

88 Federal Street, Salem

According to available evidence, this house was built for Capt. Joseph Hilliard, shipmaster and carter, and wife Margaret Peele, in 1771.

Robert Peele Jr., a tailor, bought a piece of land in 1768 on the "New Street" (now Federal Street), probably with the intention of building a house thereon. Next year, he agreed with his brother-in-law, mariner Joseph Hilliard, husband of Robert's sister Margaret, that Joseph could buy some of Robert's land. On 10 August 1769 Joseph Hilliard, Salem mariner, for 46.13.4 purchased from Robert Peele Jr., Salem tailor, a piece of land bounded southerly on the New Street 5 poles 22 links, westerly on James Gould's land 4 poles 16 links, northerly on the North River 7.5 poles, easterly on said Peele 8 poles. The deed included Peele's right to the tidal flats of the river to low water; and it was witnessed by Peter Frye and John Keyes.

Mr. Hilliard did not build right away, but waited two years and in 1771 he had a house built. In his "List of Houses Built in Salem From 1750-1773", Judge Samuel Curwen listed this house as built in 1771, "Joseph Hilliard, new North Street" (EIHC 58:295). "New North Street," also known as "New Street", was the old name for Federal Street. It was opened as a public way in the late 1760s, so it was literally a new street. Its yards ran back to the North River, which in those days was sizeable, flowing down from Trask's Mill (on the present Peabody line), with shipyards on New Street's shoreline near Boston Street. The opposite shore, which was then open land with rolling hills and groves of trees, was known as "Paradise" because of its rural beauty.

Joseph Hilliard was born in 1738 or 1739, probably in Salem. He was probably the son of David or Joseph Hilliard, ropemakers of the town's Lower End or east parish, the neighborhood east of present Hawthorne Boulevard. At the age of thirteen or so, c.1752, he was apprenticed to a master mariner in order to learn how to become a sailor. He learned his trade well, and rose through the ranks until he was a mate on vessels that were trading to Europe and the Caribbean. 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 (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.

In the 1760s, after Canada and the Ohio Valley were taken from the French, the English, faced with the need to pay for the costs of war and of sustaining an American administrative bureaucracy, decided to squeeze tax revenues out of the colonials' trade. Although they had been under royal governors for two generations, the New Englanders had been self-governing by town meetings at the local level and by an elected legislature at the provincial level. 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."

In July, 1763, Joseph Hilliard married Margaret Peele, 21, of Salem. Margaret was born 23 January 1742, the daughter of Robert Peele and Mary Bartlett Peele. Margaret's mother was a Marbleheader, as was her grandmother and namesake, Margaret Bartoll Peele. Margaret was the middle child of a family of seven with two older brothers (Robert and William) and a younger brother Josiah, and three sisters, Mary who married Benjamin Cook, Ann who married George Smith, and Lydia who married Jonathan Nichols. Margaret evidently grew up in the Peele family house on Church Street.

Joseph and Margaret Hilliard soon had a daughter, whom they named Mary, in 1764. The family belonged to the Third Church (re-named the Tabernacle in 1785), which was the most evangelical of the town's Protestant societies. Rev. Dudley Leavitt, who had come to Salem as a "new Light" preacher, had been the minister for 17 years when he died in 1762. The lay leader of the congregation was Deacon Timothy

Pickering of 18 Broad Street, Leavitt's father-in-law. Rev. John Huntington became the society's minister in 1763 but died in 1766; and he was succeeded in 1769 by Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker, a Princeton graduate who took the congregation into Presbyterianism, but not without controversy.

No doubt the Hilliards were caught up in the anti-British sentiment aroused by the Stamp Act (1765). Some Salemites even applied tar and feathers to a couple of men who disagreed. Business was still conducted as usual, but with an increasing British naval presence in local waters. In 1766 a Marblehead trading vessel, *Pitt Packet*, was intercepted off Boston and boarded by a British lieutenant and his men. The Marblehead deckhands barricaded themselves below decks, and fought off the British, who intended to impress them into the navy. In the affray, the British lieutenant was killed; and the Marbleheaders were cleared in court by their lawyer, the young John Adams (future president). Joseph Hilliard continued to sail, and by early 1767 he was a sea captain. On Feb. 3, 1767, he sailed from Salem in command of the 48-ton schooner *Polly*, bound for the West Indies. He carried a cargo, probably a load of cured codfish and some lumber, to Turk's Island, and returned to Salem in mid-May, 1767. He was given command of another vessel of the same size, the schooner *William*, which he commanded on a voyage to South Carolina, clearing Salem in December, 1767 and returning on March 14, 1768 (see pp.133, 201, *Early Coastwise and Foreign Shipping of Salem*, Essex Institute, 1934). He probably continued to sail, as a coaster, making short voyages along the coast to get wood for fuel and to exchange goods and foodstuffs.

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-war Salem had more than its share of Tories; but the Sons of Liberty were in the majority. Wealthy scions of families like the Curwens, Pickmans, and Brownes stayed loyal to the King, as did many others who had married into the merchant families. In 1774, military rule was imposed from England as Gen. Thomas Gage became governor of Massachusetts and the port of Boston was shut down in punishment for the Tea Party of December, 1773. Captain Hilliard became a carter at some point after 1768. The job-change probably occurred because of the lack of opportunity for shipmasters during the prewar years, as shipping was much reduced. A carter, or teamster, was one who transported things from place to place, often moving barrels of goods or fish from the

wharves to the warehouses or out into the countryside. A carter wore a special hat to identify him to potential customers.

Early in 1774, Salem was visited with an epidemic of the smallpox, which in those days was often fatal. The town built a new hospital in the west end of town, not far from present Salem Hospital; and there people went to be treated and inoculated. Joseph Hilliard was one of the unfortunate victims of the disease; and he was unable to recover. He died at the hospital on the 25th of February, 1774, aged 35 years. One can only imagine the grief and shock of his friends and family members, and especially of his wife, Margaret, thirty-one, and daughter, Mary, just nine.

Joseph Hilliard (1739-1774) m. 14 July 1763 Margaret Peele (1742-1826), b. 23 Jan. 1742, d/o Robert Peele and Mary Bartlett. He died of smallpox, 25 Feb. 1774, aged 35 years, per gravestone at hospital burying ground. She died of old age 7 May 1826, aged 84 years, per gravestone at Burying Point, Charter Street. Known issue:

- 1. Mary, bp. 3 June 1764 (Tabernacle Chh) m. (int. 17 May 1783) John Adams (1742-1826; died 25 June 1785. Known issue:
a. Joseph Hilliard Adams, 1784, d. 21 June 1785.***

In April, 1774, administration on the estate and custody of her ten-year-old daughter were awarded to Mrs. Margaret Hilliard, whose brothers Robert and William Peele served as her sureties. Captain Hilliard's property was valued by his neighbors, Benjamin Daland, James Gould, and Stephen Cook, in April, 1774 (see attached listing, from #13320, probate book 350:216,346). The homestead—a dwelling house and barn with about 45 poles of land—was valued at 277 li. Captain Hilliard's personal effects were worth about another 119 li. They included tables made of mahogany, cherry, and pine & maple, a cherry desk, 19 chairs (six maple, ten painted black), a coffee mill, candle stands, a bottle case, three bedsteads and under-beds, large and small looking glasses (mirrors), bed furnishings including a suit of curtains, valance, head cloth and tester, tow sheets, cotton & linen sheets, 13.5 yards of speckled linen, five yards of broad cloth, 11 yards of cotton, two white linen shirts, four speckled linen shirts, five pair of trousers, a woolen frock, five jackets, three pair of breeches, four coats, a great coat, a baizel gown, two new beaver hats, a carter hat, an old hat, a pair of boots, and pair of shoes, and seven pair of stockings. He also owned a Bible and ten other books, various dining and kitchen ware and implements, candlesticks, four flatirons, a scythe and snead, some hay, a wheelbarrow, a pig, corn, rye, a large bay horse (13.6.8) and another horse (6.13.4) and his cart, horse sled, and carting gear (bags, bridles, saddles, etc.). Evidently he left his widow and daughter in comfortable circumstances. By renting out rooms of the house, Mrs. Hilliard—who never re-married—would remain here for more than fifty years more.

On June 2, 1774, Salem became the new capital of Massachusetts, as a reward for its supposed loyalty. Governor Gage and his officials relocated to the North Shore, and the Customs operation was conducted from Marblehead, while Salem became the major seaport of New England, handling virtually all of the commercial business that Boston had done. Hundreds of new people moved to Salem, and the legislature met in Salem's Court House. In short order that legislature, led by Sam Adams, turned into a rebel body, and voted to ignore British laws and to send delegates to a continental congress. Gage tried to shut it down, but it was too late: he had lost control of Massachusetts to the rebel assembly gathered in Salem. The town still had a powerful and outspoken group of loyalists, led by Peter Frye, a prominent merchant and magistrate whose wife was a Pickman. One night in October, Judge Frye learned just how far the rebels were willing to go: his fine house on Essex Street was burned down and his family barely escaped with their lives as half a block of houses and stores and the Third Church meeting house all went up in smoke. Next day, the rebel assembly met again and voted to move their proceedings out of the wreckage and ashes of Salem to Concord. Gage and his officials moved to Boston, and many of the loyalists followed. Outside of Boston, all of Massachusetts was under the control of the rebels.

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

With the battle at Lexington & Concord, April 19th, 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 to go privateering until the end of the war in 1783.

In that year of peace, Mrs. Hilliard's daughter Mary, nineteen, married John Adams, twenty-two, an ambitious young tailor who had come to Salem from the Hamlet parish of Ipswich (now Hamilton), as had his brother Capt. Josiah Adams, a shipmaster. The wedding occurred in late May or early June, 1783; and the couple likely moved in here with Mary's widowed mother. They had a child in 1784, a son whom they named Joseph Hilliard Adams. Sadly, Mary and her son died in June, 1785, leaving her husband and mother and a wide circle of friends and relations to mourn her loss. Their remains were interred at Burying Point, where their gravestone may still be seen standing (Charter Street) in the Peele family plot, which is fenced in and not far from the rear of the house at #53 Charter Street. Mrs. Margaret (Peele) Hilliard and her son-in-law John Adams, both steadfast members of the Third Church, probably found their faith a great comfort in the face of this latest tragedy. By that time, the Thrid Chuchr had been re-named the Tabernacle; and the meeting house stood on Washington Street where it is today. Rev. Mr. Whitaker, a very firm and active patriot in the war, was replaced in 1785 by Rev. Joshua Spaulding, a rather extreme conservative, who would serve for seventeen years.

John Adams, Salem tailor, would reside this house on Federal Street for many years. On 25 January 1786 Margaret Hilliard sold to her former son-in-law some rooms in her house and also the lot next door to the west, fronting 44' on New Street, with buildings (ED 146:61). Those buildings may have been Mr. Adams' tailor's shop. On the same day, Mr. Adams confirmed to Mrs. Hilliard the part of the estate that he had not purchased (ED146:62.).

John Adams (1761-1838), s/o Nathaniel Adams & Ruth Bolles of Ipswich Hamlet parish (Hamilton), died at Hamilton, "Deacon John Adams, 6 March 1838, aged 76 years," per Salem VR. He m/1 1783 Mary Hilliard (1764-1785); she died June, 1785. He m/2 3 Aug. 1786 Susannah (Sukey) Hayward (c.1766-1826). She died in Salem, "Sukey, wife of Deacon John, of apoplexy 8 April 1826," aged 60-68 years. Known issue (per Sidney Perley in Essex Antiquarian, 1898, and other sources), surname Adams:

- 1. Joseph Hilliard, 1784, died June, 1785.***
- 2. Joseph, 1787?, Salem hardware dealer at 207 Essex Street in 1836, and resided at 2 Pickman St.***
- 3. John, 17 Sept. 1789, m. c.1814 Sarah Adams; 12 children (note that in Topsfield VR two children of John Adams die of scarlet fever in May 1832: Susan Hayward Adams, four, and Geo. Wash. Adams, two.)***
- 4. Susannah (Sukey), m. 1807 Tobias Hanson of Salem (of Aborn Street in 1836).***
- 5. Samuel, resided at Boxford & Middleton***

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 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 its trade with Russia; and in 1784 and 1785 Salem vessels were dispatched to Africa and China, respectively. Voyages to India soon followed, and to the Spice Islands and Pepper Islands (Sumatra, Java, Malaya, etc.).

Once again, Salem was a boom-town, fueling much new construction and consumer spending. No doubt John Adams, a successful tailor, had his share of the town's money, as people purchased the beautiful new textiles that were coming in from India and other places. The tailor made virtually all of the clothes that people wore, for there were no clothing stores or ready-made clothes at that time. Virtually every garment was tailored from the cloth that his customers brought; and some tailors also carried a line of dry goods themselves. John's brother, the shipmaster Capt. Josiah Adams, had married Sarah Towne of Boxford in 1788. He was prospering in command of Salem trading vessels, but he died, probably of a fever, in Baltimore in 1796. Captain Adams left one child, a daughter Sarah, who, when she grew up, would marry her first cousin, John Adams Jr. Of Deacon John's other siblings, the eldest, Nathaniel, was a clothier in Ipswich Hamlet (Hamilton) in 1796, Oliver resided in Ipswich, and his sister Elizabeth Adams was an assistant at Madam Babbidge's school in Beverly.

By the 1790s, the new foreign-trade markets—and the coffee trade, which would be opened in 1798 with Mocha, Arabia—brought great riches to the Salem merchants, and raised the level of wealth throughout the town: new ships were bought and built, more crews were formed with more shipmasters, new shops and stores opened, new partnerships were formed, and new people moved to town. In 1792 Salem's first bank, the Essex Bank, 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.

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 political split within the Salem population. Those who favored war with France (and detente with England) aligned themselves with the national Federalist party, led by Hamilton and Salem's Timothy Pickering (the U.S. Secretary of State). These included most of the merchants, led locally by the Derby family. Those who favored peace with republican France were the Anti-Federalists, who later became aligned with 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 the death of Hasket "King" Derby in 1799 signaled the beginning of the end of unity in Salem.

In 1800, President Adams negotiated peace with France and fired Timothy Pickering (a native of Salem), 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, 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 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).

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, killed off by 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.

John Adams had become a deacon of his church; and his three sons (Joseph, John, Samuel) probably went privateering, perhaps with his son-in-law, Tobias Hanson. 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.

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

As they had for decades, Mrs. Margaret Peele Hilliard lived here in some of the rooms and Deacon John Adams and wife Susannah and family lived in the others. On Sunday, April 6, 1823, Mrs. Hilliard and the Adamses were attending services at the Tabernacle when the house caught fire. The Salem *Register* reported, "Last

Sabbath forenoon, between 11 and 12 o'clock, the dwelling house of Dea. John Adams and Mrs. Hilliard, in Federal Street, was discovered to be on fire. Although it had made such progress as to burst from the windows and roof before any effort could be made to check it, and a high wind prevailed, yet by the prompt and vigorous exertions of the citizens, the flames were soon suppressed, and the building was preserved, but with great injury. A part of the furniture was destroyed. The damage is estimated at \$700 and it falls heavily upon the persons who have suffered, particularly on Dea. Adams. All the inhabitants of the house were at meeting when the fire was discovered" (quoted in Salem *Observer*, 12 April 1823). From this it would appear that the owners had little or no insurance; but the damage was repaired and the house remained the Hilliard-Adams residence.

Three years later, by the spring of 1826, the two women of the house, Mrs. Hilliard, 84, and Mrs. Sukey Adams, in her sixties, were gravely ill. On April 8th, Mrs. Adams died of a fit of apoplexy. She left her husband John and three sons and a daughter, and many grandchildren. One month later, Mrs. Margaret Peele Hilliard died of "old age" on May 7th, aged 84 years. She had lived here for a full half-century and more, 51 years, 48 of them as a widow. Her daughter Mary had been dead for 41 years, but Margaret had evidently made a family with Mary's husband John Adams, his second wife, and their children; and she had the pleasure of the company of her brother Robert and his son Robert, a hardware dealer, living nearby for all those years—and she no doubt had close relations with her other brothers and sisters and their children, and a wide circle of friends, relatives, and fellow parishioners at the Tabernacle.

By the inventory of May, 1826, Mrs. Hilliard's real estate was valued at \$1200 and consisted of a combined lot in Federal Street, "having one dwelling house and part of another on the same." Her personal estate was minimal. She had probably given away various possessions to friends and relations. At death, her things were valued at \$84, including her wearing apparel (\$15), two feather beds, old chairs, an old easy chair (\$1.50), a looking glass, old tables, a lot of books (\$1), pewter, iron ware, crockery, a small brass kettle, etc. (see attached inventory). Her heirs were her nephew Robert Peele, his son Robert Peele Jr., and various married female Peele descendants. Mrs. Hilliard was buried alongside her long-lost daughter Mary and grandson Joseph in the Peele plot at Burying Point.

In September, 1826, the administrator of Mrs. Hilliard's estate, having subdivided her property, sold her interest in this house (#88) and its lot to housewright John Perkins for \$785 (ED 242:169). A month later, in October, 1826, for \$900, he sold the same to William Abbot, a Salem painter, with land fronting 49' 8" on federal Street and butting on the North River (ED 242:169).

Meanwhile, in 1826, Deacon John Adams sold his portions of the house and its lot to William and Abigail Safford. This ended his connection with the house, which

he had occupied, with his family, for more than forty years. He would live on for twelve years more.

As of 1826, then, the owners of the house were Mr. Abbot and the Saffords. In 1829 the Saffords and their trustee conveyed their interest in the premises to Miss Sarah Osgood, who sold it in July, 1829, to William Abbot, the house-painter who already owned the other portion of house and land here (ED 252:191, 253:238). He rented it out to tenants.

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

In 1830 occurred a horrifying crime that brought disgrace to Salem. Old Capt. Joseph White, a wealthy merchant, resided in the house now called the Gardner-Pingree house, on Essex Street. One night, intruders broke into his mansion and stabbed him to death. All of Salem buzzed with the news of murderous thugs; but the killer was a Crowninshield (a fallen son of one of the five brothers; after he was put in jail he killed himself). He had been hired by his friends, Capt. White's own relatives, Capt. Joseph Knapp and his brother Frank (they would be executed). The results of the investigation and trial having uncovered much that was lurid, more of the respectable families quit the now-notorious town. The tenants at this house in 1830 were (per 1830 census, p.366) Joseph Marshall and Ann Bray and their families, probably from Gloucester. In 1831 the Joseph Marshalls were still here, but were joined by Isaac Elwell and family, he being from Gloucester originally (1831 Salem valuations, p.90).

As the decade of the 1830s wore on, and the new railroads and canals diverted both capital and trade away from the coast, Salem's remaining merchants took their equity out of local wharves and warehouses and ships and put it into the stock of manufacturing and transportation companies. Some merchants did not make the transition, and were ruined. Old-line areas of work, like rope-making, sail-making, and ship chandleries, gradually declined 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 Salemites to head west in search of fortune and a better future. Among those people were William Abbot, his wife Elizabeth, and Martha Barry, to whom William had evidently sold a share of the premises. They went to Abingdon, Illinois. In October and November, 1838, for \$1,100 they sold the house and lot to George Smith, Salem gentleman (ED 308:258, 311:22).

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

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

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

In 1838, the year of the railroad and the year in which the house was sold to George Smith, Deacon John Adams died in Hamilton, on March 6th, in his 77th year. He had faithfully served his church and made a major contribution to business and society in Salem for many decades. He was survived by his three sons and by his daughter Mrs. Sukey Hanson. Joseph, of Lynn Street, was a hardware dealer, in partnership with William Dean on Essex Street by the 1820s; by 1841 he would be partners at the same store with Charles M. Richardson, doing business as Adams & Richardson. Joseph Adams may have started in the hardware business through his almost-cousin, Robert Peele Jr., a noted hardware man. John Adams Jr. resided in Topsfield with his wife (cousin Sarah Adams) and large family of children. Samuel Adams lived in Boxford and then Middleton and was perhaps a farmer. Their sister, Mrs. Sukey Hanson, resided on Aborn Street, Salem, with her husband and children.

The new owner as of 1838, George Smith, was an old man, eighty years of age. He was the owner of a house on Norman Street, where his son mariner Andrew Smith & family resided on the tenant's side. He rented out this house (#88) to tenants, who, in 1840, were Mrs. Mary Savary, dressmaker (family unit of a boy 10-15, woman in her 30s, woman in her 70s) and Mrs. Judith Brown, a nurse (household of two boys, a girl, and a woman in her 30s) (1840 census, also 1837 and 1842 Directories; house was then numbered #16 Federal).

George Smith made his will in 1841, and died in September, 1843, aged 85 years. By will, he devised this house (#88) to his son Andrew Smith. In 1844 or so, Andrew Smith and family moved into this house (#88 Federal). Andrew Smith (1781-1851) was a mariner. In 1806 he had married Lucretia Derby Mansfield, born in Lynn; and they would have several children. In 1820 in the Norman Street house lived the Andrew Smiths as did his sister, Mary, her husband Thomas Frye, carpenter, and their daughter Mary Frye (p. 72, 1820 census). Andrew Smith was a shipmaster, but I could find no certain record of the vessels he commanded. In 1845 Andrew Smith and Joseph Smith were the heads of household here (#88); in 1848 the Andrew Smiths were here alone (per 1848 Street Book).

Capt. Andrew Smith (1781-1851), died 1851. He m. 10 Sept. 1806 Lucretia Derby Mansfield ("Lucy") (1785-1853), d/o Joseph Mansfield and Lucretia Derby of Lynn; she died 18 Aug. 1853. Known issue, surname Smith:

- 1. Andrew, of Canton, Mass.***
- 2. George G., merchant of Salem & Cuba***
- 3. Thomas Frye, m. Hannah F.; of Worcester.***
- 4. Sarah, m. Dr. John B. Fisk of Salem.***
- 5. Lucretia D., m. 1839 Stephen D. Massey.***
- 6. Mary Elizabeth M., 1828, died bet. 1853 and 1856.***

In the 1840s, as more industrial methods and machines were introduced, many new companies in new lines of business arose in Salem. The Gothic symbol of Salem's new industrial economy was the large twin-towered granite train station—the "stone depot"—smoking and growling with idling locomotives. It stood on filled-in land at the foot of Washington Street, where the merchants' wharves had been; and from it the trains carried many valuable products as well as passengers. The tanning and curing of leather was very important in Salem by 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 face of all of this change, some members of Salem's waning merchant class continued to pursue their sea-borne businesses; but it was an ebb tide, with unfavorable winds. In the late 1840s, giant clipper ships replaced the smaller vessels that Salem men had sailed around the world; and the clippers, with their deep drafts and large holds, were usually too large for Salem and its harbor. The town's shipping soon consisted of little more than Zanzibar-trade vessels and visits from Down East coasters with cargoes of fuel wood and building timber. By 1850 Salem was about finished as a working port. A picture of Salem's sleepy waterfront is given by Hawthorne in his mean-spirited "introductory section" to **The Scarlet Letter**, which he began while working in the Custom House.

Capt. Andrew Smith's son George G. Smith, a Salem merchant, resided for some time in Cuba, where his children were born. By 1850 the G.G. Smith children were living here with their aunt Elizabeth, 22, and their grandparents, Andrew and Lucretia Smith. The children were Jenkin (a boy), eight, Catalena, 13, and Adelena, five, all born in Cuba. The house was used as a two-family, and the residents of the other unit were Edward S. Buffum, 32, a cordwainer (shoemaker), wife Electa E., 24, daughter Evelina, two, and also Harriet Carey, 17, perhaps a mother's helper (1850 census, ward 4, 551-829).

Capt. Andrew Smith died in 1851, aged seventy. He devised the house to his wife Lucretia, who was to leave the lower rooms to their daughter Mary Elizabeth. Lucretia died in 1853 in her 68th year, leaving the property to "Elizabeth" downstairs and to the rest of the Smith siblings (upstairs rooms). Elizabeth died unmarried before December, 1856, when the house and land were sold for \$2400 by the heirs to Sarah A. Hanson, wife of Joseph H. Hanson of Salem (ED 543:279). Mr. Hanson was a prosperous merchant who resided nearby on the other side of Federal Street. The Hansons rented the premises to tenants. In 1856 (the house was re-numbered #88 from #16) Mrs. Harriet Mugford, widow, resided here, perhaps with others. In 1858 she was here as was John Carlton, who had a variety store at then-158 Essex Street.

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 the two-family house was occupied (1860 census, w4, 2121:2444, 2445) by (one unit) Lavinia Morse, 52, b. NH, and Elizabeth D. Morse, seamstress, 19; also Harriet Mugford, 60, and George Cook, sixteen. In the other unit lived Elizabeth P. Carlton, 53, and John Carlton, 55. They were still there in 1863.

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. One of the soldiers was George B. Cook, who had resided here in 1860. He was a private in the 50th Regiment, Mass. Volunteer Infantry, and served nine months in 1862-3. The regiment was posted to Louisiana and Texas, participated in the siege of Port Hudson (see Hurd's *History of Essex County*, p.207). 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.

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 the end of the 1860s the house was occupied by the same families as before: John Carlton, 68, retired from his dry goods store, with Elizabeth, 63; in the other unit, Mrs. Harriet B. Mugford, George B. Cook, 25, the Civil War veteran, now a grocer's clerk, and his wife Katie A, 25, born in New Hampshire (1870 census, ward 4, house 90).

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 capital burned up. In that year new tenants moved in here in place of the Carltons (who moved to St. Peter St.) and the Mugford-Cooks. William H. Simonds, fifty, a painter with his shop at then-76 Derby Street, resided here with his family. 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 1880, the tenants here were still the William H. Simonds family in one unit and the Albert H. Taylors in the other. Mr. Simonds was 58, a house painter, with wife Julia, 57, daughter Julia, 29, daughter Laura, 27, bookkeeper, and son Horace E., 26, a provisions clerk. Mr. Taylor was 23, a piano tuner, with wife Cora B, 21, a newborn son, Albert Jr. (1880 census, SD 60, ED 235). In 1881 Mr. Taylor opened a piano and organ store at 293 Essex, and his wife taught music; and they moved away to New Haven in 1883-4. In 1883-4 the Simondses moved out too. Mrs. Anna E. Sanborn resided here alone in 1884. In 1885 she lived in one unit, and in the other lived Prince E. Nash, a shoe cutter who worked at 11½ Lafayette Street, probably a shoe factory (per Salem Directories).

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. By 1888 the house here had separate entrances, and was numbered both 88 and 88½. Mr. Nash and Mrs. Sanborn lived at the former, Abbott S. Rogers at the latter (Directory). In the 1890s, the tenants were Elmer E. Warner, a shade upholsterer working at 242 Essex, and Arthur L. Shapleigh, B&M Railroad baggage master (Directory). Mr. Nash had died by 1895. By 1900, Mr. Shapleigh, 34, was a railroad conductor for the B&M, and he and wife Ora, 29, had a daughter Marion, eight; and at 88½ lived Louis B. Moody, 60, an iron dealer, wife Frances, 60, daughter Frances, 37, bookkeeper, Sarah E., 34, Louis C., 28, iron dealer, Lizzie, 23, bookkeeper, May, 20, typewriter, and the Moodys' widowed in-law, B. Parker Babbidge, 32, a paper salesman (1900 census, ED 450, sh.14).

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. The Shapleighs were still here in 1904, with Mrs. Lora B. Hall. By 1907, the James G. Ward family lived here. Mr. Ward was a carpenter and builder, and in the 1910 Directory took out an advertisement for his services (appended). The Wards moved on in 1911, and were supplanted by Mrs. Susan L. Brown, dressmaker and widow of Theodore F. Brown.

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.

Mrs. Susan Brown and Mrs. Almira Butler, also a widow, were residing here in 1914. 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 1920, the house was the residence of the Bracketts. Charles M. Brackett, 37, a heelmaker in a shoe shop, wife Lillian B., 32, a jewelry store saleswoman born in Canada, daughter Lillian P., three and a half; along with Lillian's sister Edith Butler, 27, a stenographer, and brother Irving Butler, 25, a buffer in a shoe shop, both of whom came from Canada in 1916 (Directory). Soon Salem was 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., 14 Oct. 2004.