

# MHC Reconnaissance Survey Town Report

## SALEM

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](http://www.sec.state.ma.us/mhc)

[mhc@sec.state.ma.us](mailto:mhc@sec.state.ma.us) / 617-727-8470

## MHC RECONNAISSANCE SURVEY REPORT

Date: 1985

Community: Salem

---

### I. TOPOGRAPHY

The town of Salem is located in the southern portion of Essex County, Massachusetts. The city of Salem is located at lat. 42-33-10 N and long. 70-53-40 W. 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 Salem, land surfaces are irregular, sloping west to east from the interior to the coast. Land surfaces average 100 feet or less throughout most of the town. Elevations in coastal areas are usually below 50 feet. In interior areas several hills are present, some of which approach or exceed 200 feet.

Igneous deposits throughout the town characterize bedrock deposits in the Salem area. Salem gabbro-diorites (diorite and gabbro-diorite) are the dominant bedrock type throughout most of the town. Small distributions of Beverly syenite are present at the tip of Salem Neck bordering Beverly Harbor and Quincy granite near the Peabody/Salem town line. Newburyport quartz diorites are found on islands in the harbor and bay. Surficial geological deposits in the town derive from late Pleistocene glaciations. Ice contact surfaces with alluvial tilling or kame topography are common. Ridges or eskers are prominent surficial features and exposed bedrock is grooved in several places. The North River, Beverly Harbor, and Salem Harbor areas show signs of sea level rise following the melting of the continental ice sheet.

Salem's soil associations also indicate the effects of Late Pleistocene glaciations. All of the town's soils have been formed in glacial till or altered by urban development. Chatfield-Hollis-Rock outcrop association characterized the most common soil type in the town. These soils occur in deep or shallow and gently sloping to steep deposits in interior areas of town and in the Salem neck area. They are generally loamy soils formed in glacial till with areas of exposed bedrock. Soils of the Urban Land-Udorthents Association are the second most common soils in Salem. These soils are found in northern and eastern areas of town from Loring Avenue to the Marblehead/Salem town line and within one mile of the coast. This association occurs in areas where soils have been modified, obscured or removed by urban development. A small deposit of soils belonging to the Paxton-Montauk-Urban 1<sup>st</sup> association is also present in Salem. These soils are found in the extreme northern portion of town west of the North River. They occur in deep, nearly level to steep deposits. Soils in this association are generally well drained loamy soils formed in glacial till. This association also contains soils, which have been modified or obscured by urban development.

Major drainage in Salem is through several creeks, rivers, and wetlands northerly and easterly to the coast. The North River to Beverly Harbor and the Forest River to Salem Harbor characterize these areas. Spring Pond represents one of the few freshwater bodies of water presently in the town. Comparatively little salt marshes and fresh meadows are present. Subsurface drainage is also important in the Salem area. Several springs are present in the town the most noted of which are Cold Spring in North Salem and Jeggle's Spring in South Salem. Salem's irregular coastline has provided the town with several harbors and coastal necks important to the early commercial success and defense of the town. Salem harbor, a deep and well-sheltered facility, is the major harbor area in the town. This area was originally called Marvel

Harbor (1629). Other important coastal features in the town include Salem neck, Winter Island, Eagle Island, Gooseberry North and South Islands, and several channels, breakers, and shoals.

At European contact, most of Salem and the islands were forested with little undergrowth except in swamps. Some grassy areas were present in both uplands and lowlands. The original forest growth in Salem 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.

### III. POLITICAL BOUNDARIES

The original boundary of what is now Salem included the present Beverly, Danvers, Manchester, Marblehead, Middleton, Peabody and parts of Topsfield, Wenham and Lynn. In 1637 Lynn became a separate entity, followed by Wenham (1643), Manchester (1645), Marblehead (1648) and Beverly (1668). In 1720 part of Salem was included in the new town of Middleton. In 1753 additional acreage was annexed to Beverly. Salem was incorporated as a city in 1836, the second city in the state following Boston. The bounds between Salem and Danvers were established in 1840. In 1856 the boundaries between Salem and South Danvers (later Peabody) were established and part of each municipality was annexed to the other. In 1867 part of Salem was annexed to Swampscott. The final boundary adjustment occurred in 1882 when part of Peabody was annexed.

### III. HISTORIC OVERVIEW

A maritime community in southern Essex County, Salem is characterized by terrain, which is fairly flat and low-lying, sloping west to east, from the interior to the coast. Even from the earliest years of settlement, the destiny of the community, which physically consisted of a long, narrow peninsula jutting into Beverly Harbor, surrounded by the North River on one side and the South River on the other, was closely tied to the water. With sixteen miles of coastline, Salem was predisposed to become a maritime center.

The area is known to have been inhabited by members of the Pawtucket group of Native Americans, commonly referred to as the Naumkeags, with probable settlement sites including the mouths of the North, South, and Forest rivers. The first European settlement occurred in 1626 and consisted of individuals, commonly referred to as the "Old Planters," who had abandoned the earlier Cape Ann settlement. The earliest settlers established themselves on the south side of the North River on the peninsula formed by the North River, Beverly Harbor, Collins Cove and the South River. In 1628 they were joined by a new group of settlers who settled further up the North River. The first church was organized and a meetinghouse was erected in 1629 near what was subsequently the corner of Washington and Essex Streets. Salem Town was laid out between the North and South rivers. Prior to 1635, house lots were two-acres in size and laid out mostly along the North River. After 1635 the house lots were reduced to one acre and were located along the South River, although many larger lots were created through inheritance and purchase. Larger farm grants were made for land in western and northwestern Salem and in what would become the surrounding towns of Marblehead, Manchester, Beverly, Wenham, Danvers, Peabody and Lynn. Most of the early settlers were

farmers and lived in the town, farming and pasturing their animals in common fields including North Field on the north side of the Naumkeag River and South Field between the Forest and South rivers. In addition to the central town, small settlements were located on Winter Island and near the harborfront, furthered by an early maritime trade centered on fishing and shipbuilding. A custom house was erected in the southern part of town, at Gedney Court, in 1645. By 1658 Salem was already an official port of entry.

During the Colonial Period, Salem continued to develop as one of the leading maritime centers in North America. Fishing, commerce, shipbuilding and related maritime trades dominated the economic base of the community with a far lesser emphasis on agriculture. Reinforced by a general lack of bridges, settlement continued to be concentrated on the peninsula between Essex Street and the harbor with small farms elsewhere. The finest residences were erected in close proximity to the wharves and warehouses at the waterfront. Development was centered along Essex Street with one principal cross street (Washington Street) running from river to river with the principal wharves and warehouses along the South River and to a lesser degree along the causeway to the North Bridge. Smaller nodes of activity included Winter Island, still an important fishing center. There were 372 houses in the town in 1754. About 1677 a building was erected specifically for town purposes, which had previously been housed in the meetinghouse for the First Parish. As the population grew, additional parishes with their respective meetinghouses were established. Witchcraft hysteria gripped the town in 1692; twenty people were tried and executed on Gallows Hill.

Having become one of the principal points in North America for the distribution of foreign goods, Salem was at the height of her commercial prosperity in the years between the American Revolution and the Embargo of 1807. Local merchants such as Elias Hasket Derby were pioneers in trade with Africa and the Near and Far East while also sending vessels to ports in Europe, the East and West Indies and South America. Trading prosperity also spurred on the shipbuilding industry and related maritime trades. Salem's architecture reached new heights during the Federal Period due to the influence of local architect and wood carver, Samuel McIntire (1757-1811). Available land in the center of town was maximized by the filling in of small streams, swamps, coves, and much of the North and South rivers. Landfilling on the waterfront transformed the old commercial wharf and shipbuilding districts. Chestnut Street, an elite residential street, was laid out and the Common was leveled and improved. In addition to topographical changes, road improvements such as bridges and turnpikes provided physical links between the north and south sections of town and residential construction began to expand outward from the urban core. The enactment of the Embargo Act in 1807 brought about the demise of Salem's golden age. Due to the Embargo and subsequently, the War of 1812, commercial navigation was halted and Salem was never able to fully regain the foreign trade lost to other larger port cities. Lead manufacturing was begun on a small scale beginning in the 1820s.

The Early Industrial Period is characterized by a resurgence of foreign trade and fishing in the 1830s and 1840s, accompanied by an expansion and diversification of the manufacturing base. Salem became a city in 1836. In the mid 19th century the development of leather, cotton and lead industries in North and South Salem spurred the development of these formerly agricultural areas and summer estates to year-round residential neighborhoods. The Naumkeag Steam Cotton Factory was incorporated in 1839 near the South River. On the North River, Blubber Hollow became the center of activity for the growing leather economy. Increasing numbers of immigrants

from Ireland, Canada and other nations came to Salem seeking employment in the cotton mills and tanneries. Extensive areas of worker housing were constructed in North and South Salem to house those employed in the industries. Salem was incorporated as a city in 1836.

In the Late Industrial Period manufacturing continued to dominate the local economy with agriculture and maritime commerce conducted on only a small scale. Additional former water bodies were filled in to accommodate new roads and railroads. The street railway reached its peak during this period, accelerating the development of outlying areas of the city including "Salem Willows," a late 19th century summer resort area, and South Salem, where former farmlands were subdivided into lots for residential construction. The central commercial core along Washington and Essex Streets continued to grow with the erection of new and larger commercial blocks.

The Great Fire of 1914 ushered in the Early Modern Period. The path of the fire devastated both the manufacturing and late 19th century neighborhoods in Salem, although the majority of the city's architecturally and historically significant resources escaped destruction. Over 1,800 buildings including 41 factories and 1,600 homes were destroyed, leaving 15,000 homeless. Especially hard hit were the northern end of Lafayette Street and the neighborhoods closest to the cotton mills. Rebuilding of the residential areas proceeded immediately. Many of the city's shoe and leather establishments were damaged or destroyed in the fire; many did not rebuild in Salem, although shoe and leather manufacturing continued to be leading industries. After the fire, city officials seized the opportunity to improve various aspects of the city plan including widening important streets and creating new streets and boulevards to connect the city parks. South Salem continued to develop as a residential/institutional area with additional areas laid out in the subdivisions in the early 20th century.

Salem's population peaked at over 43,000 in the 1930s and has remained at about 40,000 since the 1950s. In the 1960s the local economy reached a new low, due in part to the loss of industry as most of the remaining leather manufacturers had moved out of state. Salem had functioned as a regional shopping center until the eventual decline of the railroad and the construction of Route 128 left the city with meager access. Through a series of major revitalization efforts beginning in the 1970s including Heritage Plaza, Pickering Wharf and other waterfront projects, the city began to recognize once again its historic significance. Since the 1970s the City has established seven local historic districts as well as listing numerous individual properties and districts on the National Register of Historic Places. The City's inventory of historic resources includes more than 3,000 buildings.

#### IV. CONTACT PERIOD (1500-1620)

##### A. Transportation Routes

Native American transportation routes in the Salem area likely emphasized water travel along the coast in the vicinity of Collins Cove, Salem Harbor, Beverly Harbor, in the South River and the North River. 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 Salem/Beverly harbor areas with sites on major wetlands in the Saugus, Lynn, and Peabody areas.

## B. Population

Salem 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 may have been a sub tribe of the Massachusetts but seemed to be under the leadership of the Penacook's. Most seventeenth century colonists considered the Pawtucket and Massachusetts Indians close but separate entities. Both Swanton (1952) and Speck (1928) include Pawtucket Indians in the Salem 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 Salem area may have numbered in the vicinity of 200 individuals during much of this period. Following the epidemics, fewer than 50 individuals if any remained in the Salem area.

## C. Settlement Pattern

Numerous Woodland but no Contact period sites are known for the Salem area. However, environmental variables, later 17th-century documentary sources, and site densities in surrounding areas indicate sites of this period should be present. For example, the mouths of the North, South, and Forest Rivers as well as Salem and Marblehead Harbors may have been good site locations as well as other areas along the coast. Several known Contact period sites are present in neighboring Marblehead. In addition to habitation and village type-sites, special purpose sites such as fishing sites, shell middens and burials 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. Native Americans likely abandoned the Salem area by the end of this period.

## D. Subsistence Pattern

Native Americans in the Salem area subsisted on a variety of seasonally determined activities, including hunting, fishing, the collecting of old plants and shellfish, and horticulture. Hunting was a major activity focusing on larger mammals such as deer and smaller furbearers. Sea mammals such as seals and drift whales may have also been hunted in the town's harbor areas or in Massachusetts Bay. Upland game birds and ducks were available in and around freshwater wetlands, riverine areas, and along the coast. The North, South, and Forests Rivers may have contained seasonal runs of smelt, alewives, shad, sea-run trout, and possibly salmon. Interior marine species of fish would have been available in Salem and Beverly Harbors, Massachusetts Bay and the Atlantic Ocean. The waters in and around Salem Harbor, Collins Cove and the North River 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 is currently unknown; however, they were likely located along the shores of Salem Harbor, Collins Cove, and the North River.

## V. PLANTATION PERIOD (1620-1675)

### A. Transportation Routes

Indian trails likely continued in use in the Salem area throughout most of the Plantation period. European routes also developed early, at first as footpaths or paths for horseback and later for carts and ground sleds in winter. Four wheeled wagons did not appear until ca. 1658. Road development or the protection of roads did not exist until ca. 1635-36. One of the earliest roadways (ca. 1635) to exist in the Salem area was the highway from Wenham to the head of the river. However, most road development did not occur until Salem chose its surveyors of highways in 1639. Prior to 1642, the only way out of Salem by land was a long, circuitous, and hilly route caused by the lack of bridges in the town. This road generally followed a route from the rear of the high school, crossing Highland Ave., down Pope's Lane, following the old railroad line between the river and ridge to Putnam Street, then by way of Putnam Street to Boston Street. In 1642 and later 1646, bridges were constructed over the North River resulting in a more direct route along a highway, now called Boston Street, from Essex Street to the old road at the junction of Boston and Putnam Streets.

As early as 1626-27, land routes existed between Cape Ann and Salem. These routes remained in poor condition, not being improved until ca. 1640. Improvements first began at Mackerel Cove to improve travel between the settlement at Manchester and Salem. In ca. 1646 a way between the ferry at Salem and the head of Jefferies Creek was laid out and a footbridge set up at Mackerel Cove. Land routes to common fields and coastal areas were developed at an early date. As lands were granted in the Northfield area in ca. 1642, a cart way was reserved through the land to and from the town of Salem. In 1644-45 the town highway surveyors also ordered that owners of land next to the waterside should maintain a way for horse and man at least eight feet in width.

A land route between Salem and the Marblehead peninsula also probably existed prior to 1640. Because of the lack of early bridges this route was also circuitous running by way of Highland Park to Vining Square then to Marblehead. After a milldam was constructed over the South River, a new road was laid out in 1666 changing the route to run along Lafayette Street and Loring Ave to the pumping station on Forest River. The road then passed over Stony or Webb's Beach and Legg's Hill to Marblehead. A bridge was present at the Marblehead Pumping Station on the Forest River as early as 1640, gone by 1648, rebuilt in 1663 and again in 1673. By 1675, and probably earlier, a landing place existed east of the bridge on the north side of the river.

By 1640-50 land routes to the northern interior were also being developed. Prior to 1650 the road to Topsfield probably existed as a horse path or cart way. This road was officially laid out by 1657 following the course of North, Locust and Maple Streets. At Danvers Square it followed the old Ipswich and Boston Road to Crane River, "then by ordinary way to Salem through Peabody's" (Hurd 1924:205). An early route to Andover also existed prior to 1650.

Roadways south of the North River were among the first to be developed in Salem. By ca. 1660 highways were also laid out on the Cape Ann side of town. As commercial development accelerated in the southern portion of town, roadways leading to shore facilities along the harbor also developed. Wharves, warehouses and shipyards developed along the Salem Harbor shore throughout this period.

## B. Population

Approximately 20 individuals who abandoned the earlier Cape Ann settlement first settled Salem in 1626. Additional colonists arrived in 1628 that, together with the "Old Planters," probably amounted to around 60 individuals. By 1629 English colonists began a great migration to the Massachusetts Bay area. Salem's population rose to over 300 individuals by this date. In 1639 approximately 950 individuals resided in the town. Salem's population dropped from about 1,200 in 1644 to approximately 1,068 in 1654. This decrease results from the towns of Wenham, Manchester, Marblehead, and a part of Topsfield being set off from 1639-1650. In 1665 approximately 1,466 individuals resided in Salem. The town's population dropped between 1668 and 1775 as a result of Beverly being set off (1668), and loss of life from Indian Wars.

Puritans from the West Country of England settled Salem. Indian and Negro slaves from the West Indies were present after 1638. Quakers arrived in Salem from England between 1657-1660. They were actively persecuted until Charles I was restored to the throne of England. Quakers did not have an official meetinghouse in Salem during this period. Anabaptists were reported in Salem prior to 1639 though they did not have an organized church or meetinghouse. Services for the Episcopal Church or the Church of England may have been held by ca. 1627. However, this form of worship was disliked and did not last. The second Congregational Church in New England or the first church in Salem was gathered in 1629. This church represented all Congregational worship in Salem until residents in the "Farms" or "Salem Village" area began services in 1671.

## C. Settlement Pattern

Salem, or the Plantation at Naumkeag, was originally settled in 1626 by Roger Conant and several others after they abandoned the earlier Cape Ann settlement. Conant had no patent or grant for the settlement, but was assured by several associates of the old Dorchester Company that a patent, provisions and additional settlers would soon follow. The "Old Planters," as these early settlers were commonly called, were outcasts from the Plymouth settlement and sought religious freedom for their Puritan beliefs. Initial settlement was on the south side of the North River on the peninsula of land formed by the North River, Beverly Harbor, Collins Cove, and South River. By 1627-28 a new company, the New England Company (which later became the Company of the Massachusetts Bay), was formed to further develop the settlement at Naumkeag. In the fall of 1628, Capt. John Endicott and a new group of settlers arrived at the settlement. Immediately, a hostile relationship existed between the "old colonists" and the newcomers. Conant had undoubtedly assumed he would be the leader of the new settlement, while the company in England had chosen Endicott as its leader. Further conflict arose, since the "old colonists" had difficulty defending their settlement rights to the newcomers who had legal title to the land. By 1629 land rights for the "Old Colonists" were guaranteed and Charles I and the Old Planters confirmed Endicott as governor. A peaceful relationship between the two groups of colonists was reached. The name Salem or "Peace" was chosen for the town as a result of the peaceful negotiations between the two groups.

While some members of Endicott's party settled in the vicinity of the Old Planters, most, including Endicott, settled further up along the river. Initial settlement was concentrated along the river. Additional settlers quickly followed Endicott's company and plans for Salem Town were developed



quickly. While records of the first layout of the town were lost, much of the town's early development can be reconstructed. Salem Town was laid out between the North and South Rivers. Before 1635, two-acre house lots were laid out, mostly along the North River. After 1635 house lots were reduced to one acre. These lots were located along the South River, easterly off Central Street. Many larger lots quickly developed as aggregates of smaller ones through inheritance and sale. At other times, several smaller lots previously constituted one original larger lot. Large holdings resulting from a general division of land did not occur until ca. 1636. However, land holdings of 100 to 200 acres or more were granted during this earlier period under a number of circumstances. Old Planters were allowed to return lands they held at the coming of Endicott. Several of the original planters who came with Endicott also held larger holdings than most of those who followed after 1628. In 1629 Governor Endicott was allowed to allocate lands to those who had sent over servants and cattle that year. A grant of 50 acres was allowed for each servant. Even before a general division of land was made, Salem's system of land allocation was clearly favoring the town's proprietor class of wealthy settlers.

The First Parish of Salem organized as the First Congregational Church (Unitarian) in 1629. A meetinghouse was erected in 1634 near the southwesterly corner of Washington and Essex Streets. This structure served as the center for civil as well as religious matters in Salem throughout this period. By 1644 county courts were also probably held in the First Parish meetinghouse as Essex County was established in 1643 and Salem was made the shire town of the county the following year. In 1668 a prison was constructed near the southwesterly end of the meetinghouse.

The first formal division of lands in Salem occurred in 1635-36. Both Old Planters and new arrivals were eligible for land grants. All lots granted were originally similar in size, but total holdings were most frequently based on the amount of money a person had contributed to the common stock. In the first division of land, 200 acres were granted for each 50 pounds of general stock. Land was also still given for the number of servants or cattle each adventurer brought to the settlement. Under other circumstances, persons who came over at their own expense and were adventurers in the common stock were allotted 50 acres for each individual in his family. A master of a family who had not adventured money to the common stock also received 50 acres. Several large divisions of land ranging from 200 to over 500 acres were granted during the first division. Grant of 100 to 200 acres was also common although most grants were 50 acres or less, usually clustering in the 10 to 20 acre range. Some of the larger farm grants were located in western and northwestern Salem; however, most others were made in what would become Marblehead, Manchester, Beverly, and Wenham. Danvers, Peabody and Lynn. Early large grants were also giving as far north as Topsfield and Middleton. While some grantees did not settle on their grants, others did, particularly in those towns immediately surrounding present day Salem.

A burial ground probably existed on Burying Point prior to 1630. The original yard projected into the South River at the juncture of Charter and Liberty Streets. Additional land was granted in this area in 1669. The First Parish meetinghouse was contracted for in 1634, though not completed until 1637. The meetinghouse was elongated in 1639. Remnants of the first meetinghouses (timbers etc.) are said to be still standing (Hurd 1888:38). The First Parish occupied successively four houses of worship at or near the same location on the corner of Essex and Washington Streets near the common. In 1668 a prison was erected near the southwesterly end of the meetinghouse. In 1670 a new

First Parish meetinghouse was built on the western side of the site of the first meetinghouse. The old meetinghouse was then used for a schoolhouse and watch house.

Salem township originally comprised all territory now contained within towns of Beverly, Danvers, Manchester, Marblehead, Middleton, Peabody, of Topsfield, Wenham and Lynn. This broad boundary existed until 1637 Lynn was set off. Wenham was detached from Salem in 1643, followed by Manchester in 1645, Marblehead in 1648, and Beverly in 1668. Danvers was still part of Salem in 1675.

A form of the open common field system was probably in place when the Old Planters settled in Salem. These early settlers probably pastured animals in common, may have planted in common, and exploited the salt marsh to the south of this settlement in common. After Endicott's arrival and the establishment of house lots in Salem town, the open field system was still in use. Most early settlers were planters and lived in the town, farming and pasturing animals in common fields. In 1640 at least 10 common fields were present, each allotted to certain individuals in different sections of town for their use. Most of these areas were probably in existence by ca. 1630. The two largest fields were North Field on the north side of the Naumkeag River and South Field between the Forest and South Rivers. North Field was about 490 acres in size, fenced as a whole area at first, but later divided into fenced 10-acre sections. South Field was 600 acres in size and was eventually fenced similar to North Field. The open field system was probably changed to a closed field system in the late 1630s. Marsh and meadowlands were divided in 1637. At that time common land was divided into increments of one acre, 1/2 or 3/4 acres, depending on the number of persons per family.

After ca. 1640 official grants of land were less common in Salem. In 1660 the General Court enacted a rule that no college or dwelling built after that date should be allowed a right to commonage unless ruled otherwise by the town. This ruling lay at the root of considerable discontent between the Salem proprietors and commoners. By the mid-17th century all lands not incorporated into other towns were deemed to belong to the town. In Salem, this land was disposed of as the town and board of selectmen pleased, usually to the benefit of the proprietors. This practice was continued until late in the 17th century; even though the General Court passed an act in 1660 that the common and undivided land of towns should be the property of the commoners. Although a legislative act had given land to the commoners, the town and selectmen (proprietors) disposed of this land as they pleased by sale or lease. Commoners saw their land being taken by the proprietors and made several requests to the General Court to intervene on their behalf. The Court apparently sided with the proprietors and advised the commoners they could get satisfaction only by civil action. By ca. 1670 the formal admission of new inhabitants to Salem had become rare. Few grants of land were now made.

#### D. Economic Base

As Europeans first settled in the Salem area the hunting and gathering of wild food resources were probably important to their subsistence base. However, the combined use of agriculture, husbandry and fishing were clearly the most important aspects in the economic lives of Salem's early settlers. One attractive aspect of the Salem area over the old Cape Ann settlement was its increased agricultural potential. Crops were planted immediately in 1626 after the "Old Planters" settled on Salem Neck. Cereals were the most

important food crops grown including corn, oats, rye, barley, and wheat. Corn and rye were the principal breadstuffs. Potatoes were also likely grown although they were probably rare and considered a delicacy. Turnips were also probably grown, particularly after the 1630s. Fruits such as pears and apples were imported from England and cultivated at an early date. Shortly after settlement, the production of vegetable fibers from hemp and flax were also probably important products on Salem farms. Salt marsh hay was important providing a source of food for cattle in winter and thatching materials for roofs. A large salt marsh existed in the area of the Old Planters settlement. English hay was probably cultivated by the mid-17th century.

Wild plants such as cranberries, huckleberries, blueberries and sassafras were important for both consumption and as a commercial product. Husbandry was also an important activity in Salem. Cattle, horses, sheep, and swine were the most important animals on farms. Livestock was present in the Old Planters settlement in 1626. In 1628 Endicott and his group brought several animals from England when they settled. Oxen and fowl were also present.

Maritime related trades were also developed shortly after settlement. By 1630-40 these interests characterized Salem's economic base. Fishing was probably the first maritime trade exploited in the Salem area. Fishing stages were constructed on Winter Island by 1629. This area became the headquarters of the Salem fishing trade from 1629 to 1740. Cod were the major fishery exploited. Local boats fished both bay and coastal waters as well as offshore banks by the end of the period. Salem's commercial shipping grew directly from its fishing industry. Good dried and salted codfish were easily sold in European markets while refuse fish were traded in the West Indies for sugar, cotton and tobacco. Most early commerce was with small shallops or ketches for longer voyages. Ketches ranged from 20 to 40 tons and carried four to six men. Commerce was centered in the southern area of town where a customhouse was erected in 1645 at the corner of Gedney Court. The house remained here for 34 years. Salem was established as an official port of entry by 1658. Shipbuilding was also developed early in Salem. In 1629 at least six shipbuilders including Robert Moulton, were sent to Salem by the Home Company in England. Other important shipbuilders which came to Salem during this period included Richard Hollinworth (1635), Edward Gaskill and William Giggles (1659) Eleazer Gedney (1664) and Jonathan Pickering (1669). Salem Neck became the chief area where vessels were constructed. Vessels were also built beyond the causeway at the end of town, at Hardies Cove, near Burying Point and at several other coastal locations. Several early land grants in these areas were given specifically for vessel construction. Shallops and later ketches characterized most of the vessels constructed during this period. By the mid-17th century Salem was one of the principal shipbuilding areas in the colonies. Other maritime related trades established during this period-included riggers, salt makers, and ropewalks and sail makers.

As Salem developed as a town and major commercial center. Numerous other trades also emerged. They included bakers, barbers, blacksmiths, bricklayers, carpenters, coopers, boot and shoemakers, carriers, cutlers, distilleries, glassmakers, glaziers, glovers, gunsmiths, hat makers, ironworkers, joiners, malsters and masons.

Mills were important in Salem by 1629 and provide an insight towards the continued importance of agricultural pursuits in the area. The Webb (1629) and Deane (1634) corn mills were the first mills servicing the Salem area. In 1636 William Trask erected a water powered corn mill on the North River above what is called Frye's mills. In 1640 Trask was also given lease to set up a

tidal mill on the North River In 1659 grants were given to construct a grist mill on the South River. It is unknown whether or not this mill was ever constructed. At least two fulling mills were also constructed during this period. In 1640 William Trask constructed a fulling mill near his corn mill. By 1675 the Meacham fulling mill was also in operation. Other mills in the Salem area included a copper works by 1651, glass factory around 1639, pottery works in 1641, an ironworks ca. 1643, and at least two tanneries.

## VI. COLONIAL PERIOD (1675-1775)

### A. Transportation Routes

Native trails had likely been upgraded to horse paths or cart ways by this time. Main transportation routes out of the town remained the southern route to Marblehead and northern routes through the Peabody/Danvers area to Cape Ann and other settlements to the north. New roadways were developed in Salem during this period but most roadwork centered on the upgrading of existing roads. By 1711 Essex Street was widened from Washington to Summer Streets. This portion of Essex Street was called Queen's Highway at that time. It represented the chief thoroughfare through Salem prior to 1727. In 1701 a new road to the Beverly Ferry was laid out. This route was known as Ferry lane prior to 1754. Union Street was laid out in ca. 1727. Over 40 Streets and lanes in existence in Salem during the Colonial period were named in 1773.

Vehicles improved with roadways during the first half of the century. By ca. 1717 sleighs with tops for winter travel were in use. By ca. 1701 Road improvement permitted the development and use of carriages or light two four wheeled vehicles for transportation. Carriage travel increased so by 1737 that the General Court taxed their use.

### B. Population

At the start of the Colonial period Salem's population was probably around 1,400 individuals. This figure was reduced during the 1675-77 period due to losses from King Philip's War. By 1683 Salem's population was around 1560 individuals. This figure rose by approximately 100 to 125 individuals per year until the early 18th century when population growth accelerated again. In 1709 about 2,300 people lived in Salem. This figure rose by an average of 300 to 700 individuals per year until ca. 1747 when approximately 5,600 individuals were present. Between 1747 and 1754 this figure dropped to around 3,462 individuals. By 1765 Salem's population was increasing once again to 4427 individuals or 10.17% of the Essex County total. From 1765 to 1776 the town's population rose by 20.56% to contain 5337 individuals or 10.48% of the Essex County total. In 1765, 923 families lived in 509 houses in Salem. This ratio of 1.61 families per houses is higher than any other colonial town. Only Marblehead, then Gloucester, approaches this ratio. In 1765 "Negroes" represented the town's only racial minority amounting to 3.91 of the town's total population. Emigrants of English decent still characterized most of the town's population however; Scots, Irish and French were also present. An organized Society of Friends was present in Salem during this period. Puritan Congregationalism still characterized most forms of worship in Salem. An Episcopal church was organized by 1733 although services were probably held as early as 1727.

Unitarian Congregationalism characterized most religious worship in Salem at the start of the Colonial Period. Residents of Salem Village (Danvers) were holding separate religious services amongst themselves. Otherwise all Salem

residents traveled to the First Church meetinghouse for worship. As early as ca. 1676 a second Congregational Church or East Church may have been formed. However, the First Church resisted its operation until 1718 when the East Church building was completed. This church was actually the third church formed in Salem but referred to itself as the Second Church since the Congregationalists did not consider the Quaker congregation as a church. In 1689 the church in the "the Farms" or "Salem Village" (Danvers) was formally separated from the First Church of Salem. In 1713 a second church was formed in that part of Danvers, then called the lower parish, or middle precinct, afterwards called South Danvers, now Peabody. An organized Episcopal parish was probably present in Salem before 1727 as the rector of St. Michael's church in Marblehead held services in Salem by that date. St. Peter's Episcopal church was not built until 1733. By ca. 1735 the Third or Tabernacle Church separated from the First Church but was not officially titled the Third Church until 1763. In 1772, another split occurred in the first Parish when a religious society was organized, known as the "Proprietors of the North Meetinghouse." Later that year, the same group constituted themselves as a church known as the North Church. The final division to occur in Salem's Congregational society occurred in ca. 1775-76 when several members of the original Third or Tabernacle Church withdrew or were dismissed. These individuals organized a separate church which eventually came to be called the Third Church after the mother church forfeited the ????. Quakers were present in Salem throughout the Colonial Period. Quaker meetings were held in private homes until 1688 when the first Quaker meetinghouse was built. The Quaker "church" actually represented the second organized religious society in Salem.

In 1692 several residents of Salem and neighboring towns were accused, charged and tried by the court and in many instances executed or sentenced to prison for practicing witchcraft. This period is commonly known as the Salem "Witchcraft Delusion". This subject has been dealt with by several authors including (Page ends...What next Lenny?)

### C. Settlement Pattern

Few new grants of land were given in Salem during the Colonial Period. During the late 17th-century proprietors through the town and board of selectmen were still illegally disposing of common and individual land through sale or lease as they saw fit. In 1692 this process was legalized by an act giving the proprietors the right to divide common lands. A split was still present between the commoners and proprietors over the division of lands. By 1702 this split was somewhat settled by a town vote to enlarge the number of proprietors by allowing shares for the owner of each house standing upon their land. Some reports maintained that this vote was done to encourage the building of houses. In 1714 the commoners further regained control over land divisions when they voted that each house built thereafter should have one right or share in the common lands. Throughout most of the 17th and early 18th century military training exercises in the town had been held on common lands in the Washington Square area. In 1713-14 Salem's commoners voted these lands to be used forever by the town as a training field. This same vote stated that all highways, burying places and common lands lying within the town should remain forever for the use of the town. The Winter Island area was reserved to be granted exclusively for the fishery. It is unknown how long this town abided by the vote of 1714. However, by the early 19th century some of these lands were being sold. The largest tracts of common lands in Salem during the early 18th century included: an area near the Marblehead line, the Pickman Farm, South Field, the Mill Pond and Hawthorne Farm, an

area southwesterly of Jackson St., North River and Beaver St., area southerly of Main Street, area in Peabody, an area easterly of Goldthwaite's Brook and southeasterly of Lynnfield St. and an area bounded southerly by Lynnfield, Lynn and Swampscott town lines.

In ca. 1677 a building for town purposes was erected in the middle of School, now Washington Street, near what is Lynds Street facing south. Civil matters including courts were held in this building. Previously civil and religious town matters were held in the meetinghouse for the First Parish. In 1684 a second prison was built near the corner of Federal and St. Peter's Streets. A second town and courthouses was erected in 1719 on School, now Washington Street.

In 1718 members of the First Church voted to build a new meetinghouse at the site of the second house in Essex Street near the corner of Washington Street. The original First meetinghouse was moved in 1760 to a point south of Boston Street near the foot of Gallows Hill. Salem's first Quaker meetinghouse was built in 1688 on the south side of Essex Street between numbers 373 and 377. A second Quaker meetinghouse was built in 1716 at the site of the Quaker burying ground at the corner of Essex and North Pine Streets. In 1718 an East Church meetinghouse was constructed 1/2 mile to the east of the First Church on Essex Street at the corner of what was then Grafton's Lane, now Hardy Street. St. Peter's Episcopal church was built on Prison Lane, now St. Peter's Street in 1733. In 1736 a meetinghouse was completed for the Third or Tabernacle Church on Parley Block. This meetinghouse burned in 1774. A new church was built in 1776 at the corner of Washington and what was then Marlborough, now Federal Street. In ca. 1772 the North Church meetinghouse was built on the corner of Lynde and North Street on the Western line of what was earlier called Sharpe's Training Field. A meetinghouse was established for the third Congregational Society in 1776 at the Assembly House or latter site of the South Church.

#### D. Economic Base

Salem continued to develop as one of the leading maritime centers in the New World throughout the Colonial period. Agriculture and husbandry were still present but fishing, commerce, shipbuilding and related trades were now the undisputed economic base of the town. The cod-fishery was still important although as larger vessels were built, longer voyages to off shore lakes grew in importance. Winter Island remained the center of Salem's fishing industry until at least 1740. Fishing in Salem was directly related to foreign trade. By 1700 dried, merchantable codfish found extensive markets in Spain, Portugal and the Straits. Trade with England by way of the West Indies was also important. Refuse fish, lumber, horses and provisions were carried to the west Indies where sugar, molasses, cotton, wood, logwood and Brailette-wood made up the return trade to England. Local trade directly to England focused on whale and fish oil, whalebone, furs, deer, elk (probably moose) and bearskins. During the Revolutionary War, trade was virtually at a stand still as most vessels were converted to privateers. Salem remained an open port during much of the war while larger ports such as Boston and New York were closed by the British. Ketches of 20 to 40 tons characterized early Colonial period vessels until ca. 1690. Only one ship of 130 tons was present during this period. By 1698-99 ship registers listed two ships of 80 and 200 tons in Salem as well as a barque, three sloops and twenty ketches. Schooners gradually replaced ketches during the early 18th century. Smaller vessels continued to characterized Salem's total fleet. However, larger vessels were increasing in number. From 1700 to 1714 ship registers were granted to

several Salem vessels including four ships, three barks a briggs, 24 sloops, and 19 ketches. Larger vessels traded year round while many smaller vessels such as ketches and schooners fished the banks in spring and summer than turned to the coasting trade in fall and winter. Salem was one of the chief shipbuilding areas in the colonies during the Colonial period. Vessels continued to be built in the same area as they had been during the Plantation period. New shipyards were also present including those near Frye's Mills, Templeman's Wharf and Dodges Wharf. Most vessels constructed in Salem continued to be characterized by sloops, ketches and schooners. However, by the 17th century numerous larger vessels from 100 to 300 tons were also being built. Most of the vessels belonging to Salem were locally constructed. Maritime related trades such as coopers sail makers, and riggers continued to increase with shipbuilding, commerce and fishing. All occupations established during the Plantation period continued as well as several new occupations such as chaise, saddle and harness makers, gilders, glue makers, goldsmiths, jewelers, nail makers, and others. Numerous mills were also constructed during this period. The Meacham fulling mill was constructed in 1675 on Gardner's Brook. A second fulling mill was constructed in this area in 1692. In 1712 Trask and Boyce petitioned the town and were followed to move their mill downstream to Spooners' Point. John Gardener and Jeremiah Gatchel were allowed to erect a mill on the Forest River in 1734. At least one windmill is present on Windmill Point (in Marblehead?) by 1771. Three distillers and a chocolate mill were present by 1771.

#### E. Architecture

There are no houses in Salem now standing which predate 1650. Many of the earliest houses were built between Essex Street and Front Street. According to architectural historian Abbott Lowell Cummings, the impermanent shelters built by the first settlers probably included caves and tents. Due to the climate it is unlikely that the early crude, one-story wooden shelters lasted more than a few years.

By the mid 17th century most of the wood-frame residences being constructed fell into two basic house plans with either a single room or two rooms although both may have been more complex. The typical house of the one-room plan remained fairly uniform into the 18th century. According to Cummings, without exception the earliest surviving houses of the one-room plan have been added to and most were enlarged more than once. Many of what appear to be two-room, central chimney houses actually began as single-room dwellings. The later 17th century house plan typically consisted of two rooms on either side of a central chimney usually with corresponding chambers upstairs. A one-story lean-to with a sloping roof was frequently added for a kitchen. Before the end of the 17th century the leanto had generally been incorporated as an integral part of the house design.

The houses were box-like in massing, sheathed in clapboards, capped by medium to steeply-pitched gable roofs and featuring hand-hewn and pegged timber frames. In some cases houses displayed a projecting second story, a reflection of post-medieval house forms brought over from England. Due to dangers of fire, thatch roofs, common throughout the 17th century, were soon abandoned in favor of boarded and shingled roofs. Successive stylistic changes in front entrances have generally limited knowledge of original entrance placement and dimensions although these are generally thought to have been located in the center of the chimney bay and most often consisted of vertical board doors. The patterns of fenestration displayed a high degree of uniformity. Windows included casements with leaded, diamond-shaped panes,

wide horizontal banks of windows and smaller fixed glass units. The windows in the first and second stories were typically in vertical alignment and normally of the same size. By the turn of the 18th century casement windows had generally given way to sash windows.

On the North Shore, including Salem, the bulk of the earliest extant houses date to the last three decades of the 17th century and the early 18th century. In almost all cases the 17th century residences, which are extant in Salem have been greatly expanded and heavily over-restored over the years. Many of the houses have seen the addition of prominent front gables although only a few, such as the Gedney House (High Street, c.1665) appear to have actually had the gables originally. Restored in 1909-1910, the Turner House or House of Seven Gables (1668) is a curious distortion of architectural fact. The conventional central chimney house was originally erected about 1668 with a full 2 1/2-story addition of a single-room plan probably constructed before 1680. The present leanto and wing were added when the house was restored. Other houses which retain some of their original 17th century character including timber framing, roofing systems and interior features include the John Ward House, constructed after 1684 and moved to its present location and restored in 1910; the Hooper-Hathaway House (c.1682) moved to its present location adjacent to the House of Seven Gables in 1911 and the Jonathan Corwin House (310 1/2 Essex Street, c.1675), restored in 1945 and now owned by the City of Salem.

Salem's economy prospered in the 18th century and there was extensive building activity. The most common house form of the early 18th century was the two-story, wood-frame building, capped by a gambrel or gable roof, of which many examples are seen on Derby, Broad and upper Essex Streets. Many of the central-hall houses were sited with their narrow end to the street. The buildings were stark in their detailing. Frequently a trabeated or pedimented entry was the only ornament. Among the local examples of this form are the Crowninshield-Bentley House at the Essex Institute(1727-1730); the Lindall-Gibbs-Osgood House on Essex Street (1755); and the Jonathan Neal House on Broad Street (1767). Wood-frame buildings predominated. The Derby House on Derby Street (1761-2) is a rare example in brick.

Fashion conscious builders embraced the Georgian style. Many of the high style Georgian residences, which once stood along Essex and Washington Streets, are no longer extant. Among the large gambrel-roofed Georgian residences that have survived on upper Essex Street are the Lindall-Barnard-Andrews House (c.1740); the Cabot-Endicott-Low House (c.1744-1748) and the Capt. Thomas Mason House (c.1750). Typical features of the style include bold classical details such as corner quoins, molded and denticulated cornices and doorways that are capped by transom lights and flanked by pilasters and pediments. The houses were most often capped by gambrel and sometimes, gable roofs; hip roofs became popular c.1770.

After 1765 the three-story, four-square, hipped roof residence with center chimney floor plan found great popularity with the upper class. Good examples include the Mason-Roberts-Colby House (1768), and the Ropes-Waldo (c.1768) house. Decorative features and the center chimney floor plan are similar to the preceding gambrel-roofed houses.

A frame meetinghouse, of unknown appearance, was first erected by the First Parish near what was subsequently the southeastern corner of Washington and Essex Streets in 1636 and served as the center of religious and civic affairs until c.1677. A second meetinghouse, sixty feet by fifty feet, was built just



to the west between 1670 and 1672. Little is known of its appearance although it is known that there were galleries and doors in the east, west and north sides. The timbers of the original meetinghouse were subsequently used to build a schoolhouse, townhouse and watch house. A combined town and courthouse was first built in the middle of School Street in 1677; it was replaced by a new building on School Street (now Washington Street) in 1718. A prison was constructed near the southwestern end of the meetinghouse in 1668. In 1684 a second prison, twenty feet square and thirteen feet stud, was built near what is now the corner of Federal and St. Peter Streets. A new alms and workhouse was constructed on the Common in 1770. A new meetinghouse for the North Church Society was first opened at the corner of North and Lynde Streets in 1772. Salem's other religious congregations each built individual meetinghouses during this period, in some cases successive churches were built on the same site. Fort Pickering on Winter Island was built in 1643. Fort Lee including a breastworks and a platform for sixteen guns, was constructed in 1742. In 1712 the first grammar school was established.

Already an important maritime center, Salem's industrial buildings of the period included shipyards, wharves, warehouses, ropewalks, saillofts, fish houses and saw and grist mills. The earliest known tannery to be established in Salem dates to 1639. Many of the early tanneries were located on the north side of Washington Square. In 1768 Salem had four large tanneries.

## VII. FEDERAL PERIOD (1775-1830)

### A. Transportation Routes

During this period additional improvements were made to link the various parts of the community. Despite some violent opposition from Salem, a toll bridge was constructed between Salem and Beverly in 1788. A bridge was also built over the South River, in a line with Central and Lafayette Streets, in 1805. It was funded by Ezekiel Hersey Derby and others, and was accepted by the town in 1810 and rebuilt in 1821.

Existing roads continued in use and were improved. The number of streets in Salem greatly increased during this period from approximately forty that were named in 1773 to about 120 in 1830. In 1794 a committee was appointed to name the streets and have boards with each name put up in some conspicuous place. Other civic improvements were undertaken by a combination of public and private interests such as the lighting of some of the principal streets in 1803. The first street lamps were erected by private individuals and then given to the town, which supplied the gas and the lamplighter. After a serious fire in 1816 Liberty Street was widened and walkways (sidewalks) were added for the first time in the principal streets in the eastern part of the town.

Among the important streets which were introduced during this period was Chestnut Street, laid out forty-feet wide between Summer and Flint streets in 1796 on land belonging to fifteen families and widened to eighty feet in 1804. The present Bridge Street was laid out in 1789, the previous Ferry Lane was laid out in 1701 following the bank of the river. Broad Street was widened in 1808. What is now Lafayette Street was first laid out from Marblehead Road to South River in 1805. It was renamed Lafayette in 1825, in honor of General Lafayette who traveled on it the previous year on his visit to Salem. Additional new streets were laid out on the waterfront near the new South Salem Bridge.

Stage service, which first linked Salem and Boston in 1766, continued to expand during this period. As early as 1774 an occasional stage ran to Marblehead and there was regular service between Newburyport and Boston, via Salem, with three round trips per week. The first regular service between Salem and Boston was reportedly begun in 1782. In 1794 a regular stage was run from Marblehead to Salem. A stage linking Salem and Gloucester began service in 1796. Stages began to run to Haverhill in 1810; to South Andover in 1819; to Lowell in 1826; to Beverly and to Danvers in 1828; to Lynn in 1832, to Essex in 1833 and to Ipswich about the same time. Based in Salem, the Salem and Boston Stage Company was incorporated in 1821 and remained popular until the advent of the Eastern Railroad in 1838. Most of its coaches were built in the company's shops in Salem.

During the early 19th century the establishment of turnpikes gave great impetus to stage coach travel. Throughout the state private corporations were chartered by the legislature with the power to build roads between specific points and to collect tolls. The Salem Turnpike and Chelsea Bridge Corporation was incorporated March 6, 1802. The road (in Salem now Highland Avenue) was opened for travel to Salem on September 22, 1803. Twelve miles long, the turnpike extended from Salem to the Charles River. It was not until 1869 that tolls were abolished and the turnpike became a free way.

In 1816 a group of Salem and Portsmouth men incorporated as the Massachusetts Steam Navigation Company offering steamboat service between Salem and Boston (Felt 55). The Salem Marine Railway was incorporated in February 1824; the Essex Marine Railway in Feb. 1826. (The Marine Railway on East Gardner Street, torn down in January 1892, was probably the first erected in this country).

Beginning about 1800 the chaises of the Colonial period were replaced with horse wagons which found favor for their smoother ride.

## B. Population

Salem's population more than doubled during this period, increasing 160% from 5,337 individuals in 1776 to 13,895 in 1830. In 1790 Salem was the sixth largest city in the United States. Reflecting Salem's golden age of maritime prosperity, population growth was the highest (33%) between 1800 and 1810. Evidence of the impact of the 1807 embargo and resulting economic decline, during the following decade from 1810-1820, the population remained almost level, displaying a growth rate of just 0.9% and a net increase of just 118 persons.

At least four new denominations found followers in Salem during this period, while other established churches divided to form new congregations. The First Baptist Society was organized in 1804, followed by the Freewill Baptists in 1806 and the Central Baptist Church in 1825. Universalism was first preached in Salem in 1804 and followers met in private houses until a church building was completed in 1809. A Methodist Episcopal Church was first organized in Salem in 1821. The first Roman Catholic services in Salem were held in 1806. St. Mary's Church was erected in 1821, the third Catholic Church in Massachusetts and the fourth in New England. Schisms in existing churches resulted in the formation of additional congregations including the South Church (1774) and the Howard Street Church (1803). The Seaman's Society was formed in 1823 to furnish a place for religious worship for sailors.

The Census of 1754 lists 3462 inhabitants of Salem of which 123 (3.5%) were African-Americans. Writing in 1816, Bentley indicated that many of Salem's African-Americans lived in a group of about 100 huts and houses in the square lying between the present Broad Street Burying Ground, Gedney Street, Mill Hill and Canal Street. Many slaves and servants worshipped in the churches of their masters which reserved sections in the gallery for them. A portion of the Howard Street Burying Ground was also set aside for African Americans. In 1822 a summer school was attended by 114 black children and adults. A Mission Chapel was erected by the Salem churches in 1828 to provide a separate place of worship for the local African-American population. The building was constructed on what was originally South Street, later known as Mill Street and later as (new) Washington Street; it was later removed when Washington Street was extended up the hill.

Various social institutions were established during this period - fire clubs to protect property, marine societies to lessen the dangers of trade and benevolent organizations to assist the less fortunate. The Essex Masonic Lodge was chartered in 1779, dissolved in 1786 and reorganized in 1791. In 1792 the first banking house in Salem was created, the Essex Bank. The Salem Atheneum was established in 1810 and the Salem Lyceum in 1830.

### C. Settlement Pattern

The number of dwellings in Salem increased from approximately 646 in 1781 to 1,494 in 1831. The period is marked by the increasing separation of residential from commercial areas, the emergence of new urban neighborhoods and increased development in some of the outlying areas. At the beginning of this period most of Salem remained focused on Essex Street and the lanes extending from it to the South River which provided access to a series of landings. The west end of town was as of yet relatively undeveloped. Boston Street, the old main thoroughfare from Salem to Salem Village and Boston developed as an area of Georgian and Federal style dwellings.

The present location of Derby Street was laid out around 1760; previously its alignment followed the shoreline. The construction of Derby Street provided great impetus to the development of the waterfront. In 1762 Richard Derby began filling land along the waterfront to create a base for Derby Wharf, which was constructed between 1764 and 1771 and extended 800 feet into the channel of the South River. Wharves, warehouses and counting rooms were also located along the harbor, all part of the prosperous maritime trade. As late as 1836 there were still over thirty wharves along the waterfront. Along the north side of Derby Street were the pre-Revolutionary gambrel-roofed houses of the gentry and further north, older dwellings dating to the 17th century.

According to James Duncan Phillips, in the mid to late 18th century, Salem was still little more than a village. Shops mingled with houses and were most numerous near Town House Square and what is now Washington Street toward the river. The Main Street (from what is now Central Street to Hawthorne Boulevard) was the most desirable place to live for the gentry. Poorer people generally lived between the eastern portion of the Main Street and the harbor along English, Daniels, Turner, Becket and other lanes. The laying out of Chestnut Street in 1796 illustrates the changes which were occurring in settlement patterns and in society as a whole. Development moved westward and there was a greater separation between commercial and residential areas. There was also increasing factionalism between Republican and Federalist rivals. Chestnut Street was from the beginning an elite residential enclave which was to be populated mostly by Federalists, as the

names Federal Street and Hamilton Hall (named after Federalist Alexander Hamilton) suggest. The common was leveled in 1801; the improvement effort was led by a prominent Federalist, Elias Hasket Derby, Jr. Five small ponds were filled in, the almshouse and animals were removed, walks were laid out, trees were planted and the area was enclosed with a fence. Elegant mansions were built fronting the park which in 1816 was renamed Washington Square.

While elite residential neighborhoods developed in the town, gentleman farmers began to relocate to Northfields and to Salem Neck. Beginning in the mid 18th century the old agricultural Southfields area was being converted into privately owned farms and summer homes. Ezekiel Hersey Derby purchased a farm in Southfields on the Marblehead road (now Lafayette Street) about 1800. Soon thereafter Derby formed a group of subscribers to improve the old Marblehead road by straightening it and widening it but met with great opposition when he proposed to extend the road and construct a bridge over the South River, leading into the city. Derby eventually succeeding in gaining town meeting approval for the bridge which was completed in 1810.

As a result of the bridge-building the town market house, constructed by subscription in 1794 at the bottom of Market Street, was moved. Initial construction of the market house in 1794 was intended to limit the market carts and carriages which obstructed the streets and highways. A more elaborate brick market house with a town hall on the upper floor and accommodations for a fish market on the wharf was constructed by the town in 1816 on land in Derby Square which was donated by John Derby and Benjamin Pickman. The use of the market found little popularity with local merchants. The expanded presence of the government is evident in the construction of the United States Custom House in 1819.

The land on Salem Neck remained in public use during this period. A smallpox hospital was constructed at Hospital Point (the northeast point of Salem Neck) about 1800; it burned in 1846. The town erected an almshouse (not extant) near the southwest end of Salem Neck in 1815; it was designed by prominent Boston architect Charles Bulfinch.

#### D. Economic Base

The considerable wealth of several Salem merchants, combined with their ability to generate new capital by extending trade networks to previously untouched markets, made Salem one of the most prosperous and active port towns in the Federal period United States. In addition to vastly enlarging the merchant's personal fortunes, foreign trade stimulated manufacturing and craft activity, as well as the coasting and fishing industries. These flourishing industries provided Salem with a diverse economic and employment base unusual for Federal period communities in the region. The town's dependence on the fruits of foreign commerce also meant that when maritime traded in, the other sectors of the economy suffered the consequences as well.

Thus, during the years between the American Revolution and the Embargo of 1807, Salem prospered; whereas from 1807 to the end of the period, the town was mired in a prolonged depression. This reversal was dictated by international political conflict--specifically, the embargo against Great Britain and the ensuing War of 1812 - and by the flight of capital following the war, in which many Salem merchants removed their trading companies, vessels, and capital to other, larger ports.

From the mid-1780s until 1807, foreign trade was at its peak, and Salem was a primary center from which foreign goods were distributed throughout the United States interior. In 1790, Salem merchants and fishermen owned 151 vessels of 13,726 tons. By 1807 the number had increased 67% to 252 vessels, and tonnage had grown by 217% to 43,570 tons, making Salem the seventh largest ship owning community in the country. The majority of these ships were owned by a few prominent merchant families with well-known names such as Derby, Gray, Rodger, Crowninshield and Forrester. In addition, vessels based in other U.S. and foreign ports brought goods to Salem. A total of only 55 foreign vessels entered Salem in 1789, paying duties of \$13, 200. From 1790 to 1800, however, an average of 146 vessels entered per year, paying almost \$250,000 in import duties. During the peak years, 1800 to 1807, continued expansion brought the number of vessels to 193 per year, and customs revenues paid at Salem amounted to over \$750,000 per year, a 200% increase over the previous decade. These duties represented 5% of the total U.S. customs revenue at the time, indicating Salem's considerable stature among maritime centers.

Salem merchants sent their vessels to all the major ports in Europe, the East and West Indies and South America. Moreover, they initiated trade with port in Africa and the Near and Far East. Early in the period, the principal destinations of Salem vessels were the East and West Indies, where sugar and molasses were bought, and South America, where ruble, hides, coffee, cocoa and nuts were located. By 1790 Salem merchants had opened trade with Sumatra and established a virtual monopoly of the pepper trade. Other foreign ports visited by Salem merchants included Canton (tea); India (spices); Batavia, Manilla (sugar, pepper and indigo); Mocha (coffee); Madagascar (tallow); Mazibar (gum-copal) ; the Cape of Good Hope and the West Coast of Africa (coffee, wine, pepper, sugar, ivory and aloes); the Fiji Islands; Russia (duck, hemp, and iron). In addition, Salem had several coasting vessels, which visited northern and southern ports. "The usual Salem method of making a trading voyage was to start off with a mixed cargo assembled from southern ports, the Baltic, the West Indies and New England; peddle it out at the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius and various ports in the East Indies; picking up oddments here and there, taking freight when occasion offered, buying bills of exchange on London or Amsterdam, and like as not making three or four complete turnover, before returning home" (Morison: 1921, reprinted 1961, 84-85).

Prosperity in the foreign and coasting trades gave impetus to the shipbuilding industry and its many ancillary trades. Among the major builders were Enos Briggs, Ebenezer Mann and Mr. Beckett. Between 1789 and 1834, Salem shipbuilders constructed 137 vessels of about 30,000 tons for foreign trade along. The vast majority was built prior to 1812. Related trades included ship carpenters, carvers, caulkers, painters, riggers, anchor and chain smiths as well as manufacturers of sails, spars, rope, pumps, blocks, rowboats, nautical instruments and chronometers.

Salem's economic fortunes turned sour in 1807 upon the enactment of the Embargo Act. Except for a brief upturn following the lifting of the embargo and declined sharply and steadily, bringing the entire local economy to a virtual halt. The Embargo and later the War of 1812, halted most commercial navigation of the ocean, preventing 160 of 185 foreign trading ships, an about 50 fishing and coasting vessels from sailing their normal routes. By the time hostilities with Britain had eroded, Salem's economy had been fundamentally altered. During the years 1807 to 1812, a period of capital flight and consolidation had begun. Large port cities like Boston, New York

and Philadelphia attracted the ships and wealth of Salem and other merchants. The first significant indication of this trend was the departure to Boston in 1809 of the prominent merchant, William Gray, with 25% of the entire Salem foreign trading fleet. In 1815 the town's overseas trading fleet was only 57 vessels, a drop of 69% from 1807. By the end of the period about 50% of Salem's commercial capital was invested in Boston, New York and other ports. The number of vessels entering Salem for foreign ports also declined dramatically. During the decade 1808 to 1817 an average of 93 vessels arrived in Salem per year, a drop of more than 50% from the first seven years of the century. Consequently, duties collected on imports declined by 50% to \$378,579. Despite some recovery in the 1820s, Salem never regained its status as a center of foreign trade. Nonetheless, the port continued to be home to several active coasting and fishing vessels.

Evidence that Salem did not entirely cease its maritime activities is found in the continued establishment of marine insurance firms and banks. Among those formed to protect the investments of Salem merchants during the period were the Essex Fire and Marine Insurance Co. (1803); the Social Insurance Co. (1808); the Salem Commercial Insurance Co. (1818); and the Mercantile Insurance Co. (1825). The banks incorporated during the period included the Essex Bank (1799), the Salem Bank (18003), the Merchants Bank (1811), the Commercial Bank (1819), the Exchange Bank (1824), the Mercantile Bank (1826), and the Mechanics and Traders Bank (1827).

Fishing was conducted on a small scale during the period. From 1786 to 1799 an average of 20 vessels fished the Grand Banks for cod and mackerel each year, employing about 160 men. Much of the fish was carried on outbound overseas vessels.

Manufacturing and/or processing/refining of imported goods were also important during the period. Sugar and molasses from the West Indies were converted to rum in several Salem distilleries. In 1791 seven firms distilled between 500,000 and 600,000 gallons of rum, some of which was then exported around the world. Prior to 1790, duck cloth for sails was imported from Russia and Sweden. In that year a duck factory was established where flax was spun and woven by 16 men and women. Leather turning was conducted on a small scale early in the period. Beginning with the importation of South American hides, the industry expanded rapidly. By 1801, there were seven tanneries in operation. Several more were established later in the period. There were also several small shoe shops. Other manufacturing included a potash works and 15 bakeries. Saw mills serviced the shipbuilding industry. In the 1820s, lead manufacturing was attempted on a small scale. In 1824 the Salem Lead Co. was incorporated and in 1826 the lead works of Francis Peabody were established.

Farming was also pursued on a small scale. In 1791 there were 323 acres of tillage land, 3767 in pasturage and 244 acres of haying land. In 1820 there were 49 farmers (3% of all occupations). 734 men (47%) worked in commercial occupations and 784 men (50%) in manufacturing.

## E. Architecture

### Residential:

Writing in his diary in 1799 William Bentley describes Salem's architecture of that period as "not uniform". He noted that there were few brick buildings and that most of the buildings were two stories tall, although recently some had been built or raised to three stories.

Between the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 Salem enjoyed a tremendous period of maritime commercial prosperity, which manifested itself in remarkable architectural achievement, much of which reflects the then-popular Federal style. Many of the architectural monuments that were constructed in Salem during this period bore the imprint of Samuel McIntire (1757-1811), local architect, master carpenter and wood carver.

Continuing a tradition begun about 1765, Salem's wealthier residents constructed low-hipped roof residences, three stories in height with an attenuated upper story. Square in plan, the houses typically display a five-bay, symmetrical facade and increasingly delicate ornament. Also prevalent in Salem during this period is a smaller-scale Federal house with a gable roof, center chimney, rectangular plan and ornament which is largely confined to the entrance.

Examples of transitional Georgian-Federal style residences include Samuel McIntire's Peirce-Nichols House (80 Federal Street, c.1782). Beginning about 1800 the ornament on the buildings became lighter and more refined in feeling, indicative of the Adamesque phase of the style. Marking the pinnacle of Salem's architectural heritage, this period generated such landmark buildings as the Cook-Oliver House (Federal Street, 1802-3) and the brick Gardner-Pingree House (Essex Street, 1804-5), both by Samuel McIntire. While wood-frame buildings predominate, a number of brick dwellings of the period are notable fronting the Salem Common (Washington Square).

Early examples of worker housing, constructed between 1750 and 1850, include buildings on Beaver and Silver Streets and other streets in Gallows Hill.

#### Commercial:

Few commercial buildings of this period survive in Salem. There are no known extant examples of wood-frame commercial construction. The c.1801 Jacob Rust Store on Essex Street is a brick building with end walls incorporating paired chimneys and segmental arch window openings. The Pickman-Derby Block on Derby Square is a two-story row of attached brick commercial buildings constructed in 1817. The block originally had arched openings and fanlights on the first floor. The Essex Bank Building at 11 Central Street, constructed in 1811, is believed to be the only surviving building in Salem designed by Charles Bulfinch. The 2 1/2-story, brick, side-gabled building displays a domestic plan adapted to commercial purposes and is notable for its four stone belt courses and lunette windows.

#### Institutional:

A new town and county house was completed in the middle of Washington Street facing Essex Street in 1786 at a cost of \$7,145. A powderhouse was constructed in the great pastures in 1794. In 1806 a Registry of Deeds building was built at the corner of Broad and Summer Streets. (None of these buildings is extant today).

Considered one of the finest Federal-era public buildings in the country, Hamilton Hall, at the corner of Chestnut and Cambridge Streets, was constructed between 1805 and 1807 as a social gathering place for Salem's Federalist merchant families, according to designs by Samuel McIntire. Symbolic of Salem's onetime maritime preeminence, the Custom House (1818-19)

on Derby Street is another excellent example of Federal style public architecture. Constructed several years after McIntire's death, the building still reflects his influence in its delicate and rich decorative detailing. A less refined example of the style, the Town Hall and Market House was constructed on the site of the Derby mansion (now Derby Square) in 1816. Capped by a small octagonal cupola, the 2 1/2-story pediment-end, brick building is dominated by a rhythmic succession of semicircular arched multi-light windows, Palladian windows and fanlights. The designer of the building is not known.

Transitional style, the East India Marine Hall (1824-5) is an impressive granite and brick building which combines the arcade windows of the Federal style with a pediment gable bearing the imprint of the Greek Revival. Located on what is now Essex Street Mall, the building was erected for the East India Marine Society, established in 1799 and a forerunner of the Peabody Museum.

Other institutional buildings which were constructed during this period include the almshouse on Salem Neck designed by Charles Bulfinch 1815 (no longer extant). The Salem Jail on St. Peter Street is a massive granite block building, which was initially constructed between 1811 and 1813 but substantially altered in the 1880s.

Ecclesiastical buildings of this period include the First Universalist Meetinghouse (1808) on Rust Street, an excellent example of the Federal style displaying a front projecting gable pavilion punctuated by arched and Palladian openings. The First Baptist Church on Federal Street, originally constructed in 1805-6, was later altered by Italianate style features c.1850. The Crombie Street Church was originally built as a theater and displays three recessed arches on its gablefront with round arched second floor windows above trabeated doorways.

The Latin Grammar and English High School on Broad Street, constructed in 1818-19, is a two-story, hipped-roof brick building which displays a modillioned cornice, Ionic pilasters and windows with brownstone lintels set in blind arcades. Other schools established in Salem in 1785 include grammar schools on Dean (now Flint) Street and East (now Forrester) Street, followed by a school on School Street in 1807 and on South (now Washington) Street in South Salem in 1819. A school was opened on Williams Street in 1821. In 1827 a school for girls was opened on Beckford Street and on East Street.

#### Industrial:

The number of tanneries operating on the North River continued to increase, close to fresh water necessary for cleansing hides and waste disposal and in close proximity to the port key to importing raw materials. Ropewalks were located in the northeast section of town near the tanyards. Also situated along the North River were fish "flakes" or drying platforms where fish were dried before being packed in barrels for shipment. The waterfront south of Derby Street was dominated by merchants' wharves and warehouses. Initially constructed about 1760, the Derby Wharf was enlarged in 1806, extending a total of 1,124 feet into the South River. The smaller Central Wharf to the west dates to about 1789. Other local industries included a potash works, sawmills, lead works, distilleries and a duck cloth factory.



## VIII. EARLY INDUSTRIAL PERIOD (1830-1870)

### A. Transportation Routes

Stage coach service reached its peak in the early 1830s at which time thirty stages ran daily between Boston and Salem. The coming of the railroad just a few years later soon rendered the stage obsolete. The Eastern Railroad was opened from Boston to Salem on August 27, 1838. Originally there were six daily trains between Salem and Boston. The Eastern road was extended to Marblehead and Ipswich in 1839. Continuation of the line to Newburyport resulted in the construction of a tunnel under Washington Street in Salem in 1839. At the time, the stone arch of the tunnel, seven hundred and eighteen feet long, was one of the largest pieces of granite construction ever undertaken in New England. The Essex Railroad linking Salem and Lawrence opened in 1848 and the South Reading Railroad was opened to what is now Wakefield in 1850. Service was also expanded to Lowell in 1850. A large depot was built in Salem, at the corner of Norman and Washington Streets, in 1847. Damaged by fire in 1882, it was rebuilt along the same lines (not extant). While the railroad expanded transportation opportunities in general, in Salem's case it greatly reduced the city's prominence, as it brought trade to other, larger cities and more accessible markets. The significance of the coastal trade was greatly diminished as the canals and then the railroads funneled products from afar to the eastern cities.

The construction of additional bridges during this period played an important role in the developing street network. A bridge was constructed north across the North River from Dean Street in 1843. A new bridge opened between Union Wharf and South Salem in 1848 and over the South River at Lafayette Street in 1868. Webb Street was completed from the foot of Essex Street to Salem Neck in 1833 and from Essex to Bridge Street in 1855. North Street was widened between Federal and School Streets in 1869. Streets were laid out over Collins Cove in 1869.

At the end of the period smaller horse-drawn streetcars began to supplement the larger railroads. The Lynn and Boston Railroad Company was incorporated in 1859, at which time it included forty horses and eight cars which operated on a single track approximately thirteen miles long extending from Boston to Lynn. Salem's first street railway was incorporated in 1862. The first streetcar in Salem ran on July 8, 1863 to South Danvers (now Peabody). This line was extended to Peabody and to Beverly in 1863. In May 1864 a branch line was opened to South Salem and in 1869 a line to North Salem was added.

### B. Population

Salem's population during this period showed continued growth, equaling an increase of 73.6% as it expanded from 13,895 in 1830 to 24,117 in 1870. The decade of the most dramatic population growth took place between 1840 and 1850 when the population rose from 15,082 to 20,264, an increase of over 34%. The foreign-born population accounted for 21.2% of the total population in 1855; over 81% of the foreign-born residents of Salem, or 3,590 persons, were born in Ireland. The next most populous foreign group, those born in Canada, accounted for just 355 persons. Ten years later, the proportion of foreign-born held almost constant, at 20.7%. Many of these came to Salem seeking employment in the cotton mills and tanneries.

In the 19th century many of Salem's African Americans still lived in the vicinity of the Mill Pond. The percentage of the population which was African American ranged from 1.87% of the population in 1836 to 2.21% in 1845, the

last year in which the Salem Directory included a separate listing for "People of Color". Directories indicate that many were employed as laborers or mariners, the latter including cooks and stewards on Salem ships.

The great majority of the immigrants who came to Salem in the late 1840s were Irish Roman Catholics and new church buildings were soon constructed to accommodate the growing congregation. It is estimated that there were more than 4,000 Catholics in Salem in 1850. A second Catholic parish, St. James', was organized in 1849. The first Catholic parochial school in the city was established in 1842. The Church of the Immaculate Conception was erected in 1857, to replace St. Mary's Church.

The Calvary Baptist Church was established in 1870. Several other short-lived congregations also formed during this period. A Mormon Church was formed in 1842 but dissolved two years later. Other churches which met similar fates includes the Free Church (1839-1850) and the Second Universalist Society (1844-1852). The Crombie Street Church was founded in 1832 by 139 members who withdrew from the Howard Street Church while Grace Episcopal Church was organized in 1858 by former members of St. Peter's Parish.

The Salem Lyceum was organized in 1830. The Fraternity lodge of the Odd Fellows was instituted in 1846. The Essex Institute was incorporated in 1848, a union of the Essex Historical Society (founded in 1821) and the Essex County Natural History Society (established in 1836). In 1836 the town voted to adopt a city form of government, making it the second city in the state after Boston.

### C. Settlement Pattern

As Salem's maritime prominence waned in the early 19th century, the center of local activity shifted inland from the waterfront. On the waterfront the buildings which had been critical components of the once-prosperous maritime trade were now used for warehousing of stone, coal, wood and other bulk goods as well as commercial fishing and processing of fish.

Salem City Hall was built in 1837 on Court Street, now Washington Street, near Town House Square. The broad tidal basin of the South River which first accommodated wharves and warehouses was filled in for a railroad yard and the railroad depot, constructed in 1836-7 (no longer extant).

In 1854 the State Normal School was established at the corner of Summer and Broad Streets. The Salem Hospital was organized in 1873. Aside from the Derby Farm, Salem Neck remained in public use and included the city farm and almshouse.

The outlying areas of the city began to feel increasing development pressures during this period. Due to its proximity to the North River, ideal for leather production, Blubber Hollow became Salem's primary industrial zone. Fueled by the growth of the city's industries, neighborhoods like Gallows Hill, largely farmland until the 1840s, expanded greatly during the mid 19th century. Farmland gave way to worker housing to accommodate the growing numbers employed in the leather tanneries and shoe manufactories of Blubber Hollow. Residents of the neighborhood included many immigrants, particularly from Ireland. By 1870 numerous new streets had been laid out in North Salem and the land was divided into lots. While the eastern section of Boston Street became increasingly industrial and commercial, the western section remained residential.

#### D. Economic Base

Salem, unlike other Essex County port towns, managed to recover from the late Federal period collapse of the maritime economy. During the 1830s Salem reestablished a vibrant, if smaller, ocean-wide commercial economy. Moreover, the town's manufacturing sector expanded, giving Salem a more diversified economic base. In 1840, 1588 men (55%) worked in commercial occupations, 1188 men (42%) in manufacturing and 78 (3%) in agriculture. Three banks were incorporated during the period; the Naumkeag Bank in 1831, the General Interest Bank in 1831 and the North American Bank in 1836.

Foreign trade and fishing experienced resurgence in the 1830s and 1840s. In 1833 there were 111 vessels conducting foreign trade from Salem. By 1837 Salem was home to 137 foreign trading vessels of almost 24,000 tons. In 1846 the tonnage in foreign trade was still about 23,000 tons. During these early decades about 117 vessels of foreign registry entered Salem's ports, paying more than \$400,000 in duties annually. Goods were traded with ports in Europe, the West Indies, South America, Australia, Sumatra, and Zanzibar. In the late 1830s, there were 14 vessels engaged in the mackerel and cod fisheries, employing 130 people. The value of the catch was \$38,000 in 1837. By 1844 there were only three vessels active in the cod fisheries, employing 27 people. The value of catch had fallen to \$7,400. During the 1830s several Salem merchants attempted to establish the whaling trade in Salem. In 1831 there was one active whaling vessel. At the peak, in 1836, 18 vessels employed 432 people. These vessels brought almost 20,000 gallons of sperm oil worth \$125,000 more than 100,000 gallons of other whale oil worth \$41,000 and a large quantity of valuable whalebone. Despite the success of this endeavor there were only two whaling vessels active by 1847. Salem was unable to compete with larger whaling ports like New Bedford, which had gotten an earlier start. In all, there were about 70 whaling voyages conducted out of Salem during the period. Despite the decline of foreign trade, fishing and whaling by the late 1840s, Salem's maritime sector continued to contribute to the town's overall economic well-being. The small coasting trade began to boom in the 1850s, following the completion of the Salem and Lowell Railroad. Many ships brought coal into Salem, after which the coal was transported to the mills of Lowell and Lawrence. By 1870 about 1800 vessels carrying coal unloaded in Salem per year. In addition, in 1865 there were 21 vessels of 2000 tons engaged in the transport of other goods between Salem and other East Coast ports. These vessels employed almost 90 people. Shipbuilding also continued for several years. As late as 1865, two shipyards were still active employing 20 men, and four saillofts employed five people.

During the Early Industrial period the loss of jobs in maritime commerce was compensated by the expansion and diversification of the manufacturing base. In 1832 there were more than 1150 people employed in manufacturing. By 1865 there were 2328 people so employed, a 102% increase. Manufacturing product value also increased sharply between 1832 and 1865, rising 447% from \$1.04 million to \$5.7 million. Early in the period shoe manufacturing and leather tanning were the principal industries. In 1832, 550 people worked in the shoe industry and the value of shoes and leather was almost \$600,000, or more than 50% of the total manufacturing product for that year. Other important products in the 1830s, 40s and 50s were cordage and lead paint, whale oil candles, gums and glues, all of which were related to the maritime economy. Caple Smith established a sperm oil and candle manufactory in 1835. The Salem Lead Co. was organized early in the period by Francis Peabody. Trade with Zanzibar brought uncleaned gum-copal to Salem. In 1835, Jonathan Whipple established a factory for cleaning and processing the gum. The business

prospered employing 35 to 40 people, until 1861 when a duty on the gum-copal stopped importation of the raw material. Hats, cabinets and chaises were also made in small quantities.

Shoe manufacturing remained important late in the period as well. In 1865, 15-20 shoe factories employed almost 400 people. The tanning and currying industry, by contrast, expanded greatly. In 1865 there were 84 tanning and currying establishments with more than 550 employees. The value of treated leather was \$2.76 million, about 50% of the total manufacturing product value. Textiles also emerged as an important industry in Salem. In 1839, the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Factory was incorporated. By 1847 the mill was constructed and ran almost 30,000 spindles and 650 looms. The company employed 600 people (mostly women) and produced five million yards of cloth worth about \$500,000 in 1847. A second mill was built in 1859. By 1865 the Naumkeag Company employed 800-1100 people (60% women) and produced jeans, shirtings, sheetings, and flannel worth \$1.9 million.

Other important manufactured products late in the period included lead paint and pipes, clothing, chemical preparations, chaises and wagons, kerosene and jute bags. In 1846 the Forest River Lead Co. bought out the old Salem head Co. In 1865, 30 people worked at the Forest river factory and lead products valued at \$171,000 were made. Then, in 1868, a new Salem Lead Co. was incorporated. Ten clothing factories employed 182 people who made cloths valued at \$150,000. In 1855, the Salem and So. Danvers Oil Co. was organized and began making kerosene. Jute bag factories were established in 1865 and 1867, the first by Francis Peabody, the second by the India Mfg. Co. Jute was imported from Bengal, India and the bagging produced was sold in the south for baling cotton. Less important manufactured products included cabinets, tinware, twine, cigars, candles, soap, and confectionary.

Farming was pursued on a small scale throughout the period. In 1840 there were 604 acres of tillage, and 938 acres of haying land, and 2856 acres of pasturage. In 1865 there were 46 farms with only 907 acres of tillage and haying land. Hay was the principal agricultural product, followed by potatoes and other vegetables. The value of agricultural products increased from \$27,000 to \$60,000 between 1845 and 1865.

#### E. Architecture

##### Residential:

As the local economy shifted from being centered largely on maritime commercial activities to those of an industrial nature, this period resulted in considerable new construction of worker housing. Diminishing prosperity in the upper classes results in relatively few high style examples of the Greek Revival style. By far the most common house type of the period was the gablefront house of three bays with a sidehall plan, a vernacular expression of the Greek Revival style, which is present in great numbers in both 1 1/2 and 2 1/2-story forms, throughout the city. Concentrations of modest 19th century worker housing are found in the Gallows Hill area and North Salem.

The Gothic Revival was a seldom used style in Salem although there are several outstanding examples including the Henry Brooks House (1851), a Carpenter Gothic building with crocketed finial and decorative bargeboards and rusticated board sheathing meant to suggest stone construction. In other cases, older Salem buildings were the subject of Gothic alterations such as the Pickering House in 1841.

In the city's more affluent neighborhoods, the Italianate style found great popularity with the merchants and other upper class residents. Brick and brownstone residences of note include the Bertram-Waters House (now Salem Public Library) built in 1855 and the John Tucker Daland House (1851) at the Essex Institute. Wood-frame, vernacular Italianate dwellings are more prevalent and often display hallmarks of the style including bracketed cornices, heavy window moldings, flat and segmental arch hoods and quoining and rusticated or flushboard wall surfaces meant to resemble stone. On the most modest houses this detailing is often limited to a bracketed cornice, door hood supported by consoles and an adjacent bay window.

In terms of multi-residential construction, the brick rowhouse grew in popularity during this period. Examples include the West Triple House (c.1833) on Summer Street, a three-story, brick row with a gable roof and Greek Revival-style porches. The Shepard Block at the corner of North and Essex Streets was constructed c.1850 and displays Italianate brownstone lintels of the period although the first floor has been altered.

#### Institutional:

The institutional buildings, which were constructed in Salem during this period echo the eclectic trends which are seen nationally; many of the buildings were designed by prominent architects. Representative of the Greek Revival style are the Salem City Hall on Washington Street (1837) and the Essex County Courthouse (1841) on Federal Street. Several local churches were designed in the Gothic Revival style including St. Peter's Church on St. Peter Street (1833-4); First (North) Church (1835-6) on Essex Street and East Church (1844-6) on what is now Washington Square North. The Boston & Maine Railroad Station was a crenellated stone building, which was built under direction of Gridley J.F. Bryant in 1847 and demolished in 1954.

The Italianate style manifests itself in several brick and brownstone institutions including Plummer Hall on Essex Street (1856-7); the Superior Court of Essex County on Federal Street (1851; later altered in a Romanesque Revival mode) and the Old Police Station on Front Street (1860). The Webb Street, Hose No. 2 firehouse was constructed in c.1855 and illustrates the adaptation of the style for a small, wood-frame building.

The Second Empire style found no real local popularity for public buildings. The State Normal School at the corner of Broad and Summer Streets (1853) is an example of an earlier Italianate building which was later altered and enlarged by the addition of a mansard roof in 1870.

A number of new schoolhouses were constructed in the early 1840s. In 1841 a grammar school (later Epes) was constructed on Aborn Street and the Centre, Williams and East Street boys' schools were united and called the Union School (later Phillips) between Forrester and Essex Streets. The Phillips School was 50 feet wide and 136 feet long. A new brick schoolhouse was opened in South Salem in 1847. The Fowler Street schoolhouse was dedicated in 1852. The Normal School on Broad Street (extant) was constructed in 1853-4. The new brick Bentley School house was first opened in 1861 followed by the Pickering school house the following year. A new wood-frame Phillips School was constructed on Herbert Street in 1869. The brick, Italianate-style Bowditch School (extant) was opened on what is now Flint Street in 1870, bringing together the students of the Hacker School, the Primary School and the Higginson rooms. The Holly Street School was a wood-frame school erected in

1874. The Naumkeag School was opened in 1869 as a half-time and factory school.

#### Commercial:

During this period commercial construction in the city center generally consisted of brick blocks. Both the Bowker Block (c.1830) on Essex Street and the Varney-Reynolds-Ropes Building (1845) on Front Street are good examples of early 19th century commercial architecture which follow the tradition of late Federal-style commercial blocks. The side-gabled brick blocks feature granite post and lintel storefronts, granite sills and lintels and rectangular forms. Gradually these gabled commercial buildings gave way to flat-roofed blocks of higher elevations. Indicative of the new forms which commercial buildings exhibited during this period is the c.1855 Asiatic Building, a four-story, brownstone, Renaissance Revival block and the Downing Block (1858), a three-story, brick block in the Italianate style displaying a bracketed cornice with segmental arch, molded window hoods and corner quoining.

#### Industrial

The Naumkeag Steam Cotton Mills was incorporated in 1839, erecting its first cotton mill, 460 feet long by 60 feet wide, in 1847. Two mills for the making of white lead for paint were located in South Salem. The first opened in 1826; the last closed in 1882. Other manufactories constructed during this period included a jute bag factory on Skerry Street and a car factory on Bridge Street (no longer extant).

By 1850 there were 83 leather tanneries in Blubber Hollow, in proximity to the North River. The Salem Fire of 1914 wiped away the bulk of the city's early industrial structures, many of wood-frame construction. Built before 1851, the Putnam Tannery at 63-65 1/2 Boston Street is the area's earliest extant tannery and is noteworthy for its age and brick construction, unusual in Salem's 19th century leather industry. Other small industrial buildings which survived the fire include buildings on Proctor and Goodhue Streets.

Among the architects who found local prominence during this period were William H. Emmerton (1828-1873) and Joseph C. Foster (1829-1906), who were responsible for numerous Italianate style buildings in the 1850s including the Asiatic Building, the Bertram-Waters House (now Salem Public Library) and the State Normal School.

### IX. LATE INDUSTRIAL PERIOD (1870-1915)

#### A. Transportation Routes

The road network continued to improve in quality and increase in density. During this period extensive changes to the city's topography involved the filling in of former water bodies to allow for the construction of new roads and railroads. In 1881 and 1882 the City Council appropriated funds to fill Frye's Mill Pond and build a canal. Canal Street was laid out on land filled in 1890 by the Boston and Maine Railroad along the North River west of North Street. During this period Jefferson Street was extended over the former Mill Pond. Other streets laid out include the extensions of St. Peters and Howard Streets, on filled land on the north side of Bridge Street. The Beckford Street basin in the North River was filled in 1881, allowing for the extension of Bridge Street. The Dean Street basin was filled the following year. In 1885 the Mason Street basin and docks east of the North Bridge, in

the North River, was filled. The B & M Railroad was granted permission to fill the river at Forest River bridge in 1887. New Derby Street was laid out on the former flats in the South River between Lafayette and Washington Streets.

Additional roads were built throughout the city. The development of the Salem Willows area resulted in a new network of roads on Salem Neck beginning in the 1870s including the construction of a new avenue to the Neck and the widening of East Webb Street. The Washington Street extension to Mill Street was opened to travel in Sept. 1873. A number of streets including Madison Avenue were laid out over the Great Pastures in 1878. A new iron bridge on Union Street was opened for travel in 1893. The Forest River bridge was widened in 1899. In 1908 the Kernwood Bridge was opened between Salem and Beverly. The railroad depot (not extant) was damaged by fire in 1882 but rebuilt according to its original 1847 design.

The street railway reached its heyday during this period. Due to financial difficulties, the Salem Street Railroad Company was reorganized in 1875 as the Naumkeag Street Railway Company. Soon thereafter service was extended to the "Willows" and at its peak as many as ten thousand persons were transported there in the summer. In 1883 tracks were laid to Gloucester Crossing and an extension was built to Harmony Grove. Later extensions included Marblehead, North Beverly, Wenham Depot and Asbury Grove. In 1887 the company had thirty miles of trackage in the region, one hundred and six cars, 390 horses and 112 employees.

In 1888 the horsecars in Salem were replaced with trolley cars operated by electricity. In 1892 the Lynn and Boston Railroad Company purchased the Naumkeag Street Railway Company and the Essex Electric Street Railway Company. The entire network encompassed tracks in eighteen cities and towns, greatly opening up suburbs along its path. By 1896 the Lynn and Boston Railroad Company included 588 cars and 163 miles of track, transporting 25 million passengers.

In Salem the electric cars which ran down Boston, North, Essex, Bridge and Lafayette all converged at Town House Square where additional cars stood ready to transport to Beverly, Danvers, Peabody and Marblehead. In 1893 the new electric street railway to Lynn was opened via Loring Avenue. The first car was run over the Highland Avenue line to Boston in May 1906. Trolley service across the Essex Bridge connected Salem and Beverly.

The first trip of the new steamboat line to Boston was completed on October 7, 1890. A new steamboat wharf was constructed at the Willows in 1895.

## B. Population

Salem's population was the third largest in Essex County, behind Lawrence and Lynn in 1870 and fourth in 1915, behind Lynn, Lawrence, and Haverhill. Growing from 24,117 in 1870 to 37,200 in 1915, the total population increased 54.2% during the period. The foreign-born population accounted for an increasing percentage of the total as the period advanced, measuring 24.7% in 1875 and 28.9% in 1915. The actual number of immigrants grew 67.2% from 6,420 in 1875 to 10,735 in 1915. Early in the period, the Irish born represented 56% of the foreign-born population, followed by a large number of Canadians and smaller numbers of English, Swedish and Scottish immigrants. By period's end Canadians were the largest immigrant group, followed closely by the Irish and Polish born. Significant number of Russian, Italians, Greeks and Turks

also migrated to Salem during the period, as did smaller numbers of English, Scottish, Swedish and German born.

Churches organized during the period included the Advent Christian Church (1875), the First Church of Christ Scientist (1898), the Polish Catholic Society (1903), and the First Church of Nazarene (1904). French Canadian Catholics began meeting in 1872, the Second Church Unitarian and the Barton Square Church were united in 1897, and the Central Baptist Society merged with the First Baptist Church in 1909.

Salem was home to other voluntary associations as well. The large population of industrial workers were made the focus of organizing efforts by the Knights of Labor. Assembly #77 was established in the 1880s. A women's suffrage organization was formed by 1885 and held mass meetings in 1885 and 1887. The Knights of Columbus organized a local in 1893, and the Essex Democratic Club was formed in 1898. Still, in 1896, Salem voted 3 to 1 for McKinley over William Jennings Bryan.

### C. Settlement Pattern

Salem's extensive streetcar network brought residential development to the city's suburbs. The tremendous growth which Salem experienced in the mid to late 19th century resulted in the subdivision and development of former farmlands and large estates in South Salem as well as North Salem. The subdivision of the Derby and Messervy Estates gave way to Lafayette Street and is indicative of South Salem's change from summer resort and agricultural area to a year-round residential neighborhood. In 1876 the Derby Estate was sold to Nathaniel Wiggin, Charles Clark and James Almy who immediately surveyed the property, graded streets and began construction of fine homes.

In the early 1880s the Castle Hill area joined Stage Point as an area of French Canadian settlement. But while development in Stage Point consisted primarily of apartments and tenements, Castle Hill was almost exclusively single and two-family dwellings. The oldest streets in Castle Hill were Willson and Jefferson Streets. The majority of the growth of Castle Hill occurred from 1890 to 1900 and between 1910 and 1915. There were 210 residences by 1915. In 1897 it was estimated that Ward 5 contained nearly one-third of the population of Salem. It was between 1886 and 1896 that the largest number of French Canadian immigrants settled here. The city's large French-Canadian population, roughly 1/6 of the city's population at the turn-of-the-century, was largely concentrated in the Stage Point area east of Lafayette and south of Harbor Streets, near the cotton mills, leather and shoe factories where many of the immigrants worked.. By 1910 almost 25% of Salem's total population was French Canadian. The Polish community was largely concentrated in the Derby Street neighborhood.

In North Salem, near the Peabody line, former farmland was increasingly divided into lots to house the growing numbers of industrial workers. By 1881-2 when the North Street firehouse had been constructed North Salem had developed sufficiently to require its own city services. Much of the development was centered around North Street from Barr Street on the west to Walker Street on the east and from North River to Orne and School Streets. Speculative developments included that of George P. Woodbury who developed a five-acre parcel in North Salem, an extension of Fairmount and Woodside Streets, about 1897.



The 1870s also ushered in the development of Salem Neck. The city-owned land at this time included the almshouse and city farm and by 1890 included a hospital, insane asylums and common pasture. In 1873 it was first suggested that the city lay out streets and building lots on the Neck for the growth anticipated with the construction of a new Eastern Railroad wharf nearby. The privately-held land consisted of approximately 40 acres known as the former Derby farm, which Daniel Gardner, a Salem merchant, purchased in 1872. Soon thereafter Gardner laid out streets and began selling house lots. The earliest cottages were located along the waterfront, almost exclusively on the water side of Bay View Avenue. Over the next forty years development proceeded northwest from the early cluster of cottages on the tip of Juniper Point to the area bounded by Columbus, Bay View and Fort Avenues. In addition to cottages, the Salem Willows neighborhood included a few boarding houses or summer hotels. Many of the cottage owners were from the Merrimack Valley, including Haverhill, Lawrence and Lowell. Beginning in the mid 1870s the city began gradual improvements to its land at the Willows, establishing it as a public pleasure ground. Roads were graded and the city leased land to livery stables, restaurants and amusements. In 1877 the Naumkeag Street Railway extended its track to the end of Fort Avenue. A bandstand was constructed prior to 1890. In 1895 landscape architect Philip Codman of Brookline prepared a plan which laid out much of the present plan of roads through the park. Although the plan was never completed, considerable tree planting did occur and two rookeries were built (no longer extant).

The decline of shipping in the mid 19th century corresponded with the growth of local industry and the further physical expansion of downtown Salem. Retail commercial activity remained concentrated largely on Washington and Essex Streets. Large commercial blocks were constructed along Washington Street in the 1880s and 1890s including the Kinsman Block (1882), the Peabody Building (1891-2) and the Power Block (1889-90).

The City of Salem also greatly expanded its parklands during this period. In 1883 public parks were limited to Salem Willows, Liberty Hill Park, the Common and Rowells Field. In 1896 Ledge Hill Park or Mack Park in North Salem was given to the City by Dr. William Mack and his sister Miss Esther Mack. The City purchased Highland Park in 1906 and acquired Forest River Park in 1907. The latter consists of 29 acres of rolling land adjacent to the harbor. Gardner Park at Salem Willows was given to the City in 1908. Gallows Hill was bought by the City in 1912 and Palmer's Cove was purchased in 1913. The Salem Normal School was dedicated in the southern part of the city, at Lafayette Street and Loring Avenue in 1897. Highland Avenue and the Highland Park area remained farmland until the early 20th century.

There was no event with greater impact on the city than the Great Fire which began in the afternoon of June 23, 1914 as a result of an explosion of chemicals in a leather manufactory in "Blubber Hollow" at 57 Boston Street. In all the fire destroyed 1,800 buildings (of which 1,600 were homes), 41 factories and a total of 251 acres were burned, leaving 15,000 people homeless. The path of the fire cut through the manufacturing and more recent residential neighborhoods, including parts of Lafayette Street and the neighborhoods closest to the mills. Fortunately, the majority of the city's architectural and historical treasures escaped destruction.

#### D. Economic Base

During the Late Industrial period Salem increasingly became a manufacturing city. Agriculture was conducted on a very small scale. Maritime commerce was limited to vessels carrying coal; however, the city did emerge as an important regional locus for retail and wholesale trading. In 1875, 3,799 men (60%) were employed in manufacturing, 1851 (29%) in trade and transportation, 345 (5%) in government and professional positions, and most of the remaining 6% in agriculture. By 1915 the number of manufacturing jobs for men had grown 75% to 6,635, accounting for 67% of all male employment in Salem. The number of jobs in commerce increased 62% to 3007, accounting for 31% of the total. Only

155 men worked in agriculture at period's end. The value of manufactured goods increased 57% from \$7.7 million in 1875 to \$12.2 million in 1905. Cotton goods, shoes and leather, and lead and iron products accounted for 72% of the 1875 total. 59 leather treatment factories produced tanned and curried leather worth \$3.1 million. 22 shoe factories made shoes worth \$363,000 and the Naumkeag mills made cotton goods worth \$1.5 million, running 73,000 spindles and 1,400 looms, and employing 1,400 operators. By 1885, Salem was ranked 14th in the state in the value of manufactured goods. The tanning industry paced the early growth however, and by 1905 shoe manufacturing was the leading industry. In 1905, 42 shoe factories employed 2,641 people and produced shoes valued at \$4.6 million, a 1,175% increase over 1875. There were only 19 tanning and currying factories, but they employed more than 900 people and produced leather valued at \$3.3 million. Other products manufactured during the period included carriages and wagons, typewriters, machines, cigars, and clothing.

Maritime related activities were still pursued on a small scale. Between 1872 and 1884 seven fishing schooners of 234 tons were built. In 1885 there were five small fishing companies that employed 48 fishermen. All of the fish was sold in the markets of Salem. In 1915 there were still fishermen who caught 1.5 million lbs. of fish (mostly cod and haddock) valued at about \$40,000. In 1915, Salem had 128 vessels engaged in transporting 61,000 tons of coal to the post, employing 341 men. By 1905 there were 410 commercial establishments in Salem and the value of retail and wholesale goods sold exceeded \$8.5 million (80%) retail. Food products were sold at 192 of the establishments, manufactured goods at 192, and raw materials at 19.

The number of farms and cultivated acres increased slightly during the period. In 1875 there were 33 farms with 762 acres of tillage and having land. In 1895 there were 55 farms with 920 acres under cultivation. Milk was the principal agricultural product throughout. Hay was important in 1875, whereas in 1905 greenhouse products were second to dairy. The value of all agricultural products increased slightly from \$77,000 in 1875 to \$82,000 in 1905.

#### E. Architecture

##### Residential:

The continuing need for housing to accommodate the city's growing working population intensified in the 1870s. Modest cottages were constructed throughout the city, while older 18th century dwellings were subdivided and enlarged for use as multifamily housing. In terms of worker housing, the 1 1/2- and 2 1/2-story gablefront form with a sidehall entrance, often sheltered by a bracketed doorhood or turned support porches, were favored.

Although best known for its earlier architecture, Salem retains a wealth of fine examples of the various eclectic styles which found popularity in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. There are are limited local examples of the Second Empire style constructed after 1870. Among the most elaborate is the Putnam-Balch House on Essex Street (1871-2), a hipped-roof dwelling which combines elaborate wooden decorative details from both the Second Empire and Italianate modes. Many of the city's mansard-roofed residences are concentrated in the Lafayette Street area with some additional examples found in the upper Essex and Federal Street neighborhood. High style examples of the Second Empire style are found in particular on Linden Street and Clifton Street.

Neither the Stick, Shingle nor Richardsonian Romanesque styles found great popularity locally, although elements of these styles may appear in more vernacular forms. Salem's best examples of the Queen Anne style are found in the Lafayette Street area including Ocean and Summit Avenue, with additional residences located adjacent to the Salem Common. The high style representatives display complex plans and massings and a variety of building materials and textures.

Following in the footsteps of and paying homage to Salem's earlier Georgian and Federal style landmarks, the Colonial Revival style dominated the architectural movement at the turn of the century. During the early stages of the Colonial Revival in the late 19th century, buildings display freely combined and exaggerated architectural features, which often mix those of various periods and break the rules of symmetry which guided earlier buildings. High-style Colonial Revival residences were constructed throughout the upper Essex and Chestnut Streets area between 1889 and 1910.

#### Institutional:

A number of public buildings were erected during this period to serve the expanding city population. The North Street firehouse, erected in 1881 is an eclectic, brick building displaying a large round arched window on its gablefront. A similar building originally stood on Lafayette Street. The Essex Street firestation was constructed in 1898. The Salem Branch Library was constructed in 1912 on Ocean Avenue according to designs by C.H. Blackwell. On Winter Island, the Plummer Farm School was constructed in 1899 according to J.C.Foster's designs. The High School on Highland Avenue was constructed in 1907. During this period additions were also made to various schools including Pickering (1893 & 1910) and Derby Ave. Schools (1898, 1900) and Saltonstall School (1912). A Children's Sanitarium was constructed in 1893.

An interest in eclectic architectural styles is evidenced in the c.1874 Victorian Gothic alterations to the First Church. The Romanesque Revival style is illustrated by the Wesley United Methodist Church (1888) on North Street. Constructed in 1908 at the corner of Webb and Forrester Streets, the St. Nicholas Russian Orthodox Church is an ornate wooden building dominated by five onion domes and constructed for a congregation of Polish and Russian skilled leather workers who settled in the area. The Blake Memorial Chapel in Harmony Grove Cemetery is a Gothic Revival stone building which dates to 1904. Designed by J.P. Rinn and constructed in 1897, the former State Normal School (now Salem State College) is a three-story, Renaissance Revival-style building of buff brick with light stone trimmings. The Italianate style Courthouse was renovated in a Richardsonian Romanesque style in 1888 while

the adjacent Classical Revival building was constructed in 1908-9. Reflecting a continuing interest in historic architecture, the Salem Athenaeum on Essex Street, constructed in 1906, is a replica of Neoclassical residence in Baltimore, Maryland.

#### Industrial:

In 1874 a new gas works was built near the Beverly Bridge (no longer extant). By 1886 the Naumkeag Steam Cotton facility consisted of five main buildings with machine shops, warehouses and outbuildings attached or located nearby. All but one of the buildings was destroyed in the fire of 1914. The repair shops of the B & M Railroad were destroyed by fire in 1894 while the Forest River Lead Works burned in 1897.

Until the 1914 fire, Salem's major industry consisted of small factories devoted to the shoe and leather-making concerns. The three major shoe and leather industrial districts were Blubber Hollow-Boston Street; Canal Street and Dodge-Derby Streets, and were supplemented by several other smaller areas of shoe activity. There are frequent newspaper accounts in the late 19th century detailing the fire loss of yet another small leather shop in the city. Most of the old buildings lacked fireproof construction and many were ultimately destroyed in the 1914 fire which originated in the core area of Salem's largest shoe and leather district. Thirty-five shoe and leather firms were partially or completely destroyed by the fire.

#### Commercial:

Commercial buildings in the central city continued to be of brick or masonry construction. Numerous substantial commercial blocks were constructed along Essex and Washington Streets in the late 19th century; most are variations of the Colonial Revival style. Among the most imposing commercial buildings in Salem is the Kinsman Block at 81 Washington Street, constructed in 1882. The brick building with granite trim which combines High Victorian Gothic, Italianate and Romanesque influences. The Power Block at 138-144 Washington Street was constructed in 1889 and is a notable example of the Romanesque Revival with round and segmental arched openings and ornate brickwork. The YMCA Building at 284-296 Essex Street (1897) is a richly embellished three-story block adorned by ornament which owes much to Beaux-Arts Classicism. Constructed in 1910, the Merchants National Bank on Essex Street is an excellent example of Colonial Revival commercial architecture which displays a somewhat exaggerated combination of period details including a pedimented central entry, arched window openings, pilasters, quoins, urns, panels and swags. Commercial buildings elsewhere in the city, including those on Bridge Street and North Street are generally of wood-frame construction, combining first floor storefronts with residential units above. Ornament on these buildings is generally limited to projecting cornices and storefronts flanked by panels and transoms.

Among the prominent local architects of the period was William Devereux Dennis (1847-1913) who was responsible for numerous local commissions, both private and public. A native of North Salem, Dennis was the son of Devereux Dennis, a carpenter. The younger Dennis' works include the Odd Fellow/Savings Bank Building, the Naumkeag Fire Club, alterations to the First Universalist Church, alterations to the Goldthwait Building (242 Essex Street), the Newcomb Block (1-7 Central Street, 1886); the Derby Avenue School (not extant), the Orphan Asylum (not extant) and various churches including St.

Nicholas Russian Church (64 Forrester Street, 1908) and the Methodist Church. Dennis' 1913 obituary states that for much of his career Dennis was the only regular professional architect of Salem having an office in the city and that most of the city buildings of the past twenty years were designed by him including the North and South Salem fire houses and the Bertram School in South Salem. Architect Ernest M.A. Machado (1868-1907) was responsible for restoration work on various buildings including the Essex Bank Building (11 Central Street, 1899) as well as various residences, the Lyceum Building and the Blake Memorial Chapel in Harmony Grove Cemetery (1904-5).

#### X. EARLY MODERN PERIOD (1915-1940)

##### A. Transportation

Indicative of the progressive ideals embodied in the City Beautiful Movement popular across the country, Salem established a City Plans Commission in 1911, the first such commission to be established in Massachusetts and predating the State mandate for planning commissions. The plan which was prepared in 1912 was to set the stage for some of the alterations made after the 1914 Salem fire. The main force behind the Salem City Plans Commission was Harlan Kelsey, a Boston landscape architect of national repute. Among the improvements which grew directly out of the City Plans Commission were the widening of all important streets and the laying out of new streets and boulevards connecting the city parks. Elm and Walnut Streets were widened and the buildings between them were removed, thus creating a park for the Hawthorne Memorial Statue, known as Hawthorne Boulevard. Congress Street was also widened from forty to eighty feet and extended to Palmer's Cove as the first link in a proposed "Shore Boulevard". The flats at Palmer's Cove were taken for the gradual filling in of land for a park and playground.

After the 1914 fire a number of changes were made in the layout of Salem streets. The burned area covered all or part of almost eighty streets. Approximately 40,000 feet of curbing was destroyed in the fire and the asphalt sidewalks in most of the area were destroyed. Alterations completed after the fire included widening various roads, straightening alignments, rounding sharp angles and taking property for parks. Boston Street between Essex and Bridge Streets was widened from 45 feet to 70 feet. Among the more major changes, Broad Street was extended from the junction with Flint Street to Highland Avenue, forming what is now Dalton Parkway and measuring 100 feet wide. Between Leavitt and Harbor Streets, Congress Street was widened from 40 feet. to 80 feet and extended north over the South River to Derby Streets with the Union Street Draw Bridge moved to Congress Street. Derby Street was widened and extended west to Lafayette Street with the new section called New Derby Street.

To replace the 353 trees that were lost, 925 new trees were planted. New parks were added on Mill Hill, High Street and the western end of Broad Street. In 1917 Hawthorne Place, Lafayette Triangle, Edwards Square, Merritt Triangle and Columbus Circle were formally set aside as public parkways. A 9-hole golf course was constructed in Highland Park in 1932.

Other changes to the road network occurred in the 1930s, largely as a result of the federal funds made possible by the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Among the large projects funded by the federal government were the construction of seawalls, the renovation of Old Town Hall, recreational facilities and improvements to the waterfront including the restoration of Derby Wharf by the National Park Service. A shore boulevard which had been

discussed for over twenty years became a reality with the construction of Collins Street from south of Planters Street. In the City Center, the most ambitious civic improvement dating to this period was the development of the Post Office Square/Riley Plaza Area which included the removal of 51 buildings, the construction of the Post Office/Federal Building at 2 Margin Street (1932-3), the extension of Broad Street from Summer to Margin Streets, seventy feet in width and the widening of Norman and Margin Streets to a similar width. The railroad station which stood on the site of the present Riley Plaza was demolished in 1954.

By 1935 buses had begun to take the place of streetcars in some sections of the city. The electric street railway was discontinued throughout Salem shortly thereafter.

#### B. Population

Since its (word???) period surge, Salem's growth continued, but at a more gradual pace. By the Early Modern decades, such growth was virtually at a standstill. Despite a spurt between 1915 and 1920 (up 14%), decline set in, and the town recorded an increase of less than 8% for the period.

In 1915 Salem's population was nearly 29% foreign-born, among them Canadians (35%), Irish (22%) and Poles (17%). By 1950, Salem was only 14.5% foreign-born, a population dominated by Canadians (largely French)(44%) and Poles (18%).

#### C. Settlement Pattern

After the 1914 fire many of Salem's leather and shoe manufacturing firms moved to Peabody or went out of business altogether. As a result, much of the former industrial area was converted to residential and commercial uses.

Development in the city continued to expand outward during this period. In South Salem, the Pickman Park area remained undeveloped and privately owned as late as 1897. Bounded by Hayes, Jefferson and Pierce Streets, Pickman Park developed as a middle class neighborhood in the early 20th century. This early theme subdivision was planned c.1910 by the Pickman Park Realty Company on the site of an early 19th century farm and displays a varied, organic street plan which appears to correspond to the topography of the area. The first streets to be developed, Loring Avenue and Cleveland Road, both had houses by 1911. Other roads within the subdivision, such as Moffatt and Pickman Roads, were not developed until Salem's construction boom between 1924 and 1929. In recent years the area has continued to be expanded to the northwest. Other nearby residential neighborhoods developed during this period include Osgood Park, a self-contained subdivision off Lafayette Street, including Naples and Savoy Roads, as well as the adjacent section of Lafayette Street. Saltonstall Parkway, off Lafayette Street, was developed in 1926-7. In the early 20th century other properties in South Salem evolved from 19th century country estates into institutional uses, most notably the Loring Villa which later became Convent St. Chetienne (now part of Salem State College).

New housing, primarily single family, continued to be constructed in outlying areas of the city during the 1950s and 1960s, including Gallows Hill/Witchcraft Heights and West Salem. The majority of housing in the downtown was constructed prior to 1940. Following World War II the City became actively involved in providing housing for veterans and a number of

subsidized developments were constructed throughout the city including Garden Terrace off North Street, Lee Fort Terrace near the Willows and Rainbow Terrace, off Loring Avenue. In the 1950s the City provided land at reasonable prices on Fort Avenue, Memorial Drive, Victory Road and Connors Road to enable veterans to build homes in Salem.

Salem's population peaked in the 1930s and by the late 1960s had actually declined due to a loss of industry. With the eventual decline of rail and the construction of Route 128 Salem became increasingly isolated and inaccessible. The local economy reached a low in the early 1960s and evidence of urban decline was widespread. In the 1970s the city began to recognize its historic significance and reclaim its heritage with several major revitalization efforts including Heritage Plaza, Pickering Wharf and other waterfront projects. Since the 1970s the City has established several local historic districts including Chestnut Street (1971); Derby Street (1974); Federal Street (1976); Lafayette Street (1985); McIntire Historic District (1981); and Washington Square Historic District (1977). Numerous individual properties and districts have also been listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

At the time of the passage of the City Zoning Ordinance in 1926 the central commercial core continued to be along Essex and Washington Streets. Additional areas which were zoned for commercial uses included Boston Street, North Street, Jefferson Avenue, Webb Street, Bridge Street and Broadway with smaller commercial nodes located at the Willows, on Leach Street, Planters Street, Balcomb Street, Highland, Lafayette and Jackson Streets. Within the last 30-40 years the downtown has remained the retail core although other retail areas have also developed including Vinnin Square, the Hawthorne Square Mall and strip commercial development on Highland Avenue, and other concentrations on Bridge Street, North Street and more recently, in the revitalized waterfront area. Industry remains concentrated in Stage Point, Canal Street/Jefferson Avenue and in proximity to the North River. No new parklands were added to the city between 1949 and 1970, however the 1979 Master Plan indicates that at that time open space and public and vacant lands comprised 2,500 acres, or more than half of the city's land area.

#### D. Economic Base

Manufacturing continued to dominate Salem's Early Modern period economy. Early in the period shoe and leather manufacturing were the leading industries, having recovered from the disastrous 1914 fire that burned much of the manufacturing district. Among the shoe manufacturing firms were B.F. Bell and Co., J. Brown and Sons, Cass and Daley Shoe Co., Derby Shoe Mfg. Co., Daniel Glover and Sons, J.T. Hopkins and Sons, Salem Shoe Mfg. Co., Salem Turn Shoe Co., Don D. Sargent Co., Stevens Soft Sale Shoe Co., and others.

At the end of the period Salem was an important industrial center. While shoes and leather were still important products in 1952, the electrical machinery and equipment industry had assumed the leading role by that time. The largest firm was the Hygrade Sylvania Co., which was incorporated prior to 1930. During the Great Depression, Hygrade-Sylvania gave single girls and women first preference when jobs were available. In 1952 this and seven other electrical machinery firms employed 2,946 people or 42% of the total manufacturing workforce in that year. The shoe and leather industry comprised 40 firms and employed 1,571 people or 22.4% of the total. Throughout the period the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company was an important employer. The Naumkeag mills also burned in 1914; however, by ca. 1920 the firm's plant was

reconstructed. In 1920 more than 18 million yards of cotton cloth were manufactured, using 150,000 spindles and almost 3,000 looms, and employing 1,324 people (about 60% men). "Pequot" and "Naumkeag" brand sheetings sold throughout the United States. Even at period's end, when most New England textile mills had closed, the Naumkeag Company employed close to 1000 people. In all, there were 119 manufacturing firms in 1952, with 7070 employees. Chemical, other machinery, and food were less important products.

The 7,070 manufacturing employees represented 50.7% of the Salem workforce in 1952. The next largest sector was wholesale and retail trade, with 4,039 employees or 29% of the total 460 firms (mostly retail). The remaining 20% were mostly employed in the service, transportation, and construction industries.

## E. Architecture

### Residential:

Much of the city's early 20th century residential architecture displays a blend of Queen Anne and Colonial Revival styles. Typical forms including two-story gablefront dwellings with sidehall plans, two-story bay windows and a one or two story porch. More high style Colonial Revival buildings are found throughout the fire area including Fairfield Street, Warren Street, Lafayette Street and Dalton Parkway areas. Most of the Colonial-inspired residences of the period display rectangular plans, strict symmetry, and an overlay of details including pilastered and columned entrances, dormers and Palladian windows. Less common are variations such as Dutch Colonial dwellings, recognizable by their gambrel roofs.

Compared to other urban areas in the State, there are relatively few extant three-deckers in Salem. Construction of the wooden three-decker, which existed in large numbers in Salem prior to the fire, was prohibited by the Salem Rebuilding Commission after the fire. Due to the 2 1/2-story limit for wood-frame, multi-family dwellings, double houses are common during this period, particularly in the fire area. Common forms in the early 20th century included a two-story, double house with a gable or hip roof and a one or two story front porch. Multi-residential construction includes large brick NeoClassical apartment buildings such as those seen on Lafayette Street in the fire area. The new building code instituted after the fire limited residential buildings to four stories in height, even if fireproof. The new code also mandated a greater amount of open spaces around wooden buildings and multiple dwelling houses than had existed before the fire - up to 25% of the lot.

Examples of middle class, early 20th century construction include the Pickman Park area in South Salem which is notable for fine examples of the bungalow form on Pickman Road, Craftsman on Cleveland Road and Colonial Revival on Loring Avene and Moffatt Road.

The Salem Rebuilding Trust oversaw much of the post-fire construction. Directly after the fire Mrs. Emma Almy contributed \$500 for plans for the best low-priced double and single residences and later demonstration houses were constructed on Winthrop Street by the Salem Rebuilding Trust from these plans. Another example of the reform housing which was erected for workers is the twelve-house development on Franklin, Foster, Hayward and Osborne Streets. Designed by architects Kilham and Hopkins, the neighborhood includes two types of brick double-houses - a Dutch Colonial and a box-like style.



Orne Square is another noteworthy post-fire area. A rare example of 20th century rowhouses, made even more unusual by their concrete construction, the eight rowhouses each contain two units and are capped by gable roofs.

Cohesive planned developments of the period include Saltonstall Parkway, developed off Lafayette Street in 1926-7. Designed by Salem architect, W.H. Hunt, the single and two-family Colonial Revival dwellings are variations on a house type common in the area and consist of 2 1/2-story, hipped roof houses with center or side entries with sidelights, porticoes and pediments.

The Cape form saw increasing popularity in the 1940s and 1950s in outlying areas. Concentrations of Cape-type residences are found in numerous areas including Conners Road and Fort Avenue.

#### Institutional:

The Colonial Revival continued to be the style of choice for most civic buildings erected in Salem in the early 20th century. One of the finest is the United States Post Office Building (2 Margin Street, 1932-3), designed by Wenham architect Philip Horton Smith (1890-1960) of the firm of Smith and Walker. The Masonic Temple on Washington Street was constructed in 1915 and displays a massive temple front with four fluted Corinthian columns. The Lydia Pinkham Memorial on New Derby Street was erected in 1922 and borrows heavily from domestic architecture forms with parapet end walls with paired chimneys, splayed lintels and round arched openings. The Salem Hospital was constructed in South Salem in 1916, a large brick complex clothed in the Colonial Revival style. The Tabernacle Church (58 Washington Street, 1923) is a Colonial Revival church which incorporates many features of late 18th and early 19th century Salem architecture. Designed by the same architects, Philip Horton Smith and Edgar Walker, Grace Church (Essex Street, 1926) is a late example of a Gothic Revival stone building. Another late Gothic church is St. Thomas the Apostle Church (260 North Street, 1930).

The Ward 3 Fire Station was constructed on Essex Street in 1915, designed by Philip Horton Smith, then of the firm of Kilham and Hopkins. The South Salem Fire Station was constructed at the corner of Broadway and Loring Avenue in 1917 and was designed by architect Frank S. Whearty. The Saltonstall School on Lafayette Street was constructed in 1916 to replace the former Saltonstall School on Holly Street and the Brown School, both of which were destroyed in the fire. The building was designed by James E. McLaughlin of Boston, selected through a public competition in which over 70 firms took part. Other schools constructed during this period include the Endicott School on Boston Street constructed in 1929 according to designs by Frank S. Whearty; the Orne Street School in 1930 (Andrews, Jones, Biscoe and Whitmore, architects) and the Cogswell School on School Street in 1934 by Andrews, Jones, Biscoe and Whitmore. Additions were made to various schools including Phillips School in 1923.

In 1930 Pioneer Village was built, a replica of an early 17th century settlement built for the Massachusetts Bay Tercentenary under the supervision of George Frances Dow, a noted historian and former curator at the Essex Institute. Intended as a temporary exhibit, as many as half of the original structures are no longer extant.

The Forest River Park Pool and Bathhouse were constructed in the late 1920s. Improvements during the WPA period included the remodeling of the Contagious Hospital, renovations to the Old Town Hall, the construction of a salt water

swimming pool at the Willows and the construction of the North Salem Branch Library on North Street in 1934 according to the designs of Andrews, Jones, Biscoe and Whitmore.

Various architects were active in building construction during this period. W. Hunt and son designed the Hawthorne Institute at 38 Chestnut Street in 1938. St. Anthony's Polish Club on Derby Street dates to 1923; the Polish American Citizens Club erected a building in 1937, designed by Leopold Audet. The Jewish Center on Lafayette Street was constructed in 1936. The Pickman Park Association Building on Loring Avenue dates to 1922, designed by W.H. Hunt and built a school on Pickman Road in 1931. The Collins Cove Community Club was constructed in 1945, designed by Frank Whearty.

The emergence of a stripped-down, New Deal-era classical revival style of architecture is evidenced in the Holyoke Mutual Insurance Company Building (39 Norman Street, 1935-6), also by Smith and Walker.

#### Industrial:

Although many of the shoe and leather industries destroyed in the fire did not rebuild there are several examples of new industrial construction which postdate the fire. After the fire Naumkeag Steam Cotton constructed five new buildings to replace the nineteen destroyed in 1914. The reinforced concrete, fireproof buildings were designed by the nationally prominent designers of industrial buildings, Lockwood, Green and Company of Boston. The complex displays interior mushroom columns and brick and glass curtain walls. In the 1920s the city's industrial base was expanded through the establishment of lighting and electronics firms. The brick and masonry buildings which were constructed during this period include buildings on Goodhue and Proctor Streets and the Sylvania Hygrade Plant on Boston Street.

Perhaps no architect had a greater impact on post-fire Salem than the work of Boston architect, Clarence H. Blackall (1857-1942). In addition to his earlier designs for the Essex County Courthouse (1908-9) and the addition to the Salem Public Library (1911-12), Blackall served as advisory architect to the Salem Rebuilding Commission from 1914-1917 and oversaw revision of the city building code which required lined chimneys, fireproof roofs, protected heating systems and prohibited the construction of residential buildings of more than four stories.

Architects who were active in Salem during the early 20th century include William G. Rantoul (1867-1948) and Philip Horton Smith (1890-1960). A practitioner of the Colonial Revival style, Boston and North Shore architect William Rantoul was responsible for additions and restorations to several Salem landmarks while also designing new Colonial Revival buildings. His commissions include additions linking the Daland House and Plummer Hall for the Essex Institute (1907), additions to the Benjamin Crowninshield House on Derby Street (1906 & 1916), a new porch and fence for the Stephen Phillip Memorial Trust House on Chestnut Street (1913) and the restoration of the Peirce-Nichols House fence (1924-5). Among Rantoul's new construction projects were the Salem Atheneum on Essex Street (1906-7); the Francis Seamans House on Chestnut Street (1909) and the triple house at 31-35 Warren Street (1914-15), which took the place of the Tontine block, destroyed in the 1914 Salem Fire. Initially working with Kilham and Hopkins and later with Edgar Walker, Smith's many designs included the Ward 3 Fire Station on Essex Street (1915), the Hawthorne Hotel (1924-5), the bandstand in Salem Common (1926), Grace Church (Essex Street, 1926), the United States Post Office

Building (2 Margin Street, 1932-3), the restoration of the Old Town Hall (1933-4) and the Holyoke Mutual Insurance Company Building (39 Norman Street, 1935-6).

Architect A.G. Richardson of Salem and Boston is notable for several fine Colonial Revival residences constructed after the great fire of 1914 including buildings at 39 Warren Street, 50 Dalton Parkway, 12 Fairfield Street and 220 Lafayette Street. Best known for the design of schools and public buildings throughout the state, Boston architects Walter Kilham (1868-1948) and James Hopkins (1873-1938) were responsible for the design of the Salem High School (1908-9). After the 1914 Salem Fire, Kilham and Hopkins also designed some reform housing for the Salem Rebuilding Trust including a twelve-house development on Franklin, Foster, Hayward and Osborne Streets.

#### XI. SURVEY OBSERVATIONS

The Salem inventory includes nearly 4,000 properties which have been surveyed over the past three decades. The City, acting through the Planning Department, is committed to maintaining a current, comprehensive inventory of historic resources. In 1997 the final phase of a survey update was completed for the existing local historic districts. Outside the local historic districts the survey forms are of varying quality. Many of the "B" forms which were completed in the late 1960s as well as those dated between 1974 and 1980 lack complete historical or architectural information. There remain many areas in the city which have only been covered in incomplete Streetscape "G" forms.

Zoning laws have effectively protected Salem to date. The City's first zoning ordinance was passed in 1926. Intensive commercial development is confined to the downtown retail area including Essex and Washington Streets, and automobile-oriented sprawl including Bridge Street, Highland Avenue, Vinnin Square and Boston Street. Industry is concentrated in three areas - the former Naumkeag Steam Mills, Canal Street/Jefferson Avenue and tanneries in the North River vicinity. Many of the community's 19th century industrial resources were destroyed in the 1914 fire. Residential construction is scattered throughout the city. Within the downtown area the majority of the housing was constructed prior to 1940. The highest density housing, consisting of medium to large multi-family apartment tenements, is located in the Stage Point area in the vicinity of Lafayette Street. Housing in the remaining areas consists primarily of single-family and two-family dwellings. More recent subdivision developments are generally confined to the southern and western sections of town. Summer, cottage-type dwellings were constructed in the Salem Willows/Juniper Point during the late 19th and early 20th century although almost all of these have been converted to year-round use. Additional summer dwellings are found on Baker's Island, five miles out into Massachusetts Bay from Salem Harbor, but officially part of the City of Salem.

#### XII. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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

Boyer, Paul and Stephen Nissenbaum  
1974 Salem Possessed. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

- Felt, Joseph B.  
1849 Annals of Salem. Boston. James Munroe and Company. Second Edition.
- Fuller, Donald C. and Everette L. Francis  
1984 Soil Survey of Essex County, Massachusetts, Southern Part. USDA Soil Conservation Service.
- Gildrie, Richard P.  
1975 Salem 1626-1683: A Covenant Community. Charlottesville.
- Gookin, Daniel  
1970 Historical Collections of the Indians of New England. Jeffery H. Fiske, ed. (no place): Towtaid.
- Hurd, D. Hamilton  
1888 History of Essex County, Massachusetts. Volumes 1 and 2. J.W. Lewis and Company, Philadelphia.
- 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.
- Philips, James Duncan  
1937 Salem in the Eighteenth Century. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.
- Philips, James Duncan  
1937 Salem and the Indies. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.
- Randall, Peter E.  
1983 Salem and Marblehead. Down East Books, Camden, Maine.
- Robotti, Frances Diane  
1948 Chronicles of old Salem. A History in Minature. Salem, Massachusetts.
- Webber. C.H. and W.S. Neving  
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, Massachusetts.