## 30 Northey Street, Salem

According to available evidence, this house was built for Nathaniel Appleton, Jr., cabinet-maker, c.1809.

Nathaniel Appleton Jr. (1782-1859) was one of Salem's leading cabinet-makers (furniture-makers) at a time when Salem was famous for the quality of its furniture. On 22 September 1809, for \$748.14 Abijah Northey, Salem merchant, sold to Nathaniel Appleton, Jr., cabinet maker, a piece of land on Northey Street "with all the buildings thereon" (ED 187:261). The "buildings" are not described further, and may have been a barn, shop, or shed. The lot was bounded westerly 50' on Northey Street, southerly 100' on land of Farrington and on Putnam, easterly 50' on Northey land, northerly 100' on Northey land. That same day, Mr. Appleton (and wife Susanna Foster Appleton) mortgaged the property for the full purchase price to Mr. Northey (ED 187:261-2).

There is little doubt that Mr. Appleton resided here by 1811, for in the valuation of that year, for ward two, he is taxed on "part house Northey Street and shop \$600," with stock of \$100 and income of \$100. The "part house" tax was doubtless because he rented out rooms of the house to another, who would have been taxed for that part. This is the first reference to Mr. Appleton's residing on Northey Street, but that's because the valuations of earlier years do not mention the streets on which people lived.

The 1812 valuation listing is the same as for 1811 but does not mention Northey Street. The 1809 valuation lists Mr. Appleton in ward two, taxed for "part house & shop" \$500, stock \$300, income \$200 (this is the year he purchased the property from Mr. Northey); in 1810 his listing was the same except he paid tax for 2 polls (adult males) and \$700 not \$500 was the realty tax.

Before that, Mr. Appleton was listed in 1806 in ward two and taxed \$400 for ½ shop and part house, with \$400 stock and \$300 income; in 1807 \$500 for the part house & shop, \$400 stock, \$200 income; in 1808 the same but \$200 stock and \$100 income—both ward two. All of this is inconclusive with regard to the construction date of this house, but it seems likely that he built the main house to its present appearance soon after the purchase in 1809, perhaps having removed the existing "buildings." A survey of the house (second and third floor rooms) and cellar leads to the conclusion that it was built all of a piece. The

underpinning is original, with large hewn beams and joists, and arched brick chimney foundations (a double arch on the east side). The main house has a granite foundation on fieldstone. The trim and features (frames, chimney-pieces, winder staircase, etc.) all date from the "Federal" period, consistent with a date of 1809, as is the general plan and form, being a three-story hip-roof house, five bays by two. A side two-story ell (currently being enlarged to three stories), judging from the foundation, was an early addition but had no chimney in it (the old ell structure was evidently razed recently after a fire damaged it).

Nathaniel Appleton Jr. was a native of Ipswich, where he was born in 1782, during the Revolutionary War, the middle child of the nine of Benjamin Appleton and Mary Tilton. As a boy of thirteen or so, he was apprenticed to learn the trade of a cabinet-maker, and may have been bound to a Salem master. William Appleton (1765-1822), a relative and a cabinet-maker, had left Ipswich and settled in Salem; and it may have been he to whom Nathaniel was apprenticed. It is also possible that his masters were Elijah & Jacob Sanderson, who, in partnership with Josiah Austin, were Salem's leading cabinet-makers in the 1780s and 1790s.

During these years, Salem rose to eminence in young America on the basis of international trade: from Salem, the merchants and mariners pushed their ships and cargoes into all parts of the known world, and 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 Salem's trade with Russia; and in 1784 and 1785 he dispatched trading vessels to Africa and China, respectively. Voyages to India soon followed, and to the Spice Islands and Pepper Islands (Sumatra, Java, Malaya, etc.). These new markets—and the coffee trade, which would be opened in 1798 with Mocha, Arabia—brought great riches to the merchants, and began to raise 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, post-French-Revolution, was at war with England and was impounding American shipping. 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 cargoes in French ports were susceptible to seizure. The quasi-war brought about a political split within the Salem population. Those who favored 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, who were eager to go to war with France. They were led locally by the Derby family. Those who favored peace with France (and who admired France for overthrowing the monarchy, even while deploring the excesses of the revolutionaries) were the Anti-Federalists, who later became aligned with Pres. Jefferson and his Democratic-Republican party; they were led locally by the Crowninshields. For the first few years of this rivalry, the Federalists prevailed; but after the death of Hasket "King" Derby in 1799 his family's power waned. In 1800, Adams negotiated peace with France and fired Pickering, his refractory 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 cargoes 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) was self-educated and made his living primarily as a wood-carver and carpenter, because architecture was not then a profession or highly valued as a service. He 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. It is likely that Samuel McIntire, in his role as carver, knew and perhaps worked with young Nathaniel Appleton, furniture-maker.

In 1803, when Nathaniel Appleton was 21 (just about the time he would have become a journeyman), his name was listed among ten Salem cabinetmakers, led by the Sandersons, who were shipping 50 cases of mahogany furniture to Brazil-Nathaniel's shipment was valued at \$226.50 (EIHC 70:330).

He served out his apprenticeship, and on 7 July 1805 married Susannah Foster Stone, 17, of Beverly. They joined the Tabernacle Church, an orthodox congregational society. He went into the cabinet-making business by 1806 with a Mr. Ives as Appleton & Ives (see EIHC 70:333). He was known as Nathaniel Appleton Jr. because there was another Nathaniel Appleton in Salem, an older man who was a merchant. Mr. Appleton was an excellent craftsman, whose pieces are highly valued to day. In the September, 1933, issue of the magazine *Antiques* (pp.90-91), Fiske Kimball wrote about Appleton's work. One of his pieces, a table, illustrated an article about Salem furniture (EIHC), in which it is noted that Joseph True and Samuel F. McIntire carved some pieces for Mr. Appleton, and that he worked in the Sheraton style.

Nathaniel Appleton (1782-1859), b. 25 Dec. 1782, Ipswich, s/o Benjamin Appleton & Mary Tilton, died Salem 18 Jan. 1859. He m. 7 July 1805 Susannah Foster Stone of Beverly (1788-1883), died Feb. 1883, 95<sup>th</sup> year. Known issue:

- 1. Susan A., m. 1832 Isaiah Woodbury (d. 1844); had issue; d. 7 July 1903.
- 2. Sarah Winn, 1 March 1808, m. 1833 Henry Hale; had issue.
- 3. Ellen Maria, 30 May 1816, m. 1840 Francis Brown; had issue.

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. On Union Street, not far from Bentley's church, on the fourth of July, 1804, was born a boy who would grow up to eclipse all sons of Salem in the eyes of the world: Nathaniel Hawthorne, whose father would die of fever while on a voyage to the Caribbean in 1808. This kind of untimely death was all too typical of Salem's young seafarers, who fell prey to malaria and other diseases of the Caribbean and Pacific tropics.

In 1806 the Derbys extended their wharf far out into the harbor, tripling its previous length. This they did to create more space for warehouses and shipberths 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, father 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 cargoes, and local employment. Gray soon switched from the Federalist party, and was elected Lt. Governor under Gov. Elbridge Gerry, a native of Marblehead. Salem resumed its seafaring commerce for three years, but still the British preyed on American shipping; and in June, 1812, war was declared against Britain.

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

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

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

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). Nathaniel Appleton, Jr., was a founding member of this

organization, whose other cabinet-makers, in 1817, were Nehemiah Adams, Cotton Bennett, William Hook, Henry Hubon, William Haskell, Jr., John Jewett, John Mead, John P. McQuillin, Thomas Needham, Francis Pulsifer, Mark Pitman, Elliott Smith, Jeremiah Staniford, and Elijah Sanderson (EIHC 42). 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.

In 1820, Nathaniel Appleton, 37, had a household of ten persons here, his own family members and at least three young men working as apprentices in his cabinet-making business. In those days, apprentices, who were legally bound not to marry until they had served out their time, were usually taken into the family, domiciled in its home, and treated more or less as sons. The Appletons themselves had three little girls, Susan, Sarah, and Ellen. In addition to Nathaniel, there were five men and teenage boys, three of whom were listed as engaged in manufacturing (furniture). The other two may have been boarders. The identities of these five are unknown (see 1820 census, ward two p.48/68).

The Appleton cabinet-making business prospered, evidently. A few receipts have survived, showing that in 1828 Capt. John Nichols paid \$25 for a mahogany bureau, \$18 for a Grecian card table, \$16 for eight fancy chairs, and \$4.50 for six common chairs. Joseph G. Waters Esq. was another customer. In 1830 Mr. Appleton made the mahogany coffin with nameplate for \$27 for the heirs of Mr. Paul Upton (see PEM family manuscripts). These were typical of the work he did for many Salem customers.

In March, 1825, for \$160 Abijah Northey (Jr.), merchant, sold to Nathaniel Appleton, cabinet maker, a lot adjoining the homestead. It fronted 50' on Lemon Street and ran back 93' to the east side of the Appleton lot (ED 237:281). Next year, in July, Mr. Northey for \$27.50 sold to Mr. Appleton, cabinet maker, a strip of land fronting 5' on Northey Street and bounding northwesterly 100' on Cleveland land, northeasterly 5' on land of Sawyer, and 100' on Appleton land (ED 242:63). With these additions, Mr. Appleton completed his homestead lot, and so it remained for the rest of his life, running all the way to Lemon Street. It should be noted that he seller, Abijah Northey Jr. (1774-1853), a merchant like his father, was also a talented marine artist and architect, and submitted an interesting design in the competition for Salem's new Custom House in 1818 (see pp. 48-9, *More Marine Paintings & Drawings in the Peabody Museum*, PCF Smith, editor).

Into the 1820s Salem's 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. Thus began a huge and lucrative trade in which Salem dominated; and its vessels thus gained access to all of the east African ports.

Despite these new trade routes, in general Salem's maritime foreign commerce fell off sharply in the late 1820s. Imports in Salem ships were supplanted by the goods that were now being manufactured 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; he killed himself in jail). He had been hired by his friends, Capt. White's own relatives, Capt. Joseph Knapp and his brother Frank (they would be executed). After the investigation and trial uncovered much that was lurid about Salem, more of the respectable families quit the now-notorious town.

In 1832, Susan A. Appleton became the first of the three Appleton daughters to marry. Her husband was Capt. Isaiah Woodbury, a Salem shipmaster who hailed from Boxford. In 1834 for \$1100 Capt. Woodbury purchased a house and three acres in Boxford from Josiah Woodbury (ED 279:6). This Boxford property may have been used as a summer place and tenant farm, for Capt. Woodbury resided in Salem, here at this house (per 1834 valuation). Isaiah Woodbury and Susan Appleton had two sons, Nathaniel and Isaiah Jr., in the 1830s. Capt. Woodbury was probably often away from home, commanding vessels on overseas voyages.

In August, 1831, Mr. Appleton had a chance to buy a half-interest in a house on Hardy Street, and for \$600 he made the purchase (ED 262:43). The house was occupied in 1831 by Henry Archer Jr. and a Mr. Kehew (see 1831 valuation directory). At that time, Mr. Appleton served as agent for the property, on Derby Street, owned by the heirs of Rev. James Dimond, formerly parson of the East Church, consisting of a large lot of land and two houses at the corner of Derby and Hardy Streets. Mr. Appleton himself evidently occupied a building on this land as his cabinet shop (see 1831 valuation-directory).

As the 1830s advanced, Salem's remaining merchants had to take their equity out of wharves and warehouses and ships and put it into manufacturing and transportation, as the advent of railroads and canals diverted both capital and trade away from the coast. 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; and Salem slumped badly. Despite all, Salem was chartered as a city in 1836. City Hall was built 1837-8 and the city seal was adopted with an already-anachronistic Latin motto of "to the farthest port of the rich East"—a far cry from "Go West, young man!" The Panic of 1837, a brief, sharp, nationwide economic depression, caused even more Salem families to head west in search of fortune and a better future.

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 proved 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.

By 1840, new styles of furniture were in vogue, and Mr. Appleton, now in his late 50s, evidently had refocused his work away from the making of fine furniture, since most furniture was now produced using a partly-machined process rather than pure hand-craft. He chose to go into the business of making coffins, evidently on a large scale, at his shop and store at the northwest corner of Derby and Hardy Streets. At home, he and his wife Susan, in their unit, had just one girl, aged 10-15, probably a servant; and in the other unit were the Woodburys, Capt. Isaiah, Susan, and their two little sons, Isaiah Jr. and Nathaniel A., and a maidservant in her late tens. (1840 census, p.259). The house was then numbered 14.

In the 1840s, as more industrial methods and machines were introduced, new companies in new lines of business arose in Salem. The tanning and curing of leather was very important 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. 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 changed, as hundreds of Irish families, fleeing the Famine in Ireland, settled in Salem and gave the industrialists a big pool of cheap labor.

The Gothic symbol of Salem's new industrial economy was the large twintowered granite train station—the "stone depot"--smoking and growling with idling locomotives, standing on filled-in land at the foot of Washington Street, where before had been the merchants' wharves. In the face of all this change, some members of Salem's waning merchant class continued to pursue their sea-

borne businesses; but even the conditions of shipping changed, and Salem was left on the ebb tide. 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.

Unlike most of his fellow shipmasters, Capt. Isaiah Woodbury remained a seafarer, and it proved his undoing: he died at sea in 1844, leaving his widow and two sons. His father-in-law, Nathaniel Appleton, Esq., was appointed administrator of the estate. The inventory, taken 3 August 1845, listed the house and land in Boxford (\$850) and furnishings of his rooms in the Northey Street house, which were front room or parlor, front-room closet, keeping room, keeping-room closet, bedroom, kitchen, chamber. He may have sailed out of Boston, for his chronometer (\$100) was in Boston; and he had \$6222.75 in cash. Presumably the estate's assets outweighed the debts, and his widow and young sons were able to live comfortably. They continued to reside here in the family home at #14 Northey Street. In 1850, per the census, the house was occupied by the Appletons (including Mrs. Appleton's mother, Mrs. Rachel Stone, 85) and the Woodburys.

Salem's industrial expansion affected even Northey Street as, in 1850, a gas works was built on the bluff above the railroad tracks. Salem's growth continued through the 1850s, as business and industries boomed, the population swelled, new churches (e.g. Immaculate Conception, 1857) were started, new working-class neighborhoods were developed (especially in North Salem, off Boston Street, South Salem, 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 was built, and many neat homes, boarding-houses, and stores went up 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, like glue-manufacturing, sprang up as well, most notably the J.M. Anderson glueworks on the Turnpike (Highland Avenue).

At this house, the 1850s appear to have been a fairly quiet time. Mr. Appleton, in his 70s, still ran his "coffin wareroom" at 80 Derby Street. The Dimond heirs, for whom he had served as Salem agent for their property, decided to sell off that property. In October, 1853, Mr. Appleton, for \$639 purchased the building at the corner of Derby and Hardy Street on a lot about 55' square (ED 484:295). This was evidently the same building that he had been using for years as his shop.

Mr. Appleton's daughter Mrs. Woodbury still resided in her unit of the house, as did his two grandsons, Isaiah and Nathaniel Woodbury, both of whom worked as clerks. Isaiah worked in 1856 at Phillips Wharf, at the foot of Webb Street, where there was a large coal-distribution business. By 1858 he and his brother Nathaniel were commuting to Boston for their work (see 1857 & 1859 directories).

Having re-established itself as an economic powerhouse, Salem took a strong interest in national politics. It was primarily Republican, and strongly antislavery, 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.

Nathaniel Appleton no doubt took an interest in these events, even as he considered retirement from his business. By the end of the year 1857 he was still in good health. On Dec. 12<sup>th</sup> he made his will, devising to his wife Susan all of his personal property outright, and the use of all of his real estate for the rest of her life. The homestead was to go, upon Mrs. Appleton's death, to two of their daughters, Mrs. Sarah Hale and Mrs. Susan Woodbury, while all three daughters were to have the half-interest in the Hardy Street house and the shop and land on Derby Street. Mrs. Woodbury was to have \$200 upon his death, his grandson Nathaniel Appleton Woodbury was to have \$100, as was the widow or daughter of his brother Benjamin at Newburyport. Mr. Appleton contracted cancer in 1858 and died of it on January 18, 1859, in his 77<sup>th</sup> year. His remains were interred in his tomb in Salem. Since Mrs. Appleton would survive for more than 20 years more, the heirs did not inherit any real estate until the 1880s.

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 Woodbury boys having moved out, the house was

occupied in separate units by Mrs. Susan F. Appleton, 72, and her daughter, Mrs. Susan Woodbury, 40 (1860 census, ward 2, house 1928).

The Civil War began in April, 1861. I have not found evidence of any wartime service by the Woodbury brothers (who had evidently moved to Boston), but Mrs. Appleton's grandsons Joseph S. and Henry A. Hale did serve. At the end of May, 1862, as news came of another major defeat, the Mayor, Stephen Webb, called a meeting of the citizens and invited all men to report to the Armories to enlist and save the Republic. Joseph Hale and many others did so, but the emergency soon passed, and Mr. Hale and most of the men returned to Salem. His brother, Henry A. Hale, was captain in the 19<sup>th</sup> regiment VMI, Bvt Lt Col and AAG Vols.

Capt. Arthur Forrester Devereux, commander of the Salem Light Infantry before the war, had drilled them to a point of perfection and took them through a three-month stint around Washington, DC. Upon return, he helped to raise the 19<sup>th</sup> regiment of Mass. Infantry, went out as Lt. Colonel and took with him 9-10 of his Salem officers (H.A. Hale included) and more than 100 Salemites, with men from nearby towns too. The 19<sup>th</sup> was initiated in battle at Ball's Bluff, then fought in the Peninsular battles, then at Fredericksburg (advance unit), then at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, the Wilderness, and Petersburg. This was the hardest fighting of the war. The 19<sup>th</sup> captured five of the enemy's colors. It fought its way to Appomatox, where one of its captains was killed by what was said to be the last shot of the war (see p. 204, Hurd's *History of Essex County*).

The war lasted four years, during which hundreds of Salem men served in the army and navy, and many were killed or died of disease or abusive treatment while imprisoned. Hundreds more suffered wounds, or broken health. The people of Salem contributed greatly to efforts to alleviate the suffering of the soldiers, sailors, and their families; and there was great celebration when the war finally ended in the spring of 1865.

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.

Within the Appleton family, it was felt, by 1869, that the coffin warehouse should be sold off; and for \$1325 it was conveyed to Michael Donnahoe (ED 788:125).

In 1870, when Salem received its last cargo from Zanzibar, a new Salem & New York freight steamboat line was in operation. In 1877, 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." (per Rev. George Bachelder in *History of Essex County*, II: 65)

Salem was now so densely built-up that a general conflagration was always a possibility, as in Boston, when, on Nov. 9, 1872, the financial and manufacturing district of the city burned up. Salem continued to prosper in the 1870s, carried forward by the leather-making business. In 1874 the city was visited by a tornado and shaken by a minor earthquake. In the following year, the large Pennsylvania Pier (site of the present coal-fired harborside electrical generating plant) was completed to begin receiving large shipments of coal. Beyond it, at Juniper Point, a new owner began subdividing the old Allen farmlands into a new development called Salem Willows and Juniper Point. In the U.S. centennial year, 1876, A.G. Bell of Salem announced that he had discovered a way to transmit voices over telegraph wires.

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

In 1880, as in the 1870s, this house was the residence of Mrs. Susan F. (Stone) Appleton, 92, and her daughter Mrs. Susan A. Woodbury; and they were attended by a servant, Ann Delahanty, 20, born in Ireland (1880 census, wd 2, house 154).

On February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1883, Mrs. Susan F. Appleton died in her 95<sup>th</sup> year. "Mrs. Appleton was one of the oldest members of the Tabernacle Church and her long and useful life has been marked by those Christian graces which have endeared her not only to her own immediate family but to all who knew her" (per Salem *Observer* 17 Feb. 1883). With her passing, the real estate went to the heirs as specified in Mr. Appleton's will. On 21 July 1883 Mrs. Susan Woodbury and the heirs of her deceased sister Mrs. Hale (Mary S., Henry A., Joseph S. Hale) for \$525 sold off the part of the homestead that was the lot that fronted 50' on Lemon Street (ED 1112:235). Shortly after, the Appleton heirs sold the half-interest in the Hardy Street house (ED 1117:225).

By 1885, Mrs. Woodbury was residing here in one unit, and, in another, were tenants Mrs. George H. Mair, a widow, and her son Arthur, who was studying dentistry with Dr. Porter at 237 Essex Street (see 1886 Directory). Like her mother, Mrs. Woodbury had a very long life, and would reside here through the 1890s and into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. By 1896, the house was numbered 30, and was owned jointly by Mrs. Woodbury and the Hales.

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 tenhour 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.

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 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 oncebroad North River was filled from both shores, and became a canal along Bridge Street above the North Bridge.

In 1900, the house, now #28, was the residence of Mrs. Woodbury, 88, who lived in her apartment with a nurse-companion, Catherine Cameron, 52, originally of Nova Scotia; and the other unit was the home of Albert huddell, 29, a janitor, his wife Mary, 45, and a boarder, Charles A. Rogers, 21, a horse-shoer (1900 census, ward 2, SD 115).

On 7 July 1903, Mrs. Susan (Appleton) Woodbury died, aged about 96 years. She was born in this house, and it was the only home she had ever known. By will, Mrs. Woodbury had devised the property to Arthur Woodbury of Utah, and three Woodbury women. On 28 May 1906 they joined their Hale relatives and sold the Northey Street homestead to Mary J. Cooney, the wife of Michael Cooney of Salem (ED 1826:545). Thus, after nearly a century of family ownership, the Appleton-Woodbury house passed into different ownership. The Cooneys had a large family of children, who, as they grew into adulthood, continued to reside here as boarders.

Salem's population burgeoned. The Canadians were followed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by large numbers of Polish and Ukrainian families, who settled primarily in the Derby Street neighborhood. By the eve of World War One, Salem was a bustling, polyglot city that supported large department stores and large factories of every description. People from Marblehead and other towns came to Salem to do their shopping; and its handsome government buildings, as befit the county

seat, were busy with conveyances of land, lawsuits, and probate proceedings. The city's politics were lively, and its economy was strong.

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

By the 1920s, Salem was once again a thriving city; and its tercentenary in 1926 was a time of great celebration. From that time forward, Salem boomed right through to the 1960s, but 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., 31 July 2003.

## Glossary

#1234 refers to probate case 1234, Essex County probate
ED 123:45 refers to book 123, page 45, Essex South Registry of Deeds
Salem Directory refers to the published Salem resident directories
Census refers to census records, taken house-by-house with occupants listed.
EIHC refers to Essex Institute Historical Collections

WHO HIL MEN by these Fred Vint I horjan Norther of Salan in the Countried Risex and Commonwealth of Musindansetts Merchant, in consideration of seven hundred and forty eight dollars and fourteen cents paid we by Namanie Appleton't of Sulem aforesaid labinet maker, the receipt whereof Ido hereby advisousedge do hereby give grant sell and convey unto the said Nathaniel Appleton I his hier and aloigns. forever, excertain lot of land situated on the Easterly side of growthey Street in said balen bound ed as follows to mit, beginning at the Southwely corner thereof much street at the Morthwesterly. corner of Dan Farrington's land, then running fasterly & ounding southerly on land of said. Farrington partly and partly on land of Den Butuam one undered feet to land of said Now trical, then Mortherly bounding Easterly on said Mortheys land fifty feet to other land of it Norther, then westerly bounding morbierly on his thesoid Northey land and hundred for to said Northey Street, then Southerly Counding Westerly on said Street fofty feet to the bounds first inentioned, with ill the buildings thereon and all the priviledges and appartenances thereto Sierettot commeteruple sittitue cuiment petring by the sold of both of bull of Nathaniel Appleton y his here and afrignes to his and there use and benefit forever, and I the Fraid Abiful Morthey formysolf and my heirs executors and administrators do hereby out to last ungila bun crish cil itim bear of notoligh Somattok time stilling tunnavox Execution hereof Sam Sampilly served infeed the premises that they are free of all incomships beinath have good right to see and convert the same to the said Nathanies ships I ton be and that a state of the same or seems the man But to the further of not defend the same to Theseria Nathe Appleton I his heirs and afrigor foreper against the Econfiel danin and demands of only pressons, and of Abiques wife of soid Abijak Northey in consideration of the certs paid one place whereof - I admouleage do hereby hirrender with him and his heirs and afrigui forever all him digidA sine and not forestate collite Will Will considered present sound of tilpir jun and thinger norther havetriands so me hands and seeit this the only second day of win have the transformed one browning of the market and mine signed sealed & desirered interesence of us Abigate Northey --- siece Daniel Sanders Nancy Clarke Migaic Northing .... since Essex ss. September 22. 1809. Them the above marred Abyah Northey personelly appear - per in the rest will be training in southant beportunition huse before me dunes chante first of Prace. Priex & Pres Saplander 12. 1809 recorded & examined by Amas Choate Reg.

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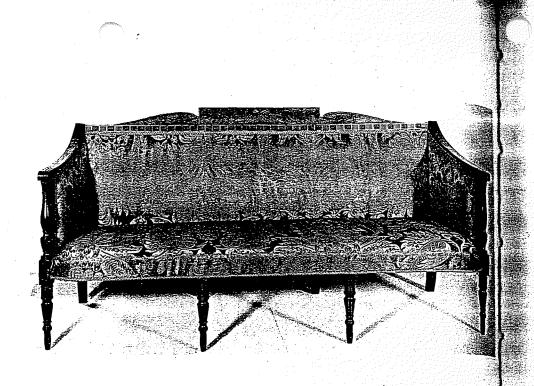
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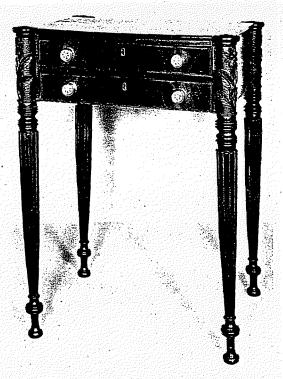
Sofa, attributed to Nehemiah Adams, Salem, c. 1810. Carving of top rail attributed to Samuel McIntire.

Materials: Mahogany—primary wood. Maple, white pine—

secondary woods.

Features: This is among the finest of the Sheraton style sofas with carving attributed to McIntire. As he favored grapes in his best Hepplewhite carvings, he used laurel leaves in his best Sheraton examples. The top rail features a basket of fruit and flowers in the center, with trailing laurel leaves, and flanked by garlands of roses, with an eight-pointed star punched background. Alternating triglyphs and metopes are below. On the arms are elongated leaves, with rosettes above the arm supports and conventional leaf carving possibly by another hand. Bulbous feet on front legs. H. 38¼″, W. 76½″, D. 27½″.

Comments: An attribution to Adams is justified by comparing this sofa to a documented example made by him for Lucy Hill Foster in 1810 and illustrated in Antiques, XXIV (Dec. 1933), 218, Fig. 1. The turnings of the legs are identical in both examples, and the finesse of the bulbous front feet is rarely seen on McIntire sofas. Elements of the carving relate both to the 1796 chest-on-chest made by William Lemon and carved by McIntire at the Museum of Fine Arts (the only positively documented example of his furniture carving), and to his architectural work, especially a basket of fruit and flowers from an overdoor in the Nathan Read house, now at Essex Institute. Privately owned.



Table, attributed to Nathaniel Appleton, Salem, 1805-1815. Carving associated with Samuel Field McIntire.

Materials: Mahogany and mahogany veneers—primary woods. White pine and mahogany—secondary woods. Brasses old.

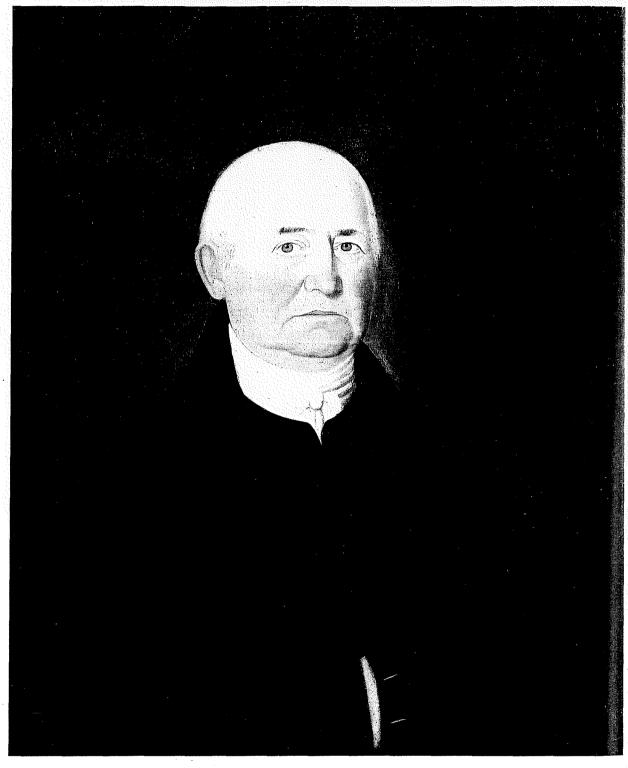
Features: The turret corners with a carved area below is a feature frequently found in Salem Sheraton furniture. The carved daisies are very similar to those on a table shown in Samuel McIntire: A Bicentennial Symposium (Salem, 1957), Fig. 43. The rather crude gadrooning on the bottom edge of the top can also be seen on a serving table and sideboard (Nos. 63, 65)

in this catalogue. H. 28\%", W. 21\4", D. 17\%".

Comments: Biographical data on the Salem cabinetmaker Nathaniel Appleton has been sketchy. Through genealogical material and records in the family, we now know he was the son of Benjamin and Mary Appleton of Ipswich and was born December 25, 1782. He worked in Salem at Derby and Hardy streets, and on July 7, 1805, he married Susanna Foster Stone of Beverly. They had three daughters born between 1807 and 1816. He was a charter member of the Salem Charitable Mechanic Association in 1817. Descendants now own a group of pieces that have always been ascribed to him, including this table, two card tables (one shown in the Kimball article listed below), a chest of drawers, a sofa, and a desk-and-bookcase with glass doors, all in the later Sheraton style. Bills at the Essex Institute show that both Samuel Field McIntire and Joseph True did carving for him. He died in Salem on January 18, 1859. Privately owned.

References: Fiske Kimball, "Nathaniel Appleton, Jr.," An-

tiques, XXIV (Sept. 1933), 90-91.



CATALOGUE NO. 35. Portrait of Abijah Northey, 1810. By John Brewster Jr. (1766–1854).

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