

12 Broad St.

BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE HOUSE HISTORY

The deeds are listed from the most recent first, back in chronological order to the oldest. This is the way the research proceeds; to follow the history the way it happened, begin from the back. The trail is a tangled skein of threads, all of which haven't been uncovered. Because of the incredible division of the house itself among four heirs of Jonathan Neal, and the subsequent reselling by these various heirs of their fractions to, in some cases, several people, it has been almost impossible to trace every transaction.

However the basic facts of the ownership of their father's land by the brothers Jonathan and David Neal; the dividing of this land; the notation by Curwen of the building of Jonathan's house; and the subsequent death of Jonathan and the assignment of his house, (plus the "old" house) and land to his many children, are quite clear in the documentation.

It is wonderful that this charming gambrel roofed house is now restored by loving owners, and at the advanced age of 206 years graces the corner of Broad and Cambridge Sts. with beauty and dignity.

June 1973

Sally Dee
Historic Salem Inc.

DOCUMENTATION

#12 Broad St., Salem, Mass.

Deeds

Book Page

5559 290 September 20, 1968

Eleanor Lawson Sprague sells to Benjamin and Minerva Shreve land and buildings at the corner of Cambridge and Broad Sts. bounded:

- on S W by land conveyed by Anna D. Pickering to Katharine Wiswall (book 2684 page 526) 102'
- on N by land now or late of Waters 30.77'
- on E by land now or late of Murphy 28.39'
- on N by said Murphy land 49.56'
- on E by Cambridge St. 50.62'
- on S E by Broad St. 0.92' and 12.05'
- on N E by Broad St. 2.45'
- on S E by Broad St. 4.9'
- on S W by Broad St. 6"
- on S E by Broad St. 1.05'
- on S W by Broad St. 2.45'
- on S E by Broad St. on 3 courses: 11.6', 2.08', and 13.60'

Premises are lots C and E. Plan Book 47, Plan 3 D 1926. Contain 4621 sq. ft. Being same premises conveyed by deed 3373 p. 179

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Richard K. Sprague releases his rights in the above property to Eleanor Lawson Sprague

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Robert C. and Pauline A. B. Seamans sell to Richard K. and Eleanor L. Sprague land and buildings at the corner of Cambridge and Broad Sts. (described above) Being same premises conveyed to us Book 2632 p. 37 and 2641 p. 161 except as altered by indenture between Anna D. Pickering and grantors, Book 2684 p. 525 and shown as Lots C and E in Plan Book 47 #3 D containing 4621 sq. ft.

2632 37 March 3, 1925

Thomas O. Fay of Salem sells to Robert C. and Pauline B. Seamans land and buildings at the corner of Cambridge and Broad Sts. bounded: beginning at the N E corner thereof running S by Cambridge St. as fence stands to Broad St.; running W by said street to land now or late of Blake; running N by said Blake's land as fence stands; then running W by land of Blake as barn stands; then running N by said Blake's land as fence stands to land now or late of Nichols; then running E by said Nichols' land as fence stands to land now or late of Buckley; then running S by land of Buckley as fence stands; then E by said Buckley to beginning. Being premises conveyed Book 2624 p. 140, formerly held by W.D. Gardner and devised by him to Mary E. Very (now Allen) by will #133,925. Subject to mortgages 2576 p. 519, and 2602 p. 422.

Book Page

- 2641 161 May 23, 1925
Mary A. Taylor of Melrose releases her claim to the above property to Robert and Pauline Seamans. Her title derived from Probate # 44800, Mary Ann Lamb; #69989, Hannah Arvedson, Charles and Augusta Arvedson.

- 2624 140 December 17, 1924
Helen S. Alpers of Salem, unmarried, grants to Thomas O. Fay of Salem land and Buildings bounded as follows: on E by Cambridge St., on S by Broad St., all other lines and sides by land now or late of Nichols, Buckley, and others, Meaning to convey the same premises granted me Book 2599 page 542.

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Albert B. Savory sells to Thomas O. Fay land and buildings (described above) Meaning to convey the premises conveyed to me by deed Book 2576 page 510.

- 2599 542 June 18, 1924
Thomas O. Fay sells to Helen S. Alpers land and buildings (same description as above) Meaning to convey the premises received by deed from Albert B. Savory of recent date.

- 2576 510 November 9, 1923
Mary E. Allen formerly Mary E. Very of Lynnfield sells to Albert B. Savory of Salem land and buildings (described above) In tracing title see 3 deeds to William D. Gardner 2390 p. 162; 2395 p. 485; 2410 p. 110. This property being a portion I derived under the will of my father William D. Gardner late of Salem,

- 2390 162 May 19, 1918
Henry and William Arvedson grant to William D. Gardner all our right in land and buildings (described above) Intending to release our interest acquired by us as devisees under the will of Mary Ann Lamb.

- 2395 485 July 19, 1918
Jennie P. Arvedson releases to William D. Gardner all right in the property (described above) having been devised to her under the will of Mary Ann Lamb.

- 2410 110 April 5, 1919
Mary E. Barker releases to William D. Gardner all her rights in the property (described above) intending to release interest in premises devised to her under the will of Mary Ann Lamb.

Probate # 44800 Mary Ann Lamb, of Salem, widow April 8, 1862 Will drawn in 1858. Property goes to the Arvedsons. Inventory lists the real estate as only 1/3 of an undivided portion of real estate.

It has been difficult to get accurate information on Mary Ann Lamb. In 1825 she married William Lamb, a seaman. They had one baby in 1827 which died. William Lamb died in the Orient in 1832, and his widow died in 1862. Her maiden name was Brown.

A Mary Ann Brown was born in 1803 daughter of Thomas Brown and his 2nd wife Elisabeth Howard.

It is also possible that she was the "daughter" noted by Sara Emerson, researcher, of Jonathan Neal's daughter Abial Neal Brown Fullington.

Items from CITY OF SALEM TAX RECORDS and Directories

No William Lamb at the Broad St. house before 1830

1830 & 1831	William Lamb	1/4 house	Broad & Cambridge Sts.
	Jonathan Neal	"	"
	Joseph Neal	"	"
1837 to 1850	(last one I checked)		
	Mary Ann Lamb, widow	"	"
	Jonathan Neal, mason	"	"

I cannot find the deed by which the Lambs acquired 1/4 of #12 Broad St.

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Andrew M. Ober for \$1 and considerations releases to William D. Gardner his rights and title to land in the rear if the N side of #12 Broad St. bounded on the E by land formerly of Joseph Neal, dec. now of Nellie Barker Linwood Lewis, Fannie M. Foster. See deed from Jonathan Neal to Andrew Ober Book 849 p. 58. My interest being under the will of Andrew Ober of Salem, dec.

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Charles and Nellie Barker, Linwood Lewis, and Avery Pulsifer Foster and Fannie M. Foster his wife for \$1 and considerations release to William D. Gardner all right to the western half of the dwelling house situated on Broad St. being #12, with the land under (etc.) The above premises being the same conveyed to us by the will of Hannah Neal B. 849 p. 56 and by deed of Joseph W. Neal B. 849 p. 57 to Sarah A. Ober dec. and devised to Louisa Cumings mother of said Nellie Barker and to Linwood Lewis and Fannie M. Foster by her will. Said grantee agreeing to maintain a privy for the use of the tenants of the part of the E half of the house occupied by Jane Neal.

849 56 May 27, 1869
Hannah Neal, wid. of Joseph, and Hannah, Elisabeth H. and Caroline A. Neal, singlewomen, and George A. Neal children and heirs of said Joseph Neal, dec. for \$900 release to Sarah Ober wife of Andrew Ober, carpenter each one conveying 1/7 undivided part of the W half of

the dwelling house being #12 Broad St. (and complicated fractions of the yard on W side and a small segment of land, etc.) Reference made to deeds 166 p. 70, 210 p. 255 214 p. 44, 230 p. 103,104

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Joseph Neal, Rufus Neal, and Charles Neal, all of Calif. children and heirs of Joseph Neal, dec. of Salem, for \$400 release to Sarah Ober wife of Andrew Ober 3/7 undivided parts of (W half of house described above)
- 230 103,104 September 24 and 27, 1822
Joseph Gardner jr., hairdresser sells to Jonathan Edwards cordwainer, who three days later sells back to said Gardner the land under and the W chamber and garret plus the S half of the western cellar of the house at Broad and Cambridge Sts.
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Jonathan Neal jr., and Joseph Neal bricklayers of Salem for \$1 release to Joseph Gardner of Salem, hairdresser (some land to the N of the house plus the S half of the western cellar)
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Joseph Gardner for \$30 releases to the above mentioned Jonathan and Joseph Neal (some land to the N W of the house and the N half of the western cellar)
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- 182 136 March 28, 1808
John Fullington of Marblehead and Abial his wife for \$300 convey to Thomas Butman tailor 1/4 of the house and land, see deed 182 p. 155 below.
- 182 155, 156 December 25, 1807
Division of real estate lots 1 & 2 originally undivided made between Mary Neal, singlewoman, and Frederick Brown and Abial (Neal) his wife, now wife of John Fullington, said Frederick dec. The land (being the half along Cambridge St.) is now divided with Mary taking the S 1/4 and the Fullingtons taking the N 1/4.

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Division of the estate of Jonathan Neal, yeoman dec. among his heirs.

Mary Neal shall have the E lower room in the mansion house of dec. and use of the front door leading from Broad St. to the aforesaid room. (and use of the cellar etc.) Also one undivided half of the lot of land called Lot #1 and #2 in common with Frederick Brown and Abial his wife. This lot is (roughly 85' on Cambridge St. from the corner of Broad; W 31' by Lot #5; S by Lots #3 & #4 to Broad St., this line passing under the middle of said house; then E 11' along Broad St. to the first corner.)

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these descriptions have been shortened by me in interests of clarity. S.L.D.

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Benjamin Neal shall have Lot 5 which starts at the N E corner of Lots 1 & 2 on Cambridge St. and runs N 80', then W (by lot 6 assigned to David Neal) to Pickering's land and finally back to corner of lot 3 & 4. Also a lot on the E side of Cambridge St.

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Land in Lynnfield and Danvers

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William Bentley Diaries

Vol. I page 210 November 2, 1790

Last night was drowned a Mr. Jonathan Neal, laborer. He was employed upon the wharf alone in his business and by some unknown accident fell into the water. He was found floating upon the water this morning. It is reported that he left Mansfield's shop after 10 o'clock. This is a noted retail shop which has been presented for gaming and licentiousness. From information at Mr. Luscombe's it seems Neal was addicted to intemperance and fell over the wharf. He had strayed in the mud 10' from the wharf and was found standing in the mud in an inclined position. He was 66 years old, a noted carter.

Salem Gazette Issue of November 9, 1790

Jonathan Neal fell off a wharf and was drowned.

100 14 May 28, 1753

Partition of land between Jonathan and David Neal

Jonathan received the land to the S and W
David the land to the N and E.

Original land boundaries: house and barn (this was the "old" house) and 3 acres 73 poles bounded on E by highway leading from the main street to the workhouse (Summer St.) 19 poles 26 links; on the S E by a way (Broad St.) leading from ye aforesaid way to the Pound 24 poles 11 links; on the W by land of Timothy Pickering 20 poles 11 links; on N by land of Gabriel Holman 3 poles 4 links; On W by Holman's land 11 poles 6 links to the S W corner of land lately sold to Nathaniel Brown and (on N partly by land of Joseph Gardner and heirs of William Campbell) 20 poles 7 links to the highway first mentioned. (Jonathan got the house and barn and 1 acre 117 poles.)

Genealogy

Jonathan Neal married in 1725 Mary Henfield Marston
they had 2 sons

Jonathan born c. 1726 married Annis White
died 1790

David born c. 1730

children of Jonathan and Annis

Hannah b. 1750 m. 1775 Joseph Smith

Lydia b. 1752 d. 1812 m. John Osborne

Mary b. 1754 d. 1826

Jonathan b. 1756 m. Mary Dowst

Elisabeth b. 1758 d. 1770

Sarah b. 1760 m. 1784 Joseph Gardner 6 children

David b. 1762 m. 1806 Mary widow of brother Jonathan

Benjamin b. 1767 m. 1793 Mary Elliott d. 1801 4 children

Joseph b. 1770 d. 1787

Abial b. 1772 m. 1794 Fred. Brown

1805 John Fullington

Twelve Broad Street, Salem

This house was built for Jonathan Neal, yeoman and carter, evidently in 1767.

This land had been in the family from the early days of Salem. Francis Lawes, an English immigrant, had a daughter Mary who married John Neal, yeoman, c. 1640, and she inherited her father's homestead. Her great-grandson, Jonathan Neal, a husbandman (farmer) and cordwainer (shoemaker), married the widow Mary (Henfield) Marston in 1725. She was the widow of Manasseh Marston Jr., by whom she evidently had no children. Mary was born in 1687, the daughter of William Henfield, a mariner, and Martha Preston; and she had brothers William, a farmer, and Joseph, a cooper. She married, first, Manasseh Marston Jr. of Salem in 1701. They were married for two decades, but in 1722 or so he went away to Philadelphia. She was 38 when she married, second, Jonathan Neal in 1725; and they had two children, Jonathan Jr. (born 1726) and David (born 1730), and then in 1732 Jonathan Neal died. His homestead evidently consisted of a house and barn and a tract of about five acres. The two boys grew to manhood. Jonathan was apprenticed as a husbandman (cattle farmer), while David was bound out to a shipmaster to become a sailor.

By 1753 their mother was deceased; and in that year the Neal brothers sold off the northern-most part of their late father's homestead, leaving a house and barn and about 3 acres and 78 poles undivided. Jonathan and David divided the remaining patrimony on 26 May 1753 (ED 100:14), with the result that Jonathan received the house and barn and the part of the land fronting on Broad Street. Jonathan's land was one acre 107 poles in area, and was the southerly and southwesterly part of the property. The tract fronted 24 poles 11 links on Broad Street ("the way ...leading to the pound") with a short stretch of frontage on Summer Street too; on the southwest it bounded on land of Timothy Pickering. The house then standing on the property must have been the old Neal house, probably dating from the 1600s, and later described (in 1799) as a "small old house", then standing on the site of 10 Broad Street. The barn may have stood on the site of 12 Broad Street. In May, 1760, Jonathan Neal, yeoman, sold off the empty lot at the westernmost part of his homestead to William Dowst, husbandman, for 18.10.8 (ED 109:46). Soon after, Jonathan for 66.13.4 would sell off the empty lot at the corner of Broad and Summer Streets to Capt. Thomas Eden (ED 110:40).

Jonathan Neal built a house at #12. It would appear that, as built, it was two stories high and one room deep, with a pitched roof. It may be that the frame was recycled from an earlier house. Today, the interior evidence is puzzling, in that the front-to-back summer beam in the eastern lower room front has a plain chamfer (pre-1730 style of finish), while everything else has a beaded box molding (post-1730 style). The house has been much-renovated in the 20th century, which leaves it hard to discern which elements are original or early, and which have been restored. The cellar evidence indicates early (18th-century)

stood the town almshouse, where indigent or sick people were housed. From this, Summer Street and even Broad Street were sometimes known as Almshouse Lane.

Salem was a prosperous fishing and trading port. The 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. Jonathan Neal got involved in this commerce by becoming a carter, also known as a teamster, drayman, or truckman. In addition to his farming, he drove horse-drawn wagons that carried goods to and from the wharves to the stores and the countryside. This was a good business. In 1748 or so Jonathan Neal, carter and farmer, married Annis (or Anstiss) White; and they would have ten children over the years, all of them healthy and destined to survive infancy and childhood.

Just to the east of Knocker's Hole, on the inner harbor, were most of the commercial 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 and widespread, to the Caribbean, Newfoundland, and Europe and Britain. The Salem merchants often broke the rules by smuggling and bribing the Custom House officers, and they made good profits.

The wars of 1744-1748 and 1756-1763 eventually broke France's power in North America; and in 1759 and 1760 the English, aided by American militia and suppliers, took Canada and the Ohio Valley from the French. Thereafter, the English decided to squeeze tax revenues out of the colonials' trade to pay for the costs of war and of sustaining an American administrative bureaucracy. 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, at the provincial level, through an elected legislature. In Massachusetts, most regarded themselves as a free people, and not as dependents of a far-away mother country. Merchants and mariners had always traded with the French, Spanish, and Dutch in Europe and the various islands of the Caribbean, regardless of their national affiliations;

the result was bitter public opposition and more street violence in Boston. The Boston Massacre took place in March, 1770; in short order, all of Massachusetts turned openly against the British, and the clouds of war gathered on the horizon.

Pre-revolutionary Salem had more than its share of Tories; but they were not in the majority. Wealthy scions of families like the Curwens, Pickmans, and Brownes were loyal to the King, as were many others who had married into the merchant families. Jonathan Neal was not among them; and he and his companions became avid readers of the radical *Essex Gazette* (published in Salem) and friends or members of the Sons of Liberty. In 1774, military rule was imposed from England as Gen. Thomas Gage became governor of Massachusetts and the port of Boston was shut down in punishment for the Tea Party of December, 1773. On June 2, 1774, Salem became the new capital of Massachusetts, as a reward for its supposed loyalty. Governor Gage and his officials relocated to the North Shore, and the Customs operation was conducted from Marblehead, while Salem became the major seaport of New England, handling virtually all of the commercial business that Boston had done. Hundreds of new people moved to Salem, and the legislature met in Salem's Court House. In short order that legislature, led by Sam Adams, turned into a rebel body, and voted to ignore British laws and to send delegates to a continental congress. Gage tried to shut down the assembly, 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. 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 all went up in smoke. The meeting house of the Third Church (formerly the First Church), to which Jonathan Neal belonged, also burned down. Jonathan Neal and his relatives, the Dowsts, also carters, were among the less-affluent of the proprietors of the meeting house. Next day, the provincial Assembly met again and voted to move their proceedings to Concord. Gage and his officials moved to Boston, and many of the loyalists followed. Outside of Boston, all of Massachusetts was under the control of the rebels.

By January, 1775, loyalists had been purged from the Salem militia regiment, and Col. William Browne was replaced by Jonathan Neal's neighbor 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

child, Joseph Neal, then nineteen. Jonathan Neal, 63, may have been deeply affected by this loss. In 1790 (per the census, p.95 col. 1) this house was a two-family, occupied by the households of Jonathan Neal and his Jonathan Jr. Jonathan's household consisted of two men and three females, while Jonathan Jr.'s consisted of himself and wife and little son. To the west was the Dowst house, and then the Pickering farmhouse. The 1790 valuations (ward 3, p.11) assessed the Jonathan Neal homestead at \$200.

Early in 1790 a new manufacturing enterprise was begun in Salem: across the street from this house, the town leased land for the construction of a factory in which to make duck-cloth, which is sailcloth. Duck cloth had not traditionally been manufactured in America, and came mainly from the Baltic. It required the technology, skill, and raw materials to make it workable. Stephen and William Cleveland, brothers and Salem merchants, seem to have been the prime movers, and sold stock to capitalize the enterprise. The "duck house" was built in April, 1790, and equipped with jennies made by Asa Kilham of River Street. Upsatirs were the flax-spinners and downstairs were the weavers. The overseer was "an Englishman who has high opinions of his own abilities and is ready to censure others," per Rev. William Bentley. The Clevelands advertised for "good flax" in the local newspaper in April and May, 1790, but never got enough to make the factory productive (Mr. Bentley would report in February, 1792, that "the factory for duck etc stands still in want of flax for the spinners. The owners are selling out their shares." By 1799 it was being used as rope-walk, for the making of cordage).

As a leading carter, Jonathan was on the docks, waiting for cargoes to load and unload. Like most truckmen, he spent a good deal of time in taverns, between jobs. He frequented Mansfield's grogshop, and was all too fond of its offerings. On the night of November 1, 1790, after working on the wharves by day, he lingered at Mansfield's until ten at night, and fell off the wharf and got stuck in the mud. No one was around to hear him; and he drowned (see Rev. William Bentley's diary entry for 2 Nov. 1790*).

The shocking demise of Jonathan Neal was followed, at the end of December, 1790, by a burglary of the Neal house, as described by Mr. Bentley in his diary for 30 Dec. 1790: "Last evening the house of the widow Neal, on Pickering's Hill, was broken open, and effects to the amount of two hundred dollars taken away. The thieves went into every part of the house."

*On 2 Nov. 1790 Wm Bentley recorded in his diary, "Last night was drowned a Mr. Jonathan Neal, laborer. He was employed upon the wharf alone in his business, and by some unknown accident fell into the water. He was found floating upon the water this morning. It is reported that he left Mansfield's shop after ten o'clock. This is a noted retail shop, which has been presented for gaming and licentiousness. Upon information at Mr. Luscomb's it seems Neal was addicted to intemperance and fell over the wharf. He had strayed in the mud 10 feet from the wharf and was found standing in the mud in an inclined position. He was 66 years old, a noted carter."

it stood on. Other pieces of land, away from the house, were set off as lots to some of the other heirs. In 1798 the heirs for \$30 sold off their one-half of four acres in Lynn that Jonathan Neal had purchased (ED 166:112). In 1798, the house at 12 Broad Street was occupied as a two-family by Jonathan Neal and family and by his brother-in-law Frederick Brown and family; the house and its 102 perches of land were valued at \$750 (per 1798 federal Direct Tax).

On 20 Sept. 1799 a formal division of the homestead was made (ED 166:70-72). The house had four rooms, together with common areas like the attic (garret), cellar, and staircase. The easterly lower room was set off to Miss Mary Neal, 45. The easterly chamber (upstairs room) was set off to Mrs. Abiel (Neal) Brown, wife of mariner Frederick Brown. The westerly lower room was set off to Jonathan Neal, and the westerly chamber was awarded to Mrs. Sarah (Neal) Gardner, wife of Joseph Gardner, a cordwainer (shoemaker). Each owner received certain common rights in the house; and each was awarded a share in pieces of land: Mary and Abiel got a piece of land under and adjoining the easterly half of the house; and Jonathan and Sarah received a piece of land under and adjoining the westerly part of the house. Not all of the owners of the house resided there: some rented out their rights to others, evidently. In 1800 the residents here were the families headed by Joseph Gardner (five boys and Mr. & Mrs. Gardner), David Neal (himself and wife), and Jonathan Neal (two boys and Mr. & Mrs. Neal) (per 1800 census, p. 374). It is likely that in 1800 Mrs. Abiel Brown resided here too, with her little one-year-old daughter Mary Ann Brown. Abiel was a widow: her husband, the mariner Frederick Brown, died on 20 May 1800, aged thirty. The inventory of his estate, taken in October 1802, shows how the couple furnished their room: it had six pictures, mahogany furniture, a sideboard and set of china, six silver tea spoons, a japanned leather trunk, a copper plate counterpane for the feather bed, a pair of brass candlesticks, a coffee mill, and other nice and useful things (see inventory appended).

In 1800, Adams made 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).

McIntire, and built on Essex Street in 1797-8 (demolished in 1815), on the site of today's Town House Square.

A new bank, the Salem Bank, was formed in 1803, and there were two insurance companies and several societies and associations. The fierce politics and commercial rivalries continued. The ferment of the times is captured in the diary of Rev. William Bentley, bachelor minister of Salem's East Church and editor of the *Register* newspaper. His diary is full of references to the civic and commercial doings of the town, and to the lives and behaviors of all classes of society. He had high hopes for the future of a republican America, with well educated citizens. He observed and fostered the transition in Salem, and wrote in his diary (2 Dec. 1806), "While Salem was under the greatest aristocracy in New England, few men thought, and the few directed the many. Now the aristocracy is gone and the many govern. It is plain it must require considerable time to give common knowledge to the people." On Union Street, not far from Bentley's church, on the fourth of July, 1804, was born a boy who would grow up to eclipse all sons of Salem in the eyes of the world: Nathaniel Hawthorne, whose father would die of fever while on a voyage to the Caribbean in 1808. This kind of untimely death was all too typical of Salem's young seafarers, who fell prey to malaria and other diseases of the Caribbean and Pacific tropics.

A resident here, the widow Abiel (Neal) Brown, married, second, in December, 1805, John Fullington, a shoemaker who thus became stepfather to Mary Ann Brown. The Fullingtons resided here; and Mr. Fullington proved to be an ambitious fellow.

In 1806 the Derbys extended their wharf far out into the harbor, tripling its previous length 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, closer to Broad Street, 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.

In 1807, for the first time since the original division of 1799, owners of the premises here made a division of the property. The owners of the eastern part of house were Mary Neal, singlewoman, and her sister Abiel, wife of John Fullington; and they divided their land, which lay on Cambridge Street to the north of the house

rooms with their mother, Mary Dowst Neal. In July, 1811, Jonathan Neal, 22, married Eunice Buffum, also of an old Salem family; and they probably resided here as a young couple.

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 Crowninshield's 350-ton ship *America* was most successful: she captured 30-plus prizes worth more than \$1,100,000.

Salem erected forts and batteries on its Neck, to discourage the British warships that cruised these waters. Jonathan Neal, of this house, served in the Company of Foot commanded by Capt. Theodore Morgan (per EIHC 35:79). Probably they were stationed at Fort Pickering on Winter Island. 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 weaker 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 that of Harrison G. Otis of Boston, who prevailed in sending a moderate message to Congress.

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

Jonathan Neal's widow, Mary Dowst Neal, had survived him and resided here until died on April 30, 1815, in her fifties. In July, 1816, the Neal brothers divided their inheritance by deed. To Jonathan went the eastern chamber and its rights and privileges, the use of the western yard, and the western part of the garden behind the house. To Joseph went the lower western room, the use of the western yard, and the eastern half of the rear garden (ED 210:254,255).

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

On 7 May 1827, Miss Mary Neal died in her 71st year. By an unrecorded deed or will, her one-fourth interest went to her niece, Mary Ann Brown, who in 1825 had married a sailor, William C. Lamb. The Lambs lived here; or Mary Ann did, while William spent most of his time at sea. He was the son of Simon Lamb, of High Street, and the grandson of Simon Lamb (1725-1808), who had come in 1750 to Salem from England and worked as a sailmaker with John Howard on Water Street and was a Mason and much esteemed by all who knew him (Hadley, p. 80).

William C. Lamb was the nephew and namesake of Capt. William Cook, a prominent shipmaster of Charter Street. Mr. Lamb's cousin William Cook, Jr., would later prove to be one of Salem's notable eccentrics, an Episcopal minister who became a publisher, author, poet, and artist. William Lamb was intent on a seafaring career. As a young man, he had shipped on the famous 328-ton ship *George*, which had been built in 1814 as a large privateer by an association of shipwrights who were out of work due to war. 110' 10" in length, 27' beam, 328 tons, the *George* was built by Christopher Turner at his Frye's Mills yard on the North River. In May 1815 she was registered for foreign trade with Joseph Peabody and Gideon Tucker as owners, and sailed then under Capt. William Haskell for Pernambuco and Calcutta. In 1821-1822, on her sixth voyage, William C. Lamb sailed under Capt. Samuel Endicott to and from Calcutta. After a one-month stay in Salem, he had shipped back out under Capt. Endicott, on another voyage to Calcutta, returning to the coast of Massachusetts by March 31, 1823, when they made Cape Cod but were hit by a terrible blizzard. The rigging iced up, and the sails were finally all ripped to rags, but the men fought desperately for two days to keep the *George* at sea and under new canvas. Like an apparition, she appeared off Salem Harbor all safe and sound. None of the townspeople could believe that she had survived the violence of the gale. In port, William learned that his youngest brother, John Mugford Lamb, a young sailor, had died at Havana, aged sixteen (another brother, Simon Lamb Jr., was lost at sea).

Undaunted, William C. Lamb had signed up for another voyage of the *George* to Calcutta, and departed under Capt. Endicott on June 21, 1823. His friend William Driver also signed up—forty years later, Driver having moved to Nashville, during

In reminiscences of 1885, Leverett Saltonstall (b.1825), who grew up on Chestnut Street, the privileged son of Salem's first mayor, wrote of this house and its occupants in the 1830s. In Cambridge Street, he recalled, in response to a friend's request for reminiscences, there was an old bakery "always associated with 'Piggy Neal' and his brothers (sic), for there seems always to have been a savage scene of pig slaughtering going on in the yard of that bakery. Do you remember the Piggy Neals? They lived on Broad Street near the Grammar School. Ah! How the boys delighted of a cold winter morning to stand in the sun about the door of their shed, where they performed all the mysteries of cutting and cleaning the old porkers whose screams had so recently awakened the echoes of the old bakehouse yard! How these masters of their art hoisted them up by their hind legs, and soured them into a huge tub and how deliciously their bristles came off, leaving their skin so shiny; and then how artistically they placed a stick in their mouths, giving a laughing expression to the face, which seemed to say 'what an immense joke this is! What will these wonderful fellows be doing next?' And all the while Piggy Neal and brother, who were great Whigs, were talking politics to the boys and laying down the law with Johnsonian ponderosity. But to see these artists in another light, let some urchin call from the outside of the circle, 'Piggy Neal, Piggy Neal, made a pig squeal *squeal squeal!*' with rising inflection. It was then *sauve qui peut*, the boys ran for their lives, over the fence into the burying ground opposite, and even into 'broad field' beyond, with Piggy at their heels." (EIHC 81:56-7).

From this, we conclude that Piggy Neal was Jonathan Neal, with his assistant and brother Joseph Neal.

In the 1830s, much changed at the Neal house. In 1832, came the news that William C. Lamb had made his last voyage: in the fall of 1831 he had shipped out on the Boston brig *Brothers* bound for Calcutta, and there he had died, in May, 1832, aged 32 years (per *Salem Gazette*). He and Mary Ann evidently had had no other children after the death of William in 1827; and she would live here for many years, a widow who never married again, very much involved in the lives of her Arvidsen nieces and nephews, who lived across the street before moving in here. Her eldest nephew, born in 1833, was named William Lamb Arvidsen.

Also in the 1830s, Joseph Neal and family moved out. They settled nearby on Hathorne Street. This left Mrs. Lamb and the Jonathan Neals the sole occupants of the house by 1836. By 1840, the Arvidsen family had moved in here at 12 Broad Street, in the easterly part of the house, along with Mrs. Mary Ann Lamb. Sadly, Mary E. Arvidsen, the eldest child and only girl, died in 1841 of scarlet fever, aged twelve. Peter N. Arvidsen remained a mariner until about 1845, when he would retire from the sea and become a rigger.

Simon Lamb (d. 1811) m. 1793 Elizabeth Mugford (1771-1849). Issue including:

1. William Cook Lamb (1800-1832), m. 30 Aug. 1825 Mary Ann Brown; died at Calcutta 1832. Known issue: William, born and died August 1827.

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

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

In January, 1850, Peter Arvidsen died in his 51st year. He left his wife, Hannah M. (Lamb) Arvidsen and four sons. The Jonathan Neals continued to live here alongside the Arvidsens and Jonathan's cousin, Mrs. Lamb. The 1850 census-taker found that the house was being used as a four-family, with units occupied by: Mary Ann Lamb, 50, and Charles Arvidsen, 13; Hannah Arvidsen, 45, and sons William, 17, a blacksmith, George, 16, a clerk, and John Henry, three; Ruth Williams, 73; and Jonathan Neal, 62, mason, sons Robert, 22, son Henry, 13, and daughter Jane, 24 (ward 3, house 502). Charles Arvidsen, aged seventeen, went to sea in December, 1854, sailing as a crewman on the bark *Emily Wildes*, Capt. John Lamberth (see PEM, George Arvedson papers). By 1855, Ruth Williams died or moved away, Charles Arvidsen, when ashore, moved back in with his mother and brothers, George Arvidsen opened a shoe store, and Robert Neal died (see 1855 census, ward 3, house 486). George Arvedson (as the name was subsequently

George Arvedson executor. Thus the "Mary Neal" part of the house went to the Arvedsons, who already resided there.

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. From this house, William L. Arvedson, the blacksmith, enlisted in the army. He was made a sergeant, and mustered on 28 Oct 1861 into the 24th Regiment, Mass. Volunteer Infantry (the "New England Guards"), Company E, under Capt. Charles H. Hooper. His unit was sent to North Carolina by ship. By early march the unit was part of a mass-movement toward Newbern, NC. On March 13th, 1862, a rainy day, the army was on the march, and Sgt. Arvedson's Company E, under Captain Hooper, was sent forward as an advanced guard, with one of the regiment's leaders, Lt. Col. Osborn. They crossed some railroad tracks, and came to earthworks that had been abandoned by the Rebels just hours before. The day passed without incident, and the men tried to sleep in the woods as the rain came down. Next morning, at dawn and in the fog, the men were roused to proceed against Gen. L. O. Branch's Confederate army, 8,000 men dug in behind earthworks a few hundred yards away. Again, Company E was sent forward; and the men were able to identify the location of the Rebel batteries. Then the battle commenced. The Rebels fired too high to do much damage at first; and the Yanks, in the woods, stayed low. After general action, including fire from Union gunboats on the river, the men of the 24th were ordered to charge toward the Rebel breastworks. The center of the Confederates' line was smashed, but they fought bravely. During the charge on the Rebel fort, William Arvedson was shot down, as was his Lieutenant Sargent, with seventy of their fellows in the regiment. The rest kept going, and drove the Confederates from their lines, and sent them into a full retreat. Among the men of the 24th, ten had been killed. Sgt. Arvedson, shot in the thigh, was among the sixty wounded, and was taken into the field hospital, and finally was mustered out in October, 1862, due to his wounds (MSSMCW II:800). Presumably, he reached Salem in November, in time for Thanksgiving.

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. By that time, this house was a two-family. The Jonathan Neals had temporarily moved out, and their rooms were taken by a widow, Mary A. Bredeen (evidently the widow of Henry Bredeen, a tobacconist), 33, and her children Alice 12, Martha 9, Lizzie 7, Samuel 4, and Nellie, one. The other unit was occupied by Hannah Arvedson, sixty, and her sons William, 32, now the city liquor agent, Charles, 26, a trader, and Henry, 17, a clerk (see 1865 census, w3, house 72-73). William soon married (on June 22, 1865, to Sarah Allen), and in 1866 he resided at 12 Prescott Street. The Jonathan Neal family soon moved back into this house. In 1866, Joseph Neal, the mason of Hathorne Street, who owned the westerly half of the house, died. In May, 1869, his widow and heirs sold his share of the homestead to Mrs. Sarah Ann (Neal) Ober, wife of Andrew Ober, Salem carpenter for \$1300 (ED 849:57). The Obers rented out the westerly rooms,

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 that year, the house at 12 Broad Street was used as a four-family. One unit was occupied by Esther (Neal) Lewis, 52, nurse, her son Linwood, 31, unemployed, her daughter Frances, 29, and Frances' husband Avery J. Foster, 26, a carpenter, and their infant daughter Ellen (Nellie) Foster. Another unit was the residence of Jane Neal, 57, and Henry Neal, 50, a laborer. Mrs. Hannah (Lamb) Arvedson, 73, lived with her son Charles, 38, a house painter, and a servant, Martha Ireland, 36. In the fourth unit were Harriet M. Prime, 46, and sister Lydia J. Smith, 58, a nurse (see 1880 census, ward 3).

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.

On 21 October 1886 Mrs. Hannah M. (Lamb) Arvedson died here of old age, in her 83rd year. She left her sons and some grandchildren. In 1892, Mrs. Ober having died, the westerly part of the house was sold by the Ober-Lewis heirs to William D. Gardner (ED 1346:318). At that time, the easterly part of the house was occupied by Miss Jane Neal (ibid), whose brother-in-law, Mr. Ober, in his 1885 will had made her a gift of the \$500 she had borrowed from him over the years. Jane Neal evidently died in the 1890s, the last of the people by the name of Neal to live here.

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.

The westerly half of the house was owned by William D. Gardner as of 1892; and in 1918-1919 he purchased part of the easterly half of the house from some of the Arvedson heirs (ED 2390:162, 2395:485, 2410:110). This gave him ownership of all of the westerly half and some of the easterly half. Mr. Gardner died by November, 1923, having devised his property to his daughter Mrs. Mary E. Very-Allen. In Nov. 1923 Mrs. Mary E. (Gardner) Very-Allen conveyed the easterly share to Albert B Savory, 2576:510), and in June 1924 Mr. Savory conveyed the same to Thomas O. Fay, 2602:422. In 1925, having purchased the last Arvedson right to the place, Mr. Thomas Fay sold the house to Robert and Pauline Seamans of Salem. Mr. & Mrs. Seamans thus became the owners of the homestead, united under a single ownership for the first time in more than 125 years.

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. The Seamanses sold in 1944 to the Spragues, the owners until 1968. 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, yeomen, mariners, masons, and mill-operatives are all honored as a large part of what makes Salem different from any other place.

—19 Dec. 2004, Robert A. Booth for Historic Salem Inc.