ports were susceptible to seizure. The quasi-war brought about a political split within the Salem population. Those who favored war with France (and detente with England) aligned themselves with the national Federalist party, led by Hamilton and Salem's Timothy Pickering (the U.S. Secretary of State). These included most of the merchants, led locally by the Derby family. Those who

avored peace with republican France were the Anti-Federalists, who later became aligned with President Jefferson and his Democratic-Republican party; they were led locally by the Crowninshields. The Derbys and Crowninshields were double first cousins—their parents were two sets of siblings. For the first few years of this rivalry, the Federalists prevailed; but after the death of Hasket “King” Derby in 1799 his family’s power weakened.

In 1800, 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).

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 or East Parish, itself seemed almost to be imported from some foreign country: in the stores, parrots chattered and monkeys cavorted, and from the warehouses wafted the exotic aromas of Sumatran spices and Arabian coffee beans and Caribbean molasses. From the wharves were carted all manner of strange fruits, and crates of patterned china in red and blue, and piles of gorgeous silks and figured cloths, English leather goods, and hundreds of barrels of miscellaneous treasures drawn from all of the ports and workshops of the world. The greatest of the Salem merchants at this time was William “Billy” Gray, who owned 36 large vessels—15 ships, 7 barks, 13 brigs, 1 schooner—by 1808. Salem was then still a town, and a small one by our standards, with a total population of about 9,500 in 1800. Its politics were fierce, and polarized everything. Salem’s merchants resided mainly on two streets: Washington (which ended in a wharf on the Inner Harbor) and Essex (particularly between Hawthorne Boulevard and North Street). In the 1790s, Federal Street, known as New Street, had more empty lots

than fine houses. Chestnut Street was a nameless path in a swampy meadow. The Common was not yet Washington Square, and was covered with hillocks, small ponds and swamps, utility buildings, and the almshouse. As the 19th century advanced, Salem's commercial prosperity would sweep almost all of the great downtown houses away (the brick Joshua Ward house, built 1784, is a notable exception).

In Samuel McIntire, the town's merchants had a local architect who could help them realize their desires for large and beautiful homes in the latest style. While some 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, upper Essex Streets). The architectural style (now called "Federal") had been developed by the Adam brothers in England and featured fanlight doorways, palladian windows, elongated pilasters and columns, and large windows. It was introduced to New England in 1790 by Charles Bulfinch. 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. The self-educated McIntire (1757-1811), who made his living primarily as a wood-carver and carpenter, was quick to adapt the Bulfinch style to Salem's larger lots.

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 by William Bentley, bachelor minister 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."

Story, who passed the bar in 1801 and immediately opened an office, was driven to excel. As the only non-Federalist lawyer in town, he soon went to work for the ambitious, aggressive Crowninshields. While not his only clients, they were his power-base; and he served them well, even to the extent of making unseemly threats and engaging in fistfights. In a nation without law schools and short on experts, he made himself a legal force by hard study, deep thought, and eloquence. He soon saw his

opportunities and transformed himself from a lieutenant into a general, and a politician seeking a national stage. His powers were as extraordinary as his ambitions.

His political and public life were balanced by a personal life that included Mary Lynde Oliver, the daughter of an Episcopal minister from an aristocratic Salem family. Unlike earlier encounters with Federalist belles whom he was denied an opportunity to court, he and Mary were a love match, and married in December, 1804. She encouraged his literary talents, and he became the first serious poet in Salem's history, as author of *The Power of Solitude*, a long philosophical poem. Tragically, Mary died within six months of the wedding—Story's first encounter with death, which was to rob him of children later, and wound him deeply.

Beginning late in 1806, Salem's commerce with the world was repeatedly interrupted by the British navy, which intercepted neutral trading vessels and often impressed American sailors into their service. France, at war with Britain, countered with its own adverse policy toward American shipping; and virtually overnight Salem's shipping fleet lost its status as neutral shippers for the European nations. Salem and other American ports continued to push their trade into the oceans of the worlds, but now with the expectation that they would have to fight their way across the seas and into and out of foreign ports.

Story made many enemies in Salem, especially among his friends—but not among his relatives, to whom he was always loyal and persuasive. His first antagonists were the local Federalists, who could not understand him, and saw him only as an upstart Marbleheader and a hired gun of their rivals the Crowninshields. Samuel Putnam, his mentor, knew better and prized his great industry and scholarly gifts; but it was a commercial culture, and the commercial men saw Story as their political enemy. In fact, he was as much a federalist as a democrat. In a few years' time the Federalists would have cause to regret their behavior; and eventually they would acknowledge him as both a great jurist and their political champion.

Federalists were not his only detractors. From the outset, Bentley, the politicized minister and the Crowninshields' close advisor and apologist, distrusted the young Marbleheader, partially because of his great influence on their mutual patrons. Eloquent in his orations and forceful as a writer of Congressional memorials, Story seemed destined for great things. Bentley sensed his ambition and saw that he was not just a Crowninshield operative; and he was correct.

Salem's twenty-year boom came to an end with a crash in January, 1808, when Jefferson and the Congress imposed an embargo on all shipping in hopes of forestalling war with Britain. The Embargo, which was widely opposed in New England, proved futile and nearly ruinous in Salem, where commerce ceased. Bentley and the Crowninshields supported it as a matter of party discipline. Story eventually came to oppose it. Having allied with the rich, powerful White family of Salem—the brothers White, Joseph and Stephen, married Story's sisters in 1808—Story, 28, saw his chance when Jacob Crowninshield died in office as Congressman that year. At the party caucus to choose a replacement, the Whites and his Marblehead friends and relatives rallied behind Story, and defeated Jacob's stunned brother Benjamin. Joseph Story, who had just married Sarah Wetmore—the daughter of a lawyer and granddaughter of the Salem lawyer and diarist William Pyncheon—served out a brief term-end in Washington: there, deeply concerned about the Embargo and its terrible effects on maritime commerce, he tried to force a vote to repeal it. Working against the head of his party, President Jefferson, he was successful. The Embargo was lifted and Story went home, having made a profound impression on national party leaders who, in future, would be careful to consult him, and mollify him, lest he turn on them as he had on Jefferson.

Joseph Story (1779-1845) m/1 9 Dec. 1804 Mary Lynde Oliver, d/o Rev. Thomas F. Oliver; she died June 22, 1805. He m/2 28 Aug. 1808 Sarah Waldo Wetmore, d/o William Wetmore Esq. & Mary Pynchon. Known issue:

1. *Caroline, 1809, d. 28 Feb. 1811.*
2. *Joseph, 1810, d. 19 Oct. 1815.*
3. *Caroline W.*
4. *Mary, 1814, d. 28 March 1815.*
5. *William W.*
6. *Louisa*
7. *Mary Oliver*

As a hotbed of Democratic-Republicanism, Salem's East Parish and its seafarers had supported the Embargo, but so had some of the merchants, out of a sense of loyalty to the federal government. Shunned by the other Salem Federalists for his refusal to criticize the Embargo, the eminent Billy Gray took his large fleet of ships—fully one-third of Salem's tonnage—and moved to Boston, whose commerce was thereby much augmented. Gray's removal eliminated a huge amount of Salem wealth, shipping, import-export cargos, and local employment. Gray soon

switched from the Federalist party, and was elected Lt. Governor on a ticket with Gov. Elbridge Gerry, a native of Marblehead.

Salem's commerce with the world was repeatedly interrupted by the British, which intercepted neutral trading vessels and often impressed American sailors into their navy. Nevertheless, some of the merchant families prospered, or at least held their own. Among them were the White brothers, Stephen and Joseph, the adopted sons of Capt. Joseph White (1747-1830), possessor of one of Salem's greatest fortunes, mentor of his nephew-sons, and bankroller of their successes.

In 1810, the Whites and their brother-in-law Story made their plans to build mansions on Washington Square. On 21 July 1810 for \$3500 Joseph White Jr. purchased from baker James Wright of Beverly a piece of land bounded southerly on Brown Street, westerly on Oliver Street, northerly on land of Scobie, and easterly on Winter Street and on land of Cheever (ED 190:132). It was on this parcel that Joseph White Jr. would have his brick mansion built in the following year, 1811.

As has been mentioned, Story bought a house-lot from his great friend and brother-in-law Joseph White Jr. at the end of August. McIntire was then still alive, and perhaps available for consultation on a design for the house. The years 1810-1811 were not good ones for Salem's maritime fortunes, so the decision to build must be seen as the making of a statement. Story, as former Congressman, leading lawyer, and current Speaker of the Massachusetts House, committed himself to a dwelling that was an expensive monument to his high standing. He had no independent fortune or rich uncle, but money was available: the Whites would help, for they placed a great value on his political influence, counsel, and friendship. They employed his younger brothers on their ships and in their counting house, and he let them know what was happening in Washington. The news toward the end of the year was momentous: Madison had appointed Story, aged thirty-two, to the Supreme Court of the United States.

From that point forward, Story was free to develop his political philosophy as a judicial activist. He believed the judiciary should be the strongest branch of government and that the United States was a nation created by the will of all of its people rather than the actions of the states. Accordingly, he did all in his considerable power to enhance the federal power and to broaden the areas in which federal courts held sway over state courts and legislatures. The Marshall Court was also the Story Court, and its opinions often opposed Presidential policies. In fact, Story would

become a neo-Federalist, leading the way to a new political formulation, anti-slavery, pro-business, and republican, prefiguring the Whigs.

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

During the war, Judge Story decided to enlarge his homestead by creating more of a front yard. In June, 1813, for \$350, he purchased from Samuel Cheever, tanner, a parcel of land on Winter Street, beginning at a point 22' southerly of Story's house and running 20' southerly on the street, then running westerly 73' to Joseph White Jr.'s brick barn (ED 200:294).

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, the leader of the extreme Federalists, did not attend; and the Convention refrained from issuing any ultimatums. Nevertheless, it seemed almost treasonous to have convened it; and it signaled the beginning of the end for the national Federalist party.

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

Post-war, America was flooded with British manufactured goods, especially factory-made knock-offs of the beautiful Indian textiles that had been the specialty of Salem importers for 30 years. Britain, dominant in India, had forced the Indians to become cotton-growers rather than cloth-producers; and the cheap Indian cotton was shipped to the English industrial ports and turned into mass-produced cloth. American national policy-makers reacted, in 1816, by passing a high tariff on cheap imported textiles, in order to protect and encourage America's own budding manufacturing capacity. The net result was to diminish what had been the most abundant and lucrative area of Salem's pre-war trade. Salem's merchants resumed their worldwide commerce without a full understanding of how difficult the new international conditions had become. For a few years, their efforts were rewarded with reasonable profits, and it seemed that Salem was once again in the ascendant, with almost 200 vessels sailing to Europe, the Orient, the Caribbean, South America, and the southern ports.

On 16 September 1819, Judge Joseph Story purchased for \$2250 the Samuel Cheever house and its land on the corner of Winter Street and what was then called Newbury Street or Brown Street (now Washington Square). Judge Story wished to have a view of the Common evidently. He immediately removed the Cheever house, and divided the ownership of the just-cleared lot. He retained the northwest part of the Cheever lot; to his sister, Mrs. Eliza White (widow of Col. Joseph White Jr.), he sold (for \$1250 on Oct. 25, 1819) the southeasterly part of the lot, at the corner of the two streets, fronting 57' on Winter and 47' on "Newbury or Brown Street", and running 71' northerly by Mrs. White's house-lot, and 61' easterly by Judge Story's land, (ED 221:262).

At the same time, Judge Story and his sister Mrs. White agreed that they would not put up any buildings on either half of the just-cleared lot, and that the written permission of the other person would be needed to have any building constructed there; although fences, shrubbery, and fruit trees were permissible (ED 221:262). The indenture deed also noted that the Town of Salem had recently altered the course of "Brown or Newbury" Street and evidently taken some of the land along the southeasterly boundary of the lot.

The prohibition against putting up buildings on either half of the lot (Story or White) was dissolved by mutual consent on 22 July 1820 (ED

252:231). It is not evident that any building was erected on Mrs. White's lot at that time or in the next two decades (in 1840 a three-story house was erected there for the Hodges sisters). From 1819-on Mrs. Eliza Story White owned that lot in connection with her late husband's house. It was, likely, a garden or yard.

Joseph Story continued to rise in reputation. In 1819 he was elected a Harvard Overseer; and increasingly he sought opportunities to make public speeches on society and law. Of the 286 opinions he would write on the Supreme Court, all but 17 were adopted as the opinions of the court or its majority. Locally, he eschewed direct involvement in politics, although he would occasionally give speeches and attend anti-slavery meetings. His opinions in the cases of the vessels *Amistad* and *La Jeune Eugenie* (a slave-runner) show his commitment and leadership on this issue.

The pre-war partisan politics of the town were not resumed post-war, as the middle-class "mechanics" (artisans) became more powerful and brought about civic harmony, largely through the Salem Charitable Mechanic Association (founded 1817). Rev. William Bentley died in 1819, the year in which a new U.S. Custom House was built on the site of the George Crowninshield mansion, at the head of Derby Wharf. Into the 1820s foreign trade continued prosperous; and new markets were opened with East Africa, which supplied tallow, coffee, ivory, and gum copal, used to make varnish. This started a long-standing trade that Salem would dominate.

In June of 1824, for \$113, Judge Story acquired a final piece of land for his homestead (ED 237:8). From Kirk Boott & Sons (Boott would later become the man principally in charge of the mill city of Lowell) he purchased the land, formerly of John Scobie, immediately to the north of the back wall of his house, beginning 3'10" from the house wall, fronting 20' on Winter Street and running back 64' westerly.

Salem's general maritime foreign commerce fell off sharply in 1824, as a second major tariff act was passed by Congress, to the benefit of manufacturers and the detriment of importers. Salem imports were supplanted by the goods that were now being produced in great quantities in America. The town's prosperity began to wane, and many people saw no future locally. The interior of the country was being opened for settlement, and some Salemites moved away. To the north, the falls of the Merrimack River powered large new textile mills (Lowell was founded in 1823); and in general it seemed that the tide of opportunity was ebbing

away from Salem. To stem the flow of talent from the town and to harness its potential water power for manufacturing, Salem's merchants and capitalists banded together in 1825 to raise the money to dam the North River for industrial power. Joseph Story and Stephen White were leaders in this. Over the course of three years, the effort gained momentum, but ultimately the plan was not carried out, which caused several leading citizens to move to Boston, the hub of investment in the new economy. Story did not leave right away. Salem, fading, still met his social needs and gave him a base to continue as bank president, political leader, and federal district judge (as well as Supreme Court justice), in a circle of friends and relatives. At last, with the founding of Harvard Law School and the endowment of the Dane Professorship, he departed for Cambridge, with his family, in 1829.

In 1830 occurred a horrifying crime that brought disgrace to Salem. Old Capt. Joseph White, now retired, resided in a mansion on Essex Street. His wealth was legendary in Salem, not least among the denizens of the nearby Salem Jail, where plots had long been hatched to steal the Captain's putative treasure chest. One night, intruders did break in; and they stabbed him to death in his sleep. All of Salem buzzed with rumors about brigands; but within a few months it was discovered that the murderer was a Crowninshield (he killed himself) who had been hired by his friends, Captain White's own relatives, Capt. Joe Knap and his brother Frank (they would be executed). The murder, and related lurid events, tarnished Salem further, and more families quit the now-notorious town.

On December 7, 1831, Judge Joseph Story sold his Salem homestead to Robert Upton, merchant of Salem (ED 263:1). Story's subsequent career—he had thirteen years left to him—is traced in the appended biographical sketch from the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

The new owner, Robert Upton (1788-1863), was an industrious West Indies merchant. His parents left Salem for Vermont in 1792. He grew up there, and learned to keep accounts, and later worked in Maine as a young man. By 1810 young Robert had returned to his birthplace, where he had uncles and cousins. In September, 1811, aged 23, he married Lucy Doyle, the daughter of a man who had employed him as the keeper of a general store in Sedgwick, Maine.

Robert was noted for his "enterprise and ability" (see EIHC 16: 82). He was a Baptist in religion. He seems to have been close to his cousin Capt. Benjamin Upton (1786-1853), the son of Paul Upton, the noted Salem farmer and superintendent of its famous Alms House and farm. The first

vessel of which I could find a record of Robert's ownership was the schooner *Cyrus*, 105 tons burthen, which he co-owned right after the War of 1812, in 1815, with Joseph Howard, James C. King (soon to become a bank embezzler), and James Brown of Danvers; and Capt. Benjamin Upton was her master in the foreign trade (see EIHC 39).

Robert Upton (1788-1863), s/o Robert Upton & Anna Wheelock, died Sept. 9, 1863, per HoS II:378. He m. 17 Sept. 1811 Lucy Doyle, d/o Thomas Doyle Esq. & Lucy Perry of Sedgwick, Maine; died 3 Feb. 1859. Known issue:

1. *James, 1813, m/1 1836 Emily C. Johnson; Salem merchant.*
2. *Luther, 1815, m. 1839 Helen M. Bowditch; Lynn merchant.*
3. *George, 1817, m/1 1839 Harriet M. Perkins; Salem shipmaster.*
4. *Franklin, 1819, m. 1840 Sarah A. Felton; merchant.*
5. *Lucy, 1822, m. Mr. Poole of Wakefield.*
6. *Charles, 1824, m. 1844 Isabel Cameron; Salem shipmaster.*
7. *Edwin, 1826, m. 1867 Ellen C. Stafford; Buenos Aires merchant.*
8. *Harriet, 1827, died 1874 in Wakefield.*
9. *Stephen, 1831, married and moved to NYC.*

In 1816 Robert went into partnership with James Brace Jr. as Upton & Brace, merchants engaged primarily in the trade to Bahia, Brazil. Robert remained a co-owner of the *Cyrus* through 1818; presumably she made profitable voyages that enabled him to re-invest in other voyages. In 1820 the firm of Upton & Brace was dissolved.

By 1822 Robert was full owner of two vessels: the schooner *Dispatch Packet*, 102 tons burthen, under Capt. Robert Hussey, and the schooner *Evergreen*, 95 tons burthen, under Capt. William Hall. By 1825 he was co-owner of the brig *Echo*, 99 tons burthen, commanded by Capt. Benjamin Upton, the co-owner (she was lost on Block Island, 1828). An unfortunate voyage was that of the *Numa*, a brig, 110 tons burthen, co-owned with cousin Benjamin Upton and commanded on a trip in 1832 to South America to trade for a cargo of hides. The master, Benjamin's son, Capt. Daniel Ropes Upton, 22, was lost with his crew when the *Numa* sank in a storm on her return trip. Such were the risks of mariners and merchants. No doubt insurance was in place, but the grief of the families may be imagined.

Robert Upton prospered under conditions that challenged most of his colleagues. 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. Many of 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. Others, like Robert Upton, astutely picked their way forward, working lucrative seams in the markets.

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

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

In the face of these changes, some members of Salem's waning merchant class continued to pursue their sea-borne businesses into the 1840s; but it was an ebb tide, with unfavorable winds. Boston, transformed into a

modern mega-port with efficient railroad and highway distribution to all markets, had subsumed virtually all foreign trade other than Salem's continuing commerce with Zanzibar. The sleepy waterfront at Derby Wharf, with an occasional arrival from Africa and regular visits from schooners carrying wood from Nova Scotia, is depicted in 1850 by Hawthorne in his cranky "introductory section" to **The Scarlet Letter**, which he began while working in the Custom House. It should be noted that James Upton, son of Robert, was an acquaintance of Hawthorne and wrote a reminiscence of his years in the Custom House (appended).

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.

At the time of the 1850 census (p. 82, house 248) the occupants here were listed as Robert Upton, 62, merchant, with real estate valued at \$8,000, wife Lucy, 55, children Lucy, 28, Edwin, 24 (a mariner), and Harriet, 22; also domestics Ann U. Strout, 18, from Maine, and Mary Mathieson, 45, from Nova Scotia. In that year, Mr. Upton commissioned the construction, in Salem, of a fine large bark, the *Argentine*, 298 tons

burthen, which he owned with his sons James and Luther and which was commanded by his son Capt. George Upton (EIHC 39-43).

In 1851, Stephen C. Phillips succeeded in building a railroad line from Salem to Lowell, which meant that the coal that was landed at Phillips Wharf (formerly the Crowninshields' great India Wharf) could be run cheaply out to Lowell to help fuel the boilers of the mills, whose output of textiles could be freighted easily to Salem for shipment by water. This innovation, although not long-lived, was a much-needed boost to Salem's economy as a port and transportation center. Salem's growth continued through the 1850s, as business and industries expanded, the population swelled, new churches (e.g. Immaculate Conception, 1857) were started, new working-class neighborhoods were developed (especially in North Salem and South Salem, off Boston Street, and along the Mill Pond behind the Broad Street graveyard), and new schools, factories, and stores were built. A second, larger, factory building for the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company was added in 1859, at Stage Point, where a new Methodist Church went up, and many neat homes, boarding-houses, and stores were erected along the streets between Lafayette and Congress. The tanning business continued to boom, as better and larger tanneries were built along Boston Street and Mason Street; and subsidiary industries sprang up as well, most notably the J.M. Anderson glue-works on the Turnpike (Highland Avenue).

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 L. 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.

In 1857 Robert Upton retired. His wife, Mrs. Lucy Doyle Upton, died in February, 1859, and was survived by her husband and several children.

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, p. 37, h. 1718) the household was comprised of widower Robert Upton, 72, with \$50,000 in personal holdings and \$7,000 in real estate, his daughter Lucy A., 37, son Capt. Edwin Upton, 34, daughter Harriet, 32, and domestic Ellen Newells, 38, from Maine.

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.

Robert Upton did not survive to see the end of the war. He died on Sept. 9, 1863, aged 75 years (note: Robert Upton's portrait appears in the book *Sketch of Salem*, by Osgood & Batchelder, facing p. 160; and a small relief bust of Robert Upton was donated by his descendants Eleanor and Margaret Upton to the Essex Institute in 1968, per EIHC 104:259). The newspapers noted his death as a blow to the city. By his will, he left his property in one-ninth shares to his children; no known inventory of furnishings was taken after his death.

In September, 1863, Capt. Edwin Upton, bachelor merchant of Salem, purchased the Story-Upton homestead for \$7,000 (ED 656:109); and in November, 1863, he sold the same for \$5,000 to his brother, Charles Upton (ED 658:172). Capt. Charles Upton, a merchant and shipmaster, soon died, on Feb. 17, 1865, aged forty. His widow, Isabel Cameron Upton, resided here for about a year more with her children Isabel, 18, Arthur, 14, Clarence, nine, Ellen, eight, and Carl, seven. In October, 1866, the property, which fronted 121' on Winter Street and backed 58' on Oliver Street, was sold for \$12,100 to Amos H. Johnson of Middleton (ED 712:180). Mrs. Isabel Upton then moved with her children to Santa Clara, California, where she would die in 1870.

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

In 1870 Salem received its last cargo from Zanzibar, thus ending a once-important trade. By then, a new Salem & New York freight steamboat

line was in operation. Seven years later, with the arrival of a vessel from Cayenne, Salem's foreign trade came to an end. After that, "the merchandise warehouses on the wharves no longer contained silks from India, tea from China, pepper from Sumatra, coffee from Arabia, spices from Batavia, gum-copal from Zanzibar, hides from Africa, and the various other products of far-away countries. The boys have ceased to watch on the Neck for the incoming vessels, hoping to earn a reward by being the first to announce to the expectant merchant the safe return of his looked-for vessel. The foreign commerce of Salem, once her pride and glory, has spread its white wings and sailed away forever" (Rev. George Batchelor in *History of Essex County*, II: 65).

The new owner as of 1866, Amos Howe Johnson, 35, was a physician who had formerly been a minister. Another Johnson physician, Dr. Samuel Johnson, long an eminent medical man, resided nearby on Brown Street. The two were not related. Dr. A.H. Johnson's life has been expertly treated by Susan Keats (see appendix). A summary may be in order here. Amos H. Johnson was born in 1831 in Boston, one of a numerous family headed by Samuel Johnson, a Salem boy who had made his fortune in Boston as a merchant. Amos was headstrong, and ran away from two of the private schools in which he was placed; he finally made it to Harvard, and graduated in the class of 1853. Though interested in science, he enrolled at Andover Theological Seminary and was graduated in 1856, whereupon he accepted the call to the pulpit of a Congregational Church in Middleton, Mass. As Rev. Amos H. Johnson he married Frances Benjamin, the daughter of missionaries, in September, 1859, in Brookfield. They would have three children between 1860 and 1865, and several more later.

All was not well with the spiritual condition of Rev. A.H. Johnson. He did not want to be a minister, though he was good at it; and in 1861 he resigned his pulpit and began studying furiously, at home, to become a physician. In 1862 he began attending at Harvard Medical School, and worked as a state representative. He received his M.D. in 1865, and moved his family to Salem in 1866, as has been mentioned. He must have had assistance from his father or brothers in making the purchase of the Story-Upton house. In 1869, when his father died, he received a large inheritance which enabled the family to travel to Europe, where he continued his medical studies. Returning, he resumed his medical practice with steady success. The Johnsons attended the Congregational South Church, situated on Chestnut Street; its meeting house was a beautiful edifice, designed by McIntire and crowned with a famous steeple.

Amos Howe Johnson (1831-1896) m. 1859 Frances Benjamin (1840-1912). Issue:

1. *Samuel, 1860, m. 1894 Josephine Forbush; died 1932.*
2. *Meta B., 1862, m. 1890 Frank Bergen; d. 1939.*
3. *Amy H., 1865, m. 1900 Clifford Brigham; d. 1949.*
4. *Charles A. (Carl), 1868, m/1 1896 Lucy Braman; d. 1954.*
5. *Philip S., 1872, m. 1906 Edith Atheron; d. 1910.*
6. *Ralph S., 1878, soldier, died 1898.*

There was no shortage of people in need of healthcare in Salem. The city was so densely built-up that a general conflagration was always a possibility, as in Boston, when, on Nov. 9, 1872, the financial and manufacturing district of the city burned up. Salem continued to prosper in the 1870s, carried forward by the leather-making business. In 1874 the city was visited by a tornado and shaken by a minor earthquake. In the following year, the large Pennsylvania Pier (site of the present coal-fired harborside electrical generating plant) was completed to begin receiving large shipments of coal. Beyond it, at Juniper Point, a new owner began subdividing the old Allen farmlands into a new development called Salem Willows and Juniper Point. In the U.S. centennial year, 1876, A.G. Bell of Salem announced that he had discovered a way to transmit voices over telegraph wires.

In this decade, French-Canadian families began coming to work in Salem's mills and factories, and more houses and tenements were built. The better-off workers bought portions of older houses or built small homes for their families in the outlying sections of the city; and by 1879 the Naumkeag Steam Cotton mills would employ 1200 people and produce annually nearly 15 million yards of cloth. Shoe-manufacturing businesses expanded in the 1870s, and 40 shoe factories were employing 600-plus operatives. Tanning, in both Salem and Peabody, remained a very important industry, and employed hundreds of breadwinners. On Boston Street in 1879, the Arnold tannery caught fire and burned down.

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

the streets, and even rioting; but the owners prevailed, and many of the defeated workers lost their jobs and suffered, with their families, through a bitter winter.

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

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

In the spring of 1896, Dr. Amos Johnson fell very ill, and died on May 12th. He was in his 65th year, and left his wife Frances and their two daughters and four sons, of whom the youngest, Ralph, had just turned eighteen (he would live to be only twenty; a member of the "Rough Riders" military outfit, he died of disease in camp in Florida in 1898). In 1899 Mrs. Frances Johnson made arrangements to move to Boston with her family. On 10 Jan. 1899 she sold the Salem homestead to George C. Vaughan, a manufacturer (ED 1567:226). She would live on until 1912.

Salem kept growing. The Canadians were followed in the early 20th century by large numbers of Polish and Ukrainian families, who settled primarily in the Derby Street neighborhood. By the eve of World War One, Salem was a bustling, polyglot city that supported large department

stores and large factories of every description. People from the surrounding towns, and Marblehead in particular, came to Salem to do their shopping; and its handsome government buildings, as befit the county seat, were busy with conveyances of land, lawsuits, and probate proceedings. The city's politics were lively, and its economy was strong.

In June, 1903, George Vaughan sold the premises to his sons, Dwight W. and Gordon C., reserving to himself and his wife a life interest therein (ED 1712:2). In 1905, Mrs. Annie Vaughan died, and was survived by her husband and sons. He remarried. In April, 1906, Dwight sold his half-interest to Charles H. Odell, an insurance man who lived next door (ED 1832:254) who conveyed the same in September, 1906, to Bessie D. Vaughan, the second wife of George C. Vaughan (ED 1841:124). She would own it, with Gordon Vaughan, until 1928 (when it was conveyed to George C. Vaughan Realty Company, ED 2510:568).

In 1914, the Vaughan family resided here. The owner, George C. Vaughan, was a businessman and president of the Salem Safe Deposit & Trust Co. He ran two operations of the G. C. Vaughan Co: a sole leather factory on Broadway, and a calfskin factory in Peabody. Per the 1914 directory, the Vaughans had a summer residence in Hamilton; and they eventually moved permanently to that town.

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

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

In 1919, this house was occupied by a Bridge Street shoe manufacturer, Donn D. Sargent, wife Bertha R., and family (per 1920 directory). By the 1920s, Salem was once again a thriving city; and its tercentenary in 1926 was a time of great celebration. The Depression hit in 1929, and continued through the 1930s. Salem, the county seat and regional retail center, gradually rebounded, and prospered after World War II through the 1950s and into the 1960s. Sylvania, Parker Brothers, Pequot Mills (formerly Naumkeag Steam Cotton Co.), Almy's department store, various other large-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.

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Historic House Plaque Application

If interested in commissioning a written history of your Salem house and having a plaque to identify its construction date and early owner(s), please fill in the blanks below.

The fee for a professionally prepared house history and plaque is \$400.00. Please send a check for that amount, made out to Historic Salem, Inc., with this application, to the above address.

Name: Neil + Martha Chayet

Name of Owner (if different from above):

Contact Information:

Home Phone: 978-745-1959

Work Phone: cell # 617-913-3361

e-mail: marthachayet@comcast.net

Street Address: 26 Winter Street, Salem

Date Purchased & From Whom:

Kathleen Ward Atchason, May 2006

Helpful Information about the Building (append copies if necessary):

National Register of Historic Landmarks
1811 built by Judge Joseph Story (sup.Ct. + HLS)
1860's - 1900 Dr. Amos Johnson (Fidelity)
1900 - ? The Vaughn family (Norman born
1905 in the house, Adm. Byrd's associate)