

MHC Reconnaissance Survey Town Report

MARBLEHEAD

Report Date: 1985

Reconnaissance Survey Town Reports, produced for MHC's Statewide Reconnaissance Survey between 1979 and 1987, introduce the historical development of each of the Commonwealth's municipalities. Each report begins with an historic overview, a description of topography, and political boundaries. For the purposes of the survey, the historic period has been subdivided into seven periods: Contact (1500–1620), Plantation (1620–1675), Colonial (1675–1775), Federal (1775–1830), Early Industrial (1830–1870), Late Industrial (1870–1915), and Early Modern (1915–1940/55). Each report concludes with survey observations that evaluate the town's existing historic properties inventory and highlight significant historic buildings, settlement patterns, and present threats to these resources. A bibliography lists key secondary resources.

Town reports are designed for use together with a series of town maps that demarcate settlement patterns, transportation corridors and industrial sites for each historic period. These maps are in the form of color-coded, polyester overlays to the USGS topographic base map for each town on file and available for consultation at MHC. For further information on the organization and preparation of town reports, readers should contact MHC.

Users should keep in mind that these reports are now two decades or more old. The information they contain, including assessments of existing knowledge, planning recommendations, understanding of local development, and bibliographic references all date to the time they were written. In some cases, information on certain topics was not completed. No attempt has been made to update this information.

Electronic text was not available for digital capture, and as a result most of the reports have been scanned as PDF files. While all have been processed with optical character recognition, there will inevitably be some character recognition errors.

The activity that is the subject of the MHC Reconnaissance Survey Town Report has been financed in part with Federal funds from the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. However, the contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior. This program receives Federal financial assistance for identification and protection of historic properties. Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975, as amended, the U.S. Department of the Interior prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, disability or age in its federally assisted programs. If you believe you have been discriminated against in any program, activity or facility as described above, or if you desire further information please write to: Office of Equal Opportunity, National Park Service, 1849 C Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20240.



MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL COMMISSION

William Francis Galvin, Secretary of the Commonwealth

Chair, Massachusetts Historical Commission

220 Morrissey Blvd.

Boston, MA 02125

www.sec.state.ma.us/mhc

mhc@sec.state.ma.us / 617-727-8470

MHC RECONNAISSANCE SURVEY REPORT

Date: 1985

Community: Marblehead

I. TOPOGRAPHY

The town of Marblehead is located in the southern portion of Essex County, Massachusetts. Physiographically, the town lies within the New England Seaboard Lowland, a relatively smooth coastal strip of land with some hills usually below the 400 and 500-foot contours. In Marblehead, land surfaces are irregular, generally sloping from the interior of the peninsula to the coast. The Marblehead peninsula has historically been known as Great Neck. Land surfaces average 50 feet or less throughout most of the town. Some interior areas approach or exceed 70 feet.

Marblehead's bedrock deposits are chiefly characterized by igneous deposits of Salem gabbro-diorites (diorite and gabbro-diorites). Quincy granites are present in the Clifton area and immediately south of the town center. Deposits of Beverly syenite is present at the tip of the peninsula and Newburyport quartz diorites in the islands. The Mattapan volcanic complex characterizes deposits at the tip of Marblehead Neck. Dedham granodiorites are found in the central area of Marblehead neck before the causeway. Surficial geological deposits in the town derive from late Pleistocene glaciation. Glacially grooved or exposed bedrock is common. Both Marblehead and Salem Harbors show signs of sea level rise following the melting of the continental ice sheet.

Marblehead's soil associations also indicate the effects of Late Pleistocene glaciation. Most undisturbed soils in the town are characterized by the Chatfield-Hollis-Rock outcrop association. These soils are found throughout most of the peninsula and on the northern side of town east of Salem Harbor and Marblehead Neck. Soils in this association occur in deep or shallow and gently sloping to deep deposits. They are well or excessively drained loamy soils formed in glacial till. Areas of bedrock are also present. The Urban Land-Udorthents association represents the second soil group in Marblehead. These soils are found in the southern area of town south of Route 129 and around Marblehead Center. They occur where soils have been either excavated or deposited and where soils have been modified or obscured by urban development.

Major drainage in Marblehead is through surface and groundwater run-off into Salem Harbor, Marblehead Harbor and the Atlantic Ocean. Some riverine drainage is present through the Forest River at the head of Salem Harbor on the Salem/Marblehead town line. Two ponds were also historically present in Marblehead, Devereux's Pond and Reds Pond (Black Joe Pond). Several coastal features are present along the Marblehead coastline. Marblehead Harbor, formed between Marblehead Neck and the Marblehead peninsula is one of the better harbors along the northeastern coastline. Several islands are also present, including Cat Island, Tinkers Island, Brown Island, Ram Island and others.

At European contact, most of Salem and the islands were forested with little undergrowth except in swamps. Some grassy areas were also present. The original forest growth in Marblehead and in Essex County in general included a mixture of mostly oak and pine as well as chestnut, poplar, maple, birch and some other hardwoods and conifers. Second growth patterns characterize most of the town today represented by second growth oak and chestnut in uplands to scrub oak and pitch pine in excessively drained and sandy areas. Some marsh vegetation is present along the coast.

II. POLITICAL BOUNDARIES

The plantation of Marblehead was set off from 17th-century Salem in 1635. Salem granted the growing community the right to incorporate as an independent town in 1649. Its boundaries have remained essentially unchanged since that time.

III. HISTORIC OVERVIEW

IV. CONTACT PERIOD (1500-1620)

A. Transportation Routes

Native American transportation routes in the Marblehead area likely emphasized water travel along the coast and between islands in the vicinity of Salem Harbor, Marblehead Harbor, and the northern fringe of Massachusetts Bay. The Forest River provided an additional transportation corridor for water travel. Conjectured trails were also probably present along the coast and along rivers and streams leading to coastal areas. Inland trails also probably existed linking the Marblehead peninsula with sites on major wetlands in the Saugus, Lynn, and Peabody areas.

B. Population

Marblehead was inhabited by members of the Pawtucket group (often called Penacook) who inhabited the coast from the north side of Massachusetts Bay in the Saugus/Salem area to York Village, Maine. Locally, this group is commonly referred to as the Naumkeags who inhabited the coast from the north side of Massachusetts Bay in the Saugus/Salem area to York Village, Maine. The Naumkeags may have been a subtribe of the Massachusetts but seemed to have been under the leadership of the Penacooks. Most seventeenth-century colonists considered the Pawtucket and Massachusetts Indians closely related but separate entities. Both Swanton (1952) and Speck (1928) include Pawtucket Indians in the Salem/Marblehead area among the Massachusetts. Gookin (1792) lists ca. 3,000 men belonging to the Pawtucket group prior to the 1617-19 epidemics, while Mooney (1928:4) lists 2,000 men belonging to the Penacook group (probably Pawtucket), as many as 12,000 natives, probably exaggerated. During the same period, both Gookin and Mooney list ca. 3,000 men belonging to the Massachusetts which probably included some Pawtuckets. The Native American population in the Marblehead area may have numbered in the vicinity

of 100 individuals during much of this period. Following the epidemics few if any natives remained in the Marblehead area.

C. Settlement Pattern

Numerous Woodland and a few Contact period sites are known for the Marblehead area. In general these site locations corroborate areas where regional settlement models, environmental variables and latter 17th-century documentary sources indicate sites of this period should be present. For example, known Woodland and Contact period sites are present along the Marblehead coastline particularly in the area of Marblehead and Salem Harbors. Probably Contact period sites were identified in these areas as early as 1862, when a child's burial containing glass beads was excavated in the Devereux Beach area. In 1874 excavations at Bessom's Pasture near Salem Harbor also produced Contact period remains. A burial was excavated in this area with the remains of five skeletons in association with glass beads, brass beads, tubes and a brass bell. The reported remains of wigwams suggesting the presence of a village were also reported. Small pox pasture and fields off Atlantic Avenue were also reported to contain the remains of native wigwams. An Indian stockade was reported in the vicinity of the Lower Division Pasture. Most Contact period remains in Marblehead are burials or possible structural remains which may have served as habitation type sites. However, village sites or other special purpose type sites such as fishing and quarry sites were also probably present. These sites may have been located on the coast or along the periphery of interior wetlands such as ponds, swamps and streams.

D. Subsistence Pattern

Native Americans in the Marblehead area subsisted on a variety of seasonally determined activities, including hunting, fishing, the collecting of wild plants and shellfish, and horticulture. Hunting was major activity although fishing and the exploitation of other marine resources may have been more important. Land hunting focused on larger mammals such as deer and smaller furbearers. Sea mammals such as seals and drift whales may have also been hunted in the harbors, Massachusetts Bay and the Atlantic Ocean. Upland game birds and ducks were available in and around freshwater wetlands, riverine areas and along the coast. Interior ponds, streams and rivers afforded a variety of freshwater fish. Larger rivers or streams such as the Forest River may have contained seasonal runs of smelt, alewives, shad, sea-run trout and possibly salmon. A variety of marine species of fish would have been available in Marblehead Harbor, Salem Harbor, Massachusetts Bay and the Atlantic Ocean. Several species of terrestrial as well as fresh and saltwater plants in the Marblehead area provided a valuable food resource. Marblehead Harbor, Salem Harbors and other coastal areas presently contain several species of shellfish which may have been available during the Contact period and shell midden sites verify this expectation. Domesticated plants such as corn, beans, pumpkins, squash and tobacco were important. The location of native fields are currently unknown, however, they were likely located along the shores of Marblehead Harbor, Salem Harbor, the Forest River or other coastal areas.

V. PLANTATION PERIOD

A. Transportation Routes

Indian trails likely continued in use in the Marblehead area throughout most of the Plantation Period. Water travel was also important particularly across Marblehead Harbor to the Neck and Across Salem Harbor to Salem Town. Canoes and shallops probably characterized early water travel. In 1637 a ferry was established between Salem and Marblehead. The Marblehead end of the ferry was located near the end of Ferry Road, which was also established about this time. This ferry was operated as demand required and was the only form of public transportation between the two towns until after 1660. As Marblehead was settled in 1628-29 a horsepath or cartway probably existed between the settled area of Marblehead Harbor and Salem Town. This route may have existed along a previous Indian trail and was probably not upgraded considerably from that condition. This trail or cartway may have existed in the general vicinity of Lafayette Street, Tedesco Street, and Humprey Street. A bridge was probably present over the Forest River in the vicinity of Lafayette Street as early as 1640. This bridge provided a more direct route between Salem and Marblehead after that date. The general course of Lafayette Street became the Salem Road in 1666 when the two towns agreed to have a highway between their bounds. This road was not completed until ca. 1674 when the Lynn Road was also laid out. The Forest River bridge was rebuilt in 1663 and repaired again in 1673. By 1675 and probably earlier a landing place existed east of the the bridge on the north side of the river.

In 1662 the beach at the foot of State Street was made a public landing. In 1669 the road to Great Neck was laid out as the Neck Road. As settlement on the north side of Marblehead Harbor grew numerous, local roads also developed within the house lots in the harbor area.

B. Population

Marblehead was probably first settled by Europeans in 1628, shortly after Salem was settled. Few settlers lived in the town at this time. Marblehead's population grew gradually. Marblehead was incorporated in 1649 containing about 44 families, possibly 220 individuals. Marblehead always had a high ratio of the number of families per house. In 1660, Arrington (1922:100) lists only 16 houses in the township, probably underestimated by 1674, 114 houses are listed in the township possibly representing three families per house and 1710 individuals.

Some debate exists regarding the origin of Marblehead's first settlers. However, it appears many were fishermen from Lincolnshire, England and the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey in the English Channel. Other early settlers came from Salem and were probably from the West Country of England.

Marblehead's early residents were basically Congregationalists through they were said to be a not very religious people and negligent of many of the laws of the colony. A minister was apparently present by ca. 1638, though Marblehead communicants were part of the church of Salem throughout this period.

C. Settlement Pattern

Marblehead was settled by Europeans jointly with the Salem settlement in 1628. The first settlement occurred in the northeast near the headland known as Peach's Point. Most settlement centered on the north shore of Marblehead (also Marvil Marble) Harbor where a centralized village quickly developed. Houselots were usually 1/2 acre in size. Several large grants of 300 to 500 acres were divided prior to 1640. However, most grants were smaller, from 2 or 3 to 20 acres in size along both the Salem and Marblehead Harbor shores. Land was granted in Marblehead on the basis of the amount of money an individual contributed to the town's common stock. Only fishermen were granted special rights were here they received houselots and up to 2 acres of land per family regardless of whether they contributed to the common stock or not. By May 6, 1635 the legislature ordered that there should be a plantation at Marblehead. In 1649, Marblehead with the agreement of Salem was allowed to become a separate town. Marblehead's first meetinghouse and burial yard were built in ca. 1638 on Burying Hill. This structure was later moved to Franklin Street.

D. Economic Base

As Colonial settlers established themselves in the Marblehead area, hunting and gathering wild foods were important to their subsistence. However, fishing was the main component of economic growth in Marblehead from the town's first settlement. Fishermen settled in the town, then known as Marble Harbor, before 1630. At first fishing was pursued in small open boats probably privately owned by individual fishermen. These boats rarely extended beyond the immediate coastal water. By 1631 larger fishing ventures were established such as that by Issac Allerton, a prominent man from Plymouth Colony who established a fishing station including eight boats, flakes and stages. This attempt was abandoned in ca. 1635. In 1635 the General Court ordered a Plantation at Marblehead, after which the town of Salem granted several rights to fishermen to encourage their settlement in the new village. These rights included houselots in the town and up to 2 acres per family for flakes, stages and garden lots. Marblehead's fishing economy was further encouraged in 1639 when the coast ordered all vessels could fish free of taxation. As larger size vessels were used in fishing, coastwise commerce also became important. General merchandise, first farm products and lumber were probably carried locally. A West Indies trade also develop carrying fish southward and returning with cargoes of salt, molasses, slaves, and later, lumber. Shipbuilding was also important. Local small fishing vessels were probably built by ca. 1630. By 1636 larger vessels such as the "Desire" of 120 tons were also built.

Farming and husbandry were also important to Marblehead's early settlers. In general, farms were small, usually 2 or 3 acres to 20 acres, though some large estates also developed. Indian corn, wheat and barley were the most important food crops grown as well as rye when possible. Fruit and vegetables were grown but grains were the most important food produce. Limited amounts of salt marsh hay were also exploited. Husbandry was also an important activity in Marblehead. Cattle, horses, sheep and swine were the most

important farm animals. Much of the early plantation was set aside as common land for the grazing of livestock where colonists could graze cattle under the supervision of herdsmen hired by the settlers in common. Oxen and fowl were also present.

VI. COLONIAL PERIOD (1675-1775)

A. Transportation Routes

Native trails had likely been upgraded to horsepaths or cartways by this time. Water travel was still important although as roads were improved, local travel on land was increasingly more popular. Main transportation out of the town continued to include the ferry to Salem although the roads to Salem, Lynn and Swampscott were more traveled. As settlement grew and more houselots were laid out, additional local roads, at first unnamed, were developed in the town area bordering the harbor and in the Neck. In 1762 Marblehead's streets were named, the names often reflecting nearby cultural or natural features. These routes included: New Meetinghouse Lane, Wharf Lane, Pond Lane, Frog Lane and Ferry Lane. Harbor facilities such as wharves and warehouses were developing along the north shore of the harbor, particularly in the vicinity of Neck's Cove.

B. Population

Marblehead may have had a population of around 1700 individuals at the start of the Colonial period. By the mid 17th century this figure had risen considerably. In 1747, 450 houses are reported in Marblehead, possibly representing a total population of 3,000 to 4,000 individuals. At the time the first census was taken in 1765, Marblehead's population contained 4,954 individuals or 11.38% of the Essex County total. From 1765 to 1775 the town's population declined by 11.47% to contain 4386 individuals, representing 8.85% of the Essex County total. Marblehead's population decline was probably associated with the effects of the Revolutionary War on fishing and other maritime interests. In 1765 "negroes" represented the town's only minority, amounting to 2.02% of the town's total population. Congregationalists still characterized most religious worship in this town. Until 1684 Marblehead communicants remained part of the church in Salem. The Second Congregational Church of Marblehead was organized in 1716. An Episcopal congregation was also gathered early in the 18th century and a church built by 1714. In 1765, 935 families lived in 519 houses for a ratio of 1.8 families per house in Marblehead.

C. Settlement Pattern

Land patterns that developed in Marblehead during the Plantation period continued throughout most of the Colonial period. Settlement had occurred throughout most of the town although the village area on the northern shore of Marblehead Harbor was the only concentrated area. By 1724 Marblehead was a prosperous and thriving community. Most of the Neck area was settled during this period. Indian land claims were settled in 1684 by payment to the heirs of Sagamore George.

In 1716 the Second Congregational Church of Marblehead was organized and a new meetinghouse built.

This old meetinghouse continued to be the center of civic affairs until a town houses was built in 1727 on Washington Street near the head of State Street. The town's first schools opened in 1675. In 1747 a school was opened for poor children. St. Michaels Episcopal Church was erected in 1714 on Summer Street, near the corner of Washington Street. Burial yards were established about ca. 1714 near St. Michael's church and in the rear of the Unitarian Church. During the mid 17th century, burying grounds were also established at the Fredrick burying ground on Harris Street, and the New Burying ground also known as the Green Street Yard.

D. Economic Base

Fishing continued to grow and characterize the main component in Marblehead's economy during the Colonial Period. Larger vessels such as ketches and by the early 17th-century schooners characterized most of the town's fleet. By 1732 Marblehead had about 120 schooners of about 50 tons each in the fishery employing around 1000 townsmen. Most vessels now sailed to the Banks rather than local waters. Marblehead became regionally important as a fishing port about 1720 and maintained that status through the Revolution. The coastwise and foreign trade also continued to grow in Marblehead. By 1766 between 30 and 40 ships, brigs, and top-sail schooners were reported in Marblehead's foreign trade. Shipbuilding also grew in the town though it never approached the importance of fishing and commerce. Agriculture and husbandry were still present though they never reached the economic importance of maritime related trades.

E. Architecture

Residential: Marblehead's colonial period resources are certainly among the most important in the Commonwealth. Their significance does not derive solely from their number, though the survival rate is exceptional. Within the National Register district along, over 250 houses are said to date between the late 17th century and 1775. Within this number, additional significance is the result of the formal variety of houses, illustrative of the range of size and configuration often overlooked in considerations of colonial building. The town includes not only a large number of small and simple houses, but outstanding examples of highly ornamental and ambitious houses of the wealthy merchant class. Sited close to one another and to the street, their setting, too, is an unusual survival of a port's early settlement. The product of a commercialized maritime community, these resources provide an important counterpoint to the stereotypical farm house.

Three houses are firmly identified as first period survivals. A portion of the Ambrose Gale House, single cell and chimney bay, dates to 1663, a second ell to ca. 1695. The Norden House (ca. 1680-87) is an integral leanto house with single cell and chimney bay in the front pile. The Parker-Orne House (ca. 1711) was originally a single cell and chimney bay prior to additions at each lateral end. Other houses or portions of houses said to date to this period include 6-8 Mechanic, 11 Nicholson, 198 Washington, 11 Hooper, 23 and

24 Watson, 18 Stacy, 9 and 22 Merritt, 29-31 Circle, 18 Franklin, 10 and 39 Orne, Beacon, , Gingerbread Hill, 9 Harding, 5 Tucker, 27 Summer, 100 Elm, 1 Mugford, 11-13 Pearl, and 34 High Street.

Here as elsewhere in Massachusetts, the most common current form is the New England center-chimney house, a symmetrical gable block with five-bay, center-entry facade. But here variations from this model are many. Most common is the substitution of the gambrel for the gable roof, increasing headroom and thus living and storage space through vertical expansion of the model. Less commonly, but important because of its rarity during this period, some houses were constructed with full third floors. A second important variation from the model is the symmetrical gable block employing a three-bay, side entry facade, known colloquially as the halfhouse. Though houses with "reduced" widths are known to have been built throughout the colony, they survive in the largest number in dense ports where even among moderate sized homes expansion was up rather than out. These are known from 2 1/2-story gable roof and gambrel roof examples, as well as 3 1/2-story houses. Single story houses are unusually rare.

Ambitious Georgian houses also survive in the town. Certainly the best known is the NHL Jeramiah Lee House of 1768. The frame house rises three stories to a gable on hip roof topped by a cupola. Its seven bay facade includes a pedimented pavilion of three bays at the center entry and rustication in imitation of stone. Its interior panelling was modelled on an elaborate, if dated English patternbook.

(line missing from poor copy)

Hooper's gambrel roofed house (1728/45) and on his next. Other houses were more likely to restrict stylistic ornament to a pedimented entry.

Institutional: A meetinghouse was constructed ca. 1638, a hip-roofed square with shed addition. In 1669, it was remodelled, galleries added, and a 20 foot by 40-foot leanto with facade gable added (replacing shed?); a view of the meetinghouse as it is alleged to look in the 1720s shows a gable block with entry into the long wall, a spired

(line missing because of poor copy).

St. Michael's Church of 1714 survives with later alterations; originally it was 48 feet square with a double gable roof and west bell tower with two rows of windows, the upper ones roundheaded; in 1728, a hip roof was built over the gables and the body extended to the north; in 1832, the pulpit was rebuilt on the north, the box pews were removed, and lancet windows replaced the originals. With the formation of the second church, a meetinghouse was constructed in 1716; it was a 2 1/2-story, gable block with entry porch on the long wall and side tower rising to a spire. The Town House built in 1728 is a 2 1/2-story, gable front block raised on a basement, measuring 50 feet by 30 feet with 23 foot posts; it is ornamented by a block cornice and quoins, pedimented entry and a round window in the gable; these elements may postdate construction. The school of was replaced in 1747 by one funded by King Hooper. The brick powder house of 1755 is round with a dome

roof. In 1764, a small pox hospital was built- "beyond the almshouse" (unknown date). In 1767, three more schools were built followed shortly by two more.

VII. FEDERAL PERIOD (1775-1830)

A. Transportation Routes

Colonial period roads continued in use and were improved. Roads were tightly concentrated within the central village, only a skeletal network extending inland. Between the Revolutionary War and the 1830s, not a street or road was laid out within the town. Regular stage service had existed between Boston and Marblehead since 1768. It was not until 1794 that regular stages ran between Marblehead and Salem. In 1824, the town's public streets were officially named (earlier, nearly all were "lanes"). New Meetinghouse Lane became Mugford Street, Ferry became Green, Wharf Lane became King, then State Street.

In the nineteenth century, although the town wharf was the busiest in the harbor, all other wharves projected out from the shoreline between 1 and 89 Front Street. In 1790, the state granted moneys for the purpose of improving and maintaining the harbor (and repairs to the Isthmus) begun in 1728 and 1762.

B. Population

The town's rate of growth slowed, due in part to dislocation of wars and depression. The total grew from 4,386 in 1776 to 5,149 in 1830, or 17.3%. It remained one of the region's largest towns, however, sixth in size after Salem, Gloucester, Newburyport, Lynn, and Haverhill. The town included a number of Tories, was victim to press gangs, and its harbor was unprotected. Men left to serve in the militia and at sea, while others sought employment elsewhere when maritime activities became too dangerous. By 1789, the town included 459 widows and 869 orphans, nearly a third of the total population. New churches in the town included Methodist, organized in 1789, and Baptist, 1810. A Hopkinsian group met in the town before 1810. Attempts were made in the 1820s to re-charter St. Michaels as a Congregational Society. An Academy was organized in 1789, and 1798, a bequest funded two grammar schools. By 1799, there was a Masonic lodge and Marine Society, in 1816, the Female Benevolent Society was formed, and in 1824, the Columbian Society was formed. The town was partially Republican/Democratic.

C. Settlement Pattern

Until 1790, Marblehead's prosperity and era of building continued. Market Square (at Washington and State Streets), the town's civic and commercial hub since the erection of the town house in 1727, continued to attract both shops and elegant residences. By the century's end, a commercial corridor had formed on Washington Street extending south from Market Square to Bank Square. It was in line with mansions and stores, on the street's town house side, and with modest shops on the other. Reflecting the prosperity of the

late 18th century, a host of religious edifices were erected, including the meetinghouses of the Unitarians (1789), Methodists (1800), Baptists (1803), and Congregationalists (the Old North Church, 1824). Like the town's commercial activities, they too were oriented to the center of gravity at Market Square, occupying a triangle defined by Washington, Rockaway and Back (Elm) Streets.

Residential building was brisk between 1750 and 1790, the number of dwellings within the town nearly doubling within these decades. But between 1790 and 1810, and until the end of the period, construction was limited as Marblehead's economy took a downturn and its population growth slowed. As in the Colonial decades, Marblehead's "codfish aristocracy" occupied homes at Washington Square (the town common) and on Washington Street north and south or the Market Square vicinity. Because no additional streets were opened during the period, space for building was tight. The narrow, winding streets below Washington (toward Front Street and the harbor activities) at this time became residential streetscapes of amazing density, as Federal period dwellings filled the interstices between the already abundant Colonial residences.

D. Economic Base

Prior to the American Revolution Marblehead was one of several prosperous commercial ports in Essex County. However, the war put a halt to most oceanwise commerce, sending many port towns into an economic tailspin. In 1780, while still in the throes of war-induced depression, 477 (57%) of the 831 men living in Marblehead were unemployed or out of business. The war wreaked havoc on the commercial and fishing sectors especially. Whereas "at the beginning of the war there were 12,313 tons of shipping owned, employed, and manned by the citizens of Marblehead...at its close the entire amount owned...was but 1,509 tons," an 88% drop. (Roads: 1897, 152) By 1791 the town had returned, albeit briefly, to its former condition as a prosperous port. Merchants such as Col. William H. Lee, Thomas and Knott Herrick and John Hooper renewed commercial ties with ports in Europe and the West Indies. That year the census listed 29 active warehouses along the waterfront, as well as one ropewalk. Nonetheless, most of Marblehead's merchants moved their operation to larger ports such as Salem, Portland, and Boston. While fish was always an important export product for Marblehead merchants, it became the principal--if not sole--export by 1800. In fact, the fisheries became the mainstay of the early 19th century Marblehead economy, as an 1804 letter to the Massachusetts Legislature requesting an act of incorporation for a new bank indicates:

The means of a frequent credit...must be an important aid to their (Marblehead's) fishery, which now employs a thousand seamen and large capital. Though not restored to its former extent and prosperity, there foreign commerce to the place is materially connected with fishery, and principally engaged in exporting its produce...He returns in gold and silver received for this valuable export and will continually supply their bank and maintain its credit. (Roads: 1897, 273).

In 1820 Marblehead was still principally a fishing town. 1975 (78.9%) of the 1361 men employed in the town worked as fishermen of in transporting fish to domestic and foreign markets. Of the remainder, 80 men (almost 6%) worked in agriculture and 206 men (15%) worked in manufacturing.

In addition to producing ropes, barrels, sails, and other necessities of the fishing industry, many men engaged in manufacturing boots and shoes. For most of the period shoemakers (many of whom fished in the warmer months) made heavy boots and "custom shoes for ladies and gentlemen" (p. 327).

After 1825 a few small factories were established for the manufacture of young adult and children's shoes. The first such shoe factory was begun by Ebenezer Martin and was located on Darling Street.

E. Architecture

Residential: Construction apparently slowed during the period, and comparatively few survive. Survivals favor larger house types, including the familiar five-bay gable block of 2 1/2 stories and the more stylistically ambitious five bay, three story, hip block. This style shift may also have caused the fall from popularity of the gambrel roof. Halfhouses also appear to diminish in importance.

Institutional: In 1818, the First Parish built a chapel of unknown appearance. Their third church was built in 1823 and the standing stone church is a gable-front block with roundheaded windows, and a tower with two-staged octagonal belfry. A Hopkinsian group built a meetinghouse prior to 1810 that was taken over by the Baptists that year. Methodists built a chapel of unknown appearance in 1801. The Academy of 1789 was a 2 1/2-story hip block of seven bays with a three-bay pedimented pavilion around the center entry. An illustration of a 1798 grammar school shows a single-story, center-entry hip block. The 1809 Gun Artillery House is a single story brick hip block with two wide, segmental arched doors. Commercial: A hip block angled facade store on Washington Street is said to date to this period.

VIII. EARLY INDUSTRIAL PERIOD (1830-1870)

A. Transportation Routes

Stages then ran four times daily from the depot in Salem to Marblehead. In 1839, a branch railroad line reached from Salem to Marblehead and stage service was discontinued. The town's depot was located on Pleasant Street at Seawall.

At mid-century began the town's first real estate boom. Acres of pasture land were opened for development and twenty streets and courts, laid out. Bassett, the premier force in this expansion, opened Commercial, Central and Chestnut, and several cross streets in the vicinity. He also initiated development in the Reed's Hill locale, where he laid out four streets, and near the railroad depot. Other streets new to the period include Atlantic Avenue from Ocean Street south; Devereux and several side streets in the vicinity of the Devereux Station; Beach Street extending out onto Marblehead Neck and there

joining Broadway and Foster; and Pond, Beacon, Village and Abbot Streets reaching inland. In 1845, a breakwater plan across Little Harbor was denied. The Point O'Neck Lighthouse was built in 1835; It was fueled by whale oil.

B. Population

The town's rate of growth increased to 39.5%, as the number of inhabitants increased from 5,149 in 1830 to 7,703 in 1870. Only 10% of these were foreign born, including primarily Irish, followed by Canadians, and small numbers of English and Scots. New religious societies included the Universalists (1836), Adventists (1840s), Spiritualists (1850s), Third Congregational (1858), and Roman Catholic Star of the Sea (services pre-1859). Voluntary associations added include the Seamen's Charitable Society (1831), Rechabites and Odd Fellows (1844), Sons of Temperance (1856), Hibernian Friendly Society (1858), and Daughters of Rebekah and Sons of Pythias (1870). In 1837, the town added a high school to its North, Center, and South grammar schools. Fishing opportunities diminished, particularly after losses to the fleet in 1846. Shoemaking increased and townsmen participated in the 1860 strike.

C. Settlement Pattern

Between 1840 and 1860 arrived the railroad, economic prosperity, and renewed population growth to the town. The erection of the Grand National Bank (1831) at Bank Square further stimulated the commercialization of the Washington Street corridor as small shops began to occupy the open areas between the street's elite residences. In addition, commercial activities and many of the town's new manufactories began to cluster in the vicinity of Pleasant Street at Sewall, near the railroad depot. Rather than near the Washington Street civic corridor, the South Church was erected there in 1858. For the first time since the early years of the century, institutional building increased in pace. Added were the Universalist Church (1837), a high school in the Masonic building (1839), Lyceum Hall (1844), a monument on the "old burying hill" (1848), Bassett's Hall (1850s) a meetinghouse for the Catholics (1859). In 1837 virtually all of Marblehead's residents lived within the limits of an area 1 mile by 1/4 mile. This residential core spanned the waterfront from Waldron to Beacon Street, and extended inland as far as lower Pleasant and Elm Streets. The town had become an uninterrupted fire hazard, its limited streets literally jammed with dwellings. Then began an era of tremendous residential expansion. Hundreds of new buildings were erected. The center of gravity for this new building was not Market Square but the railroad terminus and depot at Pleasant and Seawall Streets. Elite residences were attracted to the spacious boulevard of Pleasant Street itself, between Spring and Washington. Small neighborhoods of modest working-class homes rapidly developed (Bassett the chief catalyst) to the north and west, immediately inland of the Colonial and Federalist core, and also at the southern waterfront, between Waldron and Chestnut Streets. Lookout Court (at Tucker, Mason, and Hooper) had by mid century deteriorated into a waterfront slum. In 1867 Marblehead began to acquire celebrity as a summer resort. Previously grazing land for cattle. Marblehead Neck became the mecca for hundreds of vacationers, mostly in tents and crude shanties. Shorefront property began to rise in value and pretentious homes were erected.

D. Economic Base

While fishing continued to be an important activity during the Early Industrial decade, Marblehead came to be increasingly dependent on manufacturing for employment. Whereas, at the end of the previous period manufacturing represented 15% of the male occupation, by 1865 manufacturing accounted for 69% of male employment. Of the remainder, 17% were fishermen, 12.5% (135 men) worked on farms, and 13 (1.2%) worked in the coasting trade.

Shoe production was the principal manufacturing industry throughout the period. In 1832 there were fourteen shoe factories with 273 employees (51% men) and the total value of the product was \$64,200. (Another 400 shoemakers who lived in Marblehead worked in Lynn shoe shops). By 1865, there were some twenty shoe factories with 1043 employees (64% men), a 282% increase in employment opportunities. Likewise, shoe product value increased dramatically, rising 1095% to \$767,218. This product value represented 90.7% of the total value of manufactured goods in 1865, a figure of \$845,163. As earlier in the period, the 1865 manufacturing product value reflected the problem of small quantities of other goods including cabinets, tinware, soap and gum, and fishing line.

The local fisheries not only declined relative to manufacturing but in actual terms as well. The number of vessels engaged in fishing declined from 59 (averaging 75 tons) in 1832 to 23 (averaging 78 tons) in 1865. Likewise, the number of fishermen fell from 412 to 184. Unlike in the Federal period when fish formed the crux of foreign trade; most of the fish caught in the Early Industrial period was marketed domestically. In 1832 only \$13,000 of the \$132,500 in fish sold was sent abroad; the remainder was shipped to New York City and Albany. The two vessels engaged in the coasting trade in 1865 most likely were carrying fish to New York City. At the end of the period there were 55 farms in Marblehead with 1083 acres of improved land and 135 employees. These figures probably represented slight increases from the beginning of the period.

E. Architecture

Residential: Housetypes built during the period correspond broadly to regional trends. Gable blocks of 2 1/2 stories and five bays remain a popular form, now with Greek Revival and less often, Italianate ornament. Gable blocks of 1 1/2 stories and five bays are built in multiples for the first time. Although the quintessential period house, the gable front, was built here, its relative numbers are small. The larger 2 1/2-story form is favored, and both Greek Revival and Italianate ornament is used. So, too, large forms were favored within the Second Empire Style, most rising to three stories. Industrial: Church building remained important, in part due to the need to replace burned buildings. The Baptists built a church in 1832 that burned in 1867; its replacement is an Italianate gable front with semi-projecting tower, pedimented vestibule and exhedra, bracketed cornice and belfry. The Methodist Church of 1833 is a gable front with square tower and pinnacles, lancet openings. The Universalists built a house of unknown appearance in 1836, altered in 1870, and burned in 1880. The Roman Catholic Star of the Sea built a church in 1859, of unknown appearance. The Black Street School (pre-

1850) is a frame 2 1/2-story, gable front with three-bay facade and center entry. The Old Gerry School (1860) was originally Greek Revival, a 1 1/2-story, gable block of three bays; it was remodelled in Colonial Revival style in 1910. The undated Odd Fellows Building is three stories in height with a bracketed cornice, coins, and labels at its openings.

Commercial: The National Grand Bank of 1831 is one of the town's most significant--a dressed granite gable block with recessed half round entry and facade gable. The small number of stores dated to this period take the familiar gable front form.

IX. LATE INDUSTRIAL PERIOD (1870-1915)

A. Transportation Routes

Existing roads continued in use and were improved. Several additional areas were laid out for building: nearly all the roads of Marblehead Neck owe their origins to the decade from 1872 to 1884; the coastal margins off Beacon Street (at Peach Point and between Naugus Head and Fluen Point) were opened for development; near the Clifton depot, Rockaway Street, Powell Avenue and Crowninshield Lane were opened.

In 1873, a branch of the Eastern Railroad (the Swampscott Branch) was opened from Marblehead to Lynn. Servicing the Pleasant Street Beach Bluff and Clifton depots, the line spurred the growth of the outlying resort villages. In 1884, the Lynn and Boston Street Railway Company extended its line (via Humphrey Street) to Marblehead, giving Lynn and Marblehead now direct railway connections. Soon there after, the Numkeag Street Railway Company extended its tracks from Salem through the town (via Pleasant) to Franklin Street, establishing regular horse-car connection with that city. By 1910, electric trolleys serviced the town. In 1895, the Point O'Neck light house was razed and a new light erected.

B. Population

Marblehead was one of only six Essex County towns to have a declining population during this period, dropping 1.2% from 7703 in 1870 to 7606 in 1915. The foreign-born population, unlike the total population, rose slightly, from 829 people in 1875 to 895 In 1915, while the percentage of the overall population increased from 10.8% to 11.8%. The Irish and French Canadians formed the two largest immigrant groups, followed by the English.

C. Settlement Pattern

Marblehead's rising celebrity as a summer resort, artistic colony, and increasingly as yachting center transformed the face of the town. An 1877 conflagration leveled the Eastern Railroad depot at Pleasant Street, fourteen shoe factories, 32 dwellings, and essentially the entries fabrics of School, Seawall and Spring Street; the area was quickly rebuilt. The downtown commercial corridor (Washington to Bank Square) , while spared by the flames, similarly saw improvements. Large business blocks were erected and storefronts added, ca. 1880. In 1888, a second fire hit the manufacturing

district and over 50 buildings were destroyed. Reflecting the prosperity of these years, the area was rebuilt before century's end, many of the structures now of stone.

A steady shifting of civic and commercial activities continued to occur. The town's new town house (Abbot Hall) was erected not at Market Square (state and Washington) but to the south at Washington Square. The Pleasant Street depot continued to attract residential construction to its vicinity. Commercial activities followed. Civic buildings erected on Pleasant Street during the period include the churches of the Universalists (), Baptists (), the Odd Fellows Hall, and a new academy building.

Residential construction proceeded at an unprecedented pace. With much of downtown Marblehead having already reached its maximum residential density by the early 19th century, builders found available space for building only in the northern downtown beyond Elm, and at the waterfront south of Waldron. With the opening of trolley lines during the period, it was to the southern coastal margin (Clifton Heights) and inland along Lafayette Street that expansion occurred. What began as Clifton Village in the area south of the railroad and west of Rockaway Avenue between 1870 and 1880 had increased so rapidly in population that by 1885, the "Farms District" (adjacent to Salem) had become virtually a township unto itself; with the residents of Marblehead Neck, a move was made for independent incorporation, but failed. The Neck had gained a post office as early as 1882, and at that time claimed approximately 150 houses. The vicinity of the Devereux Depot, at Pleasant and Atlantic Avenues, attracted the elite residential building of the period. At this time, the northern town as yet saw little development.

After 1915, space for building was at a premium and a plethora of streets were laid out to accommodate the needs of residential construction. Among these new areas opened were southernmost Marblehead Neck, vast sections of land between Old Salem Road and Atlantic Avenue (an area now encircled on three sides by Route 129), and on either side of the newly opened West Shore Drive, with development stretching from the central village to Salem Harbor. The town lies on the Swampscott Branch of the B & M Railroad. Commuting time by rail to Boston averages 35 minutes.

D. Economic Base

Manufacturing continued to be the mainstay of the Marblehead economy during this period. In 1875 1500 (58%) of the 2195 men employed in the town worked in the manufacturing sector, 386 (17%) in commerce, and 309 (14%) in agriculture and the fisheries (no doubt mostly in the latter of the two. By 1905 the total, male workforce had shrunk slightly to 1907 men. The manufacturing sector, while still accounting for 58% the workforce, had lost 26% of its employment opportunities, falling to 1108 men. Some of the loss was offset by growth in the wholesale and retail trade sector where the number of men employed grew from 386 in 1875 to 647 in 1905, or from 17% to 34% of the total male workforce.

Manufacturing sector experienced a decade of tremendous growth following the end of the Civil War. Between 1865 and 1875, the value of manufactured goods

rose 63% to \$1.37 million, primarily as a result of the growing local shoe industry. In 1875 35 of the 43 manufacturing establishments were shoe factories, and \$1.30 million of the \$1.37 million manufacturing product was derived from the sale of shoes.

The fortunes of the Marblehead economy depended considerably on the shoe factories (as well as other businesses), many workers lost their jobs. Though some shoe companies rebuilt in Marblehead, others closed permanently or relocated to shoe towns such as Lynn and Haverhill. Despite recovering somewhat from the disaster, by 1905 there were only 35 manufacturing firms in Marblehead and product value had fallen 20% to \$1.09 million.

E. Architecture

Residential: New construction remains moderate with a distinct emphasis on summer residences along the coast. Queen Anne designs were popular, particularly among builders of small and moderate sized homes. Gable front forms in several variations survive, including simple 1 1/2 and 2 1/2 story examples, and more complex cross gable types. Larger homes with more size and complex massing—adding dormers, projecting bays, and towers are also known. Shingle style houses were also constructed, emphasizing dominant gable or gambrel roofs, some times crossed. A small number of multifamily dwellings are known, including two family, triple decker, and apartment house forms. Also emerging in importance were the suburban house types .

Institutional: Church remodelling and rebuilding constituted a significant portion of building activity. Interior renovations were very popular ca. 1885-95, when frescoes and stained glass were commonly added, at First Congregational (1886), St. Michael's (1887), Second Congregational (1889), and Methodist (1894). The Universalists built a new meetinghouse in 1881, a frame Queen Anne design for a gable block with two square towers (steeple removed ca. 1930), and a three part central entry, and bracketed cornice. In 1910, Second Parish, Unitarian, built their third meetinghouse, a gambrel front block with a gabled entry porch and belfry; gambrel additions were added 1955-65.

The most important municipally funded building was Abbot Hall, designed by Lord and Fuller in 1876. The Queen Anne building is brick with stone trim, stained glass, and slate roof, and measures 130' by 72' with a 100' bell tower. The large hip block has projecting gabled bays at its front and back. New school construction was significant as well. The brick story grammar school (1880) is a Classical Revival hip block with center frontispiece pedimented with fanlight and shields. The brick Samuel Roads Jr. School (1904) is a T-plan hipped block with an entry at each end and a central frontispiece with three windows in Roman arches. The brick Eldridge Gerry School (1906) is a Colonial Revival H-plan, with each pavilion window, and a projecting entry porch between, and ornamented by coins.

(line is missing because of poor quality copy)

two stories from basement to flat roof marked by a parapet with a recessed entry and pilasters between bays. The Franklin St. Fire Station (1886) is an

eclectic design in frame, three stories under a mansard roof, stick and cut work in its dormers, and room for a single engine. The U.S. Post Office (1905) is a brick Georgian Revival design of a single story under a low roof behind a parapet with central entry in a three-bay pavilion and secondary entries in the outer two bays.

The Corinthian Yacht Club (1898) is a shingle style design by Arthur H. Bowditch, for a primary gabled block with gambrel wings and porches.

Commercial: In spite of large fires during the early years, many period commercial buildings survive. Common forms from earlier in the 19th century remain in use, including a two-story hipped roof grocery, and several gable fronts. An outstanding Italianate five-bay example of the latter is 90 Washington Street, for many years a hardware store. Multi-story flat roofed blocks with two or more retail units increase in number, of both two and three story heights. The Mugford Associates Building (1880) is an elaborate example, a gabled block with a pedimented frontispiece. The M.A. Pickett Building has a single store on its first floor and three Palladian windows above (ca. 1900). Small shops of a single story are also known.

Transportation: The Point O'Neck Lighthouse, a steel structure with an electrically-controlled light, is the only steady green light on the Atlantic coast.

X. EARLY MODERN PERIOD (1915-1940)

A. Transportation Routes

After 1915, space for building was at a premium and a plethora of streets were laid out to accommodate the needs of residential construction. Among these new areas opened were southernmost Marblehead Neck, vast sections of land between Old Salem Road and Atlantic Avenue (an area now encircled on three sides by Route 129) and on either side of the newly opened West Shore Drive. Development stretched from the central village to Salem Harbor. The town lies off the Swampscott Branch of the Boston & Maine Railroad. Commuting time by rail to Boston averages 35 minutes.

B. Population

After a brief decline at the period's opening (down nearly 4% between 1915 and 1920, Marblehead's growth was marked and without interruption. By period's end, the town logged an increase of 109%. Low among Essex towns, Marblehead claimed only 11.8% foreign-born among its population in 1915, this having fallen to 8.2% by 1940. Prominent nativities throughout the period, in order of significance, include the Canadians (mostly Nova Scotians) and Irish, with all other groups represented in far smaller numbers.

Marblehead became the prestigious mecca of an elite seasonal population. Late in the period a large influx of Jewish families moved into the area, resulting in the opening of a synagogue in 1959. Yachting became the symbol of status, and its boating clubs and events, the recreational hub for an increasingly aristocratic sector of Marblehead's population. In the 1952

residential election, 83.5% of the town's population voted Republican, 16.5%, Democratic.

C. Settlement Pattern

The historic downtown began to assume the trappings of a modern city. Atlantic Avenue was opened to Washington Street and quickly emerged as a modern commercial strip. Pleasant Avenue from Village to Spring similarly attracted new buildings, both commercial and civic. Its industrial base not having survived the war, Marblehead emerged as a small center of retail activities, a major tourist town, and the hub of an elite population whose activities center on yachting and the harbor.

With the 1920s and the town's increasing yachting activities came a concomitant increase in both the construction of pretentious mansions on the Neck and the growth of housing developments in the Clifton locale. Deteriorating sections of the eighteenth century town began to attract renovation, Lookout Court in the late 1920s being among the first. Although growth was marked throughout the 30s, with the imminent construction of Route 128 late in the period, the pace of population growth and new buildings further escalated. The Atlantic face of Marblehead Neck emerged as a corridor of mansions on spacious coastal estates. Humbler Early Modern dwellings filled the interstices of the Clifton Heights vicinity, and transformed the area between Lafayette and Atlantic Avenues into dense streetscapes of upper middle class residences. West Shore Drive was opened, and a vast section of the northern Marblehead coastline then opened for development. The littoral immediately north of the downtown attracted upper class residences, the terrain so broken that lots remained large, and the locale, elite.

D. Economic Base

By the close of the Early Modern Period wholesale and retail commerce had become the principal sector of the Marblehead economy. In 1954, 36% of the workforce (533 people) worked in this sector; 22% in the service sector, 19% in manufacturing; 17% in construction, and the remainder in unclassified occupations.

Most people with manufacturing occupations were employed in firms engaged in the production of boats, boat engines, and other maritime instruments. Only one shoe-manufacturing firm, MacDonald Bros., was active and they made men's slippers.

E. Architecture

Residential: New construction favored suburban house types. Most numerous were four squares and bungalows. Increasingly as the period progressed, colonial derivatives were chosen including simple gabled blocks and Dutch Colonials. Larger homes selected from a broader range of historic revivals include Federal, Tudor, Mission, and two "castles." Small cottages and single-story gable blocks were constructed as well.

Institutional: Built in 1927 as the Ship's Cabin, a hotel for yachtsmen, the Boston Yacht Club is an L-plan, three story, gabled block of 50 rooms.

XI. SURVEY OBSERVATIONS

Although its 18th-century core has been spared the threat of modern commercial intrusion, such is unfortunately not the case with the southern downtown. Atlantic Avenue from Chestnut to Washington has been overtaken by commercial and auto-oriented activities. Pleasant from Village to Spring streets has shared a similar fate. At State and Front streets has emerged a small area of businesses oriented to the tourist. Otherwise, commercial establishments within the historic district have been successfully confined to Washington Street.

Residential construction has proceeded rapidly in northern and western Marblehead. Cottages have been erected en masses along West Shore Drive and in smaller numbers on Beacon Street. Housing densities in the Lafayette and Humphrey Street areas continued to increase. Although the broken nature of the town's terrain offers some protection against overdevelopment, building continues at such a rapid pace that the natural and historic fabric may yet be threatened.

Marblehead's inventory reflects methodological problems encountered even in "complete" surveys. The densely settled area contains many old buildings that have undergone many changes. These changes provide a challenge to the surveyor who is directed to rely most heavily on exterior observation and maps in research. Complex and unusual buildings are dated and their owners listed, but the buildings themselves are neither described nor explained. Unfortunately, the preparation of a National Register nomination did little to remedy this even for the highly significant Old Town area. The district datasheet employs, albeit inconsistently, undefined house type and style terminology.

XII. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anonymous, 1876, *The Marblehead Centennial Almanac*.

Arlington, Benjamin F., 1922, *Municipal History of Essex County in Massachusetts*, Volumes I and II. Lewis Historical Publishing Company.

Felt, Joseph B., 1849 *Annals of Salem*, Boston: James Munroe and Company, Second Edition. 2 volumes.

Fuller, Donald C. and Everette L. Francis, 1984, *Soil Survey of Essex County, Massachusetts, Southern Part*, USDA Soil Conservation Service

Gookin, Daniel, 1970, *Historical Collections of the Indians of New England*. (1792). Jeffrey H. Fiske, ed. Towland.

Heyrman, Christine Leigh, 1984, *Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts 1690-1750*. W.W. Norton and Company, New York.

Hurd, D. Hamilton, 1888, *History of Essex County, Massachusetts*. Volumes 1 and 2. J . W . Lewis and Company, Philadelphia.

Lord, Priscilla Sawyer and Virginia Clegg Gamage, 1972, *Marblehead: The Spirit of '76 Lives Here*. Chilton Book Company, New York.

Mooney , James, 1928, *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico*. John R. Swanton, ed. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 80(7). Washington.

Morison, Samuel Eliot, 1961, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts 1783-1860*. Northeastern University Press, Boston.

Perley, Sidney, 1924, *The History of Salem, Massachusetts*. Salem, Massachusetts. 3 volumes.

Randall, Peter E., 1983, *Salem and Marblehead*. Down East Books. Camden, Maine.

Ruals, Samuel Jr., 1880, *The History and Traditions of Marblehead*. Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company.

Roads, Samuel Jr., 1881, *A Guide to Marblehead*. Marblehead, Massachusetts.

Robinson, Joseph S., 1936, *The Story of Marblehead*.

Webber, C.H. and W.S. Nevins, 1877, *Old Naumkeag: A Historical Sketch of the City of Salem and the Towns of Marblehead, Peabody, Beverly, Danvers, Wenham, Manchester, Topsfield and Middleton*. Salem, Ma.